Volume 20, No. 8 August 1992

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

Blacks, Money, and Politics

Political Participation by African Americans Is Expanding to Include Greater Financial Support for Black Candidates

Let's Send Cops to College

One Solution to the Problem of Police Brutality May Be the Recruitment and Training of a New Breed of Police Officer

Looking at the National Debt

American Tax Dollars Are Paying for Fewer Federal Programs and Services While Spending for the S & L Bailout and Interest on the Debt Keep Growing

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Focusing on Substance, Not Symbols

Since the "great communicator," Ronald Reagan, came to Washington nearly a dozen years ago, public officials have fed the American electorate large portions of symbols and rhetoric as substitutes for substance. The Reagan and Bush administrations have supplanted substantive policies with slogans such as "quotas," "family values," and "cultural elite."

The emphasis on symbols over substance is not unique to Republicans. On the floor of Madison Square Garden at last month's Democratic National Convention, one black political leader was heard to say of Clinton's acceptance speech, "He isn't talking about our issues—full employment and affirmative action—he's not signalling that he will help the poor." It may be that a narrow focus on symbols has prevented certain leaders from recognizing the power and influence that African Americans enjoy in the party as a whole.

For example, the 771 black delegates at this year's Democratic convention made up 17.9 percent of the total number of delegates, the second highest number in history (there were 962 black delegates or 23.1 percent in 1988 and 697 or 17.7 percent in 1984). Moreover, blacks were well represented among the convention decision-making committees—platform, rules, and credentials—and were prominent in the leadership of these committees. Among the speakers who gave voice to the party's objectives and aspirations were former Texas congresswoman Barbara Jordan; civil rights veteran and Georgia congressman John Lewis and his colleague Maxine Waters, who represents the troubled community of south-central Los Angeles; U.S. senate candidate from Illinois, Carol Moseley Braun; and Jesse Jackson, whose presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988 spurred the registration of hundreds of thousands of black voters and encouraged the candidacies of numerous African Americans.

Democrats emerged from the most successful convention in recent memory as more unified than at any time since the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976. The convention's venue, New York, which has long epitomized urban crime and decay, was squeaky clean and on its best behavior thanks in no small measure to the city's black mayor David Dinkins. But the architects of the party's success and unity in New York were its black chairman, Ron Brown, and convention chief executive officer Alexis Herman, who has been Brown's close collaborator as he rebuilt the party after the disastrous 1988 Dukakis campaign.

Through Brown's efforts, fractious factions put aside their differences in pursuit of a mainstream consensus in the party. This movement toward the center also is reflected in the political attitudes of blacks. In a national survey of African Americans released on July 8 by the Joint Center and Home Box Office, only 29 percent of those polled characterized themselves as liberal, 30 percent as moderate, and 33 percent as conservative. Despite these ideological designations, however, most blacks have a strong allegiance to the Democratic party and to a liberal or progressive ideology. The same survey showed that 72 percent of black Americans identified themselves as Democrats, while only 5 percent described themselves as Republicans. Forty-three percent of those polled supported Clinton for president, but 57 percent did not! Fourteen percent supported H. Ross Perot; 13 percent backed President Bush; and fully 30 percent were undecided or supported "none of the above."

The results of the survey, as well as the convention itself, indicate far more substantive involvement by blacks in the Democratic party than may be inferred from the complaints about the absence of certain civil rights symbols. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS Copyright © 1992 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Inc. The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *FOCUS* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *FOCUS* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

PRESIDENT/Eddie N. Williams
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT/Eleanor Farrar
VICE PRESIDENT, PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/Kathleen Vander Horst
VICE PRESIDENT, FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION/Brenda Watkins Noel
VICE PRESIDENT, RESEARCH/Milton Morris
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE/Russell Owens

EDITOR, *FOCUS*/David C. Ruffin
SENIOR EDITOR/Marc DeFrancis
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR/Odessa Maria Archibald
PRODUCTION MANAGER/Tyra Wright
TRENDLETTER RESEARCHER/Alfred Baltimore
WORD PROCESSOR/Merlinda Ceniza Novicio

BOARD OF GOVERNORS
Andrew F. Brimmer/Brimmer and Company, Inc., *Chair*
Luther H. Foster/Alexandria, Virginia, *Vice Chair*
George L. Brown/Lipsen, Whitten & Diamond, *Treasurer*
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, *President*
Bishop John Hurst Adams/Senior Bishop, A.M.E. Church
Norma Ketay Asnes/Ketay Asnes Productions
Hannah D. Atkins/University of Central Oklahoma
Julian C. Dixon/U.S. House of Representatives
Elsie H. Hillman/Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Hector M. Hyacinthe/ Packard Frank Businesss and Corporate Interiors
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr./Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld
Robert M. Kavner/AT&T
Bertram M. Lee, Sr./WKYS-FM
Robert M. McGlotten/AFL-CIO
Richard H. Newhouse/Esquire, Chicago, Illinois
Bernard Rapoport/American Income Life Insurance Company
Lois D. Rice/Brookings Institution
Sharon Percy Rockefeller/WETA-TV/FM
Audrey Rowe/Department of Income Maintenance, State of Connecticut
Pauline A. Schneider/Hunton & Williams
LeBaron Taylor/Sony Software Corporation
Felker W. Ward, Jr./Ward and Associates, Inc.

Members Emeriti: William B. Boyd, Kenneth B. Clark, Louis E. Martin, Robert C. Maynard, James D. Wolfensohn

Eleanor Farrar/Secretary to the Board

Blacks, Money, and Politics

Political Participation by African Americans Is Expanding to Include Greater Financial Support for Black Candidates

by Michael K. Frisby

When Carol Moseley Braun won the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate in Illinois this spring, she seemed to dispel the conventional wisdom that only the big spenders finish in the winner's circle. The $440,000 she spent on her campaign was dwarfed by the $3 million spent by incumbent Alan Dixon and the $5 million doled out in a multi-million-dollar advertising blitz by the third candidate in the race, Al Hofeld, a wealthy Chicago attorney. The damage Hofeld and Dixon inflicted on each other in the costly media war contributed to Braun's victory.

While Braun's win may serve to boost the morale of public advocacy groups outraged at the millions of dollars political action committees (PACs) pour into campaigns, the bottom line is that even the most attractive black candidates usually lag far behind while trying to compete dollar for dollar against white opponents.

Ronald Lester, a leading black pollster based in Washington, D.C., cites Braun's experience as an example of the hurdles black candidates face, even when polling shows that they can be viable. Lester says a survey he conducted in January found that Dixon was vulnerable and that Braun, with her strong base in Cook County, had a chance of upsetting the incumbent. Even armed with that information, he says, soliciting financial support from blacks, labor, and business political action committees "was still like pulling teeth."

Donna Brazile, a black strategist and aide to District of Columbia congressional delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, says, "In politics, money denotes credibility." She maintains that blacks, despite their gains, are still not in the country's political mainstream. According to Brazile, they don't get invited to the power parties where white politicians meet the big financial donors.

But Harvey Gantt, who raised nearly $8 million for his unsuccessful bid to unseat ultraconservative Republican senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, cautions against criticism of black fundraising efforts because many blacks are still new to the political process. "We've only been in this political game for 25 years—one generation," he says. "I think we are getting more sophisticated every day." One key, argues Gantt, is removing the popular perception that a black candidate cannot win when running against a prominent white political figure. When that happens, he says, blacks will give more "early money" to campaigns.

Mr. Frisby covers politics and Congress for *The Boston Globe*.

Despite criticisms to the contrary, the black community has stepped forward in recent years with significant financial support for black candidates. Harold Washington, the late mayor of Chicago, relied on funds from his city's minority community during his successful election bids in 1983 and 1987. Other candidates have leaned heavily on small donations from informal fundraisers in black communities. In both 1984 and 1988, the hat was passed for Rev. Jesse Jackson in hundreds of black neighborhood barbecues and basement receptions across the country to support his presidential campaigns. But Jackson aides acknowledge that the bulk of the more than $8 million they raised in 1988 came from a successful direct mail campaign targeting liberal whites.

Yeast and Other White Support

It is unreasonable to expect blacks or any one racial group or political sector to comprise the sole support of black candidates. Contributions from white donors are a crucial component of any black election campaign. EMILY's List (standing for Early Money Is Like Yeast), which supports female, pro-choice candidates, has aided a host of women candidates, including Braun and four black women candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. Each month the group sends letters to more than 100,000 potential donors (mostly white women) asking that they contribute to specific campaigns, and then the donors forward the checks to the candidates.

Lester believes this was a real lifeline for Braun, who at the end of the primary campaign raked in about $2,500 a day from EMILY's List. The early money did make a difference—she has since become one of the darlings of the Democratic Party, with heavyweights like New York Gov. Mario Cuomo hosting fundraisers for her.

Ronald Walters, chairman of Howard University's political science department, says that the blacks recruited by the Republican Party to run for political office are provided significant financial support by the GOP. For instance, freshman Rep. Gary Franks, the only black Republican in Congress, had raised $394,081 by the beginning of the year, one of the highest totals for any Black House member.

Henry Hall, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee, says the party donated the legal maximum of $5,000 to Franks in 1990, but the National Republican Congressional Committee contributed $70,000 in staff work

(Continued on page 4)

Campaign

(Continued from page 3)

and in-kind-contributions to the candidate. And that year, President Bush attended a fundraiser that raised $250,000 for former police chief Maurice Turner, who ran unsuccessfully on the GOP ticket for mayor of Washington, D.C. Black GOP candidates running in congressional, state, and local races have received similar support in the past, according to many analysts.

By contrast, Walters says state Democratic parties and groups like the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee have not provided similar support to black candidates. One problem, argues Walters, is that these groups, which deliver both funds and technical assistance to candidates, operate independently from the national party and don't have a history of strong assistance to blacks.

A New Sophistication

Walters notes that several years ago there were black PACs devoted to supporting black candidates, but they faded away after it became difficult to raise money. Still, blacks are trying to address the problem of backing black candidates in other ways. This year the Congressional Black Caucus held a fundraiser for Braun, and some of its members contributed to the tough reelection campaigns of colleagues like Reps. Charles Hayes and Gus Savage of Chicago, both of whom lost.

Black entertainers like Quincy Jones and Bill Cosby have also raised money for politicians. In 1990, actress Whoopi Goldberg helped Rep. Maxine Waters of California raise $100,000 at a fundraising event in Los Angeles.

These opportunities are not available to all candidates. At the local level, where candidates are running for city councils, school boards, and statehouses, there is a real struggle for funds. Joyce Ferriabough, a Boston political strategist, notes however that even local politicians are growing more sophisticated. She says that Diane Wilkinson, a candidate for the Massachusetts State Senate, has established a finance committee of black businessmen pledged to raise $5,000 each for her campaign.

By contrast, Boston councilman Charles Yancey, who is running for a congressional seat, knows that fundraising will be a major hurdle in a city where blacks have limited political influence. "I expect it will be difficult," he says. "We haven't been playing this game of politics that long here." But Yancey says another problem is that he does not play the "quid-pro-quo" game. "I believe that if someone wants to support my campaign, I will return his telephone call and thank him. But if he asks me to vote in a way that is against my principles, I won't do it."

Yancey has gone without contributions from Boston's well-heeled real estate and development community, which is the fundraising base for most politicians in that city. The developers and landlords are frequently at odds with the tenant interests in the city, who are Yancey's constituents. Yancey's campaign coffers reflect this division. Yancey raised about $30,000 for his last council race, while James Kelly, a white colleague in the council who has befriended the real estate interests, garnered $97,000. According to Yancey, black politicians are still at the point where they are educating their constituents to register and vote and have not yet concentrated on turning them into financial contributors.

In an example of clout and sophistication, Eva Clayton raised enough money to win the Democratic primary for a new majority-black House district in North Carolina, beating Walter Jones Jr., the son of a retiring white congressman. Clayton raised more than $155,000 for the primary. In addition to contributions from Congressional Black Caucus members, Clayton showed how a black candidate can use a powerful political base to raise money.

In May, 18 black North Carolina state legislators hosted a fundraiser for Clayton just before the General Assembly convened. The message to the labor and business communities was that if they wanted access to black legislators, who represent a strong voting bloc, it would be a good idea for them to throw some financial support to Clayton. The technique was very successful.

An Evolutionary Step

There is reason to believe that black candidates may do better in the future as more and more people, particularly black middle- and upper-income donors, recognize that for good or ill, money is indeed a part of the political process. Mary Ann Spraggins, an executive at the Wall Street investment firm of Smith Barney, is a member of the Democratic National Committee's exclusive Trustees Club, whose membership is reserved for those who have raised more than $100,000 for the party. In May, she brought 60 black heavy donors to DNC headquarters for a briefing by party leaders.

While Spraggins has worked to strengthen the national party, she is also organizing a new political action committee that would channel funds from black business leaders and entertainers as well as offer technical assistance to candidates. "It has been troubling to me that so few blacks participate in the process. We just haven't had the sources to go to in the black community for raising money," she says. Her view may be disheartening to those pushing campaign finance reform, but for now Spraggins plans to work under the current rules to collect the most money possible for black candidates.

To Spraggins, the only way blacks will truly sit at the bargaining table is when there is a pool of dollars behind them. The same spirit is also sprouting in other places, such as in Boston, where black businessmen are also in the initial stages of starting a group that can raise money for candidates. Black businessman Tom Farrington, who owns a successful computer company, is spearheading the effort.

This, Spraggins says, is the next necessary step in blacks' evolution in the political process. She sees it as the 1990s commitment to the black fight for equality that is just taking a different form than the civil rights struggles of other periods in American history. ■

August 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- Black delegates to the GOP convention reach historic numbers.
- The U.S. Supreme Court upholds *Roe* v. *Wade* but leaves the door open for state restrictions on abortions.
- Carol Moseley Braun from Illinois is poised to make history as the first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate.
- **Across the Nation** features the election of Leah Sears-Collins to the Georgia supreme court and congressional runoff races in that state as well as a black consensus candidate for the U.S. House in Wisconsin.

Blacks Top 100 at the 1992 Republican National Convention

This year, black delegates at the Republican National Convention in Houston will number 107, exceeding the 100 mark for the first time in the party's history. The number of delegates, which is 75 percent greater than the 61 delegates four years ago, represents 5 percent of the total delegates, compared to 2.7 percent in 1988. The number of alternates this year is 102.

The state with the largest number is California, with 15 delegates and 15 alternates. Half of the GOP delegation from the Virgin Islands is black and the District of Columbia's delegation is 29 percent black. The other states with relatively high proportions of black delegates are Connecticut (11.4 percent), New Jersey (10 percent), Michigan (9.7 percent), Georgia (9.6 percent), New York (9 percent), and South Carolina (8.3 percent). As an indication of the changes over the past four years, Georgia and South Carolina had no black delegates in 1988, and only 2.2 percent of New York's 1988 GOP delegates were black. The increase in black delegates, however, is probably not a sign that Republican candidates for elective office can expect a significant expansion in black support at polling booths this November.

Six national surveys of African Americans, conducted by the Joint Center between 1984 and 1992, reveal only a slight trend of growing identification with the Republican Party by black voters. In 1984, 5.9 percent of those surveyed identified themselves as Republicans. By 1992, that proportion had increased to 8.9 percent. This low level of attachment to the Republican Party is relatively recent. Until the New Deal era of President **FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**, blacks were overwhelmingly Republicans. Even though most blacks swung their support to the Democratic Party during that time, black Republican identification remained around 40 percent. In the post-World War II period, and continuing to 1964, black identification with the GOP remained between 20 to 25 percent.

The 1964 presidential election resulted in a massive black flight to the Democratic Party because of the party's strong support for the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 in Congress under the leadership of President **LYNDON JOHNSON**. Another reason for the shift was the Republican Party's sharp turn to a conservative agenda as espoused by its 1964 presidential candidate, Arizona Sen. **BARRY GOLDWATER,** who advocated states' rights—the creed of southern segregationists. Since that time, the Republican Party has had little success in garnering support among black voters. According to ABC News exit polls, **RONALD REAGAN** received 11 percent of the black vote in 1984 with **GEORGE BUSH** receiving 10 percent in 1988.

About 70 (less than 1 percent) of the 7,480 black elected officials listed in the Joint Center's roster of black elected officials have voluntarily identified themselves as Republicans. Among the highest-ranking black Republicans is **GARY FRANKS**, U.S. congressman from Connecticut, who was elected in 1990. The only black Republi-

can holding statewide office is **J.C. WATTS**, who was elected in 1990 to the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, a body that regulates, among other things, the oil and gas industry in the state.

Out of 464 black state legislators, four have voluntarily identified themselves as Republicans—**CHRISTINE BROWNLEE** in Arkansas, **CARSON ROSS** in Missouri, and **PRISCILLA ANDERSON** and **THOMAS SMITH, JR.**, both in New Jersey. The largest category of black elected Republicans is judges, 22 in all nationwide.

Supreme Court Leaves Abortion Rights Hanging by a Thread

In an unexpected 5 to 4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court narrowly upheld *Roe* v. *Wade*, its historic 1973 decision affirming that a woman's right to decide whether or not to terminate a pregnancy is a personal liberty protected by the Constitution. At the same time, the Court granted states the power to enact hampering restrictions on abortions unless they impose an "undue burden" on a woman's right to choose. In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania* v. *Casey*, the Court upheld four provisions of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act and struck down one.

The following are the provisions upheld: women seeking abortions must receive counseling and wait 24 hours after the counseling to receive the abortion; minors under 18 must obtain parental consent or the approval of a judge for an abortion; no abortions can be performed after 24 weeks of pregnancy unless necessary to save the life of the mother or avoid permanent physical damage; and physicians must keep detailed records of abortions and reasons for performing late-term abortions. The Court struck down the provision requiring a married woman to notify her husband of her intent to have an abortion.

The Court's decision surprised both pro-choice and anti-abortion forces who had expected the Court to overturn *Roe*, a position the Bush administration argued for in its friend-of-the-court brief filed on behalf of Pennsylvania. Justices **SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, ANTHONY KENNEDY, DAVID SOUTER,** all appointees of presidents Ronald Reagan or George Bush, jointly wrote the majority opinion. *Roe's* author **HARRY A. BLACKMUN** wrote in a separate opinion that all of the state's restrictions were unconstitutional and that *Roe* should remain fully intact. Justice **JOHN PAUL STEVENS** agreed that *Roe* should remain undisturbed. Chief Justice **WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST** was joined by **BYRON WHITE, ANTONIN SCALIA**, and **CLARENCE THOMAS** in voting to uphold all provisions of the Pennsylvania law and overrule *Roe*. The decision was the first opinion of justices Thomas and Souter on the abortion rights issue. During his confirmation hearings, Thomas said he had never thought about nor discussed the *Roe* case.

Democratic presidential candidate **BILL CLINTON** is on record as pro-choice, while President Bush opposes abortion. Some Republicans breathed a sigh of relief at the Court's decision for fear that an outright reversal of *Roe* would make abortion an even bigger campaign issue than it already is, to the detriment of an anti-abortion president. Bush's troubles have also been compounded by a contingent of Republican pro-choice women who have challenged the party's anti-abortion stance. If that were not enough, the Democratic leadership in Congress is pushing the Freedom of Choice Act, which would codify *Roe* through the legislative process. Both houses plan to vote on the legislation and have the Act on the President's desk for a predictable veto before the fall elections.

According to the Women of Color Poll on Reproductive Health conducted by the Washington, D.C.-based Communications Consortium and the National Council of Negro Women, 73 percent of the women of color surveyed believe a woman should make her own decision about abortion—83 percent of black women; 81 percent of Asian women; 80 percent of Native American women; and 55 percent of Latino women.

Twenty-five percent of those surveyed believe abortion should be legal in all circumstances, while 52 percent said they would place some restriction on access to the procedure. Forty-seven percent of those polled said they would be less likely to vote for a politician who spoke out against abortion—51 percent of black women; 56 percent of Asian women; 47 percent of Native American women; and 37 percent of Latino women. Fifty-five percent of the women surveyed support Medicaid funding of abortions for poor women—63 percent of black women approved; 70 percent of Asian women; 61 percent of Native American women; and 30 percent of Latino women. Currently a woman can use federal Medicaid funds to pay for an abortion only if her life is in danger. She cannot use the funds if the pregnancy results from rape or incest.

Carol Moseley Braun's Historic Senate Bid

When **CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN,** 44, unexpectedly won the March 17 Illinois Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate, she became one of the shining lights of campaign '92. With little funding or party support, she received 38 percent of the vote, three percentage points ahead of the incumbent **ALAN DIXON** and 11 ahead of Chicago attorney **AL HOFELD**. Owing her primary victory largely to black and women voters, according to exit polls reported in *The Chicago Tribune*, she received 83 percent of the black vote and four of every 10 votes cast by women. Political analysts project that for Braun to pull off a victory in the November general election, she must build on her base of support from women, particularly Republican women crossing party lines, and the suburban and "downstate" vote.

Braun is no newcomer to politics. She served three terms in the state house of representatives, where she developed a reputation as a skilled negotiator and a coalition builder. During her third term she was elected as assistant majority leader, the first black and the first woman elected to the position. While in the house, she also served as Mayor Washington's hand-picked legislative floor leader and championed measures to reform education, ban discrimination in housing and private clubs, allow direct elections to local school boards, and establish minority and female business set-aside laws. After 10 years as a state representative, Braun was elected Cook County Recorder of Deeds in 1987 with more than one million votes. She says that the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas, which included allegations of sexual harassment, motivated her to run for the senate. This year, the Thomas hearings, the anti-incumbency mood in the country, the perception of women as political outsiders, and politically hot issues like women's reproductive rights have created a political climate ripe for the election of women candidates.

Braun's opponent, **RICH WILLIAMSON**, also has significant political experience. He is a wealthy law partner in a Chicago law firm who has received several presidential appointments from presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. A 43-year-old graduate of Princeton and the University of Virginia Law School, Williamson was a senior white house staffer in charge of intergovernmental affairs for Reagan for two years. He has also served as a U.S. representative to the United Nations in Vienna and as an assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs. In 1988, he was a senior advisor to the Bush presidential campaign.

While he's been a political star in Washington, Williamson may not play well in Peoria or other parts of Illinois. Unlike Braun, Williamson has never run for office and thus has no track record as an elected official and does not enjoy statewide name recognition. State GOP officials have conceded that he is not the best candidate the party could have run, adding that they were caught by surprise because no one expected Dixon, a 43-year veteran of state politics, to lose the primary. Despite his shortcomings, however, Williamson's candidacy is not a marginal one. His strength lies in his financial resources and the fundraising capabilities of the national and state Republican parties. The GOP is prepared to fight as hard for the seat as it did in 1990 when Labor secretary and former Illinois congresswoman **LYNN MARTIN** gave the state's junior senator, **PAUL SIMON**, a spirited but unsuccessful challenge.

The Republican Party has not been shy about playing the race card in election campaigns, and in the Braun-Williamson contest the race-baiting has already begun. According to **MELODY SPANN**, news director of WVON radio in Chicago, a radio ad run by the Williamson camp attempts to paint Braun as a "liberal Chicago machine" Democrat. Spann says the ad also makes references to Braun's political relationship with the late mayor **HAROLD WASHINGTON** and to former presidential candidate **JESSE JACKSON**.

LU PALMER, a Chicago political activist and member of Braun's steering committee, calls the ad a "racist ploy to get whites riled up by portraying Carol as a minion of Harold and Jesse." He points out that the Braun campaign team is integrated in race, gender, and ethnic group, in a fashion similar to the 1983 coalition that ushered Washington into the mayor's office. In terms of Braun's campaign strategy, Palmer says fundraising has been the top priority since the primary win. Braun has traveled throughout the country, speaking at events coordinated to help her reach a monetary goal of $4 million for the general election. She spent $440,000 during the primary.

Each candidate will have to convince voters that she or he can do something in Washington about the state's economic woes. A state that was once an industrial powerhouse, Illinois has been weakened by a dwindling steel industry. Furthermore, layoffs and plant closings have plagued key manufacturing companies—Caterpillar Tractor, John Deere, and International Harvester among them. In June, the state's unemployment rate was 8.6 percent.

Across the Nation

GEORGIA: State supreme court justice **LEAH SEARS-COLLINS**, 37, was elected to a full six-year term on the court in the July 21 primary, defeating Clayton county superior court judge **STEPHEN BOSWELL** 54 percent to 46 percent. Collins' victory makes her the first woman to be elected to the state's highest court. She is also the first black jurist to serve on the court to which she was appointed in February of this year by governor **ZELL MILLER** to fill the vacancy of a retiring justice.

Two of the three races for the state's majority-black congressional seats were determined in the August 11 runoff. In the 2nd congressional district, located in the southwestern part of the state—including Macon, Albany, and Columbus—white six-term congressman **CHARLES HATCHER** was defeated by black state senator **SANFORD BISHOP** of Columbus. Hatcher led a field of five candidates in the July 21 Democratic primary with 40 percent of the vote to Bishop's 22 percent. Bishop had been endorsed by the other three black primary challengers—Albany state representative **MARY YOUNG CUMMINGS**, Macon attorney and minister **LOONZY EDWARDS**, and engineer **STEPHANIE KAGLER** from the town of Warner Robins. Those endorsements paid off in this 52 percent black district. The state's peanut lobby, on the other hand, backed Hatcher because he chairs the House Subcommittee on Peanuts and Tobacco. The election result was Bishop's 53 percent to Hatcher's 47.

In the 11th district, representing parts of Augusta, Savannah, and the southern Atlanta suburb of Dekalb County, black state representative **CYNTHIA McKINNEY** beat former Waynesboro mayor **GEORGE DELOACH**, the only white candidate in the five-person Democratic primary. The vote was 56 to 44 percent. Although McKinney was expected to be among the top vote getters, odds heavily favored her state legislative colleagues, Senator **EUGENE WALKER** of Decatur and Representative **MICHAEL THURMOND** of Athens, to be the likely victors. Heavily supported by local and national women's groups, McKinney campaigned as a "two-for-one" candidate, promoting her race and gender as pluses for the district. Apparently, in this "Year of the Woman," the unique pitch helped. In the July Democratic primary, McKinney received 34 percent of the vote to DeLoach's 22 percent, followed by Walker with 20 percent and Thurmond with 13 percent. McKinney will face **WOODROW LOVETT**, a white farmer from Sardis, who won the Republican runoff, in November.

In the 5th district, three-term Congressman **JOHN LEWIS** easily held off a challenge from Atlanta state representative **"ABLE" MABEL THOMAS**. The final tally was 76 percent to 24 percent. And the state's black commissioner of labor, **AL SCOTT,** lost his post to former secretary of state **DAVID POYTHRESS** (57 percent to 43 percent). In the July 21 three-way primary, Scott outpolled Poythress by one percentage point. Scott, who was appointed commissioner in January 1991, was seeking to be the first black Georgian to be elected to a statewide office.

MISSOURI: With more than a 20,000-vote margin over his nearest opponent, black Kansas City congressman **ALAN WHEAT** turned back an attack from three Democratic challengers in the August 4 primary. The five-term representative is the second black member of Congress to sit on the powerful House Rules Committee (the first was former Atlanta mayor and congressman Andrew Young who served from 1973 to 1981). Some local pundits speculated that Wheat would be in jeopardy since redistricting has added conservative suburban voters to his district, which was originally 75 percent white.

His closest competitor, **FRED ARBANAS**, a popular Jackson county legislator and former member of the Kansas City Chiefs football team, ran an anti-incumbent campaign, citing Wheat's 10 years in the House and highlighting his involvement in the House check-writing scandal (Wheat bounced a total of 86 checks in the 39-month period reviewed) as evidence of the need for change. In the November general election, Wheat's opponent will be Republican Kansas City businessman **EDWARD MOODY**, who came in third in the city's 1991 mayoral campaign last year.

WISCONSIN: After several months of community meetings, a straw vote, and a newspaper survey, county supervisor **TERRENCE L. PITTS** emerged as the "consensus" black candidate for Milwaukee's 5th congressional district seat. Pitts was chosen at a mini-convention of the city's black voters convened in May by a local black political community group called the Brainstorming Committee. Prior to the convention, black alderwoman **MARLENE JOHNSON** announced her candidacy and was endorsed by black state representative **POLLY WILLIAMS**. After the convention the city's militant and flamboyant former alderman **MICHAEL MAGEE**, a sometime Pitts adversary, announced his candidacy. (Magee's formation of a black paramilitary group cost him his alderman's seat this spring.) By mid-July both Johnson and Magee were persuaded by Pitts operatives to step back and support Pitts, who was viewed as the black candidate with the best chance of winning because of his record of service to the party and as a county supervisor. The 52-year-old attorney will vie for the seat being vacated by Democratic congressman **JIM MOODY**, who is challenging the state's Republican senator **ROBERT KASTEN, JR.**

Pitts' competition in the September 8 Democratic primary includes former state representative and county circuit court judge **FRED KESSLER**, attorney **MARC MAROTA**, and state senator **TOM BARRETT**, all white. If Pitts is able to benefit from a strong black turnout (blacks make up 30 percent of the voting-age population) and if he is able to attract white voters, he stands a good chance of winning the nomination. He has strong party ties, including his service as a member of the Democratic National Committee and the executive committee of the state party. During his tenure as county supervisor he has been an advocate for health issues. He chairs the Milwaukee County Committee on Health and has played an integral role in the expansion of health care facilities.

Let's Send Cops to College

One Solution to the Problem of Police Brutality May Be the Recruitment and Training of a New Breed of Police Officer

by James J. Fyfe

What are we to make of the acquittals in April of the police officers who beat Rodney King? Was the King verdict merely a reflection of America's racial divisions or does it indicate that our system of justice doesn't work? It would appear that the King case falls into a gray area of criminal law and its enforcement. For clear-cut common-law offenses like murder and theft, the system works reasonably well, but it bogs down when simple questions of right and wrong are complicated by the issue of professional judgment. For example, it is common knowledge that doctors sometimes perform unnecessary surgery but criminal prosecutions for such assaults are virtually unknown. Lawyers who have encouraged their clients to commit perjury to win cases do so without fear of criminal penalty. Similarly, successful prosecution of cops who abuse their authority to use force are rare.

On the one hand, jurors have little difficulty distinguishing between murder and self-defense, between shop-lifting and simply forgetting to pay the cashier; on the other hand jurors often cannot make the distinction, beyond a reasonable doubt, between fraud and sharp business practices, between unnecessary surgery and cautious medicine, and between police brutality and reasonable force.

A major element in the widespread problem of police brutality is the growing friction between the police and certain segments of the society. Blacks and Latinos living in lower-income, urban environments have come to view a police badge as a symbol of an oppressive system. At the same time, many police officers approach their jobs from a military perspective—seeing themselves as soldiers fighting the "war on crime" or the "war on drugs" where the "enemy" is often a young non-white urban male.

Lawsuits and Reform

While cases like Rodney King's abound, over the years police departments across the nation, often induced by civil litigation, have changed the way deadly force has been used. Since the 1960s, the Supreme Court has handed down a string of decisions that have forced police administrators to develop policies and rules for cops to use in making their most critical street-level decisions. In the 1985 case of *Tennessee* v. *Garner*, involving the fatal shooting 11 years earlier of 15-year-old Edward Eugene Garner as he ran unarmed from a neighbor's empty house after stealing $10, the Supreme Court struck down the fleeing felon rule. This law had authorized police to use deadly force to apprehend unarmed, nonviolent suspects fleeing property crime scenes. But over the two decades preceding *Garner*, most police departments had abolished this rule on their own initiative.

Before the *Garner* case, reform-minded mayors and police chiefs had gradually made conscious efforts to hire minorities and women, to implement more sensitivity training courses, and to utilize more effective police equipment such as chemical sprays and other non-lethal weapons as well as protective gear like bullet-proof vests. These changes have dramatically reduced violence between police and citizens. For example, in 1971, ten New York City cops were killed in the line of duty, compared with two in 1991. Similarly, in 1971, NYPD officers shot and killed 87 civilians; in 1991, they killed six. This is not to suggest that brutality no longer exists, or that it is to be found only in Los Angeles. Thousands of brutality cases are heard in American courts every year.

Until now, the lessons of reform have been ignored in Los Angeles. There, during Daryl Gates' 14 years as chief, outrageous practices became official policy. Lethal chokeholds that compress the flow of blood to the brain were euphemistically relabelled "upper body control holds" and were authorized for use against people who did no more than argue that they did not deserve traffic tickets. The consequence was that, during five years, LAPD officers killed twice as many people (mostly African American) with these holds as police officers in the other 20 largest American police departments *combined*. In addition, over the last several years, LAPD officers have rounded up thousands of young men guilty of nothing more than being in places that officers thought were "wrong." With rare exceptions, the victims of these indiscriminate streetsweeps were released without charges after several hours of detention. LAPD's CRASH unit has vandalized and destroyed homes in searches for evidence they had no reason to believe was there in the first place. Even now the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is preparing to argue in court that, as a reward for finding suspects, Los Angeles police dogs were allowed to bite and maim hundreds of people.

(Continued on page 6)

Dr. Fyfe is a professor of criminal justice at Temple University. A 16-year veteran of the New York City Police Department, he is co-author with Jerome H. Skolnick of *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*, which will be published by The Free Press in January 1993.

Cops

(Continued from page 5)

Policing the Police

The most common response to the problem of police brutality is the implementation of some sort of review process. Instead, allegations of police abuses are often made to the chiefs of the departments. These department heads can take action against officers only at the risk of exposure to criticism and civil liability for poor supervision of the accused officers.

One remedy for the problem of police chiefs' innate conflict of interest in acting on the performance of officers under their command is civilian review of complaints of police misconduct. Such boards, however, are advisory in nature, and serve only to inform police chiefs of what their fact-finding efforts have determined.

Another approach to curbing police misconduct is the adoption of a peer review model, as practiced in other professions. Florida, which operates what is in effect a licensing agency for local police, currently is the state that comes closest to a system of policing. Under this model, professional associations such as the Police Officer Standards and Training Councils, which exist in 49 of the 50 states, could be given enforcement powers similar to those of state bar associations. Cases of officer misconduct are not only reviewed by the officers' own departments and local civilian review boards but also by peer review panels comprised of their colleagues from other police agencies within the state. Negative findings by such panels could result in suspension or revocation of officers' licenses. Like bar disciplinary panels in the legal profession, this would introduce a long needed dose of impartial peer review to policing.

Some hardliners object to the peer review process because it would compromise chiefs' authority which, they claim, must be absolute, according to the traditional military organizational model that characterizes American policing. This argument for police chiefs' autonomy overlooks a fundamental characteristic of military organization in a democracy. Just as military officers are directly accountable to the President of the United States—an elected, civilian commander-in-chief—police chiefs must be accountable to local elected officials.

The Cop as Soldier

The argument for autonomy also overlooks the fact that police adoption of the military model is a historical accident. The police as we know them were first established in Ireland and England during the early 19th century. At the time, the pyramidal military model, with its rigid chains of command and authority, was virtually the only known way to arrange large organizations. This pyramidal style is most useful in organizations in which the most important decisions are made at the top, by people who must have the big picture in order to direct and coordinate the efforts of large numbers of people. But police work is a one-on-one business in which the most important decisions are made at the lowest organizational level. It is the individual cop who decides to shoot this person, arrest that one.

Thus, police departments have a lot more in common with universities, hospitals, and law firms than with the military. In these organizations, the important operational decisions are made by people on the front line—professors, doctors, and lawyers—rather than by executive staff officials removed from the organization's real action. Yet policing has this structure upside down. The least prestigious, least influential, least admired, most poorly paid cops are precisely the people who do their organizations' most sensitive and demanding work.

Ivy Cops

We should also rethink the role, place, and prestige of the police within our society. The police were originally established by British prime minister Sir Robert Peel (from whose name the friendly term "Bobbie" was lifted) as a domestic defense agency that would be less insular and more representative of the population than the military.

Our police, however, are far more insular than the military. Almost all cops spend their entire careers within single agencies, working with the same groups of people. Despite the fact that many police departments have recently hired large numbers of minorities and women, they have been less successful at integrating by socioeconomic class. With few exceptions, police officers are from lower/middle-income families and seldom have educations beyond high school. On the whole, the police remain an enterprise dominated by working-class, white male ethics and attitudes, which place high value on physical courage and willingness to forcibly put down challenges to authority. But when the values of any single group so dominate an institution as powerful as the police, trouble is likely. Because the police have so much authority over *everybody*, they must be representative of *everybody*.

Virtually nobody who has attended any of the country's better public and private universities seeks a job as a police officer because it bears a stigma not shared by less demanding, less sensitive forms of public service. For example, it is acceptable for public-spirited alumni of the Ivies, Stanford, Ohio State, or Ole Miss to become school teachers, social workers, public defenders, or FBI agents. By any objective measure, doing the police job well in a place like south-central Los Angeles, Harlem, Newark, north Philadelphia, Detroit, or Miami's Liberty City is at least as demanding psychologically, spiritually, intellectually, and physically as any of the aforementioned jobs. The consequences for the society to fail to field police officers from a broader spectrum of the population can be profoundly negative. It is evident that bad police work can cause riots, destroy neighborhoods, and alter cities forever. Yet we persist in thinking of policing as unworthy and menial dirty work.

(Continued on back page)

Looking at the National Debt

American Tax Dollars Are Paying for Fewer Federal Programs and Services While Spending for the S & L Bailout and Interest on the Debt Keep Growing

by David C. Ruffin

A great deal has been said of late about the "tax-and-spend" Congress, not only by the White House but at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue by politicians of both parties. Yet despite their mutual recriminations—and the tendency on both sides of the aisle to vote for pork barrel projects—an enormous portion of federal outlays is made up of just two items that lie beyond political preference: interest payments on the national debt and the bailout of savings and loans.

Rising steadily over the years, the federal deficit was most recently estimated by the White House to be $333.5 billion for fiscal 1992 and $341 billion the following year. The interest payments on the debt alone now make up 60 percent of the deficit—in 1991 interest came to $194.5 billion and for the current fiscal year it is projected to reach $198.8 billion. Not only has the dollar amount of this interest grown but during the 1980s it nearly doubled as a percent of total federal expenditures. Between 1963 and 1980 it ranged from 6 to 9 percent of federal spending, but by the end of Ronald Reagan's second term it had climbed to 14.3 percent (see table).

Added to this is the more recent burden of bailing out the nation's savings and loan insitutions, which has cost the government $161 billion since 1986. By conservative estimates, over the next two fiscal years the bailout will cost taxpayers another $155 billion.

Of course, the bailout and interest on the debt account for just a portion of the more than $1.5 trillion in federal outlays projected for next year. The budget also includes mandated programs for education, transportation, energy, social programs, and entitlements such as social security, medicare, and food stamps. While politicians debate the merits of one program as compared to another, millions of Americans rely on and benefit from these expenditures.

Republicans and Democrats in Congress have also created projects designed simply to create jobs or win favor in their own districts. Among the most expensive of such projects is the $8 billion "super collider" for particle-physics research, slated for construction in Texas. It may be more than coincidence in this election year that both President Bush and Governor Bill Clinton have indicated their support for the super-collider. Texas is a state rich in electoral votes.

There are clearly no easy answers to the problems inherent in carrying an enormous federal deficit. And yet solutions will have to be found if we are to have the resources needed to aid our nation's cities, train our workers, and educate our next generation. ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of FOCUS

Federal Spending and Interest on the Debt for the Final Year of Each of the Last Eight Administrations

		Net Interest ($ billions)*	Total Federal Outlays ($ billions)*	Interest as a Percent of Federal Outlays
Eisenhower	1960	32.3	473.3	6.8%
Kennedy	1963	34.5	532.5	6.5
Johnson	1968	43.1	745.3	5.8
Nixon	1974	60.3	759.7	7.9
Ford	1976	63.4	885.9	7.2
Carter	1980	90.4	1,010.8	8.9
Reagan	1988	178.0	1,247.6	14.3
Bush	1991	201.8	1,364.0	14.8

*In 1992 dollars, adjusted for inflation.
Sources: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; Joint Center.

Cops

(Continued from page 6)

A Degree for a Shield

Attorney Adam Walinsky, formerly chairman of the New York State Investigation Commission and aide to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, has offered a proposal that would change the popular image of policing and that, in the long run, could dramatically change the nature of policing. *Good* policing, he argues, is a job that requires at least as much skill, training, and social awareness as many careers that require college degrees. Further, he notes, there is some evidence that college-educated police officers receive better performance ratings, fewer citizens' complaints, and generally do better in their careers than officers with less education.

Why not act on this information, Walinsky asks, by creating the equivalent of an ROTC Cadet Corps for police at our colleges and universities. In return for scholarships worth up to $40,000 over four years, participants in the Cadet Corps program would undergo vigorous police training during their summer recesses. Upon graduation, these young people would be required to serve as police officers in their home states for four years. Walinsky's plan, especially if expanded to include other forms of public service, would also make college a reality for many youngsters who are currently locked out of campuses by limited financial resources. In doing so, it would make police departments—as well as colleges and universities—more representative of the communities they serve. Some of these ROTC graduates would stay—and no doubt rise to command positions—while other would leave for other careers. The proposal appears virtually certain to be a part of whatever omnibus crime bill next emerges from Congress, and has also become a regular feature in Governor Bill Clinton's stump speeches.

An ROTC program would help, but despite popular notions police have little to do with the absence of violence on our safest streets, where one rarely even sees a police officer. Safe streets exist in environments of economic security where residents and merchants are spiritually and financially invested in their communities. Streets where there is no such community are dangerous, no matter how many cops are on patrol and no matter how efficiently they perform their work.

For now, we should be instructed by the Rodney King saga. If we pay heed to the police only when their misdeeds spark explosions too big to ignore, and if we continue to think of police work as an endeavor to be avoided by those with first-rate educations and access to other opportunities, we do everybody a great disservice. ■

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES

We're Moving
August 28th!
Our new address:
1090 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20005-4961
Tel: (202) 789-3500
Fax: (202) 789-6390

FOCUS *is printed on recycled paper.*

FOCUS
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

ADDRESS
CORRECTION
REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 6958
Washington, D.C.