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FOCUS

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Round Two for Clinton and Congress

In 1994, the President Will Face New Challenges on Capitol Hill as He Advances Initiatives on Welfare Reform and Job Training

Clinton Foreign Policy: Continuity, Change

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Key Posts in Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Agencies Have Not Been Filled and Important Antidiscrimination Objectives Remain Unmet

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Why I Support the NAFTA Process

In November, Congress ratified the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which will establish a free trade area consisting of Canada, Mexico, and the United States with the intent of increasing opportunities for all three countries. As a member of President Clinton's NAFTA and Beyond Commission, I strongly endorse NAFTA.

Based on an objective analysis of the best evidence available, I am convinced that NAFTA is right for the times: It represents the boldness and confidence with which we must engage the future; and it promises to open wider the doors of economic opportunity for all Americans, including black Americans. There were at least three compelling reasons to support NAFTA:

1. NAFTA offers excellent opportunities to expand the U.S. economy. Improved access to Mexico's $300 billion economy will provide a significant boost to American economic growth with a potential gain of well over 100,000 jobs in the near future. African Americans can only benefit from an expanded economy.

2. NAFTA is more likely to protect and create jobs for African Americans than to cost them jobs. This conclusion rests, in part, on the way African Americans are distributed in the labor market. They are disproportionately engaged in service jobs, a large proportion of which are not exportable. While representing 10 percent of the entire labor market, blacks make up 15.2 percent of workers in public administration, 22.8 percent in building maintenance, and 26.4 percent in health service occupations.

On the industrial front, blacks are disproportionately employed in the auto and auto parts industries. Most analysts agree that these industries will be among the first and biggest beneficiaries of NAFTA when Mexico is required to drop its tariffs on American autos and auto parts. Thus, a significant proportion of the black labor force would benefit as well.

3. NAFTA is the kind of dramatic development in U.S. foreign economic policy that black leaders have advocated in recent years. NAFTA would open the door to an economic partnership between two highly developed countries and a developing country, Mexico. It also would provide an opening for other Third World countries. The mere prospect that one day Caribbean and Latin American countries may also be eligible for inclusion in an expanded North American free trade market is already prompting reform efforts in some of these countries.

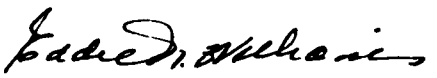
Although NAFTA will open the door to new economic opportunities for most Americans, there will continue to be some economic dislocations. Therefore, we should actively monitor the implementation of the trade agreement and insist, that President Clinton should link the NAFTA agreement to domestic policy protections for those who are adversely affected. For example:

1. The President should broaden and strengthen his financial commitment to help those displaced by increased trade or by the many other factors causing job dislocations.

2. There should be a strong and immediate commitment by the administration to help minority businesses compete more effectively in international commerce, beginning with Mexico and Canada.

3. There must be vigorous enforcement of existing civil rights and other equal opportunity laws to ensure that those who seek the fruits of NAFTA will have unfettered opportunities to gain them.

In short, we should ensure that our international and domestic policies work together to improve the quality of life for all Americans. ■



PRESIDENT

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Round Two for Clinton and Congress

In 1994, the President Will Face New Challenges on Capitol Hill as He Advances Initiatives on Welfare Reform and Job Training

by Kenneth J. Cooper

As the second session of the 103rd Congress unfolds, members of the House and Senate are bracing for a legislative calendar which, though shortened by mid-term elections, will be crammed with both new and unfinished business. Dominating the session will be a welter of proposals to overhaul the nation's health care system. Other legislative measures will crowd the agenda as congressional leaders await President Clinton's proposals on welfare reform and job training, each packing the potential for political fireworks.

What may be the most likely cause for a political shoot-out is how Capitol Hill responds to violent street crime. As black and Hispanic House members oppose the "get-tough" crime bills making their way through Congress, Democratic leaders hoping to hold down anticipated political losses don't want to appear weak on this issue. With public anxiety about violence running high, "It'll help our credibility as a Congress...if we can do crime (legislation) early," said Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Over the last 20 years, the party in control of the White House has lost an average of 21 House seats in mid-term elections between presidential campaigns. A loss of that size could so reduce that body's Democratic majority that the administration could have a rough time when conservative Democrats line up with Republicans on important floor votes. Democratic losses are also expected in the Senate, although the Democrats are generally projected to maintain their majority in that body.

With the current party alignment, President Clinton has had a successful initial year with Congress, scoring several legislative victories, first with holdover bills—the Family and Medical Leave Act and the Motor Voter Bill that will expand voter registration—that had been vetoed by President Bush. Congress narrowly passed the President's budget bill, and Clinton demonstrated some political muscle by garnering enough support to get the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) passed, although it was unpopular among most congressional Democrats. He also got his National Service Trust Act passed, offering opportunities for community service to 100,000 young Americans. At year's end, Clinton signed the "Brady" bill, which imposes a waiting period of five business days before one may purchase a handgun.

To be as successful in 1994, the President will have to hold together the coalition within his own party in the House, which comprises the most diverse collection of Democrats in the nation's history, including record numbers of African American, Hispanic, and women lawmakers. In the first session, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) emerged as a genuine broker in the House, helping to shape Clinton's deficit reduction plan and providing critical votes for its passage. Caucus support will be just as important this year, but many CBC members will find themselves philosophically opposed to several Clinton initiatives.

The Politics of Crime

This year, Congress is likely to pick up where it adjourned, addressing crime. In November, the Senate passed an omnibus anti-crime bill by a vote of 95 to 4. Instead of omnibus legislation, the House passed several narrow bills that correspond with sections of the Senate bill. The $22.3 billion Senate measure weighed heavily on the side of "get-tough" approaches to enforcement and punishment with less emphasis on crime prevention programs and gun bans. Nearly $9 billion would be set aside to put 100,000 more police officers on the street nationwide. The bill would establish college scholarships for students committed to at least four years of service as police officers.

Three billion dollars would be provided to build several new regional prisons, and another $3 billion would be allocated for boot camps and minimum-security facilities. Other elements of the Senate bill include provisions to combat violence against women, drug treatment for inmates to increase their chances of staying out of trouble once they are released, and a ban on the manufacture, sale, or possession of 19 military-style assault weapons. Gun sales to individuals under restraining orders for abusing family members would also be prohibited.

Among the bill's more progressive elements are grants to states totalling just $1.2 billion spread out over three years to set up "drug courts" that would provide preventive measures such as drug testing, treatment, alternative punishment, job training, and counseling for nonviolent drug offenders sentenced to probation.

CBC members are concerned about the Senate bill's more draconian provisions, which, they believe, would

Mr. Cooper is a congressional correspondent for *The Washington Post*.

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Clinton and Congress

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effectively make judges no more than automatons by increasing penalties and imposing new mandatory minimum sentences for 60 crimes, including life sentences for three-time felons. The bill would also authorize the death penalty, historically administered to a disproportionate number of blacks, for about 50 federal crimes.

House CBC members decried the punitive elements of the Senate bill as unlikely to reduce crime and, in the case of the death penalty, likely to discriminate against black offenders. "I think, unfortunately, that many of the provisions...demonstrate what happens when the crime of politics or the politics of crime are allowed to fester," said Rep. Craig Washington (D-Tex.), a CBC member who serves on the House Judiciary Committee. "If someone offered an amendment for public hangings, it would probably pass in that environment."

In contrast to the Senate crime bill, House proposals place more emphasis on crime prevention. An African American, Rep. Robert Scott (D-Va.), and a Hispanic, Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-Calif.), joined Washington in prodding the House Judiciary Committee to put aside proposed expansions of incarceration guidelines and capital punishment. Among other arguments, they cited testimony that the federal death penalty for drug-related murders, in effect since 1988, was sought most often against African American and Hispanic suspects.

Senate and House leaders have not yet established a procedure for resolving the differences among the various crime bills in a conference committee. There will certainly be a conflict between the advocates of prevention and the hardliners. Rep. Washington is sure to challenge those who want more prisons and more mandatory sentences to demonstrate how their anti-crime proposals would, as he says, "actually do some good toward ameliorating the (crime) problems that exist." He suggests that Clinton could determine the outcome, adding, "Now, it's a question of where and how the President weighs in."

Welfare: Two Years and Out

After months of deliberation, President Clinton's Welfare Reform Task Force, made up of officials from federal agencies, has produced a draft options paper designed to fulfill Clinton's campaign promise to "end welfare as we know it." The draft is being informally circulated in Washington. Meanwhile, congressional Republicans have formulated their own reform proposal and a caucus of progressive House Democrats is also working on a bill. The Association of Public Welfare Administrators released a detailed plan for welfare reform on January 11 and a number of state legislatures have passed or introduced new welfare bills as well. Almost all these plans embrace the concept of a two-year time limit on the "unconditional" receipt of income support for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). But few of the proposals contain a satisfactory answer to the question: What happens to a welfare-dependent family when the mother who heads it cannot find private sector employment after the time-limit ends? Many analysts agree that creating public sector jobs on a large scale would be financially prohibitive.

The Clinton Task Force proposes setting up a new program called WORK, to which AFDC recipients who are unemployed after two years would be assigned. Individuals would be expected to work for no less than 15 hours a week. One criticism of this proposal is that it might not create the conditions whereby having a job is better than welfare in material terms. The only option to WORK that the Task Force offers is a limited Community Work Experience Program (CWEP) or workfare, which would require participants to "work off" their AFDC grants.

The Republican bill envisions widespread workfare. It would require 63 percent of all mothers who have been on AFDC for at least two years to work 35 hours per week to continue to receive their benefits. Public-sector unions are strongly opposed to workfare because they fear local governments would replace many unionized public employees with welfare employees as a way to save costs.

Other Task Force proposals build on the Family Support Act, passed in 1988, which focused on increasing paternal accountability and improving the skills and employability of welfare clients. The Task Force calls for improved methods of collecting the $34 billion in child support that goes unpaid each year, and advances modest proposals to increase employment opportunities for non-custodial parents. It also proposes that the federal government increase funding for education and training for welfare recipients. It further advocates that welfare recipients be brought into a variety of existing and planned "mainstream" labor market programs that will be administered by the Labor and Education departments (such as National Service and school-to-work transition programs).

A Republican proposal would require states to deny benefits to children born while their mothers were receiving AFDC. The Clinton Task Force does not go as far but would allow states the option of denying the benefits for such additional children. Both the Task Force and the Republican plans advocate denying certain government benefits to mothers who do not "fully cooperate in establishing paternity." Since two-thirds of black children today are born out-of-wedlock, and only one third of illegitimate children have their paternity legally established, these changes would disproportionately harm black families.

The strategy for moving ahead on welfare reform in the upcoming session is unclear. White House officials have recently suggested they want Congress to focus on health care. Since the same committees deal with both issues, a double dose of new and controversial legislation could be difficult to handle. However, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, chair of the Senate Finance Committee, has demanded the administration move welfare reform with health care instead of waiting, and Rep. Harold Ford, chair of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources, has seconded Moynihan's call.

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January 1994

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- L. Douglas Wilder ends his term as governor of Virginia and will not run for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Charles Robb.
- In Louisiana, a federal judge rules a majority-black congressional district unconstitutional.
- Newly elected black mayors offer their visions for governing.
- Across the Nation: The New Orleans mayoral race heats up; speculation grows as to who will fill Rep. Alan Wheat's seat on the powerful House Rules Committee; New Hampshire is the only state without a Martin Luther King holiday.

Gov. Wilder Says Farewell and Steps Into History

In his final State of the Commonwealth address, Virginia Governor **L. DOUGLAS WILDER** announced that he would not challenge fellow Democratic Senator **CHARLES S. ROBB** for his seat, but would take his career in a new direction. Wilder's decision clears the way for a contest between Robb and likely Republican candidate **OLIVER NORTH**, best known for his role in the Iran-Contra scandal as a national security aide to President **RONALD REAGAN**.

Wilder's place in history is secure as a pioneer who expanded political possibilities in America. He was the nation's first elected black governor and an early contender for the presidency of the United States in the 1992 primaries. He was also Virginia's first black state senator and its first black lieutenant governor since Reconstruction. Wilder leaves behind a distinguished record as the governor of the Old Dominion. From the Governor's Mansion, he vetoed a proposed redistricting plan that failed to include districts drawn to maximize opportunities for African Americans to win legislative offices. A subsequent redistricting plan led to the formation of the majority-black 3rd congressional district and the election of U.S. Rep. **BOBBY SCOTT**, the state's first black congressman in this century.

Consistent with his gubernatorial campaign promise, Wilder supported the right to reproductive choice for women. In line with another campaign pledge, he appointed more African Americans, women, and other minorities to key positions in the state government than in any administration before him. He also submitted balanced budgets for each of the four years he was in office.

One of Wilder's last official acts as governor was to institutionalize trade relations he had initiated with African states, opening two Virginia trade offices in Senegal and Botswana this month. The establishment of these offices stemmed from a three-week trade and cultural mission to 10 African nations in 1992 (from June 10 through July 5) in which the governor led a delegation of American business leaders seeking partnerships and trade relationships with sub-Saharan countries. South African President **F.W. DE KLERK** and Anglican Archbishop **DESMOND TUTU** were among the dignitaries Wilder met with during the trip.

Last year, as head of the Southern Governors Association, Wilder, along with governors from 11 states and Puerto Rico, hosted delegations from 25 African nations at a September 1993 summit in Richmond. There he issued a call for a special relationship between African nations and Southern U.S. states. As a result of agreements reached during the summit, Virginia has a two-way shipping agreement with Angola; the African nation will supply hard-wood lumber to the U.S. for use by American furniture makers, and on the return trip, vessels will transport used American cars to Angola.

Court Rules Fields' District Unconstitutional

Ruling in the *Ray Hayes* v. *The State of Louisiana* case that Louisiana's majority-black 4th congressional district with its unusual shape was drawn as a result of race-conscious redistricting, U.S. 5th Circuit Judge **JACQUES WEINER** struck down the state's congressional redistricting plan as unconstitutional. The 63-percent black 4th district, which cuts through 28 of the state's 64 parishes, was created in 1991 to improve the chances for the election of an African American to Congress. The district is represented by first-term Democratic Congressman **CLEO FIELDS**. The 4th district was the second majority-black district drawn in the state. It was preceded by the 2nd congressional district in New Orleans, represented by **WILLIAM JEFFERSON**, which was originally expanded into a majority-black district in the mid-1980s as a result of a Voting Rights Act lawsuit successfully litigated by **LANI GUINIER**, then an attorney with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The *Ray Hayes* case was the second court challenge to a majority-black congressional district in 1993. The first was the *Shaw* v. *Reno* case in North Carolina. To comply with the Voting Rights Act, the North Carolina legislature had crafted two majority-black congressional districts out of 12 in its 1991 redistricting plan. Black Reps. **EVA CLAYTON** and **MELVIN WATT**, elected to those districts in 1992, became the first black members of Congress from that state since Rep. **GEORGE W. WHITE** delivered his farewell speech in the House of Representatives in 1901. Last year, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *Shaw* case that there was cause for challenging the unusual shape of the 12th district, represented by Watt, as a possible violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (see "The Court's Blind Eye on Voting Rights," in *FOCUS*, July 1993). According to Louisiana Attorney General **RICHARD P. IEYOUB**, Weiner's December 28 ruling overturning the Louisiana redistricting plan is the first case where a court has used the *Shaw* criteria to declare such a plan unconstitutional.

Common Sense From New Black Mayors

With the beginning of the 1994 political year, the inaugural speeches of newly elected black mayors from Atlanta, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Rochester have added fresh perspectives to addressing the nation's most serious problems. Much of what these urban leaders had to say was common to the pronouncements of their counterparts in other cities. They promised to bring their fiscal crises under control, improve education, and make streets safer. But their speeches also hint at approaches to urban governance through new wisdom, and plain common sense in ways that might prove useful to other public officials. Following are excerpts from these inaugural speeches.

*Mayor **BILL CAMPBELL** of Atlanta was elected to the seat vacated by **MAYNARD JACKSON**, who served a total of three terms as mayor but chose not to run for reelection. Like other mayors, Campbell intends to devise innovative new solutions in governing, but he's not afraid to go back to old solutions if they will work.*

"In times of generational change of leadership, a spirit of renewal can be felt throughout the entire community. It is in this spirit of renewal and regeneration that we dedicate ourselves to a fresh look at government problem solving. We dedicate ourselves to new and different approaches to today's urban problems, fully acknowledging and recognizing that in some instances these approaches indeed may not be new but may represent a return to policies and practices of the past, whose time may have come again, such as walking beat patrols for our police. A fresh look, a willingness to experiment, a healthy regard for innovation are hallmarks of generational change in leadership and indeed these characteristics shall be hallmarks of the Campbell administration. Let us be willing to try brave new things and, indeed, brave old things if it will improve our city.... Those ideas and approaches which have worked elsewhere, we will find, borrow, and incorporate without hesitation. But we shall also be pioneers, demanding innovation, creativity, and imagination with pride."

***DENNIS ARCHER** has taken over as mayor of Detroit following **COLEMAN YOUNG**'s 20-year tenure in that post. In his speech, Mayor Archer seems to deputize the city's residents to take ownership of their own portions of Detroit's problems. In partnership with the city government, he urges them to "pitch in" and "take responsibility," without absolving himself from accountability to those who elected him.*

"The truth is that city government alone cannot solve all of Detroit's problems. We can and will work day and night to improve the economic climate and attract more investment to our city. But we in turn must ask the business community to match its encouraging words of support with tangible commitments that create real jobs. For this great crusade to redeem our city to succeed, everybody must pitch in. I'm going to make the revitalization of our

neighborhoods one of my highest priorities. However, every citizen must take responsibility. Everyone who has an interest in Detroit must do their part. Sweep the sidewalk in front of your house. Clean the rubbish from the storm sewer on your street. Pick up the broken glass in your alley. Go with your neighbors to cut the weeds on the lot on the way to your street.

"Demand that I get the trash picked up on time. Insist that I make the buses run on time. Let yourself see our police, our firefighters, our emergency medical workers are working hard on our behalf. Recognize their contribution. Praise it. Help them do their jobs. Demand that I see to it that they do it right. Get a grip on your life, and the lives of your children. With our children rests the destiny or the destruction of our community. In their hands is the future of our society. Stand with me when I tell the dope man: 'Get off our streets.' Stand with me when I tell the dope man: 'Leave our children alone. Get out of our way. We're taking back our children. We're taking back our streets.' With all of us standing together—believe me when I say this, hear me and believe it—we will prevail."

***SHARON SAYLES BELTON**, the first black mayor of Minneapolis, spoke of unity and inclusion—values often lost in the paranoia accompanying today's headlines about crime and violence. Here is part of what she said:*

"Americans like to say we are strong because we are founded on a tradition of tolerance—that we are nurtured by diversity. Yes, living peacefully and creatively with diversity is the great American experiment. Minneapolis, like our state and our nation, has become increasingly diverse. We are a multiracial, multicultural, multilingual city. We are a kaleidoscope of skin colors, a tapestry of ethnic traditions, a treasury of spiritual beliefs, and a forge of ideas, perspectives, and talents igniting in dialogue. Diversity fuels our creativity, makes us stronger and more resourceful, and serves, if we let it, as a pilot light for the virtues of humility, generosity, and peacemaking.

"But diversity can breed distrust, tension, and even violence. While it is our unique strength, it is also our unique challenge. That is why it is important, at this time in our city's history, to continue the traditions of tolerance and understanding that have guided us in our best moments. We must explore our diversity, embrace it, and harness it in the name of the common good. We must invent new ways of making decisions, based on consensus and cooperation."

***WILLIAM JOHNSON**, Rochester's first black mayor, calls on all people of the city, regardless of race, gender, or income, to pull together with a common purpose.*

"Old stereotypes are being severely challenged, or are falling by the wayside altogether. Violence, drugs, poor education, unemployment, and teen pregnancy can no longer be identified as the dysfunctional behavior of racial and ethnic minorities. Violence has moved into the middle class and to suburban and rural communities, as recent tragedies have clearly documented. Our drug problem is constantly fueled and re-fueled by the unquenchable thirst of prosperous suburbanites, as well as the alienated poor. With corporate downsizing, many middle-income people have seen their style of living dramatically—and sometimes permanently—downsized as well. And the fact is now dawning that the rate of illegitimate births is increasing for white females, as well as blacks.

"Despite these discordant notes, these signs of obvious despair, we are challenged to envision new areas of opportunity and success...We all live on common soil, and this notion that some are better off—and spared involvement with certain problems—because they live in the outer section of the county rather than the inner section, must come to an end.... Whether our skins are black, white, or brown, whether Protestant or Jew, teenager or senior citizen, businessman or welfare recipient, we are all in this boat together, and it is docked in a harbor called Monroe County. And the engine room in that boat is called Rochester. The boat doesn't leave that harbor and operate efficiently unless that engine is in top shape...

"The lawbreakers in this community have no friends at City Hall. I will be standing at the hall of justice and saying lock them up and throw the key away if they commit a crime. I've got to get you, some of us, to stop another crime, which is to stereotype people by the way they look. You judge people by their actions, not by the pigmentation of their skins. If people see three young African American men walking down the street with hoods on their heads, they instinctively think the worst. We have got to get to the day when young African American men can dress like they want, walk the streets, and only be judged when they commit a crime, not because people think they are going to commit a crime."

Across the Nation

LOUISIANA: State Senator **MARC MORIAL**, 35, is holding a firm lead over a field of seven major candidates in the New Orleans open mayoral primary slated for February 5, according to independent polls conducted by the University of New Orleans Survey Research Center and Loyola University. Morial, who announced his candidacy last November, has been running on a platform to lead the city in new directions with the aim of achieving what he calls "safe streets, paved streets, and streets that lead to jobs." Morial is the son of the late New Orleans Mayor **ERNEST (DUTCH) MORIAL**, the city's first black mayor, who served from 1978 to 1986.

The three other black candidates in the race are City Councilman **LAMBERT BOISSIERE**, State Representative **SHERMAN COPELIN**, an entrepreneur who is president pro tem of the state's house of representatives, and **KEN CARTER**, a property assessor. White attorney **DONALD MINTZ**, a former chair of the Dock Board who has been active in civic charitable affairs, is number two in the polls behind Morial. Other white candidates are State Representative **MITCH LANDRIEU**, the son of another former New Orleans mayor, and attorney **ROY RASTANI**. If no candidate wins more than 50 percent of the vote on February 5, a runoff will be held on March 5.

MISSOURI: As black U.S. Rep. **ALAN WHEAT** resigns from the House to run for the Senate seat now held by retiring Republican Sen. **JOHN DANFORTH**, political observers are speculating as to who will succeed him on the powerful House rules committee. Potential candidates include Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) chairman **KWEISI MFUME** (D-Md), who is credited with raising the visibility of the CBC in federal budget negotiations with the Clinton administration last year. Other rising political stars among the CBC have also been mentioned—**CYNTHIA McKINNEY** (D-Ga); **AL WYNN** (D-Md); and **JOHN LEWIS** (D-Ga.).

Wheat represents Kansas City in Missouri's 5th district, with a constituency that is over 75 percent white. Others seeking the Democratic nomination for Senate in the August 2 primary include St. Louis County Council member **GERI ROTHMAN-SEROT**, who gained strong name recognition from a previous bid for the Senate; Jackson County Executive **MARSHA MURPHY** (Jackson County encompasses Kansas City); and state Rep. **STEVE CARROLL**, the only contender who represents a rural base. Former Republican governor **JOHN ASHCROFT** is expected to make an official announcement to seek the GOP nomination early in the year.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: New Hampshire is the only state in the Union that does not recognize the third Monday in January as a holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. (Martin Luther King Jr. Day was mandated by Congress as a federal holiday in 1983 and first observed in 1986.) Recognized in New Hampshire instead as Civil Rights Day, it is an optional work day or "floating holiday" for state government employees. Some school districts are open and others are closed. But a measure sponsored by State Senator **BEVERLY HOLLINGSWORTH** is before the state legislature to change the name and status of the holiday in order to honor the slain civil rights leader as in the other 49 states.

To respond to pressure from Hollingsworth and others demanding that the holiday be upgraded, Governor **STEVE MERRILL** issued a proclamation declaring January 17 Martin Luther King Jr. Civil Rights Day by executive order. He issued a similar order last year. In taking this step, Merrill connected King's name with the holiday, but the ad hoc action lends no permanence to the holiday and its observance is still optional for state employees whose offices and agencies remained open as the date passed this year.

To date, a majority of the New Hampshire House of Representatives has repeatedly opposed a holiday in Dr. King's name. Several bills to mandate such a state holiday have been introduced in the state legislature but none have been enacted. *The Manchester Union Leader*, a conservative statewide daily newspaper, has been a leader in opposing the holiday since the early 1980s, citing King's opposition to the war in Vietnam and false allegations that King was a communist sympathizer.

Activist **ARNIE ALPERT** of the Martin Luther King Day Committee says, "Unlike the state of Arizona, New Hampshire escaped the national spotlight when the public challenged legislators there to recognize the King holiday. New Hampshire does not have a major league sports team and is somewhat immune to pressure not to hold sports and entertainment events here or to boycotts by groups to refuse to hold conventions in the state."

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Clinton Foreign Policy: Continuity, Change

For the U.S., a New World Order Will Be Built on the Pillars of Economic Strength, National Security, and the Promotion of Democratic Values

by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

The old 19th century world order was shattered by the world war that ended in 1918. Following the end of the Second World War, yet another order arose, this one based on superpower stalemate and the threat of nuclear war. Thanks to Western strength and cohesion, that order ended in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Today's world appears torn between two apparently contradictory trends. One is the unifying, centralizing thrust toward a global marketplace driven by technological change. The second is the thrust toward fragmentation—a return to intolerant tribalism, and violent resistance to the march of change.

The tension between these trends helps to explain the pressing challenges we face today. These challenges include, first, resolving the dislocations resulting from technology's destruction of traditional economic patterns. Today's high unemployment is largely caused by these structural economic changes even though technology also creates new opportunities and new industries.

A second challenge is to rebuild society's institutions to function effectively in a new environment that strains our ability to manage rapid change. All of the industrial nations today face a crisis of confidence in such basic institutions as government, political systems, and corporate enterprise. These institutions must renew themselves to be relevant to the realities of a changed world.

A third challenge is to preserve world security in a post-Cold War era that remains dangerous and uncertain. We need to develop the institutional capability and the cooperative will to deal with national fragmentation, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and irrational, aggressive states and ideologies. Finally, there is the challenge to secure the vision of a diverse, interdependent world that replaces the destructive nationalist vision of exclusive, ethnic-based societies.

A Free World Trading System

The Clinton administration is very much aware of the importance of responding to these great challenges. The administration's world view is based on, first, the premise that, in today's world, foreign policy and domestic policy are inseparable. On that foundation, the administration has constructed a foreign policy that rests firmly on three pillars: economic strength; safeguarding our security; and promoting democracy.

The economic interdependence of nations means that domestic economic policies have a profound effect on international relations. In America, slow growth, economic insecurity, and a legacy of budget deficits have made it difficult to achieve consensus for international objectives. The Clinton administration's first order of business was to put the U.S. economy on a growth trajectory.

A good start was made by passing a budget in August that includes significant deficit reduction. The markets responded to the president's budget proposals with declining interest rates, which have resulted in increased economic activity and job growth.

Recognizing that deficit reduction is necessary but insufficient to assure long-term growth, the administration has prepared other initiatives. One is reform of the health system, whose escalating cost structure has been a drag on the economy and a burden on both the government and the private sector. Other administration initiatives involve education, training, and workplace reforms to make Americans more productive and create higher-wage jobs.

These reforms can strengthen the American economy. They are necessary but insufficient to secure long-term growth. Today, the economic growth of nations depends on an open, fair, and free world trading system. A central objective of the Clinton administration's economic policy is to open world markets and remove barriers to trade which have been facilitated by the speedy and successful conclusion to the Uruguay round of the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) negotiations and ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Another means of achieving worldwide economic growth is for the G-7 nations to more closely coordinate their economic, monetary, and fiscal policies. The need for greater cooperation on economic matters is implicit in the growing interpenetration and interdependence of the American and European economies.

U.S. exports to the European Community (EC) more than doubled between 1986 and 1992. EC direct investments in the United States are greater than those of any other region, and Europe accounts for over half of the direct foreign investment of American corporations. Clearly, the degree of integration that has occurred, and the increasing pace of trans-Atlantic trade and investment, suggest the need for closer cooperation.

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Foreign Policy

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Not the World's Policeman

The second pillar of U.S. foreign policy is to assure national security. There are several aspects to that objective. One is the modernization of America's armed forces to meet the challenges of the post-Cold War era. This administration will maintain military strength adequate to deal with global or regional threats to world peace. And it believes that military power can be most effective when it is part of a multilateral effort.

There is no desire in Washington to assume the role of the world's policeman. Instead, the Clinton administration seeks to act in concert with others, while reserving the option of acting alone when absolutely necessary. From that preference for multilateral cooperation flows a renewed commitment to institutions that promote collective security. The Clinton administration is determined to preserve and strengthen the NATO alliance, and to be actively engaged in maintaining Europe's security.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has identified a number of ways to strengthen the alliance. He has suggested: closer links among the alliance's defense establishments; developing NATO peace-keeping procedures; working with other international and Atlantic institutions; forming a strategic partnership with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which includes members from Central and Eastern Europe; and intensifying cooperation on threats to allied interests arising from beyond Europe.

The experience of the Persian Gulf War gives special meaning to this last point. We cannot ignore the disruptive potential of states that defy international law and civilized conduct. Such rogue states cannot be countered by appeasement—not when terrorism is an arm of state policy and the danger of nuclear proliferation is ever present. There must be coordinated resolve among the NATO nations to act vigorously to protect their interests and to preserve regional and world peace.

Respect for Basic Human Rights

The third pillar of the Clinton administration's foreign policy is the promotion of democratic values and human rights. In recent years, we have seen a worldwide revolution of democracy. The growing strength of democratic ideals is reflected in such historic incidents as the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and South Africa's apartheid.

The West won the Cold War not only because it maintained its cohesiveness and its military strength, but also because it successfully projected a vision of democracy that ultimately prevailed. Today, democracy and market economies are more widespread than ever. We who have enjoyed their benefits must recognize both the power of democracy and its fragility.

It is powerful because it speaks to the universal human desire for inclusion and respect for basic human rights. But it is also fragile, because it is often rooted in unprepared soil. Many of today's nascent democracies—such as those in the former Soviet Union—lack the institutions and attitudes that safeguard free societies.

History tells us that weak democracies can pave the way for strong dictatorships. History also tells us that democratic governments and societies don't start wars, and—by definition—don't violate basic human rights. Promoting democratic values and supporting new democratic states is a basic part of America's foreign policy.

At the center of that policy is Russia. There can be no more urgent task for the West than to assure that Russia and the other newly independent states rising from the ashes of the Soviet Union make a successful transition to political democracy and a market economy.

That is a formidable task that cannot be accomplished overnight. It will require that the West provide financial resources, trading opportunities, and technical assistance. The West must remain engaged in supporting the reformers, in helping to foster private institutions and businesses, and in developing people-to-people programs that help spread democratic values.

President Clinton has often said that such assistance will be expensive, but that the price is cheap compared to the enormous cost of defending ourselves against a renewed threat from that part of the world.

Continuity and Change

The Clinton administration's foreign policy, then, represents both continuity and change. *Continuity*—Long-standing elements of U.S. foreign policy remain intact, including a commitment to Europe and to NATO, military sufficiency, and support for democracy. *Change*—There is new emphasis on the unity of domestic economic goals and foreign policy, on helping international institutions adapt to changed world conditions, and on helping Russia and Eastern Europe rejoin the community of nations. These facets of continuity and change are embraced in the three pillars of our foreign policy: economic strength; safeguarding our security; and promoting democracy.

That is a challenging agenda, but with vision, with focused energy, and with continued close cooperation with the U.S., it is an agenda that can be achieved. It is also an agenda that must be achieved, for we are at a critical historical watershed. A new world is being born, and today's leaders must show the wisdom and the generous spirit of their predecessors who devised the Marshall Plan and built NATO, the UN, and GATT.

Those wise leaders of the past also faced contrary political pressures, economic problems, and the accumulated debris of outdated thinking. They rose above the barriers because they had a vision of a world order of peace and prosperity, and the resolve to secure that vision.

As President Clinton has said, "Today there are new tests of leadership. The first is to grasp how the world has changed. The second is to assert a vision of our role in this dynamic new world. The third test is to summon all our strengths—our values, our economic power, when necessary our military might—in service of that vision." ■

What Happened to the Civil Rights Agenda?

Key Posts in Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Agencies Have Not Been Filled and Important Antidiscrimination Objectives Remain Unmet

by David C. Ruffin

On this year's first edition of the Sunday morning public affairs program, "This Week With David Brinkley," ABC News commentator Sam Donaldson asked senior White House adviser George Stephanopoulos why, after a year, the President still hadn't filled the top posts in major federal civil rights enforcement agencies. Donaldson specifically asked about the Justice Department's assistant attorney general for civil rights, the chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), and the Labor Department's head of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP).

Stephanopoulos replied, "We've had some difficulties, but I'm sure it'll be fixed right in the beginning of the year." One of the difficulties was the December request from District of Columbia corporation counsel John Payton that his name be withdrawn from consideration for assistant attorney general for civil rights. Last summer, the President had withdrawn the nomination of Lani Guinier for the same post.

Some civil rights activists feel the delay in filling this post has impaired enforcement efforts at other agencies. "The assistant attorney general for civil rights has become the central coordinator of the entire federal antidiscrimination effort," says Georgetown University law professor and long-time Washington-based civil rights attorney William Taylor, "and leadership in that position is necessary to restore the enforcement machinery that has atrophied from disuse during the Reagan and Bush administrations."

Other activists agree that the backlog of unmet civil rights needs continues to compound the effects of the Reagan and Bush administrations' failures to enforce civil rights laws. One item ignored by the Bush administration was the drafting of implementing regulations for the Civil Rights Act of 1991, a bill that was passed by Congress to overturn six 1989 Supreme Court rulings which had made it more difficult for plaintiffs to prove employment discrimination. In addition, presidents Reagan and Bush had denied enforcement agencies adequate funding. As a result, huge backlogs of discrimination claims by individuals and classes have accumulated.

Much of the backlog consists of gender-based cases. Judith L. Lichtman, president of the Women's Legal Defense Fund in Washington, says that whereas the EEOC processed 80 Equal Pay Act cases in 1980, the last year of the Carter administration, just two cases were resolved in 1993. The Fund has urged the government to be more aggressive in pursuing sexual harassment cases and suing for damages where intentional discrimination is found.

Civil rights leaders are also uncomfortable with the fact that the White House has not articulated a comprehensive civil rights agenda. "We need to know if the Clinton administration is willing to pursue policies in school desegregation, fair housing, and employment in the suburbs that will give minorities access to opportunities outside major concentrations of poverty," says William Taylor. The Clinton administration has not requested increased funding to beef up enforcement units. It should be noted that none of the above-mentioned agencies had a leader on board last year to argue within the administration for more funding for the Fiscal Year 1994 budget or to make their case before Congressional appropriations panels. The same situation could reoccur this year.

Furthermore, implementing regulations must be drafted for the Motor Voter bill, which passed in 1993 and will expand voter registration through motor vehicle and other public offices. This is a bill that Clinton strongly supported. Civil rights advocates are also urging the administration to be more aggressive in cracking down on mortgage redlining and in establishing safeguards against discrimination in the implementation of health care reform.

Although the White House is moving slowly to staff some antidiscrimination agencies, civil rights leaders give the President credit for moving ahead in others. Mary Frances Berry, a distinguished black professor at the University of Pennsylvania, has been named to chair the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Norma Cantu, formerly the San Antonio regional counsel and director of education of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, was appointed to head the Office of Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Education. And Roberta Achtenberg was named assistant secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Sources close to the nomination process say that the selection of candidates for many posts has been complicated by the commitment to diversity with respect to race, gender, and geography as well as the usual criteria of competence, experience, and philosophical compatibility. Nevertheless, heads of advocacy groups are anxious for the administration to finish the job of filling out his civil rights team. Says Judith Lichtman of the Women's Legal Defense Fund: "What we need now is leadership to drive the civil rights agenda and make things happen." ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of FOCUS.

Clinton and Congress

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Wanted: A Reemployment System

The Worker Security Act that President Clinton plans to propose to Congress would consolidate six separate training programs into a single program available to any permanently laid-off worker. Currently, the Department of Labor provides different training services to different categories of workers, confusing many about eligibility criteria and benefits. Workers who lose jobs as a result of foreign imports, defense procurement cutbacks, or clean air regulations can get federally funded training, but many other laid-off workers cannot.

Clinton's training proposal would create a national network of career centers where the unemployed could get trained and informed about job markets. Unemployment compensation rules would change to allow recipients to use their benefits to set up businesses, and bonuses would go to those who found new jobs before they exhausted unemployment benefits.

The changes would appear to make federally funded training programs more widely available and flexible. But few such programs have a superior record of getting the unemployed back to work. "The challenge is to fundamentally change the way government helps people who are unemployed move quickly back to economic security by offering them the chance to choose the services they want and need," a Labor Department outline explained.

Unemployment benefits helped support millions of jobless workers but did little to prepare them for employment, often in a different line of work. "It is clear that what we need is not an unemployment system, but a reemployment system in recognition of the way the world works today," Clinton explained in a recent speech.

Through upcoming legislative fights over crime, welfare, and job training, Clinton will be challenged to hold liberals and conservatives together under the Democratic banner, while also holding down election losses that could make the last half of his term even more difficult.

Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), new chairman of the Democratic Leadership Conference, has vowed to pull Clinton rightward to his party's center. But liberals predominate among McCurdy's fellow House Democrats. CBC members, comparatively loyal Clinton supporters in his first year, can be expected to differ with him on welfare and crime (Clinton supports the death penalty, for instance). A majority of African American and Hispanic lawmakers opposed NAFTA and will cast a cautious eye on Clinton's job training proposals to see how they will affect their constituents, who experience higher unemployment rates.

For Democrats, the political bottom line will probably be expressed in negative terms: 'How many congressional seats will we lose?' The uncertainty about mid-term elections runs so high that Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Chairman Fazio is closely watching the races of Southern black freshmen elected in newly created majority black districts that have been threatened by court challenges, such as Rep. Melvin Watt (D-NC) and Rep. Cleo Fields (D-La). Since the CBC was formed in 1970, fewer than a half dozen members have been defeated. Democratic losses are much more likely to come among white lawmakers. ■

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