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FOCUS

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JCPS Exclusive

Vietnam "Battle Deaths": Is There a Race or Class Issue?

Black Casualties Were Heavy in Ground War in 1965 and 1966; From 1961-73, 12 Percent Died

School Desegregation Needed Now

Support for Busing Grows but National Policy Has Been at a Stand-Still in the 1980s

Telescope

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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Gaining Influence on the Foreign Affairs Front

"Foreign Policy and the Black Community" should become a new title in our public policy library. It's not a new book, although it might well be. It is a critical issue in our national life, whether our concern is a nuclear holocaust or peaceful coexistence, employment or unemployment. Increasingly, our nation's foreign policies knock on the doors where we live and determine our lifestyles and livelihood.

On the tenth anniversary of TransAfrica, black America's sole foreign policy lobby, I was asked to address this subject. Reflecting on what I would say, I was reminded of how long it had been since Martin Luther King, Jr., was castigated—mainly by whites but, sad to say, by some blacks as well—for speaking out against the war in Vietnam. That was more than 20 years ago!

Much has changed since then, of course, including what some see as a hypersensitivity toward a "new Vietnam" in Central America, the creation of TransAfrica, the appointment of Andrew Young as the first black American ambassador to the United Nations, and the inclusion of more blacks in the foreign policy establishment.

Despite these changes, blacks are still hardly a blip on the foreign policy scene, signifying how invisible they were two decades ago. Two reinforcing perceptions can be blamed. One is that all too many black Americans view foreign policy as less important to their welfare and self-interests than domestic policy, particularly civil rights. The other perception is that too many influential white Americans simply erase blacks from the foreign policy slate. They conclude that blacks are neither interested in nor particularly qualified for participation in the foreign policy field. There is a lot of myth, mischief, and hyperbole in both perceptions. But there also is some truth.

This situation is not likely to change significantly until black Americans begin to take a more aggressive and informed interest in foreign policy. This means making a connection between our enlightened self-interests and the positions the United States takes on international questions, whether the issue is who defends America (see pages 3 and 4 of *Focus*), international trade, or human rights.

Beyond Africa and the Caribbean, not enough blacks have concluded that there is nothing "foreign" about foreign policy. On the international side, as on the domestic side, the key issue is politics—who gets what, when, and how. Therefore, blacks can inject themselves into the international decision-making process in much the same way they influence domestic policies.

To do so, however, requires us to master some fundamentals:

- We need to understand our interests and those of the nation as a whole and to be able to distinguish the priorities of self and those of society.
- We must master the international facts, figures, and terrain and acquire the expertise to support our arguments.
- We must know how foreign policy is made and implemented by the United States and other governments.
- We must prepare and compete vigorously for admission to the select councils in which policies are proposed and influenced.
- And, finally, we must mobilize the black community, as a whole, to be a coherent force in the stream of foreign affairs.

TransAfrica, by focusing on Africa and the Caribbean, has become the model of how to influence foreign policy. It is an example we should follow more broadly and more intensively. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Vietnam "Battle Deaths": Is There a Race or Class Issue?

Black Casualties Were Heavy in Ground War in 1965 and 1966; From 1961-73, 12 Percent Died

by Felix (Pete) Peterson

The Vietnam Memorial is where visitors to Washington, D.C., gather, in all our national diversity, to commemorate our pride, grief, and lingering doubts about a conflict that claimed the lives of thousands of American men and women. As the visitors scan the names of those who died serving their country, some may wonder whether the sacrifice was borne unequally by racial minorities and the poor.

Some may recall the famous Riverside Church sermon of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who said, "We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and east Harlem." Dr. King went on to say that "the poor fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population."

Were Dr. King's views, which are widely shared in the black community, correct? The data I have collected suggest that Dr. King was on target, on both the racial and class questions, at the time of his speech in 1967. (Dr. King died on April 4, 1968.) However, for the entire war, which lasted from 1961 to 1973, black casualties did not exceed the percentage of blacks in the population. In a later section of this article, I discuss why black casualties were higher in some years than in others.

"Battle Deaths," by Race

Year	*Black (%)*	*White (%)*
1961	0	11 (100%)
1962	0	29 (93.5%)
1963	4 (5.1%)	73 (93.5%)
1964	10 (6.8%)	134 (91.1%)
1965	225 (16.4%)	1120 (81.8%)
1966	822 (16.4%)	4116 (82.2%)
1967	1191 (12.7%)	8107 (86.5%)
1968	1885 (12.9%)	12561 (86.1%)
1969	1016 (10.8%)	8304 (82.8%)
1970	372 (8.8%)	3815 (90.4%)
1971	117 (8.5%)	1248 (90.4%)
1972	21 (7.0%)	276 (92.0%)
1973	9 (.05%)	228 (96.2%)
Total*	5672 (12.3%)	40022 (86.7%)

Source: Report titled "Casualties incurred in connection with the conflict in Vietnam," Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), prepared on April 25, 1974.

* This number does not include those who have died since 1974 as a result of injuries suffered during the conflict.

Casualty Levels, Year by Year

The above table contains a year-by-year breakdown of all Vietnam "battle deaths" (defined as deaths resulting from *hostile enemy action*; they exclude deaths from disease, vehicle accidents, etc.) for blacks and whites, from 1961 to 1973.

In searching for an explanation for the higher rate of black casualties in the years 1965-66, I looked at two sets of data. First, I examined the records on "Military Occupational Specialities," which show that blacks were disproportionately likely to serve in the two types of units most likely to suffer casualties in a ground war, i.e., the infantry and artillery. The percentage of blacks in these two types of units exceeded the percentage of blacks in the Army for each year of the war. In 1965, blacks were 12.8 percent of Army personnel but 14.9 percent of infantry and artillery troops; in 1966, blacks were 11.3 percent of the Army but 17.2 per-

When the total battle casualty numbers for the entire war (1961-73) are reviewed, racial disparities are not evident.

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cent of the infantry and artillery units.

Second, as the chart below shows, the percentage of black casualties in the Army jumped sharply from 7.6 percent in 1964 to 20.7 percent in 1965. This increase is the single most important factor in explaining the rise in the overall rate of black casualties.

Who Fought for America?

Though large racial disparities for the entire 1961-73 period are not evident, was Dr. King correct in his perception that the poor suffered disproportionately? Several scholars have looked at the class question. Maurice Zieltin, Kenneth Lutherman, and James Russello, for instance, did a study of 380 Wisconsin men killed in Vietnam prior to December 31, 1967. By comparing income and occupational data from the parents of the deceased with similar data from a control group, these researchers "found that almost twice as many of the total casualties were from poor families relative to the control group (27.2 percent versus 14.9 percent)."

The poor, the disadvantaged, the dropouts, and those not pursuing an advanced degree were selected to fight for America...

In another study, Gilbert Badillo and G. David Curry looked at the relationships between casualty rates and the racial composition and socioeconomic indicators of the community from which the individual was drafted or enlisted. They concluded that the socioeconomic strata of the individual, and not race, was the primary sociological determinant of disparities in casualty rates.

They further noted that, "Those military occupational specialities (MOS), such as rifleman, which entail the greatest exposure to danger, are the same MOS's which require the lowest level of preservice training and ability. Operating under the combat demands of the Southeast Asian involvement, the U.S. armed forces acted with blind 'rationality' when it assigned individuals of lower socioeconomic origins to those positions more susceptible to mortal casualty."

Casualty Patterns

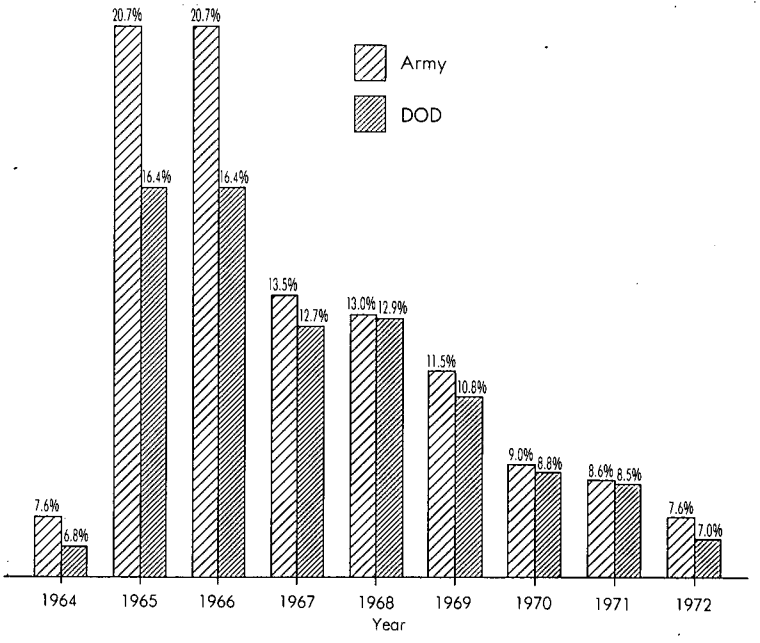
In sum, the data show that blacks did not suffer disproportionately throughout the entire course of the Vietnam War, but that they did so in 1965 and 1966. However, it also seems clear that the poor did suffer more than those of higher socioeconomic levels. Before 1967, those who were pursuing advanced degrees were deferred; they did not have to serve. Others simply went to Canada and other foreign countries to avoid the draft. Meanwhile, the poor, the disadvantaged, the dropouts, and those not pursuing an advanced degree were selected to fight for America, in the name of freedom for all mankind. In Vietnam, for the first time, America fought a war and all segments of the population did not serve equally.

Since 1973 the armed forces have used economic incentives rather than conscription to fill the enlisted ranks. The result, according to Charles Moskos, a sociologist at Northwestern University, is that today's all-volunteer force relies more heavily on blacks and poor whites than did the draft-era military. (Blacks comprise approximately 20 percent of all enlisted personnel and nearly 30 percent of the Army's enlisted personnel.)

Today's all-volunteer force relies more heavily on blacks and poor whites than did the draft-era military.

If the United States should become involved in a major, conventional (non-nuclear) conflict, the burden of battle in the early stages of the war (i.e., before additional troops are mobilized) would most likely fall disproportionately on blacks and poor whites. In such an event, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s analysis of 20 years ago might again prove to be correct. ■

Black Percentage of Battle Deaths, 1964-1972



July 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Liberals and conservatives, preparing for a major confrontation that is likely to carry over to the presidential race, are lined up on opposite sides of the battle over the nomination of conservative Judge Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court.**
- **A federal appeals court in Alabama ruled that black voting rights activists were the targets of "selective prosecution" by the U.S. Department of Justice; a similar allegation has been made by several black political organizations about the U.S Attorney's investigation into alleged contracting misdeeds by the Barry administration.**
- **An "early-bird" look at the 1988 Senate races shows that black voters may be able to influence the election outcomes in Ohio, Florida, Mississippi and California.**
- **Across the nation, state Senator Barbara Morton is seeking to fill the vacant seat in Connecticut's 4th Congressional District; three-term Hartford Mayor Thirman Milner announced he would not seek reelection; "the god-father of black politics," Louis Martin, is returning to Chicago to spend more time on his consulting business; and, out-going Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher will head Jesse Jackson's presidential exploratory committee.**

The Bork Nomination, Civil Rights, and Presidential Politics

Since at least the 1976 presidential campaign, civil rights has not been a front-burner issue in presidential politics. Although Rev. JESSE JACKSON often spoke about affirmative action, the runoff primary in the South, and other civil rights issues in the 1984 campaign, no-one else did. **The 1988 presidential election was shaping up as a repeat performance—until President REAGAN nominated 60-year-old U.S. Court of Appeals Judge ROBERT BORK for the U.S. Supreme Court. Now, at least in the early stage of the presidential skirmishes, civil rights will almost certainly be featured on the agenda**...Judge Bork, nominated to replace retiring Justice LEWIS POWELL, JR., is viewed by most observers as a staunch conservative whose appointment would finally give conservatives a majority on the court. His prior judicial record and published writings indicate that he would tilt the Court to the right on the legality of affirmative action, one-man, one-vote, a woman's right to have an abortion, and other civil rights issues. While Justice Powell had been a centrist and a critical swing vote on civil rights issues, Judge Bork is likely to seek reversals of decades of rulings that broke down the barriers of racial discrimination in schools, housing, employment, and voting rights.

In the long and bitter confirmation fight that is expected in the Senate, **Judiciary Committee Chairman JOSEPH BIDEN (D-Del.) will be in the spotlight.** Biden may also be on the horns of a dilemma. Civil rights leaders expect him to lead the opposition to Bork but to do so may cost him the votes of white conservatives and moderates (especially from the South), whose support may be necessary for him to win the Democratic presidential nomination. **On July 8, 1987, Biden said there is "an overwhelming prospect" that he will oppose Bork.** Last year Biden said he would probably support Bork if he were nominated for the high court. Biden's change of heart has led conservative newspaper columnist GEORGE WILL to accuse him of giving in to the "special interests."

On the other side of the aisle, Senate Minority Leader and presidential candidate ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.), supports Bork's confirmation and lobbied for early hearings. While this undoubtedly will enhance his appeal to the Right, it will cost him support from women and minorities. At the Annual NAACP convention, for instance, CORETTA SCOTT KING won loud applause when she said, "We must let our senators know

that a vote against Mr. Bork is a prerequisite for our vote in the next election."...Several of the Democratic presidential contenders, including Massachusetts Gov. MICHAEL DUKAKIS, Missouri Rep. RICHARD GEPHARDT, and Rev. Jesse Jackson have said they are opposed to Bork and his ideological slant on civil rights. **As Jackson put it, "No Justice is better than injustice."...The confirmation hearings in the Senate Judiciary Committee are scheduled to begin on September 15.**

Are Black Leaders Being Singled-Out by Federal Prosecutors?

Two recent legal actions, one in Alabama and the other in the District of Columbia, **shed light on an oft-recurring controversy in black politics: are white federal prosecutors abusing the law enforcement process to discredit black political leaders?** In Alabama, the answer is "yes." Last month, a federal appeals court overturned the conviction of black voting rights activist, SPIVER GORDON, on the grounds that he and others had been the targets of "selective prosecution" by the U.S. Justice Department. The court said: **"Gordon presented evidence to show that the government targeted only those counties where blacks were a majority, specifically targeting those counties where blacks since 1980 had come to control some part of the county government."** As further evidence of "selective prosecution," the appeals court quoted a Justice Department spokesman who stated that "the investigations were part of a 'new policy'...brought on by the arrogance on the part of blacks in these counties."...The charges against Gordon, a city councilmember in Greene County, stemmed from assistance he had given to elderly blacks in filling out absentee ballots. The Justice Department, through the U.S. Attorney in Birmingham, charged him with "ballot tampering." Similar charges were brought against other black activists by the U.S. Attorney in Mobile. All the defendants, except Gordon, had previously been acquitted...**The appeals court also ruled that the Justice Department had acted improperly in repeatedly striking blacks from the jury that had convicted Gordon.** "Those peremptory strikes followed a recurrent pattern of exclusions in the government's other voting-fraud cases against black leaders," the court said. As a lawyer for the activists told the *Washington Post*, "The department claimed they were trying to protect the voting rights of blacks, but they consistently struck blacks from the juries."...At press time, the Justice Department had made no decision on whether to retry Gordon. Meanwhile, lawyers for Gordon (and the other black activists who were the targets of the Justice Department) are expected to pursue their own lawsuit against the government for civil damages resulting from violation of their constitutional rights.

In the District of Columbia case, abuse of the law enforcement process has been alleged but not proved. The issue arose in a lawsuit brought by District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry, who has accused federal prosecutors of misconduct in allegedly leaking information to the media about an ongoing investigation into alleged contracting misdeeds by the Barry Administration. On July 8, 1987, **six black political organizations filed a "friend of the court" legal brief in support of Barry. The brief alleged that Mayor BARRY and black contractors in the city are victims of the "white power structure" that is employing "the longstanding and enormously successful tactic of utilizing the powerful law enforcement agencies to discredit black leadership."** The legal papers also allege that "at each point in our nation's history, when black Americans have attempted to flex their political muscle, white Americans have responded with intimidation, assassination, persecution, or prosecution."...The brief was filed by the National Black Leadership Roundtable, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, and members of the Congressional BlackCaucus...At press time, the court had issued no rulings in this case.

Is Connecticut Ready to Elect a Black Woman to Congress?

For nine terms, the voters of Connecticut's 4th district (Stamford-Bridgeport) elected STEWART MCKINNEY, a moderate Republican and strong backer of home rule for the District of Columbia, to represent them in Congress. McKinney died last May. Among the candidates seeking to fill his vacant seat is state Sen. MARGARET E. MORTON of Bridgeport, who in 1972 became the first black woman elected to the Connecticut state Legislature. Political observers believe that Morton can be elected, though there are signs that racial issues may be a factor in the election. **The plusses are that Morton has the support of many of the Democratic leaders in the state, including 22 of 24 Democratic state senators, several unions, and the mayor and all other elected officials of Bridgeport.** In addition, **the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC),** through its networking vehicle, the Campaign Assistance Project of the National Black Leadership Roundtable, **is coordinating a four-day (July 17 through 21) voter turnout drive for**

Morton, and several CBC members will stump the district in the closing days of the campaign... **On the negative side, some of Morton's campaign workers say the race issue "is floating around."** They point to a comment by a prominent Republican in the state that, "If Democrats get their act together, they could elect a brown dog." This statement has been criticized by a state Democratic party leader as "racist," since the usual expression is "yellow dog Democrat." In response to questions that have been raised about her ability to represent "all the people," Sen. Morton's staffers say she is the most experienced elected official in the race, the only candidate who has never lost a race, and the candidate who presently represents a diverse state legislative district which includes poor blacks and affluent whites... The Democratic and Republican primaries will be held on July 21, and the winners will meet in a special election scheduled for August 18. The majority-white congressional district is 11 percent black, 8 percent Hispanic, and 1 percent Asian.

An Early-Bird Look at Key 1988 Senate Races for Blacks

Of the 33 U.S. Senate seats up for grabs in 1988, 19 are now held by Democrats, 14 by Republicans. Incumbents are the heavy favorites in all but 10 of these races, according to analyses in the *Cook Political Report* (February 4, 1987) and various issues of *Congressional Quarterly.* Four incumbent senators are "highly vulnerable": JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.Mex.), HOWARD METZENBAUM (D- Ohio), DAVID DURENBERGER (R-Minn.), and CHIC HECHT (R-Nev.)... Six incumbent senators are "in potentially close races": QUENTIN BURDICK (D-N.Dak.), LAWTON CHILES (D-Fla.), JOHN STENNIS (D-Miss.), JOHN CHAFEE (R-R.I.), DAN EVANS (R-Wash.), and PETE WILSON (R-Calif.)... As the Joint Center's analysis of the 1986 midterm elections showed (*Focus* November-December, 1986), **black voters can influence the election outcome in states where at least 5 percent of the voting age population is black—in this case Ohio, Florida, Mississippi, and California.**

OHIO—Both Senator HOWARD METZENBAUM and his principal challenger Cleveland Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH (R) are popular with black voters (who are 9 percent of the voting-age population in the state). **In the mayoral race in 1985, Voinovich was reelected with the support of 85 percent of the predominantly black precincts in Cleveland. In the U.S. Senate race in 1982, Metzenbaum won 77 percent of the black vote.** Metzenbaum also had a perfect 100 rating on civil rights issues in 1985, according to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR)... Voinovich faces opposition in the March 15 Republican primary from Congressman BOB MCEWEN, who represents the 6th district which includes suburbs of Cincinnati and Dayton. If Voinovich wins the GOP nomination, he stands a good chance of making inroads into the votes of independents and blacks. Early polls show a close race in a potential Voinovich-Metzenbaum contest.

FLORIDA—**Although this spring political observers thought this Senate race might be close, they are now moving it into the "safe" category for incumbent Democrat LAWTON CHILES.** U.S. Rep. CONNIE MACK (R-Fla.), who was expected to be Chiles's toughest opponent, has said he "most likely will not" enter the race. Another possible challenger, U.S. Rep. BILL MCCOLLUM (R-Fla.), has yet to express his intention. Also considering a run for the Republican nomination are former Attorney General JIM SMITH, U.S. Rep. ANDY IRELAND, and former state Rep. TOM GALLAGHER, a 1986 gubernatorial candidate... **Chiles is relatively popular with blacks, who comprise 11 percent of the voting-age population; and he has a LCCR rating of 75...** Chiles has a policy of not accepting contributions from political action committees (PAC) and has set a limit of $100 on the campaign contributions he will accept. In a state known for its expensive campaigns, this increases the risks for Chiles.

MISSISSIPPI—**Will octogenarian JOHN STENNIS seek reelection to the Senate or retire? If he runs again, he will most likely be supported by many blacks, who account for 31 percent of the voting-age population.** Stennis, once the nemesis of black politics in the state, actively sought black supporters for the first time in 1982 on the basis of his vote for the extension of the Voting Rights Act. As a result, he won 80 percent of the black vote. His recent voting record has been more moderate, earning him a 1985 LCCR rating of 65... **If Stennis does retire,** U.S. Rep. WAYNE DOWDY is favored to be the Democratic candidate. Dowdy, who represents the 4th district (Jackson), has a LCCR rating of 80 and would in all likelihood be much more acceptable to blacks than Stennis. Former Democratic Congressman DAVID BOWEN might also enter the race... **On the Republican side,** Minority Whip TRENT LOTT, Stennis's 1982 opponent and a former White House political director, and former Congressman WEBB FRANKLIN (who was defeated by MIKE ESPY in the 2d district [Mississippi Delta] in 1986), are potential candidates. **All the Republican candidates are extreme conservatives who are not expected to get much support from blacks.**

CALIFORNIA—**Senator PETE WILSON's job and personality ratings have been low but his chances for reelection are boosted by the fact that California elections cost so much—giving a big edge to the incumbent.** Several Democrats are considered to be potential opponents, including former Gov. JERRY BROWN, Wilson's 1982 opponent, San Francisco Mayor DIANNE FEINSTEIN, state Sen. JOHN GARAMENDI, Lt. Gov. LEO MCCARTHY, Congressmen GEORGE MILLER and TOM LANTOS, and many others. **Some observers believe that McCarthy is the candidate to watch at this point.** Whether that is so or not, almost all of the potential Democrats are expected to be more popular among blacks (7 percent of the voting-age population) than Wilson, who won only 10 percent of the black vote in 1982 and has a LCCR rating of 37.

Across the Nation

CONNECTICUT: In New Haven, former alderman and city-town clerk **BILL JONES is in an uphill battle for mayor against incumbent Mayor BIAGIO DILIETO.** Jones, who has painted a portrait of New Haven as a tale of two cities (one black and one white), has said he will be mayor of the entire city, not just downtown, Yale University, and the affluent parts of town. His main issues are declining city services and the inferior state of the public schools. Some observers say that if New Haven's blacks (who compose approximately 35-40 percent of the population) unite around Jones and if the Jones campaign is well-financed, he can win enough of the white vote to win the race.

In other news, **Hartford Mayor THIRMAN MILNER has announced he will not seek reelection this year. Milner has served three terms.** As of July 1, no one had filed to run for the mayor's seat, but Milner has already indicated his choice, state Rep. CARRIE SAXON PERRY, who is also black. Perry and other candidates are expected to enter the race.

GEORGIA: The Georgia Municipal Association (GMA) elected Atlanta City Councilman IRA JACKSON as its president in late June. **Jackson became the first black elected president in the 55-year history of the GMA, considered one of the most politically powerful lobbying groups in the state.** Upon election, Jackson immediately called for the state to "recognize its responsibilities" to help Georgia's cities find additional sources of tax money and asked that the GMA expand its clout nationally by sponsoring a series of Super Tuesday presidential primary debates.

ILLINOIS: LOUIS MARTIN, once dubbed "the godfather of black politics" by ***The Washington Post,*** is returning to Chicago to take a more active role in Calmar Communications, Inc. **Martin, the board chairman of Calmar, played a key role in the administrations of Presidents JOHN F. KENNEDY, LYNDON JOHNSON and JIMMY CARTER, pressing for the appointment of senior black officials.** He was also one of the founders of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington. **Martin is expected to advise presidential candidates on how to win the black vote in 1988.**

INDIANA: Outgoing Gary Mayor RICHARD HATCHER has been named director of JESSE JACKSON'S Presidential Exploratory Committee. Hatcher, the mayor of Gary for 20 years, was chairman of Rev. Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1983-84. According to him, "all looks good now" for a Jackson presidential bid in 1988.

MICHIGAN: Flint Mayor JAMES A. SHARP, JR., announced his candidacy for reelection, saying he will stress his record which includes improved streets, the demolition of abandoned homes, and making the city "physically more liveable." Some observers, however, expect crime to be the key issue in the August 4 primary and November 3 election. Flint set a city record last year with 62 homicides. Sharp responds that although crime is a problem, he is "putting more [police] cars and officers on the streets during peak crime periods." He added, however, that more must be done to address the causes of crime—"drugs, domestic violence, unemployment, and a lack of values and self-discipline." His challengers are former Mayor JAMES RUTHERFORD, who leads Sharp in the polls; former Flint Councilman WOODY ETHERLY, JR., who is expected to split the city's black vote; and MATTHEW COLLIER, who is making his first bid for public office. As of July 1, three blacks and three whites had entered the race. Mayor Sharp is Flint's first elected black mayor.

MARYLAND: State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE continues to enjoy a wide lead over incumbent Mayor CLARENCE (DU) BURNS in polls conducted in the Baltimore mayoral race. Both are Democrats. Given the Democratic party's 10-to-1 registration edge over Republicans in the city, winning the Democratic primary is tantamount to election. The primary will be held on September 15.

OHIO: The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Republican party has endorsed Attorney VICKIE JACKSON-WHITFIELD for county judge. **Jackson-Whitfield, the first black woman to be endorsed for a judicial post by the county GOP, will oppose Municipal Judge NADINE ALLEN, a Democrat who is black.**

TENNESSEE: State Rep. RUFUS JONES says he is "99 percent certain" he will enter the Memphis mayoral race. Jones, the only black operator of a Big Star store—a chain of 150 stores in the state—is chairman of the Tennessee Black Caucus and a member of the Finance, Ways and Means, and Commerce committees in the state legislature. He has also been appointed to the Transportation Committee of the National Association of State Legislators. One of Jones's first goals is to unite black leadership in the city behind him. Toward that end, Jones has already spoken to "Memphians for a Black Mayor," a diverse ad-hoc group of black leaders. **Another black candidate, city council member MINERVA JOHNICAN, has also announced she will run for mayor.** In the past, there have been divisions between Johnican and Memphis's influential Ford family (the family of U.S. Rep. HAROLD FORD). Black registration now comprises approximately 50 percent of the total voter registration in the city.

TEXAS: Black Democratic state Sen. CRAIG WASHINGTON (Houston) has attached a 10 percent minority set-aside amendment to a bill to create a new state Department of Commerce. Blacks compose 11 percent and Hispanics 18 percent of the state's population but currently receive only about 1 percent of state contracts. House Speaker GIB LEWIS, who backed the bill to create the new department, argues that minorities should be "competitive just like everyone else" and is willing to kill the amended bill rather than accept a minority set-aside clause. Washington, according to the *Comparative State Politics Newsletter,* called Lewis a "chauvinist racist" and compared the House Speaker's behavior with that of former Alabama Gov. GEORGE WALLACE in the 1960s. Attorney General JIM MATTOX has called the amendment "the most important civil rights measure before the legislature in a decade." The bill is currently in a Joint House-Senate conference committee.

This article is adapted from a report prepared for the Joint Center for Political Studies by the National School Desegregation Project. *Dr. ORFIELD, a JCPS Adjunct Scholar and professor of political science, public policy, and education at the University of Chicago, authored the report with the assistance of FRANKLIN MONTFORT, University of Wisconsin Center for Demography, and ROSEMARY GEORGE, a graduate student at the University of Chicago.*

Copies of the full report, including all charts, can be obtained by calling Jean Jalloh, Research Department, JCPS, at (202) 626-3500.

School Desegregation Needed Now

Support for Busing Grows but National Policy Has Been at a Stand-Still in the 1980s

by Gary Orfield

School desegregation has been the dormant issue in educational policy discussions in the 1980s. It is no longer front-page news, nor can it claim the progress it achieved from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, particularly throughout the South. In our view, however, it is a vital, effective policy that has proven surprisingly resilient to the political hostility or indifference of the past four presidential administrations.

In the first term of the Reagan administration, a period of federal hostility to urban desegregation, there was no major trend toward greater or lesser school desegregation. (See graph on page 6, which shows national and regional trends from 1968 to 1984.) Even more significant, however, are the data we have collected which show that desegregation plans have been successful for a generation in many cities that adopted such plans. Conversely, as our data also show, schools in areas without desegregation plans became increasingly segregated along racial lines. Our data also identify a relatively unnoticed trend: high and increasing segregation among Hispanics.

High Integration, Low Black Enrollment

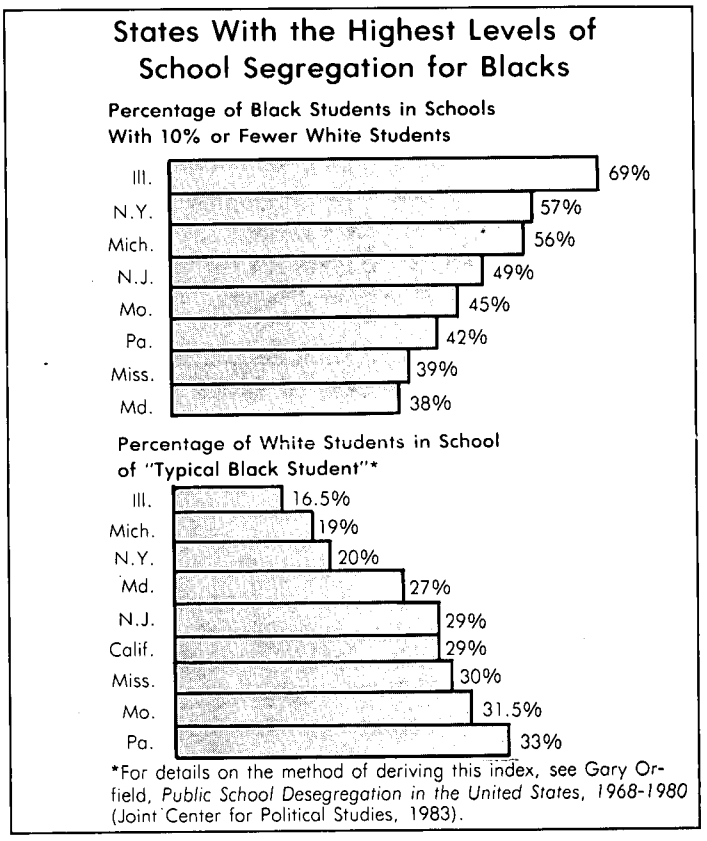
The states with the most integrated schools tend to have few black students. Of the 11 states in which more than half of the black students attend predominantly white schools, only 3 have high levels of black student enrollment—Delaware (25.8 percent), Florida (23.1 percent), and North Carolina (30.0 percent). The other most integrated states are Oklahoma, Kansas, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, and Rhode Island, all of which have black student populations of less than 10 percent, and Indiana and Kentucky, where black students are almost 11 percent of the population.

A number of these states with highly integrated schools were subject to court-ordered metropolitan desegregation plans. In Delaware and Kentucky, for instance, court orders virtually eliminated segregated education in the largest cities, Wilmington and Louisville; as a result, by 1984, 91 percent of black students in Kentucky and 94 percent of black students in Delaware attended predominantly white schools. Similarly, in North Carolina, the 1971 Charlotte city-suburban desegregation plan (the first in the nation) achieved a high level of integration. Shortly after the Charlotte plan was adopted, Florida began to desegregate most of the schools in its large metropolitan areas, with lasting success.

Northern Segregation

As the graph on this page shows, the states with the most segregated schools are in the North. The three states with the highest levels of school segregation include two of the old hotbeds of abolitionism, Illinois

(Continued on p. 6)



(Continued from p. 5)

Those Who Were Bussed Liked It

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of school desegregation policy has been the development, in the 1980s, of a major public opinion trend in favor of school busing.

The Harris Survey, showing a shift of opinion between 1981 and 1986, reports that 71 percent of all families whose children were bussed said the experience was "very satisfactory." The survey also found that 66 percent of blacks, 58 percent of Hispanics, and 36 percent of whites now support busing; among those under 30, a majority of Americans support busing.

Among recent college freshmen—those most likely to have been bussed throughout their schooling—support for busing has risen in the last several years, from 45.8 percent in 1980 to 54.4 percent in 1985 to 56.1 percent in 1986, according to an annual survey by the American Council of Education.

The 1987 American Chicklet Youth Poll, conducted by the Roper Organization, found that students aged 8-17 favored busing by a margin of 64 percent to 23 percent, with 13 percent expressing no opinion. In other words, almost three-fourths of those who expressed an opinion favored busing.

and Michigan, and a pioneer in modern civil rights law, New York.

Each of these three states is characterized by segregated residential areas, fragmented school districts within large metropolitan areas, and the absence of any city-suburban desegregation plans in their largest metropolitan areas. For instance, New York, Detroit, and Chicago have neither a comprehensive plan within their overwhelmingly minority central city school systems nor a voluntary program for the exchange of students with suburban school districts.

The other states with the most segregated schools are New Jersey, California, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Maryland, and Mississippi, which is the only state from the Deep South in this group. Mississippi, it is worth noting, has a greater proportion of black students (50.4 percent) and is more integrated than all the northern states listed here, except Maryland.

Hispanic Segregation Trends

Though school segregation has been widely understood as a problem for blacks, it is now an issue that should concern Hispanics as well. Today, black students are less likely than Hispanic students to attend a class where less than half the students are white; in addition, the level of segregated schooling for blacks is much less than it was in 1968, but for Hispanics it is higher.

Segregation is high in the states where most Hispanic children are enrolled in schools, as shown in the following table:

Percentage of Hispanics in Schools Where Enrollment Is . . .

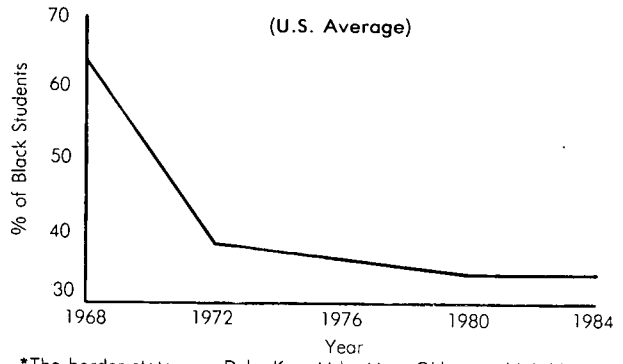
	Less Than 50% White	*Less Than 10% White*
New York	85	59
Illinois	80	41
Texas	78	40
California	74	27
Florida	68	26

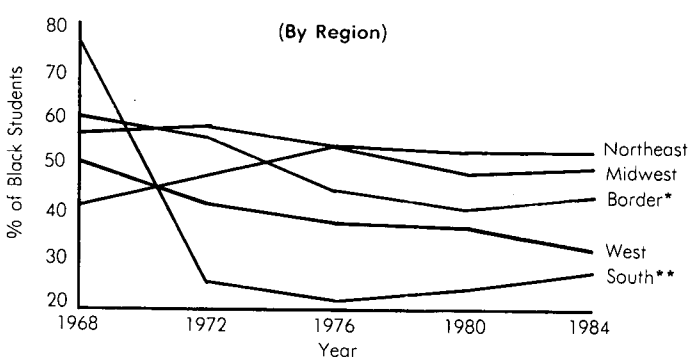
Not only is Hispanic segregation high, but it has been growing rapidly in California, Florida, and Illinois and has remained at very high levels in New York and Texas.

The most integrated state with a substantial Hispanic enrollment was Colorado, where 53 percent of the Hispanic students attended predominantly white schools. Not surprisingly, the largest city in the state, Denver, has been under a mandatory desegregation court order since 1973, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Hispanics were legally entitled to desegregation remedies.

In summary, Hispanic segregation levels continued to

Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools, 1968-1984





*The border states are Del., Ky., Md., Mo., Okla., and W. Va.; Wash., D.C., is also included in this region.
**The states of the South are Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Tex., and Va.

increase for the entire period for which data are available and for almost all regions of the country. Unlike segregation for blacks, which is subject to court orders, the isolation of Hispanics looks much more like a product of long-established and deeply rooted patterns. There has been very little organized effort to reverse this trend.

Variation Among Cities

As the following table shows, there are vast differences in the levels of desegregation in urban areas. What explains these differences? The answer is that the cities with the most integrated schools were under large-scale, mandatory, city-suburban desegregation plans while the others, with exceptions to be explained later, have never had a major, mandatory, city-wide or metropolitan busing plan.

Among the cities with the least school integration, Miami and Houston have had limited busing plans—but they were of a very strange nature. In both cases, Hispanics were counted as whites; low-income blacks were bused to low-income Hispanic schools, and vice-versa; and white middle-class schools were substantially untouched. In Memphis, too, there was a busing plan, but it proved to be ineffective when local leaders created a very large, parallel, private school system.

In Detroit and Philadelphia, the desegregation plans are limited to the central city school districts and do not include busing to the suburbs. The Philadelphia plan is completely voluntary. In St. Louis, a combined mandatory and magnet plan is in effect and, since 1984, has showed some positive effects, which are not reported in the table.

Policy Issues

There are at least three reasons to think that the time has come to again place school desegregation in the forefront of national politics. First, there is very broad support in American public opinion for the general ideal of integrated education. Second, national surveys have revealed major shifts in public opinion in favor of school busing, particularly among those who have been bussed and among the young. (See box on page 6.) Third, a growing body of research shows that integrated education has positive effects on college-going and college-completion, on obtaining jobs in growth sectors of the economy, and on the likelihood of living in integrated communities as adults.

A more urgent reason, however, is the deepening isolation of children growing up in inner city ghettos and barrios, who attend schools that are almost totally segregated by race and class. The children from these schools usually have almost no real connection to any paths of mobility in education and employment; it may well be that they are even more totally isolated from the mainstream middle-class society and economy than were southern black children during Jim Crow segregation.

Levels of School Integration in Cities

City	*% of Whites in School of Typical Black Student**	*Mandatory Busing Plan*
Most Integrated		
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	66.3	Yes
Wilmington, Del.	65.7	Yes
Louisville, Ky.	65.4	Yes
Minneapolis, Minn.	63.2	Yes
Greenville, S.C.	61.1	Yes
Greensboro, N.C.	57.6	Yes
Indianapolis, Ind.	56.2	Yes
Columbus, Ohio	53.0	Yes
Orlando, Fla.	51.1	Yes
Milwaukee, Wis.	34.5	No
Boston, Mass.	31.9	Yes
Cincinnati, Ohio	31.5	No
Least Integrated		
Chicago, Ill.	8.6	No
Newark, N.J.	8.7	No
Detroit, Mich.	9.2	Yes
New York, N.Y.	11.4	No
Baltimore, Md.	15.8	No
St. Louis, Mo.	16.0	Yes
Miami, Fla.	16.1	No
Philadelphia, Pa.	16.6	No
Atlanta, Ga.	17.2	No
New Orleans, La.	18.0	No
Memphis, Tenn.	18.4	Yes
Houston, Tex.	19.0	No

*For details on the method of deriving this index, see Gary Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980* (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983).

The time is ripe for a national effort to halt the trend towards segregated urban schools for large numbers of blacks and Hispanics. If separate and unequal schools aroused this nation to act against Jim Crow in the fifties and sixties, we should be doing no less today to help the most needy in the urban ghettos and barrios that are growing more and more segregated with each passing school year. School desegregation is far from a panacea for unequal education, but no urban community has yet been able to produce segregated schools that are equal. ■

JCPS Visiting Scholar Will Study Middle-Class Black Families

Dr. Bart Landry, associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, joined the Joint Center as a visiting scholar in June. During his stay, Landry will conduct research on the black middle class family for a book in progress. He will also write a JCPS monograph on the black middle class family.

Landry will also serve as an advisor on the JCPS study of the "Changing Black Family: Children at Risk." At present, he is organizing a conference on this subject, which is scheduled for November 12-14, 1987. "Our goal is to compile a definitive statement of our present knowledge of the changing black family, and to point to needed areas of research," said Landry. This conference will bring together scholars from around the nation to explore recent changes in the black family structure, particularly the increase in female-headed households.

Dr. Landry's recently published book, *The New Black Middle Class* (University of California Press), received a very favorable review in the June 7, 1987, book review section of the *New York Times*. ■

Fifth National Policy Institute Will Be Held In January 1988

Over 1000 black elected and appointed officials are expected to attend the Fifth National Policy Institute, a JCPS-sponsored conference that will be held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 20-23, 1988. The purpose of the conference is to share information and develop strategies to address public policy issues of critical concern to the black community.

The conference will include issue forums, panel discussions, and plenary sessions. Among the presenters will be noted elected and appointed officials, scholars, civil rights activists, corporate and labor leaders, and many others.

The following organizations are co-sponsors of the conference: the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board members.

For more information, please contact Russell Owens, director of the National Policy Institute at JCPS. ■

Get Out the Vote With New JCPS Book

Strategies for Mobilizing Black Voters, the Joint Center's latest publication, is a unique and timely documentation of the kinds of strategies and programs that are most likely to produce dramatic increases in the number of black Americans who vote.

"Black voters are a growing force in American politics. This study is a valuable guide for organizations that seek to mobilize the black vote and for candidates who seek to win that vote," said JCPS president Eddie N. Williams.

The monograph consists of case studies of four remarkably successful voter mobilization efforts which resulted in the election of black mayors in Birmingham, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and which substantially increased black political participation in the 2d Congressional District (Durham) in North Carolina.

Copies of the study may be purchased for $8.95 from the Publications Office, JCPS, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 626-3500. ■

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