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FOCUS

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

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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Facing Crime Without Fear

In April, a Joint Center board member and his wife were driving to a dinner engagement along one of Washington's main thoroughfares when they rode into gunfire. Frightened and recoiling at the sound of nearby gunshots, they sped away—nearly unscathed. I say "nearly" because, upon arriving at their destination, they discovered that a bullet had shattered their car's right rear window and lodged in the rear seat. My colleague's wife was riding on the passenger side in the front of the car—millimeters away from a bullet with anybody's name on it. This incident disturbs me not only because it happened to a friend near my own residence, but also because it brought home the fact that we are all vulnerable to random violence and are potential victims of an escalating urban arms race.

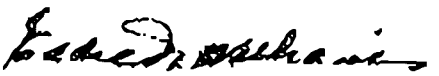
Many Americans have a similar story to tell about themselves, a family member, or friend. Crime has become the number one political issue in the nation. Passage of the Brady Bill, congressional consideration of an omnibus crime bill, and election campaign themes, all attest to this fact. But much more than tough law enforcement is needed to assure the personal security that many Americans are seeking.

Violent crime cannot be eliminated easily. We need even stronger gun control laws and more effective law enforcement. We need to strengthen community policing programs, provide more resources to overburdened courts, and reform sentencing procedures so violent criminals are kept off the streets. And we need to support funding to hire more police officers.

But we also need a stronger commitment to preventive measures, with a focus on poverty and drug abuse which are major root causes of crime. President Clinton's $525 million Youth and Employment Skills (YES) initiative, which has been incorporated into the House version of the crime bill, would target low-income, at-risk youth in up to 10 economically distressed urban areas. YES grants would support the creation of programs that provide employment opportunities for older youth by subsidizing their wages and supporting their placement in private sector jobs. If it passes, an expansion of YES and the establishment of similar programs can reduce crime in the short term and help to prevent it in the years ahead.

A balance must be sought between prevention and enforcement. And in seeking that balance, we must be mindful that the United States is a free society, based on an ever-expanding body of individual rights, including rights of the accused and the convicted. We cannot abdicate our obligation to protect those rights. Nor can we surrender our right to seek, in the words of the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, freedom from fear. This freedom is one of our most fundamental human rights. Unfortunately, the violence debate is generating more heat than light. There is too little clear thinking about how to resolve apparent conflicts between different rights and how to balance expenditures for enforcement and prevention.

The level of violence and crime in America are rapidly approaching the societal gravity of the Great Depression or a major war—virtually no one is isolated from their destructive power. Faced with the crises of the 1930s and '40s the nation responded by coming together. Experimental solutions were tried and a collective will was summoned to change our destiny. A similar will to act and innovate is required today. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS
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Atlanta's '96 Games Mean Olympic Green

Olympics Contracts Won by Black Entrepreneurs May Mean Greater Exposure and Experience That Can Lead to Future Business

by Adrienne S. Harris and John Baker Brown

It seems most appropriate that the 1996 Summer Olympic Games—which mark the 100th anniversary of an athletic movement that in many ways is an international celebration of diversity—will be held in Atlanta. For decades Atlanta has been a mecca for African Americans in search of a place to realize the American Dream. Once known as "the city too busy to hate," from around the globe Atlanta now attracts people who also see it as a place where dreams of political parity and economic prosperity can and do come true.

"Our strength comes from our diversity," says Billy Payne, president and chief executive officer of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG), the private, nonprofit corporation responsible for staging the 1996 Olympics. "Philosophically we feel that way, operationally we live that way. In Atlanta, we demonstrate that people who are different can work together, and we do it better than any other city in the world."

Atlanta is the first host city where an Olympics planning committee has adopted an equal economic opportunity plan which is modeled on U.S. government guidelines to expand opportunities for minorities to bid on federal contracts. The plan is designed to ensure that minority- and female-owned firms have fair and equal access to the $1.6 billion in construction and commercial opportunities ACOG will generate to stage what it touts as the largest peacetime event ever attempted. "We're going to have minority businesses involved in every aspect of planning and staging these games," says Gary Walker, director of equal economic opportunity for ACOG.

By the end of 1993, ACOG had provided about $34 million in contracts—about one-third of its total expenditures to date—to some 400 minority companies, most of which are owned by African Americans. During the first quarter of 1994, ACOG bought $14 million worth of goods and services (33 percent of its purchases) from minority companies. "ACOG started in 1991 from nothing, with no history of minority participation, and jump-started a program," says Walker. "Since then, we have achieved substantial, meaningful minority participation."

Paper Clips, Limos, and Security Guards

ACOG's shopping list includes a vast array of products and services, everything from paper clips and novelties to catering and consulting, limousines, and security guards. About one-third of the budget is earmarked for new construction and rehabilitation of 30 Olympic venues. ACOG's single largest contract—$209 million to build the Atlanta Centennial Olympic Stadium—was awarded to a black and white joint venture team that includes H.J. Russell Construction and C.D. Moody Construction, two black-owned Atlanta companies, and Beers Construction, a white-owned company. The stadium will serve as the site for the track and field events as well as the opening and closing ceremonies of the games.

For most minority firms, ACOG contracts, although significant, won't be nearly as large as the Russell/Moody award. Financial gain notwithstanding, perhaps the biggest benefit to black business owners who land ACOG contracts will be the chance to gain additional exposure, experience, and access to new and diverse markets for their firms.

Through persistence, Cynthia R. Jones, president and CEO of Jones Worley Design Inc., has landed 10 ACOG contracts. Her graphic design firm, which specializes in corporate and commercial signage systems, created the Olympics countdown clocks that are prominently situated above the busy interstate highway that bisects the city. Jones Worley Design, one of six firms selected to create a consistent visual "look" for the Olympics, has worked with 35 architectural design teams on Olympics venues. "The biggest thing we have gained from all of the Olympics work has not been financial," says Jones, who founded the company in 1990 with partner Barry K. Worley. "I think it has been experience and public relations."

In addition to several "positive articles" that have been written about her and her company in the local media, Jones cites the opportunity to network and demonstrate her firm's capabilities to architects in Atlanta and across the country. "I foresee that the biggest benefit from all of this is going to be future business," she says. "By the time the Olympics is over, we will have been involved in the development of seven Olympics stadiums. So all of a sudden, we're stadium experts as it pertains to sign system design services. And with ACOG venues on our resume, we look more appealing to firms seeking a partner to pursue civic center, stadium, coliseum, and arena work."

Bill Sharp, president of Sharp Advertising Inc., is also counting future business among the benefits of his relationship with ACOG. Sharp's four-year-old advertising and public relations firm has worked on several projects for ACOG, the most successful of which was a campaign to

Adrienne S. Harris and John Baker Brown are freelance writers based in Atlanta.

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Olympics

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market Centennial Olympics license plates. ACOG had hoped to sell 50,000 of the tags. Thanks to the campaign, it sold 250,000. "I have to believe the reason we're working on our fourth project for ACOG is that they were pleased with the work we did on our first project," says Sharp, a 35-year veteran of the advertising business.

His current assignment is to develop a series of television, radio, newspaper, and magazine advertisements that will put the sales messages of Olympics sponsors in front of African American consumers. Sharp's involvement with this project will expose his work to decision makers at Fortune 100 companies such as Coca-Cola, VISA, and IBM—potential clients for his firm. Says Sharp, "When you're doing good work for corporations, especially large corporations, people are likely to believe that you'll be able to provide the same service for them."

Terry Manufacturing Co., an apparel design and manufacturing firm based in Roanoke, Alabama, is the first minority-owned company to be awarded a license by ACOG to make and sell products bearing official Olympics emblems (in this case woven pullover shirts, shorts, and pants). In addition to the financial benefits of the contract, which "anticipates multimillion dollar sales" of sportswear, the relationship with ACOG gives Terry Manufacturing the chance to establish a permanent business presence in Atlanta and to launch a new product line. "We are preparing for a great increase in production over the coming months and years," says Roy Terry, president of the company. "This contract will have a significant impact on the whole company."

The firm, which employs 300 people in Roanoke, will open a production and distribution facility in Atlanta that will employ at least 50 workers, many from low-income neighborhoods surrounding Olympics venues. Terry Manufacturing also expects to add more production space, dozens of workers, and "hundreds of thousands of dollars" worth of equipment at the home office. All those extra resources will enable the firm to speed up its plans to add specialty and licensed apparel to its product offerings.

"The Olympics, we decided, was a perfect vehicle to build that division, perhaps a little more rapidly and a little more solidly than otherwise," says Terry, a graduate of Atlanta's Morehouse College, who co-owns the company with his brother, Rudolph, also a Morehouse alumnus. "We projected a five-year timeline to get the division established, but now we will be able to do it in the next 12 to 18 months."

Private Grievances

While ACOG boasts that its record so far on minority business participation for the Olympics has been exemplary, some black entrepreneurs disagree. Off the record, some business owners grumble that ACOG's commitment is not sincere, that it takes political connections to get business, and that white women, who are defined by ACOG as minorities, are getting a disproportionate share of the contracts.

The perception by black business owners that ACOG is unfair in the way it awards contracts is fueled by the corporation's penchant for privacy. ACOG steadfastly defends its right as a private entity to keep its internal operations under wraps. "We're a private corporation putting on a public project," explains Walker. "We don't make public a number of things because we are private. Sometimes it's difficult to separate the public aspect from the private reality." ACOG also defends itself by reminding anyone who will listen that it is a specialized corporation, created solely for the purpose of staging the 1996 Summer Olympic Games. Its operation will peak on July 20, 1996, when the games begin, and 17 days later the corporation will be obsolete. "I don't think people understand the anomaly that the Olympics is," says Love Sears-Collins, deputy managing director of operations for ACOG. "It's not a business in the traditional sense. But people approach the Olympics with traditional business constructs. Their lack of understanding about how it works is the genesis for their frustrations."

Any minority entrepreneur who fills out all the necessary paperwork, and can prove his firm's minority status, is eligible to be listed in a database for construction companies or a database for non-construction companies. Currently, about 2,000 minority companies (and 6,500 white-owned firms) are on the two lists. Whenever ACOG wants to make a purchase, it sends bid invitations to every firm in the appropriate product or service category.

With two years yet to go before the games, a lot of Olympics business is still up for grabs, says Walker. ACOG will spend most of its budget during the last half of 1994 and all of 1995. The operations department, for example, which will award contracts for big-ticket items such as security, transportation, and waste management, has spent less than one-tenth of one percent of its budget. "How many minority construction subcontractors are there today?" asks Walker. "Three. But come back in 1996 and we'll say hundreds. We're an easy target. People can complain, but the facts are there. We've done an excellent job with minority participation."

Keeping Things in Perspective

Their doubts about the fairness of the process notwithstanding, minority entrepreneurs keep knocking on ACOG's doors. A recent equal economic opportunity conference sponsored by ACOG attracted more than 750 business owners eager to get information on securing contracts. Last fall, Urban Constructors Inc., a black-owned construction management company based in Miami, was the minority partner in a majority/minority joint venture bid to build the Olympics aquatics center. The team lost. But, undeterred, Urban is bidding on construction work for another Olympics venue—the $20 million Georgia International Horse Park.

"We were unsuccessful the first time, but we're good at

(Continued on back page)

JUNE 1994

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- Hate violence against Asian Americans is on the rise but few police departments are prepared to address it.
- Sheldon Hackney, the new chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, is promoting a national dialogue on American pluralism.
- President Clinton signs the School-To-Work Opportunities Act that focuses on job training for young people who are not college bound.
- Across the Nation: Republican Marvin Scott is running for an Indiana congressional seat; William Bowen lost a congressional primary bid in Ohio; in the Pennsylvania Democratic primary, Chaka Fattah upset incumbent Congressman Lucien Blackwell, while Dwight Evans failed to win the nomination for governor.

Asian American Organization Combats Hate Crimes

A Japanese exchange student at the University of Wisconsin in Madison gets threatening messages on his answering machine. "You stupid Jap—get out of this town . . . I'm going to kill you. Go home to where you belong," one message states.

A Vietnamese American family in El Monte, California, finds a five-foot sign in their back yard with a gun strapped to it. The sign reads, "Kill all Chineaz Gooks." The perpetrator, a neighbor, is found to possess Nazi flags, a small arsenal of guns, boxes of hate literature, and a poster reading, "Nazi Nigger Hunter Headquarters."

In Everett, Massachusetts, three stores owned by Asian American families are defaced and vandalized by three white 19-year-olds. Also defaced are a Jewish cemetery and the home of a Hispanic family.

These are but a few examples of the growing incidence of hate violence in this country and how it is spilling over into Asian American communities. In Los Angeles County, for example, from 1989 to 1990 there was a 146 percent increase in the total number of hate crimes (550 incidents) and a 65 percent increase in racially based hate crimes (275 incidents). Despite these alarming increases, a full assessment of anti-Asian violence remains hampered by a lack of accurate statistical data, according to the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, a nonprofit legal and civil rights organization. The Consortium was founded in 1974 to advance the legal and civil rights of the nation's 7.3 million Asian Americans through litigation, advocacy, and public education.

Although hate crimes statutes have been passed by federal and state governments, the Consortium has found that documenting hate violence remains a difficult task. Reporting by enforcement agencies is voluntary, and in 1991 only 27 percent of police departments around the nation reported bias incidents. The significance of this lack of commitment is particularly evident in California, where 40 percent of the country's total Asian American population lives, accounting for 10 percent of the state's residents. Because only seven law enforcement agencies in California participated in data collection in 1992, only 75 hate crime incidents were reported that year for all ethnic groups in the state. To fill this information gap, the Consortium has begun to monitor and document incidents of hate violence, which it defines as "any verbal or physical act that intimidates, threatens, or injures a person or a person's property because of membership in a targeted group." These acts range from graffiti, verbal threats, and property damage to physical assaults that sometimes result in death.

Among the Consortium's findings were 335 anti-Asian incidents reported in 1993, with at least 30 Asian American homicide victims. Among them was **LUYEN PHAN NGUYEN**, a 19-year-old Vietnamese American

pre-med student in Coral Springs, Florida, who died of a brain hemorrhage in August 1992 after being beaten by a mob of 15 white youths shouting epithets such as "chink" and "Vietcong." In September 1987, **KAUSHAL SHARAN**, an Indian physician from South Africa who lives in Jersey City, New Jersey, was severely beaten by white youths while walking home. Dr. Sharan was swept up in a wave of beatings and vandalism by racist gangs known as "Dotbusters" (referring to the red bindi mark Indian women wear on their foreheads). **SAM NANG NHEM**, 21, died from massive brain damage after being repeatedly kicked in the head by a group of young white men in the Wattupa Heights Housing Development in Fall River, Massachusetts, in August 1993. The number of attacks like these has increased in recent years.

Too often law enforcement officers are reluctant to investigate hate violence incidents, often lumping them with other crimes. The Consortium found that, as a rule, police forces are deficient in their outreach to Asian American communities; insensitive to hate violence; lacking in overall training of law enforcement officers; and have few bilingual or Asian American police officers. They also fail to hold police officers accountable for enforcing laws against perpetrators of hate violence.

The history of anti-Asian discrimination in the U.S. extends back 140 years, ever since the first Chinese immigrant arrived to work on farms, in mines, and to help build the railroads. In addition to deep-seated racial hatred by organized hate groups and stereotypical depictions of Asians in literature and films, Asian Americans have been victims of legally sanctioned racism. Two of the most glaring examples are the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which effectively barred immigration from all Asian countries until 1943, and the incarceration of approximately 120,000 Japanese American men, women, and children in "internment" camps during World War II, a direct violation of their constitutional rights. (The federal government formally apologized for the internment in 1988, and redress payments of $20,000 have been made to each survivor of the camps.)

The Consortium makes a number of recommendations to public officials at every level of government to reduce hate violence. It calls for strengthening hate crime laws and fully enforcing existing laws, training law enforcement officials in ethnic diversity and sensitivity, recruiting Asian Americans for police forces, creating and funding civilian review boards to oversee police misconduct cases, and speaking out against hate crimes whenever they occur. Improved collection of statistics on hate crimes is also a high priority.

A Conversation on Diversity

Since former University of Pennsylvania president **SHELDON HACKNEY** was appointed to chair the National Endowment for the Humanities last August, he has been promoting a "national conversation" to get "Americans talking to each other about American identity and pluralism, what it means to be American, what values do we share as Americans." Hackney brought the conversation to the Joint Center on April 18 as part of the Center's Leadership Discussion Series.

Hackney said that diversity is one of America's strengths. He presided during an increase in minority enrollment at Penn from 13 percent to 30 percent over his 12 years as president. The Alabama native hopes to use his position at the Endowment to open the society to a dialogue that will enable Americans to "have a richer understanding of who we are as individuals, who we are in groups, and what we are as citizens of this country." In the planning for months, Hackney has held five trial conversations in Massachusetts, Michigan, Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas "among lay people, if you will, diverse groups of people who are not experts." He has also conducted six conversations among Endowment staff and seized "every group of academics who has come through the Endowment for some purpose."

Hackney said that opinions about America range from the "melting pot" concept, where all Americans assimilate, to the notion that America is not a single culture but is a "federation of nationalities." The educator said it is too early to reach any personal conclusions, but he did say that "I think we need some sense of what we owe each other as citizens. And I think that the conversations may be a way of identifying what those shared values are. Whether you are of European descent, African descent, Asian descent, Native American descent, or Hispanic descent, we have got to know what we can expect from each other as individuals."

President Clinton Signs School-To-Work Act

At a time when many educators are fighting valiantly to keep young people interested enough simply to come back to school another day, a program in Boston has succeeded in teaching young people to understand how knowledge can be applied to how they work—and has even taught one young woman to love geometry. The South Boston-based Project ProTech links academics with on-the-job experience, and prepares non-college-bound high school students for well-paying jobs by placing them in apprenticeships with private businesses. This program served as a model for the School-To-Work Opportunities Act, signed into law by President Clinton on May 4.

At a May 18 talk as a part of the Joint Center's Leadership Discussion Series, Secretary of Labor **ROBERT REICH** said that the Boston program has succeeded in sparking a love of knowledge among students who were candidates for dropping out of high school. "I had one young girl in the program, who is helping to build a homeless shelter as a part of an apprenticeship, come up to me and tell me, unsolicited, that she now loves geometry," Reich said. "When I asked why, she said because what she's learning in the morning geometry class, she can actually apply in her work in the afternoon."

The Clinton administration hopes to build upon the successes of ProTech by providing $300 million in the next fiscal year for grants to schools that design innovative approaches linking education and real work experience. To be eligible for the federal School-To-Work money, schools must provide job training or paid work experience for participating students; they must offer instruction in a career major that must be chosen by the 11th grade and, if possible, at least one year of post-secondary education. It is the first component in what the President hopes will be a new way of approaching American education and job training that relies more heavily on apprenticeship programs.

Reich noted that such programs are needed today to bridge the ever-growing gap between incomes of high school graduates and college graduates. At the signing ceremony for the Act, President Clinton said, "For too long, we were the only country that did not have a system to provide this sort of education and training and opportunity for young people who don't go to four-year colleges." Another facet of the Clinton administration's expanded apprenticeship program includes measures in the recently signed Goals 2000 legislation, which provide the creation of a voluntary standard national certification procedure at institutions of higher education for the training of volunteers in specialized skills that do not require a college diploma.

Project ProTech is already moving students into jobs or, in some cases, motivating them to pursue courses in higher education. **MARSHA DENNIS**, who apprenticed through Project ProTech at Boston City Hospital and New England Deaconess Hospital, soon will enter a one-year surgical technology program at Bunker Hill Community College. "A lot of people my age feel like the lost generation, so we give up in high school because we don't see any hope," Dennis said. "But programs like Project ProTech give us hope and opportunities."

As a part of the Joint Center's school-to-work project, Dr. **MARGARET SIMMS**, director of research programs, led a group of ten African American educators, policymakers, and business leaders on a study tour of selected apprenticeship programs in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden in November 1992. The focus of the tour was to determine whether the adaptation of these programs in the United States will improve the employability of black youth. The group compiled a report of its findings that was released in the spring of 1993, and the Joint Center cosponsored a conference on apprenticeships in March of that year with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany.

Joint Center Holds Fourth South Africa Forum

From June 16 to 18, 1994, the Joint Center will convene a roundtable discussion to analyze the impact of South Africa's first all-race election. The Institute for Multi-Party Democracy will co-sponsor the event. This will be the fourth and final forum of the Joint Center's South African Election Support Project. The forum will be held at a venue near Pretoria. Key South African political figures will reflect on the election and analyze the election process, step by step. About sixty individuals will participate, including senior campaign operatives from every political organization that won seats in the National Assembly as well as select representatives of the media and international organizations. Topics will include the multiparty negotiations, the evolution of the government of national unity from concept to reality, brokering acceptable political compromises for ethnic and racial minorities, and the implementation of a new election administration structure.

ACROSS THE NATION

INDIANA: Black Republican **MARVIN SCOTT**, 50, won his party's nomination in the May 3rd primary for the 10th congressional district (Indianapolis) with 61 percent of the vote. He will face Democratic incumbent Rep. **ANDREW JACOBS**, 62, in November. (The 10th district is 30 percent black.) Jacobs, who has held the seat for 28 years, easily defeated black state court clerk **DWAYNE MARC BROWN**, 31, in the Democratic primary (58 to 19 percent, respectively).

A professor of sociology at Indianapolis's Butler University, Scott will have a tough fight ahead of him as he faces off against Jacobs. The congressman has built up a reputation for his flamboyant style. In 1975, he sent three children covered in oil into a room full of representatives from the same Ways and Means Committee that had just voted to give a tax break to the oil industry but had denied a child-care tax credit for working parents.

An opponent of congressional waste and a proponent of ethical standards, Jacobs, who chairs the Ways and Means Social Security subcommittee, does not accept $50,000 of his $125,000 salary, and he is also against the use of PAC money. During his previous reelection bids, he spent no more than $40,000. By contrast, Scott hopes to raise half a million dollars by November. But money may not help in this overwhelmingly Democratic district.

OHIO: On May 3, black State Senator **WILLIAM F. BOWEN**, 65, lost to white first-term incumbent U.S. Rep. **DAVID MANN**, 54, in his bid to win the Democratic nomination for the 1st congressional district, an area which includes most of Cincinnati. The 1st district has a black population of 30 percent. A native of Cincinnati, Bowen has strongly advocated the creation of jobs, particularly in the small business community. According to Bowen, one-sixth of all black adults in Cincinnati are unemployed; for black adults age 17 to 26, almost 50 percent are unemployed. Mann served on the Cincinnati City Council (1974-1992), and was the city's mayor in 1981, 1982, and 1991.

The election was close: Bowen, who ran for this same seat in a 1992 eight-candidate primary and lost to Mann by 418 votes, fell short this time by 667 votes. Mann received 49.6 percent of the vote to Bowen's 48 percent; a third candidate, **ROBERT McDILDA**, received only 1,033 votes (2.4 percent). Mann will face Republican nominee **STEVE CHABOT**, the Hamilton County Commissioner, in the November election.

During his first term in office, Mann supported the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA], prompting Ohio's labor unions—including United Auto Workers, the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—to throw their support behind Bowen's campaign (labor unions had supported Mann in 1992). This time around, Cincinnati's business community, including companies like Procter & Gamble Co., which had lobbied Mann to support NAFTA, made sizable contributions to his campaign.

President Clinton had promised to support any Democrat who risked losing support in his or her district by voting for NAFTA, and, true to his word, Vice President **AL GORE** made appearances at two fund-raising receptions for Mann in March. The events raised more than $100,000. Rev. **JESSE JACKSON** made an appearance at a Bowen rally on May 1. In all, Mann's campaign spent about $200,000, Bowen's $83,000.

PENNSYLVANIA: After having served only one full term, Philadelphia Congressman **LUCIEN BLACKWELL** lost his seat in the majority-black 2nd congressional district to State Senator **CHAKA FATTAH** in the May 10 primary (see the February issue of "Across the Nation"). Local political analysts were surprised both by the upset and by Fattah's margin of victory. He garnered 58 percent of the vote compared with Blackwell's 42 percent to win the Democratic nomination. The 2nd district covers West and Northwest Philadelphia and parts of Center City. Since the district is 81 percent Democratic and has a black population of 62 percent, Fattah is virtually assured a victory over Republican nominee **LAWRENCE R. WATSON** in the November general election.

This victory is especially sweet for Fattah, a 37-year-old, two-term member of the Pennsylvania State Senate, who chairs the Senate Education Committee. In 1991, running as a member of the Consumer Party, Fattah lost to Democratic nominee Blackwell for the same seat in a special election to fill the vacancy created by **WILLIAM H. GRAY** III, who resigned from Congress to head the United Negro College Fund. This is the second primary this year where a black incumbent member of the U.S. House of Representatives was defeated by a challenger. The first was **SHEILA JACKSON LEE**'s March 8 victory over Houston Congressman **CRAIG WASHINGTON**.

State Rep. **DWIGHT EVANS** came in second in his bid to become Pennsylvania's first black governor, losing to white Lieutenant Governor **MARK SINGEL** with 21 percent of the vote to Singel's 32 percent in a six-candidate race. Four other candidates split the remaining votes. Evans doesn't see second-place finish as a complete loss in this state, which has a black population of nine percent and where the 14-year veteran of the state house of representatives raised a war chest of $1.6 million. With his strong showing among voters statewide, Evans, who is only 39, will be a force to reckon with in future elections.

How Far Have We Come Since Brown?

Despite Major School Desegregation Gains Since the Supreme Court's Landmark Decision in 1954, the Fight for Educational Equity Continues

by Ed Wiley

Looking back over the 40 years since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its unanimous 1954 *Brown* v. *The Board of Education* decision, many Americans are reflecting on how the nation has changed. Most agree that there have been clear gains as a result of the ruling that declared racially separate education is not equal. According to the U.S. Census data, a half-decade before *Brown*, there were 300,000 African Americans in college. Today, that number has climbed to 1.3 million. In the years prior to *Brown*, there were relatively few African Americans who earned high school diplomas. In 1950, 23.6 percent of blacks between 25 and 29 years old had graduated from high school, compared to 56.3 percent of whites. By 1991, the figures were 83.1 percent of blacks and 85.8 percent of whites.

But seating black children in the same classroom as white children brought on a host of problems unanticipated by Thurgood Marshall, then the NAACP's chief lawyer who successfully argued the case before the High Court and was later appointed as the nation's first black Supreme Court justice. For example, in the years immediately after the *Brown* decision, desegregation forced black schools, not white schools, to close their doors, displacing 38,000 of 82,000 African American principals, teachers, janitors, and other workers who were employed in schools before 1954. By 1991, African Americans comprised 16.4 percent of the overall public school student population but only 8.6 percent of the nation's teaching force.

Although the intent of *Brown* was to contribute to the educational advancement of black children, today many of them remain academically disadvantaged. Millions of black adults are functionally illiterate. Per-pupil spending on inner-city schools now averages roughly $5,000, compared to $13,000 in predominantly white suburban districts.

Seventy percent of black and Latino youths in the United States still attend segregated schools, according to the National School Boards Association. Moreover, there are still hundreds of desegregation cases pending at the Department of Justice—as of 1992 there were more than 500.

Separate and Unequal in '94

"We haven't come as far as we like to think," says Dr. Beverly Cole, education director for the NAACP. "The litigators thought that by breaking down legal segregation there would be meaningful integration, that black children would not only be in school with whites but that their differences would be appreciated. This has not happened." Dr. Mary Frances Berry, chairwoman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and the Segal professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, says, "What *Brown* was really about was quality education for black kids. Unfortunately, we still have inferior education, and we have separate and unequal schools in '94 like we did in '54. We didn't expect to receive adequate resources for our schools. But if we could at least go to the white schools, we knew our kids would be getting the resources."

Civil rights organizations are still fighting to eliminate the vestiges of dual education systems in courts across the country. Janell Byrd, an attorney at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, recently won a case in Chambers County, Alabama (*Lee* v. *The Chambers County Board of Education*), where a newly created, majority-white municipality, the City of Valley, attempted to establish a separate school district that would have been mostly white while the remaining district in the county would have been mainly black and poor. The plan would have created an inequitable distribution of tax revenues between the two school districts. A federal court denied the establishment of Valley's separate school district. The court also addressed the assignment of the best-educated teachers to predominately white schools. An upgrade of curricula in the black schools was also ordered.

Cases that civil rights attorneys are litigating in other communities in the North and South involve biased faculty hiring, the discriminatory administration of disciplinary measures, segregated school bus routes, and steering black children away from college preparatory courses. Some cases focus on higher education. In the *Podberesky* v. *Kirwan* case, the plaintiff is challenging a program that provides scholarships for high achieving black students at the University of Maryland. The program was originally created as a remedy for Maryland's segregated system of higher education. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund represents black students who are demanding that the university maintain the scholarship program.

Resistance and Retreat

Beverly Cole contends that "Reagan and Bush did quite a bit to move education back to the way it was during pre-

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Brown

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Brown days." One of Reagan's first acts as president was to repeal the Elementary School Aid Act designed to help districts train teachers, develop curricula, and enhance human relations. The intent of the program was to bring about a smoother, speedier transition to educational parity. And the Bush administration attempted to abolish race-specific scholarships.

Harvard University Professor Gary Orfield agrees that the slide toward resegregation gained momentum during the Reagan-Bush years as federal desegregation assistance programs were wiped out, desegregation mandates were ignored, and the courts were discouraged from "doing too much." "The problem is that *Brown* has been viewed as a temporary punishment for whites instead of a goal," says Orfield. "The courts are now saying, 'OK, you've suffered enough; now you can go back to doing what's natural.'" With the pressure to desegregate taken away, many school systems responded by rolling back *Brown*'s gains, Orfield says. "There has never really been any willingness in the white community to change voluntarily," he says.

Berry says that there has been a move in black communities all over America to de-emphasize desegregation over the last 20 years, and black youngsters who remain in racially isolated schools have not benefitted. "With all of these fights over desegregation many felt that the struggle was too hard. Whites resisted integration; blacks abandoned hope, so it made it easy for districts to retreat," Berry says. Some advocacy groups have vacated lawsuits in exchange for promises by school districts to pump more money and resources into schools that have majority-black enrollments, according to Berry. But, she adds, black schools keep fighting for resources that never come.

Some school districts have won motions to dissolve desegregation plans. In 1985, the Norfolk, Virginia, school district dissolved its plan, and as recent as February, Forth Worth, Texas, withdrew from its mandate. In that case, the Supreme Court said the district had completely fulfilled its responsibility. "When this happens there is no further recourse," Orfield says. "There is this strange theory that if there is fairness for three or four years that makes up for a century and a half of racial oppression, even if there is no evidence that equal opportunity has been achieved."

How Far Have We Come?

Nevertheless, Dr. Charles Willie, a professor of education at Harvard University, says that the African American community has made astounding strides since *Brown*. He cites the closing gap in standardized test scores between white and black students. And Willie asserts that there are so many African Americans attending college today that the 105 historically black colleges and universities could never accommodate them all.

"The *Brown* case was so important because it precluded states from having their racism legitimized under the law," says retired federal judge A. Leon Higginbotham. *Brown* established the moral foundation which made it possible for the other civil rights battles to be fought and won. Indeed, the consensus among most civil rights leaders is that *Brown* was the watershed of national policy that made possible the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

But this society still has a long way to go before problems such as inequitable distribution of resources, discriminatory faculty hiring, and funneling black children into courses of marginal value are resolved. After 40 years, the struggle for equal education that Thurgood Marshall began a generation ago is still going on in hundreds of communities across the country. And it appears that struggle will continue for decades to come. ■

The 40-Year Quest for a Legal Remedy

The focal point of the case that shattered the legal segregation of public schools 40 years ago was Topeka, Kansas, where black children were required by law to walk two miles past Sumner Elementary, a white neighborhood school, to attend all-black Monroe Elementary. Thirteen parents filed a lawsuit against the Topeka Board of Education, claiming that the district's system of maintaining four elementary schools for blacks and 18 for whites was a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional. One of the plaintiffs was 10-year-old Linda Brown. The Court agreed with the plaintiffs, and racial segregation in public schools was made illegal. It wasn't until a year later, however, that the Court sought to remedy school segregation in Topeka by ordering that blacks be admitted to all public schools "with all deliberate speed."

In 1979, another group of parents—arguing that the legacy of legal segregation was still prevalent—sued the district again. Among them was Linda Brown Thompson, the plaintiff in the original suit who was 10 in 1954. Last year, a Federal Court of Appeals forced Topeka to develop a plan to desegregate its schools.

In order to comply with the court's order, Dr. Jeffrey Weaver, superintendent of Topeka public schools, says that the district proposes to remove the "racial identifiability" that exists in 13 of its 35 schools by 1997. A racially identifiable school is any school that exceeds the district's average minority population by plus or minus 15 percent. "What happened over time is that neighborhoods have become more minority and school systems have not looked at making periodic reality checks," says Weaver.

By redrawing boundaries, offering free transportation to selected schools, closing six racially identifiable schools, and building two magnet academies—one in computer science and one in natural/environment science—the district expects to close all non-compliant schools by the 1996-97 school year. — *E.W.*

House Leadership and Clinton's Agenda

Rep. William Clay, In Line to Chair the Education and Labor Committee, Will Be Key to Winning Passage of Clinton Initiatives on Capitol Hill

by David C. Ruffin

In the minds of many Washington insiders, the likely success of President Clinton's plans to reform health care and welfare seems to have diminished considerably with the indictment on May 31 of House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski for embezzlement and pocketing the paychecks of ghost employees. The importance for the President's initiatives of the Ways and Means Committee and Rostenkowski's leadership cannot be overstated. Nevertheless, Ways and Means isn't the only committee that Clinton needs to get his programs enacted. Another is the Education and Labor Committee which shares jurisdiction on health care and welfare. And the committee's leadership will soon pass to a black legislator—Congressman William Clay of Missouri.

With the announcement of Education and Labor Chairman William Ford (D-Mich.) that he will retire from Congress after 15 terms, Clay, who is next in line in seniority, is expected to take the leadership of the committee in the 104th Congress next year. Clay presently chairs the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Education and Labor has jurisdiction over a broad range of programs, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, juvenile justice programs, the Older Americans Act, Pell Grants, school lunches, employee benefits programs, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which guarantees equal employment opportunity.

During the 103rd Congress, the Education and Labor Committee has already approved Goals 2000, the School-To-Work Opportunities Act, and direct student loans, all Clinton administration initiatives. Goals 2000 is an attempt to revamp national priorities on teaching, educational equity, and standards of achievement. The School-To-Work Opportunities Act, signed into law by President Clinton on May 4, will provide $300 million in the next fiscal year for grants to schools that develop innovative ways of linking education and work experiences. Under the program, schools will offer students vocational instruction along with job training or a paid job experience.

The President will continue to need the committee's help in coming up with a compromise on health reform. One of the main stumbling blocks in the negotiations involving the various health proposals has been employers' requirements to pay at least a portion of health premiums. A solution will have to be worked out in the committee since it has jurisdiction over employee benefits programs. While President Clinton's comprehensive health care reform package is on track for passage this year, some believe that the House and Senate may have to work on a few of the elements of the proposal in the next Congress. The situation may be similar in the case of welfare reform. Thus, when Congressman Clay takes over the Education and Labor Committee next year, he will be a key player in moving major administration initiatives through Congress.

Elected to the House in 1968, Clay is one of the most senior black members of Congress and was a founder of the Congressional Black Caucus. A former union official, he has focused most of his attention on the labor agenda of the Education and Labor Committee and formerly chaired its Labor-Management Relations subcommittee. He sponsored revisions to the pension law that were incorporated into the 1986 Tax Reform Act and pushed for legislation on family leave, mandatory notice of plant closings, and protection of union negotiating rights.

When Clay assumes the chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee, he won't be the first African American to do so. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., chaired the committee from 1961 to 1967 and presided over one of the most productive periods in the committee's history. The committee approved legislative programs to authorize school lunches, vocational training, student loans, aid to elementary and secondary education, and increases in the minimum wage. Many of these initiatives were components of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society Program. Powell was stripped of his chairmanship and excluded from his seat in the House in 1967 resulting from charges of mismanagement of the committee budget, frequent and inappropriate trips abroad, and refusal to pay a fine in a slander judgement. Although the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Powell's exclusion from the House in 1969, he failed to win renomination in the 1970 election.

Black Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Cal.) chaired the committee from 1985 until 1991, when he retired from Congress. Hawkins is probably best known for pushing through the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act in 1978 (also know as the Humphrey-Hawkins Act). As chair of the Education and Labor Committee, Hawkins worked to sustain the progressive social programs under the committee's jurisdiction that had been enacted in the 1960s, especially in the areas of education and youth development. He was also a principal sponsor of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which overturned six rulings handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1989 that made it more difficult for workers to prove discrimination and limited their access to judicial remedies for employment bias.

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *FOCUS*.

Olympics

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what we do," says Rhonda Walsh, general manger for the company's Atlanta office. "We have experience in building sports facilities, and we know how to put together good packages. Not a lot of minority construction firms have the experience we have." Or the financial stability. Urban grossed $18 million last year, so an ACOG contract, although nice to have, probably won't make or break the company. But for many minority entrepreneurs, the Olympics represents their best opportunity to put a fledgling business on its feet.

"An Olympics contract could do so much for my business," says the owner of a specialty gift company. Says the owner of a transportation firm in Savannah, "The Olympics has to create business opportunities for black companies because the economy is so bad. If business doesn't come from the Olympics, where will it come from?"

In addition to fielding inquiries from minority firms about its equal economic opportunity plan, ACOG has its hands full helping business owners keep Olympics opportunities in perspective. "The worst thing minority entrepreneurs can do is hang their hats on an Olympic ring," says Sears-Collins. "The Olympics is not big enough, not long enough, and not deep enough to provide the minority business development our society may need. It may give us a small step, but it won't create a giant leap."

Sears-Collins reminds business owners that ACOG spending will account for only about one-third of the $5 billion in economic activity the games are expected to generate in the Southeast region. The rest—$3.4 billion—will come from other Olympics-related business. ACOG encourages but does not require its sponsors to subcontract Olympics-related jobs to minority firms (16 corporations have signed on as Olympics sponsors at $40 million apiece). "That would be like preaching to the choir," says Sears-Collins. "Many of our sponsors already have active minority purchasing programs."

Beyond the Olympics, the hope is that Atlanta will become the preferred destination for the many sports federations that sponsor annual competitions. That kind of interest could create a whole new set of opportunities for minority companies. "Entrepreneurs should look at the Olympics as an event that is part of a broader sports or special events market," says Sears-Collins. "I hope minorities are interested in the Olympics because it falls into their business portfolio—and that it's not the only page." ■

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