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FOCUS

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JCPS Conference Report

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Ethnocentrism and U.S. Foreign Policy

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Planning for the 1990 Census

Special Effort Being Made to Reduce the Undercount of Blacks

Political TrendLetter

Perspective

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Obstacles To A Foreign Service Career

The conference report on ethnocentrism in U.S. foreign policy that appears elsewhere in this issue of *Focus* raises a serious issue that was also addressed at a Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Braintrust meeting last October. The topic of discussion at the braintrust, to which I was invited to speak, was "What are the obstacles that prevent black Americans from fully participating in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy?" This is a subject I have pondered since 1961 when I began a seven-year stint in the U.S. Department of State. I was recruited for "the Department" (staff were and still are arrogant enough to think there are no other departments) by high-ranking Kennedy administration officials who were determined to "integrate the damn place." I was to be the "integratee," but a senior official in the Office of Protocol had a different idea, publicly proclaiming, "There is no place for a Negro in this office." The chief of protocol, key White House staff, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, for whom I had worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, disagreed. So, I was hired after some embarrassment, harassment, and a silly reduction in the paltry salary I had received while working in the Senate. Such are the dues blacks must often pay to enter white bastions of power and prestige.

I remained in the State Department seven years, achieving rapid promotions to bigger, better, and more rewarding jobs. In 1968, when I decided to resign to take a position as assistant vice-president of the University of Chicago, several senior officials literally pleaded with me to remain in the State Department and to accept a senior position in the prestigious Foreign Service Corps.

The CBC invitation last October brought back those 25-year-old memories and I felt the initial hurt and embarrassment all over again. Yet, today, the State Department is perhaps the only federal agency that could attract me into its employ. It's an interesting, exciting, and challenging agency though it is often maligned. With respect to the employment of minority professionals, some criticism is justified.

What are the obstacles that prevent blacks from participating as officers in the State Department?

- Rigid, often elitist, selection criteria sometimes administered by whites who, like the senior official I encountered in the Office of Protocol, see no place for blacks in the State Department.
- Highly specialized work, with a mixture of hazardous and grunt jobs, that must be accepted without dissent and at a discouragingly low pay.
- An image of the State Department as a bastion of white male dominance that discourages many capable blacks from even considering a foreign affairs career. The State Department fishes in the same black talent pool as IBM, General Motors, and Harvard Law School—but with much less success.
- And, finally, I must observe that blacks themselves are particularly at fault. Relatively few of us prepare for careers in foreign affairs and fewer still apply and vigorously pursue their applications for admission into what both black and white international specialists consider to be a relatively small and select group of professionals.

Thus, the obstacles are created both by the foreign affairs agencies, which often do not aggressively pursue black professionals, and by blacks, who often fail to see a challenging career opportunity in foreign affairs. Both obstacles must be torn down. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS
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Shaping Post-Apartheid South Africa

Excerpts From a State Department Advisory Committee Report

Editor's note: From its first sentence, "The racial aspects of South Africa's existing political system repels most Americans," to its last, "A new policy is now urgently required," the report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee makes compelling reading. The 70-page report (including dissenting views) is a concisely stated review of the challenge facing U.S. policy makers, the nature of the apartheid system, and the realistic prospects for achieving a nonracial society in post-apartheid South Africa.

The co-chairmen of the committee are Frank T. Cary, President of IBM, and William T. Coleman, a prominent black lawyer and former Nixon and Ford administration Cabinet member. The other members of this blue-chip panel are Griffin Bell, Owen Bieber, John Dellenbach, Lawrence Eagleburger, Timothy Healy, Vernon Jordan, Helene Kaplan, Roger Smith, Leon Sullivan, and Franklin Thomas.

The committee concluded that the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" has "failed to achieve its original objectives"; President P. W. Botha's "reforms. . .fall far short of what is necessary"; and the "immediate challenge facing Western nations is to assist South Africa's politically disenfranchised and economically disadvantaged black majority to remove apartheid and end exclusive white rule."

The following excerpt from the committee's report deals with the key factors that will shape a post-apartheid South Africa.

Grounds For Hope

The tragic paradox of apartheid is that its core myth of an embattled people desperately seeking to survive in a hostile world prevents many whites from envisioning a secure future in a nonracial society. Deeply held racial stereotypes are now joined with an exaggerated perception of international communism's role in the struggle against apartheid. For this reason, one of the most important duties of Western policymakers is to present an accurate picture of the forces that will shape South Africa's future. There are causes for concern, but these must be assessed objectively and not allowed to overshadow many equally, if not more, compelling grounds for hope.

A first step to understanding the prospects for a resolution of the problem of apartheid in South Africa is to recognize that there are no historical analogies to developments in other African countries. Elsewhere in Africa, the extension of political rights to blacks came through decolonization. Except in Namibia, that process is now complete. In South Africa, decolonization occurred with the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Black leaders in South Africa do not contend that whites are "foreign" or "colonial," or that whites have another, more legitimate home to which they should return. The abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a democratic and nonracial system thus involve the need for agreement among South Africans, not a decision to "withdraw" by any foreign power.

Semi-Industrial Nation

South Africa is a modern, semi-industialized nation, with far more urbanized, educated, and professional blacks than any of the sub-Saharan colonial territories at the time they achieved independence. Blacks already comprise over 40 percent of the professional work force in South Africa. In 1984, more than 40,000 black students were enrolled in university courses in South Africa. Black workers are more organized than their counterparts on the rest of the continent. In 1986, there were 54 registered and 59 unregistered black trade unions with over a million members, including some 600,000 affiliated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

In contrast with much of the rest of Africa, traditional tribally-based institutions play a relatively minor role in South African society and politics. Even in the "homelands," political and military institutions are increasingly based on modern models. In the urban areas, where roughly 38 percent of South Africa's blacks now reside, there has been a steady proliferation of distinctly modern institutions such as civic associations, trade unions, student organizatons, parents' crisis committees, the Black Lawyers' Association, and the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC).

Models for Negotiations

A beacon of hope in the darkening South African scene is the several examples of productive negotiations between black and white leaders in localized or functional areas. These include negotiations between the increasingly powerful black trade unions and corporations (especially in the mining industry); talks between black community leaders, white businessmen, and officials on local grievances and consumer boycotts; the recently concluded "Indaba" in Natal

(Cont. on page 4)

aimed at creating a framework for a multiracial provincial legislature incorporating the province of Natal and KwaZulu "homeland"; and the National Education Crisis Committee conference of March 1986, where parents, students, teachers, political figures, and education officials negotiated productively on a range of controversial issues affecting school attendance. These efforts at localized and functional levels are not a substitute for the necessary and inevitable negotiations that must take place at the national level, but they provide valuable experience and establish positive precedents.

One of the most important potential forces for reconciliation across racial lines in a post-apartheid South Africa is religion. "Nowhere else," a leading South African journalist has written, "not even in Poland, is religion such a pervasively important factor in the politics of a nation." Over 90 percent of all whites and an estimated 75 percent of all blacks are church-going Christians. In addition, South Africa has a 125,000-member Jewish community with a strong liberal tradition and 318,000 Muslims who are generally moderate in political orientation. This breadth and depth of religious commitment could provide desperately needed bridges across a growing chasm of fear, hatred, and violence.

Men and women of all faiths, and the Christian majority in particular, have a special responsibility to take the lead in pointing out the fundamental inconsistencies between apartheid and their religious principles, and in establishing a spirit of repentance and reconciliation that will permit a vital society-wide process of healing to begin. Among the many clergymen and theologians who already play such a role are Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Reverend Beyers Naude, Reverend Allan Boesak and Archbishop Dennis Hurley. In this regard, we note that on October 21, 1986, the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church withdrew its previous theological support of apartheid.

Political Leadership

The shape of South Africa's future will depend above all else on the qualities and character of the individuals who assume positions of leadership in a post-apartheid South Africa. On this count, the Advisory Committee finds considerable grounds for optimism.

One of the most important is the pluralistic character of black politics in South Africa. Outside of the homelands, there is no modern history of authoritarian black institutions. Before the ANC (African National Congress) was banned, debates within the organization over strategy and tactics were vigorous and open. In exile, it has been remarkably free of the internecine feuding that has afflicted many other exile movements. Although rooted in different intellectual traditions, the Black Consciousness movement and more recently the

(Cont. on page 12)

The Urgent Need for Negotiations

The first and foremost priority of U.S. policy should be to help to facilitate the beginning of "good faith" negotiations between the South African government and representative leaders of the black majority aimed at shaping a nonracial democratic political system. We, therefore, recommend that the United States, in close concert with its major allies, begin a diplomatic effort to achieve this objective.

As we have stressed throughout our report, conflict in South Africa will not end nor will the transition to a post-apartheid democracy begin without negotiations. Negotiations are not merely desirable, but unavoidable. Whether before or after a high toll in human suffering and economic damage has been exacted, black and white South Africans must recognize that military means—whether aimed at revolution or repression—cannot alone resolve the present struggle, and that, in the end, neither black nor white can live and prosper without the other. . .

There is no magic formula that can resolve the conflicts underlying the present crisis. But our wide-ranging discussions with a cross-section of South Africans have led us to conclude that, in order to create the conditions for the initiation of genuine open-ended negotiations with truly representative black leaders, the first steps the South African government must take are to:

- Release Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki; and all other persons imprisioned for their political beliefs. . .;
- Unban the ANC and other political organizations, and establish the right of all South Africans to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate freely in the political process;
- Terminate the State of Emergency. . .;
- Restore national citizenship to all persons born or naturalized within the internationally recognized territory of South Africa that have been denied citizenship on the basis of race;
- Repeal the Group Areas Act, the Native Lands Act, and the Population Registration Act;
- Create a legal system that will ensure that persons charged with crimes, including those of a political nature, are entitled to guarantees of due process, particularly the right to a fair and speedy trial and the prohibition of detentions without cause;
- Reincorporate the "independent" homelands into the Republic of South Africa.

The most urgent challenge facing the United States and the international community is to convince President P. W. Botha and his supporters that it is in their interests to negotiate now rather than later. . .This will require:

- finding ways to dispel the lack of knowledge that prevents many South African whites from understanding the depths of despair that fuels black unrest, the justice of black demands, and the strong concern of most black leaders for the future welfare of South Africa and all its inhabitants;
- taking steps to provide whites with reasonable assurances that they will not be unjustly victimized by a post-apartheid government;
- undertaking imaginative diplomatic and private efforts to encourage black and white South Africans to discuss and debate alternate political formulas and negotiating processes.

Survey Dispels Myth That Blacks Receive But Do Not Give To Charity

by Emmett D. Carson

Organized charitable giving and voluntarism have existed in the black community for over two hundred years but—despite its importance in the development of the first black banks and black insurance companies—very little is known about the contemporary charitable giving and volunteer behavior of black Americans. To fill this gap, the Joint Center has initiated a 24-month study on "Philanthropy In Black America." This article will examine some preliminary findings from a Joint Center/Gallup national survey on black philanthropy.

Charitable Giving Behavior

The contributions of blacks to various types of charitable organizations in 1985 are shown in the graph on this page. Over two-thirds (68 percent) of all dollars that are contributed by blacks to charity go to the church. Because churches receive such a large percentage of all black charitable dollars, researchers are extremely interested in how these funds are spent and, particularly, how much of it goes to aid the poor. To-date, however, there have been no reliable studies—in part because of the reluctance of church officials to publicly discuss these questions.

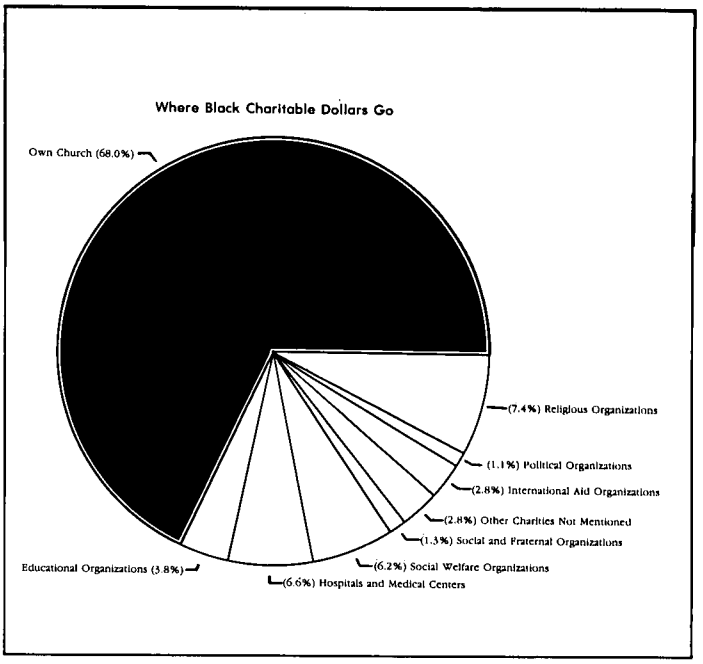
The principal finding is that blacks and whites have similar patterns of giving, when income differences are controlled.

With regard to contributions to charities other than the church, several points are worth noting. Blacks with incomes under $20,000 and blacks with incomes between $30,000 and $34,999 give more on average to educational organizations than whites with similar incomes. Blacks with incomes under $20,000 also give greater amounts to international aid organizations than whites at the same level of income. Whites with incomes under $20,000 give more to the church, political organizations, and social welfare groups than blacks with the same income. In general, when controlling for income, blacks and whites contribute similar amounts to charity.

What is important about these findings is that they document the intense and diverse involvement of blacks in charitable giving. Contrary to widespread beliefs, blacks are as active as whites in supporting charitable organizations. In a forthcoming article in the *Review of Black Political Economy* and in a presentation before the Independent Sector on March 20, 1987, the survey findings will be analyzed in greater detail and, of course, more information will be provided in Focus and other JCPS publications during the life of the study.

Volunteer Activity

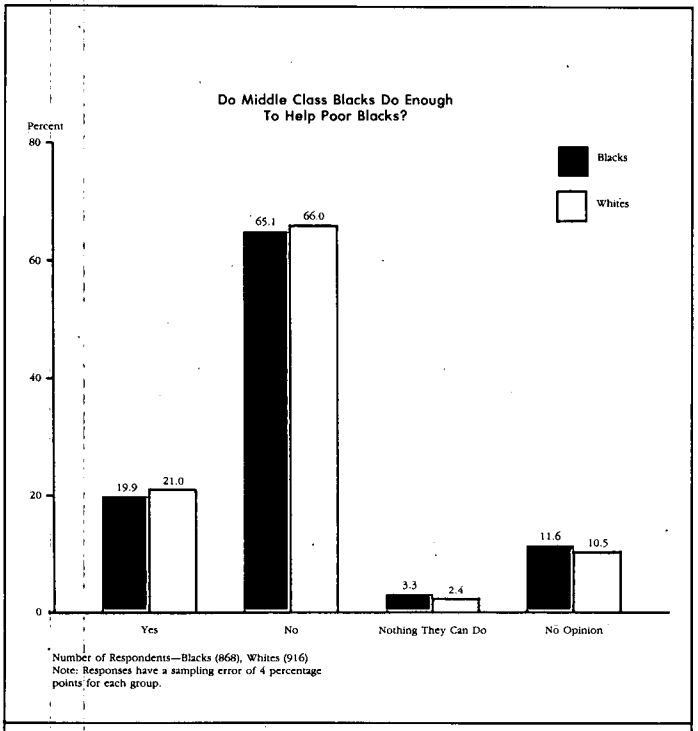
Another issue that has received limited attention in research on the independent sector is the volunteer behavior of black Americans. The findings indicate that blacks and whites at all income levels are equally involved in volunteer activity. About the same percentage of blacks and whites (35.3 percent and 34.6 percent, respectively) volunteered for church activities—by far the largest recipient of volunteer service. Education groups received the next largest share of volunteers, 11.6 percent of blacks and 12.7 percent of whites. Almost half of all respondents (50.0 percent of blacks and 45.1 percent of whites) responded that they did not do any volunteer work during the year.



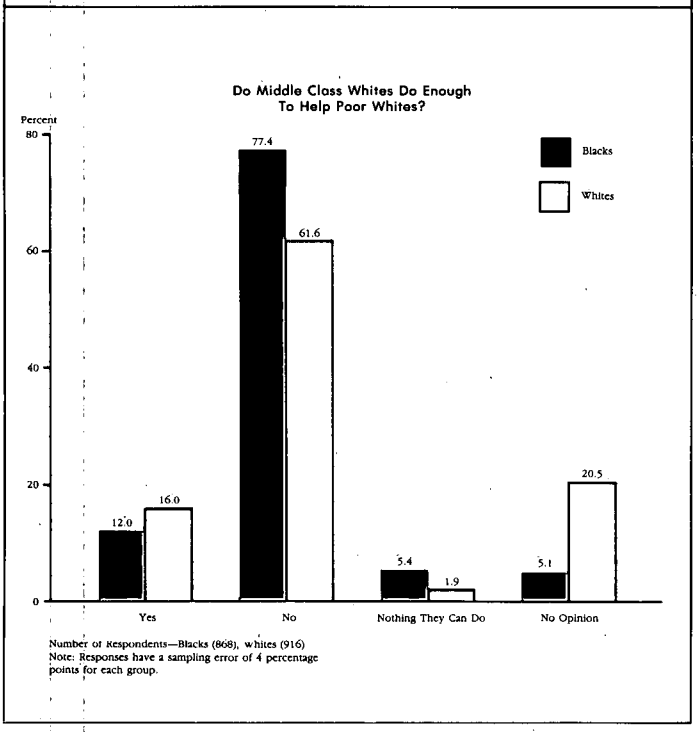
Dr. Carson is a research associate at JCPS.

Attitudes Toward Charitable Giving

In the debates on the role of self-help in the black community, questions are sometimes raised about the extent of the charitable activities of blacks—particularly of the black middle class. The findings of the JCPS/Gallup poll are that black and white respondents shared very similar opinions on the question of whether the middle class did enough for the poor; more than 60 percent of all blacks and whites said they thought the middle class did not do enough to help the poor. (See charts on this page.) The relevance of these results for the debate on self-help is that, in the opinions of both blacks and whites, middle class blacks do no less than middle class whites on behalf of the poor.



Number of Respondents—Blacks (868), Whites (916)
Note: Responses have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group.



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Note: Responses have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group.

The Joint Center/Gallup Poll Survey

In order to obtain information on the contemporary giving and volunteer behavior of blacks, the Joint Center commissioned The Gallup Organization to conduct a national survey using a questionnaire that was developed by the Joint Center. The survey differs from other national surveys of the charitable activities of blacks in two important respects. First, most national studies of charitable activity have samples that are only 10—12 percent black, e.g., about 150 blacks. While these percentages accurately reflect the percentage of blacks in the overall population, the percentages are too small to generate reliable estimates when disaggregated by age, income, and education—factors which are particularly useful in explaining who engages in charitable activity.

To address the problem of sample size, the Joint Center/Gallup survey oversampled blacks—the total of black respondents was 868 persons. Such a large sample allows for extensive analysis of their charitable behavior controlling for various sociodemographic variables. All respondents were surveyed in face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face interviews are less likely to underrepresent low-income blacks than telephone interviews. In addition, 70 percent of the black respondents were interviewed by black interviewers, thereby reducing the risk of biased responses.

The second distinction between previous studies of charitable giving and the Joint Center/Gallup survey is that most studies of charitable activity have focused much of their attention on the monetary donations of the respondents in the sample. The Joint Center/Gallup survey contains extensive questions on voluntarism as well as charitable donations of food, clothing, and shelter.

Conclusion

One of the principal findings from the data presented here is that blacks and whites have similar patterns of charitable giving when controlling for differences in income. This finding challenges the myth that blacks are only recipients of charity. On the contrary, the survey indicates that blacks give considerable financial support to a wide range of charitable organizations. This finding is even more surprising given the differences in black and white attitudes toward what group has the greatest responsibility for helping the poor. The data also indicate that blacks are actively engaged in voluntarism. Again, these findings challenge widely held views that blacks are less active in volunteer activity than whites. ■

March 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Few black professionals are being hired to upper-echelon jobs in the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department under President Reagan, and elsewhere.**
- **Two cities headed by black mayors, Atlanta and New Orleans, will host the national conventions for the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in 1988.**
- **An ad hoc group of black business persons and political leaders will leave on an exploratory mission to Japan in mid-April to promote better relations, and closer economic ties, between blacks and the Japanese.**
- **Across the nation, Mayor Harold Washington's primary victory is the first step in his reelection quest in Chicago; presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson goes farming for votes in Iowa; county supervisor Doris Ward is in an uphill battle in the Democratic primary in California's 5th congressional district; and, black political "firsts" are elected in South Carolina, New Mexico, Tennessee, Alabama, Indiana, and Minnesota.**

Few Blacks Hold Top Jobs In Senate and Justice

When it comes to hiring blacks, a good record is hard to find. Whether its the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department under President Reagan, the executive staff of New York Governor Mario Cuomo, or, as reported elsewhere in Focus, the State Department, few blacks can be found in policy-making or high status jobs. **The record in the Senate is particularly disappointing because the Democrats now control that chamber in large part because of the victory margin provided by black voters in six to eight key Senate races in 1986** (see *Focus*, November-December 1986). How will these Senate Democrats reward blacks? No doubt there will be favorable legislation on a fair housing bill, South Africa, welfare reform, and other issues, but the top jobs in the "world's most exclusive club" still are, for the most part, outside the reach of black professionals: an informal tally found only 38 blacks in policy-making positions on Senate staffs—slightly more than 1 percent of the total of 2500 to 2800 policy-making staff positions. Seventy-five senators (including three who received over 80 percent of the black vote on November 4, 1986) have no blacks on their staffs. To remedy this deficiency, *JACKIE B. PARKER, a legislative assistant to a Democratic senator from Michigan and president of the Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus* has circulated a letter which, in the genteel manner of doing business in the Senate, informs the senators that, **"This imbalance may not be the result of either discrimination or a lack of interested and qualified black applicants. It may just be that the problem has been allowed to exist simply because there has not been an active effort to correct it." The letter also notes that "blacks are interested in and capable of doing more than helping to elect candidates, we are also interested in and capable of helping them govern."**...On the other side of Capitol Hill, in the U.S. House of Representatives, many more black staffers can be found but there are none in the offices of the top leadership, such as House Speaker JIM WRIGHT (D-Tex.), Majority Leader TOM FOLEY (D-Wash.), and Majority Whip TONY COELHO (D-Calif.), according to congressional staffers, who also told *TL* that this issue was raised at a recent meeting between the top leadership and the Congressional Black Caucus.

The hiring record at the Justice Department is no better, according to RALPH NEAS, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, who said, "The top echelons [presidential appointees] of the Justice Department constitute one of the most segregated work

forces in the country." Neas points out that Attorney General EDWIN MEESE and Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights BRADFORD REYNOLDS have been the architects of the administration's anti-affirmative action policy. The central tenet of that policy has been that only identifiable victims of intentional discrimination can benefit from affirmative action—a position rejected by the Supreme Court. (A forthcoming article in *Focus* will discuss this issue in more detail.)...**Neas points out that the department itself provides a good illustration of what could result if the Meese-Reynolds brand of affirmative action becomes the law of the land. Few minorities or women have been selected for federal judgeships or U.S. attorney positions, both of which are screened by the Justice Department.** By November 1986, the Reagan administration had appointed 290 federal judges in six years, of whom 5 (less than 2 percent) were black. Of the 93 U.S. attorneys appointed during this period, only 2 are black. In contrast, the Carter administration appointed a total of 258 federal judges, of whom 37 (14 percent) were black, according to Professor Sheldon Goldman of the University of Massachusetts.

In *New York*, too, the hiring record is disappointing—particularly in light of the debt owed to blacks whose near-unanimous support helped to elect Governor MARIO CUOMO in a very tight race in 1982. A study by the State Assembly Subcommittee on Affirmative Action found 23 blacks among the 185 employees in the Executive Chamber of the Governor in 1985—only 12 percent, compared to the state's 20 percent black population. According to political consultant TONI DARNEY SCHMIEGELOW, Governor Cuomo "has appointed few blacks to top posts in state agencies, none to his inner circle, and has yet to demonstrate a true commitment to affirmative action in his own hiring policies." (ED. NOTE: Former Howard University professor Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich was appointed by Cuomo to be his first commissioner of Housing and Community Renewal on January 1, 1983. She resigned in July 1985 to become deputy mayor of Philadelphia.) Elsewhere in the state government, the subcommittee report documents that "blacks are just now beginning to move into top management posts in many agencies." **(For a report on how blacks are faring in the Foreign Service, see the conference report on pages 8-11 of *Focus*.)**

Atlanta, New Orleans Will Host 1988 Conventions

Many people seem to think that black mayors govern only in major cities that are the very picture of urban blight—rapidly deteriorating and in the fiscal red. **A strong signal to the contrary comes from those who chose New Orleans, whose mayor is SIDNEY BARTHELEMY, for the Republican Party's national convention and Atlanta, whose mayor is ANDREW YOUNG, for the Democratic Party's national convention.** Though Atlanta and New Orleans are far from free of economic troubles, both are vibrant and well-managed. **Being selected to host the national conventions will be good for the cities' images and, with convention spending estimated at $50 million, for their economies as well.**

To those seeking a political explanation, **the selections of Atlanta and New Orleans signify a courtship of voters in the 11 southern states and the 138 electoral votes they control (which amounts to more than half the 270 needed to capture the White House).** PAUL KIRK, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, for instance, has said "If we are to be a competitive national party, we have to be competitive in the southern part of the country." **Other political observers speculate, however, that there was another reason for the Democrats' choice of Atlanta, whose convention center is slightly too small for the national convention. They assert that Atlanta is also the site of outspoken black leaders opposed to a second JESSE JACKSON presidential bid.** They say black leaders such as Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young will make it more difficult for Jackson to present himself as the principal spokesman for blacks at the convention. He will have to share the spotlight with other prominent blacks, of whom there are many in Atlanta.

Groundwork Laid for Mission To Japan

As noted in last month's *TL*, some black leaders were planning a protest and confrontation strategy as a means of bettering relations between blacks and the Japanese in the wake of Prime Minister YASUHIRO NAKASONE's insulting remarks about blacks. **The news this month is that an *ad hoc* group of black business and political leaders will leave for a six-day exploratory mission to Japan on April 12, 1987, to, in the words of the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman MER-**

VYN DYMALLY (D-Calif.), "discuss the access and barriers for blacks in international economic ventures in the United States" and to explore the possibility of social and cultural exchanges.... Planning for the mission has been going on for several months and includes a visit to Japan in January by Congressman Dymally, who reported to his colleagues that he met with the U.S. ambassador to Japan (former Senator MIKE MANSFIELD), Prime Minister Nakasone's chief of staff, and with representatives of private businesses. **Dymally has had numerous meetings across the United States with elected officials and business persons, including a meeting in the Bahamas to discuss strategy and goals. As he told *TL*, "This is a substantive black response, not a protest response."**

Across The Nation

ARIZONA Arizona Governor EVAN MECHAM's repeal of the MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. holiday in that state could be very costly if organizations begin to boycott the state, as some organizations and individuals have already vowed to do. Entertainer STEVIE WONDER announced he will not perform in the state; the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), which represents publishers of black newspapers and magazines, denounced Mecham's action and cancelled its mid-winter convention in Phoenix; the National Finance Council of the National Democratic Committee also cancelled its winter meeting in Tucson over the King Holiday controversy.

ILLINOIS Incumbent Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON won the Democratic primary 53 percent to JANE BYRNE's 46 percent. Still there is no clear sailing for Washington. In the general election, as of this writing, he will face Republican nominee DONALD HAIDER, County Assessor THOMAS HYNES, of the Chicago First Party (a party formed only for the mayoral race), and EDWARD VRYDOLYAK, of the Illinois Solidarity Party. If all the white candidates stay in the race, Washington, who won 98 percent of the black vote, 51 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 20 percent of the white vote, would be absolutely guaranteed to win. But if two white candidates drop out of the race or are not taken seriously by the electorate, the scenario would be set for a replay of the tight battle of 1983, when blacks and whites voted along racial lines and Washington barely squeaked into office. Hynes is viewed as Washington's toughest opponent. He is viewed as more independent than Vrydolyak (the standard bearer of the old Daley machine) and Haider (who worked in the Byrne administration). According to political scientist ROBERT STARKS, all the white candidates are more than likely to stay in the race. Each, although disguised under diverse party labels, represents a competing wing of the Democratic party and the real contest is over who will control the party and the remnants of the Daley machine. Moreover, Vrdolyak in particular has so much money that he is unlikely to pull out of the race despite his continued high negative ratings in the polls.

In East St. Louis, incumbent Mayor CARL OFFICER beat back a strong challenge from businessman CLYDE JORDAN. Officer won 54 percent of the vote compared to Jordan's 46 percent. Both Officer and Jordan are black. Officer is expected to easily defeat his Republican opponent, DELORES TURNBOUGH (who is also black) in the April 7th general election.

INDIANA Though TL reported in January that incumbent Mayor RICHARD HATCHER was unopposed for reelection, a challenger has since entered the contest. THOMAS V. BARNES, Calumet Township assessor, officially became a candidate for mayor of Gary on February 4. Barnes's campaign theme is "New Directions." He says it symbolizes his goal of "a new beginning for Gary, free of corruption and isolation." According to Barnes, his top two priorities are the crisis of unemployment and corruption in incumbent Mayor Richard Hatcher's administration. (In recent months federal indictments have been issued to former Hatcher cronies.) Hatcher has also filed his candidacy for re-election for a sixth four-year term. Both Hatcher and Barnes are black.

IOWA JESSE JACKSON went farming for votes in Iowa with amazing success. Going head-to-head with the Super Bowl on Jan. 25, Jackson drew 800 people to a church potluck supper--in an all-white town with a population of 2,500. His feat did not go unnoticed in a state where such front-runners as former Democratic Senator GARY HART of Colorado and Senator Robert Dole of Kansas have had to settle for far smaller audiences. The State Democratic Party chairman said Jackson left many awestruck, and FRANK ALEXANDER, a vice president and lobbyist for the United Auto Workers Union in Iowa, said "this time" the Democrats will have to take Jackson seriously. Throughout Jackson's three-day visit to the state, he drew big crowds and successfully raised funds.

LOUISIANA Alexandria attorney FAYE WILLIAMS, who lost a narrow and bitter contest for the 8th congressional seat last fall, says she is considering a bid for governor this year. Some political observers in the state speculate that if Williams enters the race she will hurt the candidacy of Governor Edwin Edwards who has had wide support from blacks since his first gubernatorial race in 1971. But Williams, who also says she is eyeing another bid for a seat in Congress in 1988, says she "would not get in just to say [she's] running," nor would she run to hamper any candidate's chances.

MICHIGAN Michigan's Legislative Black Caucus has issued a strong statement of disagreement with Gov. James Blanchard's 1987 "State of the State" message. They charge Blanchard's message does not reflect the "State of Blacks" in Michigan. Citing isolated improvements for the black community during the Blanchard years, the Legislative Black Caucus says for the most part black conditions have continued to be characterized by high unemployment, underemployment, and poverty. They point out that blacks overwhelmingly supported Blanchard in 1982 and again in 1986 (when he defeated black Republican William Lucas) in order to reject the Reagan philosophy and ultra-right conservatism in the state, but they say Blanchard's policy initiatives on human investment, on investment in higher education, and on programs to attract and retain firms are not working in cities with large concentrations of blacks such as Detroit, Benton Harbor, Flint, and Pontiac. They call for Blanchard to renew his commitment to the state's cities.

PENNSYLVANIA Given the mounting evidence that the single-member district system benefits black candidates, it is not surprising that black leaders in Pittsburgh (which has no blacks on its city council) have filed a suit charging that the city's at-large system discriminates against blacks. It is surprising, however, that the NAACP branch in Pittsburgh voted 11-10 in favor of maintaining the at-large election system in that city. Blacks compose 30 percent of the total population in the city. No other major city with such a large black population has no blacks on its city council. This year Pittsburgh has six city council seats up for election. Clarence Huff, Mattie Stone, Stanley Lowe and Otis Lyons—all black--are running for council seats.

Allies Desert Ward in S.F. House Race

San Francisco city-county Supervisor DORIS WARD (who is black) has announced her decision to run for the House seat left open by the death of Congresswoman Sala Burton (D). Ward, one of eight Democrats and six Republicans in the race, has an uphill battle on her hands. The front-runner is NANCY PELOSI, former state Democratic chair and chief Democratic fund-raiser in the state....**If political experience was all that counted, Ward ought to be ahead of Pelosi. Ward has held public office for 15 years (8 years on the Community College Board of Governors and 7 years on the Board of Supervisors) while Pelosi has never held public office before.** Although Ward holds a doctorate in education, has been the Board's coordinator on education issues, and has a legislative record of unwavering support for minorities, women, and labor (e.g., she has introduced minority and women business initiatives and aided in the establishment of an economic development corporation), **Pelosi has been endorsed by the local branches of the National Education Association (NEA), several other labor organizations, the National Organization of Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), the Latino Democratic Club, and even state Assembly Speaker Willie Brown.** Brown, who is black, has stated that Ward should drop out of the race in order to not harm Pelosi's chances for winning the black vote in the district. Some sources in Washington say Brown and California 8th District Congressman Ron Dellums are making calls soliciting support for Pelosi. Pelosi also received Burton's endorsement....Some observers believe Pelosi, a member of Baltimore's wealthy Pelosi family, is far ahead only because of her wealth and her fund-raising abilities. **Pelosi opened her campaign with $750,000. They say if Pelosi wins, it will prove this district can be bought....Gov. George Deukmejian (R) set April 7th for the primary and June 2nd for the special election to the fill the vacancy in the 5th C.D.** The district includes about three-quarters of the city of San Francisco and is 9 percent black and 12 percent Hispanic. It is a Democratic bastion (64 percent of the voters are registered Democrats) which gave Walter Mondale 65 percent of the vote against Ronald Reagan in 1984. **To win, Ward would obviously have to put together a strong multi-racial, multi-ethnic coalition.**

More Black Political "Firsts"

In **Sumter, South Carolina,** three candidates, businessman WILLIE SINGLETON, Rev. WILLIAM S. RANDOLPH, of the First Baptist Church, and businesswoman HATTIE SCARBOROUGH, became **the first blacks to win the Democratic city council primary under the new single-member district method.** Since they will be unopposed in the general election on April 7th, they will become the first black councilmembers in Sumter since the late 1800s. Blacks make up 39 percent of Sumter's total population. Elsewhere in South Carolina, Chief Deputy Sheriff GEORGE REID became **the first black to be elected sheriff in McCormick.** Reid captured 1,228 votes in the Democratic party runoff in the majority black county and defeated a white opponent by 108 votes. Also in South Carolina, Attorney HARRY BROWN became the **first black elected probate judge** when he defeated a 40-year white incumbent in the Jasper County primary and then went on to win the general election in this majority black county....MARIA CALDWELL, a Republican, became the **first black woman elected to a judgeship in Albuquerque, New Mexico.** Judge Caldwell now represents Division 6 on the Metropolitan Court. Before running for elective office, she was the assistant district attorney for Bernadillo County, an appointed position....In Tennessee, businessman ROLAND DYKES became the **first black alderman in Newport.** Dykes received the second highest number of votes among 15 candidates on the ballot for alderman....In Alabama, Selma lawyer NATHANIEL WALKER became **the first black to sit on the district court bench here since Reconstruction.** Walker, who won election last fall, will serve as Dallas County district judge....In Indiana, DIANNE WILDER-TOMLINSON became **Marshall County's first black elected official when she won the Marshall County attorney's race in November.** Less than 1 percent of the county's voters are black....In Minnesota, E. CRAIG MORRIS became **the first black mayor any Minnesota city has ever had when he was elected mayor of Lakeland.** *Morris is the only black adult living in Lakeland!* He is a strategic planner for Northwestern Bell telephone company.

Planning for the 1990 Census

Special Effort Being Made To Reduce the Undercount of Blacks

by Sherille Ismail

In a briefing for the staff of the Joint Center, officials of the U.S. Census Bureau identified several steps they are taking to reduce the undercount of the black population in the 1990 census and to provide the decennial census data in a timely and cost-effective manner.

As reported previously in *Focus* (see, e.g., May 1973, June 1979), the decennial census-taking has enormous implications for minorities in terms of the allocation of federal funds and the reapportionment of legislative districts—to name two of the most significant uses of the census data. For instance, 100 percent of the federal program funds for education ($3.9 billion), employment/job training ($1.9 billion), and housing ($8.2 billion), and 88 percent of the funds for community development ($22.6 billion) were allocated on the basis of formulas which used the population data in the 1980 census (source: *Government Information Quarterly,* Volume 2, No. 4, 1985). Consequently, states and local jurisdictions whose populations were undercounted would have received less than their due.

Adjusting the Undercount

The undercount of blacks has been revealed in studies which compared birth and death statistics to arrive at a number for total population. If this number exceeds the census count, the bureau knows it has undercounted a given population. In the 1980 census, for instance, the undercount was estimated at 5 percent for blacks and less than 1 percent for the rest of the population—an improvement from prior years when the black undercount was more than 7 percent.

Though public officials and others have sought (and even sued for) adjustments to correct the undercount, the Census Bureau has so far refused to do so—on the grounds that the census must be an actual count and cannot be based on estimates. For the 1990 census, however, a publicly stated goal of the bureau has been to "decrease the differential between the undercount rates for whites and for nonwhites."

How can this be done? The first stage of this effort will be to improve the accuracy of the census count which is scheduled for April 1990. This means repeating (and refining) the techniques used in the 1980 census, when the black undercount was cut to 5 percent.

Some of the major techniques are purchasing lists of dwelling units from commercial vendors, using the Postal Service to verify occupancy data, and actively encouraging the participation of local governments in reviewing block-by-block counts of dwelling units and of population during the census.

The bureau also plans a "dress rehearsal census" in March 1988 to test its enumeration techniques in four sites, including St. Louis which has a large black population. Another plan is to broadcast public service announcements aimed at increasing public awareness of the benefits accruing to the community when the census is full and accurate.

In addition to these efforts at bettering the census count, the bureau is considering "post-enumeration surveys" in certain targeted black communities which are likely to have been undercounted. Another option being studied—which was recommended by the National Academy of Sciences in 1979 (see *Focus,* June 1979)—is to make postcensal adjustments of the population count for purposes of distributing federal funds but not for purposes of apportionment of population. Final decisions on these and other adjustment options will be made in May of this year. ■

Key Planning Dates

Every 10 years since 1790 the U.S. Bureau of the Census has taken a statistical "portrait of the nation's populace, in rich but anonymous detail," to quote John Keane, the current director. By law the bureau is required to complete its count of the U.S. population and its distribution by state, for purposes of apportionment, by December 31, 1990. An additional breakdown, for redistricting purposes, must be completed by April 1, 1991, and must include racial characteristics of sub-state geographical units (e.g., cities, tracts, blocks). Other relevant dates are April 1, 1987, for notifying Congress of the subjects to be covered in the census questionnaire; and, April 1, 1988, for the exact wording of the questions.

Mr. Ismail is editor of *Focus*.

On April 17, 23, and 30, 1986, the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) sponsored a series of round table discussions on "Ethnocentrism in U.S. Foreign Policy." The discussions were held at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C., and brought together a diverse group of experts: academicians, elected officials, foreign service professionals, business people, members of the press, and American and foreign ambassadors. (A complete list of the round table participants appears on page 11 of this report.) Bernard Johns, a State Department career foreign service officer detailed to JCPS as a Pearson Fellow, organized the round table series. The conference report was written by Susan Kalish, based on a draft by Ian McNett, both JCPS Consultants.

The Distorted Lens

Ethnocentrism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Ethnocentrism, JCPS President Eddie N. Williams told the conference in his opening address, is one underlying cause of our persistent foreign policy failures in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Seen through the distorted lens of ethnocentrism, only countries "like us"—that is, Western, industrialized democracies—are of much importance. More often than we realize, Williams warned, an ethnocentric bias infects our foreign policy—distorting our perceptions of Third World countries, our analyses of events, and our assessments of the players. Ethnocentrism, he concluded, "can trap us in fruitless policy approaches or tempt us to take actions that backfire."

Following the opening address on April 17, 1986, a selected number of the participants made brief, formal presentations at each of the three sessions. Each presentation led to a free-wheeling discussion by the round table participants. This conference report is a summary of the proceedings of the three sessions.

I. Towards A Definition of Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism may be defined as the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group, the perception that one's own country lies at the center of the world. William Banner, professor of philosophy emeritus at Howard University, pointed out that ethnocentrism is a caricature of a tendency that is basic to human nature and which is generally constructive—pride in one's own ethnic group or national identity. Such pride plays a positive role in national liberation struggles and ethnic consciousness movements, emphasized Charles Thomas, professor of urban studies and planning at the University of California, San Diego, who presented a paper on the political psychology of ethnocentrism at the April 23 round table. But, he cautioned, ethnocentrism is also the breeding ground for nazism, white supremacy, or other forms of racism.

"The bad, if you will, of ethnocentrism," said Bernard Johns, a career foreign service officer and Pearson Fellow at JCPS, "is when the normative values of a given society enter into the process of analysis. If we project our values to interpret a foreign, a different group, we invariably misinterpret that group's behavior. This occurs because we fail to appreciate that group's norms for political behavior as different from our own. It is as if everything different has to be bad."

The "official mind" that conditioned our foreign policy from the first Indian wars through the end of the nineteenth century was often "overtly ethnocentric and racist," said Elliott Skinner, professor of anthropology at Columbia University, who presented a paper on the history of ethnocentrism in U.S. foreign policy at the April 17 round table. From the birth of our nation, ethnocentrism colored U.S. policies toward Latin America, the Pacific Islands, the Far East, and Africa—fostering such now-discredited slogans as "manifest destiny" and "the yellow peril."

Throughout American history, Skinner said, U.S. policy towards nonwhite peoples in the less developed world exhibited a surface altruism and an underlying contempt, with an admixture of commercial greed. This attitude often served as a justification for the exercise of naked power. For example, in the 1890s, before he became president, Teddy Roosevelt pushed for the annexation of Hawaii, arguing that failure to do so would be a crime against the United States and against "white civilization." In Roosevelt's view, America should acquire "for the white race the best portions of the world's surface."

II. Ethnocentrism in American Institutions

Although overtly racist rationales and rhetoric—such as the "white man's burden"—have been generally muted in American foreign policy debates in recent years, the participants agreed that ethnocentrism persists in the foreign service, the media, and the educational system.

The Foreign Service

Traditionally, the U.S. foreign service has been staffed from a small circle of eastern, mostly Ivy League

elites, who tend to think alike and share the same blind spots, according to several round table participants. A sharp critic of this tradition was Congressman George Crockett (D-Mich.), now chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, who said, "The State Department. . . projects a lily-white image to the world. . . and it relies on a small, increasingly out-of-touch group to formulate policies." Crockett charged that "what we see today is a foreign policy practically bereft of input from minority communities in the United States. We see almost no Hispanics, women, or blacks in positions of power at the State Department, the White House, or other decision-making centers." (See the box on this page for Congressman Crockett's more detailed remarks on blacks in the foreign service.)

The consequences of having a "lily-white" foreign service were addressed by Aurelia Brazeal, then deputy director of Japanese affairs in the State Department and now economic minister designate of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, who said, "Most [white] Americans are not comfortable dealing with nonwhite peoples. They lack the tools to cope when they are in a minority situation themselves. Black Americans and other minorities do have those tools, because we cope in this country as a minority."

Several participants, however, warned that increasing minority representation in foreign service agencies, while desirable, would not necessarily cure ethnocentrism. Remarked Brian Weinstein, professor of political science at Howard University, "I don't see any data that would support the general idea that merely making the foreign service reflect American society would automatically develop that sensitivity and that knowledge that would make our foreign policy better." Furthermore, to influence foreign policy requires a sophisticated understanding of the foreign policy making process—something minorities, due to their historic exclusion from these processes, may lack, commented Ambassador William B. Jones, a retired foreign service officer who was recently appointed staff director of Representative Crockett's subcommittee.

Ambassador George S. Vest, director general of the U.S. Foreign Service, commented that his recruitment efforts since 1984 have not been as productive as he wished. Minority young people seem drawn to other opportunities that "make it difficult to recruit them in the numbers we want. We set targets. We don't make them." Stephen Low, director of the Foreign Service Institute, added that despite measures to alter foreign service officer examination and acceptance procedures to avoid unfair exclusion of minorities, "stimulating interest" remains difficult.

The Media

The press and electronic media drew mixed reviews from round table participants. Some thought the media

(Cont. on page 10)

The Foreign Service: Backsliding on Blacks?

Black influence and presence in the foreign policy establishment increased significantly during the Carter administration, said Representative George W. Crockett, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. Key appointments included: former Congressman Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; Terry Todman as the first black assistant secretary of state for a geographic bureau (Latin American Affairs); Donald McHenry as deputy chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and later as chief; and John Reinhardt as director of the U.S. Information Agency (columnist Carl Rowan was the first black director, during the Johnson administration). In addition, several blacks were appointed as ambassadors to important European countries, including David Bowland to East Germany, O. Rudolph Aggrey to Rumania, and Terry Todman to Spain.

"Besides making these very visible and significant high-level appointments, the Carter administration sought to increase minority representation in the career foreign service and to provide greater opportunities for blacks to come into the White House and the State Department to present their views on foreign affairs issues," Crockett said.

Crockett cited serious "backsliding" during the Reagan administration, however. In 1986, just 254, or 6 percent of the total of 4,101 officers in the U.S. Foreign Service were black. There are only 12 blacks at senior levels in the State Department out of a total of over 650 positions. None of these are black women. [Note: In the fall of 1986, since Crockett's remarks, Aurelia Brazeal was promoted to the rank of senior counselor and is now the economic minister designate of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo.] There are only 25 blacks among the 729 individuals eligible to compete for the senior foreign service, said Crockett.

Only one black person holds a senior policy-making position in the Department of State—Assistant Secretary of State Allan Keys (International Organization Affairs). There are only two deputy assistant secretaries of state—Clarence Hodges in the Equal Employment Opportunities office, and William Robertson, head of the Africa Bureau. Only two blacks work at the next lower level as office directors—Howard Walker at the Bureau of West African Affairs and Clarence Pegues, executive director at the Bureau of Political and Military Affairs.

According to Crockett, the situation in American embassies overseas is "equally disturbing, at both the upper and lower echelons. We are witnessing a steady retreat from the commitment of previous administrations to open up positions and opportunities to minorities and to women." Out of the 150 ambassadorial positions, black Americans now have only 6 positions, down from a high of 16 during the Carter years. Only one of these is posted outside of Africa—Ambassador to Denmark Terry Todman. (Note: since Crockett's remarks, President Reagan has named Edward J. Perkins, a State Department veteran, as the first black U.S. ambassador to South Africa.)

(Cont. from page 9)

were doing an adequate job in informing the public on what is going on overseas. Others felt the media were prisoners of the same ethnocentric thinking that affects policy makers. Areas of the world are often ignored until they become hot spots. Then, in the crisis atmosphere, the media focuses on ongoing events, catching up belatedly, if at all, on the forces that created and shaped the crisis. Gary Sick noted how Iran was ignored by the media, as well as by two administrations, until it was too late. As this is being written, another Iran crisis has strained public credibility in another administration. As a nation we still do not understand Iran very well at all.

Unquestionably, some reporters make extraordinary efforts to find out what is going on in the countries they cover. They go to unusual, even dangerous, lengths to get both sides of the picture and to provide the background that is needed to make an intelligent assessment of a situation. Editors, editorial writers, and network news executives, however, often do not have the same experience or opportunity. Every reporter's story necessarily is filtered through the minds of several other journalists before it appears in print or on camera. Further, reporters often are assigned to stories or beats on the basis of accomplishment in another area. They may be ill-prepared for covering a culture different from their own, while grappling with a new language. Some of the larger newspapers rely on foreign nationals and foreign wire services for coverage. Still, much of the media is ill-prepared to inform its readers or audience of crucial background and historical information that would shed light on crises and ongoing events in the world generally, the Third World particularly. Beyond major metropolitan dailies which pride themselves on being national newspapers, precious little background is available to the American citizen. The history and effects of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, China, and Latin America are little understood. The reason why some Americans do not understand the antipathy of some Third World peoples to the United States is that they simply have not had access to the facts.

Newspapers, too, might consider establishing fellowships, years abroad, and other opportunities for current and future journalists to deepen their understanding of other cultures. They should also consider hiring, as some do, Americans who already have had experience abroad—Peace Corps volunteers, international business representatives, diplomats, AID officers, and others who can demonstrate a genuine understanding of the nations and regions they would be covering. Fellowships and sabbaticals for mid-career journalists would allow them to enrich their comprehension of the areas they cover, and that of their readers as well. Most metropolitan newspapers could draw on nearby universities for area and regional experts who could offer seminars for editors and editorial writers who shape news and editorial policies.

Educational Institutions

An unconscious ethnocentrism permeates our education system, many round table participants noted. From grade school through college, students are routinely exposed to Western civilization but only rarely to other traditions and cultures, pointed out William Bate, American studies specialist in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, United States Information Agency. Relatively few graduate students pursue specialized studies in geography, non-European languages, or area studies. As a result, even to most educated Americans, many areas of the Third World are just hazy blurs on the world map.

III. Ethnocentrism and Recent Foreign Policy

Round table participants discerned ethnocentric elements in recent policies toward several unfolding events in the Third World. This country's relations with Iran and South Africa and our response to terrorism came in for special criticism.

Historically, ethnocentrism has tended to intensify in times of national stress, pointed out Ambassador Howard K. Walker, who served with the State Department for 21 years. Even today politicians may manipulate feelings of ethnicity, he said, to rouse public support behind foreign actions that are shortsighted and ultimately self-destructive.

Ambassador David Dunlop Newsom, associate dean and director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, pointed out that today, when the world is shrinking and American influence seems to be waning, we are particularly vulnerable to irrational fear of political power passing to people "not within the Euro-centric ken of American citizens."

What's an Ayatollah?

Crises in the Third World have often caught the public and policy makers unaware of conditions in the trouble spot. Such ignorance was poignantly apparent during the Islamic revolution and hostage crisis in Iran, said Gary Sick, who gave the luncheon presentation at the April 23 round table. As the principal White House aide on Iran in the Carter administration, Sick was a first-hand observer of events in Iran and has described the crisis in a recent book, *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran.*

The morning the crisis broke, Sick recalled, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency had to brief the vice president on what an Ayatolla was. It was obvious, he said, that the director himself had just learned the meaning of the term. Despite Iran's 2,500 year history and a heavy U.S. policy investment, Sick said, "For the most part, at least until these crises started, Iran was a blank spot on Americans' conceptual

map"—elected officials, the foreign service, and the general public alike.

Seeing South Africa Clearly

Henry Bienen, James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor at Princeton University, challenged many commonly held assumptions during his April 30 presentation on U.S. policy towards South Africa. Bienen said that—"off-the-cuff" remarks by political leaders to the contrary—there has not been much substantive change in the U.S. South African policies of Presidents Nixon, Carter, and Reagan. Each of these administrations, he said, have based their policies on the mistaken conviction that the United States needs South Africa as an ally in a region where the influence of the Soviet Union has been expanding.

Several participants, including Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, now University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Relations at Georgetown University, disagreed with Bienen on the changes in U.S. policy under the different presidents. McHenry, who succeeded Andrew Young as permanent representative to the United Nations under President Carter, cited important "differences of emphasis" between the different administrations.

Goler T. Butcher, professor of law at Howard University and former assistant administrator for Africa, U.S. AID, said that kinship politics seriously distorts our view of events in South Africa. For example, we speak of wanting to prevent violence in South Africa, but "in the kith and kin view of U.S. policy makers towards South Africa, violence tends to be equated with the killing of whites." Butcher and other participants criticized the Reagan administration for dealing almost exclusively with the white minority regime while seriously neglecting contacts among black South Africans.

Avoiding the "Terror Trap"

Our own ethnocentrism increases the difficulties of remaining rational when terrorist incidents occur, many participants felt. Sick spoke of terrorism as "part of the human condition," a political tool that is "rediscovered in every generation as needed." However, policy makers and the media have overreacted to terrorism, he said. However outrageous these incidents, "to make [terrorism] into. . .the number one threat to U.S. security is simply wrong," he declared. The real danger, according to Sick, is that the United States may fall into the "terror trap"—allow itself to be manipulated into taking foreign policy actions that are hasty or wrong.

IV. Reducing Ethnocentrism

To reduce the distorting effects of ethnocentrism in foreign policy making requires educational changes, a more sensitive and informed media, and better representation of minorities among those who make foreign policy. Greater efforts must also be made to encourage minority young people to pursue foreign policy careers, to enable minority academicians to study foreign affairs in universities and think tanks, and to involve minority public officials more deeply and systematically in the formulation of foreign policy. These goals increase in urgency as it becomes more and more important for the United States to have better relations with Third World peoples and nations. The challenge for us in the United States has never been greater nor the penalties for misunderstanding more severe. ■

Round Table Participants

Millard Arnold, Associates International
Professor Curtis Banks, Howard University
Professor William Banner, Howard University
Dr. William Bate, U.S.I.A.
Professor Henry Bienen, Princeton University
Aurelia Brazeal, U.S. State Department
Carol Brookins, World Perspective, Inc.
Dr. Lynn Burbridge, JCPS
Professor Goler T. Butcher, Howard University
Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Dillard University (ret.)
Ambassador Walter C. Carrington, Howard University
Professor Babalola Cole, Howard University
The Honorable George W. Crockett, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives
Professor William Cross, Cornell University
Dr. Susan Schaeffer Davis, University of Pennsylvania
Ambassador Horace G. Dawson, Jr., U.S.I.A.
Dr. Winnie D. Emoungu, U.S.I.A.
Susan Erickson, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Professor John B. Eubanks, Howard University
Dr. Eleanor Farrar, JCPS
Dr. Patricia Fisher, Howard University
Ambassador Richard K. Fox, Jr., Meridian House, International
Dr. Allan Goodman, Georgetown University
Gillian Gunn, Georgetown University
Ambassador Clarence Hodges, U.S. State Department
Jay Jacobson, U.S. State Department
Bernard Johns, Pearson Fellow, JCPS
Ambassador William B. Jones, U.S. Foreign Service (ret.)
Colbert L. King, Riggs National Bank
Dr. Robert Kobls, Meridian House, International
Stephen Lande, Manchester Associates, Ltd.
Ambassador Stephen Low, Foreign Service Institute
Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, Georgetown University
Ambassador Francis J. McNeill, U.S. State Department
Stephen Menick, Freelance Journalist
Professor Gwendolyn Mikell, Georgetown University
Dr. Milton Morris, JCPS
Ambassador David Dunlop Newsom, Georgetown University
Dr. Edwin J. Nichols, N.I.H.
Ambassador Ronald Palmer
Julia-Ellen C. Robinson, International Marketing Consultant
Leonard Robinson, African Development Foundation
Stephen S. Rosenfeld, The Washington Post
Professor Faraidoon Shams, Howard University
Dr. Paul Shapiro, U.S.I.A.
Dr. Gary G. Sick, Ford Foundation
Professor Elliott Skinner, Columbia University
Professor Charles W. Thomas II, University of California, San Diego
Ambassador George S. Vest, U.S. Foreign Service
Ambassador Howard K. Walker, U.S. State Department
Professor Brian Weinstein, Howard University
Eddie N. Williams, JCPS
Francille Wilson, Author

Advisory Committee Report

(Cont. from page 4)

United Democratic Front (UDF) have demonstrated a remarkable ability to bring together under one umbrella groups and individuals representing a variety of different interests and perspectives. At all levels of organization, and especially within the trade union movement, there is a deeply ingrained commitment to the principle that leaders must be accountable to their constituents.

Another distinctive feature of the South African scene is that, from the 1950s to the present, local community leaders have played a decisive role in determining the agenda of opposition politics. The UDF and COSATU are examples of institutions in which unity has been built from the bottom up on the basis of shared interests and objectives rather than imposed from the top down on the basis of the preconceived ideas of national leaders.

The vitality of the creative debate that is currently under way inside the black political community is another asset as we look beyond apartheid. The intellectual contributions of a steadily expanding number of black educators, journalists, lawyers, church leaders, union leaders, and businessmen attest to the breadth of resources that will be available to a nonracial society. In a society free of race restrictions, their mixture with white leadership will further enrich such resources.

The Role of Whites

Despite their long and bitter struggle against apartheid, black leaders retain a considerable reservoir of goodwill toward whites. The spectre of white "boat people" forced to flee the grip of a vicious black dictatorship is not consonant with the reality of generations of efforts by pragmatic black leaders to persuade whites to move toward the creation of a nonracial order. From the ANC (with its Freedom Charter declaration that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white") to the exponents of Black Consciousness (whose martyred leader Steve Biko in 1976 declared of a future South Africa: "White participation is imperative"), black leaders have consistently acknowledged that whites have an important role to play in a post-apartheid society. ■

Update on JCPS 10th Annual Dinner

William E. Brock, secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor, will be the featured speaker at this year's dinner, to be held on April 8, 1987, at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. Jewel Jackson McCabe, president of the Coalition of 100 Black Women, will be the mistress of ceremonies. Call (202) 626-3555 for further information.

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