Volume 16, No. 5 May 1988

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political Studies®

JCPS Conference Report

Black Leaders Gather at the Fifth National Policy Institute to Discuss Critical Policy Issues

Truman and the Desegregation of the Military

On the Eve of Executive Order 9981's Fortieth Anniversary, JCPS Looks at How This Historic Decision Transformed the Armed Services

The Changing Black Family: Implications for Children

Scholars Debate the Causes of Change in the Black Family and the Effects on Children

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Focusing on Defense

In this issue Dr. Edwin Dorn writes about Executive Order 9981, which was issued by President Truman 40 years ago this July. That historic directive had two important ramifications: it brought about the desegregation of the armed forces and, at least indirectly, it set the stage for the later desegregation of the civilian society.

There is a certain irony in the fact that the U.S. military, generally regarded as one of the nation's most conservative institutions, led the way in providing equal opportunity. But the evidence is overwhelming that it did so.

Many Americans, black and white, had their first exposure to mandated interracial cooperation in the armed services. The military gave the nation a unique opportunity to see blacks in positions of authority over whites. As a result of Executive Order 9981, black officers were commanding white soldiers more than a decade before Harvard University, a bastion of racial enlightenment, had black full professors teaching its undergraduates.

Black Americans have come to play a vital role in this nation's defense establishment. While blacks today are only 12 percent of the U.S. population, they are about 20 percent of the people on active duty in the armed forces. And, of course, this includes Army Lieutenant General Colin Powell, President Reagan's national security advisor.

The high representation of blacks in the military is one very good reason for black Americans to pay close attention to defense policy. Another good reason is that the defense establishment touches our lives in many ways and helps to secure the freedom we all enjoy. Therefore, it is not enough for us merely to complain about excessive defense spending or about a president's preference for guns instead of butter. We need to know much more about how defense policies are made and by whom, and about how those policies affect the nation as a whole and the black community in particular.

The 1988 presidential election gives us an opportunity to learn about the nation's defense policies and, through our votes, to influence the choice of future policies. As we listen to the candidates, and particularly as we press them to explain their positions on national security, we should keep several things in mind:

1. The United States has worldwide strategic interests, and protecting those interests is costly. When a candidate proposes to reduce defense spending, he should be asked precisely what that means: are we going to reduce our commitments in Europe, the Far East, and elsewhere, or does the candidate have a plan for meeting current commitments with fewer dollars?

2. In principle, one way to reduce the nation's defense budget is to get our European and Japanese allies to bear more of the burden of collective defense. But Japanese defense spending is restricted by law, and political pressures against increased defense spending by our European allies are very strong. So, is talk about greater "burden sharing" a realistic approach, or just empty campaign rhetoric?

3. One of the terrifying characteristics of the nuclear age is that, in terms of destructive potential, nuclear weapons are cheaper than conventional bombs and bullets. When a candidate proposes to reduce defense spending, is he, perhaps unwittingly, implying a willingness to rely more heavily on this country's nuclear deterrent?

As voters, as taxpayers, and as a group whose members play a vital role in this country's military, black Americans need to ensure that the candidates offer clear answers to these and other questions about defense policy. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Truman and the Desegregation of the Military

On the Eve of Executive Order 9981's Fortieth Anniversary, JCPS Looks at How This Historic Decision Transformed the Armed Services

by Edwin Dorn

Forty years ago this summer, the United States was approaching its first presidential election in the post-Roosevelt, postwar era. Having emerged from the Second World War as the world's preeminent power, the nation confronted fundamental choices about its role in world affairs, the restoration of its domestic economy, and its unresolved racial dilemma.

Against this backdrop, on July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981, calling for "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." Although it was conceived, in part, as an appeal to black voters who could be decisive in Truman's hard-fought presidential campaign against Thomas Dewey, the executive order has had a profound and lasting impact on our society.

As a result of Truman's order, the military became one of the first major American institutions to desegregate and to routinely place blacks in positions of authority over whites.* And by showing that changes in the racial status quo could occur successfully, the armed services helped ease resistance to the movement of blacks into leadership positions in civilian society.

But the ramifications of Truman's order were not immediately clear. Arguments over its implementation—for example, whether it required totally "color-blind" admissions, assignments, and promotions—presaged controversies over equal opportunity that persist to this day.

Segregation in the Military

Since the founding of the Republic, black Americans' experiences in the armed services had mirrored their experiences in the nation as a whole. They were placed in segregated units, confined to the lowest ranks, and usually assigned to labor details rather than to combat-related duties. Black officers and noncommissioned officers were not permitted to command whites. At the beginning of World War II, the army had a 10 percent quota on black enlistments, the navy admitted blacks only as mess stewards, and the Marine Corps was exclusively white, as it had been since the late 18th century.

Pressure from civil rights leaders such as Walter White of the NAACP and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League—as well as from black civilians inside the War Department (now the Department of the Army) like William Hastie, the race relations advisor to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson—led to minor changes during the war. The army desegregated most of its officer candidate schools, for example. But Hastie resigned when blacks in the Army Air Corps were sent to segregated training at Tuskegee Institute.

The navy opened up more career specialties to blacks during the war and in 1944 commissioned its first black officers. But with the exception of mess stewards, blacks generally were not permitted to serve aboard ships. The Marine Corps began admitting blacks in 1942, but it assigned them to segregated labor units and did not commission a single black officer until November 1945.

Military leaders claimed they were opposed to discrimination. The prevailing "separate but equal" doctrine, however, led them to draw a distinction between discrimination and segregation. Immediately after the war, therefore, Pentagon officials sought the most "efficient" ways to use all-black units, not ways to desegregate the units themselves. Most military leaders were convinced that segregation was efficient, and the consensus among them was that the armed services should not take the lead in doing what the rest of American society had not done.

Politics and Military Necessity

While black leaders supported the military's emphasis on efficiency, they argued that a segregated force was highly inefficient because it limited the contributions of blacks and forced the military into administrative contortions. At some military bases, for example, black units were overstaffed while white units on the same bases were critically short of personnel.

Further, many blacks believed that equal opportunity was a moral imperative: military service was a badge of full citizenship. And black leaders were increasingly willing and able to press for more rapid change. By the

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* Executive Order 9980, also issued on July 26, 1948, required equal opportunity in the federal government's civilian bureaucracy.

1940s, the gradualist approach of Booker T. Washington had given way to the more vigorous strategies advocated by scholar-activist W.E.B. DuBois and union leader A. Philip Randolph, whose threatened 1940 march on Washington had caused Roosevelt to order fairer treatment of blacks in war-related civilian industries (though not in the military).

By 1948, the potential political power of a unified and increasingly impatient black community was one of the forces that led Truman to issue Executive Order 9981. Attracted by jobs in wartime industries, hundreds of thousands of blacks had migrated from the South, where most of them had been disenfranchised, to northern and western states, where their votes could affect the outcome of a close presidential election.

In the three presidential elections preceding 1948, blacks had cast a majority of their votes for Roosevelt. But their loyalty to Roosevelt's party was not assured. The Democratic party contained a strong segregationist faction, and New York Governor Thomas Dewey, the Republican presidential nominee, was at least as strong on civil rights as Truman.

Sensing that the election would be close, Truman knew he needed to do something to shore up the black vote. But he also knew that the equal rights bills being urged by civil rights advocates would not pass Congress; and he worried that by raising the issue he might compromise other parts of his legislative agenda, including his plan to retain a strong military establishment.

As it turned out, military necessity, fueled by the Cold War, contributed as much to Truman's decision to issue Executive Order 9981 as did electoral politics. As a result of Truman's policy of "containing communism," the United States, for the first time in its history, needed to maintain a large peacetime military force. This meant that large numbers of young men were needed. But the generation reaching draft age in the late 1940s and early 1950s had been born during the depression, when economic hard times had reduced birthrates. Whether it wished to do so or not, the U.S. military would have to rely heavily on blacks to compensate for the shortage of white recruits. Military necessity, therefore, gave black leaders new leverage. A. Philip Randolph drove the point home by threatening to encourage young black men to refuse to register for the draft if the armed forces did not promise them fairer treatment.

The Executive Order

Truman's carefully worded executive order, calling for "equality of treatment and equal opportunity," was strong enough to attract black support during the 1948 election. But it was also vague enough to avoid negative reactions from Southern segregationist "Dixiecrats" in Congress. For example, the order did not instruct the armed services to desegregate or to eliminate racial quotas on enlistments.

The president appointed former solicitor general Charles Fahy to chair an advisory committee to review existing military procedures and make recommendations concerning the order's implementation. Two blacks were on the seven-member committee: *Chicago Defender* publisher John Sengstacke and Navy Secretary James Forrestal's race relations advisor Lester Granger, a former official of the National Urban League.

Without a clear mandate from the executive order to desegregate, each service interpreted Truman's order to suit its convenience. The army argued that segregation was both the most efficient and the fairest way to use black enlistees—"efficient" because it avoided the social disruptions that supposedly would accompany integration, and "fair" because it allowed blacks to compete for promotions with other blacks rather than with better-educated whites. Further, the army had the lowest enlistment standards of all the services and argued that it needed to retain racial quotas in order to avoid being swamped by "professional black privates" who, it believed, could qualify for enlistment but lacked the skills needed to advance.

The Fahy committee turned the efficiency argument on its head. After months of debate, army officials conceded to the committee that assigning people to jobs on the basis of race rather than on the basis of individual skills was poor management practice. Segregation, therefore, was admitted to be inefficient.

On the question of racial quotas, however, Army Secretary Gordon Gray found a compromise that substituted "achievement quotas" for explicit racial quotas. The services had used standardized achievement tests since the First World War, and on average blacks scored lower than whites. Thus, by raising its test-score requirements, the army could limit black enlistments without appearing to be out of step with the executive order. Truman approved Gray's proposal, and on March 27, 1950, the army rescinded racial quotas on enlistments.

The Final Barriers

The Korean War (1950-53) caused the military to accelerate the process of desegregation. Since civilian and military authorities had already conceded that segregation was inefficient, field commanders in Korea started assigning black soldiers to white units as combat replacements. The desegregated units performed well in combat, with little of the racial friction that had been feared. Desegregation was then extended to units in the U.S. and Europe. The last major all-black unit, the army's 94th Engineer Battalion in Europe, was deactivated in November 1954.

While the civilian society in 1954 was making its first fitful steps toward the recognition that desegregation and equal opportunity were inextricably linked, the armed services were already well along the road toward

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The Changing Black Family: Implications for Children

by Margaret C. Simms

We are all aware of the critical role that families play in our communities and in our nation. Families give children the basics: food, clothing, and shelter. The family shapes their values and aspirations. It provides them with the support and encouragement they need in order to be successful. . . . The family, both nuclear and extended, has been vital to blacks in all these ways and more.

Eddie N. Williams
President, JCPS
Racine, Wisconsin
November, 1987

The crucial child-rearing function of the family makes it an indispensable institution in all societies. But as a result of significant changes in the black family, more and more black children in America are being born into families that lack the structure and means to adequately support their development into productive adults.

The most notable change has been the growth in female-headed families. Over the past 25 years, there has been a dramatic decline in the proportion of blacks who are married. Blacks marry later, and they divorce and separate more often than whites. At the same time, blacks are only slightly less likely to have children than in the past.

As a result of some of these structural changes, one out of every two black children in 1985 lived in single-parent families headed by women, as compared with one in four in 1960. And two-thirds of the children in such households grow up in poverty. Furthermore, households headed by very young mothers (in their teens and early twenties) are even more disadvantaged, with 9 out of 10 children in such families living in poverty. Data reveals that these children are more likely to be delinquents, drug abusers, and teen mothers.

Last November, the Joint Center and the Johnson Foundation cosponsored a conference to review a variety of research issues focusing on the black family. The conference, held at the foundation's Wingspread Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin, was part of a larger Joint Center study of the changing black family as it affects the living conditions of black children. (This study is funded by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.) Those who participated in the Wingspread proceedings included researchers in the disciplines of economics, sociology, psychology, and demography, and representatives of advocacy organizations. The conference included five sessions which focused on the following topics: the major trends in family structure, causes of changes in black family structure, teen parenting, consequences of change for children, and available data for family research.

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Trends in Black Family Structure

University of Michigan demographer Reynolds Farley provided a statistical overview of the formation and dissolution of families, especially black families, over the period from 1960 to 1985. He said the dramatic increase in the age at which black men and women first marry is the biggest change in family structure. While over 60 percent of black women were married before age 25 in 1960, only 24 percent were married by that age in 1985. In addition, marriages today are much more likely to end in divorce than was the case before 1970. Although some changes in marriage patterns have taken place among whites as well, the changes for blacks are greater and of more profound consequence.

Traditionally, blacks married at earlier ages than whites in the United States, but that trend was reversed in the 1950s, and whites now marry at much younger ages. Given blacks' later marriages, higher divorce rates, and lower remarriage rates, researchers have estimated that black women today can expect to spend only 16 years of their 73-year life span with a husband, while white women can expect to spend 33 years of their 76-year life span with a husband. Increasingly, then, black families are being headed by women without marital partners.

The Living Arrangements of Children

Farley also noted that this greater marital instability has had negative implications for children who are forced to spend a substantial part of their childhood in a single-parent family. But marital instability is only one of the reasons the majority of black children are living with their mothers alone. Another reason is that increasing numbers of black children are being born to unwed women. In 1960, only one-fifth of all black babies were born to unwed mothers; by 1985 three-fifths of black babies were born to unwed mothers.

Contrary to popular opinion, there has not been a great increase in childbearing, even among teenagers, noted Karen Pittman of the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund. In fact, the birthrate of

children born to black teens has declined. However, the proportion of black teens who marry before their babies are born has dwindled to 10 percent. The fact that a majority of the black children born in recent years have been born to women without husbands therefore is not due to changes in rates of childbearing but to changes in the propensity to marry. This phenomenon is not restricted to teenagers. In 1985, two-thirds of the babies born to unmarried black women were born to women over the age of 19.

Consequences for Children

These changes have led to a situation in which, as Farley noted, "the raising of children is increasingly a female rather than a joint responsibility." Children raised in one-parent households who depend solely on their mothers for economic resources are much more likely to be living in poverty than children in two-parent families. They are particularly disadvantaged because black women have lower earnings than black men and whites. Furthermore, only one-third of black women who head families are employed full-time, year-round (see table).

The disadvantages of being raised in a single-parent family go beyond economics. Research conducted by Sara McLanahan, a sociologist at the University of Wisconsin, indicates that even when studies controlled for the lower economic resources available to single-parent families, the children in these families are more likely to drop out of high school, have lower school achievement levels, bear children as teenagers, and, if they marry early, are more likely to divorce. "I have never seen any outcome that [the disadvantages of single-parenthood] didn't show up in," said McLanahan. "It shows in alcohol and drug use, and delinquency—all these areas of behavior."

In addition to poverty, the absence of another adult in the household with whom the child can interact seems to be a determinant of the low achievement levels and antisocial behavior of many children in single-parent families. Both Mark Testa, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, and James Stewart, an economist with Pennsylvania State University, said their studies indicate that adults in the household (in addition to the mother) have a positive influence on children. If the father is not present, other adults—grandparents, stepfathers, and even nonrelatives—can substitute in certain ways. Stewart also pointed out that extended-family relationships increase the likelihood that single mothers have employment. Unfortunately, he noted, the extended family in which the grandmother stays home to take care of the children while the mother works, appears to be declining. Quite often, the grandmother has a job of her own.

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Why the Decline in Marriage?

While there was general agreement among conference participants on the trends in family composition, there was much less agreement on the causes of the trends. A number of hypotheses were put forth by Farley, Stewart, Neil Bennett of Yale University, and Phillip Bowman of the University of Illinois. All of the participants rejected the "welfare" hypothesis, that is, the argument that women prefer not to marry so that they can be eligible for welfare benefits.

The group was divided on the validity of the "sex ratio" hypothesis as an explanation for much of the decline in marriage among blacks. The premise of this

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Percentage of Black and White Children Living Below the Poverty Line in 1984, by Type of Family

	Black Children			White Children		
Age (Years)	Total	Female-Headed Families	All Other Families	Total	Female-Headed Families	All Other Families
Total (0-17)	46.2	66.2	24.3	16.1	45.9	11.0
0-2	52.0	74.6	28.4	17.9	63.4	12.7
3-5	49.2	69.4	28.5	18.6	57.3	12.7
6-13	47.2	67.9	23.3	16.0	44.3	10.8
14-15	39.6	58.6	18.3	13.7	37.2	9.0
16-17	35.8	50.1	21.4	12.6	31.8	8.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports,* Series P-60, No. 152.

May 1988

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Michael Dukakis and George Bush are the apparent presidential nominees of their parties; now the question is who they will choose as running mates.**
- **Jesse Jackson continues his race for the nomination by challenging the Democratic party's delegate selection process.**
- **Across the Nation: Justice Department challenges Alabama's segregated universities; Ed Cole remains head of Mississippi Democrats; Minority and progressive white coalition may organize to defeat Mayor Ed Koch in the 1989 New York mayoral race.**

Election '88 Update: It's All Over But the Shouting!

Vice President GEORGE BUSH went over the top in the April 26 Pennsylvania primary with enough delegates to clinch the Republican nomination. In the Democratic primaries, the turning point for MICHAEL DUKAKIS was New York, where he beat JESSE JACKSON by 14 points, winning a clear 51 percent majority of the vote. Coming away from that contest with a disappointing 10 percent, Tennessee Sen. **ALBERT GORE** further simplified the race by choosing to withdraw. Since New York, Jackson's proven ability to draw black voters to the polls has been evident, but his portion of the white vote has shrunk in most primaries since Gore is no longer there to split the white vote. In the ensuing two-man primary race, Dukakis has picked up many of the whites who would have voted for Gore, and he should run strongly in California and New Jersey in the final primaries June 7.

In New York, the gap between white and black voter preferences began to widen, with Jackson claiming over 90 percent of the black vote but only 15 percent of the white vote (25 percent of the non-Jewish white vote). And while Jackson carried New York City, he came in a distant second in the state overall (with a final tally of 37 percent).

While Jackson went on to win the overwhelming majority of black votes in Pennsylvania and Ohio, Dukakis's margin of victory widened as Jackson's share of white support dwindled. Jackson fell behind not only because his white support decreased but because blacks make up a smaller proportion of the voting-age populations in the states that held primaries after New York.

Results in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska, and West Virginia bear this out. In each of these states, Jackson won less than 30 percent of the vote. (See table on page 3 of Trendletter)

Because the June 7 California and New Jersey primaries will provide 314 and 109 delegates respectively, Jackson optimistically asserts that the race is "not over until it's over." Nevertheless, simple electoral arithmetic shows that Dukakis, with his growing lead in delegate and popular votes, has all but wrapped up the contest. Most observers believe that Dukakis, with 1,643 delegates as of May 20 (more than three-fourths of what he needs to win), will be handed the nomination on the first ballot at the July convention. Jackson had 974 delegates by May 20.

The only unanswered question on the minds of many insiders, then, concerns Dukakis's choice for the vice presidential slot. On the Democratic side, few believe Jesse Jackson will be tapped for the position. Historically, it has been rare for a presidential candidate to choose a campaign rival to share the ticket. But before he can eliminate Jackson from consideration altogether, Dukakis must consider whether he would be alienating Jackson's loyal and enthusiastic black supporters, voters whose participation would have to be considered essential to a Democratic victory in November.

If not Jackson, then who is likely to get the Democratic vice presidential nod? **A growing number of pundits have argued that a ticket led by Dukakis, a Northern liberal, should be balanced by a Southern moderate or conservative. In this connection, the name of Sen. SAM NUNN of Georgia comes up most frequently. Nunn would shore up Dukakis's lack of Washington and foreign-policy experience and, more**

importantly, he would appeal strongly to white Southerners. But two questions plague the discussions of Nunn's chances: First, would Nunn trade his chairmanship of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee for the number-two spot on the Democratic ticket? Second, how would Nunn fare among blacks, women's groups, progressive whites, and organized labor, all strong elements of the Democratic party?

MOLLY YARD, president of the National Organization of Women (NOW), has already pointed to Nunn as someone who might not be acceptable to her organization, and Jackson has so far remained noncommittal, presumably because of Nunn's soft record of support for civil rights and social legislation.

Other Southern politicians whose names are currently being floated include erstwhile presidential candidate Gore (who won seven states on Super Tuesday, five of them in the South); Florida senator and former governor **BOB GRAHAM** and Texas Sen. **LLOYD BENTSEN,** both from states rich in electoral votes; and Sen. **DALE BUMPERS** and Gov. **BILL CLINTON,** both from Arkansas. Other potential choices include Ohio Sen. **JOHN GLENN** and U.S. House Majority Leader **THOMAS FOLEY** of the state of Washington.

On the Republican side, George Bush will have the advantage of choosing his running mate in August after learning who is on the Democratic ticket. At that point, he may select someone who can appeal to an ideological or regional constituency. Most observers expect Bush to seek a moderate or a centrist from a region likely to be highly contested, such as the South, the Northeast, or the Mid-West. (It is unlikely that Bush will need to choose a Westerner since the Republican party has lost few states west of the Mississippi in any presidential election since LYNDON JOHNSON'S landslide victory in 1964.) One moderate often mentioned is former Tennessee Gov. LAMAR ALEXANDER. Other potential nominees include several present or former governors from swing states with large blocs of electoral votes: **JAMES THOMPSON,** who has served as governor of Illinois since 1976; **RICHARD THORNBURGH,** former two-term governor of Pennsylvania; **GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN** of California, the state with the most electoral votes; and New Jersey's **THOMAS KEAN,** who enjoys broad support from blacks in his state. If Bush does not choose a governor as running mate he might consider other moderates, such as former Transportation Secretary **ELIZABETH DOLE,** White House Chief of Staff and former Tennessee senator **HOWARD BAKER,** or Energy Secretary **DONALD HODEL.** The choice of any of these moderate officials, however, is not likely to warm the hearts of the ultra-right, and could well lead to dissension at the Republican convention. They might feel more comfortable with New York Rep. **JACK KEMP** or former United Nations ambassador **JEANE KIRKPATRICK,** both conservatives, on the ticket.

Very often, the chief criterion in choosing the second position is finding someone who won't hurt the ticket the way Sen. **ROBERT DOLE** did when he teamed up with **GERALD FORD** in 1976. So while regional and ideological balance remain considerations in the choice of a vice president, Bush or Dukakis must win largely on his own.

And Now the Shouting: The Delegate Selection Process

It should come as no surprise that Jesse Jackson is unhappy about the Democratic party's method of selecting delegates. Jackson's fundamental complaint is that superdelegates make up nearly half of Dukakis's delegate lead. While the gap between the cumulative popular votes of Dukakis and Jackson is 11 points—41 percent to 30 percent—the gap between their respective delegate totals is much larger—25 percentage points (1,643 delegates for Dukakis compared to 974 for Jackson).

Jackson is urging that superdelegate votes be allotted according to the popular vote, either nationwide or by state, or at least that the superdelegates consider the votes of their constituents when they decide whom to support. Any other form of allocation, he suggests, would be unfair. Party officials are listening to Jackson, fearful that a black backlash could result if the nomination process is viewed as having been unfair to him.

Jackson's complaint is not new. At the 1984 Democratic convention, he called for three rules changes in the selection process: (1) eliminating the delegate threshold, (2) eliminating winner-take-all and winner-take-more delegate allocations, and (3) eliminating the party's "superdelegates," a category of unpledged party leaders. To be sure, all of these delegate selection provisions had hurt Jackson in 1984. Although he had won 18 percent of the vote in winner-take-all states, he received only 7 percent of their delegates. And while he had won 21 percent of the vote in winner-take-more states, he received only 14 percent of their delegates. Even in proportional representation states, where Jackson won 17 percent of the popular vote, he was awarded only 11 percent of the delegate total. Jackson was the only major candidate most adversely affected by the 1984 rules, having received overall only 10 percent of the primary-selected delegates for his 19 percent of the popular primary vote.

Disadvantaged in 1984 because his support was concentrated in heavily black precincts and congressional

districts, Jackson usually won many more votes in these areas than he needed to capture all the delegates. But in the other congressional districts Jackson fell below the delegate threshold, which was usually 20 percent or higher. Thus his delegate allotment failed to reflect the heavy voter turnout his candidacy generated.

Jackson's protest that year brought mixed results. Only his first demand, lowering the voting-percentage threshold, led to changes. This year, the threshold was reduced to 15 percent. Winner-take-all systems survived, however, Pennsylvania being one example. The category of superdelegates was actually expanded, growing from 14 percent of the convention total in 1984 to 15 percent for 1988. This fall the Democrats will have 644 superdelegates, including 250 members of the House and Senate, 363 members of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), 26 governors who are not members of the DNC, and five senior party figures (former President **JIMMY CARTER,** former Vice President **WALTER MONDALE,** former speakers of the House **THOMAS (TIP) O'NEILL** and **CARL ALBERT,** and former Senate majority leader **MIKE MANSFIELD**).

While most superdelegates have not yet declared their preferences for the nomination, more members of Congress have pledged for Dukakis than for any other candidate. Dukakis is supported by 13 senators and 35 House members, Gore is supported by seven senators and 11 House members, Jackson is supported by 21 House members, and **PAUL SIMON** is supported by two senators and 10 House members. Meanwhile, 23 senators and 137 House members remain uncommitted. Jackson reports that he has 46 of the superdelegates in all, but notes that he has won primaries in more than 40 congressional districts whose representatives are nevertheless backing other candidates. All except two of Jackson's 21 congressional superdelegates (Del. **RON DE LUGO** of the Virgin Islands and Rep. **ROBERT GARCIA** of New York) are members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Three members of the Caucus remain uncommitted: **GEORGE CROCKETT** of Michigan, **MIKE ESPY** of Mississippi, and **ALAN WHEAT** of Missouri. In short, Jackson is far from getting a proportionate share of superdelegates.

Jackson has said it is "premature" to speculate on whether he would consider credential challenges at the July Democratic convention in Atlanta. In the past, such fights have brought little success. And although a battle over the rules could change the process used in the next presidential election, it might well hurt the election chances of the party's nominee this year.

April and May Democratic Primary and Caucus Results

Voting Percentages Received by Democratic Candidates in 1988 Primary and Caucus Elections, April through May

State	Black Voting-Age Population	Date	System	Dukakis	Jackson	Winner's Margin of Victory
Wisconsin	4%	Apr. 5	P	**48%**	28%	20%
Nevada**	6	Apr. 9	C	**32**	25	7
Arizona*	2	Apr. 16	C	**54**	38	16
Delaware*	16	Apr. 18	C	27	**46**	19
New York	15	Apr. 19	P	**51**	37	14
Vermont**	—	Apr. 19	C	45	**46**	1
Utah*	1	Apr. 25	C	**72**	16	56
Pennsylvania	9	Apr. 26	P	**67**	28	39
Ohio	10	May 3	P	**63**	28	35
District of Columbia	65	May 3	P	18	**80**	62
Indiana	8	May 3	P	**70**	22	48
Nebraska	3	May 10	P	**63**	26	37
West Virginia	3	May 10	P	**79**	14	65
Oregon	1	May 17	P	**56**	39	17

* First-round in caucus process
** Second-round in caucus process.
— Less than 1 percent black voting-age population.
Bold indicates winner.
Source: Associated Press.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: In late March, the U.S. Justice Department joined black plaintiffs in refiling a desegregation suit against the Alabama public university system. The case, *Knight v. the State of Alabama,* was initially filed in 1983. **The plaintiffs and the Justice Department allege that Alabama has deliberately maintained a system of separate colleges and universities for blacks and whites and allocated "far greater resources" to the majority-white schools than to the predominantly black ones. State authorities contend that the predominance of whites and blacks in separate schools results from decades-old patterns of preference by students rather than from discrimination.**

In 1985, U.S. District Court Judge **U. W. CLEMON** ruled in Birmingham that the state maintained vestiges of a dual-school system. But before he could begin the remedy phase of the case, Alabama appealed the ruling to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta. Last September, without addressing the issues of segregation, the 11th Circuit Court ruled that, based on the Supreme Court's 1984 *Grove City* decision, the Justice Department could not sue the state under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 without identifying how much public money specific programs were receiving (rather than just identifying how much was received by entire institutions). The circuit court also ruled that Clemon, Alabama's first black federal judge, should have recused himself from ruling on the case because as an Alabama state legislator he had backed legislation which benefited predominantly black Alabama universities. **However, since the U.S. Congress overturned the *Grove City* decision this past March, the case can proceed.**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: **JOHN DEAN,** formerly of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, is now serving as executive secretary to the advisory commission in the Office of Voter Participation of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The Office of Voter Participation was established in late 1987 as an outgrowth of the 1984 Democratic platform's commitment to remove barriers to voter registration. Dean's functions include helping state parties get out the vote for 1988 and developing a national inventory of nonpartisan voting-rights organizations. Dean is also working with the party's National Lawyers Council on voting rights reform and is compiling a book on local voting rights enforcement.

In local politics, D.C. School Board President LINDA CROPP, who is married to a top aide to Mayor MARION BARRY, is preparing to run for the Ward 4 Council seat held by Democrat CHARLENE DREW JARVIS. Both are black. Jarvis was one of three candidates to challenge Mayor Barry for the Democratic nomination for mayor in 1986. The mayor may have more competition in the future. **SHARON PRATT DIXON,** DNC treasurer and Potomac Electric Power Company vice president for consumer affairs, is preparing to run against Barry in 1990.

MISSISSIPPI: By a vote of 56 to 41, the state's Democratic committee voted to keep **ED COLE** in the party chairmanship for a four-year term. Cole is the first black chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Committee. Gov. **RAY MABUS,** who was elected last year with over 90 percent of the black vote, had sought to oust Cole, who had been appointed to the position when the previous chairman retired. Mabus had backed **BILLIE THOMPSON,** a white businesswoman from Tupelo, for the post. Although the fight had racial overtones, blacks themselves were divided on the Cole issue into two groups, with strong Mabus supporters on one side and opponents of Mabus on the other.

NEW YORK: By nearly a 2-to-1 ratio, New York City voters indicated in exit polls during the April 19 primary that they disagreed with Mayor **ED KOCH's** vociferous attacks against Jesse Jackson. Despite Koch's attacks, Jackson swept New York City in the primary. Voters also indicated, by a 3-to-2 ratio, that they don't want Koch to run for mayor again. All this adds up to trouble down the road for Koch in next year's mayoral race. **If the coalition of blacks, Latinos, and progressive whites who supported Jackson comes together again next year, Koch may well end up the ultimate victim of what many observers see as his own brand of "racist politics" that has polarized his city.** The question remains whether the coalition will reemerge in the mayoral race, however. The answer to that question lies primarily with New York's Latinos. Most news reports virtually overlooked the role this group played in last month's primary, but according to the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, Latinos were the pivotal factor in putting Jackson over the top. The Institute's president, **ANGELO FALCON,** reported that Jackson got 53 percent of the Latino vote (up from 32 percent in 1984), while Dukakis got 40 percent and Gore (the candidate endorsed by Koch) received only 7 percent. Falcon also noted that Latinos in New York gave Jackson the strongest Latino support he has received thus far in the nation. Falcon predicts that if Latinos vote against Koch next year at the same rate that they rejected Gore, a black-Latino coalition might very well combine behind a challenger to defeat Koch in 1989.

PENNSYLVANIA: Early this month, a special grand jury called the conduct of Philadelphia's officials in the fatal 1985 MOVE siege "totally unacceptable" and "morally reprehensible," but returned no criminal indictments in what it called "the city's greatest tragedy." In May 1985, 11 people died and 61 homes were destroyed when police dropped a bomb on a barricaded house occupied by MOVE, a black group which practiced back-to-nature rituals, refused to send their children to school, and disobeyed health and safety laws.

The grand jury report especially castigated Mayor **WILSON GOODE.** "As the city's chief executive officer and the man legally responsible for law enforcement in the city, Goode delegated too much, deferred too often, and asked too few questions," the report said. But the grand jury determined that "Goode's conduct was not reckless under the law," that is, "he did not consciously disregard a substantial and unjustifiable risk that people would be placed in danger of death or serious bodily harm." **A federal grand jury report investigating whether the civil rights of the 11 victims were violated is expected in a few months.**

TEXAS: State Agriculture Commissioner **JIM HIGHTOWER'S** endorsement of Jesse Jackson stands to both help and hurt Hightower, according to the *Texas Observer.* On the negative side, Hightower was pulled into the complex world of ethnic sensitivities within the party by backing Jackson. When he spoke to a group of pro-Israel lobbyists in Los Angeles in mid-March, Hightower got an earful of complaints about his support for Jackson. In response, Hightower argued that his endorsement "puts a strong friend of Israel directly into the heart of the Jackson campaign." **Hightower's endorsement also brought a smattering of racist mail with "words that we haven't been used to seeing in the last 20 years," according to MARY SAWYER, a Hightower aide. Finally, Hightower has had to deal with Democratic supporters who say he has damaged his chances of beating Republican incumbent PHIL GRAMM in the 1990 U.S. Senate race by cutting himself off from Jewish and pro-Israel Political Action Committee money.**

Hightower prefers to look at the positive side. He says the strength of support he has gotten from both the black and the Mexican-American communities has exceeded his expectations. "Blacks are pushing within the Democratic Party and have been for some time, as have Mexican-Americans. [They say] 'we keep getting asked to support you, but you don't support us'... and I made a breakthrough in that. It's the first of a kind," Hightower said. By his calculation, the intensity of support in the minority community will bring a heavier turnout in the Senate election. In his view, "That's going to make the difference."

Black Leaders Gather at the Fifth National Policy Institute to Discuss Critical Policy Issues

by Russell Owens

With the dawn of the 1988 presidential election year came a clear signal from the black community on some of the major issues that must be addressed by candidates seeking black support. These issues included the deterioration and decline of lower-income housing; the rising rates of functional illiteracy and high-school drop-outs among blacks; the rising number of blacks suffering from drug abuse and alcoholism and from severe illnesses, including AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome); the loss of farmland once owned and cultivated by black farmers; and the high rate of joblessness among blacks.

With these concerns in mind, the Joint Center for Political Studies and the seven national organizations of black public officials (see box below for listing) convened the Fifth National Policy Institute (NPI-V) last January in Washington, D.C. Over 500 public officials, scholars, civil rights and public-interest-group leaders, government officials, corporate executives, and labor leaders gathered to develop networks and coalitions, share information on pertinent policy issues, and hear from experts on ways to help shape national policies affecting black Americans. Indeed, with the 1988 presidential and congressional elections on the horizon, participants discussed a policy agenda that they hoped would be considered by the next presidential administration as well as the next Congress.

This report summarizes the extensive speeches and panel discussions that took place at the conference. (The plenary speech by Eleanor Holmes Norton, "On Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility," was featured in the March 1988 issue of *Focus*.) For a complete conference recap, readers may order audio tapes of the proceedings from Visual Aid Electronics, 2831 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

POLITICAL WORKSHOPS

The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America. *Moderator: Linda Faye Williams, Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS). Panelists: Harvey Gantt, former mayor of Charlotte, N.C.; Sonia Jarvis, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Joe Davidson,* Wall Street Journal.

The panelists framed the discussion around the upcoming presidential primaries and the general election. Harvey Gantt, the former mayor of Charlotte, N.C., noted that the next presidential administration will substantially influence how blacks are to fare in the next decade and beyond. He suggested that blacks need to consider two questions: How do we influence the electoral process? And how do we leverage our vote and make the necessary coalitions to ultimately elect a president sensitive to the needs of black America? Blacks, Gantt believes, must consider whether the best approach is to rally around one candidate, and they must utilize the Jackson presidential campaign to help establish a party platform that addresses black concerns.

Other panelists agreed. Joe Davidson further argued that blacks need to institutionalize—rather than personalize—black political power, and that they must hold black elected officials accountable.

Voter Participation/Voter Mobilization. *Moderator: U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.). Panelists: Lani Guinier, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund; Sonia Jarvis, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Ned McCulloch, ACORN; Frank Parker, Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights Under Law.*

Increased voter registration and mobilization must remain a primary objective for black organizations, according to the panelists, since the number of black voters and black elected officials remains relatively low. The panelists agreed that to achieve political empowerment black voters must mobilize not only in presidential elections but in congressional, state, and local races as well. Sonia Jarvis pointed out that while voter registration is a primary tool for increasing black political power, registration groups continue to have problems raising funds and, in areas with high concentrations of blacks, continue to face restrictive barriers, including at-large elections, run-off elections, gerrymandering, and the annexation of voting districts.

Ned McCulloch advocated a uniform set of national

Sponsors of the Fifth National Policy Institute:

Congressional Black Caucus
Joint Center for Political Studies
Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
National Association of Black County Officials
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
National Black Caucus of State Legislators
National Caucus of Black School Board Members
National Conference of Black Mayors

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registration procedures that would permit voters to register by postcard and on election day. He also suggested that government agencies be required to register voters.

The Census/Reapportionment. *Moderator: Milton Morris, JCPS. Panelists: C. Louis Kincannon, U.S. Bureau of the Census; A. Reginald Eaves, National Association of Black County Officials; David P. Richardson, Jr., National Black Caucus of State Legislators; John H. Smith, National Conference of Black Mayors.*

Panelists expressed concern over the inaccuracy of the decennial census counts of blacks and other minorities. They cited as contributing causes of this inaccuracy the administration's decision not to adjust for the undercount of blacks through statistical formulas, minorities' apathy toward the census as well as their fear that the census data would be used against them to assist law enforcement officers, welfare investigators, or other federal officials. The panelists agreed that black elected officials have a responsibility to correct this misperception among their constituents and that they must encourage census participation to avoid a loss of federal funds and to protect the principle of "one man, one vote."

The Prosecution/Persecution of Black Elected Officials: A Double Standard? *Moderator: Basil Paterson, Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein. Panelists: Lawrence Jones, Howard University; State Rep. Henry M. (Mickey) Michaux, Jr., N.C.; Herbert O. Reid, legal counsel to the mayor, District of Columbia.*

The panelists agreed that black elected officials continue to be victims of racially motivated harassment and selective prosecution. Dr. Reid pointed out that blacks can best respond to these attacks by learning more about the prosecutorial function and holding the prosecutor's office accountable for its actions.

The panelists added, however, that black officials, like those from any other racial group, should not be exculpated from malfeasance in office.

ECONOMIC POLICY WORKSHOPS

Economic Policy Agenda: Employment Implications. *Moderator: Marcus Alexis, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Panelists: Ronald Johnson, Northeastern University; Rhonda Williams, Yale University; Alvin Headen, North Carolina State University.*

All three panelists focused on the way shifting economic policies and ongoing industrial change are affecting and will continue to affect black employment. According to Rhonda Williams, the outlook for black workers is not good since the proportion of workers in the industries that pay high wages is shrinking.

Ronald Johnson noted that the total cost of the displacement of workers through job loss is significant in terms of lost income, loss of work-related benefits, and the psychological effects of job loss on workers and their families. Evidence indicates that black workers who lost jobs suffered more than white workers in terms of their extended unemployment, loss of health benefits, and related factors.

Public/Private Financing of Government Services. *Moderator: John E. Barnes, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials. Panelists: Ernest Green, Shearson Lehman Brothers; Pauline A. Schneider, Hunton & Williams; Terrance R. Duvernay, Michigan State Housing Development Authority; Franklin D. Raines, Lazard Freres & Co.*

Local public officials and governments, the panelists explained, are responding to tough financial environments by turning to nontraditional public/private financing arrangements for traditional public functions, such as the construction and maintenance of roads and schools and even police services.

Governments may structure these arrangements to their own advantage, through the use of regulatory power (especially zoning); tax abatements; tax-increment districts; and "in kind" contributions of underutilized land.

Increasing Opportunities for Minority Business. *Moderator: Hilda R. Pemberton, Prince George's County (Md.) Board of Supervisors. Panelists: Anthony W. Robinson, Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund; Joshua I. Smith, The Maxima Corporation; Fletcher H. Wiley, Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Minority Business.*

Expanding the base of minority businesses, the panelists explained, is important to black economic empowerment, since it can lead to an increase in jobs for black workers and a parallel increase in consumer spending in black communities. The panelists proposed a variety of strategies to increase minority firms' access to the marketplace, including the use of mandated government set-asides. The panelists also expressed concern over the lack of support for black businesses from black consumers and the failure of black entrepreneurs to reach these consumers.

International Trade: Trends, Problems, and Strategies. *Moderator: Irving Williamson, The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. Panelists: John L. Hilley, U.S. Senate Committee on Budget; Wilfred Marshall, Los Angeles Mayor's Office of Small Business; Donald B. Westmore, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.*

Although decreasing the trade deficit is vitally important to the nation's economic health, the panelists agreed that the federal government must avoid protectionist measures and habit-forming subsidies. They proposed that government and business leaders look for ways to make businesses more competitive in international markets.

SOCIAL POLICY WORKSHOPS

Blacks and Higher Education. *Moderator: Samuel Myers, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. Panelists: Barbara Jackson, Fordham University; Mary E. Dilworth, American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education; Richard F. Neblett, National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering.*

The panelists expressed their concern over the decrease in the numbers of black students and faculty at both historically black and predominantly white college campuses, and they warned of severe economic consequences for the nation if it fails to provide quality education for blacks and other minority youth, who make up a growing percentage of the nation's work force. For example, while there were 745,000 blacks (10.4 percent of all college students) enrolled in colleges nationally in 1976, by 1985, there were only 734,000 (9.7 percent).

Dr. Neblett said the nation must expose blacks to the academic disciplines needed to maintain a technological edge over our international competitors and called for "a national leadership crusade" to improve math and science education.

Effective Education Strategies: What Works? *Moderator: George Vaughn, National Caucus of Black School Board Members. Panelists: M. Carl Holman, National Urban Coalition; Linda Tsantis, IBM Educational Systems; State Sen. Richard H. Newhouse, Ill.; Gary Orfield, University of Chicago.*

Each of the panelists offered education models or approaches that work, and all were critical of those education policies that they said "ensured failure."

Gary Orfield cited specific government policies as key factors in the poor educational performance of minorities: federal funding cutbacks, cutbacks in college loans and grants, and "resegregation" resulting from policies of the Reagan administration. Other panelists cited additional factors, including the attitudes or the "learned-helpless behavior profile" of many poor and minority students (Linda Tsantis); the "self-imposed isolation" of public schools and school boards from community resources and parental involvement (Richard Newhouse and M. Carl Holman); and the pervasive lack of political will to educate poor and minority children (Newhouse).

Effective Education Strategies. *NPI-V Luncheon Speaker: Floretta Dukes McKenzie, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.*

Dr. McKenzie noted that educational attainment is still the most important means by which blacks can achieve upward mobility. She stressed her belief that a coherent curriculum, orderly environment, and "team spirit" between educators and the community are essential to successful education.

Dr. McKenzie also suggested that government should provide sound education for teen parents, and she cited the D.C. public schools' efforts to reach this group as a good example.

Persistent Urban Poverty: What Is to Be Done? *Moderator: Melvin Primas, mayor, Camden, N.J. Panelists: Debra Arindell, Wider Opportunities for Women; John Garvey, Literacy Assistance Center; James Hyman, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC).*

Job training, the panelists agreed, must be central to any program that would successfully address the needs of the chronically poor. Such programs must also be flexible, providing the specific services participants require. The panel outlined strategies that could help the residents of impoverished inner-city neighborhoods become employed, productive citizens.

According to James Hyman, MDRC's research has shown that participation in welfare-to-work programs can be dramatically increased. These programs do not necessarily increase the income for participating welfare clients, however, and therefore should not be seen as a cure for poverty.

The Lower-Income Housing Crisis: Can Solutions Be Found? *Moderator: Alice Shabecoff, Community Information Exchange. Panelists: Lionel Collins, Jr., U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs; Bernard McDonald, The Ford Foundation; Ghebre Selassie Mehreteab, National Corporation for Housing Partnerships; Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich, Y.E.L. Corporation.*

This panel discussed current trends and projected needs for more lower-income housing. Panelists agreed that even though the number of poor people is rising, the supply of lower-income housing is declining. This, they noted, is largely due to gentrification, especially the conversion of lower-income residences into middle- and upper-income housing, and to diminished federal subsidies for the poor. The panel also noted that the federal deficit and federal cutbacks are thwarting efforts to assist lower-income tenants on a long-term basis. Government efforts should include providing adequate governmental financing and giving private investors incentives to create affordable housing.

Addressing the Needs of Black Rural America. *Moderator: Brenda Pillors, U.S. House of Representatives. Panelists: Lynette J. Shelton, U.S. Senate; Benny G. Thompson, county supervisor, Hinds County, Miss.*

A major theme of this session was the growing poverty crisis in rural black communities and how public policy rarely addresses rural concerns. For example, the acreage of farmland owned by blacks in the United States has declined dramatically: in 1984, U.S. census data revealed that blacks were losing 1,000 acres of farmland a day. The panelists argued that government assistance has been markedly biased against minorities and has added to this loss of farmland. For example, between 1980 and 1983, Farmers Home Ad-

ministration's (FmHA's) loans to black farmers declined by 73 percent, whereas loans to white farmers dropped by only 18 percent.

The poverty crisis in rural areas has been largely caused by dependence on the declining farming and textile-manufacturing sectors. It has been exacerbated by cuts in government assistance and by a general lack of basic resources such as transportation, health care, and housing.

Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues. *Moderator: Roslyn Smith, Westinghouse Electric Corporation. Panelists: Emmett D. Carson, JCPS; Joseph P. McCormick II, Howard University.*

The panel discussed a variety of philanthropic activities, primarily among blacks, including the volunteering of time and the donation of goods and services to causes and needy individuals. Panelists also discussed philanthropic organizations that respond to the needs of the black community.

Dr. Carson pointed out that there is a tradition of giving and volunteering in the black community. In 1986, for example, 61 percent of all blacks contributed money to charitable organizations, 17 percent of them contributing $500 or more. Nearly 70 percent of all blacks, he noted, give money, food, or clothing, or volunteer to perform some service for the homeless or others in need.

The Role of the Church in Black Community Life. *Moderator: Rev. John Bryant, Bethel AME Church, Baltimore, Md.; Grainger Browning, Jr., Ebenezer AME Church, Ft. Washington, Md.; Charles Stith, Organization for a New Equality, Boston, Mass.; McKinley Young, Big Bethel AME Church, Atlanta, Ga.*

The panelists noted that black churches must actively seek the economic and social empowerment of lower-income blacks. They agreed that in ministering to the black middle class, the black church must not allow those who are more affluent to forget the rest of the black community. The black church, they believe, should promote an inclusive society, propose new ideas, identify the nature and source of problems facing blacks, and encourage people to share talents and resources.

The Changing Nature of the Black Family. *Moderator: Gloria Primm Brown, Carnegie Corporation of New York. Panelists: Walter R. Allen, University of Michigan; Bart Landry, University of Maryland; James B. Stewart, Pennsylvania State University.*

The panel cited several recent trends among black families, including the increase since 1970 in black female-headed households (over half of all black children currently live in such families). This change in family structure is a cause of poverty among black women and children. Today, sixty-seven percent of black female-headed households are in poverty. James Stewart suggested that the problems facing the black family can be addressed in part by creating more jobs, by developing more support systems (such as a national youth service), by getting successful black males to act as community role models, and through federal tax deductions for childcare provided by relatives.

Health Issues in the Black Community. *Moderator: Gary King, Westat, Inc. Panelists: June Jackson Christmas, international consultant; Frederick W. McKinney, University of Connecticut; Reed Tuckson, District of Columbia Department of Human Services.*

Excessively high mortality rates (over twice those of whites) and morbidity rates (50 percent greater than for whites) characterize the black community and reflect the disparity between the living standards of blacks and whites. The panelists explained that because of lower income levels and lower educational attainment, as compared with whites, blacks generally take fewer preventive-health measures, get sick more often, experience more serious illnesses, have less access to health practitioners and institutions, and have fewer resources to pay for medical care. It is estimated that only about 25 percent of blacks have private health coverage and almost 50 percent participate in government insurance programs, while 25 percent are totally dependent upon the charitable services of municipal and voluntary hospitals.

Compounding the problem is the virtual rationing of health care since 1980. Many programs that benefitted blacks and poor people have been reduced or eliminated, forcing the poor to choose between purchasing everyday necessities and paying for medical care.

The panelists argued that our society fails to understand that comprehensive health care should be a *right* guaranteed by the federal government. They noted that until all Americans have guaranteed access to decent health care, inequity will remain a serious problem for blacks.

Substance Abuse: Public Policy Implications. *Moderator: Sondra Nelson, National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors. Panelists: Elaine Johnson, National Institute on Drug Abuse; Ronald A. LeGrand, U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee; Cecilia Douthy Willis, Nebraska State Division on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse.*

The health problems caused by drug abuse, like those stemming from any other epidemic, require comprehensive, well-financed programs aimed at prevention and treatment along with efforts to remove the source of the "infection"—in this case the drug supply. The consensus of this panel was that the federal government is not truly committed to ending the drug abuse epidemic. This panel urged communities and government to act jointly to eradicate drug abuse. Panelists called for vigilance in the black community, increased federal funding for drug treatment, a full range of supportive services for addicts and ex-addicts, strong

governmental interdiction efforts, increased education efforts aimed at prevention, and strong law enforcement to punish suppliers.

AIDS and the Black Community. *Moderator: Gil Gerald, National AIDS Network. Panelists: Mychelle Farmer, University of Maryland; Evelyn G. Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference—W.O.M.-E.N.; Mark Jeffrey Wade, Spofford Youth Services.*

The panelists noted that the black community has had difficulty combatting the growing AIDS epidemic in part because community-based organizations, which are most effective in mounting educational campaigns among minorities, often cannot obtain needed funds. Additionally, campaigns targeted at blacks too often emphasize race identity rather than behavioral factors; this fails because many blacks do not consider themselves at risk. They do not view the threat in terms of race and often fail to take needed preventive action.

Gil Gerald observed that although the country is now in its seventh year of the AIDS crisis, the black community has just begun to recognize AIDS as a significant issue facing minorities.

Panelists agreed that the major tasks for the black community are prevention and the development of long-term plans for the care of those afflicted.

Teenage Pregnancy Prevention. *Moderator: Jean Patterson Boone, Children's Defense Fund. Panelists: Denise E. Ingram, Indiana State Board of Health; Robert L. Johnson, New Jersey Medical School; Sharon R. Lovick, Support Center for School Based Clinics.*

The panelists suggested that the major focus of public policy should be on prevention of teen pregnancy through effective counseling and health care. Jean Boone pointed out that in 1984, 11 percent of all teenage girls became pregnant and only half of them obtained prenatal care. From 1980 to 1985, the United States had the highest infant mortality rate of the 20 Western industrialized countries—primarily because of the paucity of prenatal care. According to the panelists, what is even more devastating for blacks is the lack of pregnancy prevention and education services. Sharon Lovick pointed out, for example, that there are only 123 school-based clinics in the nation's secondary schools, serving only about 200,000 teens.

The Plight of the Black Elderly. *Moderator: Samuel J. Simmons, The National Caucus and Center on Black Aged. Panelists: Ronald F. Pollack, Villers Foundation; Stephen R. McConnell, American Association of Retired Persons; State Rep. Aaron Henry, Mississippi.*

The panelists, all of whom are advocates for the aged, spoke forcefully on the plight of the black elderly. Income security for many of the nation's elderly, they noted, is precarious at best. While the economic status of the aged has improved over the last 30 years, the panelists stressed that substantial numbers of black seniors continue to live in poverty. Panelists noted that nearly 7 out of 10 black seniors (69 percent) were either poor or living on the edge of poverty in 1986. This compares to 10.7 percent of whites in the same age group.

The panelists argued that comprehensive, long-term social and medical insurance is the best way to care for the elderly. They underscored the need to mobilize the black community, including churches and fraternal organizations, to push officials into action on behalf of the elderly.

Attacking Crime in the Black Community. *Moderator: Joyce London Alexander, Judicial Council of the National Bar Association. Panelists: Lee P. Brown, chief of police, Houston, Tex.; William G. Lewis, Long Island University; Elsie L. Scott, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives; Alexander Williams, state's attorney, Prince George's County, Md.*

This panel addressed two crucial issues: how ordinary citizens can be enlisted in the fight against crime, and how communities can balance their desire to prevent crime with their need to protect personal and civil liberties. The panelists agreed that criminal behavior of any kind must be a primary concern of blacks and that solutions will require more than increased law enforcement.

Alexander Williams suggested that community residents must be willing to identify law-breakers, participate in group and neighborhood efforts to reduce crime, and support legislation to eliminate the distribution of illegal drugs.

William Lewis pointed out that in reducing crime, the personnel of law enforcement agencies must reflect the ethnic diversity of their own communities to build trust and respect between the agencies and the people they serve.

The panelists agreed that the larger social and economic factors—unemployment, substance abuse, poverty, and the lack of support systems—must be addressed if crime is to be controlled.

Women's Caucus Breakfast (Special Event). *Moderator: Hannah Atkins, State of Oklahoma. Panelists: State Rep. Mable Thomas, Georgia; Anita Arnold, Argos Properties, Inc.; Floretta Dukes McKenzie, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia; Alexis Herman, A.M. Herman & Associates, Inc.*

The panel was composed of women who exemplify excellence and professional success. Rep. Thomas stressed the need for black women to be politically active. Businesswoman Anita Arnold advised women to make use of contacts in identifying opportunities and in promoting one's business, and to use resources available to minorities. Dr. Floretta McKenzie stressed the need for more blacks to see teaching as a valuable profession. And Alexis Herman urged women to be firmly committed to their own principles. □

The Changing Black Family

(Continued from page 6)

hypothesis is that there are more women than men in the age group where marriage would usually take place (20 to 29 years). While Farley and economist Robert Lerman of Brandeis University tended to discount this male/female imbalance in the marriage pool, other participants, including Testa, argued forcefully that the imbalance is significant, particularly in certain communities. In discussing a study headed by fellow University of Chicago sociologist William J. Wilson, Testa said the data showed serious imbalances in the male/female ratio in the inner city of Chicago. Testa said, "we start wondering, where are the black males?" He pointed to high rates of incarceration and mortality (primarily from homicide) and the greater tendency of black males to enter the military as explanations for the low male/female ratio.

The absence of another adult in the household with whom the child can interact seems to be a determinant of the low achievement levels and antisocial behavior of many children.

Economic factors were also cited by many participants as significantly influencing delayed marriage and higher marital dissolution. Walter Allen, a sociologist from the University of Michigan, viewed the deteriorating economic conditions of black males as a factor in the decline in marriage among blacks. He said the decline in the rates of black employment, especially the loss of manufacturing jobs, was key to the changes in black family structure. Bowman, a social psychologist, said his studies of marital stress show a relationship between loss of employment by the husband and marital instability. Lerman, however, noted that rates of marriage declined even during periods of economic expansion; he feels that changes in marital stability are related to more than economics.

Future Study of Black Families

It seems clear that the decline in marriage and the changes in family structure among blacks will not be reversed in the near future. Therefore, it is important that new household arrangements and their impact on children be examined more carefully. The Joint Center, as part of its continuing study of these issues, will publish its first volume on the status of black children this fall. Obtaining a more accurate picture of the conditions under which black children live will aid in developing ways to improve the well-being of these children. ■

Desegregation of the Military

(Continued from page 4)

full desegregation. This does not mean that all barriers fell quickly: the Marine Corps, for example, resisted abandoning its tradition of racial exclusion thoughout the 1950s.

But Truman's order and the Fahy committee's recommendations had, in effect, forced the military to do what it previously had been reluctant to do: serve as an engine of social change and racial justice. ■

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