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FOCUS

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Restructuring Schools to Save Our Children

Few issues are of greater urgency to the nation today than the performance of our public schools and the quality of education available to our young people. Our future as a society will depend on whether our schools can equip tomorrow's citizens to deal with the next century's challenges. At a May conference convened by the Joint Center, "Restructuring America's Public Schools: Implications for Black Children," educators, policy analysts, scholars, business executives, and education policy makers from every level of government examined the status of education in America and suggested alternatives to the present system. Part of a national debate on "restructuring," the conference is an extension of a major Joint Center initiative on education.

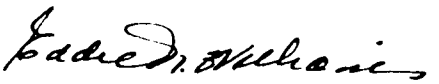
Blacks have a huge stake in any discussion of reform since they have been less well served by school systems than virtually any other segment of the population. Central to the discussion is the matter of equity. Too many schools located in black communities do not prepare black youths to contribute as citizens, to produce in the workplace, or to be fulfilled individuals. A critical question is whether our public schools will be gateways to opportunity for all or growing obstacles to achievement.

As policy makers consider reforms, they must factor the changing structure of American families into the equation. Increasingly, the children in public schools come from low-income families headed by single women or families where both parents work outside the home. These realities suggest a need for new approaches, such as opening schools earlier in the morning and continuing learning programs later in the day.

We must also ensure that in the process of reform we don't throw away effective programs that have proven their value over time. Head Start and Chapter 1 (compensatory education programs for students in elementary and secondary schools) are just two examples of strong programs that have demonstrated continuing performance but are grossly underfunded.

What is needed to effect reform is leadership, from the president and state governors on down--as well as public support for change. Whatever approaches are tried, they should be comprehensive, bringing together government officials, business leaders, and the public. Black Americans must weigh in to participate in this restructuring. While the black community has an enormous stake in the future of our schools, we are underrepresented as teachers, education administrators, school board officials, and policy makers. One of the Joint Center's objectives in its education initiative is to arm the public with information that will enable it to be a full partner in making change.

We need to keep sight of the fact that education policies must be humane, that they must address the needs of the whole child. We need to ensure that the reforms contemplated or undertaken under the rubric of restructuring meet the needs of black children. Our goal must be a system of public education that prepares our children to be confident, self sufficient adults, who have learned how to learn, and who are able to take their place in a changed and changing world. ■



PRESIDENT

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Wilder and Jackson: Threads of One Cloth

Viewed From a Historical and Comparative Perspective, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson Have Far More in Common Than Pundits Suggest

by Richard D. Shingles

The recent election of the publicly dispassionate Virginian Douglas Wilder as the nation's first black governor since Reconstruction has led to pronouncements about a new type of black leader, the "mainstream politician." Wilder has been contrasted with "older," more race-conscious civil rights leaders, personified by Jesse Jackson. Pundits are particularly fond of extolling the moderation of Wilder over the "excesses" of Jackson.

The comparison does a disservice to both politicians. It exaggerates their differences, distorts the meaning of "old" and "new" politics, and oversimplifies ideological divisions within the black community. It contributes to the erroneous tendency, created during the Reagan era, of branding openly liberal politicians, like Jackson, as extremists, and more circumspect politicians, like Wilder, as race-neutral conservatives.

Viewed from a historical and comparative perspective, the ideological differences separating Wilder from Jackson are neither large nor new. These men are like two threads of the same cloth when examined within the larger context of the black community and American political minorities generally. Political minorities may be defined as groups that have historically been excluded by prejudice and discrimination from positions of power and authority in society's major institutions. Most vulnerable are racial minorities and women who, because of identifiable physical attributes, have not found it possible (or necessarily desirable) to completely lose their unique identities in the "melting pot" of American society or to penetrate en masse the white old-boy networks dominating the principal routes to status and power.

Responses of Blacks to Prolonged Minority Status

Over time, minorities have responded to exclusion from power in a myriad of ways that extend along a broad ideological spectrum. It is helpful to distinguish between some common ideological types found among American political minorities. First and most important is the difference between *conservatives* and *reconstructionists*. Conservatives accept, uncritically, the dominant myth of America as a colorblind and gender-blind society which treats all groups equally. Reconstructionists do not. Conservatives believe individuals are primarily responsible for their own status. Reconstructionist hold the larger society primarily responsible. Whereas conservatives support the status quo, reconstructionists seek change.

Second, there are important distinctions between types of conservatives and types of reconstructionists. Among conservatives, we may differentiate between apolitical individuals whose apathy reinforces the status quo, genuine conservatives who actively support the status quo, and strategic conservatives who secretly share some of the views of reconstructionists but believe efforts to produce change are futile, even risky.

Reconstructionists may be readily divided into liberals and radicals. Both groups perceive the political majority (Euro-American men) to be prejudiced and believe American institutions discriminate on the basis of race or sex. However, liberals retain faith in the basic integrity of the majority and the guiding principles upon which the institutions rest (for example, democracy, capitalism, and the Judeo-Christian ethic). Consequently, the changes they propose are limited reforms, in which behavior is made to conform with principle.

Radicals believe reform is impossible because racism and sexism are intrinsic to the political majority or to one or more institutions. Accordingly, they advocate drastic change, involving the destruction and replacement of existing institutions or total separation from the political majority.

Finally, any classification must also recognize that the meaning of the labels conservative, liberal, and radical depends upon the type of issue being addressed. Wilder and Jackson are said to differ on two types of issues of great importance to African Americans: race relations and economic opportunity. Jackson is described as a "race man" who favors government programs to ensure equal opportunity. Wilder is depicted as race neutral and as a fiscal conservative who opposes further government initiatives.

The following discussion is organized in terms of traditional political views of race relations found within the black community since the time of slavery. Among them are conservatives (accommodationists), liberals (integrationists), and radicals (separatists). Within each of these

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Wilder and Jackson

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groups, we will note variations in economic attitudes—between economic conservatives (capitalists who believe government has no responsibility to solve social and economic problems), economic liberals (capitalists who think government has such a responsibility), and economic radicals (Marxists who advocate the abolition of capitalism). Given the wide spectrum of opinion in the black community, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson appear politically similar. They take liberal stands on both race relations and economic issues.

Conservatives

Accommodation (the decision not to oppose racism or sexism) is a common response to sustained repression. Slavery forced the vast majority of African Americans to accommodate themselves to inhuman conditions. Although there are many recorded examples of slave resistance in antebellum America (from rebellions to work slowdowns to arson and the poisoning of masters), the tedium of slave life, severe repression, and lack of resources (allies, education, money, and weapons) discouraged organized protests.

A similar situation developed during Post Reconstruction in the late nineteenth century. Southern blacks were systematically disempowered and reduced to a state of second class citizenship—an American apartheid. The leading black spokesperson of the era, Booker T. Washington, like many of his Southern black contemporaries, was a strategic accommodationist. While publicly acquiescing to racial segregation, he secretly attempted to undermine it by funding black resistance (largely through litigation).

Black accommodationists persist in the modern era, though in far fewer numbers. One of the more flagrant examples of modern black accommodation is the late Clarence Pendleton. As Reagan's chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Pendleton steadfastly opposed affirmative action. Under his direction, the commission was reduced to the role of apologist for the Reagan administration's policies of non-enforcement of civil rights. Many other accommodationists simply don't believe that blacks are deprived, while among those who do sense deprivation, many blame themselves or their group. Still other accommodationists continue to regard political protest as counter-productive. Political apathy is another major source of contemporary accommodation.

Historically, most blacks who have accommodated themselves to American racism have also been economically conservative. This is because those people who do not perceive any racial discrimination are unlikely to see a need for government guarantees of equal opportunity.

Liberal Reconstructionists

While most blacks were accommodationists at the turn of this century, a small group of liberals pressed for integration. They organized the Niagara Movement, which developed into the NAACP. Over time, their ranks swelled, paralleling the growth of the black middle class and the decline of more brutal forms of white racism. Black integrationists were prominent among freedmen during the American War of Independence and again during the First Reconstruction (1867-1877) following the Civil War.

Black integrationists range across the entire spectrum of economic positions. Although historically many have been conservative on economic issues, most are liberal compared to whites. One of the earliest integrationists to enunciate a liberal economic view was Thomas Fortune, the editor of the New York *Age*, a black newspaper that attacked discrimination in the 1890s. While advocating a doctrine of progress through thrift and hard work, Fortune vehemently criticized the government's complacency about the squalor and human misery of blacks during Post-Reconstruction. Finally, a very small but persistent faction of integrationists are Marxists. One of the first was A. Philip Randolph, who in 1922 ran for secretary of state of New York on the Socialist ticket.

During the 1960s, prominent civil rights activists, like Martin Luther King, who had previously ignored economic issues, came to realize that the right to eat in an integrated restaurant has no value if a person cannot afford the price of a meal. They began to actively campaign for government programs to alleviate poverty and ensure equal opportunity. Today, the great majority of black integrationists support these liberal economic policies. Most civil rights leaders and black elected officials—including Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson—fit into this niche.

Radical Reconstructionists

Whereas black liberals believe whites are capable of racial tolerance and typically support integration, radical reconstructionists believe whites are incorrigible and advocate separation. Black separatists or nationalists have always been present in American society, although in relatively small numbers. Historian August Meier suggests black nationalism increases in times of heightened racial tension and decreases in periods of relative racial harmony.

Nationalists vary in their attitudes toward economic issues—from cultural nationalists on the right to Marxists on the extreme left. Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan is the most prominent cultural nationalist today. His promotion of black capitalism and his calls for a black homeland in Africa have their roots in Marcus Garvey's movement of the 1920s and in a much smaller back-to-Africa movement of the 1840s and 1850s. The philosophy of "self-determination" exhibited by the Reverend George A. Stallings Jr., founder of the Afro-American Catholic Congregation, is a contemporary manifestation of a separatist church tradition dating back to Richard Allen's founding of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1794.

Prominent on the far left is Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael), a nationalist who blends racial unity with socialism and Pan Africanism. The well known poet and

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **The 1990 BEO *Roster* shows an expansion in the number of the nation's black officeholders as some gain electoral firsts in predominantly white jurisdictions.**
- **Ralph David Abernathy, who died last month, is remembered for his contributions and his shortcomings.**
- **Across the Nation: Arizona finally adopts a paid holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.; the race for congressional delegate in the District of Columbia heats up; Harvey Gantt of North Carolina faces a run-off in his bid for the U.S. Senate; Mayor Jessie Rattley of Newport News loses her bid for reelection.**

New BEOs Added to Roster Through Mainstream Votes

The 20th anniversary edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster,* soon to be released, shows continued growth in the number of our nation's black elected officeholders (BEOs). As of January 31, 1990, there were 7,370 black elected officials in the United States—an increase of 144 or 2.0 percent, compared to 5.8 percent in 1989.

As in 1989, the distribution of these officials parallels the geographic distribution of the black population. The South predominates, with 60.2 percent of the country's black population and 67.5 percent of its BEOs. The Midwest has the second largest concentration of BEOs, 17.7 percent, where 16.5 percent of the black population lives. The Northeast, by comparison, is somewhat underrepresented, since it has 15.7 percent of the black population but only 9.9 percent of the BEOs. The 10 states with the largest contingents of black elected officials are Alabama (705), Mississippi (669), Louisiana (527), Georgia (495), Illinois (461), North Carolina (453), South Carolina (396), Arkansas (344), Michigan (309), and Texas (305).

While the 1990 rate of increase is only a third of the rise in the previous year, some of the new entries in the *Roster* represent breakthroughs in black electoral progress. Election victories in several majority-white jurisdictions signalled shifts in the attitudes of white voters toward black candidates. Perhaps the most prominent example is L. DOUGLAS WILDER, who was elected governor of Virginia, the birthplace of American slavery. Wilder is the first black citizen to be elected governor in the continental United States. Meanwhile, DAVID DINKINS was inaugurated mayor of New York City, the nation's largest and most ethnically diverse metropolis, and NORMAN RICE was elected mayor of Seattle, which is only 10 percent black. In two of these elections, the black candidates defeated strong white opponents whose campaigns employed tactics designed to divide the electorate along racial lines. In New York, racial insults against Dinkins, uttered by comedian **JACKIE MASON** while campaigning for Republican mayoral candidate **RUDOLPH GIULIANI,** backfired as Dinkins stayed on the high road, campaigning to "heal a racially divided city." Because of his remarks, Mason was forced out of the Giuliani campaign. And in Seattle, Norman Rice pushed aside City Councilman **DOUGLAS JEWETT,** who had coauthored an anti-busing initiative that became the centerpiece of his mayoral campaign. Although the voters rejected Jewett, they adopted his initiative.

Other black mayoral candidates who won in predominantly white cities are: **JOHN DANIELS, JR.,** in New Haven, Connecticut; **CYNTHIA MOORE CHESTNUT** in Gainesville, Florida; and **CHARLES BOX** in Rockford, Illinois. They were among the seven new black mayors elected in cities with more than 50,000 residents. There are now 33 such black mayors.

Further efforts to expand opportunities for black candidates rest, in part, with the courts. In a Georgia case, *Tyrone Brooks* v *State Board of Elections,* a federal judicial panel ruled last year that 54 of Georgia's 137

superior court judgeships filled through at-large elections must be reviewed by the Justice Department for compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Atlanta chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed the suit, charged that the boundaries of the 54 judgeships were drawn in ways that dilute black voting strength. Created by state statutes between 1964 and 1989, the judgeships had not been precleared by Justice in accordance with Section 5 of the Act. Nevertheless, progress on the judicial front has generally been mixed. In May, a three-judge panel of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a ruling by U.S. District Judge **LUCIUS BUNTON,** who had ruled that Texas laws illegally diluted the voting strength of minority voters in judicial elections in nine urban Texas counties. The counties elect 172 of Texas's 390 district judges, and include the cities of Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. Because of the circuit court decision, the election process in those counties will remain unchanged.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1990

			Federal		State				Subestate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1988	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	705	11					5	18			71		15	31	409				1	13	41	6	6		2		86	1
Alaska	4	0						1							2												1	
Arizona	11	-1					1	2							3											1	4	
Arkansas	344	26					1	5						24	149			17		5	38					1	104	
California	281	5		4			2	6	4		7	1	2	9	49	6		4	1	78		1	1			16	89	1
Colorado	14	0					1	3							3					4		1					2	
Connecticut	66	3				1	2	5						3	31	5		2			2						15	
Delaware	22	-1					1	2						2	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	235	-7		1										1	10		215										6	
Florida	177	-2					2	9			12	2		14	92	2		2	1	21			1				17	2
Georgia	495	12		1			7	23			97		4	16	230	2		3	1	18	1	1	2			2	85	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	461	17		3		1	7	14			38	2	1	19	155	51		20		22		2				2	124	
Indiana	68	0					1	6			13			1	28		4	2		4							9	
Iowa	14	5					1				2				4							1				1	5	
Kansas	23	0					1	3			3				5	1				2							8	
Kentucky	70	2					1	1			1			1	51					2	2	1					10	
Louisiana	527	6					5	15			116	1		21	173			2		8	42	1	14		1		128	
Maine	2	-1												1	1													
Maryland	118	0		1			5	22			6			9	53	1	1		1	12		3					4	
Massachusetts	36	-2					1	5			1				12	6					1						10	
Michigan	309	3		2		1	2	14			24			11	77			17	1	53	4				1	14	88	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	2					4			1				3	
Mississippi	669	23		1		1	2	20			66	52	5	30	294			3	1	5	58	10	7				106	8
Missouri	169	6		2			3	13			3			15	96			5		10		2	2			2	16	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	0					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	2	-1						2																				
New Jersey	201	2		1			2	6			6		1	10	95												78	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	263	11		4			5	16			14			4	29	5				45	2	1					136	
North Carolina	453	4					3	14			44	2	1	18	259				1	20		3	4			1	83	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	209	-7		1			2	11			1	1		10	98	3		10		27					1		44	
Oklahoma	116	1					2	3			2		1	14	43			25		1			1				24	
Oregon	11	2					2	1			1				3	1				2							1	
Pennsylvania	142	3		1			3	15						4	41			2	1	34	14	1					26	
Rhode Island	11	1					1	5							4												1	
South Carolina	396	23					5	16			70	3	2	17	144	1				1			5			1	131	
South Dakota	3	0												2	1													
Tennessee	149	3		1			3	10			47		1	3	46					9	6		1				22	
Texas	305	-7		1			1	13			17			12	125	1				16	23		1		2	5	88	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	2	0						2																				
Virginia	149	5			1		3	7			40		3	6	75			3				6	3					
Virgin Islands	35	0			1	1	9			14															10			
Washington	20	0					2	1			1			3	4					5								
West Virginia	25	1						1						1	19					2	1	1					4	
Wisconsin	22	-2					1	4			3				6					3			1				4	
Wyoming	2	0					1																				1	
Total	7,370	144	0	24	2	6	98	317	4	14	710	64	36	313	2,936	85	220	117	9	431	235	44	50	0	17	47	1,577	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1990*

Remembering Ralph David Abernathy

RALPH ABERNATHY died on April 17 of cardiac arrest at the age of 64. Abernathy's career as a civil rights leader began in 1955, when as a 29-year-old Baptist minister, he and MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. joined with other ministers to launch the Montgomery bus boycott. He remained at King's side through the many marches and demonstrations of the civil right struggle, including the historic march on Washington in 1963 and the march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. Abernathy was also present on Selma's Edmund Pettus bridge 25 years ago when Alabama state troopers brutally attacked civil rights marchers who were demanding passage of the Voting Rights Act.

It was King in the forefront who so visibly and eloquently led the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the late 1950s and until his death in 1968, but Abernathy was usually the other man in the picture, the one standing behind King. They both shared a commitment to nonviolence, and both lived with the same threats and dangers. Abernathy was arrested and jailed with King on 17 occasions, and his Montgomery home was bombed in 1957, a year after King's was bombed. Abernathy was King's trusted friend and devoted lieutenant. When the assassin's bullet struck in 1968, King spent the last moments of his life in Abernathy's arms.

Abernathy reluctantly stepped in to take the helm of the SCLC, and the organization declined in significance during his decade of leadership, though it continued its attacks on poverty and unemployment begun by King. In the late 1960s and early 70s, Abernathy supported the California grape boycott led by United Farm Workers Union president **CESAR CHAVEZ,** and he stood with Vietnam war protesters in Chicago and Harrisburg. He led marches in Charleston, South Carolina, to support striking hospital workers there, and he headed up a 1969 voter registration drive in Alabama. Abernathy also helped bring together the Poor People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and in 1971 led a mule team march on the White House to oppose **RICHARD NIXON's** secret expansion of the Vietnam war abroad while cutting social programs at home.

But Abernathy's fortunes plummeted and he spent most of the 1970s and 80s shadowed by political misfortune and weak health. Other lieutenants of Martin Luther King moved on to gain prominence in their own right. **ANDREW YOUNG,** now a Georgia gubernatorial candidate, was elected to Congress in 1972, beginning a history-making career as a national political figure. **JESSE JACKSON** went from PUSH to become a presidential candidate. Abernathy's star, meanwhile, did not rise any higher. In 1977 there was Abernathy's disastrous run for the congressional seat that Young had vacated to become President **JIMMY CARTER's** U.N. ambassador. At the eleventh hour of the 1980 campaign, Abernathy and civil rights activist Rev. **HOSEA WILLIAMS** endorsed **RONALD REAGAN** for president, without obtaining any apparent *quid pro quo* for poor or black Americans. Abernathy later suffered two strokes, in 1983 and in 1986. And last year he invited the denunciation of many Americans by writing in his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* about extramarital affairs that his friend Martin Luther King was alleged to have had. Few forgave him for this, and he was roundly rebuked by many black leaders, including the present leader of the SCLC, **JOSEPH LOWERY,** for committing an act of betrayal.
—by David C. Ruffin

CIVIL RIGHTS ALERT

With his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1990, now pending in Congress, **GEORGE BUSH** may be jeopardizing the good will he has engendered among black Americans. The Act is designed to overturn five Supreme Court rulings handed down last June that now make it more difficult for victims of employment discrimination to gain redress through the courts. Attorney General **RICHARD THORNBURG** has led the opposition to the Act by characterizing it as a "quota" bill. Bush has repeated that characterization, causing many in the black community to question what he meant when he said that he accepts the challenge to "live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement."

The main bone of contention is the *Wards Cove Packing Co. v Atonio* ruling, in which the Court reversed the 18-year precedent established in *Griggs v Duke Power Co.* The *Griggs* ruling permitted employees to use statistics to demonstrate that an employer used discriminatory practices in hiring or promotions, and placed on the employer the burden to prove that the practices had a business necessity. With *Wards Cove,* the Court has shifted onto employees the burden to prove a practice's discriminatory impact. Thornburg's position on "quotas" is similar to the one taken by the Reagan administration when it tried to halt affirmative action programs across the nation. Among those opposing Bush on this issue is **ARTHUR FLETCHER,** a black Republican and long-time Bush supporter whom Bush appointed to chair the Civil Rights Commission.

Across the Nation

ARIZONA: After years of resistance, Arizona is joining the 47 other states that honor DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. with a state holiday. On May 16, Democratic Governor ROSE MOFFORD signed legislation setting aside the third Monday in January as a paid King holiday, reaffirming an act she signed last year to the same effect. The current bill differs from last year's, however, by reestablishing Columbus Day as a paid holiday as well. The latter holiday had been eliminated in last year's legislation.

The controversy began in 1987 when, early in his term, then-governor EVAN MECHAM rescinded the King holiday which his Democratic predecessor, BRUCE BABBITT, had established in 1986 by executive order. Mecham, an ultra-conservative Republican, was later impeached and removed from office for unrelated reasons.

Last year, the reinstatement of the King holiday to the state calendar and the dropping of Columbus Day generated a backlash. The Holiday Referendum Committee, an anti-King citizens group headed by right-wing activist JULIAN SANDERS, joined forces with supporters of the Columbus Day holiday to collect more than enough signatures in a referendum to place the issue on the ballot this November. The referendum put the observance of the King holiday on hold. Sanders, an architect and contractor from Tempe, based his opposition on the unfounded assertion that the slain civil rights leader was a Marxist with ties to the Communist Party.

The legislature's action this May nullifies the referendum, but opponents of the holiday are allowed 90 days to collect enough signatures to place *another* referendum on the ballot. Mecham, who is running for governor again in a field of seven candidates, remains opposed to the King holiday and has committed his campaign volunteers to help gather signatures. Stay tuned.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Georgetown University law professor and long-time civil rights activist ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON has announced she will run for District of Columbia delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. Norton declared her intentions in April after incumbent delegate WALTER E. FAUNTROY announced his plans to retire from Congress in order to seek the D.C. mayor's seat. Both Norton and Fauntroy, who has been the District's delegate for 19 years, are Democrats.

The position of delegate from the District of Columbia, created by Congress in 1971, is one that precludes its holder from voting on the floor of the House. The District is not represented at all in the U.S. Senate. Whoever replaces Fauntroy will most likely pursue his fight for full voting representation in the Congress and for full statehood for the District of Columbia.

Norton began her civil rights activism working in the South with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee during the 1960s. As an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union, she won several lawsuits opposing restriction of the First Amendment right of free speech. Norton chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Jimmy Carter, and she recently served as a member of the D.C. Committee on Public Education, which has written a report on the reform of the District's public schools.

Among the announced candidates she will face in the September 11 Democratic primary is DONALD TEMPLE, a black attorney with 10 years' experience as a senior congressional staffer. Active in political and community affairs, Temple is the publisher of the monthly newspaper, *Black Networking News*, which is based in Washington. He is also cofounder and former president of Concerned Black Men, a community service organization.

Other announced candidates in the Democratic race are: BARBARA LETT SIMMONS, a black former member of the District's board of education, GEORGE X. CURE, the legal advisor to the Nation of Islam's Dopebuster anti-drug program, and BETTY ANN KANE, a white at-large city councilmember.

Two Republicans have declared their candidacy as well: consultant JIM CHAMPAGNE and black attorney HARRY SINGLETON. Singleton drew the ire of civil rights organizations when he headed the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights under the Reagan administration. According to GARY ORFIELD, a school desegregation expert at the University of Chicago, Singleton intimidated his professional staff and directed them to ignore the failure of Southern state colleges to comply with longstanding desegregation plans. He left the Department in 1985 in the wake of a congressional hearing to review allegations of mismanagement.

NORTH CAROLINA: Black Democrat HARVEY GANTT, the former two-term mayor of Charlotte, will have to survive a June 5 run-off against district attorney MICHAEL EASLEY to win the right this November to challenge conservative Republican U.S. Senator JESSE HELMS. In the May 8 Democratic primary, Gantt led the field of six candidates with 38 percent of the vote. Easley, who hails from Southport and has a reputation as a drug busting prosecutor, only claimed 30 percent of the vote. Gantt's strength was in the cities—he carried Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem by wide margins. Both of the candidates espouse government activism in the areas of education and healthcare. They differ on the death penalty—Gantt is against it and Easley is for it.

Since neither of them won 40 percent of the vote, the threshold required by North Carolina to avoid a run-off, they will face each other again on June 5 to determine who will be the Democratic nominee. Mindful that past run-offs between black and white candidates in the 22-percent black state have been characterized by racially polarized voting, Gantt, calling for unity, asked Easley to withdraw from the contest—a request Easley declined. A divisive Democratic run-off could make it difficult for the winner to regroup and mount an effective campaign against Helms. Going into the run-off itself will be tough for both candidates, because each has already spent all the campaign money raised to date (less than $500,000 apiece).

VIRGINIA: All three of the women on the seven-member Newport News city council were defeated in the May 1 nonpartisan municipal election, including black mayor and council member JESSIE RATTLEY. (Council members choose one of their number to be mayor.) Rattley, black council member FLORA CRITTENDEN, and white council member MARGARET KEATOR failed to poll among the top four vote getters in a crowded field of 13 candidates. Rattley came in sixth. The three women were replaced by four white men who have had no government experience. The four new councilmen now join three white male incumbents to form an all-white, all-male council for the Tidewater city.

Rattley had become the city's first black and first female council member in 1970. She became the city's first black mayor in 1986. Until this month's defeat, she had been the city's top vote-getter on the council in every election since 1974. Local observers attribute her loss, in part, to a low voter turnout among the city's 32 percent black population. Only about 27,000 of the 66,000 registered voters cast ballots. However, there was a heavy voter turnout in several precincts in the mostly white northern section of the city.

Black Males and the Drug Trade: New Entrepreneurs or New Illusions?

Joint Center Conferees Report That Urban Drug Dealers Are Largely Addicts Who Earn Little by Their Trade and Fear Street Violence More Than Jail

by Katherine McFate

One of the most disheartening aspects of the crack epidemic is that the carriers of the plague so often come from within the communities victimized by it. The drug dealers on the corner are not strangers. They are kids from the neighborhood, a workmate's child, a cousin, a nephew, a son.

Drug selling appears to be one of the few growth industries in poor inner-city communities. If media images are accurate, it offers an attractive alternative to low-wage, unskilled employment for disadvantaged black and Latino men, pulling them out of the legitimate labor market. Yet what do we really know about the opportunities and costs of entering the drug trade? What financial rewards does it offer to an adolescent in a poor neighborhood? What proportion of inner city minority youths are involved in drug trafficking? Is dealing drugs a pathway out of their chronic poverty or just one more dead-end in lives already "nasty, brutish and short"?

At a Joint Center roundtable conducted last November 17, academic researchers from Detroit, New York, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C., met with congressional staff and policy makers from federal agencies to discuss these questions.

Expanding Markets and Distribution Networks

In the early 1980s, the amount and quality of cocaine entering the U.S. increased dramatically. As supply rose and prices fell, the potential market of consumers broadened. Around the same time, smokeable "crack" cocaine, an inexpensive and highly addictive form of the drug, appeared in cities across the country. The number of casual cocaine users multiplied at the same time that deepening addiction to crack was heightening the demand for cocaine. Over the last five years, numerous distribution networks have emerged to move the enormous quantities of available cocaine to eager consumers.

There was no consensus among researchers at the roundtable about the extent to which the cocaine market is controlled by "corporate" gang organizations as opposed to "free-lance" dealers. Jeffrey Fagan, a sociologist at Rutgers University, argued that organized gang involvement has been exaggerated by the media. "Crack really is a deregulated market," he said. "It is totally open...people have open access [to] raw materials ...and [to] selling locations." Steve Rickman, from the Office of Criminal Justice in Washington, D.C., reported that although lucrative selling locations in his city are tightly guarded, "anyone can set up shop" on relatively unprofitable street corners.

But Carl Taylor, a criminologist at Michigan State University, told of one corporate-style gang in Detroit that had operated a $7.5 million weekly trade in heroin before diversifying to cocaine. Ansley Hamid, professor of anthropology at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, argued that such drug distribution networks can exist side-by-side with free-lance dealers and with user-sellers who deal to support their own habits. He said that in New York City, cocaine distribution networks vary by neighborhood.

Estimates of the number and proportion of central-city residents involved in drug dealing are difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, most of the researchers thought that it is reasonable to assume that about one in every six or seven youths in central-city neighborhoods sells drugs regularly. For example, a recent Rand Corporation study by Peter Reuter predicts that 16 percent of all black males in Washington, D.C., will be arrested and charged with drug selling before the age of 21.

Dealers' Wages: Poor for Most

Estimating the amount of income gained from illegal acts is difficult as well. Some researchers warn that when dealers discuss their income they are often giving figures for the "best day/best week" rather than an average or median over time. Income gained from drug dealing varies widely, depending on the time, effort, and skill of the individuals involved. Nonetheless, the researchers offered tentative estimates from their studies of street sales in New York City and Washington, D.C.

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Ms. McFate is a research associate at the Joint Center.

Black Males and the Drug Trade

(Continued from page 5)

According to Phillippe Bourgois, an ethnographer from San Francisco State University, crack house workers in the East Harlem neighborhood that he studies make $50 to $75 for an eight-hour shift (or 50 cents a vial). Ansley Hamid said that street sellers in his New York City neighborhood received drugs on consignment; their sales were typically supervised by two "runners" who each earned about $100 for a 12-hour shift.

Clearly, there are those who make far higher sums in the trade. In a Rockefeller-funded study of several hundred adults arrested for selling drugs in Washington, D.C., street-level dealers reported that they could make $740 to $1000 a week. Much of this trade was conducted in the evenings, part-time, as a significant number of those arrested for dealing had legitimate day jobs. But Bruce Johnson of Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc., argued that probably "less than 20 percent of the people engaged in drug dealing have a net-worth cash return of as much as $1000 a month... Probably less than five percent of all people who deal drugs have a cash income that allows them to purchase expensive cars."

Big profits in the drug trade do not come until one reaches a mid-level sales position. This includes the "beeper boys," so called because of their reliance on beepers and cellular phones, who have built up enough of a regular clientele to retire from direct street selling. Customers call them directly to make appointments for buys.

In any case, most street-level dealers cannot hold onto the profits from dealing because they are drug users themselves. Up until about 1985, research consistently showed that most of these dealers had been drug abusers who began selling to support their habits. But this has changed. More than half of the 1,000 crack users Fagan and Johnson interviewed in New York City over the past two years sold cocaine before they began using crack.

Despite the rules many drug-dealing gangs have against narcotics use by members, a high proportion of young dealers appear to get "seduced by the pipe" as they grow older. "Initially, when kids get involved in [selling] crack, they start out as non-users," said Rickman. "But as they stay involved over a period of time they become users." While only 25 to 30 percent of the 13- to 17-year-olds arrested in Washington, D.C., test positive for drugs when apprehended, among older arrestees the figure jumps to 70 percent. And among adults arrested for selling drugs, 90 percent reported that they were regular drug users.

The Search for Effective Deterrents

The threat of arrest is not an effective deterrent for those involved in or contemplating drug dealing. Among one group of adolescents in Washington, D.C., who admitted to selling drugs, fully one third reported prior arrests. Fagan said that literally all of the crack users in his New York City survey had been in jail. Bourgois remarked that for some people in some inner city neighborhoods, going to jail is "a rite of passage, a definition of adulthood." Laurie Gundst, a journalist who is writing about West Indian drug posses, described an incarcerated Jamaican posse leader in New York City who said he was "lucky" to be in jail because he was safer there, given the violence on the street.

It is the violence of the drug trade that frightens off many prospective young dealers. Respondents in an Urban Institute survey of about 400 adolescents in Washington, D.C., said they believed a drug dealer was more likely to be injured or killed over the course of a year than to go to jail. (Given the overload on the criminal justice system, this may be an accurate assessment.) More than one in four of the youths said he had carried a concealed weapon; more than one in five said he had been part of a group that attacked or threatened another individual; and five percent had shot, stabbed, or killed someone. When the young people were asked why they had stopped dealing or had not gotten involved in drug dealing at all, they typically responded that it was because they had witnessed first-hand the impact of drug violence—like the shooting death of a friend or relative.

The Policy Implications of the Research

Several facts directly challenge the way policy makers and the public tend to view the drug problem. First, drug users/abusers and drug sellers are *not* two distinct populations and should not be treated as such. Many sellers are on the street to support a habit. Investing in more prevention, education, and treatment programs could reduce the number of *sellers* on the street by reducing their own need for the drug (as well as the general demand).

Second, jail is not an effective deterrent for the drug dealing population. Given the violence in the streets, jail (especially in local correctional institutions and juvenile detention centers) is too often viewed as a rest rather than as punishment.

Third, job training and employment programs could appear very attractive to those in entry-level positions in the drug trade. In corporate-style gang organizations, the large sums made from dealing drugs are not trickling down to the lowest echelons. After some months of risking the violence on the streets for a relatively low return, a good number of street dealers might be willing to try the legitimate labor market if given the opportunity.

Finally, policy makers need to think about intervention that offers constructive alternatives and safe havens to the children in drug-infested neighborhoods. Carl Taylor decried the fact that drug dealers are widely admired and emulated by youngsters there. He worried about the values these children would have as adults, and warned that when "children [are] nurtured on hate and rejection and isolation" we will all eventually pay for their neglect as crime, violence, and dependency increase. ■

A detailed report of the roundtable's deliberations, entitled "Crime, Drugs, and Urban Poverty," is available from the Joint Center.

"I'm Not a Pork Barrel Politician"

On His 100th Day in Congress, U.S. Rep. Craig Washington From Houston Discussed a Broad Range of Issues With Editor David Ruffin

Craig A. Washington, 48, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives on December 9, 1989, to fill the vacancy left by Mickey Leland, who died in a plane crash in Ethiopia last August. Washington, a criminal defense lawyer, has served in the Texas state house of representatives (1973 to 1983) and the state senate (1983 to 1990). He was sworn in as a member of Congress on January 23, 1990.

Q: What issues do you plan to stake out as your own as a member of Congress?

A: I think my role is to work in combination with other people—I don't see myself trying to find a niche—I usually spread myself thin working on lots of different issues because they're all interrelated.

Q: How do you expect to use your office to improve the economic situation back home in Houston?

A: In economics, very little. I'm not a pork barrel politician. My role is not to get elected, to serve as a member of Congress just to see how many things I can drag in a sack back to Houston. If all of us did that, we'd have 435 sacks going back all over the nation but no one working for the common good of all the people. I think we have to get away from being provincial in our thinking. It's not "What did my congressman do for the district?" but rather, "What did Congress do for the nation?"

Q: What should we do about the drug problem?

A: We should deemphasize the criminal aspect as far as the users are concerned and treat that aspect of the drug problem for what it is—it's a health care problem. I think we need to provide more funding for drug treatment on demand for persons who have become addicted to narcotic substances.

Q: How can we provide health care to the poor?

A: We need a system of national health insurance that provides coverage for all persons in this country, whether they're citizens or not, based upon need.

Q: Can we save our young people?

A: Sure we can. We come back to education. Education is the long-term solution to the drug problem, the health care problem, and employment, and it's the long-term solution to the problem of making this society *one* society.

Q: What should federal policy be on education?

A: We should impose some standards to measure the level of achievement of persons who are going through our school system. We should impose some standards on who is qualified to teach and who isn't. The people who are not qualified to teach need to be driving trucks—or something other than teaching our children. And the people who are qualified to teach ought to be paid a decent wage so they'll stay in the classroom where they are needed.

Q: Can you comment on George Bush's leadership?

A: Leadership starts at the top. When John F. Kennedy was president, there was a clear, unambiguous message that we were moving forward on civil rights. Leadership is when people decide what's right and do it—rather than following public opinion. Public opinion tells you how to follow, it doesn't tell you how to lead.

Q: Do you think some black politicians are backing away from issues that have long been on the black agenda in order to appeal to a broader base of support?

A: Hopefully, by the time you get to be an adult—old enough to be elected to public office—your philosophy about things should be rather settled. I'm always a bit suspicious of people who can find ways to change their philosophy, because that means they really didn't have one to begin with, as far as I'm concerned. I'd rather be what I am, even if it means having a smaller constituency or being less well accepted.

Q: What's your position on abortion?

A: I am unalterably opposed to the government interfering in the decision that a woman in consultation with her physician and her God and the father of the child should make with respect to the termination of a pregnancy.

Q: The death penalty?

A: I am unalterably opposed to the death penalty in any form for any reason, because I believe that the government commits murder when it takes a human life just as much as the perpetrator of a crime commits murder when he takes a life.

Q: Do you think black congressional representation in Texas will expand as a result of redistricting next year?

A: I believe that the configuration of congressional districts will be such that there's a better than equal chance that another person who happens to be black will be elected from the Dallas area. I'd like to see that done without diluting the impact we [blacks] have on the larger system. I don't think the ultimate goal is to elect people who happen to be black, but to elect people who generally support causes that black people are interested in.

Q: Overall, how do you feel about your first 100 days in Congress?

A: It's for real. Basically, this job runs on your word—loyalty, trust, and doing what you say you're going to do. I've enjoyed my first 100 days. But there's a lot of work to be done—I'll never run out of things to do. ■

Wilder and Jackson

(Continued from page 4)

political activist Amiri Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones) favors the abolition of capitalism and the formation of a separate black state in the southern United States. Left-nationalism had its beginnings in the life work of W.E.B. Du Bois who, early in this century, described himself as a "socialist-of-the-path," promoted Pan-Africanism, and advocated an independent black economy in the United States. The earliest left-nationalist organization was the African Blood Brotherhood, established in 1919 by Cyril Briggs and Richard Moore, who sympathized with Garvey's nationalism but criticized him for championing capitalism and for precluding alliances with white workers.

Conclusion

In light of the history of African American politics, it is apparent that the Wilder-Jackson comparison has been greatly overworked. Certainly neither's views are new. Nor are they extreme. Both Jackson and Wilder are liberal reconstructionists. They share a basic faith in the integrity of whites and of American political and economic institutions, but also a common recognition of the depth and nature of American racism. Both are committed to reform through conventional political methods.

The differences between these two men are more of form than substance. They are the differences between a chief executive and a political organizer. Jackson, who has established himself as a tireless spokesperson for the disadvantaged, is best described as a "movement" leader who defines the political agenda and mobilizes the rank and file. Wilder, who has benefited from the movement, has downplayed race in building the broad electoral coalition necessary to winning statewide office.

Upon reflection, the alleged policy differences between Wilder and Jackson seem small. Jackson advocates public policy which will help blacks to improve their collective status, a position balanced by his strong emphasis on black self-help and his efforts, through Operation Push, to make the private sector more responsive to black needs. Although Wilder advocates fiscal responsibility and progress through economic growth and plays down the need for further government initiatives, the jury is still out on him. Wilder's initial acts as governor of Virginia suggest he is continuing the strong liberal agenda he pursued when he was a state legislator in the 1970s and 1980s. During the state's current budget crunch, Wilder has refused to cut funding for primary and secondary education, and he has eliminated a regressive sales tax on nonprescription drugs, both important issues to economically disadvantaged groups.

W.E.B Du Bois observed nearly a century ago the danger of African Americans' viewing themselves and their differences through the veil of the dominant culture—of seeing themselves from the perspective of whites. That danger persists. The tendency of pundits to exaggerate the differences between Wilder and Jackson indicates how narrow the debate on race and class has become in the United States. During the Reagan years, the white conservative movement dominated the political agenda so successfully that the term *liberal,* whether applied to blacks or whites, became a pejorative label and moderate reformers were viewed as extreme. In fact, the liberal views articulated by Wilder and Jackson are held by a wide spectrum of African Americans. Both men are part of the long tradition of American reform politics. ■

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