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FOCUS

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The Republicans' Image Problem Among Blacks

Poll Shows the Party's Potential to Win Black Votes, But Does the GOP Care?

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Fifth National Policy Institute: Charting the Future Course of Public Policy for Blacks

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

Index to Volume 15
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Fifth National Policy Institute: Charting the Future Course of Public Policy for Blacks

In last month's Perspective column, "Project 1993: A Five-Year Plan for Political Empowerment," I described how blacks must begin to organize and strategize around four major political developments that will take us through the next decade and into the 21st century. These developments include the presidential elections of 1988 and 1992; upcoming state and local elections; and the 1990 decennial census.

I continue with that theme this month, as black elected and appointed officials continue to gear up for the Fifth National Policy Institute (NPI V), which convenes January 20-23, 1988. "NPI V," a non-partisan conference of black elected and appointed officials, will focus the nation's attention on the critical public policy issues facing black America. Over 1,000 black public officials, scholars, civil rights leaders, government officials, corporate executives, and labor leaders will develop strategies and form coalitions to pursue their policy interests.

The conference will not only serve as a "kick-off" for the presidential election year, it will yield solid information that public officials and other leaders need to effectively chart the future course of public policies affecting their constituencies.

Experts from all walks of life will address the conference. Some of the invited speakers and the topics they will discuss are:

- Eleanor Holmes Norton, a former chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and currently a law professor at Georgetown University, and Congressman Bill Gray (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee—"Governmental Initiatives and Individual Responsibilities";
- Alexander Williams, Jr., state's attorney, Prince George's County, Maryland, and Judge Thelma Wyatt Cummings of Atlanta, Georgia—"Criminal Justice and the Black Community";
- Joshua Smith, president, Maxima Corporation—"Increasing Opportunities for Minority Businesses";
- Ron Pollack, executive director, Villers Foundation, and Steve McConnell, coordinator, Long Term Care Project, Villers Foundation—"The Plight of the Black Elderly";
- Ernest Green, senior vice-president, Shearson, Lehman Brothers, and Pauline Schneider, attorney, Hunton and Williams—"Public/Private Financing of Government Services";
- Dr. Marcus Alexis, Northwestern University—"Economic Policy Agenda: Employment Implications";
- M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, and Illinois State Senator Richard Newhouse—"Effective Education Strategies: What Works?"; and
- Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich, chairperson, Y.E.L. Corporation, and Ghebre Selassie Mehreteab, director of Public/Private Partnerships, National Corporation for Housing Partnerships—"The Low-Income Housing Crisis."

There will also be major addresses on education; on the prosecution/persecution of black elected officials; and on the 1988 elections.

Make your reservations now for "NPI V." Space is limited. For more information see pages 11-12. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The Republicans' Image Problem Among Blacks

Poll Shows the Party's Potential to Win Black Votes, But Does the GOP Care?

by Eddie N. Williams

Editor's note: This article is adapted from the text of a speech given by the author, the president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, at the Luncheon Forum Series of the Council of 100, a Washington, D.C., organization of black Republicans, on October 28, 1987.

I am especially glad to have the opportunity in this forum to pay tribute to your founder, the late Sam Jackson,[1] who was one of the founders of the Joint Center for Political Studies. He would be pleased to find me in your company today, addressing a subject that was very close to his heart: the relationship between blacks and the Republican party.

This is a subject of enormous controversy among both partisans and scholars. I do not intend to rehash the many sides of the debate here, but I would like to shed some additional light on the subject by sharing with you some of the Joint Center's most recent research findings. These findings, based on a national survey conducted by the Center and The Gallup Organization last August, suggest that the GOP has an enormous image problem in the black community, but at the same time it has an enormous opportunity, perhaps a high-risk opportunity, to win more black support than it now enjoys.

Gloomy Findings for the GOP

Each year the Joint Center interviews a national random sample of over 900 blacks and 900 whites. The Center decides what questions to ask; The Gallup Organization administers the survey; and the Joint Center analyzes the responses.

From Reconstruction to 1936, blacks were as solidly Republican in their partisan identification as they have been solidly Democratic since 1964. Today, only 10 percent of blacks identify themselves as Republicans. This proportion has not changed significantly in recent years. This is true despite strong appeals from Republicans—black and white—and despite the fact that the GOP has held the White House for 19 of the 23 years since the Goldwater debacle of 1964.

1. Mr. Jackson had a long career in public service. After serving in the Air Force, he directed the Topeka office of the NAACP, where he worked on the case that resulted in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. He was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson as one of the five original commissioners of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1965, and in 1969, he was named assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the third-ranking position in the department, by President Richard Nixon. In 1973, he resigned to become a partner in the Wall Street law firm of Stroock, Stroock, and Lavan, where he practiced until his death in 1982.

For most people, identifying with a political party is a highly personal decision. Most of us choose a party on the basis of our perception of whether the party cares about us and the things we believe in. The Joint Center's 1987 survey produced some gloomy findings for the Republican party. It showed that only 17 percent of all blacks think that Republicans care about their problems. (See the graph on page 4.) And among black Republicans, only 55 percent thought Republicans cared about black people. These figures are extraordinarily low and they indicate that the GOP has a serious image problem in the black community. To show just how disastrous this image problems is, 80 percent of black Democrats say their party cares about them.

The GOP image problem is serious among whites as well. Whites are more likely to say that Democratic leaders rather than GOP leaders care about the problems of blacks: 69 percent of whites said Democratic leaders care and only 12 percent said they do not care; 44 percent of whites said Republicans care but 35 percent said they do not care.

The picture is not substantially better among white Republicans. Only 67 percent of the party faithful said that Republican leaders care about the problems of blacks.

Taken as a whole, our survey data suggest that both blacks and whites are more likely to perceive Republicans as caring less about blacks than do Democrats, or, put another way, they perceive the Democrats as caring more about blacks than do Republicans. This perception may well be a central determinant of black partisanship. What lies behind this perception, of course, is the subject of much debate and conjecture. But my point here is that, for whatever reasons, the Republican party has an enormous image problem in the black community.

Potential Converts to the GOP

The second point I want to make is that in spite of this image problem, there is considerable potential for the GOP to win a larger share of black support. Let me cite three factors which lead to this conclusion.

The first factor is the weakening of black ties to the Democratic party. In the Center's 1987 survey, blacks continue to identify overwhelmingly (77 percent) with the Democratic party, but their attachment is not as strong as it once was. For example, while 55 percent of

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Republicans' Image Problem

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blacks were "strong Democrats" in 1984, only 49 percent were "strong Democrats" in 1986, and the proportion dropped to a conspicuous low of 41 percent in 1987.

While the attachment of blacks to the Democratic party is weakening, they nevertheless remain in the Democratic party. They have not been persuaded to join the GOP.

While the attachment of blacks to the Democratic party is weakening, they nevertheless remain in the Democratic party. They have not been persuaded to join the GOP.

The second factor is that younger blacks, those between 18 and 29 years old, are increasingly likely to identify with the Republican party. They should be a major target for Republican recruitment efforts. In the first place, 18 percent of this group (about 6 million eligible voters) identifies as Republicans, compared to only 10 percent for blacks as a whole. (See graphs on page 5.) Moreover, 15 percent of them say they are likely to vote Republican in 1988, compared to 8 percent overall. Here are some other interesting attributes of this young cohort:

—Only 27 percent considered themselves to be strong Democrats, compared to 49 percent of blacks between 30-49 and 46 percent of those who are over 50.

—This group is slightly more inclined to say Republican leaders care about blacks and slightly less inclined to say Democrats care.

—While only 19 percent of all blacks believe their financial situation has improved, 27 percent of 18- to 29-year-olds see themselves as financially better off today.

—Twenty percent of this group, compared to only 13 percent of all blacks, approve of the way President Reagan is doing his job.

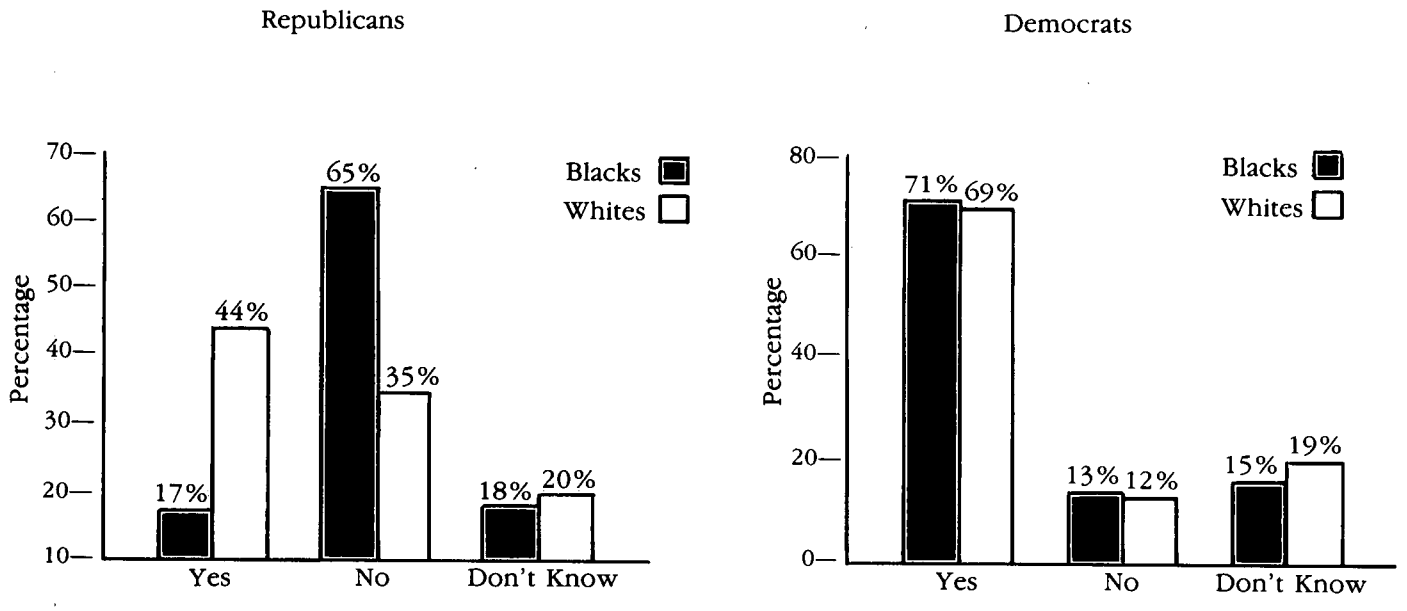
Now before any of you send Republican National Committee chairman Frank Fahrenkoph or your favorite GOP presidential candidate an urgent action memo, let me tell you a few other things about this very interesting group of young blacks. They feel strongly that the federal government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living (69 percent compared to 61 percent overall). And 72 percent of them want to see Jesse Jackson get the Democratic presidential nomination. Despite these rather non-Republican attributes, I think this group should be studied and targeted.

Pressure on Party Leaders

The third factor deals with the post-Reagan Republican party. While I think it is much too early to know how the GOP will sort itself out after the Reagan era, I think it is fair to say that all of the current crop of Republican presidential candidates enjoy a better reputation and a greater degree of rapport in the black

(Continued on page 5)

Do the Republicans and the Democrats Care About the Problems of Blacks?*



*Based on the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey of 918 blacks and 916 whites.

Republicans' Image Problem

(Continued from page 4)

community than does Ronald Reagan. This could become a big plus in connection with any effort to recruit more blacks to the party.

The challenge to the Council of 100 and others who are interested in seeing more black participation in Republican politics is to figure out what strategies can best accomplish their objective. I think it is fair to assume that, barring some horrendous blunder by the Democratic party, the Republican party will have to make changes to attract and accommodate blacks.

Toward this end, the Council and other black Republican groups must reach out to blacks, on one hand, and put more pressure on the Republican party and its leaders, on the other. Not only do most blacks have a negative image of the Republican party, they also have little regard for black leaders in the party.

In fact, black Republicans are often viewed as lacking influence in their party and as being more interested in their own personal economic welfare than in the welfare of the black community. These and other perceptions have intensified during the Reagan era, when so many actions have been taken by the administration against the perceived interests of black people.

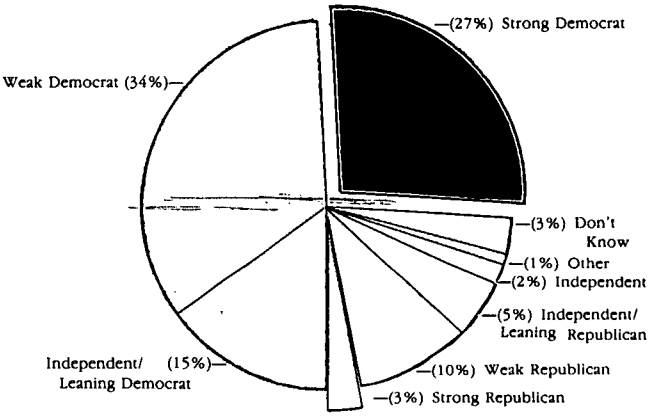
I know it is easy for an outsider to say this, but I believe black Republicans must take off the kid gloves in dealing with their party. It is never comfortable to rock the boat—to speak in a loud voice instead of genteel tones—to object when everyone else appears to agree. But that is often what a minority has to do if it wants to be heard, to be listened to, to be considered as serious players. And the smaller the minority, the more important it is for them to make themselves heard.

With all or most of the Republican candidates publicly saying the party wants more black support, now is the time to put their feet to the fire by asking what the party is willing to do to attract such support.

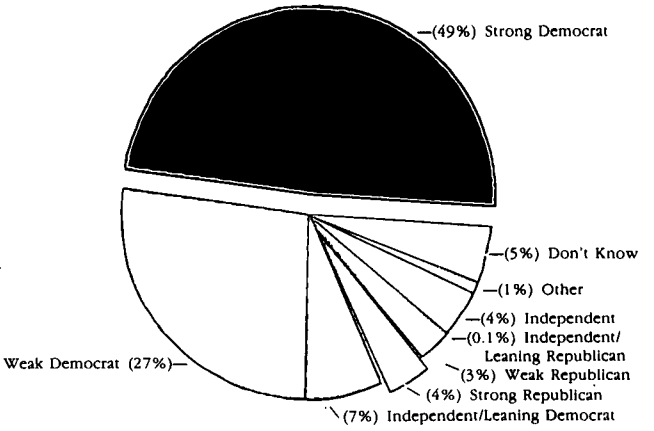
Sam Jackson understood this need to be firm, to put principles above personal gain, to be hard-nosed about pursuing the interests of the black community. Change and accommodation will not come without struggle and sacrifice, without strong alliances with other segments of the party seeking the same goal. With all or most of the Republican candidates publicly saying the party wants more black support, now is the time to put their feet to the fire by asking what the party is willing to do to attract such support. There is little attraction at the moment. ■

Party Identification of Blacks by Age Group, 1987

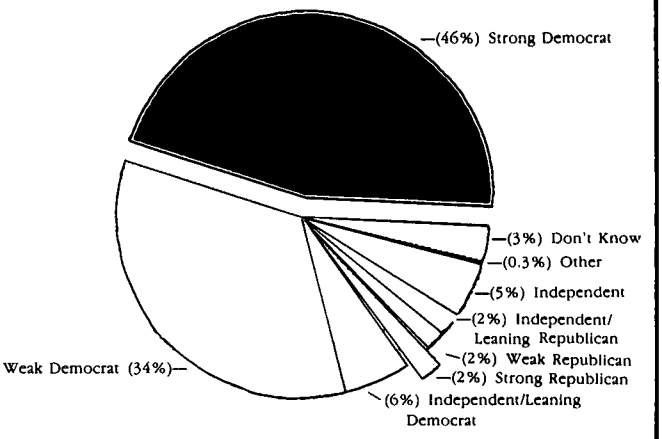
Eighteen to Twenty-Nine



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Fifty +



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JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Voters in Baltimore and Hartford, in history-making elections, chose blacks to lead their cities; Philadelphians reelected their first black mayor; and voters in Charlotte and Flint rejected incumbent black mayors.**
- **Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's support has grown in the polls and among black leaders.**
- **A federal court of appeals in New York City ruled that the powerful Board of Estimates violated the constitutional "one man, one vote" principle by giving equal weight to the votes of each borough president. In a referendum scheduled for 1988, New Yorkers must choose between revising the city charter or abolishing the board.**
- **Legislation has been introduced in Congress to reform voter registration laws to make it easier to vote.**
- ***Across the nation:* in Birmingham, Mayor Richard Arrington was reelected to a third four-year term with 60 percent of the vote; in Mississippi, two blacks, one Republican and one Democrat, were handily defeated in their bid to gain statewide office; and, in Durham, N.C., blacks formed a majority of the city council for the first time in the city's history.**

Black Mayors: An Election Roundup

The following is an alphabetically arranged, city-by-city analysis of the November 3, 1987, mayoral elections in which blacks were major participants. City council and other results will be reported in future issues of *TL*.

Baltimore, Maryland: Democratic mayoral nominee KURT SCHMOKE got two victories from the voters on election day. **First, he coasted to an expected triumph as the city's first elected black mayor, defeating Republican SAMUEL CULOTTA by a four-to-one margin (100,923 votes to 27,636).** Second, and just as impressive, **the voters rejected (by over 74,000 votes) a charter amendment (Question K) that would have permitted the city council to introduce its own budget.** In radio and television ads, Schmoke had campaigned against the amendment, which he said would give the city council a "blank check." After the election, councilmembers who had supported the amendment conceded defeat; as one told the *Baltimore Sun*, "What happens now is largely dependent on [Schmoke]."

Charlotte, North Carolina: Because whites outnumber blacks by five-to-one among registered Charlotte voters, two-term Mayor HARVEY GANTT (D) has until now been the exception to the rule that southern whites vote only for white candidates. **After the November 3 general election, however, Gantt is no longer an "exception": He lost the mayoral race to Republican SUE MYRICK, a former city councilmember who got 47,311 votes to Gantt's 46,296.**...Political analysts expressed surprise at the result; "Even [Gantt] was surprised," said one. A possible reason for Gantt's defeat was the recent annexation of a suburban area which yielded 3513 white votes and only 618 black votes, according to a source in the state voter registration office. Another likely reason, according to STEVE SUITTS, president of the Southern Regional Council (SRC), was that voters reverted to racial bloc voting. **A preliminary analysis by SRC showed a "remarkable correlation" in the percentages of black and white support for Gantt and for RONALD LEEPER, a black councilmember seeking an at- large seat. Suitts told *TL* that the "underlying pattern" was that whites did not vote for the black candidates.**

Cleveland, Ohio: Though no black candidate was on the ballot for mayor in this election, **analysts suggest that the signs point to a black running for mayor in 1991.** Is former mayor and current Municipal Court Judge CARL STOKES (D) testing the waters? Stokes' chances are boosted by his reelection with 60 percent of the vote in a city-wide election.... While Stokes may see his reelection as a "green light" from the voters, City Council President GEORGE FORBES (D-9th ward) received a different signal. Forbes has never faced the voters in a city-wide election, but his brother, CLEOFORD "ZEKE" FORBES, was defeated in his bid to return as clerk of the municipal court, a post to which he had been appointed. Analysts see Zeke Forbes' defeat as a sign of the low levels of city-wide support for George Forbes.... **Including Stokes, six blacks (three of them incumbents) were elected judges to the 13-member municipal court.**

Durham, North Carolina: Black Republican HOWARD CLEMENTS received 8,801 votes but lost his bid to become mayor. The winner was white incumbent Mayor WILBUR GULLEY (D), who got 12,896 votes. Voter turnout was slightly over 32 percent.... Clements did not resign his city council seat, which he will retain for two more years.... In other elections in Durham, four blacks (including two incumbents) were elected to the 13-member city council, which now has seven blacks—a majority, for the first time in the city's history.

Flint, Michigan: Incumbent JAMES SHARP (D), the city's first black mayor, lost to MATT COLLIER (R), by 22,874 votes to 19,509. Collier, who is white, was an aide to Congressman DALE KILDEE (D-7th district.)... Sharp, a retired Marine and former aide to then-Representative (and now Senator) Don Riegle (D-Mich.), served one term in office.

Gary, Indiana: Democrat THOMAS BARNES, who earlier won the Democratic mayoral primary by defeating incumbent Mayor RICHARD HATCHER, cruised to an easy win over Republican THADDEUS ROMANOWSKI. Barnes received 26,576 votes while his opponent got only 1,484.... Former congresswoman KATIE HALL (D) was elected city clerk.

Hartford, Connecticut: Democrat CARRIE SAXON PERRY, a four-term state representative, defeated Republican PHILIP STEELE by a margin of 10,763 to 7,613 votes. **Perry, who succeeds Hartford's first black mayor, THIRMAN MILNER, is the first black woman mayor in New England.** About 41 percent of the city's registered voters came to the polls.... In an interview with *Washington Post* columnist DOROTHY GILLIAM the day after the election, Perry proposed a "linkage policy" under which businesses who benefit from the downtown building boom would be required to make a commitment to revitalize neighborhoods that have pockets of poverty. "Most businesses don't like the mandatory aspect," said Perry. "They prefer the carrot to the stick. But I like a combination of both."

Memphis, Tennessee: Councilmember MINERVA JOHNICAN, one of three black candidates, received 38,817 votes but came in a distant second behind the incumbent Mayor DICK HACKETT, who is white. Hackett got 99,295 votes in this non-partisan election in which the candidates are not required to declare party affiliation.

Miami, Florida: ARTHUR TEELE, JR., a prominent attorney and black Republican, received 10,415 votes (about 25 percent of the total) in the non-partisan mayoral race but failed to qualify for the November 10 runoff between incumbent XAVIER SUAREZ, the city's first Cuban-American mayor, and MAURICE FERRE, a former mayor who had been in office for 12 years.... In the runoff, a majority of blacks supported the incumbent mayor, Suarez, who was reelected with 62 percent of the vote.

Mount Vernon, New York: Incumbent RONALD BLACKWOOD (D), the first black mayor of a New York city, was reelected to a second term by garnering 7,873 votes, while his nearest opponent, GEORGE ALBANO (R), received 5,079 votes.

New Haven, Connecticut: Councilman BILL JONES, a black candidate, was defeated in the Democratic primary by the incumbent, Mayor BIAGIO DILIETO, who was reelected in the general election.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: *With 98 percent of the votes counted, Mayor WILSON GOODE (D) defeated former mayor FRANK RIZZO, once a Democrat now running as a Republican, by a slim 14,500 votes—329,633 to 315,115, according to early, unofficial returns.* Though Rizzo has refused to concede until the votes have been recounted—and had yet to do so at this writing—Goode appears to have won a narrow victory, with the help of a heavy black turnout (reportedly over 70 percent in many black wards) and the support of 15 to 20 percent of white voters.... **Goode claimed to be "liberated" by his win, but the small margin of victory and the racially polarized vote led one analyst to suggest that Goode "was probably shaken that more people did not have more confidence in him."** Dr. SANDRA FEATHERMAN, a political scientist at Temple University, argues that Goode gave up too much power to the city council in his first term but predicts that he will be bolder in his second term. "He must take a stronger hand in governing the city," she told TL.

Black Leaders Disagree in New York City Charter Fight

With a judicially imposed deadline of November 1988 looming over the process, **New York City's black political community is split over how to revise the city charter. The charter changes became necessary when the Federal Court of Appeals for the 2d Circuit, in a voting rights lawsuit initiated by minority civic organizations in Brooklyn, ordered New York City to either reform or abolish the powerful Board of Estimates**—the city body which approves the $25 billion budget, grants franchises, issues zoning variances, approves land use, and most importantly, approves all contracts. The board is made up of the mayor, city council president and comptroller, all of whom are elected city-wide and have two votes each, and the five borough presidents, each of whom has one vote. The federal court ruled on October 8, 1987, that the board's voting provisions violated the "one person, one vote" test because it grants Staten Island, with its 352,000 residents, the same one vote as Brooklyn, with its population of more than 2 million.... **Black leaders disagree on what revisions are best for the black community. Some note that blacks (and Puerto Ricans) have finally regained a voice on the all powerful board after an eight-year absence; they favor retaining the Board of Estimates and weighting the votes of the borough presidents according to the population of each borough. Others argue that the Board of Estimates is an anachronism; they are calling for the board's abolition and for redrawing council districts to increase the number of black councilmembers from six to nine.** The current debate pits Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins and Harlem activist Reverend Calvin O. Butts, who support retention of the board, against black city councilmembers, who oppose the board and want its powers transferred to the city council.

The mayor has appointed a Charter Revision Commission to examine the entire Charter and prepare a referendum for November 1988 that would propose changes in the way the city is governed. **Meanwhile, the commission's public hearings have reflected inadequate black participation in decisions which will affect the balance of power in New York City for years to come.** (This item was submitted to *TrendLetter* by Toni Darney Schmiegelow, president of Darney & Associates, a black-owned public affairs firm whose political consulting services are targeted to black and Hispanic constituencies.)

Jackson's Support Grows in the Polls and Among Black Leaders

Support for presidential candidate JESSE JACKSON grew among blacks and whites in the past year, according to a JCPS/Gallup Poll survey conducted in August. In the 1987 survey, Jackson was the first choice of 67 percent of blacks but only 9 percent of whites to win the Democratic nomination; in the 1986 JCPS/Gallup survey Jackson was the first choice of 48 percent of blacks and 1 percent of whites. No other presidential contender was the first choice of more than 3 percent of blacks. Twenty-two percent of blacks reported preferring none of the Democratic contenders or were undecided. **Jackson's gain appears to be largely attributable to former Colorado Senator GARY HART's withdrawal and the decision by New York Gov. CUOMO not to run. In the 1986 survey, Hart was the first choice of 18 percent of blacks, and Cuomo was the first choice of 12 percent.**

Black Middle Class: Jackson scored his biggest gains among middle class blacks. For example, in the 1986 survey Jackson was the first choice of 53 percent of blacks with less than a high school education. By 1987, Jackson's support among this group had grown 16 percentage points, to 69 percent. His support among blacks with college degrees, however, had grown far more. In 1986, only 32 percent of blacks with college degrees said Jackson was their first choice. By 1987, the proportion had grown 32 percentage points, to 64 percent of blacks with college degrees.

White Supporters: **Among whites, Jackson's emphasis on farm issues and his campaigning among rural whites might be demonstrating some payoffs: Jackson is the first or second choice of 10 percent of whites living in central cities, 12 percent of whites living in suburbs, and 16 percent of whites living in rural areas.**

Black Leaders: When Rev. Jesse Jackson made his first bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984, many black leaders made no bones about their opposition to Jackson's candidacy. **One big city mayor even said that he would declare a "Jesse Jackson Week" in his city—the day Jackson dropped out of the race.**

What a difference three years makes! This time around, one hears little on-the-record opposition from black leaders to Jackson's 1988 Democratic presidential nomination bid. On the contrary, **Jackson is garnering vocal support and early endorsements from some of the nation's most visible black leaders. Jackson**

has already won the firm support of 14 CBC members, all Democrats: WILLIAM CLAY (Mo.), JOHN CONYERS (Mich.), RON DELLUMS (Calif.), MERVYN DYMALLY (Calif.), WALTER FAUNTROY (D.C.), FLOYD FLAKE (N.Y.), HAROLD FORD (Tenn.), CHARLES HAYES (Ill.), MICKEY LELAND (Tex.), KWEISI MFUME (Md.), MAJOR OWENS (N.Y.), GUS SAVAGE (Ill.), LOUIS STOKES (Ohio), and ED TOWNS (N.Y.). Three other members of the CBC said they were likely to endorse Jackson later: CARDISS COLLINS (Ill.), MIKE ESPY (Miss.), and WILLIAM GRAY (Pa.). Only ALAN WHEAT of Missouri went on record as having endorsed another candidate, his fellow Missourian, RICHARD GEPHARDT, while the remaining five members of the CBC said they were remaining neutral for the time being.

In addition, **Jackson lined up the early endorsements of Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON of Chicago, Mayor GEORGE LIVINGSTON of Richmond, California, Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON of Birmingham, California Assembly Speaker WILLIE BROWN, and a host of other black leaders. Jackson's most recent endorsement came from the Alabama New South Coalition, which is headed by Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington. In 1984 Arrington endorsed former vice-president WALTER MONDALE.**

Behind this change in black leadership response to the 1988 Jackson presidential candidacy are undoubtedly Jackson's frontrunner status in the polls, his continuing strong support from the vast majority of blacks, the failure of the other Democratic contenders to catch on among black and white Americans, and Jackson's own stroking of black leaders over the last three years in order to secure their support.

Still, there is the potential that black leaders' support for Jackson will come apart. Rumors abound about a latent disgruntlement among some of Jackson's strongest supporters in 1984, about the make-up and the key decision-makers in his campaign. At this writing, sources say the top positions— campaign manager, deputy directors for issues and media, secretaries for scheduling, comptroller, and treasurer—are all held by whites. However, a staff-person in Jackson's headquarters in Chicago reports that at present the campaign has no structure, and many staffing changes are being made. How these changes are made might well determine whether Jackson continues to enjoy the support of black leaders.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: In a general election held on October 13, Birmingham's first black mayor, Richard Arrington, Jr., easily defeated three rivals to win a third four-year term. Arrington polled 51,850 votes, far ahead of his closest rival, Robert Mckee (R), a white lawyer, who had 28,642 votes....Polls showed that Arrington got 98 percent of black votes but only about 10 percent of white support. Disappointed in the low level of white votes he received, Mayor Arrington told The *New York Times*, "They're still not comfortable with me. But I won't give up on them."

ARIZONA: Enough signatures have been collected to force an election that could oust Governor EVAN MEACHAM (R), who aroused opposition against him when he cancelled a holiday to honor the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Mecham Recall Committee filed a recall petition with 388,988 signatures—more than the 216,746 that were needed...Governor Meacham is also being investigated by a grand jury for reportedly failing to disclose a $350,000 campaign loan.

MISSISSIPPI: Two black candidates seeking statewide office were soundly defeated in the November 3 general elections. Veteran legislator HENRY KIRKSEY, who resigned his state senate seat to seek the lieutenant governorship as an independent candidate, got about 10 percent of the vote, and Republican WILBUR COLOM, who was the party's unopposed nominee for state treasurer, got about 20 percent of the vote.

OHIO: In Akron, city councilmember BARBARA SYKES (D) defeated Republican James Laria in the election for an at-large council seat to became the first black woman elected to citywide office. Councilmember Sykes had been appointed to the at-large seat in February 1987 when the former occupant, DON PLUSQUELIC, became mayor.

PENNSYLVANIA: Pittsburgh Mayor RICHARD CALIGUIRI has announced a three-step "strengthened response" to race related conflict after a rash of racial incidents in the city. The mayor's plan includes educating police officers about the state's Ethnic Intimidation and Institutional Vandalism Act, which stiffens penalties for crimes committed with racial or ethnic malice; improving communications between the Public Safety Department and the Human Relations Commission about incidents with possible racial overtones "so the resources of the commission, neighborhood organizations and [the mayor's] office can be used hopefully to prevent, but ultimately to deal with, incidents as they arise," and appealing to neighborhood groups to "work to improve human relations."

VIRGINIA: WILLIAM T. NEWMAN, 37, an attorney, was elected as the first black county board member for Arlington County since Reconstruction. He joined four other Democrats on the board, all of whose members are elected at-large....Newman told the *Washington Post* he hoped his election would inspire other minority candidates, "making them more aware politically and anxious to participate in the whole political process."

A circuit court judge in Portsmouth has ordered that a recall election be held Dec. 15 for Portsmouth Mayor JAMES HOLLEY III after hearing that 9,171 registered voters had signed petitions seeking Holley's ouster. Supporters of the recall drive needed the signature of 8,869 registered voters in the city for a special election to be held. The recall drive began in July following a police investigation which showed that Holley's fingerprints allegedly were on hate mail sent to community leaders (including some blacks). Holley has denied any wrongdoing and rejected the city council's request that he resign. Moreover, supporters of Holley say he is being persecuted since he has not been charged with any crime. Holley has also said that many of the signatures on the recall petition were improper and should be dismissed. He is appealing the judge's decision and seeking to block the election.

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TL = TrendLetter

FIFTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE

Over 1,000 black elected and appointed officials are expected to attend the Fifth National Policy Institute (NPI V), a JCPS-sponsored conference that will be held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 20-23, 1988 (see "Perspective," page 2). Those who have not yet signed up may do so by completing and returning the forms below by January 5, 1988.

Concurrent Workshops:

In order to facilitate conference planning, please indicate your workshop preferences (please select one from each group):

Thursday, January 21

Group A 10:30 a.m.-12:00 noon
- ____ A-1 The Changing Nature of the Black Family
- ____ A-2 The Role of the Church in Black Community Life
- ____ A-3 Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues
- ____ A-4 Pre-Natal and Infant Care: Nurturing Our Future
- ____ A-5 The Urban Underclass: What Is to be Done?

Group B 3:00-4:45 p.m.
- ____ B-1 The Census/ Reapportionment
- ____ B-2 Voter Participation/Voter Mobilization
- ____ B-3 Blacks and Higher Education
- ____ B-4 AIDS and the Black Community
- ____ B-5 Hazardous Waste—The Silent Killer

Friday, January 22

Group C 10:00-11:45 a.m.
- ____ C-1 Public/Private Financing of Government Services
- ____ C-2 The Low-Income Housing Crisis
- ____ C-3 Economic Policy Agenda: Employment Implications for Blacks
- ____ C-4 The Plight of the Black Elderly
- ____ C-5 Criminal Justice and the Black Community

Group D 2:30-4:15 p.m.
- ____ D-1 Addressing the Needs of Black Rural America
- ____ D-2 Teenage Pregnancy Prevention
- ____ D-3 Attacking Crime in the Black Community
- ____ D-4 International Affairs: We Are the World
- ____ D-5 Effective Education Strategies: What Works?

Group E 4:30-5:45 p.m.
- ____ E-1 Black Public Officials and the Education Reform Movements
- ____ E-2 Increasing Opportunities for Minority Business
- ____ E-3 Substance Abuse: Public Policy Implications
- ____ E-4 Welfare Reform
- ____ E-5 Health Issues in the Black Community

Special Activities:

Note: The conference registration fee entitles the registrant to attend the following special activities. Please indicate all events that you plan to attend:

____ Luncheon Thursday, Jan. 21 12:30-2:30 p.m.
Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus

Women's Caucus ____ Breakfast Friday, Jan. 22 8:00-9:45 a.m.

____ Luncheon Friday, Jan. 22 12 noon-2:00 p.m.

____ Reception Friday, Jan. 22 6:30-9:30 p.m.
Hosted by The Mayor of the District of Columbia

General ____ Session Saturday, Jan. 23 10:00 a.m.-12 noon
The Prosecution/Persecution of Black Elected Officials: A Double Standard? and The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America

All mail registrations must be accompanied by payment and received by January 5, 1988. Send to: NPI V Registrar, JCPS, 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

JCPS's 11th Annual Dinner to Salute Black Elected Officials

The Joint Center for Political Studies' Eleventh Annual Dinner will be held on Thursday, January 21, 1988, at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C. The dinner theme is "A Salute to Black Elected Officials." Mayor Tom Bradley is serving as the master of ceremonies.

James D. Robinson III, chairman of American Express, is national dinner chairman. Attorney Robert B. Washington, Jr., of the firm of Finley, Kumble, Wagner, Heine, Underberg, Manley, Myerson & Casey, is chairing the General Dinner Committee.

Tickets are priced at $250 each. Sponsor's tables of 10 are $5,000; and patron's tables of 10 are $2,500.

In addition to the support of American Express Company, several corporations have already reserved sponsor's tables including: American International Group, Inc.; AT&T; Anheuser- Busch; ARCO; Arthur Andersen & Co; Bozell, Jacobs, Kenyon & Eckhardt; The Coca-Cola Company; Consolidated Edison; DuPont Company; The Equitable; Fannie Mae; Federal Express; Forbes Magazine; Ford Motor Company; Kissinger Associates; MCA, Inc.; Metropolitan Life; Mobil Oil; Mutual of Omaha; NYNEX; Philip Morris Companies, Inc.; Price Waterhouse; RJR Nabisco; The Travelers Companies; TWA; Union Pacific; and Warner Communications.

For further information or reservations, please call Alfreda Edwards, 202/626-3555.

FIFTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE

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Mail with payment before January 5, 1988, to: NPI V Registrar, Joint Center for Political Studies, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, 202/626-3500.

Register Early! All mail registrations must be accompanied by payment and received by January 5, 1988.

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