Volume 17, Nos. 11 & 12 November-December 1989

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political Studies®

Persistent Racism: A Challenge for the 21st Century

Lightning Strikes Twice

Wilder and Dinkins Win Historic Election Victories by Making Mainstream Appeals and Countering Negative Campaign Tactics

PLUS:

Index to 1989 Issues of *Focus* and *Political TrendLetter*

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

FOR DISPLAY ONLY
PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE FROM
THE OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Persistent Racism: A Challenge for the 21st Century

by Eddie N. Williams

Editor's Note: This month's "Perspective" is adapted from an address by the Joint Center's president at a conference on "A Century of Civil Rights Struggle," sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Madison on November 3, 1989.

The civil rights struggle in America has led to many victories on many battlefields. Yet racism persists. It persists right alongside significant, sometimes dramatic, progress in race relations. The pervasive and insidious nature of racism demands a forceful, comprehensive response on many fronts, beginning with government at all levels. Our experience tells us that the battle requires stable long-term commitments by the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. In the past, the combined efforts of these authorities have been effective in enforcing anti-discrimination laws and in trying to create new norms of interracial conduct. Unfortunately, during the Reagan administration the federal government largely abandoned its progressive national leadership role.

The Congress, furthermore, has been extremely slow in passing legislation aimed at rooting out the remaining vestiges of racism and at enhancing opportunities for the disadvantaged. We need a recommitted Congress in the front ranks of the struggle to pursue aggressively the goal of creating a society in which race is not an obstacle to achievement. Of course, future efforts toward reaching this goal will also require expanding economic opportunities for black Americans. In fact, eliminating the economic-opportunity gap between blacks and whites is one of the most critical keys to success in the battle against racism.

Another critical key to the success of the struggle is the presidency. The post-war history of race relations clearly illustrates the enormous scope and impact of the presidency as a force for social change. In setting the national policy agenda, in mobilizing Congress and public opinion, and in making judicial appointments, many presidents have used their offices to pursue the national goal of justice and equality.

This was not true of President Reagan. He sought to dismantle and eliminate affirmative action and effective social programs and, in the process, he wreaked enough havoc to damage race relations across the country. The Reaganized Supreme Court, moving with alarming aggressiveness this year, has already issued at least five decisions that have the effect of turning back the civil rights clock and brushing aside hard-won victories. In four cases the Court seriously diminished the rights of minority and women workers by making it far more difficult and costly for them to pursue and win employment discrimination lawsuits under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other statutes. Another decision threatens to undermine or eliminate minority business set-aside programs in state and local government procurement.

Needed: More Sophisticated Activism

Since purposeful and persistent political action is the best way to ensure that government plays a vigorous leadership role in ending racism, the improvement of race relations depends on who we elect to public office and what we, the electorate, demand. There is abundant evidence of this vital link between political action and the pace of change.

As the barriers to black voting disappeared in the South, Southern politicians gradually became attentive and

FOCUS
Copyright © 1989 Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.® The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political Studies**, 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

PRESIDENT/Eddie N. Williams
VICE PRESIDENT/Eleanor Farrar
DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/Kathleen Vander Horst
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE & ADMINISTRATION/Brenda Watkins Noel
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION RESOURCES/Auriel Pilgrim
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH/Milton Morris
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE/Russell Owens

ASSOC. DIR. OF COMMUNICATIONS, PUBLICATIONS, MEDIA RELATIONS & PUBLIC AFFAIRS/Frank Dexter Brown
ASSOC. DIR. OF COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRONIC PROGRAMS/Mark Lloyd
EDITOR, *Focus*/David C. Ruffin
SENIOR EDITOR/Marc DeFrancis
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR/Cheryl Miller
PUBLIC AFFAIRS SPECIALIST/Deborah D. Davis
ASSOCIATE EDITOR/Constance B. Toliver
TRENDLETTER RESEARCHER/Alfred Baltimore
WORD PROCESSOR/Merlinda Ceniza Novicio

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Wendell Freeland/Attorney at Law, *Chairman*
Andrew F. Brimmer/Brimmer and Company, Inc., *Vice Chairman*
Louis E. Martin/Calmar Communications, *Treasurer*
Bishop John Hurst Adams/Senior Bishop, A.M.E. Church
Robert McCormick Adams/Smithsonian Institution
Norma Asnes/Writer
Lucius J. Barker/Washington University
George L. Brown/Grumman Corporation
Charles U. Daly/John F. Kennedy Library and Museum
Marian Wright Edelman/Children's Defense Fund
Luther Hilton Foster/Alexandria, Virginia
Charles V. Hamilton/Columbia University
Ira C. Herbert/Coca-Cola USA
Bernard Rapoport/American Income Life Insurance Co.
Sharon Percy Rockefeller/WETA Board of Trustees
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political Studies

Members Emeriti: William B. Boyd, Robert C. Maynard, James D. Wolfensohn

Eleanor Farrar/JCPS, *Secretary to the Board*

responsive to the preferences of blacks. Today, on a number of civil rights issues, many Southern legislators are hardly distinguishable from their colleagues outside the South. The battle over the confirmation of Judge Robert Bork, a Reagan nominee to the Supreme Court, illustrated the power of electoral strength in moving the Congress. It also underscored the power of energized coalitions, for it took the combined efforts of blacks, Jews, Hispanics, organized labor, women, and others to deny Bork Senate confirmation.

In the future, black political activism must become even more sophisticated in at least three areas: political partisanship, coalition building, and voter participation. As the black vote increases in size and influence, it is becoming the subject of intense scrutiny. Its virtual monolithic support of Democratic presidential candidates in recent years is hotly debated in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Although partisanship is a personal matter, it is increasingly clear that black political influence nationwide might be significantly enhanced in the years to come if black voters would achieve a more balanced partisan alignment.

The improvement of race relations depends on who we elect to public office and what we, the electorate, demand.

This debatable proposition is advanced in the face of many arguments about the GOP's indifference to black Americans. We must recall, however, that in the 19th century and through the 1920s, the Democratic party was once considered the party of black oppression and the Republican party as the force of liberation. It was in the 1930s that black Americans and the Democratic party struck a partnership based on mutual self-interest.

Whether in the political arena or in other areas, building and maintaining coalitions based on furthering our enlightened self-interests must become a more prominent part of black political strategy. This means strengthening ties with groups that have been historic allies. It also means forging new links, which are mutually beneficial, with others who share our goals on specific policy issues, whether they are in the Republican party or in the corporate sector.

Another part of our political strategy must be to ensure that blacks register and vote in unprecedented numbers to help elect responsive candidates at all levels of government. In too many instances, black political participation has been disappointingly low. By squandering the principal tool of our political empowerment—the ballot—we leave the advancement of our interests to others.

Half Empty or Half Full?

In pursuit of these strategies—governmental intervention and political action—black Americans have an extraordinary role to play because they bear a disproportionately large share of the burden of racism. That burden is a grim history of oppression and spirit-numbing humiliation and growing evidence of societal indifference.

The high cost of racism to the entire country does not need recounting here. It is worth emphasizing, however, how debilitating a force it is. Some blacks are scarred so deeply by it that they use racism—often real but sometimes imagined—as a rationalization for their failures, even their failure to try to improve their lot. As a consequence, a high toll is paid by blacks, to be sure, but it is a toll that is ultimately paid by society as a whole because every individual failure robs this nation of its vital human resources.

To be sure, we must recognize the external obstacles to black progress when they are present. Some of these obstacles, such as institutional racism, remain formidable. Yet, when one considers the tragedy of the erosion of the self-confidence of so many blacks, one wonders if we ourselves may be contributing to that tragedy. We must question the validity of the old tactic by which blacks emphasize their deficits over their gains, their needs over their achievements, their complaints over their celebrations—a tactic which always portrays our glass as half empty rather than half full. When we confront our youth with negative images, regardless of our intentions, do we help undermine their self-confidence?

What do we have to lose by being positive, by being affirmative, by exuding self-confidence, even as we seek to redress grievances? One answer is that we don't want white folks to know just how much we have accomplished. Perhaps we fear that they might not support our cause any longer. How absurd and ironic. Not only do they know what we have accomplished and what we have failed to accomplish, but some of their disillusionment with the struggle to improve race relations may well have resulted from our own failure to acknowledge our achievements fully. To those whites who have labored to improve race relations, the constant accentuation of the negative may leave them thinking that their past support was in vain.

There is clearly an urgent need to rethink some of our tactics to achieve justice and equality. As we prepare to enter the last decade of this century, we need to recognize our accomplishments and build on them with pride. We need to take maximum advantage of new opportunities and resources. We need to adapt our struggle to the changing times and circumstances.

One is reminded of the poem "The Present Crisis," by the New England poet James Russell Lowell:

> "New occasions teach new duties;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still and onward
> Who would keep abreast of truth."

Yes, the civil rights struggle in America has led to many victories on many battlefields. But we must fight on in our continuing quest for justice and equality, and we must wage a relentless battle against the divisive and odious force of racism. ■

Lightning Strikes Twice

Wilder and Dinkins Win Historic Election Victories by Making Mainstream Appeals and Countering Negative Campaign Tactics

by Cheryl Miller

History was made twice on November 7, 1989. Lightning struck in Virginia, where Lieutenant Governor L. Douglas Wilder emerged as the nation's first elected black governor, and again in New York City—the largest and possibly the most ethnically diverse of all American cities—where Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins became the first black to take the mayoral seat. Yet the landmark victories of these two Democrats were only the most visible of several ground-breaking elections last November. Black candidates were also elected mayors of three other major cities populated by majority-white constituencies: New Haven, Connecticut; Durham, North Carolina; and, Seattle, Washington. (See *Across the Nation* in this issue.)

The Wilder and Dinkins victories greatly expand the political horizon for blacks holding office and for those with political ambitions, shattering old definitions of what is possible. Posts formerly considered out of the reach of non-white candidates because they required seeking the support of predominantly white electorates may now be viewed differently. By the early 1980s, blacks had saturated practically all elective positions available in majority black jurisdictions. Since then, while the number of black officials has continued to grow, the rate of growth has slowed. The election victories this past November, therefore, may suggest the direction many black candidates must take if they are to claim seats traditionally not won by blacks.

In their political experience and their coalition approach, Wilder and Dinkins represent a growing trend among black politicians. An increasing number of them are becoming viable candidates for top positions by climbing the conventional political ladder. For Dinkins and Wilder, certainly, a strong record of government service has assured progressively higher offices.

The American electorate is not yet colorblind, as a number of surveys attest too well. For example, pre-election polls at various times placed Wilder ahead of his opponent by up to 15 percentage points. Dinkins was said to lead his opponent in voter favor by up to 21 points in pre-election and exit polls. Yet both candidates won by the slimmest of margins. A growing number of black candidates who have run deracialized campaigns and have appealed to mainstream voters, however, have shown that they can capture enough white votes to win major elections even where black voters are in the minority. This mainstream campaigning has been used successfully by five-term Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and by Congressmen Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Alan Wheat (D-MO). And it may also be used by Andrew Young, who plans to run next year for governor of Georgia.

Dr. Miller, a professor of political science and policy sciences at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, is a visiting scholar at the Joint Center.

Governing the Birthplace of Slavery

The lessons Wilder learned about coalition building during his 19 years in Virginia politics—as state senator from 1970 to 1986 and as lieutenant governor since 1986—were evident in his gubernatorial campaign. A native Virginian, Wilder ran on a "new mainstream" theme, deliberately appealing to a cross-section of the electorate. Given the characteristics of Virginia, the birthplace of American slavery, this strategy was only logical. Virginia is known for its Southern conservative culture and its dominance of registered Republicans over Democrats. Blacks are only 17 percent of its total population.

Wilder's election not only represents a major departure for a Southern state, it broadens the political possibilities for blacks with aspirations to higher office throughout the nation. "This victory in the heart of the old Confederacy proves that by their stance on issues and choice of campaign styles, blacks can obtain high office in predominantly white electoral jurisdictions elsewhere," says Richard Shingles, a visiting scholar at the Joint Center from Virginia Polytechnical Institute. "To the extent he is successful as governor, Doug Wilder will bring closer the day when race will no longer be a significant factor in American politics."

Wilder's own roots are in the civil rights movement and the passage of civil rights legislation. Yet, in the campaign, the lieutenant governor deemphasized race as an issue, running neither on "black issues" nor on civil rights activism. His points of emphasis were inclusiveness, abortion rights, and continuity of leadership. At the same time, Wilder did not abandon his black voter base; during the final months of the race he visited up to seven black churches each Sunday.

Wilder defeated former state attorney general J. Marshall Coleman, a Republican, by a narrow margin: 50.1 percent to 49.9 percent. (Coleman has demanded a recount of the election he lost by under 7,000 votes—but most political observers expect the results to remain unchanged.)

(Continued on page 5)

November-December 1989

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Recent Supreme Court ruling in *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* has resulted in the dismissal of 96 discrimination complaints.**
- **Wrangling over deceased congressman Mickey Leland's House seat continues.**
- **Congress extends the Defense Department's five percent minority business set-aside program.**
- **National black leaders act to preserve Martin Luther King's spiritual legacy.**
- **Federal Judge Alcee Hastings is convicted by the U.S. Senate and removed from the bench.**
- **Across the Nation looks at mayoral victories of black candidates in Cleveland, Detroit, Durham, New Haven, and Seattle.**

U.S. Courts Abandon Discrimination Claimants

The legacy of RONALD REAGAN'S judicial appointments is being painfully felt as U.S. courts have dismissed 96 pending cases of employment discrimination based on the Supreme Court's *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* ruling last June, according to a recently released study by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. In its 5-to-4 *Patterson* decision, the Supreme Court severely limited the scope of Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code enacted by Congress in 1866. Before the June 15 ruling, courts routinely granted claimants relief from on-the-job racial harassment under Section 1981, which grants to all persons "the same right to make and enforce contracts...as enjoyed by white citizens." But in *Patterson*, a High Court majority decided that the statute only applied to the "making" of contracts and so could not be used to redress harassment occurring after an employment contract had been signed.

The Legal Defense Fund reports that between June 15 and November 1, judges dismissed 96 claims of discrimination in 50 separate cases, either on their own initiative or at the request of defendants. Among the cases dismissed:

- **31 claims of racial discrimination in firing**
- **22 claims of racial harassment**
- **16 claims of discrimination in promotions or transfers**
- **8 claims of retaliation**
- **6 claims of discriminatory demotions.**

Civil rights advocates are especially concerned that many of the dismissed claims cannot be litigated later under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, since Title VII only applies to employment discrimination and does not cover harassment or retaliation. Many claimants, they fear, will be left with no further options of redress through the courts.

Legislators on Capitol Hill are drafting bills to overturn *Patterson* and other devastating High Court rulings handed down this year that have weakened citizens' legal protection from discrimination. Meanwhile, the Bush administration's position is that these rulings have *not* made it more difficult for victims of discrimination to seek legal redress. That stance has prompted **ERIC SCHNAPPER**, the principal author of the Legal Defense Fund study, to voice his concern that "the Justice Department isn't reading American court decisions any more but may be reading decisions from the Transvaal [in South Africa]."

Run-off Is Scheduled to Fill Mickey Leland's Seat

Texas State Senator CRAIG WASHINGTON and Houston City Councilman ANTHONY HALL, both black Democrats, were the top vote-getters in a bitterly contested special November 7 nonpartisan election in

Houston to fill the late MICKEY LELAND's 18th Congressional District seat. Washington garnered 41 percent of the vote, and Hall 34 percent. There were nine other candidates in the contest. The seat became vacant when Leland, a six-term congressman, was killed in an August plane crash in Ethiopia while on a famine-relief mission.

Both Hall and Washington are attorneys and have similar records of public service. Washington served in the Texas House of Representatives from 1973 to 1983 prior to his election to the state senate in 1983. In the senate he has advocated minority business set-asides and increased minority representation on state boards and commissions. Washington had been endorsed by Councilman **RODNEY ELLIS**, a former congressional aide and close friend of Leland's. Many local political observers were surprised when Ellis did not run for the post himself; he has indicated, however, that he is "more interested in being mayor of Houston at some future date than in running for Congress."

Hall served in the Texas House of Representatives from 1973 to 1977 and ran unsuccessfully against Leland for the 18th district seat in the 1978 Democratic primary election. He has served on the city council since 1979 and in 1983 became the first black council member to win an at-large seat in Houston. Hall is also a proponent of set-aside programs for minorities and women and has drafted anti-apartheid ordinances that have been adopted by the Houston City Council. A run-off election between Washington and Hall will be held on December 9, 1989.

The 18th district, which is 39 percent black, 27 percent Hispanic, and 34 percent white, includes poor and middle-income black neighborhoods, Latino barrios, and wealthy, conservative white sections. In the aftermath of the mid-1980s oil bust, some of the city's commercial office towers are still vacant, a symbol of the area's lingering economic troubles. But the most pressing problems the next member of Congress must face in the urban district's poorer communities are similar to those confronting other inner cities: unemployment, drugs, and crime.

On another front, poetic justice reigned: BEVERLY CLARK, a practically unknown black university employee, unseated four-term white Houston City Councilman JIM WESTMORELAND, who said during a conversation with reporters that the city's airport should be renamed "Nigger International" instead of being renamed after Mickey Leland, as Rodney Ellis had proposed. Clark, who became the first black woman on the council, won nearly 55 percent of the vote with practically unanimous support from an outraged black community.

Congress Extends Set-Aside Law

Just before recessing for the year, Congress passed an amendment sponsored by Rep. NICHOLAS MAVROULES (D-Mass.) to extend, until FY 1993, the Department of Defense's five-percent minority business set-aside program. Mavroules had the support of black members of Congress who have objected to the Defense Department's failure to comply with the congressionally mandated minority business development program. The original defense set-aside measure, Section 1207 of defense bill PL-99-661, had been sponsored by black representatives **JOHN CONYERS** (D-Mich.) and **GUS SAVAGE** (D-Ill.) and enacted by Congress in 1986. The amendment extending Section 1207 was attached to the $305.5 billion omnibus defense authorization bill (H.R. 2461). Section 1207 has required the Pentagon to set aside five percent of its contracts (with an estimated value of $8 billion per year) for minority businesses. Without the Mavroules amendment, the set-aside provisions would have expired next year on September 30.

Mavroules, who chairs the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Investigations, asserts that enforcement of Section 1207 has been weak from the beginning. "The Pentagon had done nothing to implement the set-aside program for 18 months after it was established," he notes, adding that "at this point, minority participation in Defense contracts is only up to 2.8 percent." A June 1989 Government Accounting Office report, requested by black Congresswoman CARDISS COLLINS (D-Ill.), details the Pentagon's contracting relationship with minority-owned media and advertising companies. The report found, among other problems, that the defense department distorted the dollar value of contracts it awarded to minority firms and exaggerated the participation rate by overcounting minority-owned advertisers. Collins, chair of the Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation of the House Government Operations Committee, called for the report after receiving complaints from minority advertising agencies and broadcasters.

Mavroules, Collins, and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus met several times with the CEOs of major defense contractors, including Martin-Marietta, Hughes Aircraft, and Rockwell International, to devise ways to increase subcontracts awarded by such contractors to minority firms. Executives of the three above-named corporations make up the Steering Committee on Small Disadvantaged Business of the Washington, D.C.-based Aerospace Industries Association. **This association has contracted with Conwal, Inc., a Hispanic-owned computer consulting firm in Falls Church, Virginia, to create a database of all the minority firms that contract with its member corporations. The association has also contracted with Florida A & M University's School of Busi-**

ness and Industry to help formulate strategies for expanding defense contractors' work with minority businesses. Mavroules, who believes that the set-aside program is in the public interest, says "we must broaden the nation's industrial base by mainstreaming America's many talented minority entrepreneurs."

Preserving Martin Luther King's Good Name

Responding to a newly released book by former civil rights activist Rev. RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, titled *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 28 nationally prominent black leaders, including major figures in the civil rights struggle, members of Congress, ministers, and businessmen, sent a telegram to Abernathy on October 8 urging him to disavow certain passages of the book which discuss MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. The telegram reads in part:

"We take particular exception to your personal reconstruction on Martin's last hours on this earth. . . . There are words in this book, particularly in the Memphis section, that are so foreign to your life and to your statements of the last 20 years that we are driven to the conclusion that they were put into your mouth by others who needed a sensational story . . . . we urge you to repudiate immediately those sections that contradict the hundreds of statements and speeches you have made about Martin in the last 20 years."

On October 12, after hearing no clear response from Abernathy, the group issued a public statement to the press, including this assessment:

"The book is riddled with gross inaccuracies and painful distortions. To cite only one example, at least four persons who were in Memphis on April 3-4, 1968—Mayor ANDREW YOUNG, the Reverend JESSE JACKSON, BENJAMIN HOOKS, and BERNARD LEE [all but Lee were signatories to this letter]—have separately reported that they have sharply different memories of Dr. King's last night....There are, in our view, clear indications that sentences and whole sections were written and edited by others."

In the October 12 statement, the group cites Abernathy's "two massive strokes that resulted in major brain surgery" and suggests that people "with ulterior motives" have "apparently tak[en] advantage of this situation to attack not only Dr. King but also the dream he represented." The telegram and public statement were signed by the following:

Bishop John H. Adams
Lerone Bennett
Robert Brown
John Cox
Rep. Ron Dellums
Rep. Walter Fauntroy
Rep. Floyd Flake
Rep. William Gray
Dick Gregory
Dorothy Height
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Rev. Benjamin Hooks
Carole Hoover
Rev. Jesse Jackson
Robert Johnson
Vernon Jordon
Tom Kilgore
Rep. John Lewis
Rev. Joseph Lowery
Parren Mitchell
Rev. Otis Moss
Rev. Joseph L. Roberts
Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth
Rev. Gardner Taylor
C. Delores Tucker
Rep. Alan Wheat
Mayor Andrew Young
Rev. McKinley Young

Senate Removes Judge Alcee Hastings From Federal Bench

Judge ALCEE HASTINGS of Florida was removed from his federal judge seat by the U.S. Senate on October 20, following a two-day impeachment trial. The Senate, voting 69 to 26, found Hastings guilty of conspiracy to accept a bribe.

Hastings, the first black federal district judge in Florida, had been appointed to the bench by President **JIMMY CARTER** in 1979. He became the sixth federal judge in U.S. history to be found guilty of charges by members of the U.S. Senate and be removed from office. Although some of Hasting's supporters have suggested that the charges against him were based on racism, Hastings himself denied that assertion. **He has stated, nevertheless, that because he was acquitted in his federal jury trial in 1983, the impeachment violates U.S. law against double jeopardy. Federal courts have chosen to ignore his claims.**

A two-thirds Senate majority is required to remove a federal official, who must first be impeached (indicted) by the U.S. House of Representatives. In the fall of 1988, the House of Representatives voted 413 to 3 to impeach Hastings on 17 charges. The matter was then sent to the Senate for trial. A special Senate committee heard testimony in the case from July 10 to August 3 of this year.

Across the Nation

CONNECTICUT: State Senator JOHN DANIELS was elected New Haven's first black mayor on November 7 when he beat Republican Alderwoman ROBERTA POOLEY by nearly a two-to-one margin in that city's mayoral election. A five-term state senator, Daniels won the Democratic primary on September 14 by defeating JOHN DE STEPHANO, JR., the party-endorsed candidate, with 59 percent of the vote. It was the first time that a candidate backed by the Italian-American controlled Democratic machine lost a primary in 14 years.

Since blacks constitute only 32 percent of New Haven's population of 126,109, it was essential for Daniels to garner support from nonblack voters. To broaden his base, Daniels campaigned on the platform of "inclusion," promising to bring together the city's diverse neighborhoods. He gained early backing from the Latino community and a multiracial coalition of church ministers, and quickly locked up the 1st Ward, know as the "Yale Ward" because it is made up almost entirely of students and university employees.

Daniels served for 14 years on the New Haven Board of Aldermen before being elected a state senator in 1980. In addition to his tenure as alderman and state senator, Daniels has a wealth of experience in addressing urban problems. He has served as a National Urban Fellow, as a staff member of the White House Task Force on Small Towns, and as special assistant to the executive director of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

The city of New Haven now joins Hartford as the second major Connecticut municipality with a black mayor. CARRIE SAXON PERRY (D), the incumbent black female mayor of Hartford, won reelection to a second two-year term this November by defeating Republican ROSEMARY CARDWELL, a nurse and health-care professional, with 71 percent of the vote. Blacks make up 34 percent of Hartford's population of approximately 136,000.

MICHIGAN: Democratic Mayor COLEMAN YOUNG was reelected in Detroit, claiming his fifth consecutive mayoral victory at the polls. Challenged for the second time by black accounting firm executive TOM BARROW, also a Democrat, Young's victory was almost a carbon copy of his successful 1985 mayoral race with Barrow who then claimed 39 percent of the vote. This time he claimed about 44 percent. Young was widely considered to be more vulnerable to an upset by Barrow this year because of unfavorable media reports on the 71-year-old mayor's personal life, including a well publicized paternity suit.

Coleman and Barrow survived a crowded and fiercely contested nonpartisan primary of 15 candidates, including JOHN CONYERS JR., one of Detroit's two black congressmen. Barrow was endorsed by both of the city's daily newspapers, the *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press*, but he was outspent by Young, who had a war chest of over $5 million and was backed by Jesse Jackson. Ironically, Young had vigorously opposed Jackson's presidential bids in 1984 and 1988.

NORTH CAROLINA: CHESTER JENKINS will become the first black mayor of Durham when he takes office on December 31, 1989. Jenkins, a senior marketing analyst with the GTE South telephone company, is a two-term city councilmember who has served as mayor *pro tempore* for the last six years.

With a strong base of support among the city's blacks, who make up 47 percent of Durham's population of 101,000, Jenkins was pushed over the top in the November 7 mayoral election by a powerful black-white coalition. The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People and progressive white organizations such as the People's Alliance and the Durham Voters Alliance mobilized support on his behalf.

The efforts of these groups were crucial since the race turned out to be a struggle between progressive and right-wing forces. Jenkins' opponent was retired businessman NELSON STRAWBRIDGE, a conservative Democrat who headed "Democrats for Helms" during ultra-conservative Senator JESSE HELMS' successful reelection bid in 1984. Strawbridge was backed by Friends of Durham, a well-organized conservative group that had, in earlier campaigns, successfully employed door-to-door canvassing as well as sophisticated mailing and telephone campaign techniques. Jenkins' supporters responded in kind, assuring him victory. Jenkins won 53 percent of the vote in the highest turnout (43 percent) for a municipal election in Durham in 10 years.

OHIO: Democratic State Senator MICHAEL WHITE was elected mayor of Cleveland, making him the first black since CARL STOKES held the post from 1967 to 1971. After an acrimonious campaign, White scored an upset victory on November 7 over black City Council President GEORGE FORBES, who had finished first in the city's October 3 nonpartisan primary.

White, who is 38 years old, displayed political ambitions as early as his college days, when he was the first black student body president of Ohio State University. A former aide of Forbes', White won by a vote of 56 percent to 44 percent in a city that is 45 percent black. Campaigning against busing and calling for a massive hiring of 250 additional city police officers, White received strong support from Cleveland's predominantly white West Side. He also was endorsed by the city's daily newspaper, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, which wrote that he was "a candidate capable of healing the wounds of racial and regional politics."

Forbes, an attorney with 26 years on the city council (including 16 years as council president), had the support of business and labor groups and popular incumbent Republican Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH, who is stepping down to run for governor. Forbes received 70 percent of the vote from Cleveland's East Side, which is mainly black. He also received the endorsement of the American Nationalities Movement, an association of 35 white ethnic organizations. Nevertheless, this support was not enough to secure a victory for Forbes, whom many whites perceive as quick-tempered and unable to mend Cleveland's racial divisiveness.

WASHINGTON: In the Pacific Northwest, Seattle, a city of 500,000 with a black population of about 10 percent, elected its first black mayor on November 7. Democratic City Councilman NORMAN RICE received 54 percent of the vote in defeating Republican City Attorney DOUGLAS JEWETT. Although Jewett lost, an initiative he coauthored opposing citywide school busing was narrowly adopted by the voters. The "Save Our Schools" initiative called for giving city funds to the independently-run Seattle School District if it ended its program of school desegregation through busing. Since Seattle's busing plan was initiated in 1978, public school enrollment has dropped by 20,000 students, bringing the total to 40,000. Rice campaigned in the primary against the initiative, but during the general election he changed his position and offered a plan to end busing over a four-year period.

The November election was a run-off between Rice and Jewett, who had been the top vote-getters in the 13-candidate nonpartisan September 19 primary. Rice, a former broadcaster and banker who has been a member of the Seattle City Council since 1978, ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1985 and for Congress in 1988. He benefitted from an endorsement by the city's popular incumbent Mayor CHARLES ROYER, who is retiring after three terms.

(Continued from page 4)

The election was marked by an extremely heavy voter turnout (65 percent) which was the highest ever for a non-Presidential election in Virginia. According to Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia, this high turnout, especially among blacks, combined with a substantial lead in urban areas, proved to be "the salvation of Doug Wilder. He got his vote out and that did it." In total, Wilder received 94 percent of the black vote and 40 percent of the white vote. The close competition for supporters came with an enormous price tag—the contest ranks as the most expensive in Virginia's history, with Wilder spending $7 million to Coleman's $10 million.

Wilder's platform advocated increased aid for cities to fight drugs and the improvement of the state's transportation networks, but its most audible call was for the preservation of women's reproductive rights. Wilder handled this explosive subject deftly, exposing Coleman's anti-abortion sentiments in an early televised debate. He then framed his own pro-choice position in conservative, libertarian terms, arguing that government does not have the right to intrude into so personal a decision as reproductive choice. This position was communicated through a battery of television ads put together by media consultant Frank Greer. In one of them, Wilder's backdrop was an American flag and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. His pro-choice position on abortion gave Wilder the crossover support he needed from white female Republicans. Indeed, his abortion stance may have accounted for the 18 percent of the Republican vote he snatched from his GOP opponent.

Posts formerly considered out of the reach of non-white candidates because they required seeking the support of predominantly white electorates may now be viewed differently.

Wilder, who takes office on January 13, 1990, will be the nation's first black governor since 1873, when Pinckney S. Pinchback, a former slave and officer in the Union Army, was appointed to replace elected governor Henry Clay Warmoth of Louisiana who was being impeached. Pinchback served the 43 days remaining in Warmoth's term.

Among the responsibilities and privileges awaiting Wilder as he enters the statehouse will be the considerable influence—shared with the Democratically-controlled legislature—he will wield in developing a reapportionment plan following the 1990 census. This is particularly significant since the state is projected to gain a Congressional seat after the census count is completed.

Moderation Wins in the Bruised Big Apple

After campaigning on a theme of cooperation and optimism in solving New York City's problems, David Dinkins was elected with the most diverse support of any mayoral candidate in the city's history. Blacks, Hispanics, progressive whites, labor unions, and pro-choice women came together to make Dinkins the city's first black mayor. He began his career as an attorney, served as a state assemblyman (1966-72), president of the New York City Board of Elections (1972-73), and city clerk (1975-85). After three bids for the post he was elected in 1985 as Manhattan borough president, the second most powerful position in the city. As borough president, Dinkins has represented 1.5 million people and been a member of the powerful New York Board of Estimates, which administers the city's budget. On January 1, 1990, he will succeed controversial three-term incumbent Mayor Edward Koch.

Dinkins won the November election by a 50 percent to 48 percent margin over Rudolph Giuliani, U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York since 1983, who ran on a Republican-Liberal ticket. As in the Virginia election, voter turnout, at 55 percent overall, was high for a non-presidential New York City election. In many black precincts it exceeded 65 percent.

The main message of Dinkins' campaign was that he would work to heal the wounds of a city scored by racial tension. (In two New York neighborhoods—Howard Beach and Bensonhurst—black youths were killed by white mobs in separate, racially motivated attacks.)

Dinkins had used the same mild tone and moderate approach to defeat the abrasive Mayor Koch in September's Democratic primary as he used to defeat Giuliani in November. According to Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Dinkins' election "was a victory of hope over fear, of optimism over desperation. It proved that New Yorkers can overcome trials and difficulties and pull together...."

To win, Dinkins had to forge a coalition of the city's many ethnic and racial groups, since blacks make up only 25 percent of the population. He received 91 percent of the black vote, 65 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 27 percent of the white vote (including 35 percent of the Jewish vote). Dinkins also had considerable support in his campaign from the New York City Central Labor Council and its 500 local member unions. The Council represents 1.2 million New York workers.

Dinkins, like many other blacks who have been elected in recent years to run major U.S. cities, will have too few resources to address the tremendous problems he inherits. New York City is projected to have a $1 billion deficit by the end of the 1990 fiscal year next June. The AIDS epidemic, a decaying infrastructure, and high rates of homelessness and drug-related crime also plague the city. However, according to Basil Wilson, associate professor of African American Studies at New York's John Jay College of Criminal Justice, because Dinkins "kept the high road" in the campaign "he is in a much better position to bring the city together...heal some of the wounds that exist in the body politic."

Governing New York, a city of more than seven million people, is an immense challenge for any mayor. And the newly revised city charter, which redistributes some of the power to administer the city's $25 billion budget from the Board of Estimates to the mayor's office, now places even more of the burden to resolve New York's fiscal woes on Dinkins' shoulders. ■

FOCUS

Index to Volume 17
January to December 1989

Article Index

	Month	Page
Business		
American Competitiveness: Seeing the Issue Clearly	May	3
Black Political Empowerment and Economic Advancement	May	5
Congress Extends Set-Aside Law	Nov./Dec.	TL 2
Kweisi Mfume's Business Agenda for the 101st Congress	May	TL 1
Minority Business Performance: A Comparison Among Ethnic Groups	May	3
Supreme Court Overturns Richmond's Minority Set-Aside Program	Jan./Feb.	TL 2
The Supreme Court Threatens Economic Empowerment	July	2
A United Response to *Croson*	May	TL 2
A Voice for the Rural Poor	April	3
Bush Administration Appointees		
Arthur Fletcher to Take Helm of Commission on Civil Rights	May	TL 4
Bush's Bad Start on Appointing Black Judges	June	TL 2
Bush's Black Appointees: Do They Represent a New Vision?	Mar.	TL 2
Conservative Black Judicial Candidate Faces Opposition	Aug./Sep.	TL 2
More Bush Administration Appointments and Nominations	Apr.	TL 3
Charitable Giving/Voluntarism		
The Charitable Appeals Fact Book	April	7
City Volunteer Corps: A Model for the Nation	Oct.	5
National Service: Are Points of Light Enough?	Aug./Sept.	8
Needed: Black Initiative and Government Activism	April	2
Update on National Service Legislation	Oct.	6
Education		
Bush and Education: Much Must Be Done	Jan./Feb.	2
Child Care: Building on What Works	Jan./Feb.	7
Closing the Technology Gap at Black Colleges	Jan./Feb.	5
Death of N.Y.C. Chancellor Exacerbates City's Education Crisis	June	TL 4
Racism on College Campuses	Aug./Sept.	3
Reagan's Blind Eye to Civil Rights	Jan./Feb.	3
Visions of a Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling	June	7
Electoral Representation/Partisan Politics		
Black Clout on School Board Threatened by Shifting Demographics	July	TL 2
Congressman Gray Whips Adversity	June	TL 1
Dinkins Wins in New York	Aug./Sept.	TL 1
High Stakes in the Coming Battle Over Redistricting	April	TL 2
How to Run a Better Democratic Campaign in 1992	June	5
Lightning Strikes Twice	Nov./Dec.	4
New DNC Chair—Ron Brown, the Negotiator	Jan./Feb.	TL 1
The Number of Black Elected Officials Rose 5.8% During '88	Oct.	TL 2
Rep. Conyers Wants to Be Mayor of Detroit?	July	TL 3
Retiring Police Chief May Try to Trade Badge for Mayor's Robes in D.C.	July	TL 3
Run-off Is Scheduled to Fill Mickey Leland's Seat	Nov./Dec.	TL 2
What the Census Means in Money and Power	July	7
White Minority Wants to Rewrite Rules	July	TL 2
Employment		
Closed Doors on Capitol Hill	Oct.	7
Falling Behind Despite Employment Gains	April	5
Minorities and Privatization: Economic Mobility at Risk	May	7
Minority Business Performance: A Comparison Among Ethnic Groups	May	3
Federal Policies and Programs		
American Competitiveness: Seeing the Issue Clearly	Mar.	3
Bush and Education: Much Must Be Done	Jan./Feb.	2
Bush's Budget—Hope or Deception?	Jan./Feb.	TL 3
Child Care: Building on What Works	Jan./Feb.	7
Congress Must Return to the People's Business	June	2
Hope for the Homeless	Oct.	3
Housing: Recognizing the Crisis, Taking Action	June	3
Kweisi Mfume's Business Agenda for the 101st Congress	May	TL 1
Mickey Leland's Last Mission	Aug./Sept.	TL 2
National Service: Are Points of Light Enough?	Aug./Sept.	8
Reagan's Blind Eye to Civil Rights	Jan./Feb.	3
Update on National Service Legislation	Oct.	6
A Voice for the Rural Poor	April	3
Health		
Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?	Aug./Sept.	10
Black Women Take Stand on Reproductive Freedom	Aug./Sept.	TL 2
Housing		
Congress Must Return to the People's Business	June	2
Continuing Mickey's Struggle: Sounding the Alarm	Oct.	2
Hope for the Homeless	Oct.	3
Housing: Recognizing the Crisis, Taking Action	June	3
International Affairs/The Military		
American Competitiveness: Seeing the Issue Clearly	Mar.	3
American Delegation Attends Inauguration of Parliamentary Black Caucus	Apr.	TL 1
Apartheid's Attempted Face-Lift	May	TL 2
Blacks and International Affairs	Mar.	2
Continuing Mickey's Struggle: Sounding the Alarm	Oct.	2
Mickey Leland's Last Mission	Aug./Sept.	TL 2
Out Again—In Again: Manley Is Back in Jamaica	Mar.	TL 1

	Month	Page
The Price of Namibian Independence	Mar.	5
Sen. Hatch Apologizes for Smear Against Randall Robinson	Oct.	TL 1
Who Defends America? Race, Sex, and Class in the Armed Forces	Mar.	7
Witness to Apartheid	Aug./Sept.	TL 3
The Joint Center for Political Studies		
JCPS and WETA Document Urban Teen Crisis	May	8
JCPS Expands Research on Economic Policy	May	2
The 1990 Census		
High Stakes in the Coming Battle Over Redistricting	Apr.	TL 2
The 1990 Census: Counting Everybody	July	5
What the Census Means in Money and Power	July	7
Race Relations/Civil Rights		
Arthur Fletcher to Take Helm of Commission on Civil Rights	May	TL 4
A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society	Aug./Sept.	6
Conservative Black Judicial Candidate Faces Opposition	Aug./Sept.	TL 2
David Duke and the Politics of Race	Mar.	TL 2
On Guard Against Racism	Aug./Sept.	2
Persistent Racism: A Challenge for the 21st Century	Nov./Dec.	2
Racism on College Campuses	Aug./Sept.	3
The Reagan Court: Turning Back the Clock	July	3
Reagan's Blind Eye to Civil Rights	Jan./Feb.	3
The Supreme Court Threatens Economic Empowerment	July	2
U.S. Courts Abandon Discrimination Claimants	Nov./Dec.	TL 1
White Policemen Test High Court's Discrimination Ruling	Oct.	TL 1
Socioeconomic Status		
A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society	Aug./Sept.	6
JCPS Expands Research on Economic Policy	May	2
Prominent Economists Sound the Alarm	July	TL 1
The Supreme Court Threatens Economic Empowerment	July	2
A Voice for the Rural Poor	April	3
The Supreme Court/Affirmative Action		
Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?	Aug./Sept.	10
Black Women Take Stand on Reproductive Freedom	Aug./Sept.	TL 2
The Reagan Court: Turning Back the Clock	July	3
Supreme Court Overturns Richmond's Minority Set-Aside Program	Jan./Feb.	TL 2
The Supreme Court Threatens Economic Empowerment	July	2
A United Response to *Croson*	May	TL 2
White Policemen Test High Court's Discrimination Ruling	Oct.	

Author Index

Author	Article	Month	Page
Allen, Joyce	Minority Business Performance: A Comparison Among Ethnic Groups	May	3
	The 1990 Census: Counting Everybody	July	5
Bates, Timothy	Black Political Empowerment and Economic Advancement	May	5
Brown, Ronald H., William H. Gray, and Christopher Edley, Jr.	How to Run a Better Democratic Campaign in 1992	June	5
Calhoun, Michael J.	American Competitiveness: Seeing the Issue Clearly	Mar.	3
Cotton, Teri	Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?	Aug./Sept.	10
DeFrancis, Marc	*The Charitable Appeals Fact Book* (review)	Apr.	7
	A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society (review)	Aug./Sept.	6
	Minorities and Privatization: Economic Mobility at Risk (review)	May	7
	Visions of A Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling (review)	June	7
	Who Defends America? Race, Sex, and Class in the Armed Forces (review)	Mar.	7
Dixon, Julian C.	Housing: Recognizing the Crisis, Taking Action	June	3
Espy, Mike	A Voice for the Rural Poor	Apr.	3
Gerber, Jack and David C. Ruffin	National Service: Are Points of Light Enough?	Aug./Sept.	8
Hawkins, Augustus F.	Child Care: Building on What Works	Jan./Feb.	7
Lee, N'Tanya	Racism on College Campuses	Aug./Sept.	3
Leland, Mickey	Hope for the Homeless	Oct.	3
Marchbanks, Jack R.	Closing the Technology Gap at Black Colleges	Jan./Feb.	5
Miller, Cheryl	Lightning Strikes Twice	Nov.Dec.	4
Orfield, Gary	Reagan's Blind Eye to Civil Rights	Jan./Feb.	3
Parker, Jackie	Closed Doors on Capitol Hill	Oct.	7
Richardson, Henry J.III and Lisa Peterson	The Price of Namibian Independence	Mar.	5
Ruffin, David C.	The Reagan Court: Turning Back the Clock	July	3
Schmiegelow, Toni D.	City Volunteer Corps: A Model For the Nation	Oct.	5
Simms, Margaret C.	Falling Behind Despite Employment Gains	April	5
Williams, Eddie N.	Perspective	*	2
	Persistent Racism: A Challenge for the 21st Century	Nov./Dec	2
Williams, Linda F.	What the Census Means in Money and Power	July	7

* monthly column

JCPS Film Producer and Youth Are Honored

Mark Lloyd, Joint Center associate director of communications, was the recipient of a CINE Golden Eagle award in December for his work as producer of the JCPS/WETA documentary, *Turning It Around: Urban Teens in Crisis*. The documentary was chosen by CINE (the Council on International Nontheatrical Events) to represent the best of American film-making at international film festivals.

Turning It Around looks at how four young people coped with challenges commonly confronting youths of today's urban communities. It also examines programs designed to help young people overcome or avoid these problems. Premiered by the Joint Center on Capitol Hill on June 1, the film was produced in cooperation with WETA-TV (Channel 26), Washington, D.C.'s public broadcasting affiliate. It aired on Channel 26 on June 6 and 11.

The documentary, which has been shown at conferences throughout the country, has also helped the youths featured in the film, to "turn their lives around." While Lloyd and Charles Riley, one of the youths featured in the film, presented the documentary in November at the seventh annual conference of the Southern Education Foundation in Atlanta, foundation president Eldridge W. McMillan, after hearing that Charles might not be able to afford to attend college, in a surprise announcement awarded him a four-year college scholarship.

At the age of 14, Charles, a school drop-out, was selling cocaine on the streets of Philadelphia. After repeated runins with the local police, he decided to enter the Potomac Job Corps Center in Washington, D.C. Gradually he began to turn his life around, mastering the skills to become a home health aide. Charles graduated from the Job Corps in the spring of 1989 and is now working as a visiting nurse in Philadelphia. He hopes to become a doctor.

Joint Center Releases Two New Publications

Minorities and Privatization: Economic Mobility At Risk, by Robert Suggs, 1989. ($12.50 paper, $25.00 cloth)

The privatization of public services is a growing practice among U.S. municipalities intent on improving efficiency and saving taxpayers' money. In this book, Robert Suggs examines how a variety of privatization schemes carried out between 1981 and 1984 in 10 selected cities affected black and Hispanic residents, workers, and businesses.

Although Suggs finds that privatization results in little loss of employment to minorities in a community, it severely diminishes the quality of jobs available to them. Suggs also finds that minority-owned businesses rarely benefit from the small boost privatization gives the rest of the market economy.

One of Suggs' recommendations is that municipalities require firms which benefit from privatization to give priority in hiring to displaced municipal workers and establish minority procurement programs outside of regular municipal purchasing channels.

A former senior research associate at the Joint Center, Robert Suggs currently teaches at the Arizona State University College of Law.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, by the JCPS Office of Research, 1989. ($29.50 paper, $43.50 cloth)

The number of black elected officials in the nation increased by 5.8 percent during 1988 for a total of 7,226, according to the recently released 1989 edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster*. The new total of BEOs represents a significant jump over preceding years (gains were 4.0 and 2.2 percent for 1986 and 1987 respectively) making this the first time since 1985 that the rate of increase has not declined.

The 1989 *Roster*, like earlier editions, identifies black elected officials at all levels of government and includes legislative officeholders, mayors, and city councilmembers, as well as law enforcement judicial, and educational officials. The mailing address and term of office are given for each entry, while tables and graphs allow for quick summary reference

To purchase these publications, write to the Order Department, Joint Center for Political Studies Press, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706; or call 301-459-3366. Make checks payable to UPA, Inc.

FOCUS

Joint Center for Political Studies®

1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 6958
Washington, D.C.