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FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Recession at Home, Bush Abroad

Over the year, President Bush has been involved in a whirlwind of high level global diplomacy. He summitted with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki and conferenced with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Camp David. Then Bush responded to Saddam Hussein's guns of August by building an international coalition to isolate Iraq both economically and diplomatically. While keeping hands on the Gulf crisis, Bush flew to Paris to sign documents ending the Cold War, and he just completed a tour of Latin America.

Such, foreign policy matters have and still do require the President's personal attention, but one is prompted to ask: Who is minding the store at home? There's a crisis or two here in the U.S. demanding presidential leadership, not the least of which economists and policymakers are openly calling a recession. As unemployment rises and growth slows, there is little evidence that the President has a plan to address the problems of Americans who are losing their jobs and companies that are going bankrupt.

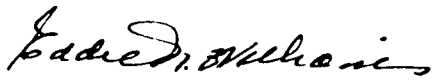
As the recession arrives with the onset of winter, the Bush administration must ensure that the poor receive necessary assistance during the tough times ahead. This shouldn't be like the David Stockman/Ronald Reagan "safety net" that never contained any identifiable programs to help low-income Americans. Rather, additional funding should be provided for programs like food stamps, nutrition for pregnant mothers and small children, emergency energy aid, and housing assistance.

George Bush is not alone among those in Washington from whom leadership is needed on domestic issues. As the members of the House and Senate prepare to convene a new Congress, it is hoped that the next session won't be a repeat of 1990, when 10 months of fruitless budget negotiations with the White House crowded out legislative action on a welter of important measures. The last Congress left town with a lot of unfinished business.

When Congress reconvenes in January, it should first of all reintroduce a strong bill to restore job discrimination victims' right to seek relief in the courts. Congressional leaders, who must find the vote to override a presidential veto, would be wise to call this a human resources or equal opportunity bill rather than a civil rights bill. As we saw in the reelection campaign of Senator Jesse Helms, opponents of this legislation contrued "civil rights" to mean blacks and quotas. Moreover, women and Hispanics, whose vital interests are also protected in this legislation, do not warm up to the "civil rights" label as enthusiastically as do blacks. However, all groups support equal opportunity as a vehicle for strengthening the nation's human resources capacity.

The Congressional Black Caucus has some work to do during the coming Congress. It's time for the Caucus to forward a bill that would grant state and local governments the authority to establish minority business set-asides. Such legislation, if passed by Congress, would reverse the Supreme Court's 1989 City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co. ruling which has resulted in the court-ordered or voluntary termination of dozens of set-aside programs.

. The issues and problems are there to be dealt with. What is required now is leadership--in the White House, in Congress, and in the black community. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Failing to Meet the Demand for Drug Treatment

A Survey of Treatment Facilities in 10 Major Cities Shows That Available Treatment Programs Are Grossly Inadequate to Handle the Rapid Growth of Cocaine Addition

by Katherine McFate

There were an estimated 109,792 cocaine addicts in Los Angeles in 1989 but only 5,909 publicly funded treatment slots. Baltimore, a city with some of the best treatment services in the country, had only 55 beds in treatment facilities for pregnant drug users. These situations are not unusual. As the number of cocaine addicts escalated over the past three years, cities have struggled to adapt their treatment systems to the new demand for services. A Joint Center survey of urban areas around the country shows a chronic shortage of treatment slots for hard-core abusers. Lack of funds, exacerbated by limited Medicaid reimbursement for treatment, undercuts the ability to offer these services to the poor.

Large urban areas have been particulary hard hit by the drug crisis. Senate Judiciary staff estimate that 854,000 cocaine addicts--a third of the nation's total--reside in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Washington, Houston, Atlanta, and New Orleans. These are the target cities of the Joint Center's newly formed Urban Anti-Drug Abuse Project.

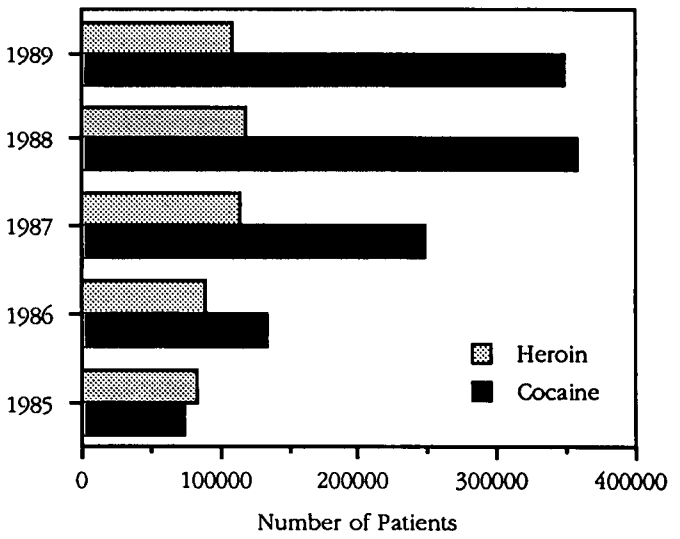
Data from a Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) study, which examined nine of these cities, show that the rate of individuals testing positive for cocaine use during hospital emergency room visits grew five-fold between 1984 and 1989. In 1984, there were 76 cocaine mentions per 100,000 visits; by 1989, the figure had grown to 462. Despite a slight decrease between 1988 and 1989, the rate today is more than twice what it was three years ago (Figure 1). Moreover, two of every three arrestees in 1989 tested positive for cocaine in six of these cities.

The number of cocaine users who reported being *dependent* also ballooned with the drug's popularity. In 1984, about half of the patients involved in cocaine-related emergency room episodes in the 10 cities reported being dependent. By 1989 the figure had increased to three-quarters. (Figure 2).

A tremendous gap exists in these cities between the need for treatment programs (especially for cocaine addicts) and the services that are currently offered. Table 1 illustrates this. Many of the "publicly funded treatment slots" are methadone clinics for heroin addicts and therefore cannot provide appropriate services for the large and growing pool of cocaine users. Residential treatment of at least 28 days is generally considered necessary for chronic hard-core cocaine users, but the number of residential beds available is minuscule. In every city surveyed, waiting periods for residential treatment ranged from several weeks to nine months.

Of particular concern is the growing problem of pregnant addicts and addicted mothers. All the 10 cities studied had seen dramatic increases in the number of drug-exposed infants, an estimated 40,000 of whom were born in these cities last year alone. Between 30 and 50 percent of these infants went from the hospital ward directly into foster care. Despite the heavy burdens on child welfare agencies, foster care programs, and health systems created by these severely disadvantaged and often physically impaired children, few cities offer special treatment to pregnant co-

Figure 1. Emergency Room Patients Showing Evidence of Drug Use



Source: Drug Abuse Warning Network, 10 City Study

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

(Continued on page 4)

Drugs

(Continued from page 3)

caine abusers (See Table 1).

In one recent study, only 15 of the 78 facilities claiming to serve pregnant addicts in New York City actually offered services to an interviewer who called claiming to be a poor, pregnant cocaine addict. Despite the fact that New York's health policy is to give pregnant addicts priority status in entering treatment, facilities were reluctant to deliver services because of limits on Medicaid reimbursements and fears of liability.

States vary tremendously in the level of funding they give to substance abuse services and in the kinds of treatment they allow Medicaid to reimburse (Table 2). New York and Maryland are on the high end of the funding scale; Texas is on the low end. There is very little reimbursement for outpatient care and virtually none for long-term care. Most public health officials believe changes in federal legislation will be required to obtain adequate funding for drug treatment under Medicaid.

Drug addiction among sexually active men and women has contributed to the general crisis of urban public health systems. All these cities have seen disturbing increases in venereal diseases, including a particularly virulent form of syphilis; this VD epidemic has been fueled by the widespread practice of trading sex for drugs. Between 1984 and 1988, diagnosed AIDS cases contracted by intravenous drug abusers (many of whom use cocaine) rose in these cities by 385 percent. In 1984, AIDS cases among intravenous drug abusers accounted for 26 percent of these cities AIDS cases; today they represent over 37 percent. In addition, over 42 percent of all American children suffering from AIDS live in these same 10 cities.

Failure to treat the addicted population will result in far more costly public health outlays in the future. The medical bill for one cocaine-exposed infant may be as high as $30,000 for delivery alone; when a severely impaired child is abandoned at the hospital, bills may reach $200,000. Foster care placements average between $5,000 and $6,000 a year. Preschool programs that successfully prepare drug-exposed children for school are costing up to $17,000 per

(Continued on page 8)

Table 1. The Gap Between the Need for Drug Treatment and Available, Publicly Funded Services, 1989

	Estimated Number of Cocaine Addicts	Total Publicly Funded Treatment Slots	Total Publicly Funded Residential Beds	Treatment Options[c] for Women/Pregnant Women
Atlanta[a]	26,778	NA	1,721	One program
Baltimore	14,123	5,610	331	55 beds for women
Chicago	136,695	[132 facilities[b]]	[26 facilities[b]]	58 beds for women and children and 4 out-patient facilities
Detroit	40,977	2,664 (planned)	532 (planned)	74+ beds for women/100+ beds for pregnant women
Houston	38,577	1,479	59	NA
Los Angeles	109,792	5,909	866	8 outpatient sites for pregnant women; 7 residential sites; 4 drug-free outpatient programs for women and children
New Orleans	22,181	937	155	One halfway house for women and pregnant women
New York	385,917	40,218	5,026	140 programs for women/76 for pregnant women
Philadelphia	52,885	4,118	368	11 programs for women/One program for pregnant women
Washington	26,425	4,631	346	23 beds for women/10 beds for pregnant women

[a] Atlanta figures include both Fulton and Clayton counties.

[b] Illinois funds for treatment hours rather than treatment places or slots.

[c] Options specified for "women" may provide OBGYN services for pregnant women but are not designed specifically for pregnant women. Other treatment slots may provide services for both nonpregnant women and pregnant women but are not set aside for either group.

Sources: U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee; Joint Center phone survey.

November/December 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

THE 1990 ELECTION IN REVIEW

The November election ushered a new group of black elected officials into city halls and state offices across the country as well as into the U.S. House of Representatives. Twenty-six new black state legislators won election, the Congressional Black Caucus reached an all-time high in its membership, and important political milestones were reached for women both in and out of Congress. The political landscape on Capitol Hill has been altered a bit by the surprise victory of a black Connecticut Republican. And although racist appeals by white Republican candidates were still in evidence, overall the election demonstrated that black electoral progress remains on the ascendancy.

New High Water Marks in Congress

Five newly elected black legislators boost the membership of the Congressional Black Caucus to a historic high of 26. Three are women, all Democrats, raising the number of black congresswomen to four, and matching the contingent reached in the House during the 1970s. With the election of GARY FRANKS, Connecticut sends a black person to Capitol Hill for the first time. Franks is also the first black Republican voting member of the House since 1935. With retiring New Orleans Congresswoman LINDY BOGGS' replacement by WILLIAM JEFFERSON, all majority black congressional districts in the U.S. are held by blacks. Jefferson is Louisiana's first black congressman since CHARLES NASH served from 1875 to 1877 during the height of Reconstruction. The entering black members of the 102nd Congress are intelligent, experienced, politically savvy, and can be expected to hit the ground running. A brief review of their backgrounds follows:

Detroit Councilwoman **BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS**, 51, was elected to succeed retiring five-term incumbent **GEORGE CROCKETT**, who had distinguished himself as a crusading black labor lawyer and judge long before he came to Congress to represent Michigan's 13th Congressional District. A political ally of Detroit's Mayor **COLEMAN YOUNG**, Collins was formerly a three-term Michigan state representative.

Gary Franks, 37, elected to represent Connecticut's 5th Congressional District, will be the third black Republican to join the CBC. (The first two were Senator EDWARD BROOKE of Massachusetts who served from 1967 to 1979 and MELVIN EVANS, delegate from the Virgin Islands from 1979 to 1980.) A Yale graduate and real estate investor, Franks most recently served as a Waterbury city alderman. Should he wish to do so, Franks could serve as a bridge between the CBC and the Bush administration.

New Orleans Democrat William J. Jefferson, 43, a product of Southern University and Harvard Law School, will represent New Orleans in Louisiana's 2nd Congressional District. An attorney and former aide to U.S. Senator **BENNETT JOHNSON** (D-La.), Jefferson has served in the state senate since 1981, and chaired the Government Affairs and Finance Committee.

ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, 53, has been elected to the seat formerly held by District of Columbia delegate **WALTER FAUNTROY**, who came to Congress in 1971 and was third in line to chair the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee. Fauntroy gave up his seat in Congress to run, unsuccessfully, for mayor of Washington, D.C. Norton, a graduate of Yale Law School, is a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center. A long-time civil rights advocate, she chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the Carter administration.

Los Angeles Assemblywoman **MAXINE WATERS** won the seat formerly occupied by California Congressman **AUGUSTUS HAWKINS**. The chair of the House Education and Labor Committee, Hawkins served in Congress since 1963 and was considered the dean of the Congressional Black Caucus. He will be succeeded by a woman who has developed a reputation as a political force both in California and across the nation. In California, Waters chaired the Democratic Caucus of the state Assembly. A member of the Democratic National Committee, she also played a prominent role in **JESSE JACKSON'S** 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

State and Local Victories

In addition to the five congressional victories, black candidates won significant mayoral and statewide posts. With the election of SHARON PRATT DIXON as its new mayor, Washington becomes the largest American city ever presided over by a black woman. An attorney and former utility company executive, Dixon has also served as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. After her January 2 inauguration, she must tackle the District's $200 million deficit. Her campaign promise to fire 2,000 city officials in middle management positions may not be enough to do the job. Some of the hard choices she may consider include raising taxes which are already among the nation's highest, or urging Congress to raise the federal payment to the District. She might also reduce the city's police force, which a special commission chaired by former Congressional Budget Office director ALICE RIVLIN recently declared to be "bloated."

Voters in Oakland, California, chose state assemblyman **ELIHU HARRIS** over **WILSON RILES** in a November runoff for the office of mayor. Harris, a 12-year veteran of the Assembly, replaces LIONEL WILSON, the city's mayor for the past 13 years. Wilson was a candidate for reelection but got knocked out of the running in the June primary. Mayor-elect Harris will have his hands full dealing with the city's serious drug problem and its troubled education system, as well as completing reconstruction of the Cypress Freeway destroyed in last year's earthquake.

Black candidates rolled up significant victories in several statewide races as well. In Florida, voters retained Chief Justice **LEANDER SHAW** on the state's Supreme Court for another six-year term. Shaw was targeted for defeat by anti-abortion groups because of his vote with the court's majority to strike down a 1989 state law requiring parental consent for unmarried minors seeking abortions.

Significant Losses

Several black candidates went down to defeat including most of the Republican contenders. In North Carolina, the failed attempt by Charlotte's black former mayor **HARVEY GANTT** to unseat right-wing U.S. Senator **JESSE HELMS** was widely seen as a victory for the "Old South" and racial politics. Gantt campaigned on social and economic issues--jobs, education, and health care--aimed at a broad spectrum of North Carolina voters. But Helms' appeals to racial fears, including charges that civil rights laws diminish opportunities for whites, won the day.

Former undersecretary in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development J. KENNETH BLACKWELL was beaten by Cincinnati Mayor CHARLES LUKEN in a race for Ohio's 1st Congressional District. Luken is the son of retiring Congressman THOMAS LUKEN, who held the seat for 14 years. A former Cincinnati city councilman and one-time mayor of the city, Blackwell was seen going into the election as the black Republican with the best chance to win a congressional seat.

University of Vermont professor **DOLORES SANDOVAL** was defeated in her second bid for Vermont's at-large congressional post by independent candidate **BERNIE SANDERS**, a self-proclaimed socialist and former mayor of Burlington. Sandoval, who garnered only three percent of the vote, received practically no backing from the state Democratic party or its leaders because she advocates the conditional legalization of drugs and opposes the U.S. troop build-up in the Persian Gulf. Sandoval also argued that economic sanctions should be imposed against Israel until it agrees to participate in a U.N. conference to resolve the issue of the Palestinians and the occupied territories.

In Nebraska, black Deputy Attorney General **EUGENE "GENE" CRUMP**, 43, a Democrat, lost narrowly to **DON STENBERG** in an election for state attorney general. Despite the fact that Nebraska, with a black population

of only three percent, has no history of electing black politicians to statewide or congressional office, Crump had been given a good chance of winning. He won the May Democratic primary by a convincing margin, and had gained endorsements from his current boss, Republican attorney general **ROBERT SPIRE**, from Democratic U.S. Senator BOB KERREY, and from several major newspapers.

Blacks and the GOP

Seventeen black Republicans ran for statewide and congressional posts, more than ever before. Many of them were part of an effort by the Republican party and the Bush administration to recruit and support black candidates and court black voters. **GEORGE BUSH** campaigned for both Gary Franks in Connecticut and Ken Blackwell in Cincinnati, and the Republican party provided financial backing for them and other candidates. Many of the other black Republican candidates were widely considered to be sacrificial lambs in elections against entrenched incumbent members of the Congressional Black Caucus and in statewide races where they had no real chance to win.

Franks was only one of two black GOP candidates to win a major office. The other was **J.C. WATTS**, elected to the powerful Oklahoma State Corporation Commission. The commission regulates public utilities, oil and gas drilling, and motor carrier transportation and other key industries. His victory makes him the highest ranking black statewide official in Oklahoma since statehood 83 years ago.

Despite the growth in the number of black GOP candidates this year, the Republican Party does not seem to be significantly expanding its support among black voters. The fact that Franks won in a district with only a four-percent black voting-age population, coupled with the poor showing of black Republicans in other races, means there is little movement on the part of black voters toward the Republican party. This is true despite the warm relationship that some Republicans in Congress (like Senators THAD COCHRAN of Mississippi and JOHN WARNER of Virginia) have nurtured with black voters in their states through responsive constituent services programs.

Playing the Race Card

According to many political observers, President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act went a long way toward alienating the black community and undoing the White House's earlier efforts to reach out to black voters. Moreover, Bush's frequent references to the Act as a "quota bill" were picked up by North Carolina's right-wing Senator Jesse Helms, who ran a brutish campaign of racial appeals and black voter intimidation in his successful reelection bid against former Charlotte mayor Harvey Gantt.

In North Carolina, the GOP resurrected the racially divisive "Willie Horton" campaign style. One Helms ad, noting that Gantt supported the Civil Rights Act, falsely characterized it as a measure that would replace qualified white workers with unqualified minorities. Unfortunately, many of North Carolina's white voters, especially in rural western regions, responded to those appeals. Helms also received a great deal of support among older voters who had been born and raised in the "Old South." Gantt, who received 47 percent of the vote overall, garnered only 35 percent of the white vote. Younger voters and voters who moved into the state during the past 10 years supported Gantt. The good news here is that this may presage a demographic shift in the state which could cause racist campaigns like Helms' to fail in the future.

The North Carolina Republican party also revived the practice of ballot intimidation, a technique that the Republican National Committee had promised not to pursue. In North Carolina, over 100,000 postcards mailed to predominantly black precincts falsely warned voters that they could not vote if they had moved within 30 days of the election, and cautioned them that giving inaccurate information to an election official was a crime punishable by up to five years in jail. As in the past, these so-called "ballot security" programs were directed at precincts with high concentrations of black voters by the GOP during the last two weeks of the campaign. In the final days of the campaign, a federal court judge obtained an agreement from the North Carolina Republican Party not to challenge any voters at the polls. By that time, however, the damage had already been done. The legacy of Bush's use of Willie Horton in 1988 and the racial nature of the Helms campaign raise a troublesome question for the future: Will the Republican Party continue to run on race when they smell a close victory or fear defeat?

1990 Election Results for Black Candidates to U.S. Congress and Statewide Seats

State	Office	Winner	%	Votes	Defeated	%	Votes
AK	Lt. Governor	*Jim "Guy" Tucker* (D)	74	(490,700)	Kenneth Harris (R)	26	(171,225)
CA	House, 8th	Ronald Dellums* (D)	62	(111,526)	*Barbara Galewski* (R)	38	(68,575)
	House, 28th	Julian Dixon* (D)	73	(64,849)	*George Adams* (R)	22	(19,339)
	House, 29th	Maxine Waters (D)	80	(48,769)	*Bill DeWitt* (R)	18	(11,186)
	House, 31st	Mervyn Dymally* (D)	68	(53,239)	*Eunice Sato* (R)	32	(25,488)
	House, 33rd	*David Dreier** (R)	63	(93,094)	Georgia H. Webb (D)	32	(46,619)
CT	House, 5th	Gary Franks (R)	52	(93,913)	*Toby Moffett* (D)	47	(85,525)
	State Treasurer	Francisco Borges (D)	51	(482,754)	*Joan Kemler* (R)	48	(452,918)
DC	Delegate to Congress	E. Holmes Norton (D)	62	(95,411)	Harry Singleton (R)	26	(40,077)
FL	State Supreme Court	Leander Shaw* (D)	60	(1,821,534)	[To retain office]		
GA	State Supreme Court	Robert Benhan			[Uncontested]		
	House, 5th	John Lewis* (D)	76	(86,037)	James Tibbs (R)	24	(27,781)
IL	State Attorney General	Roland Burris (D)	51	(1,621,078)	*Jim Ryan* (R)	49	(1,545,139)
	State Supreme Court	Charles Freeman (D)	61	(697,146)	*Robert Buckley* (R)	38	(428,585)
	House, 1st	Charles Hayes* (D)	94	(93,804)	Babette Peyton (R)	6	(6,152)
	House, 2nd	Gus Savage* (D)	78	(75,182)	*William Hespel* (R)	22	(21,219)
	House, 7th	Cardiss Collins* (D)	75	(58,245)	*Michael Dooley* (R)	25	(19,742)
KY	House, 3rd	*Romano Mazzoli* (D)*	61	(84,205)	Alphonso Brown (R)	39	(54,811)
LA	House, 2nd	William Jefferson (D)	52	(55,371)	Marc Morial (D)	48	(50,197)
MD	House, 7th	Kweisi Mfume* (D)	85	(58,092)	*Kenneth Kondner* (R)	15	(10,341)
MI	Secretary of State	Richard H. Austin* (D)	61	(1,506,977)	*Judy Miller* (R)	39	(962,431)
	House 1st	John Conyers* (D)	91	(76,510)	Raymond Shoulders (R)	9	(7,290)
	House, 13th	Barbara-Rose Collins (D)	83	(54,183)	Carl R. Edwards Sr. (R)	17	(11,139)
MS	House, 2nd	Mike Espy* (D)	84	(58,352)	Dorothy Benford (R)	16	(11,026)
	House, 4th	*Mike Parker* (D)*	80	(56,939)	Jerry Parks (R)	19	(13,665)
MO	House, 1st	William Clay Sr.* (D)	61	(62,547)	*Wayne Piotrowski* (R)	39	(40,157)
	House, 5th	Alan D. Wheat* (D)	62	(71,957)	*Robert Gardner* (R)	38	(43,980)
NE	State Attorney General	*Don Stenberg* (R)	53	(290,577)	Eugene Crump (D)	46	(251,518)
NJ	House, 10th	Donald M. Payne* (D)	82	(42,106)	*Howard Berkeley* (R)	18	(8,954)
NY	House, 6th	Floyd Flake* (D)	72	(43,665)	*William Sampol* (R)	23	(13,788)
	House, 11th	Edolphus Towns* (D)	93	(35,484)	Ernest Johnson (O)	4	(1,629)
	House, 12th	Major R. Owens* (D)	95	(39,494)	*Joseph Caesar* (O)	3	(1,090)
	House, 16th	Charles B. Rangel* (D)	97	(53,896)	*Alvaader Frazier* (O)	3	(1,514)
NC	Senate	*Jesse Helms** (R)	53	(1,088,331)	Harvey Gantt (D)	47	(981,573)
	State Court of Appeals	James A. Wynn (D)	51	(833,069)	AlllysonDuncan (R)	49	(792,113)
	State Court of Appeals	Clifton Johnson* (D)	54	(904,480)	*Carter Lambeth* (R)	46	(766,045)
OH	House, 1st	*Charles Luken* (D)	51	(82,992)	J. Kenneth Blackwell (R)	49	(79,807)
	State Supreme Court	*Craig Wright* (R)	46	(1,306,526)	Stephanie T. Jones (D)	44	(1,241,906)
	House, 2nd	*Willis Gradison* (R)*	64	(103,245)	Tyrone K. Yates (D)	36	(56,974)
	House, 21st	Louis Stokes* (D)	80	(102,076)	*Franklin Roski* (R)	20	(25,698)
OK	State Corp. Commission	J.C. Watts (R)	50	(439,981)	*James Townsend** (D)	42	(362,499)
PA	House, 1st	*Thomas Foglietta** (D)	79	(69,961)	James L. Jackson (R)	21	(18,491)
	House 2nd	William Gray* (D)	92	(90,977)	*Donald Bakove* (R)	8	(8,266)
RI	Secretary of State	*Kathleen Connell** (D)	72	(233,593)	Valerie Southern (R)	28	(89,367)
SC	Governor	*Carroll Campbell** (R)	71	(522,944)	Theo Mitchell (D)	29	(210,829)
TN	House, 9th	Harold E. Ford* (D)	65	(48,699)	*Alan Davis* (R)	35	(25,727)
TX	State Ct. of Criminal Appeals	Morris Overstreet (D)	51	(1,753,709)	Louis E. Sturns* (R)	49	(1,662,314)
	House, 18th	Craig Washington* (D)			[Uncontested]		
VT	House At-Large	*Bernie Sanders* (O)	56	(117,374)	Delores Sandoval (D)	3	(6,315)

Notes: Asterisks (*) indicate incumbents. Non-black candidates shown in *italics*. O designates other party affiliation. Numbers shown are results as of press time and may not be final figures.

Responding to Japanese Racism

The Joint Center Establishes a New Program to Address Tensions Between Black Americans and the Japanese

by Paige L. Cottingham

Like a phoenix, Japan has risen over the last quarter century from the ashes of World War II to become a major player in today's global market. In the United States, some politicians and corporate leaders have charged that Japan has succeeded at the expense of American businesses and their workers. Complaints that the Japanese use unfair trade practices are common.

While policy makers have focused on the trade imbalance, relations between the two countries have been further strained by racial tensions. Racist attitudes toward blacks and other American minority groups have recently been reflected in offensive statements made by Japanese officials and in equally offensive Japanese commercial products. In September, Japan's justice minister, Seiroku Kajiyama, likened the presence of prostitutes in a Tokyo business district to the presence of black Americans in white neighborhoods when he said, "it's like in America when neighborhoods become mixed because blacks move in and whites are forced out."

This was not the first time a high level Japanese official has directed a racial slur at blacks. In 1986, then Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said that blacks and Hispanics are the cause of America's lower intelligence scores, and in 1988, Liberal Democratic Party official Michio Watanabe implied that blacks do not repay their debts.

Japanese attitudes toward blacks are rooted in the country's history of Western contact. As early as the 16th century, Japanese encountered blacks as the slaves of Dutch and Portuguese traders. According to Harvard anthropologist John Russell, "With the importation of Western learning, Japanese acquired a taste not only for Western science but also for Western prejudices."

Black Americans remain agitated at ongoing Japanese racism. Many Japanese companies operating in the U.S. are being challenged in federal courts on anti-discrimination grounds. Japanese auto companies (Nissan, Honda, and Toyota) have been accused of deliberately building their U.S. plants at such a distance from black residential areas as to keep black potential autoworkers from seeking employment.

After Minister Kajiyama's offensive remarks, Joint Center President Eddie Williams wrote to President Bush and Japanese Ambassador Ryohei Murata asking them to urge the Japanese government to condemn Kajiyama's statement. Williams pointed out that America's strength is its diversity and that Kajiyama's words were an affront to all Americans. Ambassador Murata replied promptly, expressing his personal dismay over the incident, and assuring Williams that he shared his concerns and would communicate them to the Japanese government. Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Kajiyama issued formal apologies to the American people and the Congressional Black Caucus in October. Absent, however, has been any formal statement of condemnation from President Bush.

The anger aroused among black Americans could have serious consequences for U.S.-Japan relations. A selective buying campaign targeting certain Japanese-made products, threatened by black business organizations, could deny Japanese manufacturers billions in auto and electronics sales. The Japanese may also be underestimating the clout of the 7,500 black elected officials in the United States, who could have an impact on Japanese interests.

Joint Center Responds

In January, the Joint Center initiated a 10-year, multifaceted program, the U.S.-Japan Project, to establish new links of communication and partnership between the Japanese and black Americans. With funding from the U.S.-Japan Foundation, the project is designed to help eliminate bias and improve relations. It will include five components: research, forums and briefings, fellowships, information dissemination, and people-to-people exchange.

In July, Joint Center President Eddie N. Williams visited Japan as the guest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While there, he observed first-hand the crude characterizations of blacks visible throughout that country. Yet he also spoke with Japanese businessmen, scholars, and government officials, who were equally disturbed.

As a part of the project, the Joint Center held a seminar in October led by Professor Percy R. Luney, Jr., an expert in Japanese constitutional law at Duke University Law School and North Carolina Central University Law School. Luney stated that the Japanese have "passively accepted many of the prejudices of white Europeans and Americans who brought their anti-black bias to Japan."

The Joint Center recently conducted a national survey to elicit information about the attitudes of black Americans toward Japanese people. The findings, which will be released in early 1991, will help to shape future Joint Center forums, briefings, and papers focused on relations between black Americans and the Japanese people. ■

Ms. Cottingham is Coordinator of the U.S.-Japan Project and Special Counsel to the President of the Joint Center.

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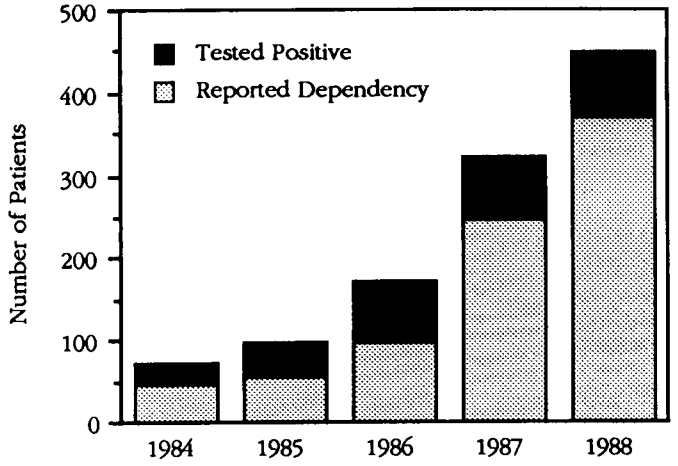
Drugs

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child. Medical and related care for each AIDS patient costs between $40,000 and $150,000, depending on how long the individual survives.

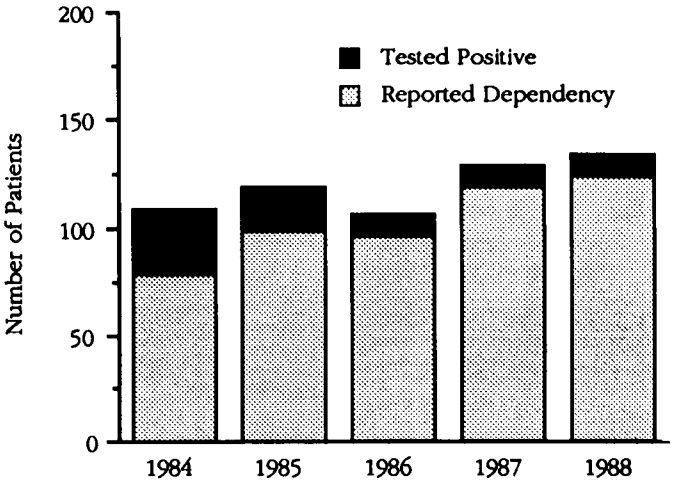
The problems facing the 10 cities discussed here are not unique. But the huge number of addicts and hard-core drug abusers within their borders set them on the front line of the national drug crisis. It is a crisis that not only affects the growing population of drug abusers, but is also contributing to the expansion of other urban problems--joblessness, child abuse, homelessness, and violence.

Figure 2. Emergency Room Patients Testing Positive for Cocaine Use Per 100,000 Visits



Source: Drug Abuse Warning Network, 10 City Study

Figure 3. Emergency Room Patients Testing Positive for Heroin Use Per 100,000 Visits



Source: Drug Abuse Warning Network, 10 City Study

As a part of its Urban Anti-Drug Abuse Project, the Joint Center brought together 45 senior urban policy makers from the ten target cities for a two-day-long conference in Philadelphia in October. Participants shared information on promising intervention programs in their own cities, and discussed ways to improve inter-agency collaboration in implementing citywide antidrug strategies. ■

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