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Special 1992 Election Issue

FOCUS

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

Louis Martin: A Life of Achievement

The Sage Advisor to Three Presidents Calls on Black Political Leaders to Form Alliances with Other Ethnic Groups Based on Common Concerns

Blacks and the New World Order

Blacks Must Participate in Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy as the Nation Adjusts to the Challenges of Global Political and Economic Upheavals

Black Leadership Forum's Issues Paper

Priority Issues for the African-American Community in an Election Year

Executive Summary

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Strength Through Diversity

According to the 1990 census, the major non-white minority groups together constitute one quarter of the nation, and all indications are that they will continue to increase as a share of the population. Unfortunately, Americans of African, Latino, Asian, and American Indian ancestry have been slow to grasp the richness of their diversity and the potential of their collective strength. Taken separately, each group has limited influence, but together they represent real power.

Contrary to the opinions of some, diversity need not be an obstacle to coalition politics. Senator Bill Bradley, addressing the 1992 Democratic convention, may have said it best: "Diversity is our strength, not our weakness."

This is especially true for blacks and Latinos, the two largest non-white minority groups. Black-and-brown coalitions among elected officials represent one readily recognizable area in which collaboration has been occurring and can continue, to the advantage of both groups. The legislative redistricting process just completed has created scores of new electoral opportunities for both blacks and Latinos. According to some projections, the two groups together may well control between 55 and 60 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives next year, close to 140 new state legislative seats, and numerous new municipal offices.

However, these long-term coalitions are of no value unless they are based upon shared concerns. A general consensus has already been built around broad policy areas—protection of basic rights, expansion of economic opportunities, and the development of human capital. It is essential to view the pursuit of these goals as mutually beneficial rather than as competing interests. The myth that gains for one group mean losses for another must be dispelled. We also need to be willing to respect, accommodate, and support the distinct needs of other groups even when our own interests are not at stake.

It is time that we commit ourselves to concrete actions to achieve coalition. Here are a few steps we can take:

- Let's communicate. It is remarkable that in what is routinely recognized as the age of communication, our various groups know so little about each other (i.e., culture, issues of concern, history) and seem to be making so little effort to improve our understanding. We need to begin talking with each other, listening to each other, and developing an appreciation for each other.
- We need a formal mechanism for interaction. Virtually every major group already has its own organizations. We need an organization or some other mechanism that cuts across the racial/ethnic lines and focuses on building relationships and on increasing understanding. Of course, we can achieve these same objectives by adding coalition building to the agendas of our existing organizations.
- We need to identify the issues around which we can coalesce. American society is at a pivotal juncture in its history, and critical domestic and international issues still confront us. We can use the opportunity provided by these turbulent times to begin talking about the kind of society we want to build, the kind of international community we want to see emerge from this transitional period, and the kind of domestic policy agenda we want to see embraced in this decade.

What is most important is that we begin to share a vision of the future and link arms in pursuit of it. The time has come to build a basis for constructive ethnic interaction. This challenge confronts each and every one of us. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS
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Louis Martin: A Life of Achievement

The Sage Advisor to Three Presidents Calls on Black Political Leaders to Form Alliances with Other Ethnic Groups Based on Common Concerns

Louis Martin, widely acclaimed as the "Godfather of black politics," was a close advisor to three Democratic presidents. A journalist by profession, Martin founded his own newspaper, The Michigan Chronicle, *in 1936, and in 1947 he became editor and chief of* The Chicago Defender. *He joined John Kennedy's election campaign team in 1960 and served as liaison between the White House and the black community during the Kennedy years. He later functioned in the same capacity under presidents Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter.*

Martin was responsible for placing hundreds of blacks into positions of power and influence in the federal government. Sometimes called "the great mentioner," Martin was responsible for the selection of Thurgood Marshall as the first black Supreme Court justice, of former HUD secretary Robert Weaver as the first black cabinet member, and of economist Andrew Brimmer as the first black governor of the Federal Reserve Board. Martin was a founder of the Joint Center and its first chairman. While he was in Washington in September to accept a Larry O'Brien Achievement Award from the Democratic National Committee, Martin was interviewed by FOCUS *Editor David C. Ruffin. The Joint Center has commissioned Alex Poinsett to write the first biography of the life and times of Louis Martin.*

***FOCUS**: What was your agenda as advisor to Democratic presidents?*

Martin: My title when Kennedy and Johnson were in office was deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The only thing that I was concerned about was putting black people in positions of power and influence. When I first started in 1960, blacks didn't feel welcome in the White House, and I swore that I would open doors. I had a list of 750 "super brothers" who could take positions in the government. During the 1960 election, Jack, Bobby [Kennedy], and several others met with me one day and asked me what my plans were. I said one thing I am going to do is put a black in the cabinet and a black on the Supreme Court. I accomplished that and I got Carter to appoint about 40 federal judges.

***FOCUS**: From the Kennedy/Johnson era to the present, black Americans have been staunchly Democratic. Yet some black political leaders have been critical of Bill Clinton for distancing himself from blacks during his presidential campaign.*

Martin: I don't think that a good job has been done to register and mobilize black voters. The importance of the most elementary things—registration and turnout—seems to have been forgotten.

***FOCUS**: How would you rate black politicians today?*

Martin: The leaders today are so much better qualified. They know their business and they can see beyond the race issues—they can see the whole picture. The big thing is mass action. Martin Luther King was important, but millions followed him. And he knew how to move them—that's a mass movement. I don't care how smart you are or how many strategies you develop, if you don't have that mass body, you're just up a tree. Almost all of the progress we have made has come through mass action. Only mass action means anything in a democracy.

***FOCUS**: Has this been the "Year of the Woman" in black politics?*

Martin: The women have been under a cloud for a long time. And black men have overlooked their greatest asset. They were so interested in getting a little job themselves, they didn't see that if you had an organized group, particularly with the smartest women working with you, you double your strength.

***FOCUS**: Do you think it's possible to work with the Republican Party?*

Martin: Not at the moment. You have got to go where you are free to operate. In 1936, we started saying, "The time has come to turn Lincoln's picture to the wall and get something done." Then we moved into the New Deal under [Franklin D.] Roosevelt, and on to the New Frontier and the Great Society under Kennedy and Johnson.

***FOCUS**: Several black politicians have suggested that African Americans ought to look into forming a third party. Do you think that's a viable idea?*

Martin: Not in America. I think that it's unwise to base our whole point of view on color alone. I think that we ought to develop alliances with people who are in the same boat. My hope is that we can work with poor whites. During the Kennedy and Johnson days, we found a way to get Italians and Poles—those were the two big groups—involved in the issues that we were concerned about, and showed them how the alliances that we were putting together would help them. You can't go it alone. How are you going to be elected mayor of New York or any of these major cities, playing solely one group? And we have got to have those alliances so strong that they can't be knocked out by some of the racists coming along. Alliances, I think, are really the only thing that is going to keep this country right. I'm also concerned about the fact

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Martin

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that nobody is really mobilizing young people, nobody is working with them. You've got to find a way to enlist their enthusiasm and mobilize their energy.

***FOCUS**: How did you feel about Jack Kennedy?*

Martin: I liked him very much. He was one of the most exciting people I'd ever known. Jack laid a lot of the groundwork for the Civil Rights Act and I don't know why he didn't get credit for anything.

***FOCUS**: What was Lyndon Johnson like?*

Martin: Johnson didn't have the sense of humor that Jack had and he didn't have Kennedy's flair. He didn't know how to do anything casually. He was direct and straightforward. When he was nominated [for president in 1960] at the convention, a lot of liberals raised hell. He was not a civil rights drumbeater. So Jack took him for vice president. Johnson knew right away that he had to change his view of the world. In fact, he called me up and asked me for advice.

***FOCUS**: Jimmy Carter?*

Martin: Wonderful. Fantastic. Jimmy Carter was absolutely the sweetest guy you ever saw. I could get him to do something by telephone without having to do a sales job. For example, Carter named Nat [Nathaniel] Jones, a lawyer for the NAACP, to the [Sixth Circuit] Court of Appeals at a meeting of Democrats in the White House before sending his name to the Justice Department for clearance.

***FOCUS**: You seem to have been particularly close to Bobby Kennedy. What was he like?*

Martin: I knew Bobby very well. He was perfect, for my money. He was direct and tough. You couldn't b.s. Bobby and I never tried to. One thing I'll never forget is the whole business of getting action on something. If Bobby said yes, that was it. In some ways Bobby was stronger than Jack because Bobby was feared by everybody. I would try to get a job for a black guy, and an administrator at one of these agencies would say that it was impossible. And I would say that I am so sorry, I'll have to tell the President, or worse, Bobby, that you couldn't do it. And they would say they didn't mean that they couldn't do it. The guys knew that I had the absolute direct line. I never violated any confidence. I never told the press what was going on.

***FOCUS**: You had something special going with the Kennedys.*

Martin: Blacks and the Irish never appeared to do too well together. But I got along beautifully with them. I always reminded the Kennedys of where they came from. And they knew what I meant. You see, the barriers to opportunity the Irish faced—"Irish need not apply"—is what blacks have had to put up with.

***FOCUS**: What were the first steps you took toward getting Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court?*

Martin: Well, the first thing is that Thurgood was "Mr. Civil Rights." And what do you do if you are president? You get the strongest black guy you could find. So there was no problem with selling Kennedy on that. I met with Thurgood in a coffee shop in LaGuardia Airport, eating hot dogs. When he first came in, I said, "... you're going on the court, we're going to have to figure out how to do it." He said, "I don't want to be just a federal district judge." After the talk in LaGuardia, I said I'll get you on the appeals court and I'll start on it immediately. So the first thing I did when I got back to Washington, I went over to see Bobby [Robert Kennedy was then Attorney General.]. When I mentioned the appeals court, Bobby said you already lost me six states in the South, what the hell do you want me to do now? I said we have to move this guy. He's number one and we have to get him in there. Well Bobby succeeded in getting Marshall confirmed by the senate and he was later appointed Solicitor General and, then, Supreme Court justice by Lyndon Johnson.

***FOCUS**: What's the best time you have ever had in your political career?*

Martin: The biggest thrill that I had was getting Bobby to get Martin Luther King out of that Atlanta jail during the 1960 campaign. King had been arrested for joining student sit-ins of segregated shops and restaurants a few weeks before the November election. I went over to see Bobby and asked him to get Judge Oscar Mitchell to release King. I told him that if King stays in jail it'll be tough for Jack's campaign because every black in America is going to blame the Democrats [the Atlanta mayor and his administration were Democratic]. I had to convince Bobby that it was in his power. That same day, after midnight, I get a call that King was out of jail. I had always depended on Bobby, but that thrilled me more than any one incident.

***FOCUS**: You were one of the founders of the Joint Center. Why did you feel that putting together a black think tank was important?*

Martin: You heard me talk about mass action. Somebody has to mobilize the masses. When I got out of the job as advisor to presidents, I wanted to work out a systematic way of getting people not only to register, but get them to turn out and get them to think positive.

***FOCUS**: What are some of the lessons you've learned over your nearly 60 years in politics?*

Martin: I have discovered one thing—you don't have to have any qualifications to be a good politician. The black elite has gotten too elite. We've got to get down to earth. The little crazy s.o.b. that you think nothing of can go right to the top. You have to have confidence and nerve. The potential is enormous. ■

Blacks and the New World Order

Blacks Must Participate in Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy as the Nation Adjusts to the Challenges of Global Political and Economic Upheavals

by Milton Morris

This article is adapted from an essay by Dr. Morris that appeared in the Autumn 1992 issue of The Washington Quarterly, *the Journal of The Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

Although the United States has much to celebrate in the collapse of communism, the end of the Cold War, and its own unquestioned military preeminence, it has hardly had the time or inclination to do so. Numerous domestic problems, severe fiscal constraints, and uncertainty about the country's international role have combined to create public uneasiness about the future.

This, then, is an unlikely moment to argue that African Americans have a compelling need to become fully engaged in helping to shape U.S. foreign policy. The domestic problems weigh so heavily on the black population, and seem so far from resolution, that concern about the outside world might well be viewed as unreasonable. Yet this essay argues for precisely such engagement because a new world order is indeed unfolding. Black Americans have vital interests at stake in this emerging world order that demand their full attention to international affairs; and more than ever, blacks are in a position to make important contributions to the country's efforts to formulate a responsible approach to global leadership.

The profound global changes that comprise the new world order are the result of several related developments that have converged in one short time period to create one of mankind's most sweeping bloodless revolutions. It is worthwhile to note some of the developments that have formed this emerging world order.

The end of the Cold War. The Cold War—that half-century-long struggle defined in ideological and geopolitical terms led by the United States and the Soviet Union—has ended and a costly arms race has concluded with the United States as the sole global military power.

The global freedom movement. A powerful new freedom movement has been sweeping the globe as people seek to cast off failed authoritarian regimes and to embrace democracy. This movement has been accompanied by the strains of black America's anthem of freedom, "We Shall Overcome," testifying to the connection with and inspiration from the civil rights movement in the U.S.

The primacy of economic factors. Free-market economic competition is rapidly replacing military power as the driving force in the international system. As a result, the old bipolar system of power is being replaced by a new tripolar formation of industrial giants: Western Europe, led by a reunited Germany; Asia, led by Japan; and North America, led by the United States. Together, these powerful economic zones will create an era of intensified global competition that will profoundly affect the quality of life and the distribution of opportunities within the United States and internationally.

The revitalization of the United Nations. The UN is gaining new life as a result of the end of the Cold War, and the close cooperation of the major powers is making it an increasingly important means of conflict management and an alternative to unilateral U.S. intervention.

These new developments provide an unprecedented challenge and opportunity for black Americans to help shape the emerging international order. One of the major, longstanding complaints of the African American community about international affairs is that policymakers have not allowed for their input, have not reflected their views and interests, and therefore have not enabled African Americans to feel a part of those policies.

It will take time for African Americans, as for others, to formulate well-defined visions of the emerging international community, but there are some courses of action to which blacks will clearly need to give special attention. This piece will focus on two of the them: implementing global economic policies that promise to improve U.S. competitiveness and expand domestic opportunities for all segments of society; and broadening the U.S. foreign policy focus from a Eurocentric to a global one that more fully recognizes the Third World.

Challenges of Economic Competition

The end of the Cold War has confirmed that growing economic competition was rapidly challenging military power as the key to global leadership. The critical issues are under what circumstances the competition will proceed and how its rewards will be distributed.

For the foreseeable future, national policy must address the long-term economic restructuring the U.S. economy has undergone over the last 25 years. Manufacturing employment grew during the 1960s and fell dramatically during the 1980s as other countries with more modern equipment and lower wage scales have been able to achieve higher productivity at lower cost. The old industrial centers of the country vividly reflect U.S. losses in this competition as nu-

Dr. Morris is vice president for research at the Joint Center.

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New World Order

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merous plant closings, relocations, or retoolings have displaced thousands of workers.

Companies have long been moving manufacturing outside the United Sates to reduce labor costs—to Mexico, Taiwan, Korea, China, and other countries. This industrial out-migration is a major concern regarding the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), involving Mexico, Canada, and the United States.

In many respects, NAFTA reflects the dilemmas blacks face with the new international economic order. Although NAFTA is expected to expand U.S. markets for high-technology products requiring highly skilled workers, it also poses troubling, short-term risks of job loss or lower wages for segments of the labor market in which blacks are disproportionately represented. The result, in the absence of special ameliorative actions, might well be significant overall gains for the economy but painful losses to those already disadvantaged by it. Fear of these disadvantages has prompted opposition to NAFTA among U.S. labor unions and many politicians representing the Northeast and Midwest regions of the country that have been especially hurt by the out-migration of jobs.

The African-Caribbean Interest

Whether explicitly stated or not, black America's view of the world and of the U.S. role in it appears to be driven by the reality that they may well be the last hope for black people around the world. Although the unfinished struggle against apartheid remains their primary focus, the African continent's deepening ordeal of poverty and human suffering is becoming increasingly more urgent. Indeed, when apartheid is finally eliminated and majority rule achieved, South Africa's massive social and economic problems will join those of the rest of Africa as one of the most formidable challenges of our time.

African countries embarked on the post-independence era with severe handicaps and the continent's fortunes almost everywhere have been in steep decline over the past two decades. Michael Chege, program officer in governance and international affairs for the Ford Foundation in Harare, Zimbabwe describes that experience thus:

> Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s natural catastrophes and political mismanagement combined to produce human and economic tragedies in Africa of unprecedented proportions. Regressive statist economic policies aggravated drought in the Sahel (1973), famine in Ethiopia (1985),...floods in Tanzania (1989), and the AIDS pandemic, which the World Health Organization now predicts will wipe out 20 percent of Africa's labor force by 1996. By eliminating the middle-aged and best-educated sectors of the population AIDS will cause immeasurable setbacks to Africa's development programs.

According to the World Bank's 1990 report on poverty, indices that measure quality of life show that Africa lags far behind every other region of the world in primary school enrollment rates, life expectancy, and consumption per capita, and the projections are that the gap will widen further in the 1990s.

In the Caribbean, Haiti stands out as the extreme hardship case, beset by entrenched poverty, severe ecological problems, and chronic political crises. These conditions have combined to produce the waves of refugees whose treatment by the United States embarrasses us all.

Africa's problems are probably beyond the capacity of the United States to solve alone. Black Americans, however, are eager to have their country lead in assisting African and Caribbean nations as well as other hard-pressed Third World countries. That leadership might involve substantially increased economic and technical assistance to address the ecological and health crises that threaten these countries, as well as debt forgiveness.

To accomplish this, African Americans will need to encourage a major overhaul of U.S. foreign aid policy. Especially needed are a major reduction in military or security assistance and a matching increase in development assistance as well as an increase in the share of the total appropriated U.S.A.I.D. funds that go to Africa and the Caribbean, with the funds to meet urgent human needs for the neediest cases given higher priority. In addition, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund must be encouraged to adopt more flexible and aggressive growth-oriented lending, and United Nations agencies should be encouraged to greatly increase the level of emergency assistance to these distressed countries.

None of the above measures will have the desired long-term effect unless the poorest Third World countries are given significant debt relief to curtail the outflow of scarce funds and allow them to purchase on the world market again. Currently the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa owe over $160 billion, and servicing their debt consumes about a third of the continent's export earnings annually.

How Blacks Can Affect Change

When the history of the final years of South Africa's apartheid system is written, African Americans will stand out as a powerful force for change. They combined a number of resources and strategies to force the highly resistant Reagan and Bush administrations to adopt measures to end apartheid, and they spearheaded an effective boycott of South African business by state and local governments in the United States and by foreign governments.

Although blacks still face obstacles in influencing U.S. foreign policy, they are becoming more influencial. One of the principal obstacles to black influence on foreign affairs has been the power disadvantage blacks have endured, despite expanded access to the political system since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. For one thing, electoral power is an unwieldy instrument for influencing foreign policy. Few blacks have been in the For-

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

THE 1992 ELECTION

On November 3 the **BILL CLINTON/AL GORE** message of change struck a chord with the American electorate, who not only delivered the baby boomers to the White House, but also voted for a change in Congress by electing more women and people of color and defeating several incumbents in the 1992 election cycle. In the first Presidential election since the end of the Cold War, an anemic economy, anti-incumbency mood, and year of the woman fervor coaxed the winds of change that swept through the country to give the nation its first Democratic administration in 12 years, greet the first black woman to the Senate, establish Congressional term limit statutes in 14 states, and award 19 percent of the popular vote to the first strong third-party Presidential candidate in 80 years (the last was Theodore Roosevelt in 1912).

The Presidential Election

Clinton's message of change appealed to Americans from all demographic groups and helped him win a convincing share of the popular vote, 43-38 percent, and to claim an electoral college landslide, 357-168. According to exit polls, Clinton was the winner among blacks, Hispanics, and women and he ran even with **PRESIDENT BUSH** among white voters. He captured states in all regions of the country, including states like Nevada, New Mexico, and Montana, which had not voted for a Democratic presidential candidate since 1964. His biggest prize was California with its 54 electoral votes but he also showed his strength in other population- and delegate-rich industrial states in the Midwest and Northeast. He won in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and New Jersey. Clinton and Gore swept the New England states including New Hampshire, a traditionally Republican stronghold that has been plagued by an economic slump and high unemployment.

Clinton and the Black Community

As indicated by the two national Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies opinion surveys conducted this year, African-American voters provided overwhelming support to Clinton. According to **DAVID BOSITIS**, senior research associate with the Joint Center, black voter turnout was 8 percent of the total voter turnout with 83 percent of the black electorate supporting the Clinton/Gore ticket. Bositis noted that significant local and state races featuring black candidates, as well as Congressional redistricting, contributed to high black voter turnout.

Clinton's strong polling in the black community occurred despite the mixed reviews he received throughout the campaign from black political leaders regarding his commitment to the black electorate. While some black leaders vigorously supported the Democratic nominee, others raised eyebrows of concern regarding his commitment to a black agenda. When Clinton launched his campaign in October 1991, he declared his campaign strategy and intent to win Reagan Democrats back to the party (Reagan Democrats being the disaffected Democrats—Southern white men and blue-collar whites—who voted Republican in 1980 and 1988). In his efforts to make inroads with that group, some black leaders claimed, most notably the Reverend **JESSE JACKSON** and New York congressman **CHARLES RANGEL**, that Clinton was keeping blacks at arms length. Despite that criticism, there were several top black politicians on board the Clinton/Gore team, including Chicago alderman and Congressman-elect **BOBBY RUSH**, who served as Clinton's national voter registration director, Atlanta mayor **MAYNARD JACKSON**, Georgia congressman **JOHN LEWIS**, Mississippi congressman **MIKE ESPY**, and Louisiana congressman **WILLIAM JEFFERSON**. Washington power attorney **VERNON JORDAN**, former executive director of the National Urban League and former president of the United Negro College Fund, is chairman of the board of the Clinton transition team and also served as top advisor for Clinton's vice presidential search. Former labor undersecretary **ERNIE GREEN**, an Arkansas native and longtime friend of Clinton, also served as an unofficial

advisor. Now that he has been elected, the black political leadership will be looking for Clinton's support and stance on civil rights and affirmative action laws, federal minority scholarships, appointments, and attention to urban aid in his economic and domestic agenda.

New High Water Marks in Congress

Redistricting, retirements, and the defeat of incumbents contributed to a significant amount of turnover in the Congress. A total of 110 freshmen will enter the 103rd Congress in January. Forty-three incumbents were defeated in the '92 election cycle, 53 retired, one died, and 13 sought other offices. The Democrats lost a total of 10 seats but managed to maintain their majority in the House with 258. The Senate will welcome 11 new members, four of them women. The Democrats still hold the Senate majority (56 to 42) and may increase by two more pending the outcome of a run-off involving Georgia's junior senator **WYCHE FOWLER** and the December 4 special election for the seat vacated by the death of North Dakota senator **QUENTIN BURDICK**.

Among Clinton's Democratic allies in Congress will be a greatly expanded Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). As a result of legislative redistricting, the CBC will increase its numbers by a historic jump of 13 members. (See this month's ACROSS THE NATION for names.) The Caucus will go from 26 to 39 members, a 50 percent increase. Most of the new legislators will come from southern states, and those from Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina, and Virginia will be the first blacks to represent their states in Congress since the Reconstruction era.

The CBC's new members bring a great deal of diversity to the caucus. **CLEO FIELDS**, congressman-elect from the 4th district of Louisiana, is the youngest member of the caucus at 30 and should bring a new generational perspective to the group. (The average age of current CBC members is 57.) The new members will arrive at Capitol Hill with prior government experience. Ten have served in state legislators, one on the federal bench, one as a county commissioner, and one as head of a state agency. Each represents urban districts, but several have a combination urban/rural constituency.

In addition to the 13 CBC members from newly-created districts are three new congressmen who will replace veteran House members. In Illinois' 1st congressional district, Chicago alderman and former Black Panther leader Bobby Rush defeated five-term congressman **CHARLES HAYES** in the March 17 Democratic primary. On Chicago's South Side, attorney and Rhodes Scholar **MELVIN REYNOLDS** defeated controversial congressman **GUS SAVAGE** in their primary. In the general election, both Reynolds and Rush captured more than 80 percent of the vote to crush their Republican opponents. And finally, Compton mayor **WALTER TUCKER** won the seat in California's 37th district, filling retiring congressman **MERVYN DYMALLY**'s position. Tucker defeated **KWAKUI DUREN** in the general election.

The U.S. Senate will welcome the first black woman elected to that body, **CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN**, who currently serves as Cook County recorder of deeds in Chicago. Braun's win means that an African American will be seated in the Senate for the first time since the electoral defeat of Massachusetts Republican senator **EDWARD BROOKE** in 1978. She will be the nation's fourth black senator but the first black Democrat to hold the post. Also historic are the five new black women who will increase the black female presence in the House (from four to nine). They are **CORRINE BROWN** and **CARRIE MEEK**, both from Florida; **CYNTHIA McKINNEY**, Georgia; **EVA CLAYTON**, North Carolina; and **EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON**, Texas. All of them are state legislators. The women from Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina are the first black women to ever represent their states. Of the 110 freshmen House members, 24 are women, bringing the total of women in the House to 48.

Hispanics also made gains in Congress, increasing its membership from 10 to 19 thanks partly to a redistricting process that created six Hispanic districts, five won by Hispanic candidates and one by a white candidate in Texas. The growth in both the black and Hispanic caucuses should strengthen an effective black/brown coalition that teamed up to support the Civil Rights Acts of 1990 and 1991 as well as legislation on minority business development, bilingual voting rights, and Hispanic access to higher education.

Significant State and Local Victories

In a close race, former California congresswoman **YVONNE BRAITHWAITE BURKE** was defeating state senator **DIANE WATSON** for a seat on the powerful Los Angeles Board of Supervisors at press time. Burke was outpolling Watson by one percentage point. Burke, who served three terms in the state assembly and six terms as a congresswoman, would be the first black elected to the board. She would represent the second district which includes South-Central Los Angeles, the area damaged during the riots following the **RODNEY KING** incident. The board controls a $13 million budget and a workforce of 83,000 people and represents nearly nine million people.

Indiana voters elected **PAM CARTER** as attorney general, the first black woman to win statewide office in Hoosierland. A former deputy chief of staff to the state's Democratic governor **EVAN BAYH**, Carter, 43, defeated white Republican attorney **TIMOTHY BOOKWALTER**, with 52-48 percent of the vote, respectively.

In the Tar Heel state, voters elected Raleigh city council member **RALPH CAMPBELL** to the state auditor position. Campbell defeated white Republican state representative **VERNON ABERNATHY** (53 to 47 percent, respectively). As state auditor, Campbell, 45, will check the state's financial records and investigate allegations of fraud, mismanagement, and waste within state agencies. He has professional experience as an auditor with the state health benefits office and the department of revenue as well as an administrative officer in the state department of insurance. Campbell is a three-term city council member and former mayor pro-tem. Campbell's victory makes him the first black to win a statewide administrative office.

Former Minnesota Viking football player and assistant state attorney general **ALAN PAGE** won a seat on the Minnesota supreme court. He defeated Republican **KEVIN JOHNSON**, a county prosecutor (62 to 37 percent, respectively). Page's victory made him the first black person to sit on the state supreme court. The 47-year-old member of the football Hall of Fame won the seat currently held by Justice **LAWRENCE YETKA** who is retiring.

Ballot Initiatives

Voters in the District of Columbia defeated a referendum imposing a mandatory death sentence or life imprisonment without the possibility of parole for first degree murder. The measure was defeated by a more than 2-1 margin. It had been viewed by the city's black political establishment as an assault on local authority and was not supported by the city's leadership, including Mayor **SHARON PRATT KELLY**, City Council Chair **JOHN WILSON**, and Congresswoman **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON**. Congress forced the vote on District residents by attaching the referendum provision as an amendment to the FY 93 congressional appropriations bill for the District. (Congressional funding, called the "federal payment," represents 13 percent of the city's local budget.) Federal law allows for limited self-government with power vested in a mayor and a 13-member council. Congress retains the power to overturn, amend, or repeal local legislation and impose legislation on the District.

The referendum was introduced by Alabama Democratic senator **RICHARD SHELBY**, who submitted similar legislation earlier this year after the murder of one of his staffers, **TOM BARNES**, in a residential area near the U.S. Capitol in January. Like most major cities, the District has a serious crime problem. With 483 homicides in 1991, the District retains its title as the nation's "murder capital."

Arizona became the last state to recognize the birthday of slain civil rights leader **DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.** as a state holiday. The referendum prevailed by more than 300,000 votes. It calls for the establishment of a "Martin Luther King-Civil Rights Day" to be recognized on the same day as the federal holiday, the third Monday in January. Threats to the tourism and convention economy are credited with pushing the measure, which has been a contentious issue for six years. Between 1986 and 1990 there was a legislative defeat of a King holiday, an executive order from Democratic governor **BRUCE BABBITT** for a holiday, and an executive order from Republican governor **EVAN MECHAM** to rescind Babbitt's executive order. In 1990, voters defeated a referendum for the holiday, and several organizations pulled their conventions out of the state, while others boycotted the state in protest. After the 1990 vote, college football teams declined invitations to the state's two major bowl games, the Fiesta and the Cooper Bowls, and both the National Football League and the National Basketball Association threatened to scratch the state from future consideration for the Super Bowl and All-Star games, a potential financial loss of 50 to 75 million dollars in revenue. The King holiday became federal law in 1983.

1992 Election Results for Black Candidates to U.S. Congress and Statewide Seats

State	Office	Winner	%	Defeated	%
AL	House, 7th	**Earl F. Hilliard** (D)	80	Kervin Jones (R)	20
CA	House, 9th	Ronald V. Dellums (D)	72	G. William Hunter (R)	23
	House, 32nd	Julian C. Dixon (D)	87	Bob Weber (O)	7
	House, 35th	Maxine Waters (D)	83	Nate Truman (R)	14
	House, 37th	Walter R. Tucker (D)	86	B. Kwaku Duren (O)	14
CT	House, 5th	Gary Franks (R)	45	James J. Lawlor (D)	31
DC	Delegate	Eleanor Holmes Norton (D)	85	Susan Emerson (R)	10
FL	House, 3rd	**Corrine Brown** (D)	60	Don Weidner (R)	40
	House, 17th	**Carrie Meek** (D)		no major-party opposition	
	House, 23rd	Alcee L. Hastings (D)	65	Ed Fielding (R)	35
GA	House, 2nd	**Sanford Bishop** (D)	64	Jim Dudley (R)	36
	House, 5th	John Lewis (D)	72	Paul R. Stabler (R)	28
	House, 11th	**Cynthia McKinney** (D)	73	Woodrow Lovett (R)	27
IL	House, 1st	Bobby L. Rush (D)	82	Jay Walker (R)	18
	House, 2nd	Mel Reynolds (D)	85	Ron Blackstone (R)	15
	House, 7th	Cardiss Collins (D)	83	Norman G. Boccio (R)	17
IN	Attorney General	Pam Carter (D)	52	Timothy Bookwalter (R)	48
LA	House, 2nd	William J. Jefferson (D)		won in primary	
	House, 4th	**Cleo Fields** (D)	74	Charles Jones (D)	26
MD	House, 4th	**Albert R. Wynn** (D)	76	Michele Dyson (R)	24
	House, 7th	Kweisi Mfume (D)	85	Kenneth Kondner (R)	15
MI	House, 14th	John Conyers Jr. (D)	84	John W. Gordon (R)	16
	House, 15th	Barbara-Rose Collins (D)	82	Charles C. Vincent (R)	18
MN	State Supreme Court	Alan Page (D)	62	Kevin Johnson (R)	37
MS	House, 2nd	Mike Espy (D)	78	Dorothy Benford (R)	22
MO	House, 1st	William L. Clay (D)	68	Arthur S. Montgomery (R)	32
	House, 5th	Alan Wheat (D)	62	Edward "Gomer" Moody (R)	38
NJ	House, 10th	Donald M. Payne (D)	79	Alfred D. Palermo (R)	21
NY	House, 6th	Floyd H. Flake (D)	81	Dianand D. Bhagwandin (R)	19
	House, 10th	Edolphus Towns (D)	96	Owen Augustin (O)	4
	House, 11th	Major R. Owens (D)	95	Michael Gaffney (O)	5
	House, 15th	Charles B. Rangel (D)	95	Jose Suero (O)	5
NC	House, 1st	**Eva Clayton**(D)	68	Ted Tyler(R)	32
	House, 12th	**Melvin Watt** (D)	72	Barbara Gore Washington (R)	28
OH	House, 11th	Louis Stokes (D)	78	Beryl E. Rothschild (R)	22
PA	House, 2nd	Lucien E. Blackwell (D)	77	Larry Hollin (R)	23
SC	House, 6th	**James E. Clyburn** (D)	65	John Chase (R)	35
TN	House, 9th	Harold E. Ford (D)	67	Charles L. Black (R)	33
TX	House, 18th	Craig Washington (D)	68	Edward Blum (R)	32
	House, 30th	**Eddie Bernice Johnson** (D)	74	Lucy Cain (R)	26
VA	House, 3rd	**Robert C. Scott** (D)	79	Daniel Jenkins (R)	21

Notes: Bolded names represent winners in newly-created majority black congressional districts. O designates other party affiliation. Numbers shown are results as of press time and may not be final figures.

Priority Issues for the African-American Community in an Election Year

Executive Summary

The Black Leadership Forum's (BLF) Issues Paper was presented to President-elect Bill Clinton personally by representatives of BLF, including BLF President Julius Chambers, Esq., and President-designate Rev. Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, on October 31, 1992, at a private meeting held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Issues Paper's principal author was Yvonne Scruggs, the Joint Center's director of Urban Policy Institutes.

The history of African Americans in this country is unique among the histories of all adopted Americans. From a hostile beginning to the present, our citizenship has been marked by uneven admission to the benefits of our society. But our nearly 400-year tenure as Americans also has been punctuated by dramatic attainments in civil rights, legal access, and de jure equality, especially during the last half century.

Yet, from the watershed decade just ending, African Americans are emerging into an environment still clouded by the persistence of racism and structural discrimination. Although evidence from scientific surveys—as well as from casual observations—makes it clear that the preferences, aspirations, and values of the majority of black Americans do not differ from those traditionally held by all Americans, there remains a discrepancy between the theory and the reality of our full participation in the American dream.

Our desire—to be treated as entitled citizens, to participate as equal partners in the economy, to improve the quality of life for our children and grandchildren, to contribute our talents and realize the benefits of our contributions—is the same as it is for the rest of Americans. We recognize our equal and collaborative responsibility for pursuing these goals from our own vantages and through our own efforts. Yet we have also learned from experience that the absence of nurturing, constructive, proactive governmental leadership will undermine our efforts and victimize our communities. We therefore focus our attention on areas of American life in which the aspirations of African Americans can best be realized:

- Revitalizing our cities and metropolitan areas, where three out of four African Americans currently live, and empowering those who still live there;
- Investing in our Nation's future and our families by assuring the social, physical, and economic health of our children and youth;
- Eliminating lingering legacies of the past and preventing future recurrence of injustices by assuring fairness and equity in the structure and administration of the justice system; and,
- Demonstrating leadership—through the moral imperative of the Presidency and the persuasive ability of government to intervene on behalf of its citizens to support full and equitable participation of African Americans in all of the benefits of American life, both nationally and internationally.

I. Reinvesting in Our Cities and Metropolitan Areas

Cities and their environs are repositories of culture, centers of commerce, home to most Americans, and are the engines of American business. It is in the enlightened self-interest of all Americans to address and relieve the urban crisis.

Reversing the trends of economic destabilization and unemployment, stemming the physical decay of urban infrastructures, and eliminating the influence of the burgeoning illicit drug industry are goals in which every American has a stake.

Quality-of-life issues for urban dwellers, such as the improvement of education and health care and the guarantee of personal security, require executive leadership. Remedies for our debilitated urban communities must be a top priority, must be targeted, and they must be long-term. The following measures are top priorities:

A. Jobs and Full Employment

Without a national policy working toward full employment, prescribing measures to accomplish this goal, and mandating that an unemployment-impact assessment become a litmus test for domestic and foreign industrial and trade supports, it is clear that African Americans will continue to be disproportionately penalized.

1. Stimulate Economic Growth and Support Minority Economic Development:

The federal government must directly stimulate major immediate growth in job volume. The availability of jobs into which youth, welfare recipients, transitional military

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Priority Issues

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personnel, retrained workers, and new immigrants can be absorbed will depend on high and sustained economic growth. We therefore support:

- Immediate massive infusion of governmental investments in infrastructure and other capital activities, and the implementation of an aggressive domestic policy that directly stimulates economic growth; and,
- Urban economic development initiatives targeted to minority entrepreneurs and participants, supported by policies that remove burdensome impediments to qualifying for participation, and which facilitate access to financing mechanisms.

2. Target Job Training, Retraining, and Human Resource Development:

- Adopt job training requirements which provide new skills for workers in existing industries, and which reorient workers' skills for positions in emerging industries and occupations in the changing national and global economy;
- Provide for specific short-term labor supports and workforce adjustment measures to compensate for deficient domestic workforce protection in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as well as to respond to changing immigration patterns and other causes of economic dislocation;
- Create public service employment—through national service corps-type programs, various concentrated governmental work projects, and nonprofit initiatives—to train and employ a growing workforce of young people, former military personnel, and those "graduated" from public assistance roles;
- Encourage local public service initiatives to provide jobs in urban infrastructure projects, and use this new workforce to extend the hours and expand the use of educational and recreational facilities;
- Provide GI-type benefits—such as for school assistance and health insurance, as well as pay stipends—to both national service corps and public service participants, which will serve as incentives to encourage volunteers.
- Provide special education and training to recapture undercapitalized human resources represented by the numbers of "functionally unemployable" persons whose low skill levels have prevented their entering or succeeding in the workforce.

B. Competitiveness and Security Issues

Valued resources in the African-American community are wasted because of the destructive effects of "warehousing" potential workers in jails and prisons, often during the critical late teens and early twenties, a time when work experience should be gained and work habits usually are developed. Other conditions that waste human resources include:

- A public school system which fails to prepare a competitive workforce;
- General physical violence and death which is the inevitable consequence of criminal behavior, drug dealing and addiction, the proliferation of guns and other weapons of destruction, and, most recently, car-jacking.

We call for reforms in these areas:

1. Work Force Warehousing and Preventive Treatments:

The African American community has expressed its strong desire for greater personal and community security. Simultaneously, it also calls for reforms in the criminal justice system needed to shift the imbalance of the last 12 years from the funding of punishment to the support of far more cost-effective and productive prevention and rehabilitation measures. The current emphasis on punishment alone has been proven to be a devastating drain on the youthful resources of the black community; although twice as many whites as blacks are arrested annually, over 50 percent of the resident prison population is African American.

2. Public Education at All Levels:

We support initiatives that would make the public education system an effective medium for personal and human resource growth, including efforts to:

- Provide leadership and incentives to achieve public education reform for all children to assure their participation as productive, law-abiding citizens;
- Re-educate school drop-outs to give them an opportunity to enter the mainstream economy and become productive contributing citizens;
- Provide incentives, leadership, and funding to support a national initiative to reclaim public school systems for children and to give substance to parents' options for public school choice;
- Expand the boundaries of the public school concept to provide for a community-based educational second-chance as an alternative to incarceration, especially for youth committing nonviolent crimes, for first-time offenders, and for young single parents.

3. Personal and Community Security:

We fully support the vigorous interdiction of illicit drugs, guns, and other instruments of violence and destruction. Moreover, the following positions reinforce this concern:

- Outreach and treatment programs for substance abusers must be expanded at government expense, thus reprioritizing federal initiatives to focus more sharply on demand-reduction efforts than on interdiction, which is less immediately effective at the community and neighborhood levels;
- Special family-based intervention efforts are required to protect the children of substance abusers and to provide psychological, social, material, and community support for the extended families who provide care;
- Gun control must be implemented, national measures such as the Brady Bill must become the standard for regulating interstate trafficking in weapons, and the sale of assault weapons to private citizens must be banned;
- Simultaneously, alternative measures to the death penalty, which we do not support because of the disproportionate incidence of its application to African Americans, must be more fully developed and substituted for currently ineffective measures of preventing crimes in our communities, homes, schools, and cities.

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Priority Issues
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II. Saving Our Children and Youth

The profile for African-American children is troubling. In addition to the environmental deficits described above which urban children experience, nearly half of all black children in America today live below the poverty line. The poorest of these are the very youngest—under three years of age.

We call for the following commitments to our children and youth:

A. Stabilize and Enhance Family Life

The following policy goals and initiatives, in our view, will enhance stable family life and, thus, promote healthy, well-adjusted children:

- The generation of productive jobs at good wages for youth and family providers;
- The provision of safe, effective, and accessible public schools;
- The assured availability of safe, affordable, comprehensive, and accessible health care;
- The provision of interim family supports for shelter and general maintenance; and,
- The development of decent, reliable community-based support systems for senior citizens.

B. Guarantee Affordable, Accessible, Holistic Health Care

A national comprehensive health care program is urgently needed to increase the accessibility, affordability, and quality of health care for all families and children, especially those in poverty. Areas of special concern are:

- Prenatal, infant, child, and maternal health care, as well as care for women;
- Universal immunization of children against preventable diseases;
- Health education and preventive care, especially for infectious diseases, including tuberculosis, measles, and AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases;
- Mental health initiatives, including massive treatment for substance abuse; and,
- Assistance for financially strapped community-based treatment facilities, including hospitals which, in poor communities, often serve as the only available primary care provider.

C. Reform Welfare and Innovate Employment Options

The elements of welfare reform must encompass job training, job placement, and a support system for working mothers, including health care, child care, and transportation. Disincentives to working and to achieving individual and family transition to self-sufficiency—as well as barriers to forming two-parent families—must be removed. Such reform initiatives must resolve the following current concerns:

- Provisions must be made to guarantee a decent living standard and adequate family supports for children, regardless of their parents' eligibility within a "workfare" system;
- Policy reforms are required which will encourage fathers to remain visibly within the family home, regardless of their individual workforce status—especially fathers whose criminal records are barriers to ready entry into the labor force; and,
- Specific standards of supplemental support, measured in both services and dollars, must be developed before the implementation of "workfare" or mandatory work-incentive programs. Income gap financing is necessary to assure adequate family support while encouraging parents to work.

D. Educate Children and Youth

Presidential leadership is essential, especially in the area of supplemental and remedial learning opportunities which have always needed federal impetus. Educational initiatives in three critical areas are recommended to enhance the public, community-based educational system:

- Reinvestment: Provide additional resources to such established and proven programs as Headstart, the Chapter I Compensatory Education Program, and Job Corps in order to enrich, augment, replicate, and expand the educational potential of children and to ensure their life success—particularly for single parents;
- Removal of Environmental Threats to Youth: Intensify national efforts to control guns in order to reduce homicides among young African-American men; create alternative sentencing for children and youth to enhance their socialization outside of the penal system; and decriminalize the youthful offender systems. Training and other strategies for systematic behavior modification will yield more positive results.
- Strengthening of School-based, Community, and Continuing Education: Support the use of public educational facilities and resources in day-long and evening programs of tutoring, counseling, and child care. Community activities should be centered around neighborhood school facilities, staffed by public service personnel and volunteers. Teachers should be provided with retraining for cultural and community sensitivity.

III. Lifting the Debilitating Weight of Justice System Abuses

Our urban centers are caught within the crippling vise of two crushing realities:

- Drug trafficking and drug-related violence and abuses within the criminal justice system:

The burgeoning drug industry has led to unprecedented crimes of violence in cities in the past decade. The cocaine/crack epidemic and the current Federal response to it have devastated central city minority communities. Interdiction, for all of its merit as grand policy, has been a failure at the level of the urban community.

- Abuses within the criminal justice system have compounded the urban devastation: recent studies in several major American cities have revealed that on an average day, 40 - 60 percent of all black men between the ages of 18 and 35 are incarcerated or being sought on arrest warrants. Morover, during their lifetimes, 75 percent of all

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Priority Issues

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black men will be arrested and incarcerated.

A cycle of dysfunction—of single-parent female headed households, poverty, welfare dependency and economic disadvantage—directly results from these dynamics within the criminal justice system. The fact that many law enforcement officers also continue to further exacerbate these conditions by brutalizing African Americans—such as Rodney King— is appalling. The matter of color still contaminates the very system intended by our laws to neutralize and render powerless such inequitable symbols of difference.

To address these realities, we call for:

- The proportionate participation of African Americans in the criminal justice system—particularly as judges, prosecutors and law enforcement directors— through executive appointments and renewed application of the Voting Rights Act;
- Rigorous enforcement of the right of black citizens to participate as jurors in criminal cases without being excluded by prosecutors because of race;
- The commitment of substantial resources to the vigorous and independent prosecution of law enforcement officers who brutalize citizens;
- The transfer of resources from ever-more expensive prison construction to alternatives to incarceration, focused on providing education, vocational skills, and job opportunities which will translate into productive, law-abiding, citizen self-sufficiency; and,
- Funding community-based collaboration and intervention programs.

IV. Expanding the American Focus in Foreign Affairs

Black Americans comprise 30 percent of the Army and a large share of the industrial labor force. We are profoundly affected by America's international policies, whether regional—such as the North American Free Trade Agreement—or global, such as the recent end to Cold War diplomacy. Yet, most U.S. foreign policies are formulated without benefit of the skills, values, and experiences of African Americans.

Recent reports from American immigration studies also reveal the magnitude of other inequities:

- Although 39 percent of total population growth in the United States during the last 10 years resulted from immigration, less than five percent of immigrants were of African origin. Yet, Africa accounts for over one-third of the world's refugees annually;
- The current annual quotas for U.S. Immigration include, for example, a ceiling of 100,000 for the former U.S.S.R., but only 6,000 persons for all of Africa;
- America's response to Somalia has been blatantly sluggish; and,
- Current American policy regarding Haiti has been found to be both inhuman and illegal.

In the arena of International Affairs, our positions are reflected clearly in the recitation of these deficiencies. Therefore, our priorities include:

- Correcting policies which are illegal, and interpreting and executing U.S. immigration, refugee and asylum laws accordingly, particularly with regard to Haiti, Liberia, and other embattled African countries;
- Restructuring and expanding foreign aid to reallocate more post-Cold War resources to the poorest nations, including those in Africa;
- Appointing African Americans to important national and international policy-level positions throughout the foreign service establishment; and,
- Directly consulting with and involving black leaders at all levels in contemplating international challenges.

V. A Joint Venture for the 21st Century

The challenges and expectations which have been set forth above are an invitation to a new balance of responsibilities between African Americans and the national leadership of our country. We feel a unique investment in this equation. We have contributed to the building of this country since its very beginning. Our emergence into full participation in our country's benefits and riches is long overdue.

We ask our national leader—and the persuasive power of that leadership—to join ranks with us in this common mission: to extend the edges of the umbrella of American values and equality to cover all citizens, and thus prepare a noble and just America for the 21st Century. ■

The Black Leadership Forum is composed of the following organizations which have collaborated over the last 20 years to correct civil rights and access problems which concern African Americans:

The A. Philip Randolph Institute
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
Congressional Black Caucus
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
The King Center for Non-Violent Social Change
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
National Conference of Black Mayors
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
National Newspaper Publishers Association
The National Pan-Hellenic Council
National Urban Coalition
National Urban League, Inc.
Operation PUSH, Inc.
R. Gordon Hatcher Associates
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Bush's Vetoes: Few But Conservative

While the President Has Rejected Several Popular Domestic Bills, the Number of His Vetoes Is Less Than Several 20th Century Presidents'

by David C. Ruffin

George Bush's veto of the Civil Rights Act in 1990 marked a turning point for a president who claimed his administration would live up to the "highest ideals of the Civil Rights Movement." Over the course of his term, Bush vetoed 35 bills, and only one, a cable TV regulation measure, was overridden by Congress. Not surprisingly, Bush's vetoes have generally reflected his stated philosophy and the policies of his administration—opposition to abortion, to affirmative action measures, and to new initiatives to provide relief for unemployed and low-income citizens.

In addition to his veto of the Civil Rights Act, which he later signed, Bush has vetoed other legislation that would expand civil and human rights in the U.S. and abroad. One example is the "Motor Voter" bill that would have enabled U.S. citizens to register to vote when they apply for or renew their driver's licenses. Also vetoed were two measures that would have made the extension of most-favored-nation status to the People's Republic of China conditional on the release of pro-democracy activists imprisoned in that country.

Several popular domestic social and economic bills got the thumbs down over the last four years. In fact, Bush's first veto, in June 1989, was of a measure to raise the minimum wage to $4.55 an hour, which had not been raised since 1977. Congress later accepted the lower wage increase of $4.25. In 1991, Bush also nixed the extension of unemployment benefits by several months. He said no to two family leave bills that would mandate unpaid employee maternity leave or leave in cases of adoption, illness, or other family emergencies.

Bush's antiabortion stand has also been reflected in his vetoes. He rejected the fiscal year 1990 Labor/HHS/Education appropriations bill because it would allow poor women covered by Medicaid to have abortions in cases of rape or incest. Similarly, he vetoed four District of Columbia appropriations bills because each contained language allowing the District to use its own funds to provide abortions to poor women. Bush later signed these measures when the abortion language was removed.

It should be noted that Bush has reluctantly reversed himself at times. Bowing to pressure from African Americans and women's groups and in order to distance himself from 1991 Louisiana gubernatorial candidate David Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan leader, Bush eventually signed a civil rights bill similar to the one he vetoed. The measure overturned six 1989 Supreme Court rulings that had weakened major equal employment statutes and judicial precedents.

While many have decried his rejection of measures such as election campaign finance reform and family leave, the number of Bush's first-term vetoes is far lower than that of some presidents over the last century. President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued the most vetoes, 635, over the course of his twelve-and-a-half years in office. Two-term president Grover Cleveland was a close second with 584.

Early presidents, however, used the veto sparingly and only on bills they determined to be unconstitutional. Seven presidents, including John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, didn't use the veto at all. Andrew Jackson was the first president to reject legislation on political or policy grounds; he used his 12 vetoes, more than all of his predecessors combined, primarily as a means to oppose Eastern commercial interests.

The Congress has rarely mustered the two-thirds majorities in both houses needed to override a presidential veto—accomplishing this only six times up to the 1860s. Andrew Johnson who used the veto 29 times—mainly against legislation to provide education, distribute land, and grant rights of citizenship to freed slaves—had 15 of his vetoes overridden, more than any other occupant of the White House.

Despite their low number in comparison to past presidents, taken as a package, Bush's vetoes have been an ideologically rigid continuation of the conservative domestic agenda promulgated by his predecessor, Ronald Reagan. Some of the vetoed bills however—Motor Voter and family leave—are likely to be legislative priorities in the 103rd Congress which will have a greater number of minority and women members to push for their passage. ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *FOCUS*.

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New World Order

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eign Service. Far fewer have held top positions in the White House, defense, or intelligence communities, or in congressional leadership positions related to international affairs.

This power disadvantage has been improving. In more than a decade of conservative Republican control of the White House, the positions of National Security Advisor to the President, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Soviet affairs adviser, have been held by African Americans. When U.S. Ambassador to South Africa Edward Perkins was appointed ambassador to the United Nations last spring, he became the third African American to hold that position.

In Congress, the steady growth of black influence has led to leadership roles for members like former Representative William Gray (D-Penn.) (as House majority whip and a member of the Appropriations Committee) and retiring Representative Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.) (chairman of the Africa Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee) who have strengthened black advocacy for policies on Africa. They have been instrumental in securing assistance to black South African organizations engaged in efforts to achieve a democratic, post-apartheid South Africa and in substantially increasing overall aid for the continent. The "Gray Amendments," initially enacted in 1983, required that at least 10 percent of U.S. development assistance funds to foreign countries be targeted to small, economically disadvantaged American businesses. This measure has provided an important opportunity for strengthening the black community's links to Africa. Furthermore, institutions like TransAfrica, the black foreign affairs lobby, has grown in effectiveness as an advocate on behalf of Africa and the Caribbean.

In many respects, the prospects for a significantly more influential role for African Americans in international affairs are very good. A larger fraction of the black population appears more knowledgeable of world affairs than a decade or two ago. Black policymakers seem much more willing to include foreign policy issues in their overall political agendas. Finally, black political influence in executive and legislative branches and at state and local levels has increased substantially.

These developments mean growing capacity to influence international affairs. How effectively this capacity will be used will depend in large part on the vision and flexibility of black political, intellectual, and other opinion leaders. At a minimum, these leaders will need to underscore for the black public the recent successes of African Americans in influencing events abroad, as in the struggle to end apartheid and their increasing capacity to be influencial in international affairs; provide a conception of black interests in the world that extend beyond Africa; and keep pressing for more influencial roles in the departments and agencies involved in shaping U.S. foreign policy. The core interest in improving the quality of life at home and abroad and in pursuing collective rather than unilateral actions to maintain world peace are consistent with the nation's fundamental foreign policy goals. By making what is good for the black world good for all Americans, blacks will use their power to its greatest advantage. ■

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