Volume 16, No. 9 September 1988

Increase in Black Elected Officials See Political TrendLetter

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political Studies®

A Salute to the CBC

Always Few in Number, Black Legislators Have Made Historic Strides in Increasing Their Power in Washington

Black Economic Progress: An Agenda for the 1990s

JCPS Task Force Recommends Policy Changes to Improve the Economic Status of Black Americans

A Tradition of Giving

JCPS Documentary Shows That the Majority of Black Americans Support Private Philanthropic Activities

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Not Voting: An Option Blacks Cannot Afford

The 1988 presidential election campaign has been a curious one, and perhaps nothing is stranger than the notion, currently circulating among a few black Americans, that blacks should not vote because Jesse Jackson is not on the Democratic ticket or because he may have been slighted in Atlanta. Anybody who falls for this reasoning would stand in line to buy the Brooklyn Bridge. The fact is, most of these folks weren't going to vote anyway; they just want company.

Don't vote? What an insult to our common sense, to two centuries of struggle for full citizenship, to the memory of leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and to blacks' efforts over the past two decades to become power players in the political arena. And what an insult to Jesse Jackson's historic quest and accomplishments this year, and to his current efforts to increase voter participation.

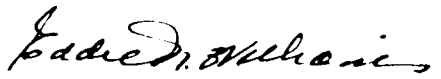
Why vote? Because blacks have a special interest in this election's outcome. Virtually every poll shows that they are deeply dissatisfied with the policies of the past eight years and that more than any other group they want to ensure major changes. For example, blacks believe they have a crucial stake in the appointment of future Supreme Court justices. They have a vested interest in enlarging the ranks of the nation's 6,900 black elected officials. And blacks have a covenant with history: to use the right to vote, which they won with their blood, sweat, and tears.

Why vote? Because there are major policy issues at stake. Blacks are still saddled with an unacceptably high level of unemployment. Black children are victims of a failing public school system, and one-third of them are mired in poverty. Blacks have witnessed a shocking erosion in federal enforcement of affirmative action and sharply curtailed assistance for higher education.

The traditional wisdom among political analysts is that black voters can decide the outcome of a presidential election when the white electorate is evenly divided between two candidates and when a large number of black voters support one candidate. In the 1988 election, which continues to be very close, the black vote looms larger and larger as a potential force in the outcome. In addition to its size and cohesiveness, the black vote this year is especially significant due to the volatility of the so-called Reagan Democrats. George Bush wants to retain their support, Michael Dukakis wants to bring them back home to the Democratic party. One result is that neither candidate can afford to ignore the black vote.

Regardless of how black voters choose up sides on November 8, a critical test of their political will and sophistication will be whether they turn out to vote in large numbers. As Jesse Jackson might say, blacks may not always win when they vote, but they almost certainly will lose when they don't.

Fortunately, recent developments suggest that the "don't vote" squad has had little impact. Organizations such as the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation are continuing to mobilize the nation's 20.4 million black voters. If recent trends continue, blacks could close the voter participation gap between themselves and whites and even take the lead in some critical areas. If this should happen, blacks will begin to get some real respect from both political parties, regardless of who wins the presidency. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS

Copyright © 1988 Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.® The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

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

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

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Wendell Freeland/Attorney at Law, *Chairman*
Andrew F. Brimmer/Brimmer and Company, Inc., *Vice Chairman*
Louis E. Martin/Calmar Communications, *Treasurer*
Bishop John Hurst Adams/Senior Bishop, A.M.E. Church
Robert McCormick Adams/Smithsonian Institution
Norma Asnes/Writer
Hannah D. Atkins/Secretary of State, Oklahoma
Lucius J. Barker/Washington University
Charles U. Daly/John F. Kennedy Library and Museum
Mervyn Dymally/U.S. House of Representatives
Marian Wright Edelman/Children's Defense Fund
Luther Hilton Foster/Alexandria, Virginia
Charles V. Hamilton/Columbia University
Jayne Brumley Ikard
Bernard Rapoport/American Income Life Insurance Co.
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political Studies

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

Eleanor Farrar/JCPS, *Secretary to the Board*

A Salute to the CBC

Always Few in Number, Black Legislators Have Made Historic Strides in Increasing Their Power in Washington

by Dr. Linda F. Williams

Once labeled "the status quo caucus" or "a powerless social clubs" by its detractors, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) has developed into one of the most significant power blocs on Capitol Hill. Today, as the CBC observes the eighteenth anniversary of its founding, few analysts question its growing clout and effectiveness.

To be sure, like all political institutions in Washington, the Caucus has only limited power. Twenty-three black members among more than 500 other legislators, including 100 in the U.S. Senate, could not possibly influence national policy without the support of a majority of their white peers. But through its growing seniority, chairmanships of key committees, and the building of coalitions, the Caucus today has become a major force.

A sample of the Caucus's legislative achievements in the 100th Congress reveals the increasing prominence and muscle of its members and of the Caucus as a whole:

- **South Africa.** Building on the CBC's leadership in winning passage of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) recently sponsored legislation (the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments of 1988) that would impose more comprehensive sanctions against the South African regime. The measure was adopted by the House in August.
- **Education.** Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) authored the Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Act, which increases aid to school programs and supports technical programs in school curricula. Hawkins led congressional approval of the bill, which was signed into law in April.
- **Civil Rights.** Rep. Hawkins also played a critical role in the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act and in the House override of President Reagan's veto of the measure. The Act overturns the effects of the 1984 Supreme Court *Grove City v. Bell* decision by extending the reach of federal antidiscrimination laws to an entire institution (and not just one department of that institution) that receives federal dollars.
- **Budget.** Rep. William H. Gray (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, oversaw the approval of the $1.1 trillion FY 89 federal budget resolution in March. Under Congressman Gray's leadership, key education, nutrition, health, and mass transit programs were protected from cutbacks requested by the President. The budget resolution met the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction targets and maintained tax rates at current levels.
- **Minority Business Development.** Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) pushed for the passage of an amendment to the Airport Improvement Act setting aside 10 percent of the $8.6 billion program for contracts to minority businesses. As a result, a potential total of $861 million in contracts has been set aside for minority firms over the next five years.
- **Welfare Reform.** Rep. Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) led the passage of the House Welfare Reform bill (differences between the House and Senate versions are presently being worked out in conference). While Ford admits that the bill won't do all that progressive reform advocates would like, it would change policy in three areas by establishing education, training, and work programs as the foundation of the nation's welfare reform system. The bill would give families new opportunities to become self-sufficient and assist those who are least able to help themselves. Furthermore, it mandates that all states provide Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits for needy children in two-parent families when the principal earner of the family is unemployed.

These are only a few of the measures whose passage largely depended on the leadership of Caucus members. Although each measure is closely identified with a specific legislator, its passage required the skillful coalition building of the entire CBC. As George A. Dalley, counsel and staff director to Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), notes of the Caucus: "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts."

The Evolution of Black Representation in Congress

To understand how the Caucus has maximized its influence despite its small numbers, it is important to consider the history of black political power in America and the nature of the congressional committee and seniority system.

The history of blacks in Congress mirrors the general political history of blacks in America. To date 64 blacks have served in both houses. The first blacks in Congress—Hiram Revels (R-Miss.) in the Senate, and Joseph H. Rainey (R-S.C.) and Jefferson F. Long (R-Ga.) in the House of Representatives—were seated in 1870 at the beginning of Reconstruction, when the right to vote was guaranteed to blacks by the Constitution for the

Dr. Williams is associate director of research at the Joint Center.

first time. Altogether, 22 blacks from the South were elected to Congress during the Reconstruction period.

But after federal troops withdrew from the South as part of the Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1877, the enactment of Jim Crow laws and the de-facto disenfranchisement of blacks brought an end to their political influence by the turn of the century. George H. White (R-N.C.), who served from 1897 to 1901, was to be the last black congressman from the South until the election of Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.) some 72 years later.

Speaking on the House floor in 1901, White's bitter farewell to his congressional colleagues proved to be prophetic: "This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the Negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress, but let me say, Phoenix-like, he will rise up some day and come again. These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised and bleeding but God-fearing people; faithful, industrious, loyal people; rising people, full of potential force. . . ." Yet it would take 28 more years before another black would stand on the House floor as a legislator.

In 1928, Rep. Oscar DePriest (R-Ill.) became the next black legislator, the first to be elected from the North. His election was the result of the first great migration of blacks to Northern cities. Since that time, black political power in the North's urban centers has been strong enough to keep at least one black in each Congress. But in the Senate, Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), who was elected to two terms (1967 to 1979), has been the only black to serve in that body this century.

Unlike the first 21 black members of the House, all of whom were Republicans, all black voting members since 1935 have been Democrats (Melvin Evans, a Republican from the Virgin Islands, served as a non-voting delegate from 1979 to 1980). The appeal of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policies, which shifted black voters away from "the party of Lincoln," also led to black Democratic representation in Congress.

The first black Democrat elected to the House was Arthur Mitchell from Chicago in 1934, and he was succeeded by William Dawson in 1942. But it was Adam Clayton Powell, the political giant from New York who, in the course of his 24-year tenure (1945 to 1967 and 1969 to 1971), set the precedent for power that would light the way for an entire generation of black legislators. The influence that Powell was to attain as a personally dynamic and assertive chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee (from 1961 to 1967) was later to be achieved by the Caucus as a collective body.

From Protest to Politics

As the protest movement of the 1960s adapted new methods for gaining empowerment, blacks shifted, in the words of civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, "from protest to politics." With the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, sit-ins were replaced by political campaigns, and as more blacks voted, more blacks were elected to Congress.

In 1969, the nine black members of the House first discussed creating a black caucus. These legislators included three newly elected activists from the civil rights movement: Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), who served until she retired in 1983, and sitting Congressmen Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) and William Clay (D-Mo.). The other black members of Congress involved in these early discussions were all veterans of Capitol Hill: Dawson, Powell, Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), Robert N.C. Nix (D-Pa.), Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.), and John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich). By 1971, the CBC was officially established.

The members of the new organization quickly gained national visibility and became advocates for black people and causes that extended beyond the bounds of their individual districts and the jurisdictions of the congressional committees to which they were assigned. In the early 1970s for example, the Caucus conducted an investigation of alleged discrimination against blacks in the military, and held hearings throughout the country on the lack of health care for blacks and on racism in the media. Caucus members traveled to Chicago to look into the controversial killings of two Black Panther party members by city police and investigated the killings by national guardsmen of two black students at Jackson State College in Mississippi. And when President Nixon would not meet with Caucus members in 1971 to discuss black concerns, they boycotted the President's State of the Union address. Although these actions did not result in the passage of legislation, they did serve to increase national awareness of the plight of blacks.

It wasn't until 1972, however, that the role of the Caucus as an institution became clear. Rep. Stokes, who was then chairman of the CBC, established a task force headed by Dellums to define the group's purpose. The task force concluded that the Caucus could make the best use of its resources by ensuring that all major legislation being considered in Congress would reflect a "black perspective," so that the interests of black America would be incorporated into the legislative process. Achieving this mission required CBC members to remain in Congress long enough to gain seniority and to get seats on the major committees.

Seniority and the Committee System

Since the early 1970s, the Caucus has made the transition from an alliance of relatively young, low-ranking legislators to one of the most effective political institutions in Washington. This change can largely be attributed to the nature of the committee system, the importance of seniority, and the stature of blacks elected to Congress.

Committees do the real work of Congress, and they exert significant control over a bill's destiny. Any bill bottled up, not reported, or stopped in committee has little chance of passage on the floor. Similarly, any bill

(Continued on page 7)

September 1988

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Number of black elected officials is up, but growth rate is failing.**
- **Democratic and Republican platforms diverge in the areas of economics, civil rights, education, and foreign policy.**
- **Across the Nation: Two black women break political ground in Georgia; Yonkers gives in to desegregation order; New York Mayor Ed Koch faces uphill battle for reelection.**

Number of Black Elected Officials: Good and Bad News

First, the good news. Since 1970, when the Joint Center for Political Studies compiled its first annual roster of black elected officials, the number of black officials has grown steadily. In 1970, there were only 1,469 black elected officeholders in America. **This year, there are 6,829, an increase of 365 percent, including an additional 148 officials elected between February 1987 and January 1988. The three states with the most black elected officials are Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, in that order (see table).** The South led all other regions of the country, with 4,446 black elected officials; the Midwest has 1,285, the Northeast 695, and the West 367. Women account for 1,625, or 24 percent, of the total.

Now the bad news. Despite continuing gains, fewer than 1.5 percent of all elective offices in the nation are held by black Americans, even though blacks constitute 11 percent (20.4 million) of the nation's voting-age population. Perhaps more alarming, the annual rate of growth of black elected officials has been declining. The rate of increase between 1986 and 1987 was only 2.2 percent, one of the five lowest rates since JCPS began publishing the book. Viewed over five-year periods, both the rate of growth and the increase in absolute numbers have been declining dramatically. The growth rate from 1970 to 1975 was 138.5 percent (or 2,034 officials). Since that time, the rate has steadily dropped: 40.2 percent (or 1,409 officials) from 1975 to 1980, and only 23.3 percent (or 1,144 officials) from 1980 to 1985. And the rate for the next five-year period may be even lower—since 1985, only 773 additional offices have been won by blacks.

The primary reason for this slowdown is the near saturation of majority-black jurisdictions and legislative districts by black officials. Shortly after the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, blacks rapidly began filling the elective offices in these jurisdictions. As more blacks were elected, the growth rate naturally declined. For black candidates to attain higher elective posts and expand their numbers, they must be able to attract more non-black votes in the future.

That is a tall order. The record of whites voting for black candidates is not good, and poll data show that some whites refuse to vote for blacks out of racial bias. For example, when whites were asked in the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey whether they thought most whites would vote "for the most qualified candidate, and regardless of race" when a black and a white ran against each other, 54 percent answered that whites would vote for the white candidate, while only 38 percent answered that whites would vote for the most qualified candidate.

In addition to difficulties winning white votes, black candidates are often stymied by the racial barriers their constituents face, including: (1) election laws and systems, such as gerrymandering, at-large elections, and runoff elections, created to dilute minority votes; (2) socioeconomic factors, such as poverty and lack of education, which discourage minorities from participation; (3) psychological barriers, such as fear, apathy, and

deference to whites, which result from years of political exclusion; and (4) institutional obstacles, such as inadequate information concerning voter registration procedures, inconvenient times and places of registration, the scarcity of black registration officials in some localities, and inaccessible polling places on election day.

If blacks are to again achieve sizable increases in the number of elected officials, they must continue to work with their allies toward the eradication of these obstacles.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1988

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1987	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	442	-6					5	19			57		13	32	220			1	1	10	17	5	6		2		52	2
Alaska	4	1						1							2												1	
Arizona	13	-2					1	2			2				3												4	
Arkansas	326	7					1	4						27	144			16		1	40					1	92	
California	286	-7		4			2	6	5		7	1	2	8	43	5		4	1	84		1	1			18	94	
Colorado	15	0					1	3							3					4		1					3	
Connecticut	63	-5				1	3	6						1	31	2		2			2						15	
Delaware	22	1					1	2						2	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	244	-7		1										1	9		224										9	
Florida	176	-3					2	10			11	3		14	95	2		2	1	17			1				16	2
Georgia	458	13		1			6	22			95		3	17	217	1		2		15	2	1	1				73	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	443	9		3		1	7	14			39	1		18	150	47		17		24		1				2	119	
Indiana	67	-2					2	6			13			1	29		4	2		2							8	
Iowa	9	0					1				1				3							1					9	
Kansas	28	-1					1	3			2			2	5	1		2		3							9	
Kentucky	70	-4					1	1			1			2	46					2	2	1	1	1			12	
Louisiana	524	19					5	14			120	1		20	168			2		9	42	1	15		2		125	
Maine	3	0													1			1									1	
Maryland	120	1		1			5	21			6			8	57		1		1	11		3					6	
Massachusetts	35	-1					1	5			1				14	3											11	
Michigan	316	0		2		1	2	13			24		2	15	79			18	1	52	4				1	13	89	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	3					4			1				2	
Mississippi	578	30		1			2	20			59	47	4	23	222			4	1	4	62	9	5				107	8
Missouri	165	1		2			3	12			3			15	93			5		9		2	2			2	17	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	-1					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	1	0						1																				
New Jersey	195	-3					2	6			7		1	11	97							1					70	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	250	0		4			4	16			11			2	31	6				50	1						125	
North Carolina	428	75					3	13	1		35	1	1	17	263				1	16		3	4				70	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	216	2		1			2	11			1	1		8	101	3		9		29					1		49	
Oklahoma	112	-5					2	3			2			12	47			21		1			1				23	
Oregon	10	0					2	1			1				2	1				2							1	
Pennsylvania	137	-3		1			3	13						5	41			4	1	35	13	1					20	
Rhode Island	10	-1					1	5							3												1	
South Carolina	352	12					4	15			63	1	1	15	128	2				1			4			1	117	
South Dakota	2	-1												2														
Tennessee	145	2		1			3	10			47			2	40					10	7		1				24	
Texas	300	18		1			2	13			13			12	124	1				18	19		1		1	6	89	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	1	0						1																				
Virginia	126	3				1	3	7			30		3	7	59			3		2		8	3					
Virgin Islands	36	1			1	1	10			16															8			
Washington	18	-1					2	1			1			1	4					4							5	
West Virginia	23	3						1							18			1		2	1							
Wisconsin	23	3					1	3			2				10					3			1				3	
Wyoming	3	0						1							1												1	
Total	6,829	148	0	23	1	6	98	308	6	16	656	56	30	301	2,621	74	229	116	8	429	212	40	48	1	15	45	1,476	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1988,* JCPS

Which Side Are You On: The Party Platforms

As Massachusetts Governor MICHAEL DUKAKIS and Vice President GEORGE BUSH enter the final phase of the presidential campaign, the platform adopted by each party at its nominating convention is becoming less of a focal point. This is typical. Nevertheless, platforms do represent the principal programs, goals, and actions that party leaders and partisan voters expect their nominees to carry out. To some extent, therefore, voters can reasonably choose which candidate to support by examining these party documents. To aid in that process, *TrendLetter* presents a brief comparison of the 1988 Democratic and Republican platform positions.

General Differences. The Democrats made a conscious choice to avoid specifics in their platform, just as the Republicans had done in 1980 and 1984. The resulting eight-page document was crafted to foster a moderate image of Michael Dukakis while also placating Jesse Jackson's forces. Even the document's title represents a compromise between the two camps: "The Restoration of Competence [Dukakis] and the Revival of Hope [Jackson]."

Republicans criticized the Democrats' platform as vague, and in their own document listed 125 issues which, they said, were ignored by the Democrats. In doing so, the GOP produced one of the longest platforms in its history—104 pages.

A View of the Reagan Years. The Republicans titled their platform "An American Vision," and not surprisingly, their vision of the last eight years conflicts sharply with the Democrats' view of the Reagan-Bush era. **For example, the *Democratic* platform stresses the failure of Reagan's economic programs to help low-income working people and the poor. It also charges that "voodoo economics" and "trickle-down" policies have converted the United States "into the world's largest debtor nation, mortgaged our children's future by tripling our national debt, placed home ownership out of reach for most young families, permitted the rise of poverty and homelessness on the streets of America, reduced the buying power of working men and women, and witnessed the decline of our industrial, natural resource, and mining base...."**

The *Republicans* on the other hand, cite a litany of the "accomplishments" of the Reagan era: low unemployment, tax reform, low inflation and interest rates, increasing industrial output, rising business investment, and "the longest peacetime expansion in our country's history."

Civil Rights. The *Democrats* support affirmative action, including goals, timetables, and procurement set-asides, as well as such voting-rights reforms as universal, same-day, mail-in voter registration and agency-based registration. They also advocate passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, protection of AIDS victims from discrimination, and the right to abortion "regardless of ability to pay." **The *Republican* platform labels racial quotas as "the most insidious form of reverse discrimination against the innocent" and pledges to "resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment."** The GOP platform promises equal treatment for women, but not support for the Equal Rights Amendment. It is hostile toward legislation guaranteeing equal treatment for AIDS victims, and it supports an amendment prohibiting abortion and urges the appointment of judges who would support this amendment.

Education. *Democrats* advocate more federal financing of education, including tuition incentives for those willing to teach in economically depressed areas. They are also committed to the principle that no person should be denied a college education for financial reasons. **The *Republican* platform emphasizes freedom of choice in education, with a call for states to enact tuition voucher systems for both public and private schools. The Republicans also advocate magnet schools.**

Social Service Programs. The *Democratic* platform calls for expanding a number of social service programs, including child care for low- and middle-income families with minimum standards for health, safety, and quality. It also calls for treatment and counseling for all drug abusers who ask for it. **The *Republicans* continue to deplore "government intrusiveness" and look to a growing economy to take care of social problems over time. They call for expanding some social service programs in the near term, but continue to espouse reliance on local government and private agencies as the primary providers of social services.**

Economic Growth and Jobs. *Democrats* call for a national reinvestment strategy, "through a network of innovative regional and local programs for economic development." They propose to create jobs by constructing new housing and repairing the nation's infrastructure of roads and bridges. **The *Republicans* argue that the best jobs program is lower taxes and a free-market economy.**

South Africa. The *Democratic* platform calls South Africa "a terrorist state," supports comprehensive economic sanctions against the South African regime, and recommends setting a date for all U.S. corporations to leave the country. **The *Republican* platform calls apartheid "morally repugnant" but makes no mention of sanctions. It opposes actions against South Africa that would "have the effect of adversely affecting the rising aspirations" of blacks in that country.**

Across the Nation

GEORGIA: Two black Democratic women prevailed in summer runoff elections for Fulton County posts, becoming the first women to serve in their respective positions. Dr. **NANCY BOXILL**, a former professor at Atlanta University's school of social work, fought off four other candidates to win a seat on the seven-member county commission. Atlanta city judge **LEAH SEARS-COLLINS** defeated two old-guard candidates to become not only the first woman but the youngest person (at age 33) elected superior court judge in the county's history.

After surviving a June 14 special election in a crowded field of contestants, Boxill won a June 28 runoff for the Fulton County Commission's sixth seat, vacated by CHARLES WILLIAMS following his conviction for extortion. Her opponents included a former commissioner **(H.D. DODSON)** and Williams' former administrative assistant **(CLETA WINSLOW).**

Boxill, who was initially appointed to the Commissioner's post by Democratic Governor **JOE FRANK HARRIS** in November 1987, also directs the operations of two shelters for homeless women and children, and is a mental health consultant to the Atlanta Job Corps. The first woman elected to the Fulton County Commission since its creation in 1853, she is completing the unexpired term of Williams, which ends in December 1990.

Sears-Collins, a graduate of Cornell University and Atlanta's Emory University Law School, was a practicing attorney when Atlanta Mayor **ANDREW YOUNG** appointed her to the city court of Atlanta at the age of 27. Local observers consider her run-off victory over 50-year-old black Democratic attorney **HARRIS C. BOSTIC** to be the triumph of a young insurgent over the old guard. She will be installed for a four-year term on the county superior court bench in January, replacing retiring judge **JOHN LANGFORD**, who is white.

NEW YORK: After years of stubborn resistance to integrated housing, the Yonkers city council reversed itself and voted five to two to comply with a federal court order to implement a housing desegregation plan. The city had been held in contempt and fined for defying an order issued by Federal District Judge **LEONARD B. SAND** to build 200 units of public housing and 800 units of moderate-income housing in mostly white neighborhoods. By voting to obey the order, the council averted bankruptcy for this city of 200,000 shortly after the doubling of daily fines had reached $1 million a day. By September 9, Yonkers had already paid over $ 2.6 million in fines.

With more than 450 municipal employees scheduled to be laid off, with garbage uncollected and libraries closed, and with the new school year beginning without crossing guards, the impact of the fines finally hit home. **Two of the four recalcitrant councilmen, PETER CHEMA and NICHOLAS V. LONGO, capitulated during a marathon meeting that ended after midnight, September 10.** By siding with three of their colleagues who have supported a desegregation plan, they provided the necessary votes to end the long and destructive impasse between the courts and city.

Indications suggest that the long-time antics of New York City Mayor **ED KOCH** are catching up with him, as revealed by his current loss of support—especially in the black community. Many New Yorkers—black and white—concluded that the mayor had heightened racial tensions in the city by his negative remarks about Democratic presidential contender **JESSE JACKSON** last April. **A June *New York Times* poll showed that Koch's favorable rating was just 36 percent, a drop of 30 points from a similar poll taken two years ago.**

But it was among blacks that the mayor's rating suffered the most dramatic decline, dropping from 59 percent in 1986 to 17 percent last June. His overall job-approval rating showed a similar decline. In January this year, 47 percent of blacks said they approved of the way Koch had addressed his job as mayor, but by June only 28 percent approved. An even larger decline took place in the number who approved of Koch's handling of race relations, from 43 percent in March 1987 to 19 percent by June 1988. Asked if Koch should be reelected in the 1989 mayoral race, only 30 percent had said yes this past January, but even that low number plummeted to eight percent by June.

Still, there was no consensus among those surveyed as to who the next mayor should be. Among blacks who wanted a new mayor (76 percent), the person who received the most support (seven percent) was Manhattan Borough President **DAVID DINKINS.** Dinkins, who is black, was the second most popular choice (two percent) among whites.

Since the mayoral campaign is still a year away, the field of candidates will not be decided for some time. Blacks, Latinos, and progressive whites continue to discuss who would be the most viable candidate and the one most supportive of their concerns. Some sources report that former Congresswoman **SHIRLEY CHISHOLM** is considering a bid for mayor. Regardless of who decides to run against Koch, a tough race is in the offing. But at present, Koch's chances for reelection do not look good.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Is there black power even in South Dakota? Well, at least there is a start. **KENNY ANDERSON**, a 56-year-old laundromat owner, has been elected city commissioner of finance and revenue of Sioux Falls, a city that is less than one percent black. During the campaign, he opposed increases in property taxes and water and sewer rates **and won a two-year term with 65 percent of the vote in a runoff election, becoming the first black ever elected to office in Sioux Falls and one of only three black elected officials in the state. The other two are Mayor SAM BOYKINS, JR., of Box Elder, and Mayor L. B. (BUD) WILLIAMS of Mitchell, both first elected in 1984.**

WYOMING: Four-term State Representative **HARRIETT ELIZABETH (LIZ) BYRD** won the three-way Democratic primary race for a state senate seat from Laramie County, which is only three percent black.A former school teacher, she became the first black state representative in Wyoming's history in 1980. The 62-year-old candidate says her main interests will continue to be economic development, child protection, and education.

Byrd, the only black in the legislature, was recently at the center of a controversy over a proposal to rename Missile Drive in Cheyenne to honor the memory of Dr. **MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.** Business owners and residents on the street were opposed to the change. They argued that they were not notified in advance and that they did not want to change their addresses. As a compromise, a park was named in honor of King instead. Some feel the controversy might hurt Byrd's chances in the state senatorial election, but Byrd dismisses this notion, arguing that "the people who won't vote for me because of the MLK street renaming hassle probably wouldn't have voted for me anyway."

In other Wyoming news, JESSE GUIDRY, who is black, is one of nine Democratic candidates on the ballot for a seat representing Natrona County in the state's House of Representatives. Natrona County, which includes Casper—the state's second largest city— is less than one percent black. In the Democratic primary, Guidry came in fifth on a slate of 10 candidates campaigning for nine seats from Natrona County. The 41-year-old social worker heads a group home for troubled youths and is a commissioner for the Casper Housing Authority.

BEO Organizations Get New Leaders

Atlantic City Mayor **JAMES USRY** succeeds JOHN SMITH, the mayor of Pritchard, Alabama, as president of the **National Conference of Black Mayors.** Prince Georges County Commissioner **HILDA R. PEMBERTON** takes over the reigns of the **National Association of Black County Officials** from Fulton County Commissioner **REGINALD EAVES.** New York State Supreme Court Justice **HOWARD E. BELL** has been elected chair of the **Judicial Council of the National Bar Association,** succeeding **JOYCE LONDON ALEXANDER,** a magistrate from Boston, Massachusetts.

Black Economic Progress: An Agenda for the 1990s

JCPS Task Force Recommends Policy Changes to Improve the Economic Status of Black Americans

Following is the executive summary from the Joint Center's latest publication.

In this document, the members of the JCPS Economic Policy Task Force evaluate the effects of changing economic trends on black Americans and offer recommendations to better address the needs of blacks and the nation as a whole.

The members of the task force have concluded that many of the economic transformations of the past decade have had adverse effects on blacks, particularly on low-skilled workers. The black unemployment rate, which has remained at least double the white rate since the end of World War II, has been increasing over the past decade despite economic expansion.

The goods-producing sector was once an abundant source of high-wage jobs for workers with modest levels of education. That sector is rapidly declining. Yet, because of their low levels of skills and education the workers displaced from these jobs are unable to compete for jobs in the fast-growing technological and service-producing sectors, many of which are projected to have shortages of labor in the near future.

The members of the task force also point to the rising number of women and youths in the labor market, the influx of low-skilled immigrants, the current U.S. trade deficit, and the decreased federal emphasis on affirmative action and on education and training programs as further reasons why the median income of black families has stagnated over the past decade, and why, relative to white families, their median income has actually fallen.

The task force believes it is crucial for black low-skilled workers to receive education and training so they can compete for jobs in the growing employment sectors, not only to improve their own economic well-being but also to enable the economy to operate at its full potential.

The task force's key policy recommendations can be summarized as follows:

- Macroeconomic policy must be designed to increase the average rate of economic growth, since it is only in times of rapid growth that blacks have made major gains in employment and relative income.
- The federal government must return to vigorous enforcement of affirmative action policies and should assist the transfer of displaced workers into expanding industries.
- The weakening of the nation's global competitiveness must be remedied, not by broad protectionist measures, which tend to hurt low-income consumers and save few U.S. jobs, but by restructuring America's industries and retraining its workers.
- Federal policies should be developed to alleviate the negative economic impact on native-born low-skilled workers created by the influx of low-skilled immigrants over the past decade.
- Existing employment and training programs must be strengthened to meet the needs of the most disadvantaged.
- A national health insurance/access program is needed to improve worker productivity.

As the nation moves towards a new presidential administration, one that could take us most of the way to the year 2000, the task force is convinced that it will be critical for policies to address the needs of black Americans, and that what is at stake is not just the future of blacks, but the future of all Americans. ■

Dr. Margaret C. Simms, deputy director of research at the Joint Center and a member of the task force, coordinated the work on this publication. Other members of the task force include:

Dr. Marcus Alexis, chair of the task force—Professor of Economics and Dean, College of Business Administration, University of Illinois at Chicago

Dr. Wendell Wilkie Gunn—President, Gunn Associates

Dr. Donald J. Harris—Professor of Economics, Stanford University

Dr. John Jeffries—Assistant Professor of Political Economy and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs, Graduate School of Management and Urban Professions, The New School for Social Research

C. Robert Kemp—President, Opportunity Funding Corporation

Dr. Warren Whatley—Associate Professor of Economics, University of Michigan

Dr. Rhonda Williams—Assistant Professor of Economics, Graduate Faculty, The New School for Social Research

Copies can be purchased for $9.00 each through the Order Department, Joint Center for Political Studies, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Md. 20706; telephone 301-459-3366. Please note: Orders from individuals must be prepaid. A handling charge of $2.00 for the first book and $1.00 for each additional copy should be enclosed. Checks should be made payable to UPA, Inc. Mastercharge and Visa are accepted.

A Tradition of Giving

JCPS Documentary Shows That the Majority of Black Americans Support Private Philanthropic Activities

by Wayne K. Williams, Jr.

Gwendolyn Brunson volunteers to help needy mothers receive proper prenatal care in Washington, D.C. Reverend Booker Guyton's AME church provides food for the needy in Oakland, California. Cynthia Williams, director of the Austin People's Action Center (APAC), links poor people with social service agencies in Chicago; as a last resort, she brings those with no place to live into her own home. And in Atlanta, the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA extends shelter to destitute mothers and their children. These are but a few names on the scroll of black humanitarians who have been providing vital services to the needy in communities across the nation since the eighteenth century.

Highlights of this history of black philanthropy as well as a look at charitable programs in operation today form the subject of *A Tradition of Giving*, a half-hour videotape documentary recently released by the Joint Center. The documentary, based on a three-year study of black philanthropic behavior in America that was conducted by Joint Center research associate Dr. Emmett Carson, illustrates a sampling of the charitable activities of churches and civic organizations in Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Oakland, and Washington, D.C. The documentary was produced by Mark Lloyd, associate director of communications/electronic programs at the Joint Center and a former television producer with NBC and CNN. The Joint Center is distributing the documentary for viewings at conferences, organizational meetings, colleges, and universities to educate the public on this long-misunderstood subject.

Established in 1987 as a part of the Center's Office of Communications, the aim of the Electronic Programs Division is to expand the Center's audience through television, radio, and other media. *A Tradition of Giving* is just one of the division's products to date. The division has also produced a satellite teleconference, in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution, entitled "Afro-Americans and the Evolution of a Living Constitution." And in cooperation with the Smithsonian and Radio America, a radio production company, the Center is overseeing production of eight 29-minute radio programs on the same subject. These eight programs will be available to radio stations at no charge during Black History Month next February.

A Tradition of Giving vividly challenges current misconceptions, such as that "most blacks are overwhelmingly dependent on government assistance" and that "more affluent blacks provide little assistance to the needy of their communities." In fact, 69 percent of the blacks polled in the 1986 Joint Center survey of black and white giving patterns reported performing some type of philanthropic activity. Moreover, Carson's findings on the relationship between contributions and income reveal that as the levels of education and income increase, the percentage of blacks who donate money similarly increases.

The philanthropic efforts of blacks are neither new nor scarce. They stem from a long history of charitable giving that continues to revolve around the black church, perhaps the most substantial and enduring institution in black America. Church-based philanthropy has addressed the most pressing needs of the black community for centuries, providing food, shelter, clothing, and educational support to those in need. Not surprisingly, the survey shows that black churches today are the recipients of 75 percent of all black charitable dollars.

In addition to the efforts of the black church, the documentary examines alternative fund-raising organizations. Also discussed are predominantly black fraternal organizations and mutual aid societies, like the Conference of Prince Hall Grand Masters, formerly African Lodge No. 459. This organization, widely recognized as the first black fraternal society in the nation, has been aiding the poor and needy for more than two centuries.

Dr. Carson says of his research: "These findings should provide a basis from which the discussion on black self-help can advance from misinformed notions. . .to discussions of how black philanthropic activity can be further refined to address the new challenges which face the black community." Indeed, the stories of those groups and individuals that provide and receive assistance, as told in *A Tradition of Giving*, should go far in helping to lay a foundation for these discussions. ■

A Tradition of Giving is available on VHS cassette for $39.95 ($25.00 each for three or more copies). To order, contact the Office of Program Development, JCPS, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202-626-3500.

Mr. Williams is a graduate of Bucknell University and an editorial assistant/intern with the Joint Center.

A Salute to the CBC

(Continued from page 4)

that is favorably reported out of committee has a greater chance of passage. Committees often make major changes in the legislation under their jurisdiction. And not all committees are created equal. In the House, for example, the four most important panels are the money committees: Budget, Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Rules (through which all bills must pass on their way to the House floor).

These were precisely the committees Caucus members first set their sights on. In 1973, Stokes was assigned to Appropriations; Rangel to Ways and Means; and Andrew Young (D-Ga.), who served from 1973 to 1977, was placed on the Rules Committee. Today, the Caucus can indeed boast of five members who chair standing committees, two who head select committees, and 18 who head subcommittees. Although only one of every 20 House members is black, roughly one of every four House committee chairs is black (see box, below).

The ascension to power by Caucus members is due in large part to their ability to accrue seniority by returning to Congress election after election. In years past, white Southerners from "safe" districts flourished under the seniority system, gradually taking control of almost every important committee and using that power to their region's advantage. Over the last 20 years, however, veteran black house members with safe political bases have used the seniority system to rise to key leadership positions.

As Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) puts it: "When we first came to Congress, we were opposed to the seniority system; the longer we're here, the better we like it." Thus black congressmen are now playing the game much as their white colleagues have, angling to move up in the ranks of House leadership and building broad-based coalitions around specific issues.

(Continued on back page)

Members of the Congressional Black Caucus—100th Congress

William Clay (D-Mo.) elected 1968—Chairman, Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations of the Committee on Education and Labor; member, House Administration and Post Office and Civil Service Committees

Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.) elected 1973—Chairman, Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation of the Committee on Government Operations; member, Energy and Commerce and Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committees

John Conyers (D-Mich.) elected 1964—Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary; member, Government Operations and Small Business Committees

George Crockett (D-Mich.) elected 1980—Chairman, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; member, Judiciary and Select Aging Committees

Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) elected 1970—Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities of the Committee on Armed Services

Julian Dixon (D-Calif.) elected 1978—Chairman, Committee on Standards of Official Conduct; and Chairman, Subcommittee on the District of Columbia of the Committee on Appropriations

Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.) elected 1980—Chairman, CBC; Chairman, Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education of the Committee on the District of Columbia; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Census and Population of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee; member, Foreign Affairs Committee

Michael Espy (D-Miss.) elected 1986—Member, Budget and Agriculture Committees

Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) elected 1971—Chairman, Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs and Health of the Committee on the District of Columbia; member, Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee

Floyd Flake (D-N.Y.) elected 1986—Member, Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs and Small Business Committees

Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) elected 1974—Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation of the Committee on Ways and Means; member, Select Committee on Aging

William Gray (D-Pa.) elected 1978—Chairman, Committee on the Budget; member, Appropriations Committee

Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) elected 1962—Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor; member, Joint Economic Committee

Charles Hayes (D-Ill.) elected 1982—Member, Education and Labor and Small Business Committees

Mickey Leland (D-Tex.) elected 1978—Chairman, Select Committee on Hunger; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations and Services of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service; member, Energy and Commerce Committee

John Lewis (D-Ga.) elected 1986—Member, Interior and Insular Affairs and Public Works and Transportation Committees

Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) elected 1986—Member, Small Business; Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; and Select Hunger Committees

Major Owens (D-N.Y.) elected 1982—Chairman, Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee on Education and Labor; member, Government Operations Committee

Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) elected 1970—Chairman, Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures of the Committee on Ways and Means

Gus Savage (D-Ill.) elected 1980—Chairman, Subcommittee on Economic Development of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation; member, Small Business Committee

Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) elected 1968—Chairman, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Program and Budget Authorization of the Select Committee on Intelligence; member, Appropriations Committee

Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.) elected 1982—Member, Government Operations; Public Works and Transportation; and Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committees

Alan Wheat (D-Mo.) elected 1982—Chairman, Subcommittee on Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs of the Committee on the District of Columbia; member, Rules Committee and Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families

CBC (Continued from page 7)

Divided Loyalties

As members of the Caucus rise to higher levels of leadership, they are confronted with new challenges. For example, as committee chairs they must be evenhanded custodians of the legislative process and cannot ignore other congressmen on their panels from either party—otherwise they will not remain in their positions long. The dilemma for blacks who chair committees then is that they are often torn between their national responsibilities as House leaders and their allegiance to the Caucus and the interests of black America.

Gray, for example, has caused discomfort for some Caucus members by voting "present" rather than "yea" when the Caucus offers its annual alternative budget proposal on the House floor—as he did last April. "It's not a problem of race," Gray said at the time to the *Washington Post*. "It's a problem of what happens to any member of Congress who gets elevated to a position of leadership." Generally, Caucus members are prudent enough not to undermine the credibility and integrity of their black colleagues who chair committees.

Some black congressmen face the dilemma of divided loyalties even though they do not head a committee. When Congressman Walter Fauntroy fought against a congressional attempt to eliminate the District of Columbia's residency requirement for municipal employees, his Caucus colleague, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.), did not stand with him. Instead, Mfume argued that some 10,000 of his constituents in Baltimore were in fact harmed by the law. In the end, Mfume angered many District of Columbia officials and residents as well as some Caucus members by voting against the residency law. Nevertheless, over the years, Caucus members have been able to privately iron out most of these potentially divisive disagreements, which is a tribute to the organization's maturity and resilience.

Despite rumors about numerous heated debates in Caucus meetings, especially those on foreign policy and budget issues, Caucus members appear to be remarkably similar in their philosophies and progressive voting patterns. They score high ratings in analyses of their voting records conducted by the liberal Americans for Democratic Action and the Leadership Conference for Civil Rights. Predictably, the conservative Americans for Consitutional Action Research Institute and the American Conservative Union give all the Caucus members low scores.

The Future of the Caucus

The Caucus has come a long way since its formative years. Clearly, the organization is no longer an outsider group but a force in Congress to be reckoned with. Even so, because blacks are grossly outnumbered on Capitol Hill, the Caucus must continue to work in tandem with white, Hispanic, and Asian American House and Senate colleagues to expand its influence.

The future expansion of the Caucus itself is, in part, in the hands of non-black voters. At present, there are only 16 majority-black congressional districts in the nation. With the almost certain election of Donald Payne in New Jersey this November, all but one of these 16 districts (New Orleans) will be represented by blacks. A few more majority-black congressional districts will probably be created after redistricting in 1992. Nevertheless, it is clear that for the Caucus to grow, more non-blacks must begin to vote for black congressional candidates, as they did in the case of Reps. Dellums and Alan Wheat, whose districts are more than 75 percent white.

The results of 1988 campaigns by black congressional candidates in majority-white districts such as in Ohio and Louisiana may be instructive. These races may offer some clues as to just what the future prospects are for the Congressional Black Caucus to expand its membership and influence on Capitol Hill. ■

FOCUS
Joint Center for Political Studies®
1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

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

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