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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER | **PERSPECTIVE**

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But Who Will Protect Us from the Police?

I won't confess to being an avid follower of the O.J. Simpson trial. But I am appalled at former Los Angeles police detective and star prosecution witness Mark Fuhrman's boasts to a screenwriter that he and other rogue cops deliberately framed innocent black citizens and beat them until they confessed to crimes, whether they committed them or not. In Philadelphia, we are learning how police officers forced innocent blacks to confess to crimes they did not commit. Although LAPD Chief Willie Williams is attempting to rehabilitate his department, one shouldn't be surprised that the LA police were capable of the kinds of abuses (crimes) that Fuhrman has admitted (remember Rodney King). The outrage is that thousands of black Americans suffer such injustices at the hands of police officers throughout the country each year. But the steady drum-beat of political rhetoric and media reports of urban crime have drowned out the reports of police officers using their badges to behave like street gangs.

In fiscal year 1994, U.S. Justice Department officials reported receiving more than 6,500 complaints of civil rights violations by police officers across the nation. But that figure reflects only a small fraction of the total number of such crimes that go unreported. The cases that do surface are frightening in their brutality.

Earlier this year, for example, five Philadelphia police officers, four white and one Filipino, admitted to a three-year spree of deliberate false arrests that led to the wrongful conviction and incarceration of dozens of innocent citizens from a poor, mostly black area of the city. The cops-turned-robbers also stopped residents of the neighborhood at will and extorted money from them. Those same officers admitted planting drugs in the home of a church-going grandmother with no prior police record who was subsequently convicted and imprisoned for three years. One victim was held in a police van for six hours while the police got a search warrant and planted crack cocaine in the apartment where he was staying. The police beat him until he confessed to a drug crime. After being incarcerated for two years, he was cleared of any culpability and released just this year. Forty-two other convictions stemming from arrests by the five Philly cops since 1988 have already been overturned, and additional reversals could number in the hundreds. Indictments of more white Philadelphia police officers are expected to follow.

Incidents like these support the long-held belief by many black Americans that the American criminal justice system is racist. Americans are outraged by the racist behavior revealed by the Fuhrman tapes and about racist police brutality in general. But it is frightening that police officers in Los Angeles and Philadelphia could get away with their crimes against black citizens for years because of a "code of silence" or because their superior officers could not see the difference between right and wrong.

Most policemen in this country are honest, dedicated, hard-working public servants who help us lead safe and sane lives. But lives have been destroyed and neighborhoods terrorized by the malicious caprice of rogue cops whose behavior is prompting more and more black Americans to ask: "If the police are supposed to protect us from the criminals, who will protect us from the police?" ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Challenges to Democracy in South Africa

Wilmot James, the Head of a South African Policy Institution, Shares His Perspectives on the Transformation of His Country

The transition from apartheid to democracy surges ahead in South Africa as that country prepares for local elections in November. But change is not taking place without challenges. Disputes continue over the divisions between local authority and the powers of the national government, while efforts to integrate black settlements and townships within municipal and metropolitan areas are hampered by traditional alignments. Another unresolved question is whether the government should take a nonracial or multiracial approach to the distribution of public services.

Dr. Wilmot James, 42, executive director of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) based in Cape Town, discusses these and other issues in the following pages. Founded in 1986, IDASA is an independent, nonprofit organization committed to promoting democracy and a culture of tolerance at all levels of South African society through workshops, seminars, training programs, information dissemination, and publications. Since 1989, IDASA and the Joint Center have collaborated on projects that have brought together representatives from the country's disparate racial, business, professional, and religious groups in bridge-building programs.

South Africa has had a very successful transition, given its history. We celebrated one year of democratic governance on the 27th of April. A lot has been done: a national Parliament and provincial parliaments have been formed and a Constitutional Court appointed, completing the separation of powers. Also, the Human Rights Commission has been appointed, and an ambitious Reconstruction Development Program of social reinvestment has been introduced.

One reason the transition has been so successful is that the concept driving the new political regime is that of reconciliation. The former enemies of the liberation movement and protagonists of apartheid are now part of the new regime. But a serious political problem revolves around the fact that the old civil service of the apartheid regime is the new civil service of the democratic government.

The notion of reconciliation is key to President Nelson Mandela's vision of the new political order. So while he has had occasion to be very tough with former president F.W. de Klerk, for example, at the same time he has recognized that the success of the transition depends on a high level of cooperation from individuals who were part of the old regime.

The second point is this: unlike many other African countries, South Africa has developed a very strong civil society. During the time when the anti-apartheid movement was active, there formed a multiplicity of volunteer associations, nongovernmental organizations, and public interest groups (of which the Institute for Democracy in South Africa is one). This societal infrastructure has been a kind of anchor to many South Africans during very turbulent political times.

The third important point about the transition is that the security establishment, particularly the Defense Force but including the police, has remained under the control of the new government.

Mandela's Conciliatory Leadership

A final reason for the transition's success is that President Mandela has lent his stature and vast moral authority to actively promote reconciliation and unity. He is an extraordinary example to all of us, both as an international statesman and as someone who is remarkably free of bitterness despite the fact that he was imprisoned for 27 years by the apartheid government. His views on unity are rooted in the African National Congress's (ANC's) commitment to reconciling the interests of South Africa's blacks, coloreds, Indians, and whites, which was adopted in the 1950s.

Mandela is a man with a vision who is terribly stubborn (I mean that in a complimentary way). There are many white people today who would vote for Mandela who would not have voted for him in the last election. His credibility started when, as President, he castigated F.W. de Klerk in public for overstepping presidential protocol in the appointment of an ambassador to Malaysia. The appointment was subsequently withdrawn. Some of the business people I've talked to said that it's not the episode that mattered, but the fact that Mandela was willing to do this and actually insist in a very forceful way that presidential protocol be strictly observed.

Some Local Elections on Hold

Local government elections are taking place in most parts of the country on November 1 under very different circumstances from the national elections of last year. The Independent Electoral Commission that guided the national elections expired at the beginning of this year, so the responsibility for the elections rests with the provincial Members of the Executive Councils (MECs). These MECs will draw new local jurisdictional boundaries for municipalities (small towns) and for metropolitan areas like Johannesburg, integrating both white districts and black

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Wilmot James, a native-born South African of mixed ancestry, who holds doctoral and masters degrees in sociology from the University of Wisconsin, has held a variety of academic posts in South Africa and the United States. In addition to directing IDASA, he served as an official of the Independent Electoral Commission which oversaw last year's historic national elections in his country.

South Africa

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townships with the goals of both physical desegregation and the redistribution of revenue.

In the Western Cape Province, the Mandela administration has amended the Local Government Act to compel the province to incorporate the black township of Khyaletsha into the predominately conservative and white Tyger Valley area. The MEC for local government in the Western Cape has sued Mandela to win a reversal of the measure. Local elections in the province have been put on hold until the issue is resolved. The final shape of local governments will have to be determined by the Constitution, which will only be finalized in May 1996.

The Western Cape is not the only province where the struggle over political power has caused the postponement of local elections, however. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, cabinet minister of home affairs and head of the KwaZulu Natal-based Inkatha Freedom Party, has disrupted the elections in an attempt to gain a political advantage. Buthelezi is a person who knows the art of brinkmanship, of obtaining concessions by threat, by sanction and exaggerated persuasion, and by playing the game down to the wire. He has done this before, by threatening to boycott last year's national election, and he is doing it now by boycotting the constitutional assembly. The Inkatha Freedom Party has a particularly strong constituency in the rural areas of KwaZulu Natal Province, where the traditional Zulu leadership is located. But Buthelezi perceives that his authority in traditional Zulu areas is threatened by the upcoming local government elections. Thus the provincial MEC has been reluctant to include the rural areas in the elections.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and Buthelezi's future depend on participating in the political framework of South Africa as a whole. I don't think that Buthelezi is interested in the breakup of South Africa—his interest is in carving as much provincial power in KwaZulu Natal for himself as possible. In the process of finalizing the Constitution, he has insisted that the national government honor the terms of a prior deal he made with Mandela, which provides for international mediation over certain Constitutional clauses enumerating the powers of the national Parliament and the parliaments of the provincial governments. Buthelezi is demanding a provincial police force (South Africa only has a national police force), and he wants autonomy over the educational system in the province. It will be difficult for these issues to be resolved in time for KwaZulu Natal to participate in South Africa's local elections on November 1.

Separating Race and Politics

The division between the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and Buthelezi has essentially weakened the claim that Buthelezi represents the aspirations of the Zulu people. I would say this is a good thing because it indicates to both outside observers and people inside the country that there is no equivalence between the so-called Zulu Nation and the Inkatha Freedom Party. We know, for example, that at least half the Zulu-speaking population in South Africa voted for the ANC.

I think it's in the best interest of South Africa if there is no identification of parties with racial or ethnic affiliations. This has already happened to some extent in the National Party, which today is actually a majority nonwhite party. In the national elections last year, only 48 percent of the votes for the National Party came from whites; the balance of the votes were from nonwhites with colored (mixed race) voters providing most of the nonwhite support, followed by Indians and Africans. Likewise, the ANC has attracted many more white members. Meanwhile, the militant black Pan Africanist Congress has not been able to mount the challenge that some anticipated. And the Freedom Front, which is essentially a white Afrikaner party, is part of the reason the right-wing was successfully split.

Challenges From the Militant Right

South African right-wing groups and armed militias have occupied a visible place on the political scene in the 1980s and during the transition. The main grouping, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), was discredited last year when it tried to invade Boputhatswana to prop up Lucas Mangope, the nominal president of this former "homeland" who had been installed in his post by the apartheid government. The AWB carried out this foray in clear view, on television, so everybody could see them shooting at random and killing many people. It became obvious to everyone who witnessed the spectacle that they were a half-drunk army of disorganized bullies. And they were ousted in short order.

Another concern emerges from the Freedom Front, which is operating as a conventional right-wing political party connected with secessionist goals but not with violence. The differences between the groups and the disparity between their goals were key to fragmenting the right-wing in a way that has made it possible to contain them.

As far as past atrocities are concerned, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the body that has been set up to look into human rights abuses in South Africa. Its purpose is both to tell the story—so that people actually know what happened to their loved ones who disappeared or were assassinated during the apartheid era—and to establish the basis for restitution and compensation. The first legislation by Parliament to establish this commission was drafted last year. But the Cabinet only agreed to approve it with the proviso that the hearings be closed, which provoked a major public outcry. It's a sticky issue. If the hearings are open, you might not get the truth. So it's legally very difficult.

Redistributing the Wealth

Much of South Africa's future progress depends on the kind of economic growth and job growth the country is able to generate. A lot depends on what state policies are pursued. We now have a government that is almost *less* interventionist in the economy than the last one. Yet that is

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September 1995

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- A multitude of black men from across the nation will converge on Washington on October 16 for a Million Man March.
- Democratic members of Congress learn of terrorist militia activities.
- Harvey Gantt, the black former mayor of Charlotte, will challenge North Carolina senator Jesse Helms in next year's election.
- Myths about welfare are refuted with facts.

A Million Black Men in Washington

Nation of Islam leader Minister **LOUIS FARRAKHAN** and Rev. **BEN CHAVIS** have called for a million black men to assemble at the U.S. Capitol on Monday, October 16, as a show of unity and a challenge to the nation. According to Chavis, "The 'Million Man March' is a response to the new congressional agenda that includes attacks on affirmative action and minority business set-asides, and proposals that place the full burden of reforming welfare on the women who are entrapped in the system." Chavis also sees the march as a massive expression of anger over Congress's failure to reform the nation's health system which currently leaves more than 37 million Americans uninsured, and over the erosion of support for public education and historically black colleges and universities.

According to Chavis, those who assemble between the Capitol building and the Lincoln Memorial will not only challenge the government, but will also receive a challenge, one that is directed inward: "We want October 16 to be a day of atonement and reconciliation when black men are encouraged to care for their families, their children, and their communities." Chavis decries the unfair stereotypes of black men as irresponsible and prone to crime, but he hopes the march will challenge African American men to take greater personal responsibility for focusing on self-destructive behaviors in their communities such as drug and alcohol abuse, violence against women, and other forms of black-on-black crime.

This focus on black male responsibility, Chavis says, is a major reason why the march has been organized as a men's event. Nevertheless, women have been included in leadership roles in the mobilization efforts. **C. DELORES TUCKER**, chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women, is among the leaders of 100 national black organizations that endorse the march. Tucker, who affirms that she is "100 percent supportive" of the march, says, "America and the world needs to see our men asset their unity, strength, and commitment to their families."

Chavis and Farrakhan are also urging African Americans across the nation to participate in a third challenge: the establishment of a fairer relationship with corporate America. "African Americans are a $330 billion market, and black consumers determine whether many companies are profitable or not," says Chavis. "Yet there is little economic reinvestment in our communities." As a demonstration of black America's economic significance, Chavis and Farrakhan are calling on all African Americans to stay home from work and refrain from shopping on the day of the march in a "day of absence," and athletes are being urged not to take part in professional sporting events.

The effort to get a million men to Washington has been underway for the last six months. Local organizing committees have been holding grassroots meetings and chartering buses in hundreds of cities and towns in all 50 states. But special emphasis will be placed on cities within a 500-mile radius of Washington, D.C. Chavis

does not see the march as only a one-day event, but the beginning of a new political movement. He wants the march to encourage the millions of unregistered black voters to participate in the political process. All marchers are expected to come to Washington as registered voters.

Some analysts view the march as the starting point for an independent political movement, while others project that the march will expand Farrakhan's political base. Still others believe the march will raise the consciousness of young black men, a largely alienated segment of the black community, and encourage them to get involved in the political process. Whatever the march's outcome, October 16 will be a day to remember. It is surely not a coincidence that the date falls on the anniversary of John Brown's 1859 raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Brown intended to arm the slaves and lead them to rebel against those who enslaved them.

Members of Congress Learn of Militia Threat

Until the April 19 terrorist bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City when 169 people were killed and hundreds more injured, few Americans had heard about the armed militia groups operating around the country. It was only after suspected bomber **TIMOTHY J. McVEIGH**'s connection with the Michigan Militia received media attention that most of the public became aware of the threat these groups pose. But for years, watchdog organizations like Klan Watch, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal have known and reported that these militias have been targeting private citizens and public officials for harassment and terror attacks.

Even after the Oklahoma bombing, and despite repeated pleas to House Speaker **NEWT GINGRICH** (R–Ga.) and the GOP congressional leadership, practically nothing has been done to investigate the militias. However, the House held 10 days of hearings on the conduct of federal law enforcement agencies during the siege of the Branch Davidian compound at Waco, Texas. The Senate has held only one day of hearings on the militias, which more resembled a Capitol Hill reception than a probe, compared to 11 days of hearings on the FBI confrontation with white supremacist **RANDY WEAVER** at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. It is worth noting that at the Ruby Ridge hearing, it was the FBI, not the white supremacist and anti-semitic activities of Weaver, that was critically examined.

Since the Republican leadership of both houses of Congress has refused to investigate the militias and paramilitary groups, eight House Democrats held their own informal hearing on July 11. The legislators on the panel included **CHARLES SCHUMER** of New York, a member of the Judiciary Committee, and Congressional Black Caucus members **JOHN CONYERS** of Michigan and **JOHN LEWIS** of Georgia. These congressmen heard from 17 witnesses and learned that armed right-wing anti-government groups have targeted state and federal officials for death threats, physical attacks, and bomb threats.

One of the witnesses, **KAREN MATTHEWS**, a clerk–recorder in Stanislaus County, California, was singled out by a group of tax-protesters because she refused to remove an Internal Revenue Service lien imposed on one of its members. One January night in 1994, Matthews was dragged into her own garage by two men who slashed her with a knife and repeatedly kicked and punched her. One of the assailants held a gun to her head and pulled the trigger several times—the chambers were empty. They boasted that she would be easy to kill as they left her.

A group calling itself the "Freemen" threatened **MARTHA A. BETHEL**, a city judge in Darby, Montana, because she ruled against them over unpaid parking tickets. They said they would kidnap her and try her for "treason" in the "Freemen's common law court." Bethel has subsequently received hate mail from across the country. When law enforcement officers discovered that a contract was out for her murder, they urged her to flee the county with her three children.

Groups that belong to the "county supremacy" and "property rights" movements, which do not recognize federal jurisdiction over federal lands, have targeted environmentalists and officials charged with enforcing federal land-management regulations. The director of one environmental group in Washington state was confronted by a member of the Snohomish County Property Rights Alliance, who brandished a hangman's noose and told ther, "This is a message for you." Then she was told, "We have a militia of 10,000 and if we can't beat you at the ballot box, we'll beat you with a bullet." **JEFF DeBONIS**, director of the Public

Employees for Environmental Responsibility, said that several bombs have exploded in federal buildings in Nevada, one at a forest service office.

Though they often claim America's pioneer legacy as their exclusive birthright, these paramilitary groups have little in common with the clean-cut cowboys of Hollywood Westerns. Rep. **PAT WILLIAMS** (D–Mont.), another member of the informal panel, expressed concern over the commingling of membership, funds, and ideology among the militias and such well-known hate and white supremacist groups as the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, and neo-Nazi organizations. **DeBonis** says that some members of Congress are giving aid and comfort to the militias with rhetoric that demonizes federal employees and the regulations they enforce. As the harassment and terrorist activities of these paramilitary groups continue largely unabated, watchdog organizations demand that they be thoroughly investigated. But closer scrutiny is unlikely to come from Congress. Rep. **GEORGE MILLER** (D–Cal.), who also participated in the Democrats' hearing, says, "A number of recent comments by Republican elected officials indicate they do not want to alienate these fringe groups because they are important consituencies in their states or congressional districts, despite the fact that these groups may advocate hateful or violent activity."

Gantt to Take on Jesse Helms Again

Black former Charlotte mayor **HARVEY GANTT**, 52, is gearing up for a run next year to unseat four-term Republican incumbent **JESSE HELMS**, 74, from the U.S. Senate. Gantt ran unsuccessfully against Helms in 1990, losing by a close 53 to 47 percent margin in an expensive contest (Helms spent $13.3 million to Gantt's $7.8 million). In that race, Gantt had to fight off five other Democrats in a primary and then prevail in a runoff primary to win the right to face Helms in the general election.

An architect and businessman, Gantt served as a member of the Charlotte City Council before becoming that city's first black mayor from 1983 to 1987. He is a progressive Democrat whose 1990 senate race featured a platform of greater government support for job creation, education, and health care programs along with his opposition to the death penalty. Gantt brings to the campaign strong name recognition, a seasoned political organization with experience in running a statewide race, and a base of support among North Carolina's 20-percent-black population and its city dwellers.

Helms has attracted both infamy and praise as an outspoken opponent of civil rights, reproductive choice, and funding for a variety of social programs that benefit the poor. He has about $950,000 in his campaign war chest and can be expected to spend millions on television ads. Helms flooded the airwaves in the waning weeks of the 1990 election with attack ads distorting Gantt's positions on abortion, government activism, and support for the military. Many observers believe the main reason Gantt lost that election was that he didn't have enough money to counterattack the Helms media blitz. Helms' most effective ad was designed to pit one race against the other. It showed a white man crumpling up a job application and suggested that the only reason the man wasn't hired was that the employer "had" to give the job to a minority person.

Helms is an old hand at using race for political gain. As **BRANDT AYERS**, editor and publisher of the *Anniston Star* in Anniston, Alabama, recalls, in a special North Carolina election for the U.S. Senate in 1950, Helms, then a 28-year-old radio reporter, helped **WILLIS SMITH**, a racist politician, defeat the incumbent, **FRANK PORTER GRAHAM**, the educator who made the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill a great university. In that campaign, according to Ayers, Helms was credited with inventing the slogan, "UNC— University of Niggras and Communists."

The only other Democratic challenger to Helms at this point is Texas-born **CHARLIE SANDERS**, who retired in May as chairman of Glaxo, a multinational pharmaceutical firm based in North Carolina. Sanders, who is positioning himself as a more conservative Democratic alternative to Helms, moved to the state in 1989. He is not as well known as Gantt, and has never held an elected public office. Gantt is in for a long, tough campaign, first to win a Democratic primary bid against Sanders, and then, if he succeeds, against Helms. TrendLetter will monitor his progress.

David C. Ruffin

Welfare Myths and Facts

As welfare reform legislation works its way through Congress, many legislators are basing their proposals for restructuring programs that assist the poor on myths and misconceptions. Here are a few myths and facts about welfare.

Myth: *Welfare spending is fueling the deficit.*

Fact: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) only accounted for 1.1 percent of the federal budget for fiscal year 1995, according to the Congressional Budget Office, and averaged about 2 percent of states' budgets. Total federal spending on welfare, AFDC plus Food Stamps and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for the disabled, added up to just 4.5 percent of the federal budget that year, compared with 17.8 percent for the military, 21.9 percent for social security, and 15.3 percent for interest on the national debt.

Myth: *Most families on welfare are black.*

Fact: Of the 4.9 million families on AFDC, 39 percent are white, 37 percent are black, and 17 percent are Hispanic. Although the proportion of black AFDC recipients has been dropping steadily since 1973, the fact that they make up nearly two-fifths of all welfare beneficiaries demonstrates that African Americans continue to comprise a disproportionately high percentage of the nation's poor.

Myth: *Welfare mothers keep having children.*

Fact: The typical AFDC family consists of a mother and two children. The birthrate among AFDC families is slightly *lower* than the birthrate for the general population.

Myth: *Children who grow up with mothers on AFDC become welfare-dependent adults.*

Fact: Seventy-five percent of black children and 80 percent of white children in AFDC-supported families do not use AFDC as adults.

Myth: *More and more people are using welfare because the benefits have become so generous.*

Fact: The real value of cash assistance received by a typical AFDC family in 1994 was half what it was in 1970. In 1994, the median AFDC grant for a mother and two children was $366 per month; three-quarters of AFDC families have to pay rent with this money.

Myth: *People with prior work experience don't need welfare because they can get unemployment benefits.*

Fact: Only 38 percent of unemployed persons in the U.S. receive unemployment benefits. Women are even less likely to get assistance—only 20 percent of unemployed women receive these benefits.

Myth: *Welfare has become "a way of life" for able-bodied people who don't want to work.*

Fact: Roughly three-quarters of all AFDC users leave welfare within two years. Of those who use welfare continuously for long periods, 40 percent are disabled.

(This information is provided by Joint Center Associate Director of Research Katherine McFate.)

Teen AIDS

The Joint Center Is Conducting a Series of Forums to Address the Growing Number of Black Youth Who Are Becoming Infected With HIV

by Wilhelmina A. Leigh

Under the auspices of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is hosting three forums across the nation to address the issue of the escalating incidence of HIV infection and AIDS, especially among African American adolescents. These events will bring together public officials in three regions of the country to share information about promising initiatives for changing the risky behaviors that make adolescents particularly vulnerable to contracting this deadly virus. The first forum took place in Oakland, California, on June 29. The other two forums will be held in Memphis, Tennessee, and Detroit, Michigan. Dates have not yet been set.

Since the HIV virus was first identified in the early 1980s, HIV infection and AIDS have become major causes of disability and death among various segments of the U.S. population. But especially alarming is the recent dramatic increase in the incidence of infection among adolescents. The result of this early infection has been a precipitous and frightening rise in the numbers of young adults dying from AIDS. In 1992, just a decade after the discovery of the virus, AIDS became the leading cause of death for men ages 25 to 34. It was the fourth leading cause of death among women in that age group.

For both female and male African American adolescents and young adults, the statistics show the same grim reality. From the early '80s, when the virus was first identified, through the end of 1994, nearly 1,800 black males ages 15 to 24 had died from AIDS, but the number of black males between the ages of 24 and 34 who had died from the disease was twelve times higher—a figure approaching 21,700. The numbers for black females showed the same trend, with nearly 800 deaths in the 15-to-24-year-old age group compared to more than eight times that number in the 25-to-34 age group. Considering the usual span of time between infection with HIV to death from AIDS, the young adults who died from the disease most likely contracted it during their teen years. Clearly, the prevention of risky behavior in these crucial years will save many young adults from devastating illnesses and premature death.

The Joint Center forums will allow public officials, community leaders, service providers, and other interested persons to pool their information about initiatives that could be effective in educating adolescents about the risky behaviors that lead to the spread of AIDS. To facilitate this interchange, each forum may include formal presentations by speakers with special knowledge about the impact of AIDS on the adolescent population and informal discussions in which attendees will be invited to share information, questions, and perspectives on this issue.

Oakland Forum Examines Role of Leadership

The first of the three HIV/AIDS forums, held in Oakland and entitled "HIV/AIDS and African American Youth: The Role for Leadership," attracted local officials, community leaders, and service providers throughout the California East Bay area.

Speakers included Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris, who opened the forum; Dr. Milton Morris, vice president for research at the Joint Center; Anita Williams, staffperson to State Assemblywoman Barbara Lee; Carole Flowers, coordinator of special health programs for the Oakland Unified School District (OUSD); and Dr. Robert C. Scott, an Oakland area physician who specializes in internal medicine.

Representing the Joint Center, Milton Morris discussed the role of community leadership in addressing the problem of HIV/AIDS among adolescents. He outlined three major challenges for community leaders: (1) to build bridges among the many diverse groups in the African American community that need to work together on this problem; (2) to build consensus around issues on which most persons can agree instead of becoming stymied by controversial issues that divide communities; and (3) finally, to mobilize communities to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Anita Williams, representing California State Assemblywoman Barbara Lee, discussed leadership at the state level. Specific state efforts to improve HIV/AIDS education include an *HIV Prevention Guide* that has been distributed throughout the state of California and a comic book, featuring "Kid Justice," produced cooperatively with the Oakland Department of Health and Human Services. The comic book, which has been distributed to youth in the East Bay area, is published in English, Spanish, and Chinese. A bill recently introduced in the California Assembly by Lee would mandate AIDS prevention education for youth prisoners. The bill emphasizes the need for peer educators to work with youth in prisons and other institutions to stem the spread of HIV/AIDS among this vulnerable segment of the youth population.

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Dr. Leigh is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.

AIDS

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Speaking for the Oakland Unified School District, Carole Flowers detailed district efforts to implement the state law requiring HIV/AIDS prevention education in middle schools and high schools. Incorporated in the curricula of two required courses, HIV/AIDS prevention education has been offered in the district since the 1992-93 school year. In addition, 34 school nurses in the district are available at the request of classroom teachers to teach sensitive issues. To gain community support for the educational program, Flowers organized and met with advisory committees representing clergy, parents, and community groups to explain the program and to provide details about the specific messages and instructional materials.

Recently, the district has added a peer education component at the high school level. Youths ages 14 to 17 design and produce T-shirts adorned with an HIV prevention message, which they wear when they address youth audiences. These peer educators also have created a "living quilt" with patches that convey messages about ways to avoid HIV infection.

Robert Scott discussed the need for community leaders and service providers to build trust with adolescents in order to reach them with messages about HIV/AIDS. As a doctor of internal medicine in the Oakland area, Scott drew upon his experiences with AIDS patients. He noted a generalized distrust among many African Americans of government public health initiatives and the effect of this distrust on efforts to educate African Americans about the nature and transmission of AIDS. He credited this attitude to past experiments such as the one at Tuskegee Institute in which African American men with syphilis were observed, rather than treated, by government scientists in order to advance medical knowledge about untreated syphilis. Scott also emphasized the need for blunt talk with adolescents about safe sex. He further noted that he stresses to adolescents their obligation to take care of themselves because of their importance to their communities and the society at large.

Art and AIDS

As planned, much of the forum was devoted to the exchange of ideas, suggestions, and information among participants. Leaders from a variety of HIV/AIDS education and prevention programs, community-based organizations, and religious groups discussed their own programs and made suggestions for the development of new efforts.

Joe Hawkins, a community activist and cochair of the local Ryan White Title II consortium, talked about the need to develop leadership in the African American community to provide role models and a support network for gay adolescents. A primary function of this leadership would be to eliminate homophobia, which he believes to be an impediment to the fight against HIV/AIDS in the African American community.

Rev. Mark Wilson of McGee Avenue Baptist Church in Berkeley, California, discussed the need for education and training to eliminate patterns of sexual promiscuity among some members of the clergy that contribute to the spread of AIDS. He echoed the call for special support groups for gay and lesbian African American youth.

The executive director of the AIDS Project of the East Bay, Valerie Papaya Mann, explained her program's use of music, art, and drama as vehicles for HIV/AIDS education for youth. The program recruits artistically talented students and requires them to attend 10 sessions of HIV/AIDS education as a prerequisite for participation in a public display of their creative works. Their March showcase attracted more than 300 students and their parents to an exhibition of student art, music, and dramatic creations focused on the theme of AIDS prevention.

The deputy director of the California Prevention Education Program (CAL PEP), Carla Dillard Smith, described her organization's outreach, research, and intervention programs, which target women 15 to 34 years of age in the East Bay area. CAL PEP also incorporates an HIV/AIDS prevention message into its celebrations of Kwanzaa and Juneteenth (a holiday commemorating June 19, 1865, the date when slaves in Texas learned that they had been freed by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation). Smith stressed the need to extend HIV/AIDS prevention education to two groups of African Americans not currently targeted—heterosexual males and members of the middle class.

Flora Krasnovsky, from the Center for AIDS Prevention Studies, spoke of the need to educate parents as well as students. According to Krasnovsky, many of today's parents were teens when they became parents and consequently lack the knowledge base for educating their children about sexuality, generally, and HIV/AIDS prevention, specifically. She urged the funding of programs to provide this needed education for parents.

Facilitator C. Godfrey Jacobs of Hi-Tech International, Inc., an Arlington, Virginia-based consulting company, concluded the forum with the following summary of the principles on which successful HIV/AIDS programs are based:

- Interventions should be culturally based.
- Interventions should use community or school leaders rather than trying to impose external leadership.
- Interventions should emphasize the strengths rather than the weaknesses of youth and capitalize on their interests in such areas as music, drama, and art.
- Sources of information should be located within the community or school.
- Active approaches work better than passive ones; that is, reach out to youth rather than trying to get them to come to you.
- HIV/AIDS education should be combined with other community activities, issues, or efforts, such as programs to combat unemployment, drug use, and teen pregnancy. ■

1996 National Policy Institute

With a Focus on the Changing Role of Government, Black Officials Will Convene in Unique Summit

by Yvonne Scruggs

Recent attempts at reordering the nation's social structure, represented by the GOP's "Contract with America," have had a dramatic and profoundly disorienting impact on all black Americans, regardless of their economic status or political persuasion. As a consequence, many are concerned about the impact of these seismic policy shifts on black political power and on the future well-being of blacks in general. Moreover, the current conservative-driven public policy debate has prompted many Americans to subscribe to the opinion expressed by Tom and Mary Edsall in their book *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics*: "Whether the official subject is presidential politics, taxes, welfare, crime, rights, or values, the real subject is race."

The implications of this changing state of affairs for the future of the black community and of America in general will be addressed at the Seventh National Policy Institute (NPI VII), January 25 to 27, 1996, in Washington, D.C. Cosponsored by the Joint Center along with seven national caucuses of black elected officials (BEOs), the Institute is held at the beginning of each presidential election year to allow participants to tell presidential candidates what they think about major public policy issues. Participants will include black elected and appointed officials as well as representatives from a wide array of professional, racial, social, academic, and advocacy groups.

Other cosponsors of NPI–VII are the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Association of Black County Officials, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Caucus of Black School Board Members, and the National Conference of Black Mayors. The Joint Center will serve as coordinator and convener of the conference.

In many communities, BEOs are leading the voices objecting to proposals currently at the center of public policy contention: governmental reorganization, devolution of power to the states, budget reductions, and program cuts. BEOs are also in the forefront of opposition to the attacks on equal opportunity and affirmative action and efforts to cut government funding for job creation and training, sustainable community development, public education, and expansion of voter representation and participation. Also of concern to BEOs are shifts in policies on the family, criminal justice, and minority business opportunities.

The theme of NPI–VII, "The Changing Role of Government," is an appropriate context in which black officials and other leaders can discuss these profound concerns. Framing the dialogue will be the concepts advanced in an essay by the Joint Center's Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, entitled "Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility":

> The black community always has been an agent for its own advancement. Action by government in addressing social and economic needs has been important, but it has been both recent and modest... As a result, blacks have a valiant history of protest and demands for equity from which we shall not retreat. But as so often in the past, black people and their leadership, armed with confidence from long years of struggle and angry at recent years of retreat, are also calling on the internal strengths of the community.

As the essay asserts, black initiative and governmental responsibility are a matched pair, each with its own place. They are complementary rather than interchangeable, the existence of one is dependent on that of the other.

The Seventh National Policy Institute also will address a variety of interrelated policy issues:

- Jobs, job development, and economic participation;
- Equal opportunity, affirmative action, and legal remedies to discrimination;
- State and local voter participation in the context of today's political process;
- Harnessing the strengths of the local black community and its young leadership;
- Development of an effective implementation strategy;
- The use of communications technology to shape the message and influence the media.

NPI–VII's workshop agendas will tackle many timely topics including acceptable welfare reform, HIV–AIDS education and prevention, the changing role of public education, the survival of American cities, school-to-work programs, job creation and worker retraining, and minority business development. Programs will feature presentations by leaders from across the country who are conducting successful programs relevant to current policy concerns. ■

Dr. Scruggs directs the Joint Center's Urban Policy Institute.

South Africa

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partly the reason why the transition has been stable, too. Life hasn't changed very much for white people.

There are some major black companies emerging. And I think there will be more black-owned companies emerging with the breakup of some of the major corporations in the country. There is pressure on all big corporations to be broken up into smaller units.

I am worried, though, that after all is said and done we will be looking at a very large black population that will remain poor, living on the outskirts of cities and in ghettos, and where 40 to 45 percent of the black population remains in rural areas. Yet I don't think the economic trajectory of South Africa is the same as that of other African countries.

Multiracialism or Nonracialism

The new South African model aims toward an ideology of racial and ethnic diversity through the notion of *nonracialism*, which means including people who come from antagonistic backgrounds and tying them into a political process, both in a philosophical and a technical sense. This nonracialism has been essential to the ANC and to people within government. In a sense, nonracialism is a denial of race. It is consistent with the findings of modern biological science, that race is actually a completely meaningless concept.

On an informal level, however, a concept of *multiracialism* is in effect one that acknowledges the groupings in society—black people, colored people, Indians, white people—and requires the recognition of those groups. Multiracialism means group representation in the political process.

A practical problem that's been emerging over the last year is that in its implementation, the politics of nonracialism has essentially become the politics of multiracialism through affirmative action. When the national Reconstruction Development Program begins to dispense funds for development in such areas as housing, education, health care, and rural water and electrical systems, affirmative action is tied to apartheid racial categories. Within the key constituencies in government, the idea is that black people, narrowly defined, are the most disadvantaged, and that white people are the most advantaged—and this is right 90 percent of the time. But there is considerable diversity by class in a population that does not coincide with racial boundaries.

And you see increasing dissatisfaction among people in the "colored" community. There is the perception that most of the new schools are being built in black townships and that a lot of the funds dispensed for development are going to black areas, with not as much going into colored areas or Indian areas.

If nonracialism is to mean anything in South Africa, let's consider it to be a political proposition: that you should recognize disadvantage and you should deny race. The marker for affirmative action should be disadvantage.

The political chemistry that is needed to make nonracialism workable is being able to identify people on the basis of class disadvantage. Most people in South Africa are class-disadvantaged very clearly in their access to property, access to wealth, access to opportunities, and so on. But this is not true of all people. ■

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