

DRAFT

BLACK POWER in AMERICAN CITIES

The proceedings of a dynamic conference addressing the issue of mayoral politics and Afro-Americans.

This is a draft of Conference Proceedings. We have duplicated this draft in hopes of getting more cooperation from the conference participants, interested academics, and activists in the struggle to transform electoral politics into a more democratic process. This draft will be edited and published for wider distribution. If we can get some help on this then it will be a better document that can be used in struggle.

Will you help?

The Editors
December, 1983

CONFERENCE PROGRAM UNIVERSITY of ILLINOIS CIRCLE CENTER

Friday Morning, January 28, 9 am

Opening Statement Conference Convenors
Remarks Johnetta Jones, Eastern Illinois University
Panel: **BLACK MAYORS: WHO GETS ELECTED? WHERE? HOW & WHAT DIFFERENCE DO THEY MAKE?**

Chair: Douglas Gills, Executive Director, Chicago Rehab Network
Panelists:
Milton Morris, Joint Center for Political Studies
John O'Laughlin, University of Illinois
Peter Eisinger, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Sharon Watson, Smith College

Friday Afternoon, January 28, 2 pm

Panel: **'THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET': MALCOLM X RECONSIDERED**

Chair: Locksley Edmondson, Southern Illinois University
Panelists:
Lu Palmer, Chair, Chicago Black United Communities
Mercedes Mallette, Chair, Citizens for Self-Determination
Conrad Worrit, Chair, The Black United Front-Chicago
Bill Epton, Black Liberation Press, New York City

Friday Evening, January 28, 7 pm

Panel: **WHAT HAVE BLACK MAYORS DONE?**

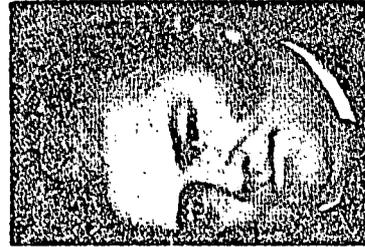
Chair: Carol Adams, Loyola University
Panelists:
Atlanta: Mack Jones, Atlanta University
Detroit: Linda Williams, Howard University
Newark: Amiri Baraka, State University of New York-Stony Brook
Washington, D.C.: Ronald Walters, Howard University

Saturday Morning, January 29, 9 am

Panel: **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK POLITICS IN CHICAGO**

Chair: Twiley Barker, University of Illinois
Panelists:
Charles Brannham, University of Illinois
Harold Baron, Author
Milton Rakove, University of Illinois
Michael Preston, University of Illinois

CHICAGO CIRCLE CENTER IS
LOCATED ON HALSTED BETWEEN
ROOSEVELT ROAD AND HARRISON.



John Jones (1816-1879)
Abolitionist and friend of
John Brown and Frederick
Douglas. First elected Black
official in Chicago, Cook
County Commissioner
1871-1875.



Oscar DePriest (1871-1951)
First Black on Chicago
City Council 1916-1917.
First Black member of
U.S. Congress since
Reconstruction (1928-1934)

Saturday Afternoon, January 29

1:30-3:15 WORKSHOPS

#1 OVERCOMING BLACK COMMUNITY DISUNITY

Chair: Sarah Woods, Roosevelt University
Panelists:
George Clements, Holy Angels Church
Nancy Jefferson, Midwest Community Council
Nathaniel Clay, Journalist
Tim Black, Loop College

#2 BUILDING COALITIONS

Chair: Robert Starks, Northeastern Illinois University
Panelists:
Anderson Thompson, National Black Independent Political Party
Arturo Vasquez, Pilsen Housing and Business Alliance
Slim Coleman, Heart of Uptown Coalition
Bob Lucas, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization

#3 CRITICAL ISSUES: JOBS

Chair: John McClendon, University of Illinois
Panelists:
Roger Fox, Research Director, Chicago Urban League
Carl Turpin, Griever, United Steelworkers Local No. 1033
Berta Shelton, Bureau of Employment Security
Chuck Wooten, UAW Activist, Detroit

#4 CRITICAL ISSUES: HOUSING

Chair: Julielynn Walker, Peoples College
Panelists:
Waymon Winston, Milwaukee Housing Activists
James Payne, Chair, Kenwood Oakland
Community Organization
Niana Hickman, Chicago Housing Tenants Association

Saturday Evening, January 29, 7 pm

Panel: **BLACK POLITICS AND BLACK LIBERATION: THE RELEVANCE OF LOCAL POLITICS**

3:30-5:15 pm WORKSHOPS

#5 WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS

Chair: Charles Evans, Olive Harvey Community College.
Panelists:
James Balanoff, Former District Director, United Steelworker
District 31
Luis Perez, Electrical Union Activists
Bobby Joe Thompkins, Vice Chair, Grievance Committee,
United Steel Workers Local No. 1010

#6 THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDIES

Chair: McAffee, Student, Northwestern
Panelists:
David Johnson, Thornton Community College
Roger Oden, Governors State University
Carole Adams, Loyola University
Sundiata Cha Jua, Richland Community College

#7 CRITICAL ISSUES: EDUCATION

Chair: William Exum, Northwestern University
Panelists:
Kenneth Smith, Former President Chicago School Board
Harold Rogers, Black Faculty in Higher Education

#8 CRITICAL ISSUES: HEALTH CARE

Chair: Marvin Goodwin, Kennedy King College
Panelists:
Lea Rogers, Health Care Activists
Quentin Young, Physician
James Townsel, University of Illinois

Chair: Ron Bailey, Northwestern University
Presenters:
Mayor Richard Hatcher, Gary, Indiana
Philip G. Smith, Political Editor, *Dollars and Sense Magazine*
Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College

"An Overview of Black Elected Officials"

Milton Morris, Joint Center for Political Studies

I would like to congratulate the organizers of this conference for putting together a timely and interesting program. It could not have been held at a more appropriate time - for the city of Chicago, and for Black people across the country. I am especially pleased with the opportunity to be here and to learn as much as I can. The central concern of this and the next conference on "Black People and Presidential Politics" is Black political empowerment.

Looking at Black elected officials and particularly Black mayors is an especially appropriate starting point for several reasons. First, Black elected officials are now, by any measure, the most critical component of Black leadership in this society, leadership defined in a very broad sense. In my view, they are the first fruits from the flexing of Black electoral muscle, bearing in mind that this is a process that is in its early stages. Black elected officials are perhaps the most visible, the most readily measurable indicator of change in the relative power of Black society. Secondly, by looking at Black elected officials we can become conscious of some of the constraints that Black people face in acquiring political influence in society. For these reasons it is especially important that we begin this conference with an overview of Black elected officials.

Among Black elected officials, mayors are especially worthy subject to focus on. The attention of the public in political life is increasingly focusing on City Hall. It has been that way for large segments of society historically. But Blacks over the last several decades have looked to Washington for many of the changes they sought in society. When one

deals with the nuts and bolts of the allocation of opportunities and benefits in society, City Hall is still an immensely important arena. The Black mayor is a vital part of that entire process and attention needs to focus on that.

In addition, we must look at the demographic profile of the society and at the Black population in particular. Blacks are conspicuously concentrated in the cities, and all the trends suggest that this is going to continue, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population. The Black population is still increasing substantially in metropolitan areas and the white population is beginning to decline in metropolitan areas. A much more rapid decline in the white population is occurring in the major central cities of the country. This means a potential change in the relative distribution of Blacks and Whites in the population. My point here is that not only will there be more Black people and a larger proportion of city population, but the future of cities have an enormously important bearing on the quality of Black life. Therefore, Black politics in the city is something that we must devote some attention to.

For the next two days we will be looking at mayoral politics from a variety of perspectives. I have the enviable task of doing the stage setting here and suggesting some of recent patterns and trends in the election of Blacks to public office. I will try to do that using a few numbers to illustrate trends and patterns that we ought to be attentive to.

With regard to changes in the numbers of Black elected officials,

the 1970's was a decade of tremendous achievement. In 1970, there were just under 1,500 Black elected officials throughout the country - 1,469 to be exact. As of July 1982, there were 5,160 of them, a very dramatic increase in percentage terms. Much can be made of this increase. First, if you are familiar with the annual roster of Black elected officials that the Joint Center for Political Studies publishes, we generally take a very positive attitude toward those numbers. We see them as an indication of steady and significant progress in Black empowerment. After all, during each of the past twelve years, the number of elected Black officials is steadily going upward - actual numbers as well as the percentage. While the rate of increase has slowed substantially in recent years, it is important to note that absolute gains continue.

We might, however, see them as evidence of a continued exclusion of Blacks from participation in the political system; after all, 5,160 Black elected officials looks very, very small when you consider that there are close to half a million elective offices in the United States. And though Blacks are 11% of the population, they occupy just barely over one percent of those. If we were to view public office in strictly proportional terms, then you could say Blacks need a ten fold increase in the number of Black elected officials to play a representative part of the decision making structure. I am not quite sure that I go along on strictly proportional lines. But the disparity between population size and presence among elected officials has to be something of considerable concern. This helps define what might be claimed to be a substantial gain in the absolute numbers of Black elected officials.

We might also view the numbers in terms of the adverse effects of simple majoritarian politics. For a widely dispersed minority conditions of highly polarized voting, having only 10 or 11 percent of the population means that Blacks are an enormously handicapped minority. This complicates the situation of Black empowerment and Black participation in public office.

Finally, I think we might view the numbers as an indictment of our inability to combine mobilization of our political strength with aggressive and assertive political gain. While there are major structural and other barriers to gaining public office, it is my contention that we have probably not devoted as much time, energy, and effort as we might to mobilizing and maximizing those resources at our disposal, and adapting those resources to the changing political environment in which we operate. From all of these views of the numbers of elected officials, my own view is that all of them are appropriate and applicable perspectives to maintain.

Another thing to bear in mind is that aggregate numbers can be very deceptive. Therefore one needs to break those down and begin to look at them in a different light. In this case, 5,160 Black elected officials is a relatively small part of the total picture of Black political empowerment in this perspective. One of the ways we can look at that is regionally. Historically, the distribution of Black elected officials has reflected the distribution of the Black population--most Black elected officials come from the South, the Northeast, the North-central states, and the West. That pattern has obtained through the last decade. In 1982 for example, 11.3 percent of Black elected officials were in the Northeast; 21.3 percent were in the North-central region; 6 percent in the West; and 61.4 percent in the South. About 53 percent of the Black population is in the

South. That means that if one goes simply by the distribution of population, the South has managed to move ahead in its relative share of elected officials.

If you look at the change over the decade, you find that in the distribution of the population of Black elected officials over the last twelve years, the Northeast and Northcentral regions have lost ground compared to the South in the percentage of these particular Black elected officials. For example in 1970, 48 percent of all Black elected officials were in the Southern region. They have experienced a substantial increase. Much of that increase has to do of course with the impact of the Voting Rights Act and a decade of rigorous attempts to remove some of the traditional legal barriers to Black political participation in the South. It is, however, noteworthy that gains have been particularly rapid here and if one looks at the political map of the country the prospects are for even more rapid gains in that region.

The gains reflected in the actual aggregate numbers over the past decade or so are not evenly distributed across types of elected offices. Take the last decade, for example. The most rapid gains have been made in mayorships. In 1972, there were 89 and there were 223 in 1982--a 159 percent increase. There is a similar gain in other municipal offices--on city councils and the like, the gains have been a substantial 143 percent or thereabouts over the last decade. The gains then slipped rapidly, with the smallest gain in congressional representation, even including the period of substantial gains in the 1982 election. In sum, the most significant gains in numbers have occurred at the local level--Black mayors and Black members of city councils throughout the country.

Let's talk about Black mayors for just a few minutes, and then to go into some general observations about the types of places in which these gains have

come and their likenesses and differences. If you take the 223 Black mayors in our nation and begin to sift through them, that you will discover that the overwhelming majority of them are in small, Black majority, unincorporated places. The fact is, of cities of 100,000 or more in the United States, seventeen have Black mayors. One hundred twenty four of two hundred thirty three of Black mayors are in small incorporated places. Thus, the 223 Black mayors are substantial and significant, but when one looks at a city size, at aggregate, this number begins to shake down. It was also seen that over the past decades gains have been slowest in the large cities. Since the middle of the 1970s for a number of reasons small cities, those with five thousands or less unincorporated places, have increased tremendously the number of Blacks elected as mayors. Some of this is understandable--most of these come from the South, some of these have come as a result of a process of rapid incorporation of previously owned unincorporated places, and some of them have come as a result of changes in the South under the Voting Rights Act. Thus, progress has been concentrated there.

Leadership in small cities is as important to the people there as leadership is for people in Chicago. When one looks at the implications of these leadership positions for Black Power nationally then we are talking about important differences in scale. Even if one accepts for the moment the aggregate number of 223 Black mayors as a significant and encouraging gain, if one looks at opportunities and potential for these offices, there is a tremendous amount of ground yet to be covered. One recent study identified 553 Black-majority incorporated places in the United States. Thus, fewer than half the city and towns or parts of the United States with Black population majorities now have Black mayors. Even if one accepts the routine pattern of polarization which is normally the

case in local politics or politics generally, there is a tremendous amount of ground to be covered in gaining control of those places in which Black people are the majority.

The reasons for this gap between potential and actuality can be identified. Some of them have to deal with still formidable remnants of the old obstacles to effective political participation. Some of them have to do with inabilities of people to fully mobilize and to use their political resources. Some of them have to do with the relative importance of electing Blacks to office as opposed to other kinds of outcomes that might translate into political gains for Blacks. In other words, I am not quite sure that in all cases one needs to equate the presence of a Black mayor with the achievements of significant political influence.

What then does this picture suggest? First, it is very clear that Blacks are still elected overwhelmingly by Black electorates. Black elected officials are in office due to the vote of the Black people. There are very few Tom Bradleys as such even though the ones that came along stand out. That pattern obtains across the spectrum of elected offices. Of the 21 Black members of Congress, only two are from White majority districts. In a number of these districts, Blacks are a minority, but when combined with another prominent minority, Hispanics--they constitute the electoral majority. In that case, Blacks are overwhelmingly dependent on the minority electorate. The case is even more so true for state and local elective offices. The instances in which Blacks have won elected office from majority White constituencies declines significantly as you go down the ladder in terms of size of electoral units.

There are still a number of important structural obstacles to electing Blacks to office. They have to do with the combination of racial bloc voting and electoral arrangements that have to dilute the strength of the

Black vote. One finds this, for example, in electoral districting arrangements; one finds this in the way a number of local leadership positions are decided on, especially in the medium and small-sized cities. One of the interests of the last decade has been to study the relationship between the various types of electoral arrangements and Black representation in city councils. The evidence is still not especially clear in one direction but there is enough to suggest that when viewed in the context of a system of racial bloc voting it does constitute a major obstacle.

Another factor is that demographic and social changes in this society present some new opportunities and some new challenges for Black power. These demographic and social changes I referred to earlier: the fact that more and more cities are becoming Blacker in terms of population, or are experiencing a substantial growth in other minority populations. For example, the most interesting, and perhaps the most noteworthy, demographic trend in Black cities over the past decade has been the rise in the Hispanic population. It is one of the interesting and I think the most important challenges for Black political leadership to note and to utilize with maximum effectiveness the possibilities for coalitions and various types of arrangements that will enhance the power of these combined minorities. We have made very small progress in that regard; considering its importance, we have done very little in giving serious thought to it.

Something else that is worthy of consideration is this: If Blacks are to make significant gains in leadership in cities--Black mayors--new thought must be given to how we can reach across racial blocs in the electorate to win public office. You are presently grappling with that in Chicago and solving that problem in Chicago will perhaps point the way for many other cities. The fact of life is that in order for Blacks to enhance their political power on the local scene in city halls, they have to overcome

what I think is the most important obstacle today. It is that White electorates have not yet come to relate to Blacks as viable leaders and they are not willing to invest the kind of power and the kind of authority that we have so trustingly invested in White leaders over the years. That is one of the challenges for the years ahead.

In closing, I would like to suggest that the numbers nationally for both Black elected officials as a whole and for Black mayors, are something that we should feel encouraged about but by no means satisfied about. They merely whet the appetite for marching along with the business of expanding and strengthening Black political power in society.

Thank you.

How Black Mayors are Elected: A Comparative Assessment

John O'Loughlin
Department of Geography
University of Illinois
Urbana, IL 61801

Paper presented at a conference "Black People and Politics in the 1980s: Mayoral Politics in the US and Chicago," University of Illinois, Chicago, January 28, 1983.

After initial successes in the Nineteen Sixties in Cleveland, Newark and Gary, Indiana, black candidates achieved remarkable electoral breakthroughs in 1973 in Los Angeles, Detroit and Atlanta. Later in the Seventies, blacks won mayoral offices in Birmingham, Washington, DC, New Orleans, and Richmond. In other cities, such as Philadelphia, Charlotte, Baltimore, Miami, Memphis and Chicago, black mayoral candidates were defeated. This pattern of partial success and partial failure leads to two interrelated questions. Are there factors common to black success while other predictors underly black defeats? Are there lessons to be learned from black electoral attempts so that earlier defeat can lead into eventual victory, such as occurred in Detroit, Los Angeles and Atlanta? This paper attempts to review and explain mayoral elections with black candidates with a view toward prediction of future contests.

This paper is based upon previous research conducted by the author and reported in two research articles.¹ The studies were of detailed precinct returns for mayoral elections in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Atlanta in 1969, 1973 and 1977 and for New Orleans in 1977. Census data on race, education, ethnicity and income were collected to test hypotheses regarding the bases of support of both black and white candidates. Both statistical and cartographic methods were used. Election results were also collected and analyzed for other cities with black mayoral candidates, and although detailed precinct returns were not analyzed, generalizations made in this paper also apply to these cities. In a study of this nature, local political factors, campaign issues, candidate personalities and electoral history are of necessity pushed into the background since the major effort is to predict the chances of electoral success when blacks run for mayoral office.

A review of academic and journalistic accounts of the elections suggested that three research hypotheses might be of use. From initial, though narrow, failure in 1969 through narrow victory in 1973 to successful defense by a wide margin in 1977, black candidates seemed to pass through progression stages. The three elements of their support were 1) the existence and strength of racial bloc-voting (the overwhelming support of a group for a candidate of the same group), 2) the differential level of voter turnout by black and white voting blocs, and 3) the extent to which upper-income white voters crossed racial lines to vote for the black candidates. The influence of each of these three factors will be considered in detail later but first it is useful to review what happens when blacks run for electoral office.

Electoral Behavior of Blacks and Whites in Racially-Divided Contests

Whether for state or local office, almost all successful black candidates have based their victory on a majority-black electorate. The normal political divisions of party, class and location seem to dissipate in the face of a black v. white candidate choice. Studies of elections across the country have shown that the percentage of the electorate that is black is critical for an understanding of black electoral success. The "electoral threshold" is estimated to be about 30 percent of the electorate.² Below that figure, blacks are not perceived to be a political threat and black candidates are only successful in elections that avoid making race the dominant issue (e.g. the election of Tom Bradley in 1977). When the percentage is between 30 and 50 percent, white opposition to black political advancement is greatest and black candidates need some white support to win. Assured of strong black support, their success or failure depends on their ability to attract white votes. When the black percentage goes beyond 50 percent, white candidates realize the

futility of pursuing office in that locality and either retire or move to another area. The contest, then, is between black incumbents and challengers.³ For maximum political impact, blacks can mobilize their strength where there is 1) a sizeable electoral base, usually over 30 percent of the voters, 2) high voter registration and turnout, 3) maximal cohesion of voters (a bloc vote), 4) a political organization adequate enough to ensure candidate recognition and support, and 5) the assistance of white electoral allies.⁴ Despite great progress over the past 2 decades, blacks have not reached proportional equality (proportion of seats won by blacks equal to the black population proportion) in other than a few Southern towns. Black elected officials, particularly mayors, are viewed by their constituents, both white and black, as "specialized representatives of black people, rather than as generalized representatives of the people at large."⁵ Black candidates are faced with the difficulty of trying to satisfy the concerns of black voters for social justice while, at the same time, soft-peddling social issues in majority-white electorates.

When black candidates first contest local offices, many of the cherished generalities about American political behavior fly out the window. Turnout, by both blacks and whites, increases over previous elections. Blacks, who usually display lower registration and turnout rates, perceive the contest as particularly salient. This dramatic shift in voting interest suggests that a "political climate" model of black participation (black interest is a function of prevailing political status and conditions, attitudes to black effectiveness and possibilities for influencing change) rather than a "class based" explanation (blacks vote in disproportionately lower numbers because of their greater representation in the working class).⁶ Other contests which generate high black turnout are the candidacies of racist whites or efforts to change city political structures that have negative ramifications for blacks. Within

black neighborhoods, turnout increases as education levels increase.⁷ Voter registration drives in black areas frequently achieve spectacular success (e.g. Philadelphia, 1978, and Chicago, 1982) but it is worth noting that newly enfranchised voters frequently fail to vote. For example, only half of the newly registered in Harlem voted in the 1976 Presidential election.⁸ As well as voter registration drives, black candidates have to convince potential and currently registered black voters of the possible success of their efforts as well as appear as moderate to white electoral allies.

In nearly every election won by a black mayor, white votes were needed to put the black candidate over the top. Generally, the black registration proportion lags 5 to 10 percentage points behind the black population percentage. Thus, unless the city has a clear black majority (over 60 percent), black candidates must either win or neutralize a proportion of the white voters commensurate with the difference between the winning proportion (50.1 percent of the vote in a two-candidate election) and the black registered proportion. Much of the academic research on white voting in racial situation is based on V.O. Key's classic study of the south in the 1940s and may have little relevance to cities in the 1980s.⁹ Some evidence exists that whites living close to black neighborhoods show greater support for racist candidates, while wealthier whites (the so-called Limousine Liberals) cross class lines to vote with working class blacks in local elections.¹⁰ There seems to be a distinction between local and national elections. National elections, with economic issues to the fore, tend to produce traditional Democratic majorities in both working-class white and black neighborhoods as both groups vote their pocket books. Local races, minus the economic factor, emphasize the distribution of city services, neighborhood upkeep and access to city jobs. Blacks and working-class whites, allies on the

national level, become electoral competitors, a situation aggravated by a black running for mayor.

The alliance between blacks and upper-income whites (termed a Manhattan or Atlanta Coalition after the locales where it originated) is often explained in terms of "public regardiness."¹¹ These allies favor public expenditures that improve urban services such as public transport, schools, and health services but result in higher taxes. Opposition to these policies is found in groups espousing the "immigrant" ethos, whose view of local politics is that blacks and other minorities benefit disproportionately while they, homeowners of modest means, must pay for services they do not need or use. Since upper-income whites have higher turnout rates than other groups, their support can be disproportionately important as can their campaign contributions and influence on local media and political organizations. To my knowledge no black candidate who has alienated this local upper-income white bloc has been elected mayor. At the least, their political strength must be neutralized and, preferably, won over to the support of the black candidate. Basic data on vote support for black candidates in the four cities under study are shown in Table 1.

Factors Underlying Black Candidates Success in Mayoral Races

In order to identify voting behavior by blacks and whites, precincts that were more than 90 percent black and more than 90 percent white were isolated. In most cases the percentage of the other racial groups in these areas was close to zero. Each of the three factors of racial bloc-voting, voter turnout and upper income white support for black candidates are discussed in turn and the statements needed are based on statistical analysis of thousands of precinct returns. This technique overlooks the geography of the elections. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, voter choices in Detroit in the 1969, 1973 and 1977 mayoral

elections were so racially based that the map of votes is, in effect, a map of race. It is also clear from the maps that the core of the black candidates' support has been growing while that of the white candidates' has been contracting to the far corners of the city. These trends illustrate expansion of black neighborhoods but, more importantly, diminution of the determined anti-Young vote as white voters seemed to accept the inevitability of a black mayor.

It is worth noting that the generalizations made in this paper are based on the assumption that the mayoral election is in a city with a nonpartisan ballot. Most American cities have nonpartisan elections and others are so dominated by one party (e.g. Chicago) that the real contest for mayor occurs in the primary. In both situations, party adherence (the best predictor of candidate choice) is removed as an element in the election. It would not be going too far to say that in the 10 elections analyzed, race was the dominant electoral issue, either overtly as the 1969 Los Angeles election or covertly as the 1969 Detroit election. As incumbents, black mayors have policies to defend and these policies can be the basis of voter choice. By convincing black voters of the merit of their policies and by diluting white opposition, black incumbents had landslide wins in 1977 and 1981. Consideration of the key factors in black mayoral victories is not in order of importance: each factor has been crucial to black success and the absence of any one, particularly in the first attempt at mayoral office, would seem to preclude a black candidate's victory.

The Bloc-Vote Factor - The cohesiveness of black voters in salient elections, such as mayoral contests with black candidates, is astonishing. Even though they have demonstrated cohesive electoral behavior since the 1930s by showing the most consistent record of support for liberal, usually Democratic,

candidates, black voters strengthen their influence significantly in elections with both black and white candidates, regardless of whether the office at stake is school board, city council, state representative, U.S. Congress or mayor. Black mayoral candidates in Gary, Cleveland and Newark received over 95 percent of the black vote in the 1967-1970 period. These percentages were repeated in Detroit, Atlanta, New Orleans and Los Angeles in the 1969-1981 elections. Despite assiduous campaigning in black neighborhoods by some white candidates (essential if a white is to win the mayoralty in Atlanta, now a black-registered majority city), black voters have remained faithful to their candidates. It is safe to say that the assurance of a solid electoral base in ninety percent or more of the black vote made possible the entry of black candidates into mayoral races, ensuring that they would receive the necessary media attention and convince otherwise skeptical white supporters that a vote for the black candidate would not be a wasted vote. What is even more remarkable that these percentages in a racially-divided election is the adherence of black voters to the incumbent in a choice between two black candidates. This happened in the mayoral runoff in Detroit in 1969 and in primary elections in 1977 and 1981. The choice between two black candidates in Detroit did not lessen racial bloc-voting, with over 85 percent of whites picking Ernest Brown and 95 percent of blacks choosing Coleman Young.

A year ago, Geraldine G. Thompson, executive director of the Voter Education Project saw a change in bloc-voting patterns in the 1981 municipal elections. "It seems to me that a clear pattern is developing in which whites are substantially bloc-voting for whites and high numbers of blacks are crossing over to vote for whites. The conservative strain is running throughout the South again and the liberal coalition we've been seeing over the years is not

working" (New York Times, Nov. 5, 1981, p. B18). She was referring specifically to the city council elections in Birmingham and electoral failures by blacks in Greensboro, Miami, and other Southern cities. Black electoral behavior in the 1982 elections would seem to defy this assertion. With stronger than normal support for liberal candidates and by turning out in extraordinary numbers (the black rate exceeded the white rate in many cities), blacks ensured that the election of 1982 marked a dramatic change from the conservative trends of two years before.

There is no reason not to expect black bloc-support in a normal nonpartisan racially-divided election. However, in large cities in the Northeast and Midwest, where, Detroit and Newark excepted, no black incumbents sit, the potential strength of the large black bloc-vote is potentially diluted by party considerations, political machines, and the appeal of liberal white politicians to the black electorate. Black mayoral candidates in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland and Buffalo and black candidates for other offices have frequently found their potential bloc-vote fragmented (spread two or three ways) and diluted (black turnout significantly lower than white turnout). Where the clearcut issue of the racial background (and associated issue positions) of candidates is confounded by a multiplicity of candidates, policies, parties and campaigns, it appears as if black voters become indecisive. The key to this apparent contradiction in the success of the black candidate(s) is making themselves known to the electorate. Previous exposure, through earlier attempts at the mayoralty or other local offices, is the best method to win recognition. By doing so the candidate meets the conditions for victory that Chuck Stone listed over a decade ago; the black community must believe that the black candidate has a chance to win and that he/she must be perceived as a serious candidate.¹³ Additionally, as noted by Stone, black candidates from minority

political parties have hopeless tasks and the weight of campaign money and media attention must not weigh too heavily against the black candidate. Given the cumulative effect of these circumstances, only strong, wellknown and respected black candidates of the majority party with grass roots community support stand a chance of winning election.

The extent of bloc-voting in mayoral elections, by both blacks and whites, is clearly illustrated by the histograms in Figure 3. In all four cities, bloc-voting by whites is decreasing over time but remaining the same in Los Angeles, black neighborhoods and actually increasing in 1977 in Detroit and Atlanta. The flatter distribution of the vote proportions in New Orleans and the relative absence of sharp peaks at the extremes of this distribution reflects both significant white support for Morial (see below) and the fact that many of that city's precincts are interracial. The unusual nature of these vote distributions is evident when we consider that a bell-shaped curve is normal for American elections. These U-shape distributions indicate the strength of feelings in both black and white precincts, the relative absence of interracial areas and the appeal of the Tom Bradley to a wider spectrum of the Los Angeles electorate than black candidates in other cities.

White Support for Black Candidates - Votes from white, mostly middle- and upper-income voters, have provided the margin of victory for black mayors in all elections. The range of this support has varied from about 5 percent of the white vote to Coleman Young in 1973 to over 50 percent to Tom Bradley in 1977 and 1981. Over time black incumbents gain more white votes, clearly illustrated by Coleman Young of Detroit's winning of 5 percent of the white votes in 1973,

about 10 percent in 1977 and about 30 percent in 1981. In Atlanta, Maynard Jackson won about 15 percent of the white vote and it increased to over 25 percent in 1977. Andrew Young, running for mayor for the first time in 1981, won only about 10 percent (about the same proportion his white opponent won of the black vote). In New Orleans, Ernest Morial won about 20 percent of the white vote in his first mayoral election in 1977, a proportion that remained steady in 1981. Tom Bradley has always attracted white votes. In his first time in 1969, he won about 25 percent of the white vote, not enough to compensate for the small black population in the city. By 1973 this proportion had risen to 50 percent (the Hispanic population was the only group to give their majority to Sam Yorty). In both 1977 and 1981, Bradley won election in the primaries, winning up to 60 percent of the white vote on both occasions and defeating a plethora of opponents.

Political campaign strategists like to target subpopulations that might be receptive to their candidate's appeal. A breakdown of the white vote by social class shows that, with the exception of Detroit, black candidates gain about 10-15 percent more of their vote from wealthy white voters than from working-class white voters. In 1977, for example, the figures were consistent in Detroit (8 percent of the upper-income vote: 10 percent of the working-class vote), Los Angeles (57 percent and 43 percent), Atlanta (29 percent and 21 percent) and New Orleans (27 percent and 14 percent). These percentage differences are significant and suggest a campaign strategy for black mayoral candidates. A map of black voter support shows the greatest support in white areas to be concentrated in the wealthiest precincts (along the ocean and Santa Monica mountains in Los Angeles and near downtown in gentrified neighborhoods in Atlanta and New Orleans). Thus, the white group most likely to support a black candidate's policies are socially and spatially concentrated, making targeting

a lot easier. Once black candidates overcome initial white opposition (greater in neighborhoods of perceived competition with blacks), they are able to win over a much larger white proportion by their policies while in office. It may be that racial stereotypes can be eroded by competent performance in office.

The Turnout Factor - Most commentators have noticed that the turnout rates of both whites and blacks jump from normally low levels in municipal elections when blacks first contest mayoral office. After the initial increase (the average for the four cities under study was 68 percent), the turnout of both groups drops but the decline is slightly faster for whites than for blacks. The data on turnout are shown in Table 2.

The increase in the 1969 turnout rate over a "normal" municipal election was 15 percentage points in Detroit and 25 points in Los Angeles. By 1981, with the continued electoral success of black incumbents, the turnout rate had returned to "normal" mid-1960s levels. The same trend appears to be holding over time in New Orleans with Ernest Morial's election but, interestingly, the introduction of a new black candidate in Atlanta, Andrew Young, on the retirement of the black incumbent, Maynard Jackson, pushed turnout rates to an all time high. Here is a likely portent for the future course of black political success in the cities. Voters seem to accept black incumbents and treat their bid for reelection with a turnout bordering on apathy. (It is noteworthy that the black turnout remains higher.) It is as if their reelection is expected and their candidacy does not generate any of the widespread antagonism or supportive fervour of their first attempt. Familiarity breeds resignation by whites and expected success by blacks. When the incumbent steps down, the electoral battle

begins anew. Whites view the hiatus as a chance to regain their most visible symbol of political power and status. Consequently, as in Atlanta, turnout rates rise again to the level of the first black candidacy. This pattern can be expected to repeat itself in Los Angeles, Detroit and New Orleans when the black incumbents step down. Blacks can expect to win in Detroit and New Orleans, based on a bloc-vote and high turnout in black precincts. Only a black candidate with cross-racial support can win in Los Angeles because of the small pool of black voters in that city.

A downturn in turnout by whites and blacks does not necessarily signify the end of a deeply divided electorate. In Detroit in 1973 although turnout rates dropped from 1969, those who voted were more extreme in their bloc-voting (Figure 3). This suggests an interesting hypothesis that those white voters most opposed to the initial attempt of a black to win election continue to show strong opposition while more moderate white voters, swayed by the performance in office of the black mayor, either stay at home or cross over the racial divide in subsequent elections. In black neighborhoods, it would be important to identify the subset of voters who do not turn out to the polls in subsequent elections. These relatively uncommitted voters remain a key element in the future electoral plans of any black mayoral candidate. Finally, it is in the upper-income white neighborhoods that turnout is highest in all elections and they have the lowest fluctuations from election to election. Combining this factor with the appeal of black candidates to this group, we identify a further element of black electoral strategy.

Conclusions

The sample of big city elections with black mayoral candidates, in all parts of the country, is now large enough for generalizations. This paper has

described what I believe to be the three critical factors determining the success or failure of black candidates. This is not to say that other, local factors are not important. Brief attention was given to such conditions as media support, party affiliation and splitting the black vote. A black candidate must ensure that these additional conditions are met or, at least, neutralized. The electoral experience of black candidates in the four cities studied in this paper can provide guidance for possible black candidates elsewhere. As shown by black mayors in Los Angeles, Detroit and Atlanta, the successful campaign was based on the experience of a previous losing effort. The exposure to the city wide electorate and the excitement generated in the black community by a viable candidate are the foundations of eventual success. In this view, a losing effort is not wasted and may be necessary to establish credibility.

It is worth reiterating what I wrote in 1975. "If present population trends continue in American metropolitan areas, more large cities will elect black mayors. The particular timing of their election depends largely on the three factors listed above. The basic reason behind black electoral success so far, however, has been a united electoral front by the black population. It is possible that splits along ideological, social class, or party lines will divide the black electorate in the future and allow a white candidate to win on a white bloc vote. In the foreseeable future, bloc voting will remain the dominant method of voting when the candidates are racially different."

Footnotes

1. John O'Loughlin and Dale A. Berg, "The Election of Black Mayors, 1969 and 1973," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 67 (1977), pp. 223-238; and John O'Loughlin, "The Election of Black Mayors, 1977," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 70 (1980), pp. 353-370.
2. D.R. Matthews and J.W. Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, Vol. 57 (1963), pp. 24-44; W.R. Keech, The Impact of Negro Voting: The Role of the Vote in the Quest for Equality. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1968; and J.E. Conyers and W.L. Wallace, Black Elected Officials: A Study of Black Americans Holding Governmental Office. New York: Russell Sage, 1976.
3. John O'Loughlin, "Black Representation Growth and the Seat-Vote Relationship," Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 60 (1979), pp. 72-86.
4. Chuck Stone, Black Political Power in America. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1974 and W.D. Tryman, "Black Mayoralty Campaigns: Running the 'Race'." Phylon, Vol. 35 (1974), pp. 346-358.
5. J.E. Conyers and W.L. Wallace, Black Elected Officials: A Study of Black Americans Holding Governmental Office. New York: Russell Sage, 1976, p. 15.
6. G. Myrdal, R. Sterner and A. Rose, An American Dilemma. New York: Harper 1944; M.E. Olsen, "Social and Political Participation of Blacks," American Sociological Review, Vol. 35 (1970), pp. 682-697; and N.L. Danigelis, "Theory of Black Political Participation in the United States," Social Forces, Vol. 57 (1977), pp. 31-47.
7. G.C. Wright, Jr., "Black Voting Turnout and Education in the 1968 Presidential Election," Journal of Politics, Vol. 37 (1975), pp. 563-568.
8. C.V. Hamilton, "Voter Registration Drives and Turnout: A Report of the Harlem Electorate," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 92 (1977), pp. 43-46.
9. V.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1949.
10. G.C. Wright, Jr., "Contextual Models of Electoral Behavior: The Southern Wallace Vote," American Political Science Review, Vol. 71 (1977), pp. 497-508; and M.W. Giles, "Percent Black and Racial Hostility: An Old Hypothesis Reexamined," Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 58 (1977), pp. 412-417.
11. E. Banfield and J.Q. Wilson, "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review, Vol. 58 (1964), pp. 876-887 and E. Banfield and J.Q. Wilson, "Political Ethos Revisited," American Political Science Review, Vol. 65 (1971), pp. 1048-1062.

Table 1: Summary Statistics for Elections in Four Cities

City	Year	Candidate	% Vote
Detroit	1969	Richard Austin	49.4
	1973	Coleman Young	51.6
	1977	Coleman Young	61.1
	1981	Coleman Young	65.8
Los Angeles	1969	Tom Bradley	46.7
	1973	Tom Bradley	56.3
	1977*	Tom Bradley	56.9
	1981*	Tom Bradley	63.6
Atlanta	1969**	Sam Massell	55.5
	1973	Maynard Jackson	59.2
	1977	Maynard Jackson	62.7
	1981	Andrew Young	55.1
New Orleans	1977	Ernest Morial	50.1
	1981	Ernest Morial	55.2

* Primary election with more than one opponent

** White candidate with black bloc-vote

1969-1977 percentages are the averages of the individual precinct proportions. 1981 percentages are proportions of the citywide vote.

Table 2: Turnout Rates* for Blacks, Whites and City Total, 1969-1981

	1969			1973			1977			1981
	Total	Black	White	Total	Black	White	Total	Black	White	Total
Detroit	61	71	70	50	53	51	50	54	49	43
Atlanta	-	-	-	58	64	58	41	46	39	62
Los Angeles	74	83	74	61	72	63	42	58	37	45
New Orleans	-	-	-	-	-	-	76	75	77	62

* Percentage of registered population. Only elections with black candidates analyzed.

BLACK MAYORS and the POLITICS of
RACIAL ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Peter K. Eisinger
University of Wisconsin-Madison

This paper was originally presented at the Western Political Science Association meetings, San Francisco, March 26-29, 1980.

This research was supported by funds granted to the Institute for Research on Poverty by the Department of Health and Human Services pursuant to the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The conclusions expressed are those of the author.

PETER EISINGER, University of Wisconsin-Madison

-1-

Professor O'Laughlin has just shown us how to elect Black mayors, and I'm going to go to the next step and talk about what you get after you've done that. Nobody I think would argue these days, not even in Chicago, that the mayoralty of a big city is a very powerful office. Being captain of city hall in the view of some is a little like being the boss of a caboose on a train. You don't have a lot of say over the direction you're going, or the smoothness of your ride or the speed; and the resources that the train company gives you to fix your caboose up and make it a little more comfortable are pretty limited. The train company will go into pleading bankruptcy for big deficits. It is not surprising I think that a lot of mayors leave office complaining about the frustrations of the job than totaling up their accomplishments. If you look at departures from office, I think your John Lindsey of New York, back in the late 60s or Jerry Cavanaugh of Detroit or--to give the right wing fair shakes, Sam Yorty of Los Angeles--they all went out of office complaining that they weren't able to master the office, that they weren't able to do very much. Thus, I'm willing to grant that mayoral power is limited by public employee unions which can constrain a mayor from getting a grip on his or her city and its budget. The economy of the nation and the world, in fact, has more to do with the state of a city's treasury than anything a mayor can do. Detroit is a perfect example of that.

Finally, I think that the mayor is constrained by the fact that many of the problems that the mayor faces are simply intract-

able and I think beyond the power of ordinary mortals to solve. But when all is said about all these limitations,, I want to argue, nevertheless, that the mayoralty is not an insignificant office. To control city hall is I think to control certain resources. that can be distributed and redistributed to racial advantage. To win the mayoralty, I think, is to lay the groundwork for a legitimate, ethnic politics. There are two dimensions on which to analyze mayoral power. One dimension is a symbolic dimension-- the power is a symbolic phenomenon in which the benefits conferred are mainly psychic, of the mind. For example, pride is a psychic benefit--pride in having ones co-ethnic in office; a feeling of belonging is a psychic benefit. We, the people of a particular, ethnic, racial or class group, feel that we belong in the society; we are integral parts of this society, because we have elected one of our own. This is not insignificant. Symbolic power also provides opportunities for moral leadership, and it provides opportunities to serve as a role model for younger people. None of these are unimportant. I think they are the stuff of leadership. Symbolic power should not be dismissed, but I think without anything else, symbolic power alone is a pretty weak tea for hard times!

Mayoral power has another dimension and that is a substantive dimension. Here the benefits are not psychic, but rather are tangible and measurable--something we can count. What I want to suggest this morning, based on a study of six cities with Black mayors. with some additional data from a few others, is that there are substantial sources controlled by mayors that can make a difference, that can measure, that having a Black mayor in particular

PETER EISINGER

-3-

in office does make a difference for Black people.

ABSTRACT

An analysis of personnel policies and city purchasing and contracting patterns in cities governed by black mayors suggests that the black mayors have adapted modern techniques of public administration to serve traditional ethnic income goals once pursued by urban machines. By guaranteeing the increased participation of blacks in municipal civil service jobs and in city purchasing and by pursuing a coalition strategy with white business interests for economic development purposes, the black mayors are making city government a significant focus for the augmentation of black income. The implications of this analysis, which examines data on the increase in black participation in these areas in six large cities, are (a) that the capture of city hall by blacks can have important economic consequences for the black community; (b) that the politics of ethnic (or racial) advancement once practiced by traditional machines is possible even under the rationalized techniques of modern public administration.

BLACK MAYORS and the POLITICS of
RACIAL ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Except for a few isolated survivors, the traditional urban machine, that marvel of disciplined organization in pursuit of bread and butter goals, may safely be pronounced a thing of the past, a colorful exhibit in the gallery of political Americana.¹ Even if the current tone of city politics has lost little of the intensity it had during the heyday of the machine, its practice nevertheless now represents the triumph of an occasionally over-rationalized public administration. The widely accepted reasons for the demise of the machine are legion: for example, the supplanting of the machine reward system of selective patronage and side-payments by bureaucratized social welfare programs, the economic assimilation of the ethnic groups that once ran the machines, the spread of municipal civil service coverage and the concomitant decline of patronage opportunities, and the rationalization of municipal contracting and purchasing.²

What these changes mean, quite simply, is that most people now find that they can produce economic benefits for themselves similar to or better than those the machines once offered without making the sorts of commitments of political energy and loyalty that the urban machine organizations required and without regard to whether "their" side has won or lost in a local political contest. The production of income occurs for the most part outside the domain of municipal politics. Even for members of the winning side, income gained through the preferential acquisition of jobs and contracts is no longer a very important goal to be sought through local political action.

Certainly this is the case in most places, where issues of equity and efficiency in service delivery, local economic development, the quality of the urban environment, and the effort to reduce the size and cost of the public sector dominate political debate rather than the possibilities for particularistic income redistribution or augmentation. Those individuals and groups who do seek to affect income levels through the manipulation of political institutions generally focus instead on the government in Washington, the source since the Depression of public welfare benefits and the presumptive master of macroeconomic tools to regulate wages and prices.

There is, however, an important emergent development in black mayor cities, counter to the common drift of municipal politics, which involves the effort of the newly victorious group in city hall to use its control over city government to affect the distribution of income among local residents. If such uses of city government recall traditional machine politics, the techniques in pursuit of these income goals are products of the new public administration. The purpose of this paper is to analyze what is essentially a new style post-machine patronage politics involving the adaptation of these rationalistic, reform techniques to the traditional aims of ethnic income advancement.

At the outset it must be made clear that the quest for jobs and contracts no longer seems motivated so much by the need to reward and control electoral supporters, nor are these efforts the concern exclusively of black mayors; but like much of the machine politics of old, current efforts to use the local polity to augment income reflect, in the hands of black mayors particularly, a politics of ethnic (or racial) advancement. The income goals sought by black politicians specifically for their black constituents occupy a high place in the mayors' agendas and influence their basic strategies of governance.

The major techniques black mayors use in quest of income opportunities for their black constituents involve first of all a variety of affirmative action rules that bear on public and private sector employment and on the distribution of city contracts. In addition, since increased black participation in the local labor market and the contracting system require a healthy local economy, black mayors have pursued a vigorous politics of economic development, producing a style of governance dominated by the need to establish close relations with the white business community in their respective cities. The consequences of these efforts, as we shall see in the data which follow, have been to expand black participation in a variety of public sector income-producing activities in a very short period of time.

Data pertaining to several aspects of black participation in public sector employment and in municipal contracting were gathered for six large cities which had black mayors in office in 1978 (Atlanta, Detroit, Gary, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and Newark). Since no public central depository of such material exists and since cities are compelled neither to reveal nor even to save data on these matters, there tend to be gaps and a lack of comparability in the presentation. Nevertheless, a combination of site visits and telephone interviews produced sufficient information to suggest an important preoccupation in these cities with using control over the institutions of local government to enlarge black access to public money and private payrolls.

I. ADAPTING THE SYSTEM TO BLACK INCOME GOALS

In contrast to practices in existence in the machine era, nearly all municipal hiring and purchasing today are governed by bureaucratized, competitive rules. Civil service regulations require hiring largely on the

basis of merit qualifications, and city contracts on everything from multi-million dollar airport expansion to paper clip supplies are let on the basis of secret, competitive bidding. How, then, have the black mayors adapted this rationalized system to serve the goal of racial economic advancement through participation in the receipt of public expenditures? There appear to be three principal techniques that bear on public sector operations: the aggressive pursuit of affirmative action strategies, the use of racial criteria in exercising appointment powers in city government, and the imposition of city residency requirements for municipal civil servants.

Affirmative Action Strategies

Nearly all cities now have local affirmative action laws bearing on municipal employment, and all cities are bound by the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act to hire in a nondiscriminatory way and to report periodically to the federal government on their affirmative action performance. Nevertheless, the existence of such pressures does not necessarily mean that city administrations will pursue affirmative action policies vigorously or even place the hiring of minorities high on the agenda of priorities. For example, although a post of affirmative action officer was created in Atlanta by the white mayor who preceded Maynard Jackson, it was not filled until the black mayor came into office nearly a year and a half later. A study of 16 Southern cities averaging more than one-third black in population, none of which had black mayors, found not only that blacks were severely underrepresented in local government service, particularly at the managerial level, but that only 2 of the 16 cities had even developed affirmative action plans in 1975 (New York Times, May 25, 1978).

In black-mayor cities, affirmative action has been used to take the offensive. In contrast to the passivity of personnel officials in cities

like Oakland in the early 1970s (Thompson, 1975), personnel departments in contemporary black-mayor cities have not waited for black applicants to appear on their doorsteps but have initiated active recruitment searches. Detroit's Personnel Office, for example, began a program whereby it identified promising black students in college and offered them internships during their senior year in the hopes of attracting them to city government service after graduation. Atlanta's search for minority city employees took recruiters into surrounding black colleges and even high schools. In both cities the black mayors ordered the reevaluation of selection procedures, which led to a deemphasis on written examinations. At least in five of the six black-mayor cities the head of the personnel office was black.

In the five black-mayor cities for which some data are available it is clear that black public sector employment has been a focus of affirmative action efforts (see Table 1). In the three cases for which data over time are provided, black employment sharply increased. Indeed, this was the case in Atlanta and Detroit, even though total municipal employment in those two cities was decreasing. Black public employment in Los Angeles and Atlanta increased faster than local black population increases over the course of the decade. Indeed, black representation in the Los Angeles and Gary city workforces slightly exceeded the proportion black in those places. Perhaps most important of all are the sizable advances made by blacks at the top of the civil service employment hierarchy, namely at the administrator and professional levels. The rate of increase in these categories was substantially more rapid in Los Angeles, Detroit, and Atlanta than the rate of increase in total black municipal employment.

The importance of the black mayor in implementing affirmative action policies is suggested by a study of black public employment patterns in 43 large U.S. cities (Eisinger, 1982). While variations in the percent black in

the municipal workforce were largely a function of the proportion black in the population, the presence of a black mayor still explained an additional increment of the variance when black population was controlled in a multiple regression model.

As figures in Table 2 show, black increases in police employment in particular are also dramatic. In the space of 10 years, black representation in the Detroit police force increased sixfold and in Newark and Atlanta threefold. Starting with a higher base, the number of blacks on the forces in Gary and Washington still doubled. The only exception to this growth occurs in Los Angeles, significantly the only city on the list without a black majority and one of the two cities (the other is Washington; Preston, 1976, p. 125) which did not have a black police chief during the mid-1970s.

Besides seeking to expand black employment opportunities in the public sector, black mayors have also attempted to expand the participation of minority-owned firms in city contracting and purchasing. The figures offered in Table 3A are not strictly comparable from city to city since the basis on which statistics are kept varies widely. Nevertheless, the data for Newark, Detroit, and Atlanta show plainly that black participation in public purchasing contracts has swelled from virtually nothing at the beginning of the 1970s to a substantial share by 1980 (see also Table 3B).³ Such increases cannot be explained by the imposition of federal minority "set-aside" requirements, some of which -- regarding public works, for example -- date as far back as the Lyndon Johnson administration, for these apply only to federal grants. Rather, initiatives taken by the black-mayor administrations to influence the spending of local revenues appear to be the decisive factors.

The participation of minority firms in city business has been increased in part by advertising efforts of city purchasing departments that are

designed to let black entrepreneurs know the range of products and services the city buys. In Detroit, Los Angeles, and Newark, minority businesspeople are invited to visit the city purchasing department to discuss city needs, while Atlanta sends copies of all bid requests to minority business organizations. Los Angeles routinely advertises its needs in the minority print media. In addition, some black-mayor cities have developed more elaborate devices to make possible greater minority business involvement.

In Atlanta, joint venturing enables many small minority firms that could not have submitted bids on their own to participate in city business. All firms in that city that submit a bid on a municipal purchase or project must meet minority hiring goals established by the city's contract compliance officer; a firm not in compliance may have its bid turned back, even if it is the lowest. However, a white-owned firm not in compliance may be allowed to undertake a city contract if it develops a good-faith hiring plan and if it agrees to a joint venture — an arrangement in which the white-owned firm is joined by a black-owned firm in order to merge resources, perform the contractual obligation jointly, and share in the profits on the basis of a negotiated formula. Joint ventures in Atlanta's massive airport expansion project accounted for an estimated \$36 million worth of contracts for minority firms in 1977.

Detroit has established a preference system for local firms when its city purchasing department reviews bids. Although not all local firms are minority-owned, of course, the preamble to the city ordinance establishing preferential treatment expressly states the intent of the law "to aid those small business concerns which...are owned by socially or economically disadvantaged persons" (Ordinance 52-H, 1975). In comparing bids, the ordinance provides that the bid of a local firm is treated as the better bid even if it is as much as 2% higher than that of a firm based outside of Detroit.

It should be noted that in all cities 10% of federal public works funds are set aside by federal law for minority contractors. Newark, however, attempts on its own initiative to set aside a minimum of 25% of these expenditures for minority entrepreneurs, and Gary's Redevelopment Department maintains a 40% quota. In addition, local ordinances in all six cities require that private firms interested in bidding on city contracts or which take advantage of publicly financed tax abatement or economic development plans must meet affirmative action hiring criteria. Although there are few reliable data bearing on the impact of such rules on the racial makeup of the private sector labor force, city officials nevertheless believe that they possess a modest tool to enlarge minority job opportunities in private firms. As the Contract Compliance officer in Atlanta commented in an interview (May 19, 1978):

We have generated untold numbers of jobs for minority persons in Atlanta, and it's because firms are dependent on city business. Some firms have gone from zero to 20 percent minority workforce... Any overall figures would be soft, but we do know that the policy has changed the composition of the laboring force.

And an official in Detroit's economic development agency noted (May 22, 1978) that, "When we lend money to a private firm at a favorable rate or guarantee a loan, we can put plenty of pressure on them to employ people from the neighborhood — like in the East Jefferson auto plant deal that's in the works."

City Government Appointments

A second technique black mayors have used to expand black income opportunities through public sector employment is the appointment of a high proportion of black supervisors in the municipal civil service corps. Appointment powers vary from city to city but the black mayors of Detroit,

Atlanta, and Gary -- all strong mayor cities -- have appointed blacks to more than half the department head positions (see Table 4). Since department heads ultimately evaluate and promote employees under them, getting blacks into these key "gate-keeper" positions is seen as critical to black employment and advancement opportunities (personal interviews, May 18, 1978; May 23, 1978). Even in Newark, where the mayor's appointive powers are relatively limited, the mayor has been able to appoint blacks in majority numbers to the Affirmative Action Review Council, the Newark Human Rights Commission, and the Committee on the Status of Women, all of which exert influence on agency personnel practices.

City Residency Requirements

A third device that black mayors have used to increase black employment opportunities is the imposition of city residence requirements on municipal workers (see Table 5). Requiring city employees to live within the city limits has recently become an issue laden with racial overtones. Playing particularly on the image of white police forces whose members commute to their jobs from the suburbs as occupying armies in the ghettos, black politicians have been prominent in the call for residency laws. With the city no longer obligated under such laws to draw from the predominantly white metropolitan labor force, black job aspirants in the increasingly black central city face a more favorable structure of competition. Residency requirements are not, of course, designed solely to aid central city minority groups -- in regard to police employment, for example, three quarters of all cities over 250,000 have such rules (ICMA, 1974, p. 222) -- but it is striking that residency laws were passed in five of the six cities under discussion during black-mayor regimes. In the sixth city, Detroit, Mayor Coleman Young has been a vigorous defender of the residency law when it has come under periodic

attack by the Detroit Police Officers Association.

II. BLACK POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH WHITE ECONOMIC POWER

Expanding black income opportunities is viewed by urban black mayors as a central issue facing their cities (Hatcher, 1971, pp. 123, 128). The quest for jobs and the rhetoric about "saving" their cities through economic development have at their core a concern with black poverty and unemployment.

Reflecting on his mayoralty, Carl Stokes once remarked:

Serving all the people is nothing more than campaign rhetoric. No matter what a black candidate for mayor says in his campaign, on taking office he should profess his real responsibility: to help those who are most dependent on government and what it can do for them. That is the blacks. All the ethnic mayors -- the LaGuardias, the Fitzsimmonses -- have done just that. They have gotten into office and tried to lift the dispossessed, the economically powerless -- their people -- up the ladder. (Williams, 1974, p. 11)

To produce income opportunities, most black mayors have pursued a strategy designed to establish a partnership with the dominant white business and industrial interests in their city. As Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit puts it simply, "What is good for black people of this city is good for the white people of this city (Stuart, 1979, p. 110)." The black mayors operate on the basis of a simple equation: private economic development in the city produces jobs in the private sector and tax money that may be used for jobs and purchases in the public sector. Through the various affirmative action devices discussed above, a certain proportion of these jobs and purchases may be channeled to the black community.

Mayor Carl Stokes established the basic pattern when he set out to mobilize a fragmented business community that had shown little interest in the rebuilding of Cleveland (Rogers, 1971, p. 120). The revival of downtown

Detroit and the erection of new insurance industry skyscrapers in Newark are to a large extent the fruits of the coalition strategies of Mayors Coleman Young and Kenneth Gibson (on Newark, see New York Times, July 2, 1977; May 3, 1978). Airport expansion and the construction of a mass transit system serving the downtown are the product of Maynard Jackson's occasionally tentative alliance with Atlanta business interests. In Los Angeles, Mayor Bradley was so assiduous in his pursuit of downtown redevelopment in league with the city's business interests that he jeopardized his support in the 1977 election campaign in some segments of the black community, which claimed that he had forgotten them (New York Times, Dec. 5, 1978; Dec. 27, 1978).

The decision to follow a strategy of coalition with white business means that a number of other possible governing strategies must be foregone. Black auto-development or separatism is not only seen as too radical in a biracial city but as economically doomed to failure. Coalition with poor whites — that is, the pursuit of a politics of class — is seen as a threat that could drive white business from the city. Coalition with the white middle class, a possible third strategy, is viewed as the least productive alternative of all, for it is among the dwindling central city middle class that opposition to school integration and the sharing of public sector jobs with blacks (on the police force, for example) is lodged. Thus it is that the black mayors have come to the ironic conclusion that to use the local political system to create income opportunities for blacks, they must forge a coalition with local private money. In a period in which federal grants are insufficient to offset the inflation which local governments face, it is assumed that private investment finally determines whether local tax revenues will reach sufficiently high levels to permit the hiring of new policemen or enable the city to meet the matching requirements of job- and contract-producing federal public works grants.

Thus in most black-mayor cities the governing coalition represents an alliance of white economic power and black political power. Although it is not yet entirely clear how much these alliances are affecting black income levels on an aggregate basis, there are in the mean time certain negative costs to bear. Black mayors are occasionally accused by black groups of having "sold out" to the white corporate rulers, and therefore must spend a good deal of time performing rituals of reassurance before ghetto audiences. There is also a problem in such coalitions of finding a meaningful role for the white middle class to play in the affairs of the city. Certain of their political resources — their votes and their money — are virtually superfluous. Yet they constitute the clientele for many of the institutions and activities that give a city its character — its cultural amenities, shops, restaurants, libraries, universities, and so on — as well as a significant proportion of the city's taxpayers. The consequences of their possible loss of interest in a city in which they play no great role in the governing process are grave.

III. THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Machine politics in American cities began to disappear, according to accepted doctrine, in large part because the federal government began to take over, universalize, and bureaucratize the machine's income functions. The character of urban government, whatever it became, was no longer defined by its income-producing activities. To win control of city hall these days is no longer considered an achievement of great substantive value. Power is said to reside elsewhere: in metropolitan bodies, in Washington, in the state capital, in public employee union halls. Cities are too dependent economically on sources of revenues that they do not control, and their powers

are constrained by restrictive charters. It has taken the emergence of black urban mayors, however, to rediscover the possibilities for expanding income opportunities for ordinary people through a new style politics of post-machine patronage.

A complete assessment of the impact of affirmative action policies on black employment patterns would, of course, have to take into account the gains made by black workers in private sector jobs as well as public employment. To an unknown degree, new jobs in the private sector for blacks are created in part by affirmative action pressures on contractors with the city and on firms that take advantage of public economic development subsidies. Other jobs are undoubtedly created as a result of the expansion or formation of black-owned firms in response to the new business opportunities in city contracting.

It is clear from the figures on public employment alone, however, that public sector affirmative action does not offer a strategy for full employment. The impact of public sector jobs is, at least in terms of numbers, a relatively limited one. Assuming for the sake of argument that each worker supports a family of four people, black public servants would support a total of no more than 6-8% of the total black population of the cities under examination. But this is not to say that the public sector labor corps is unimportant to the black community. If nothing else, employment in the municipal civil service helps to create a sizable, secure middle class group in the black community. Bound by residency laws to the city, this group may be expected to use its considerable civic and financial resources not in the surrounding bedroom suburbs but in the place they work. The economic security of black civil servants cannot be minimized: despite fiscal pressures on cities, civil service employment provides steadier work than the private sector, it is generally better paid for similar work, and it provides more

generous fringe benefits (Perloff, 1971). In addition, the public sector offers many blacks a chance to learn managerial skills that may possibly provide lateral access to the private sector at a high level. In theory, such an economically stable group should provide a certain measure of leadership for the larger black community.

But there are other gains for the black community at large in the entry of large numbers of blacks into public service. The presence of blacks in policy-making and policy-implementing positions in the municipal bureaucracy may be expected to do much to remedy some of the tensions and dissatisfactions bred by the social asymmetry between civil servants and those they serve (Yates, 1977, 132-133). Finally, the members of this group provide a stable platform in the social mobility ladder for their children.

Establishing historical comparisons with other ethnic groups to put these figures and this analysis into perspective is a difficult task. However, the Irish experience provides the most obvious analogy. Irish political power in American cities developed in the decades around the turn of the century. A major consequence of their local political success was the capture of a disproportionate share of public sector jobs at all levels and of government contracts. Although the general pattern is well known and innumerable case studies exist of Irish patronage and municipal employment strategies, there are few hard data to make direct, aggregate comparisons with the current black experience.

Stephen Erie's (1978) work on San Francisco, however, permits a limited comparison by allowing us to estimate the extent to which local municipal employment supported the Irish population in that city in 1900 (a year in which the Irish dominated the city's politics and municipal work force). Irish city employees in San Francisco, comprising slightly more than one-third of the entire public service workforce, probably supported no more than 10% of the Irish population.⁴

Set against the extraordinary level of Irish socioeconomic achievement by the 1970s, such a figure does not seem insignificant. Public service jobs seem to have established for the Irish an economically secure lower middle and middle class, which if initially small, nevertheless provided the resources to support and encourage the advancement of succeeding generations. By 1970 the Irish ranked as the most successful gentile group in the United States on most measures of socioeconomic achievement (Greeley, 1976, pp. 45-56):

Since the days of Irish dominance in city jobs, the public sector has grown significantly, opening up more substantial employment opportunities for blacks than the Irish had. Furthermore, black politicians have a battery of affirmative action tools, unknown to the Irish, to bring pressure to bear on private employers. Black business and black labor may also be expected to grow with the increase in local government spending compared to the Irish heyday and the additional opening of the municipal purchasing and contracting process to black entrepreneurs. All of these gains, upon which a certain segment of the urban black population may be expected to build a substantial level of economic security for succeeding generations, have come in large part as a consequence of manipulating the local political system. Winning influence in or control of city hall, then, is no mere symbolic achievement for blacks: mastering local government can have significant economic consequences for blacks.

TABLE 1. Black Gains
in City Employment, 1973-1980

City	% Black Population, 1980	% Blacks Hired	
		1973	1980
Los Angeles (1973) ^a	17	22	24
Totals			
administrators		1.3	6.7
professionals		5	8.8
Newark (1970)	58.2%	—	49.6
Totals			
administrators		—	19.5
professionals			51.6
Atlanta (1973)	66.5	41.5	60.7
Totals			
administrators		13.5	35.0
professionals		19	47.2
Detroit (1973)	63	45.1	55.2
Totals			
administrators		12.1	41.2
professionals		22.8	39.2
Gary (1967)	70.3	—	77.3
Totals			
administrators		—	72.3
professionals		—	70.8

Source: Personnel departments of each city. Washington, D.C. data were not made available.

^a Date in parentheses is date of the first election of a black mayor.

TABLE 2. Blacks on Police Forces^a

City	Percentage Black in Selected Years	
Los Angeles	5 (1971)	6 (1978)
Newark	9 (1970)	25 (1977)
Atlanta	9 (1967)	33 (1978)
Detroit	5 (1967)	30 (1978)
Washington ^b	22 (1968)	44 (1978)
Gary	22 (1968)	47 (1977)

Source: Police departments of each city.

^a Recordkeeping varies markedly from city to city. Some places have data which predate the election of the black mayors; others do not. Dates in parentheses in the left hand column are the closest to the date of the first election of a black mayor; dates in the right hand column were the latest available.

^b Washington's black mayor was appointed in 1967; the first popular election of a mayor took place in 1974.

TABLE 3. City Contracting and Purchasing Going to Minority-Owned Enterprises

City	A. In percentages, 1973-1980	
	1973	1980
1. Data on total city spending, including equipment, professional and maintenance services, public works, supplies, real estate.		
Atlanta	2	14
Washington	n.a.	10 ^a
2. Data only on spending handled through a central purchasing department.		
Detroit ^b	6	15
Los Angeles ^c	n.a.	3
Newark ^c	1	5
Gary ^c	n.a.	40

City	B. In Millions of Dollars (1980)
Atlanta	18.2
Washington	2.5 (1978)
Detroit	22.5
Los Angeles	1.9
Gary	6.4
Newark	.5

Sources: Individual purchasing, engineering, and redevelopment departments.

^a Figures for first 6 months of 1978 only. Later figures not available.

^b Includes nearly all major expenditures and contracts except for professional services and repairs and maintenance.

^c These figures do not include public works construction spending. Newark spent 18% of its public works funds with minority firms, while 64% of Gary's public works money went to minority firms.

TABLE 4. Mayoral Appointments of Blacks
To City Government, 1977-1978

City	Department and Agency Heads	Boards and Commissions
Atlanta	55.5%	46%
Gary	66.7	n.a.
Detroit	51.3	44
Los Angeles	n.a.	35
Newark	n.a.	51.4
Washington	n.a.	n.a.

TABLE 5. City Residency Requirements
for Municipal Employees

City	Action Taken Under Black Mayor
Atlanta	Executive order requiring city residence for all appointees (1974). City residency requirement for new police and fire department employees (1976).
Washington	City residency requirement for all city employees (1980).
Newark	City residency requirement for all city employees except police, fire and school personnel, who are exempted by state law (1975).
Gary	City residency requirement for all city employees (1978).
Los Angeles	City residency requirement for all city employees (1972). Subsequently repealed by state constitutional initiative. A city ordinance requiring firefighters to live in the city predates the mayor.
Detroit	None. A general residency requirement was passed in 1968.

NOTES

¹ A few machines still apparently exist. Michael Johnston (1979), for example, reminds us of the continuing vitality of machine politics in New Haven. But on the whole, the machine is an anachronism.

² Greenstein's article (1964) is the classic summary of these reasons.

³ Early lack of black participation was not necessarily a function of lack of black enterprises. The number of black-owned businesses with employees in 1972 in Atlanta was 442; in Detroit, 1104; in Gary, 199; and in Washington, 773 (Howard, 1978, p. 7).

⁴ My calculations were made as follows. The first and second generation Irish population in San Francisco in 1900 amounted to approximately 80,500. Irish workers held a combined total of 2551 public service jobs in federal, state, and local government. Generously assuming that 2000 of these jobs might have been municipal in character and multiplying by a factor of 4, we arrive at a figure of slightly less than 10% of the Irish population supported by the city payroll. (For the figures on which my calculations were based, see Erie, 1978, p. 281.)

REFERENCES

Eisinger, P. 1982. Black employment in municipal jobs: The impact of black political power. American Political Science Review, v. 76 (June).

Erie, S. 1978. Politics, the public sector and Irish social mobility: San Francisco, 1870-1900. Western Political Quarterly, 31 (June): 274-289.

Greeley, A. 1976. Ethnicity, denomination, and inequality. Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

Greenstein, F. 1964. The changing pattern of urban party politics. Annals, 353 (May): 1-13.

Hatcher, R. 1971. The black man in United States politics. In M. Dymally (ed.), The black politician. Belmont, California: Duxbury.

Howard, J. 1978. A framework for the analysis of urban black politics. Annals, 439 (Sept.): 1-15.

International City Management Association. 1974. Police and fire personnel policies in cities over 50,000. Municipal yearbook. Washington, D.C.

Johnston, M. 1979. Patrons and clients, jobs and machines: A case study of the uses of patronage. American Political Science Review, 73 (June): 385-398.

Jones, M. 1978. Black political empowerment in Atlanta. Annals, 439 (Sept.): 90-117.

Perloff, S. 1971. Comparing municipal salaries with industry and federal pay. Monthly Labor Review, 94 (Oct.): 46-50.

Preston, M. 1976. The limitations of black urban power: The case of black mayors. In L. Masotti and R. Lineberry (eds.), The new urban politics. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger.

Rogers, D. 1971. The management of big cities. Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

Stuart, R. 1979. The new black power of Coleman Young. New York Times Magazine (Dec. 16), 102-114.

Thompson, F.J. 1975. Personnel policy in the city. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Williams, R. 1974. America's black mayors: Are they saving the cities? Saturday Review/World (May 4), 10-13.

Yates, D. 1977. The ungovernable city. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Mayoral Changes in Public Policy:

Atlanta, Newark and Oakland

Sharon Watson

Department of Government

Smith College

MAYORAL TRANSITIONS AND POLICY

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is easy to be cynical and expect too little from elections...or to be euphoric and expect too much from them.

--Polsby and Wildavsky

INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that while electoral victory is important, influencing policy is the other half of the political game. Polsby and Wildavsky very keenly present the paradox that has plagued many reactions to cities electing black mayors, the impacts of which seemed uncertain. This research has highlighted the fact that the lack of political socialization and direct participation characteristic of black politics in the immediate post World War II period is no longer. A "new urban politics" developed in the mid-60s and 70s where the ambitions of many black candidates were realized in their election to public offices of high visibility and importance. Spawned by migration into large urban areas and the later politicization of the black community creating higher black voting turnouts--the capture of the

mayorality by blacks has almost become common place among U.S. cities. Exploring how a few black mayors might be able to influence certain policy arenas illumines our insights into their role as chief executives much better than examining only the critical election process giving rise to their victories. An even more important discovery in this research is the fact that despite characterizations of black run cities as "hollow prizes" they have survived with signs of revitalization in many cases.¹

The emphasis in this study was to examine the election patterns of mayors in three quite different political contexts exploring the election of black mayors in particular in Atlanta, Oakland, and Newark. The similarity of the demand for electoral change, the new policy mandates of elected mayors and changing voter and political configurations from previous elections in each city provided the basis for characterizing these as critical elections at the local level with some important caveats. For example, we cannot say much about the durability of coalitions explored in each context because not enough time has elapsed for such an identification. Nor are there political parties at the local level where partisan preferences can be measured as an indicator of voter shifts. But critical election theory, as an exploratory technique applied at the subnational level does provide a much broader framework than the often cited ethnic group theory or institutional racism models in explaining some aspects of black political ascension.²

Critical election theory while explaining electoral outcomes also seeks to establish a linkage to policy outcomes. It suggests that

while there are intense political feelings, ideological polarization, and issue voting giving way to electoral shifts, there are also corresponding expected policy shifts. But neither occurs very often within our American political system.

The remainder of this chapter seeks to compare and contrast the three case studies. First, we will explore the similarities and contrasts in electoral outcomes among the cities. Second, we will examine the influence of the mayors in general on the policy arenas chosen for the study. The major hypothesis of the study suggested that given the voting coalition and new policy mandates on which black mayors were elected, that they might be able to make important impacts on policy. What we discovered, however, is that the electoral environments and policy environments of years past have changed. While black mayors may not be as innovative as we might suspect, they have made important strides in such areas as minority employment.

ELECTORAL OUTCOMES

Just as most Americans according to Button felt the urban riots of the 60s were unnecessary examples of collective violence to redress grievances and social ills, so too did many feel the election of blacks as mayors was unnecessary in order for black needs to be adequately addressed. Button maintains that the "myth of peaceful progress" which is supposed to explain how most of the country's conflicts are resolved through the pluralist notion of bargaining and negotiation, was found lacking as an explanation of the riots and subsequently as an explanation of the rise of black electoral power.³ The "myth of

peaceful progress" was certainly not always in evidence during the elections analyzed in each of the research cities. There were documented incidents of some heated confrontations in each of these cities. While many city residents were not violently opposed to black ascension, some were skeptical about the future and progress of their cities. This skepticism was certainly true among city economic elites.⁴

The argument among the new black elites emerging in each of our cities after World War II was that few benefits accrued to the black community despite their electoral support for earlier white mayors. In Atlanta; for example, the Atlanta Negro Voters League served as gatekeeper for black interests as early as 1948, but gains had been few as perceived by the city's new black elite emerging in the late 60s. While Newark had elected a black city councilman from the Central Ward in the city's 1954 elections, little else had been gained except a few patronage positions. In Oakland, the city's politics had been low key and conservative until the mid-60s. Mayoral elections before had not seemed as important as many of the contested city council seats. In the 1960s and 70s electoral victory with the mayor's office as the target became the dominant strategy in all three cities.

The data from this study confirms four prevailing patterns when comparing the three cities. First, racial polarity remains an important characteristic of cities with increasing minority populations. This is true despite the fact that black run cities in general are becoming less and less of a novelty. Second, blacks rarely win the first time around in city elections. In each of the cities

explored black mayoral candidates always ran in a previous election before a black candidate won the mayor's race. Third, the analysis of these elections over the 31 year period suggest that the transition of political power to a black mayor is so dramatic a change in cities, given the historical turbulence of ethno-racial development--that such elections will remain one of the most important political events in the urban electoral cycle. And finally, when comparing the re-election efforts, black mayors are often re-elected in less dramatic campaigns with slight declines in voter turnout but where racial polarity in voting remains important.

By far, participation in the electoral process is the most common way that individuals and groups participate in politics. Such widespread participation was characteristic of the three cities under study here. And given the historical and socioeconomic status of blacks as a minority group, they have participated far more than would be expected.⁵ Yet, the fact that the electoral process itself has not been sufficient in insuring other gains and favorable government decisions for blacks and other minorities is not new. But it does not call for a totally pessimistic view of the importance of the electoral process held by some critics. Holden argues:

...the basic point is that the tradeoff process is too slow relative to the needs of the occasion. It is not that the process does not work, but it works all too badly... The basic rationale for electorate politics insofar as policy is concerned, is that desirable policies will emerge when there is a clear identity between the interests and values of the elected and those who elect them.⁶

Instead of relying totally on the electoral process, blacks and other minorities must move toward more active participation in the policy

making process. As we have suggested, this is the other half of the political game.

POLICY OUTCOMES

The major criticism of a proposed causal linkage between elections and public policy suggests that the policy goals of the electorate are often unknown and incongruent with those of elected public officials. Polsby and Wildavsky argue that:

...It would not be correct to say that our elections transmit unerringly the policy preference of the electorate to leaders or confer mandates upon leaders with regard to specific policies.⁷

However, it can be argued that the reliance on the electoral process for blacks in mayoral campaigns at least is based on the notion that there is a clear identification of interests and goals of the community with those elected to public office.⁸ Traditionally, these goals have included the improvement in the quality of life and racial equality issues. Yet, Morris suggests that it is this preoccupation of the black community with these racial equality and subordinate status types of policies that has by definition limited their influence on the range of other issues.

A factor contributing to these limitations on black orientations to the policy process is the essentially defensive character of black politics over time... (and) instead of expanding or developing the capacity to influence policy making there has been a tendency to maintain the traditional organizations and style of politics.⁹

Attaining political office is one way to combat the traditional forms of politics to which Morris refers. The new cadre of black leadership should be distinguished from old line black leaders who traditionally

held a few minimal positions and some influence at the city level. We have tried to highlight the active role that mayors can now play in the policy process.

Symbolic Versus Tangible Impacts

Most of the developing literature on black mayors suggests that they have been far more successful in their symbolic impacts than on substantive policy change. The consensus of these early studies suggests that they have been influential by increasing the levels of:

- interest and participation in politics
- trust in city governments, and
- some limited improvements in community service.¹⁰

The examination of black mayoralities in this study has tried to go beyond the symbolic impacts to explore the impacts of mayors in specific policy arenas. While the electoral patterns are similar giving rise to black mayors in these three city contexts, the corresponding impacts that mayors have on policy are different. The effects of different structural and environmental characteristics of the cities inform a mayor's governing capacity as well as the ideology and personality of the mayors themselves. Both Hanes and Levine agree that a theoretical framework that elucidates the political activity of a group as a function of these contextual variables is important in exploring the effectiveness of urban executives.¹¹

THE "CONSTRAINTS" APPROACH TO VIEWING MAYORAL INFLUENCE

The fact that black mayors ride in on a policy mandate for change unlike that of their predecessors, makes viewing the constraints to their governing capabilities even more important. I argue that while most analyses of the effects of these constraints are overwhelmingly negative--the data presented here on budgets, minority hiring and federal aid, offers at least a more optimistic view of mayoral potential for influence. The findings suggest the forces that provide constraints were set in motion long before the critical election periods in black run cities and can be labeled both structural and environmental constraints.

One of the principal differences among the cities studied are structural involving the divisions of authority between local chief executives and their city councils. Mayors in Atlanta and Newark have strong mayor charters which cast their abilities to govern on a much higher level than those of weak executives like those in Oakland.¹² Over the period under study both Newark and Atlanta increased the powers of the mayor. The potential of mayoral influence on policy is therefore greater in these cities. If we were to construct an index of mayoral powers, it would include such important variables as length of term, the ability to appoint department heads, veto powers and the ability to make important budget recommendations.

A second structural characteristic of urban governments is inherent in their subordinate role to both state and federal government structures. The three cities chosen for the study all exist under different state home rule provisions that affect not only their city

charters but city fiscal capabilities including the ability to tax. Proposition 13 in Oakland, for example, has had tremendous revenue consequences for all California cities. In turn these limits on urban government and the accountability to higher levels have caused city governments to be characterized as low change systems and reactionary.¹³

If we place the structural constraints argument on a higher level, most problems of cities might seem less a function of these urban-level structural constraints, but are national in scope. The "urban crisis" and the problems that followed in its wake "are the result of the basic structural characteristics of our political economy," and cannot be easily altered by a change in political and voter coalitions. The lack of full employment, for example, means that there is a permanent underclass in urban centers--which disproportionately affects minority groups. Couple this with the fact that businesses and industries have moved away from city centers than the solutions to such problems seems less a function of what individual cities and mayors can do. The solutions may instead take place on a national urban agenda.

The cities studied also had quite different political, social, and economic histories illustrative of environmental factors. In Atlanta, we discovered that blacks had long been important partners in the progressive coalition in that city due chiefly to their large voting turnout. Although ideologically Atlanta's early mayors remained segregationist and conservative they were able to keep the coalition intact until the mid-60s. In 1973 the city mobilized and elected its first black mayor, Maynard Jackson. Economically, Atlanta has been

able to hold its own remaining the industrial hub of the southeast.

Unlike Atlanta, Newark's spiral of economic decline began early in the period under study with a steady loss of businesses and industries from the city. Its politics was basically ward politics during the early years which precluded blacks from organizing on a city-wide basis until the Black and Puerto Rican convention. Newark politics also had a history of corruption and its mayor, Hugh Addonizio, was facing federal indictment opening the way for the election of Gibson in 1970. While blacks were able to elect a black councilman in the city's 1954 elections, little else was gained over the period.

Like Newark, Oakland also suffers from a second city syndrome. Its politics had been described by Hayes as corporate-conservative until the 1977 city elections when a new coalition developed and Wilson was elected. The mayor's position in Oakland has historically been less powerful than in the other two cities explored based primarily on the fact that it is a low paying, part-time position and the city operates under a council manager form of government.

As a result of these overarching structural and environmental characteristics there may seem a basic inertia in urban systems that is resistant to change. This led to the conclusion that all mayoral elections may not lead to substantial change policy priorities. I have hypothesized instead that there must be a deliberate and intensive stimulus. Therefore, it seemed that the elections featuring black mayoral candidates would provide the stimulus based on their campaign mandates of change which were different from preceding elections. It was a mandate that sought to render city governments more responsive to

minority needs. Change is a risk-taking venture and while the preceding administrations seemed less willing to make the change for fear of alienating the existing governing coalitions and prevailing ideologies, black mayoral administrations were based on such risk factors. While we sought to build a case for why these critical elections should have been a period of change and innovation--the evidence suggests their administrations were more likely examples of some successes and failures--not innovations but of expansionist and redistributive policy.

MAYORAL INFLUENCES AND POLICY

The approach taken in this study was different from many earlier studies because specific policy arenas were chosen in which mayors might potentially influence policy and make a difference. The shift in political science toward public policy analysis demonstrates a new interest in what governments actually do. The typicality of the importance of spending policy, minority hiring and intergovernmental aid seemed important items on the agenda of the three research sites and in cities in general.

Minority Hiring

Very few social scientists have examined personnel and recruitment policy at the urban level. Nonetheless, recruitment and minority hiring were high on the campaign agendas of black mayoral candidates. The issue centered on the notion that "representative" government was tied to "responsive" government. Blacks felt in particular that if

they were represented on all levels of government that government would be more responsible and sensitive to their needs.

The hypothesis that there would be more minorities in terms of a net change in absolute numbers in black mayoral administrations than in the previous administrations was not confirmed. On the whole, minority hiring was less a question of net gains in absolute numbers than a distributional problem. Among the case cities, the data suggests that blacks were beginning the long stride toward increased representation in city jobs in proportion to their population before black mayors were elected in terms of overall numbers. In other words some gains in minority employment began in previous administrations in the three cities in terms of absolute net gains. Some interesting comparisons can be made comparing the data from our three cities with all state/local governments and the private sector employment. Data are comparable for only the 1974/75 period. What we find in Table 7-1 is that on a case city level, Atlanta, Oakland and Newark fare much better in overall black employment levels for this period than either the private sector or state and local governments. The cities show less impressive gains for women. Whites still dominate the workforces at over 80 percent in private sector and overall state/local government employment when compared to the cities. Women represent over 30 percent in private sector and state and local total employment illustrated in the table.

The problem shifted from a purely "numbers" issue to representation in the higher levels of city bureaucracies. Blacks and women were likely to be represented in the lower-level and lower paying

job categories before the election of black mayors. Yet, it was in the distribution of city jobs that black mayors made their most significant contribution among these cities. The data suggests that of all new hires, minorities and women were likely to represent increased percentages from years past and were also a larger proportion of upper level positions. This represents tremendous progress in expanding job opportunities to minorities despite the fact that overall city jobs are on the decline. Mayor Gibson in Newark had made the most significant gains in the occupational distribution of blacks although blacks in the three cities remained concentrated in paraprofessional and service level jobs and women remained in office and clerical jobs.

While non-discriminatory policy in federal employment was not new, city and state governments only became subject to mandatory affirmative action guidelines in 1972. The hypothesis that black mayors had a much firmer commitment to affirmative action guidelines did seem true. Each of the three cities had an operative affirmative action plan to insure that the systematic changes in absolute employment, career development and upward mobility were maintained. The black mayors exhibited executive centered leadership in appointing affirmative action directors, in insuring accountability and putting the systems in place for continued progress. In the section below we briefly explore the special case of black mayors and the police.

Table 7-1

Three City Comparison With State/Local Government
and Private Sector Employment*

	White	Black	Women	Other Minorities
State/Local Governments**	81.8	14.8	35.5	4.4
Private Sector***	83.5	10.5	34.2	5.4
<u>Cities</u>				
Atlanta**	55	45	16	0
Oakland	65	25	20	10
Newark	60	36	25	.3

* In percentages.

** 1974 figures-percent of EEOC reporting firms, representing 31.6 million jobs.

*** 1975 figures.

Black Mayors and the Police: A Special Case

When black mayors are elected, one of the first areas in which they "want to make a difference in a hurry" is in the police department in terms of black recruitment. Yet police departments are also highly politicized organizations and seem more resistant to change than perhaps any other city department. Police brutality issues have echoed throughout this period in cities with large minority populations and white mayors. This is attributed to the fact that there are too few black officers on the street sensitive to black needs and too few black

administrators within departments who make police policy affecting cities with increasing minority populations. Moss sums up the dilemma in this way:

Over the short run, Black community control over police operating in the Black community is necessary for the safety and security of that community. The black community is presently the victim of a double edged police dilemma. On the one hand, the black community is subjected to almost constant police harassment and brutality. And on the other hand, while many students of police administration, like James Q. Wilson, attempt to "balance" reports of police brutality emanating from the black community with their studies indicating that "there is much or more black criticism of inadequate police protection and service....," these findings simply demonstrate that police operating in the black community not only abuse the residents of the black community but fail to protect them from criminal activities as well.¹⁴

Since the police are some of the most visible street level bureaucrats in cities, black mayors seek to change the composition of the police force early to calm some of the immediate concerns of the black community.

According to Greer, a pattern of conflict between the police department and city hall has occurred in "every city which a black mayor has taken office."¹⁵ The account of Mayor Hatcher's administration and the Gary police department, for example, is perhaps the best known where conflict began even before Hatcher took office. On the day of the election primary in 1967, police officers physically barred the entrance to polling places in several black voting precincts to discourage blacks from voting. Hatcher had campaigned specifically on a platform proposal to increase the numbers of minority policemen and to end the history of police corruption on the force. To a degree, Hatcher has been able to reduce some corruption--but he has been more

successful in the recruitment of black police on the Gary police force.¹⁶

In Gary, like many other large urban areas, the underrepresentation of blacks and other minorities on the police force is well known. There were no appreciable increases until the 1960s due to pressure from civil rights and community groups. In the late 1950s only 5 percent of the total police force in Gary was black in an increasingly large minority city. In Newark in 1953 there were only 27 black policemen and in Atlanta there were only 30 on the force in 1959. Due to segregated policies as we suggested earlier, these policemen often served in black areas only.

More recently, during Mayor Massell's term in office in Atlanta, the proportion of black policemen doubled from 10 percent of the sworn officers in 1967 to 28 percent of the total police force in 1970, decreasing to 22 percent in 1972 as shown in Table 7-2. Black police increased in Jackson's term from 21 percent in 1974 to 35 percent.¹⁷ In Newark black police registered an increase from 9.8 percent of the sworn officers in 1967 in Addonizio's term to 15 percent in Gibson's first year, slightly decreasing which was also true in Atlanta during this period. Black policemen in Oakland remained about the same from 1967 to 1970 but increased from about 5 percent to 7 percent from 1970 to 1972. Black police representation seems much better in Atlanta and Newark. In most cities over this period there were cutbacks in city employment in general so that any increases would seem important. In Atlanta, for example, there was actually a freeze on hiring of police in 1974 due to litigation over minority employment of police officers.

Through their powers of appointment, however, black mayors can make perhaps their most forceful impact on police departmental policy. This is true because of their ability to appoint new police chiefs. But in at least two of our cities, Atlanta and Newark, the initial appointments were strongly opposed.

Table 7-2

Black Police in Atlanta, Oakland, Newark

	1967*	1970**	1972**
Atlanta	10.0%	28.0%	22.6%
Oakland	4.1	4.7	7.0
Newark	9.8	15.0	14.5

* As a percent of the total number of sworn officers.

** As a percent of the total police force.

Source: Hollis R. Lynch, The Black Urban Condition (New York: Thomas R. Crowell Co., 1973), pp. 441-443.

Jackson had campaigned on a platform of police reform in the 1973 election promising to fire the white police chief, John Inman, who had become suspect of having underworld connections. Accusations and speculation intensified because of Inman's relationship to the former mayor's brother who was also accused of having underworld connections. Mayor Massell had appointed John Inman as chief of police under rather dubious circumstances it seemed. Inman had a rather undistinguished record as a policeman and did not have the educational qualifications

expected of the city's police chief.¹⁸

Upon taking office, Jackson immediately moved to fire Inman. He also wanted to restructure the police, fire and civil service defense departments by creating a "super chief" (Commissioner of Public Safety) who would oversee these departments. The super chief would have broader policy powers and would report directly to the mayor. But there was also considerable controversy over Jackson's choice as super chief, Reginald Eaves, a former school friend, black and an outsider.¹⁹

Both of the former chiefs during this period, Herbert Jenkins and John Inman, had been selected from within the police department. The mayor's choice would be the first outsider. Inman later filed suit to retain his job and questioned the constitutionality of the super chief's position.

The State Supreme Court later upheld the city's right to establish under the new charter, a Commissioner of Public Safety who in effect would be Inman's superior. The city dropped its own charges against Inman hoping to calm the controversy, since Inman's newly created position as Director of Police Services meant that he reported directly to the Commissioner of Public Safety. He had very little power and could be dismissed by the mayor without council interference.²⁰ A. Reginald Eaves, the mayor's choice as Commissioner, was also later approved although the entire period of his administration was embroiled in controversy. Eaves was later replaced by a second black Commissioner, Lee Brown.

Immediately following his approval, Eaves reorganized the police department and reshuffled some of its top personnel. He replaced

several upper level officers formerly loyal to the Massell-Inman regime with those more loyal to the new mayor. With this restructuring of the department and the creation of the Commissioner of Public Safety, the police had come under the mayor's domain.²¹ Some critics believed in fact the mayor was becoming "too powerful." Throughout the period, the black community supported Eaves despite the controversy surrounding his administration, police policies and attacks from the Atlanta press and the city's commercial elite.²²

One of Gibson's first actions upon taking office in 1970 was the replacement of the police chief, Dominick A. Spina. But he was criticized in the black community for not choosing someone black for the job. Instead, Gibson's first choice was John Redden, a veteran on the Newark police force having served 23 years on the force prior to his appointment. The mayor knew of the city council's opposition to his appointment even before Inauguration Day but threatened to tell the crowds on the day of the Inauguration of the council's position if they did not agree to approve the appointment. The council did finally approve the Redden appointment. But Redden later resigned in 1972 as a result of the Kawalda Towers public housing controversy in the North Ward, the lack of public support and continuing city council opposition to some of his policies.²³ The Newark black community awaited Gibson's second choice whom they hoped would be black.

The mayor obliged the black community and submitted the name of Edward L. Kerr as the first black police director in the city's history. But the nomination was embroiled in controversy in the city council and Kerr's nomination was rejected twice because councilmen

voted along racial lines. At that time the council was composed of five whites and three blacks. In July, 1973, Gibson submitted Kerr's name for the third time and he was confirmed when two whites finally joined the black councilmen in a compromise move to support the nomination. While most segments of the city's black community seemed pleased with the nomination, Imamau Baraka and the more radical segments believed Kerr would remain a stooge of the white community.²⁴ Almost two years later, with little explanation, except suspected pressure from the white community, Kerr was replaced by a second black police officer, Lt. Hubert Williams, also recruited from within the department.²⁵

While there is evidence that the number of blacks on the force has increased in Newark, Moss suggests that Gibson has less control over police policy than did his predecessor. This conclusion is based on the continuing controversy surrounding his appointments and council antagonism. As Moss suggests, Gibson never claimed that he would substantially change the police department. Moss sums up the dilemma in this way:

Gibson indicated that his election as mayor was not going to lessen the hostility between Newark's blacks and Puerto Ricans and the Newark police and despite clear evidence of widespread police misconduct, Gibson refused to challenge the local police structure... Blacks in Newark seeking the ability to control police in their communities have been faced with the task of organizing the community for their purpose without governmental assistance.²⁶

In sum, Gibson seemed less aggressive in "taking on the police" amid continuing charges of police misconduct and police brutality than was Jackson in Atlanta. Both mayors rejected efforts to establish civilian review boards. But it is important to recall that Jackson

masked total police reconstruction under provisions of a new city charter. This restructuring allowed him to replace top level officers with those more loyal to his regime. Gibson was far more constrained in his efforts.

Spending Priorities

Perhaps no other dilemma has been so well documented in black run cities as is their fiscal plight. The overall problem is that citizen demands and expenditures have increased but city resources have not kept pace. Clearly the overriding issue facing the black mayors in this investigation was maintaining the basic services and keeping the tax rate down. The fiscal plights of each of the cities is illustrative of the constraints the mayors faced taking office.

In Newark Gibson inherited a \$60 million debt left him from the previous administration in a city where some 60 percent of the city land is tax abated. In the short run, Gibson was able to alleviate the city debt by appealing to Trenton and Washington. Yet, the city has not had any major private investment in over twenty years which speaks to its long-term problems.

Fiscally, Atlanta is considered very sound. What has characterized the change in Atlanta since the city's critical election era has been the division between the business and political communities. In the Hartsfield-Allen days the two were synonymous but when the chain was broken, Atlanta, like Newark, experienced white flight to the suburbs and some decline in economic vitality while becoming a heavily minority populated city. One financial advisor in

Oakland described it as being in a "down hill pattern," especially since the passage of Proposition 13 placing a limit on property taxes. He went on to say that as a result, unless something drastic happens the city would not be able to maintain even its basic services.

While the financial and fiscal conditions of cities are important so too are the formal powers of the mayor. Both Jackson in Atlanta and Gibson in Newark had strong mayoral powers regarding the budget while Oakland's mayor had very little power. The chief administrator by law is the city manager in Oakland who prepares the budget.

Despite the constraints outlined more thoroughly in the text, the election process was viewed as a substantial enough stimulus to bring about some changes in city budgets. The clear use of budgets for analysis seemed useful in assessing expenditure shares of the budget for specific categories. We suggested that black mayors might spend more on social welfare type expenditures than city wide expenditures. The social service variables included public welfare, recreation, health and education. The city-wide variables included fire, sanitation, libraries, and police.

Exploring the spending patterns among the cities, given the limitations of the data, we found that on the whole, neither black mayors nor mayors in general seemed to have different spending priorities than their predecessors regarding city-wide versus social service expenditures.

Oakland mayors have one vote on the council and are not as instrumental in budget preparation as mayors in the other two cities. However, in the patterns for the three cities, this structural

constraint seemed to make little difference. No clear patterns emerged among the three cities, which would seem to indicate that mayoral elections or form of government made no difference in spending. For example, Mayor Gibson in Newark seemed to have held the line on most expenditure categories examined except welfare where he seemed to have devoted a larger share of the budget. But on the whole, incrementalism seems to best explain the patterns observed across mayoral administrations in Newark and the other two cities. The problem of tax bases, the inability to find alternative means of raising revenues and the drain on city coffers by increasing poor and minority populations seem plausible explanations of why budgets changed so little.²⁷ Cooperation from city councils is also important but there is no firm evidence that a black dominated city council will always vote for tax increases favored by the mayor or any other alternatives.²⁸

Intergovernmental Relations

An important element in viewing the impacts of mayors and grant getting is the fact that today there is simply more federal money around than there was in the 1940s and 50s. Urban renewal was about the only federal program available to cities during the earlier time period of this study. Some mayors like Mayor Lee of New Haven made urban renewal an important policy thrust of their political careers. Among the three research cities, Newark mayors seemed more forceful in pushing urban renewal than either Atlanta or Oakland mayors.

Today grant getting has demanded intense and regular contacts by chief executives and has affected the structure and function of city

governments to a much larger degree than in years past. Each of the research cities, for example, has a liaison officer in both the federal government and their respective state governments.

Informants in the three cities suggest that the black mayors have been impressive grant getters. Mayor Gibson has done so well that he is often criticized for spending too much time in Washington. But many other black mayors have taken their cue from Gibson in the art of grant getting. Both Jackson and Wilson have also been credited with being grant entrepreneurs. Jackson was criticized, however, for not being able to get more money since former President Carter was from his home state of Georgia.

Examining intergovernmental aid to the cities, we found both federal and state aid skyrocketed in Newark under Gibson's administration. While federal aid had been 1 percent of total revenues to the city throughout Carlin and Addonizio's administrations, it jumped 12 percent under Gibson's administration. State aid increased from 10 percent of the total to a peak of 57 percent in 1975 under Gibson's administration. In Atlanta in 1978, both state and federal aid were 14 percent of total revenues. State aid reached its peak in 1978 under Jackson while federal aid fluctuated over the administration. Wilson's first year could only be examined here, but it was clear that state aid was the highest percent ever at 25 percent of total city revenues. Federal aid had decreased by 1978 from Reading's administration. Yet, during that time most of the federal aid being given the city was a result of its status as a high risk city during the era of the 60s.

BLACK ELECTORAL POLITICS AND POLICY GAINS

An important implication of the study was to suggest that various policies are differentially affected by a city's political history, economic conditions, and other structural and environmental constraints. Such variation meant that mayors may be influential in some policy arenas but not in others depending upon the policy, city conditions, and electoral mandates. In the first chapter a typology was presented which sought to provide a categorization of policy "types" based on some of these factors. None of the policies selected for the study fit neatly into the categories of expansionist or redistributive policy, incrementalism, and innovative policy although the types are sufficiently broad to include a wide range of city policies. More than anything else, the typology was presented to suggest alternative ways to think about mayoral influences and policy.

There is very little evidence in this and other research which suggests that black mayors make radical changes in city governments. The explanation seems true that the policy making process is too often uncompromisingly slow to change especially during this era of retrenchment. Also, while blacks gained political office, this did not transfer to economic power in these cities. However, there is increasing evidence that the earlier fears of city economic elites have been dispelled and they are more willing to work with the new mayors.²⁹

While it is true that many industries and businesses have left inner cities, this spiral of decline began long before black mayors were elected.

There is no doubt that the goals of the black mayors examined here were directed toward making city government more responsive to community and minority needs based on informant responses and the accounts of the campaigns. Yet, the goals did not necessarily translate into a workable policy agenda. And in terms of tackling some of the large social ills of the society, the solutions may be better placed on a national urban agenda. As Eisinger suggests, the limits of American politics preclude mayors from making radical and innovative policies.³⁰ But this seems obvious given our review of the pluralist nature of the policy making process which often includes in the case of black mayors, hostile city councils and bureaucracies loyal to former white mayoral regimes.

The paucity of our knowledge of "what happens" after the electoral process has been completed has led most scholars to conclude based on the subordinate status of cities in our federal system and more recent economic trends that mayors have little impact on policies illustrative of the constrained mayor hypothesis. This research suggests, based on case studies, that this is not altogether true when the kinds of policies black mayors can impact are examined. In selecting three policy arenas we were able to choose those which we thought blacks might be influential. By examining case cities over time we were able to compare mayors in the same city as well as make some comparisons across cities on some trends. However, because of the case study approach used, the study remains exploratory.

Incrementalism seems to explain the process of budgeting as we found in the patterns exemplified among the three cities confirming many past studies of mayoral influence on budgets. Form of government nor the formal powers of the mayor seemed to have an impact. It may also be true that more time needs to elapse before black officials can make the types of policy shifts in the budget they desire. As Karnig and Welch suggest:

...alterations in policy priorities ordinarily must be negotiated with other officials, both elected and appointed before final decisions are rendered. In this complex situation more time will permit black officials further opportunity to work for policy shifts.³¹

And Edward Greer an observer of Gary politics also agrees:

The legacy of the Progressive Era in city politics is a variety of independent boards and commissions which control everything from parks to urban renewal. In such cases a black mayor may require several terms in office to change the direction of major aspects of local government. There is quite a gap between electing a black executive in a city and establishing black urban power.³²

It could also very well be that black mayors are redistributing existing resources from white communities to improve such services as police protection, fire protection and schools in black and minority communities. These types of money transfers are not captured in this analysis.³³

Expansionist or redistributive policy is better exemplified in the data presented on minority employment. Black mayors made more significant contributions in redistributing middle and upper level positions to blacks, women and other minorities excluded from these positions in years past. We found it was not necessarily the case that blacks were not on city payrolls in significant numbers in proportion

to their population--but that was more often the case that they remained in lower level positions. The efforts made seemed impressive during a period when city workforces are declining in actual numbers and "changing the guard" is often met with hostility in city bureaucracies.

Other attempts to expand policies to formally excluded groups includes minority contracting with city governments. This has caused considerable controversy in Atlanta where Mayor Jackson had championed minority inclusion in city contracts to the extent that some former city contractors had stopped bidding for city business. By 1978 about one-third of the city's purchasing dollars was with minority firms.³⁴ Those businesses which stopped doing business with the city normally could not or would not comply with minority hiring standards. To get around this persistent dilemma, joint venturing has become an important way of insuring black businesses "get a piece of the pie." The joint venturing concept emphasizes a joint negotiated venture between a black owned and white owned business for a city contract, sharing both the work load and the profits. The success in most cities has been mixed with criticism coming largely from some old established businesses who complain that many of the black owned businesses are not good risks because they are hastily established to meet city standards.

Examining the federal connection among mayors in many ways is a more difficult arena to categorize in our scheme. In some ways in seeking to improve their economic conditions, mayors have taken advantage of federal and state money to involve their cities in some downtown revitalization and community development projects. In this

sense the effects of grant entrepreneurialship may be innovative in new projects which may be developed. And this may be even more important since the more recent Community Development Block Grant with its distress city formula is aimed at cities with high minority and poverty stricken populations. However, the research here does not capture all of the various projects for which intergovernmental aid are used which include both neighborhood revitalization and employment opportunities which are tangible benefits to the community.

SUMMARY

This exploration of mayoral transitions from white to black rule in these three cities suggested that black mayors have at least made some modest policy impacts in the transfer to black rule. The increase of blacks on many city councils including majorities in Atlanta and Newark, suggest the age of black rule has truly dawned in a few large U.S. cities. The trend of more black elected officials in general has also increased across many U.S. cities.³⁵ The re-election efforts of both Newark and Atlanta mayors also seems to indicate that black mayors at least in these cities may be here to stay. In Oakland we are less sure of this trend given the recency of their coalition and voting efforts. Race continues to be an important factor in these elections, however, and bloc voting the dominant strategy. But it seems as one political observer wrote:

...race always matters, and never more than when the agenda of black voters progresses from "a piece of the action" to "calling the shots," either through numerical control or functional hegemony.³⁶

Blacks will probably gain the mayor's office only in those cities with

Increasingly large minority populations. While there are a few other cities with increasing minority populations this does not imply a host of these cities will suddenly elect black mayors. Organization and mobilization of blacks city wide is an important aspect of winning the mayor's office.³⁷ In both Atlanta and Oakland strong individual candidate organizations provided cues to the voting public. It was only in Newark that organizational efforts of the black electorate reached a city-wide effort and proved an important force in Gibson's win in 1970. Such organization not only mobilizes the community but also screens the best candidates qualified for the positions.

As some observers have argued time may be on the side of black elected officials in enhancing their roles in the policy making process and among a more wide range of policy arenas. There is little doubt, for example, that in time black council majorities will contribute to a black mayor's ability to become more responsive in addressing minority needs. The future, of course, lies in the longevity of black regimes--and in a couple of cities that time has already past--but the future remains bright for a few other cities as the levels of black political maturation increases and becomes more firmly entrenched in the city's politics.

NOTES

¹See H. Paul Frlsema, "Black Control of Central Cities: The Hollow Prize," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35 (March, 1969): 75-79.

²See Chuck Stone, Black Political Power in America (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1970) and Marguerite Ross Barnett and James A. Hefner, eds., Public Policy for the Black Community (New York: Alfred Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 3-53.

³James Button, Black Violence: Political Impact of the 1960's Riots (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

⁴Peter K. Elsinger, The Politics of Displacement (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

⁵Milton D. Morris, The Politics of Black America (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 49.

⁶Mathew Holden, The Politics of the Black Nation (New York: Chandler Publishing Company, 1973), p. 193.

⁷Nelson Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky, Presidential Elections (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1971), p. 297.

⁸Morris, The Politics of Black America, pp. 286-290.

⁹ibid., pp. 288-290.

¹⁰ibid., p. 170.

¹¹See Hanes Walton, Black Politics (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972) and Charles Levine, Racial Conflict and the American Mayor (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1974).

¹²Atlanta mayors were weak mayors until the 1973 charter change enhancing their powers. While Newark mayors have always been strong, Gibson's powers were also increased during his administration.

¹³See Douglas Yates, The Ungovernable City (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1978).

¹⁴See Larry Moss, Black Political Ascendancy in Urban Centers and Black Control of the Police Function (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977), pp. 9-120.

¹⁵Edward Greer, Big Steel: Black Politics and Corporate Power in

Gary, Indiana (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), p. 120.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ See Mack Jones, "Black Political Empowerment," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 439 (September, 1978): 115-116.

¹⁸ See Georgia Persons, "Black Mayoral Leadership: Changing Issues and Shifting Coalitions," paper presented at the American Political Science Association Meetings, September 1-4, 1977, for an account of the Jackson-Inman controversy and Moss, Black Political Ascendency, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Moss, Black Political Ascendency, p. 29.

²² Eaves was eventually relieved of his duties and later elected to the Fulton County Commission Board.

²³ Moss, Black Political Ascendency, p. 58.

²⁴ Dorothy Guyot, "Coping With Crime in Newark," paper prepared for the "Governmental Responses to Crime Project," Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, August, 1980.

²⁵ Moss, Black Political Ascendency, pp. 60-61.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 88.

²⁷ Edmund Keller, "The Impacts of Black Mayors on Urban Policy," The Annals, 439 (September, 1978): 40-52.

²⁸ City Councils in Atlanta and Newark have sometimes represented formidable obstacles to the mayors.

²⁹ Eisinger, The Politics of Displacement, pp. 112-127.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 185-199.

³¹ Albert Karnig and Susan Welch, Black Representation and Urban Policy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

³² Edward Greer, "Black Power in the Big Cities," The Nation, 219 (November 23, 1974): 526.

³³ Karnig and Welch, Black Representation and Urban Policy, p. 153.

³⁴ Eisinger, The Politics of Displacement, pp. 163-166.

³⁵See the Joint Center for Political Studies yearly publication on the numbers of black elected officials entitled Black Elected Officials.

³⁶"The Power of Blacks at the Polls," The Boston Globe, November 12, 1981.

³⁷See Mack Jones, "Black Political Empowerment," pp. 115-117.

DISCUSSION

QUESTION: My question has to do with the race/nationality/class dynamic of what leads to and result in policies from a Black mayor. Given the economic crisis nationally and in cities--the problem of Reaganomics but which must be seen beyond the President; given the increased class difference among Blacks, given the class-based payoffs that Eisinger pointed out in city contracts and high level civil service jobs, etc., and given the result that Blacks now are defenders of the system, are we going to see more and more mayoral politics even in places like Chicago, along the class lines rather than race. Are we entering a stage when Blacks will be part and parcel of the electoral process which will develop along class lines the same as generally in the White population.

O'LAUGHLIN: Regarding the voting aspect, your question is whether the Black population will develop voting patterns by class as you mentioned Whites have. It has not. Clearly among the Black population in the cities I looked at, there is a wide spread conception regardless of their economic status, unless they work together, as a group, they will fall separately. I suppose that after initial success, after you've been in controlling the mayor's office for a while, perhaps you will say to yourself, "well, there are more important issues." Maybe the Black mayor dissatisfies one section of the population, and makes another section happy. And perhaps in a succeeding election, that difference will show up in less support for that mayor, but it hasn't so far. I think most Black voters view themselves on the defensive,

on the line almost. And they realize that if they were to disagree among themselves, they'd have nothing at all. I am not sure that is going to occur in the future.

I also have a question. That is, given the tremendous effort and cost and activity to elect a mayor --it is a major activity; the question is: is the outcome worth it? Maybe there is something better that could be done with all this activity and money and time committed by a lot of people. Given the fact that mayors are relatively constrained in what they can and cannot do, is there something else that can be done?

MORRIS: The question of race-class has been arising for such a long time. I think that it is merely a matter of personal perception, personal taste, what have you; I have these two views for you. In this society, I think, racial cleavage has always been much more powerful than class cleavage and it will continue to be that way for a very long time. Two, I think that one will see different manifestations of the race-class break-up on different levels of politics in society.

For example, on the national level, I suspect it's much easier to see class formation, then it is going to be on the local level, the city level. I think race will continue to be an enormously powerful cleavage force. The other point is that Black America is itself becoming more class distinct. But, I am not quite sure how one then draws the class lines if one takes that view of things. I would expect us to see different things operating on the national and local levels in respect to class.

EISINGER: I agree with Milton Morris about the overwhelming power of the racial cleavage in relation to class cleavage.

I think what we are going to see in the future as Black politics develops and matures is the emergence of insurgent candidates and challengers to established Black leaders. And those insurgents and challengers will probably come from the ranks of poor people, from the neighborhoods which feel left out. They feel that they have invested enormous resources in expectations which haven't been satisfied. This is not to say that the Black political establishment, hasn't tried--it probably will have tried--but its power is limited. I think that you are going to see, gradually, is the emergence of class conflicts in Black politics. But, it is going to take a long time. I think right now the Blacks are excited about the possibilities of racial unity and what it can bring.

I was struck with Harold Washington in the mayoral debate and how he went on and on about how he wanted to forge a coalition with the business community, how he had to make Chicago more hospitable to business. Who is the business community? Well, it is rich White men--that is who he is talking about. That is the kind of coalition that Washington wants. That is what he is talking about. I think that is a classic pattern in Black mayoral politics. In searching for allies, and in looking for resources, Black mayors have turned not to the White middle class--though they had to get some votes from there, but to the White upper classes, to the Capitalist elite, if you want. And that is the shape of the coalition as it emerged in fact in Atlanta, in Detroit, and in Los Angeles. And, eventually, I think the Black poor, the working class, the lower class who provide the front line troops and voting power are going to feel left out. And then you are going to see the emergence of the class politics.

WATSON: I think that there is no doubt that in most of the elections that we have talked about that the Black community has been considered a monolithic vote. To the extent that we might be able to pull

out one example which might in the future be a prototype that would be the 1981 Atlanta elections. The two Black candidates that emerged in that election --Andrew Young and Reginald Eaves--both had high visibility in that community. But Eaves, was considered a grassroots candidate, by the media at least, and he received about 20% of the Black vote. It may provide an example for us in the future as to what extent Blacks in the lower classes are also willing to go out and vote. And that is a little different to the extent that Black turnout in 1980-1981 and the Black vote has been very high. The 1981 elections in Atlanta when two Black candidates with high visibility and high electoral probability emerge, suggest we might see an increase in the class vote.

QUESTION First of all I would like to express gratitude to the Illinois Council for Black Studies for providing this opportunity to hear the scholars express different ideas about how things can be improved in the political arena. My question kind of connects with this view that I think that you are suggesting that even with electing a Black mayor and the things that he can possibly do--symbolic in some, substantive in terms of contracts, etc.--the Black masses mainly would still be left out. To me--that is disturbing--to get out here and spend all this effort to try to get a Black mayor and across the United States and the Black masses are still basically left with the poverty stricken conditions that we all know about, unemployment, infant mortality rates, crime, etc. My question is, in trying to elect a Black mayor, how can we strategize and get some program going that would try to address that particular problem?

EISINGER: This goes back to whether Black people and their supporters ought to be putting all their resources into the election of Black mayors. Maybe there is a better place to spend these resources. You pose a

tough problem. I don't think that there is much a mayor or any city government can do directly to improve the lives of the masses--the poor masses, Black or White or Hispanic--very much. City resources are limited. But I still think that it is important to try to elect Black mayors. Let me make my argument and see how you respond.

I see political influence as a kind of building process where you lay a groundwork and build on it. I think one of the best places to begin is by capturing power in City Hall. What does that give you? Well, the more mayors you elect, the more forums you have, the more platforms you have to exercise leadership and bring influence through them. The more Black mayors there are, the more influence Black leaders have in the National League of Cities or the United States Conference of Mayors which are important and occasionally powerful lobby groups in Washington. The more Black mayors there are, the more visibility the Black urban interests have in various decision-making settings in the state capital and in Washington. The first thing to be said, then, is that you are laying a groundwork. You are laying a basis for bringing influence to bear on those governmental actors who can do something for the poor--namely the Congress and the President.

I also think when you control city hall you control political resources, it gives you leverage on state politics, in electing people to Congress. We see in Chicago that the Democratic machine in this city has resulted not from control of the city elected positions, but also in control of your congressional delegation for years. I think there is a benefit from electing mayors and eventually that brings influence with higher levels of government which can effect programs that help the masses who are not helped directly by local power. Thus, I am talking about putting resources into mayoral elections as a way of pyramiding power.

QUESTION: What issues do Blacks disagree on which cause a divided vote and what tactics have been used to instigate that situation?

O'LAUGHLIN: The first part of the question regards what issues tend to split the Black vote. My point was that until 1981 when a Black opponent ran against Andrew Young, there was no significant split in the Black vote. There were differences of opinion, I would say, but they were not reflected much. Everybody worked for the Black candidate. In 1981, however, as Atlanta demonstrated, Eaves, who was considered to be the more grass-roots candidate, made a strong point that Maynard Jackson had been very active in the 1973 Atlanta garbage men's strike. Jackson was charged with working against the garbage men who were mostly Black. He also made a point that in fact Maynard Jackson had been too cozy with the upper class business elite in Atlanta.

When Eaves lost he threw his support to Andrew Young, and worked very, very hard to make sure that Young was elected. You could say that the difference of opinion, when it did come, came in the primary, but when it came to a show-down, Blacks in the two camps worked together quite effectively and quite hard to get Andrew Young elected.

The second part of the question regards tactics used to foster divisions within the Black community. The split was regarding the ties between the Black mayor and the business elite. To my knowledge, the White candidate in Atlanta whose name escapes me right now, worked very, very hard to cultivate the Black vote and in fact he won something like 20% of the Black vote; it was very, very high. In fact, he won as many Black votes as Andrew Young won White votes. And after election, the Executive Director of the Voter Education Project was that there was a new trend happening in the South. As reported in the New York Times,

these splits might come.

QUESTION: You've all mentioned several different cities, some in the South and some in the North. Mr. Morris mentioned at the beginning that there had been more elected officials in the South than in the North. Historically, the political treatment of Blacks has been different in the North and the South. My question is whether there are any generalizations that you can make about the elections of Blacks to public office and then their impact once they have been elected in the North as compared to the South?

MORRIS: The primary differences between the South and the North have to do more with population factors than with anything else. The South has had a large number of small Black cities and towns. Outside the South Blacks tend to live in large urban concentrations. This explains the differences to a great extent. It would seem to me that because of the larger concentration of Black people in some places within the South, there is a greater capacity for political maneuvering and for political majorities than there has been in the North.

That explains a number of cases. For example, I mentioned there are 533 unincorporated places with Black mayors in the US, the large majority of them are in the South--small towns with between 1,000 and 2,000 people. These small towns require a different approach to government and development than the larger urban communities.

O'LAUGHLIN: There is one possible explanation about the larger number of Black elected officials in the South. It is kind of surprising but until the 1960s because of the difficulties of Blacks in the South, very few Blacks voted. Since then, the Black turnout rate in many cities

she said Blacks were becoming conservative and she also referred to the city council elections in Birmingham at that time, when Black candidates for the city council government lost across the board, though they had a Black mayor and expected to win quite a few. Her point was that quite a few Blacks were becoming conservatives, supporting White candidates, and she thought it was part of a national conservative movement. This was 1981, shortly after Reagan was elected president, and presumably after the fallout from the excitement that Reagan brought that first year. I think that has declined now.

The other election which is very relevant here is Detroit in 1977, when Ernest Brown ran against Coleman Young. Ernest Brown was basically a White candidate, in the sense that his support was almost exclusively white--85% of his vote was from Whites. A White could not get elected in Detroit because of bloc-voting in the past and Blacks now were the majority vote. The only way that the pre-Coleman Young group could maintain any sort of control in Detroit was to put forward a Black candidate. And that was Ernest Brown. It didn't work because very few Black voters supported him; only 5% but Whites supported him strongly. The issues that were discussed had to do with Coleman Young's programs, during the four years he had been in office. Brown charged that he was too oriented towards the Black community, and wasn't sharing power and was trying to move too quickly on certain issues.

What is important to see is that so far, in the elections that I've talked about, with the possible exception of the primary in Atlanta in 1981, there has been no real split in the Black vote. When it is perceived later on that Black mayors are assured of their positions and that Black control of the city at the city council level is assured, it may be. Then

these splits might come.

QUESTION: You've all mentioned several different cities, some in the South and some in the North. Mr. Morris mentioned at the beginning that there had been more elected officials in the South than in the North. Historically, the political treatment of Blacks has been different in the North and the South. My question is whether there are any generalizations that you can make about the elections of Blacks to public office and then their impact once they have been elected in the North as compared to the South?

MORRIS: The primary differences between the South and the North have to do more with population factors than with anything else. The South has had a large number of small Black cities and towns. Outside the South Blacks tend to live in large urban concentrations. This explains the differences to a great extent. It would seem to me that because of the larger concentration of Black people in some places within the South, there is a greater capacity for political maneuvering and for political majorities than there has been in the North.

That explains a number of cases. For example, I mentioned there are 533 unincorporated places with Black mayors in the US, the large majority of them are in the South--small towns with between 1,000 and 2,000 people. These small towns require a different approach to government and development than the larger urban communities.

O'LAUGHLIN: There is one possible explanation about the larger number of Black elected officials in the South. It is kind of surprising but until the 1960s because of the difficulties of Blacks in the South, very few Blacks voted. Since then, the Black turnout rate in many cities

in the South had been much higher than the Black turnout rate in the North. For example, New York City has the lowest turnout of Blacks of any city in the country, where the barriers to Black voting in New York City are the lowest in the country. When Blacks in the South got the vote, they seemed to use it--cities like Atlanta and New Orleans, for example, have a very, very high Black turnout and traditionally have. They voted if they could register to vote. Thus an important difference is in turnout rates.

QUESTION: In the South especially, Black political empowerment in terms of mayors has been associated with the Civil Rights struggle to bring about greater equality and economic opportunity. The aim was to bring Black people out of segregation and into the mainstream of society--not just politically, but in all areas of life that they choose as individuals. Secondly, as the proportion of Black elected officials has risen, as you indicated, the ability of the Blacks to survive in society has declined. This is a scary thing--even though you have more Black people elected, because of factors that we talked about that are not controlled locally, Black people seem to have not fared so well. During the Civil Rights Movement, and the fight for voting rights, there was this vision that there would be greater opportunity for Blacks. Though there has been for some, the key Black people--the masses--haven't been able to benefit from it much at all.

My question is whether the missing link in electoral politics is a process to educate and raise the consciousness of the masses of Black people demystifying governance so that they are able to participate in the society politically? Secondly, the politics of the streets--the creative demonstrations that Dr. King once spoke of--have been largely out of the formula of electoral politics. Would you not say that if we want to have

innovative ways to deal with policy change for the large majority of poor, destitute Black people--and not just the incremental, let's go slow, slow, slow --we need more than electoral politics? I think we must look at creative ways people can demonstrate other than the spontaneous situation that occurred in Miami, which suggests that the fuse has been lit in most urban areas.

MORRIS: I have to agree with your basic premises by observing that politics, as we are talking about it, is occurring at the margins of the system. There are great constraints as to what mayors in small towns and in big cities can do. And, the traditional process of politics as we have discussed has to do mainly with very minor adjustments in terms of who gets what. I do not think those minor adjustments will ever address the broader problems that Black people and the society face. If we believe in the persistence of the political system in the future as it now exists--and I know I am going to stir some controversy--we have to write off the expectation that we can significantly alter the status of the vast army of poor people, and Black people in our society. It is not going to happen. I suspect that one can only address that kind of issue by looking to very profound changes within the total system of our society with regard to how benefits and opportunities are distributed.

Thus, we really have to confine ourselves to dealing with marginal changes here and there and not to these more profound changes.

WATSON: Historically we have talked about the Black community as being a monolithic community. We have stressed that we agree on the goals in terms of our inclusion in the social, economic, and political environments. But we have not agreed on the strategy. It was in the 1960s and the 1970s that we moved from what some scholars have called confrontation politics (boycotting, etc.) into the formal electoral system in an effort to

elect more Blacks and minorities to city councils, especially, and to the mayor's office. There is an underlying understanding or belief that the goal is the same, yet we have overshadowed the notion of using different strategies, and have moved totally into using electoral politics as a means of getting included.

Some of the studies that have occurred after some of the rebellions of the 1960s suggested that some of the Blacks did not gain much either from that kind of activity either. Blacks have moved totally in a few cities towards this formal electoral process of gaining of power, and in hopes that this was the best strategy to gain political access. There is still tension over that, and I think many scholars and most community activists disagree as to which of the alternative strategies is the most effective one to achieve that goal.

QUESTION: There have been several questions about poor Blacks and working class Blacks. One factor is how Black communities get hooked up with corporate structures. There is also a trend of corporate firms moving out of the city and reducing the economic base. Given these two factors, what benefits can Black working class people expect to get from the mayors-- Black mayors.

EISINGER: Well, we talked about that. I agree that a lot of the things that a Black mayor can do will help the middle class, the Black middle class, and I have been in agreement in bemoaning that many of the benefits are not going to trickle-down directly to the Black masses. That is a problem. Let us leave that problem aside, however, and suggest that it is not a bad thing to develop and strengthen a Black middle class. That class is not so large or so secure in itself that it doesn't need help. Local

politics and the resources available in cities that can be manipulated or distributed by mayors can go to help the emergence of the middle class and that is, I think a good thing.

Why is it a good thing? Leadership for the community is most likely over the long run going to come largely from the middle class-civic leadership as well as political leadership. Poor communities do not tend to throw up or develop leaders who have a sustained impact except in the rare cases. The bulk of ethnic leadership or racial leadership is going to come from the middle class, and it is only going to come when the middle class is secure and large enough and has enough bulk to be able to afford to give some of its members to leadership positions. Thus, I don't think it is entirely bad that the benefits we are talking about are going to go to the middle class.

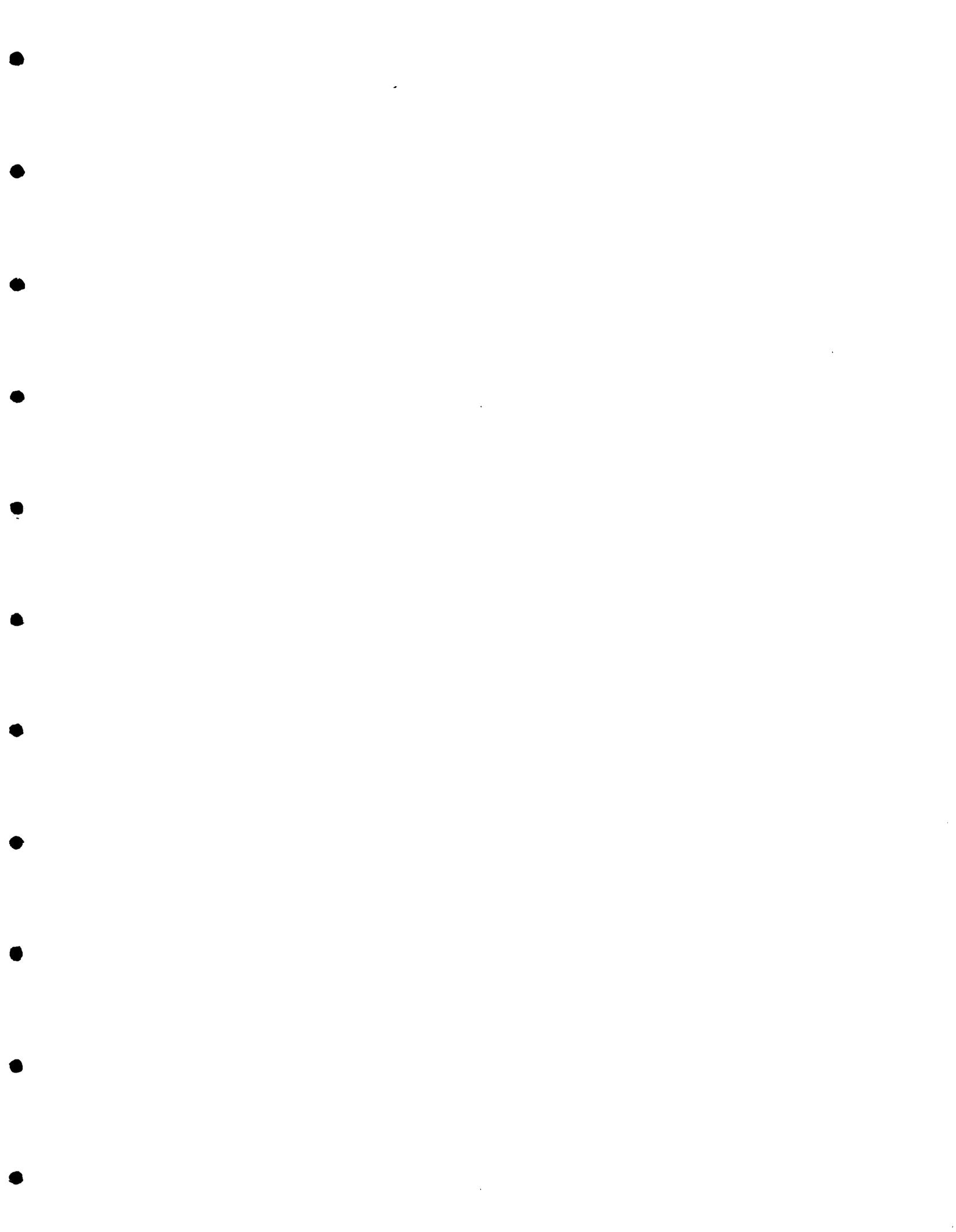
QUESTION: Audience Respondent. We are not saying it is bad. You proceeded from the premise that we are against electing Black mayors. This is not the case. Blacks are in the majority in more than 500 vicinities. My view is that we should elect Black mayors in all of them. But the speakers here have left us with the impression that even when we did that, there will be this large mass of Black people out here that will still be suffering. That is what we want to address. It is fine to elect Black mayors. But I am trying to get some suggestions from this scholastic body as to what can we do about these masses after we have elected black mayors?

DOUG GILLS: (Moderator.). I think that we should summarize what we are trying to do here. First, we wanted to identify what it is that we're talking about when we talk about electing Black mayors--where do they get elected from, etc. If you check through the program, you will see that the

critical question of what is the implication of this body of data we are having presented will be addressed in the context of the sessions today, tonight and especially tomorrow, when the activists join us

The question of perspective is key here. Definite things result from electoral politics. We may define them as symbolic, and define what that means given our perspective, where we are coming from. A second view is that the gains are obvious substantive gains and that substantial benefits are derived. The question which has been raised and must be answered would lead us to ask: substantive to whom?; Who is benefitting?

Our task this morning was to lay out a basis so that we could be clearer on the body of data of the reality we are discussing. I would suggest that we study the formulations that were put forth in the study guide prepared for this conference and published in this Conference News. If we review this information in light of the discussion we've had this morning, it will sharpen up our understanding for the debates and discussions that will take place in later sessions. We will not necessarily come to full agreement. There were some clear differences on the panel in terms of what the implications are for the course of action that we should follow. And there will continue to be disagreement among us. We should not want to rush to judgement with the first plenary. It was to provide an overview, and I think we have done that.



Locksley Edmonson, Professor and Coordinator
Black American Studies Program
Southern Illinois University
Vice-Chair, Illinois Council for Black Studies

I'm very honored to have been asked to chair this particular session on the very important subject "The Ballot or the Bullet: Malcolm X Reconsidered."

The participants have been asked by the organizers of this conference to address themselves to the following question, and I read from the mandate issued to them by the Illinois Council for Black Studies.

"Your task in the conference is to comment on the relevance of one central idea of the great Black Liberation fighter, Malcolm X. In 1964, he posed the issue as the "Ballot or the Bullet," which we interpret as a choice between reform and revolution. Briefly, he called upon black people - and here we are quoting Malcolm, 'to become more politically mature and to realize the significance of the ballot. What we are supposed to get when we cast the ballot.' Malcolm suggested that the system was failing Black people, and what was necessary was a revolution to change the system. In his words, this change was demanded by any means necessary.

The questions that arise are: How relevant are Malcolm's ideas today? What have we learned about the ballot and its role in securing our liberation? Is a ballot necessary and sufficient? Or, is it necessary, but not sufficient, as a tool in the Black struggle?

I think you will agree that this is a particularly pertinent topic to raise in the context of the overall conference theme. On this morning's panel, you heard from academics looking at mayoral politics nationwide; this afternoon, you will be hearing from activists rooted in the community, who will perhaps bring with them a broader perspective. I believe you will realize that there is no inherent incompatibility between the academic and the activist. In fact, some of our greatest freedom fighters have managed to combine the two roles to

high levels of development. Not all of us are so fortunate that we can be equally competent in both roles. One thing that Malcolm's career and Malcolm's approach represents is that while he was not formally an academic, though he was a committed activist, he based his activism on the constant need to think and to rethink the situation. Yet, Malcolm was not only an activist, he was an intellectual of the highest order.

When one reads that speech he gave on "The Ballot or the Bullet," we see that Malcolm's intellectualism complemented his activism to the highest order. Each time I re-read it, the more impressed I become. The potency of his approach was due to the fact that it was based on very well researched and critical data. I was impressed by the disciplined approach to analysis and exposition that I found in this particular piece and, of course, I was impressed by its comprehensiveness.

I want to briefly touch on the latter feature. A very comprehensive approach is evident within the confines of a relatively short political speech. Malcolm is dealing with the inadequacies of the existing political system. And, within it, the party system, the seniority system in Congress, the leadership of the constitutional system and along with that political system. He addresses the economic system and the social system. Comprehensiveness from this point of view is indicated by the fact that he deals not only with black and white realities, but with systematic imperatives. Comprehensiveness was expressed on his point of view which enabled him to deal not only with the realities and requirements of the local community, but with those of the nation and also of the world. It was in this speech you may remember that he posed the "human rights versus civil rights" question and he implored Black Americans to join with similarly oppressed groups in the white or third world—particularly Africa, but not only in Africa. Above all, "The Ballot or the Bullet" is not only a thoughtful presentation, it is a very thought provoking presentation. I am sure that at the end of this panel you will understand the relevance of the matter.

Lu Palmer, Journalist
Founder, Chicago Black United Communities

We have taken time off from our practical tasks to share with you our thoughts on this topic. I can say very quickly that, by all means, the ballot is necessary but not sufficient. I want to make it clear where I am coming from because I have never felt that we could ride our way to freedom on the ballot. At the same time, there is no question that the proper use of the ballot is extremely necessary in achieving what might eventually be our ultimate goal. I say might with much candor because some time we just have to wonder how long it is going to take to get to our eventual goal.

I want to set the stage for where we are today in Chicago relative to the election (Democratic Primary) coming up on February 22nd. I am very proud that my organization, Chicago Black United Communities (CUC) has been a leader in setting the climate for today. Some two years ago, we at CBUC held a conference at Malcolm X College. At that conference we began the long, arduous journey toward bringing our people to the realization that first, we could elect a Black mayor in the City of Chicago. Second, that we could also begin to set the climate toward the restructuring of the City Council in Chicago.

Those of you from Chicago don't need any lengthy treatise on the reality that exists within the Chicago City Council. We have an abominable situation because for one reason and with very few exceptions, those who are elected by Black people simply do not represent the interests of Blacks. Consequently, at this conference we all worked to lay out a blueprint. First of all, we said that it is necessary to get a mind set among Black people that a Black mayor can win in Chicago, and that a Black mayor can rule Chicago. The reality today is that there are 223 Black mayors in the U.S. And, if they can have 27 in Alabama and 21 in Mississippi, we sure can have a Black mayor in the city of Chicago.

Not only could have one, we must have one.

CBUC began the process of educating some troops in the political arena. For the most part, the trained political troops were those that had been trained and used by the democratic machine. Now we have something here called an independent movement. But I am not sure that movement is quite the word for it. It is a collection of people who think independently in terms of politics, but who do not have whatever it is that is required to mobilize and to organize people politically. Thus, CBUC began the process of educating people. We did it through three processes. One was known as the political education clinic. This was a four week clinic, meeting every Saturday at CBUC headquarters. We brought in some of the best independent political tacticians. We began teaching people who had almost no exposure to electoral politics. But we defined what is politics and what must be done in terms of political work. I am happy to say that we graduated more than 1,000 people in those clinics. This means that they came four times a month, once a week, they sat, learned, listened and absorbed. Then we had a graduation.

Let me tell you about the early classes we had. At that time CBUC was poor we had no money. We haven't got any now. But at that time we didn't have heat in the building. That graduating class sat at 330 E. 37th Street in lung-chilling weather with overcoats on, wrapped up and everything else for two hours for that graduation ceremony. Congressman Harold Washington came and got cold along with us. He presented the graduation document, the political education degree, we call it. The point is this: those who graduated were so committed, not one left that freezing room. I call that committed. And Black folks don't like cold weather.

After we graduated two or three clinics, we went into what you would call an advanced class. It was much like a graduate degree. In that advanced class,

the graduates of the clinics were brought together for further instruction in precinct work and then they were given sufficient training to go out into their communities and become trainers.

Graduating 1,000 people sounds like a lot, but it is just a drop in the bucket. We set up the mechanism so that those who finished the advanced classes became trainers and they were given credentials to go out into the community. Some of them went out and organized. One brother organized four buildings in Lake Meadows. Another person organized some parishes in her Catholic neighborhood. Others did very creative work, much of it on their own with support from CBUC and some of our instructors. We have no way of knowing actually how many others have been trained through that kind of process. But for the first time, we were able to put into the streets trained Black independent political workers.

We tested this out in the Seventeenth ward in June 1982. That was when Mayor Byrne was determined that Alderman Alan Streeter would be defeated as alderman on the ward. Alan Streeter had become a severe critic of Mayor Byrne and had just (he disobeyed orders to dump two Blacks from the school board in favor of anti-bussing whites) become her target in terms of showing the strength of the machine against anybody who turns against the machine. I am just happy to report that CBUC was able to put their trained troops into the seventeenth ward and other people came from across the city—northside, southside, westside, and if there is an east side, they came from the east side. Together, we whipped Jane Byrne and kept Streeter in office. We did this despite the fact, that she threw everything in the book at us. That was the first time that our troops got some battle experience and believe me they came back and reported some very, very harrowing incidents. But, all of them said, "I stood up. I stood tall. I looked them in the eye. I did not budge." That is one thing that we learned

you have to do in the wars of politics in Chicago.

The third prong of our political education was what was called the "candidates and key campaign "workers" classes. We took the position that too many in our community just hop up and run. Aldermanic candidates or candidates for state representatives or whatever other offices just pop up and say "I'm going to run." We decided since they are going to pop up, we ought to give them an opportunity to learn what is required to be a political candidate. We had this special training session and it turned out the enrollment was the largest we had in any of the classes that we produced.

We also, trained key campaign workers in that class. Each campaign of course must have a campaign manager, a public relations manager, a fundraiser, a precinct coordinator—those are key campaign workers. So we had people come in who wanted to take those kinds of positions in campaigns and we had our experts train them in how to carry out those functions. Well, about this time, CBUC decided that we ought to be focusing in on who ought to be the Black mayoral candidate because the consciousness of our people had been raised. People were talking about a Black mayoral candidate.

CBUC, followed up on an earlier survey and conducted a Black mayoral survey. On the basis of the people who emerged from that preliminary survey, we took the top 20 names and threw them out to the community. More than 13,000 people responded to our survey questionnaire. Out of that survey it became clear that the person who was well ahead of everyone else was Harold Washington. We took the top ten and organized what we called the Black Mayoral plebiscite. It was funny, because the brothers and sisters kept looking, saying, "where did we get that word plebiscite?" They hadn't quite heard of it and of course, it was new to many of us, too.

The word plebiscite worked and we took the top ten from the survey, called the Plebiscite and filled Bethel Church with 1200-1500 people and announced the top ten winners from the survey. We contacted each one of that top ten asked them to please tell us whether or not they would consider running because some were the names of people who I knew really did not want to run. That was boiled down because four of the top ten said that they would not run under any circumstances. We put the other six names to the plebiscite and once again, Harold Washington emerged as the overwhelming winner.

Then it became clear. Not only for the first time had the black community chosen a candidate, but that candidate was overwhelmingly the choice of our community. But Harold Washington said, "I would consider running, but you will have to show me that Black folks are serious and get out here and register some people." We said alright and first put together the People's Movement for Voter Registration. Then another coalition came together called POWER. And yet another coalition came together called Vote Community. And we put on a voter registration campaign that made history. Harold Washington said we needed 50,000 new registered voters and we got 130,000. So Harold said, "maybe they are serious." Then came November 2nd and not only did Black people for the first time register to vote, but they turned out in unprecedented numbers. There is no way you could prove it, but, Black folks probably elected Adlai Stevenson. [Stevenson actually lost by 5,000 votes in a hotly contested race for governor]. They claim Democrats do all the vote stealing, but Republicans do some too. If it hadn't been for that enormous turnout there would never have been that very close election between Thompson and Stevenson. We were on our way.

It was clear that there was a movement in Chicago to elect a black mayor.

On November 10, Harold Washington announced that he was running for mayor of the City of Chicago. Black people were just overjoyed. I must add that two hours before Harold announced, Illinois Bell called me and announced something to me. They stated that no longer were they going to sponsor my show because they said that I was doing too much political work with CBUC and I had too close a relationship with Harold Washington. Most of you who live in Chicago know that, I could not let it pass. I am still on the air by the grace of stations who carry me, but I still don't have a sponsor. I don't know how long the stations will keep me on the air while I am looking for a sponsor.

Finally, as a result of Harold Washington's announcement, 25 black grassroots organizations organized what we call The Task Force for Black Political Empowerment. That task force has been the backbone of the mayoral campaign in Chicago's Black community.

I close by saying once again by no stretch of the imagination do I think that electing a Black mayor in Chicago will liberate Black people—no way. At the same time there is no reason in the world why we should not put in the mayoral seat a Black person who not only recognizes the needs of Black people because he is a Black person, but a man who has fought a long time, for the needs of Latinos, poor white people, women and all disadvantaged groups. I am very pleased and happy to have been a part of that consciousness-raising of Black people. I am a part of that glorious experience that we are now in the middle of and which is going to result in the election of the first black mayor in the City of Chicago on February 22, 1983.

Conrad Worrill, Chair
Black United Front of Chicago

I represent the Black United Front of Chicago the local chapter of the National Black United Front (NBUF). It is important to share with you the "Statement of Purpose" of the National Black United Front and our principles of unity. It will explain why our local and national organization is supportive of this movement going on here in Chicago as it relates to the mandate and the spirit of Brother Malcolm when he made that speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet" in 1964. He was responding to what was going on in the South relative to switching the movement away from the tactics of direct action and sit-ins coming out of Montgomery, Alabama to the issues emerging from the Voting Rights Act.

The "Statement of Purpose" of the National Black United Front states that it is vitally important that our respective organizations, clubs, political factions and individual leaders recognize that none of us individually represent the Black community. Recall that in the 1960s Malcolm X called for a Black United Front, and there have been in the history of Black people for the last 150 years various kinds of Black United Front formations. The National Black United Front is one such formation that emerged in June 1980. In June of 1981 this particular document was approved by 1,000 people representing 33 states and 5 foreign countries. With any base, a particular organizational leader can claim to represent a particular constituency within the Black community. Collectively considered, however, the various groups and individuals can begin to approximate the general will of the Black community, and more reasonably hope to represent the total Black Community.

This kind of collective representation and collective leadership requires that we delicately formulate the conservative, moderate, reformist, radical,

national and revolutionary concerns, problems and goals of the varied constituencies in the Black community into a dynamic "Black Agenda" which speaks to our collective interests as a people. The forming of diverse interest into one mutually acceptable and agreed upon interest is difficult but not impossible. What is required is that we learn to be tolerant and understanding and flexible regarding each others' philosophy, programs, and political ideologies as long as these varied philosophies, programs and ideologies promote in some way the kind of fundamental, cultural, political, economic and social change for Black people envisioned and championed by the National Black United Front. That is our Statement of Purpose.

Our principles of unity, are also important. In the City of Chicago, we see right now a movement. And the elements of that movement here in the city of Chicago in the Black community are represented by the varied political trends that we mentioned in our statement of purpose. We have the radical, revolutionary, reform, moderate, and nationalists tendencies in the Black community who have forged a movement which is moving toward the objective of electing a Black mayor in this city around the concept of Black political independence. This is not a new movement. Here in the city for over 30 years there have been discussion around the idea of electing a Black mayor. There were men like Larry Landry in the 1960s who had an organization called ACT. They called for a Black mayor.

Let me return to the important concept of unity in the Black community. We always hear that being talked about that what we need in the Black community is unity. The NBUF stands on the principles of unity and our first principle is that we believe that we should struggle for self-determination, liberation and power for Black people in the United States. Our second principle is, that we should work in unity and common struggle with African Liberation Movements and African

people throughout the world. A few years ago, when the South African Rugby team came to Chicago, the BUF was involved in protesting with many other organizations. Now we are protesting Blacks and Whites who are going to South Africa. When Millie Jackson came to Chicago, we were involved in that protest with the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Third, we need to build a politically conscious, unified, committed and effective Black mass movement. Fourth, we struggle to eliminate racism including Zionism and Apartheid, sexism or the oppression and exploitation and the inequality of women, capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and national oppression. I don't think anybody in this room can disagree with this wherever you sit or wherever you come from. Fifth, we seek to maintain the strength, and the political and financial independence of the National Black United Front. Sixth, we build unity and common struggle with oppressed people in the U.S. and throughout the world as long as the best interest of the Black people are not contradicted. Seventh, we want to continue the political-cultural revolution to create a new vision and system--a new Black Man, Woman and Child based on the common struggle around the needs of the Black majority. And, finally, we want to continue to struggle to maximize the unit of the Black Liberation Movement (BLM) and of Black people--to eliminate internal violence, character assassination, and self-destruction, and to establish a viable process to arbitrate all major conflicts within the Black community.

These principles, were debated and discussed by a number of key activists who have been involved in the BLM in the 1960s and early 1970s. They put these principles together and presented them to our founding convention in 1980. These ideas were discussed all around the country for one year and ratified at our second national convention in Brooklyn, New York.

Malcolm X spoke to the question of the "Ballot or the Bullet." And that is a question that still remains. In looking back at that short speech that he gave, I recall that Malcolm was talking about the election returns at the national level between whites in 1964, where he pointed out that in a close election any minority was a block of votes that could be the determining factor. This minority group is thus in a strategic position.

The Black vote put the present (Byrne) administration in power, Malcolm would say. Malcolm said, "we put the democratic party first and they put us last." We need to go back and hear what Malcolm said about that. In fact, Malcolm said, "a Democrat is nothing but a Dixie-crut in disguise. And only great con games make Blacks think they are for us and they are not." Blacks put Democrats in power--and I would add Republicans and all other parties that don't have the interest of Blacks first--but they always have an alibi for not delivering.

In Washington, Malcolm was saying the Senators in states where the majority of Blacks live were filibustering against Northern Whites because they felt that they would be left out. Inclusion of Blacks into the governmental system means the political direction, philosophy, and economy of the country would change if Blacks got in. The committees of Congress would change because the chairmen would change--Black power would inform a change in domestic power. If America could guarantee voting rights for all people in America, it would include, at that time Malcolm was speaking--22 million Blacks who would have voted in a bloc and would be in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution, as Malcolm called it.

America represents a country that could represent a bloodless revolution but Malcolm said, historically, all other revolutions were bloody. The Russian, Chinese, French, Cuban revolutions were bloody revolutions. But Malcolm said

that inside of America at that time, 22 million Blacks have a unique political and economic philosophy that could lead to a bloodless revolution. However, Malcolm warned, "give them the ballot, it makes possible a bloodless revolution or force them to use the bullet." And he quoted from Patrick Henry when he said, "Give me liberty or give me death."

I think that being in America for 400 years means being oppressed by whatever terminology or framework you use to analyze the situation of Black people. My view is simply that we were captured; and are enslaved by white people, under white supremacy inside of America. Others would say that; we were captured under imperialism and capitalism. Either way we need unity. Therefore, in forging a Black United Front this late, we realize that we are in trouble underneath this ship called America.

This movement in Chicago to elect a Black mayor is a very important movement because our people have not moved in a very long time. We have not moved on anything that had resulted in this kind of unity, concern, commitment, stimulation and motivation for our people to get out in the street to begin to discuss and fight over something that we felt was common to us. It has been common practice for us in this city for the last 50 years to have one particular ethnic group-- the Irish--dominating all segments of the public sector: the Chicago police departments, the Chicago fire department, the department of streets and sanitation, the park districts and the Board of Education. In a city where you have over 40,000 public jobs and where 42% of the population in Chicago is Black, only 25.7% of the employees on the City payroll are Black. The Irish, Polish, Italians, and Jews divide up the spoils for themselves--whether the contracts are for building or for tearing down a building, or even constructing private projects with government funds. They get the "sweetheart contracts."

What we are really talking about to be clear, is a reform movement. It is a reform movement because we haven't even started talking about the power of Prudential, Sears, and other large corporations based in Chicago. For all of you who are concerned, those white corporations who are forward and strong in South Africa will not leave Chicago if a Black man becomes mayor. I don't think that is true when 223 Black men and women are mayors inside of America now and those major corporations have not left those cities.

It is clear to us who have come together in the past for Black political empowerment and among those who raised the question about self-determination once again. Just as Edward White in 1915 and other Black people in this city raised that question of political empowerment on the part of Blacks, we see there is a question of self-determination. We do not feel that George Dunne, Edward Vrydolyak, Richard Daley, or Jane Byrne should instruct Black leaders what to do. Nor do we feel that Black politicians who have historically sold out the Black community, or Black preachers in this town who have historically--many of them--sold out the Black community should have a say on the direction of Black people relative to this movement. We think it should be in the hands of the masses of Black people who have been waiting for a very long time for this historical moment.

The Task Force for Black Political Empowerment, was formed with 25 Black organizations who have engaged in working in 19 of the Black wards in this city. The Task Force took it upon themselves a few weeks ago, when those "negro preachers" went up to Hyde Park Hilton Summit called by Richard Daley, the Bridgeport Irish mascot, to picket them. And we will continue to raise this question

for the next few weeks and as long as we continue this United Front formation for political empowerment in the city, to raise the question of Black leadership selling out the interest of our people in this city. I would just like to close on CBUC's slogan and the slogan of a Grenada revolution. For one year CBUC put before its troops the slogan, "We Shall See In '83." Maurice Bishop and the people in Grenada said, "Forever Forward Together and Backward Never!"

Mercedes Maulette, Chair
Citizens for Self-Determination

The topic of our Workshop, "The Ballot or The Bullet: Malcolm X Re-considered"--is one with many connecting and interlocking variables. Having been involved in independent politics in the city of Chicago for the last 23 years, I would like to share with you my own views and to talk about the Task Force on Black Political Empowerment.

As I started to write my remarks, I decided on Tuesday we needed the Bullet on the way to the Ballot. Very seriously, we need to emphasize over the next three weeks and share with the general public, and the Black community in particular, the extent of the efforts that the present administration and the Democratic Party to keep us disenfranchised, and to block information and participation on the part of our community. The extent to which the intimidation has reached and the use of petty gains which has been exercised to bind our Black vote has not been truly conveyed to our community. One of the panelists in the Mayoral Debates recently called me and asked a question: "Is the Black community for sale?" My answer was, "Hell, no! We are not for sale!" And all the hams, and all the Christmas trees, and all the 'make work jobs' created cannot 'buy' the Black community.

We have some very serious issues before us in the upcoming election. One point must be noted. We have a serious problem of getting information that would raise the level of awareness in our community. We don't know enough about the political system. We can start with something very simple: try to find out who sits on the Private Industry Council. This is public information. Call and try to find out. I went the route of Washington, D.C., and the Department of Labor saying: "You gave the city of Chicago "X" amount of dollars. What did they

do with it? What were their reports to you?" To have to leave here to get information that we as citizens have a right to know and with our tax dollars is ridiculous!

Black Liberation means that Black people got to be on the job day after day after day. We not only have to sit on the floor of City Hall but we must be involved in all public policy decision-making that affect our lives. We must begin to move as a people. We must get to the level where the decision-making is made.

I have been teaching political education for the last 10-12 years. I am one of the few of us who have been out here continuing to independently try to get information to our community because I know the extent to which the machine organization and the Bob Shaw's (local alderman) will go to do this. I think people in this town believe that February 22nd (the Democratic Mayoral Primary) is going to happen by osmosis. Bob Shaw stood in the door of the precinct office on Tuesday, January 25, and said, "You ain't getting a damn bit of information here." We had proper credentials issued by the Board of Election Commissioners that allowed us by law to write down the names of the people who registered to vote last Tuesday. He said, "no information" through his precinct captains, and it was an order from the organization because in 25 of the 26 precincts of the 9th ward that same scene was played out over and over again.

It is impossible for us to deliver what we have to deliver on February 22nd without getting total support of our community to resist the harrassment. That kind of terrorism will continue to exist. In my opinion, the Democratic Party of the City of Chicago has been the most oppressive force in our lives. Harold Washington raises a question about the city going to court, spending our tax dollars, time after time, to lock us out of jobs in the police department, the fire department, housing--all the way down the line.

Those are serious issues. When members of our community tell me, "I'm goin' to think about voting for a Black mayor to end this," I respond: Think about Black children after 12 years in the Chicago public schools, they are reading at 4.0. Think about it, Sister. Think about the fact that Jane Byrne continues to talk about high-tech jobs and the minimal reading score is 11.0. Think about them building a magnet school in the Black community and Black kids can't even go there. Black students won't even score a reading score that will get them into that magnet school. Think about it!

But I can go over to Beverly and those people who support Jane Byrne or Richard Daley are firm in what they believe in. They have accepted their candidate. But the jobs that we have to do in terms of political education is an on-going process. Certainly the prevailing political attitude is that this is only one road to freedom, but we have to be vigilant. We have to continue on a day-to-day basis I am involved and Lu Palmer is involved in politics 365 days a year. This ain't a pasttime. This is our life! We spend every waking hour trying to move Black folks towards an aim, from point "A" to point "B." We do nothing but information-sharing.

That is the kind of force that is emerging in Chicago now--the Task Force on Black Political Empowerment. The Sunday before Harold's mayoral announcement, there was a Black Summit, held at Robert's Motel. It was composed of key Black community organizations, leaders, and elected officials. Those who have been in the trenches for a long time like we have all come together. The discussion at that time was on our role, and what we need to do in the City of Chicago. We were not certain at that time, whether Congressman Washington was going to announce. If he didn't announce, what would be our strategy? Who then would we run for a Black mayor if it was not Harold Washington?

The night that Harold made his announcement, he met that evening with the Task Force. The role of the Task Force is to develop a parallel organization and I think I'm free enough to share that much information with you. When the Congressman can't speak on certain issues, we can. We developed a parallel organization to the campaign structure. We operate a precinct organization in 16 of the wards. We started with petitions and in less time than a week, the Task Force turned in almost 50,000 signatures to get Washington's name on the ballot. The Task Force is moving to become a permanent organization. We're going to be a political action committee. We're not only going to support Black candidates verbally and with bodies, but, also with money. We'll begin the development of Black leadership, and the selection of Blacks in our community to run for public office.

Lu Palmer and I have talked about that void, and that need for information and the development of candidates for public office. The Task Force has a legal arm who can take of the legal aspects of the February 22nd election. We have a youth component that is dynamite. They expect to turnout by absentee ballot 25,000 Black students who are away at universities across this country who will vote for Harold Washington.

The problem with Black folks in this community is that they wait for Walter Jacobson (local CBS Newscaster) to tell them what is going to happen. That is essentially what the problem is. If you wait on Walter to do an editorial, and if you wait on the Sun-Times or the Tribune to tell you what the hell is going on, you'll be waiting and waiting and waiting. To get around it--you must get involved. I don't think any of us are real hard to find. God knows my creditors can find me. What this campaign needs to be is successful--and it is in fact, a movement--what it needs is those of us who are going to get out in the street and do the hard door-to-door, belly-to-belly, eyeball-to-eyeball talking

to the base. To be successful we need 80% of the Black vote. We need you involved in that process.

We don't need to talk about and philosophize on ways of developing strategies--we need movement in our community. There is a large section of our community that wants to meet, to talk about a Black mayor. But you talk about it on the 24th--after the election and between now and then, you get out and you hit the streets, and you take the message to our community. You take the reason why it's important to participate to the 765,000 registered votes in this town. Tell me we can't have Harold on the 5th floor? There is no reason why we cannot. And we will. We need to solidify our base. We need your support in that effort.

To talk about "Malcolm Reconsidered," we begin to move from philosophy to action. And that is what it takes--it takes working the precincts, it takes delivering that vote, and it also takes being at the polling place at 5:00 in the morning. This is going to be one of the bloodiest elections in the history of this town. A whole lot of us are going to be in jail. When I was a part of the civil rights movement, I used to get dressed in the morning and I'd get dressed to go to jail. And on February 22nd I'm getting dressed to go to jail because I'm not going to have our community violated anymore.

Wylie Rogers, Chair
Equal Rights Congress

Brothers and Sisters, it is quite a job following these heavyweights. What I am going to try to do is to give Brother Palmer the most important perspective-- a revolutionary perspective on the movement which I want to begin by speaking on the meaning of this electoral campaign in Chicago.

Is it an electoral campaign that involves the election of a Black mayor? Is it an election that just involves the emergence of Black independent politics? I would submit to you that it involves that, but much more. All we have to do is look at the position of Chicago not only within national political economy, but in the world to see what the significance of a victory for Harold Washington would mean for a number of forces within this country. There is much more than an election or a candidacy of a Black mayor. Harold Washington is much more than that. He is a very humane man who is concerned about all people, and all progressive struggles.

Thus, one of the first things that I can add to a perspective on the election in Chicago, is to suggest that we not view it solely as a local election. Washington, DC does not view it as such. If Harold Washington emerges victorious on the basis of your struggles, a lot of things about politics and politicians have the potential for transformation. His victory is going to show that this massive Black base in this town has been able to pull off something in spite of all kinds of opposing and dividing factions because the basis of this electoral candidacy of Harold Washington is the Black vote. The political activities of Black people in this community are being awakened through a process of day-to-day political education. It is the only way it can happen.

I knew Malcolm very well as a young person because he came to Detroit very often when I was active there. I heard him speak many times and I have a

tremendous amount of respect for him. But, like any leader, you cannot take him out of his time because Malcolm and any great leader is restricted by the limits of the possibility of the struggle that goes on at the time of their active careers. Therefore, to understand the meaning of the "Ballot or the Bullet," and what the significance is for us today, we should make a comparison between what was going on in 1964 and what is going on now. And we should not make just any kind of comparison, but we should make a revolutionary comparison-- that is, what was the level of the revolutionary process at that time and what is it now? What were the forces opposing revolution at that time, and what are they now? And what were the tactics used by the forces of oppression at that time and what are they now? If we answer these kinds of basic questions, we won't have all of the answers, but we will have a framework within which we can begin to plan in relationship what the enemy is going to plan.

I think that the most important thing in terms of the 1960s for the Black Liberation Movement was that capitalism was able to make many concessions to that movement. They knew that within the South, that old hideous Jim Crowism segregation had to go. There were Black people who were becoming urbanized and moving into factories, and off the farms and out of sharecropping situations who were no longer going to tolerate that. This was very little for them to give up-- legislation on paper. They also had at that time the financial means to give up that bribe to the Black masses, particularly in the South.

But that situation has changed. The limits of their giving, have been defined by Watts in 1965, New York in 1966 and Detroit in 1967. In other words, the Black movement begins to show by its own direct action in the streets and mobilized cities that symbolic concessions, symbolic giveaways, were not enough. What they wanted dealt with were the basic necessities of jobs, housing, decent

education, and that's when the capitalists stopped giving. If you don't believe it, understand that the bills to desegregate housing, to desegregate the educational process, for affirmative action, and the like have been on the books for as long, if not longer than many other pieces of legislation and nothing has happened. Giving up on in these substantive areas means giving up on something, and the capitalists will never part with substantive portions of this pie unless they are absolutely forced to do it.

Secondly, when we look at who gained from the movement of the 60s, we must ask were there any significant differences made in the life of the average Black welfare mother, the average Black brother who goes to the mill--we call a factory, a "mill" in Detroit--or the person working at the fast food chain? Has that movement made any gains for them? I think you can look at any statistics dealing with the basic conditions of Black life in this country and note that there has been little change. All people that have gained from that movement represent only a tiny minority of everyone. For the 19 or 20 years since 1964 when Malcolm made that "Ballot or Bullet" speech, the great mass of Black people in this country have seen nothing but a deterioration in their standard of living and avenues of opportunity. These are facts at which we must look.

Thirdly, there is no comparison between 1964 and our movement now because the basic thrust of our movement was non-violence. There was a debate between the non-violence advocates and the advocates of violence and direct action--the Panthers, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and others. But one thing we did not have at that time was an understanding of the importance of organization. We were coming to Marxism. Some of us were hung up in ideology and philosophy and books and felt, somehow, that if we could just

educate people about what was going on and give them a revolutionary perspective, they would just get up and move. And we did treat Detroit, Newark and other places as revolutionary upsurges.

The fact of the matter is that in the main those uprisings were the spontaneous surgings of a desperate people without leadership. And that is why they got shot down like dogs--we had no organization. There was no elevation of the consciousness, except insofar as people recognized that they were on the bottom now and could not go any lower, and they had no choice but to fight. That is precisely what was going on.

Let us be honest about what the situation so that we can understand it now. There are some key terms we should be clear on. When we talk about reform under capitalism, when we talk about our fair share under capitalism, we must be very clear that we are talking about a very powerful organized interest. And for the capitalist, the reform means giving up concessions where he can without hurting himself. If anyone is to be hurt, the people who are demanding those concessions will be hurt--pure and simple.

On the other hand, when we talk about revolution, we're not talking about something that somebody made up their mind to do. Every revolution, every fundamental transformation of the distribution of political and economic power in a social system, in the history of this world has been shown to be an objective process--something that happens as a natural consequence of the development of the society itself. There is no doubt that capitalism will one day be moved off the stage of history. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind.

Lastly, anybody that thinks that this system is going to deal fairly with you, I'm just sorry. I am sad to say that you're absolutely wrong. If capitalism was fair, it would not be capitalism, it would be socialism. Let us not hoodwink ourselves on this question.

I would like to address myself to one more point, in the general way. The electoral process, particularly this one that is going on right now in this city today, is very important. But, it is only one arena, albeit a very important arena of struggle. We have to understand what goes down in that electoral process. Consider what we have to do in terms of educating our people. Some of the things that happened lately astonished me, and made me pain to think in terms of what has to be the thrust of our education. Recall the recent election of George Wallace as Governor in Alabama. That re-election was made possible by the Black vote and that happened because our people were not politically educated to the consequences of the promises that George Wallace was making to them. George Wallace is a populist. He says some nice things in terms of the struggle of rich vs. the poor, and what he is going to do. He says that he is qualified because he knows the sentiment of all people Black and White who are down in the bottom. And people on the bottom listen to anyone that shows them any hope. Hence, they are prone to being duped or tricked by such people in election process.

I make that point because I think we ought to listen very carefully and understand the quality of the man we all hope will win. Harold Washington is a man, in my opinion, who has a deep understanding, a deep appreciation of the social processes of this city and this country. But Harold Washington also knows that he is nothing without the people behind him. Nothing! He cannot win, he can't do anything because he will be going into an apparatus that is controlled by them. We have to be very clear that the only thing that is going to make that apparatus anyway democratic is the people from below. The moment we rest, the moment we lose. And I think that was the message that Malcolm was saying.

Let me just go one step further into the truths and some of the insights that Malcolm had. Malcolm discussed in his speeches the "Dixiecrats." Now they have new names--the "Boll Weevils." But what is coming out? It is that the whole of this country has been controlled by a tiny knot of Congressional committee chairmen from the South who remained there because they disenfranchised Black people. They controlled this country that tiny knot of Southern Democrats and Southern Republicans. The point that we have to understand, is that we have to look and understand the total apparatus of government--those hidden commissions, those hidden decision-making bodies, not the figureheads; not just what goes down in terms of the city council, but what goes on behind closed doors. And we must understand it in a certain way--technically, how can we gain an advantage in terms of understanding how to bring pressure on these commissions and on the real inner workings of the government today.

What is the situation facing our people? Our movement? We need to unmask a mistaken idea going around. Everybody is trying to attribute these cutbacks, these turnarounds, the smashing of the New Deal, to President Reagan; and to Reaganomics alone. Some people seem to conveniently forget that Reagan represents the capitalist class, and a certain section of that class. He represents the most reactionary section of the capitalist class. What he is trying to do is to carry out a program which recognizes that the system is in a deep crisis. Any kind of system that is going into crisis can use two weapons: on the one hand, they can use the carrot--they used in the 60s--or, as they are doing now, they can use the stick.

It is now a matter of policy to drive down the living standards of the people. When a health care program is taken away, that is a driving down of the living standard; when workers are unemployed that is a driving down of their

living standards, the quality of their life. It is a conscious policy of that system for it to happen, for the system to no longer pay the bills for the quality of life that the American people--working class and middle class alike--have enjoyed since the end of World War II.

One of the reasons they cannot do it is because they can no longer rape the countries of the Third World as they did in the past. They've got to come home. They can't get their profits overseas so they'll take it out of our hides here. That is what is happening. It ain't no "bad guy" or "good guy" phenomena--it is the workings of the capitalist system in crisis. The only way the problems of a system in crisis can be solved is by the activity of the people who are suffering from the crisis and the policies that their rulers are trying to impose. That is what this campaign is all about, and that is what our movement is all about.

In closing, what is the position of Black people? In this whole situation, we are a minority. But we are a decisive minority. Where are we located? We're located in the furnaces of the steel mills, on the assembly lines of auto plants; we do all the dirty, funky work or this country don't go. That's it, pure and simple. We must look at it in class terms--what we all call "Uncle Toms" are nothing but the henchmen of the capitalists operating through the working class. Therefore, within the work place, within this class structure what is decisive about the Black Liberation struggle today is that this struggle pushes to the forefront the demands not just of the Black people, but of every oppressed and exploited section of society.

What are Black people demanding today? Jobs. Don't you think that white folks with 8-9% unemployment want jobs? What are Black people demanding today? Decent housing! You know what the situation of poor whites and Hispanics are.

What are Black people demanding in terms of all the basic essentials of social life? Those demands are the demands of every person that is oppressed and exploited in this society. The problem, thanks to the very sophisticated machinery of the media and the ideological machine of this capitalist class, they can always run the "divide and conquer" game. The capitalist tells the oppressed White: "Your problem is the niggers over there." He tells the Latino and Hispanics, like the situation here and in Miami: "Well, you can always make it. But stay away from Black folks." Anybody that is not politically sophisticated and politically educated will go with this lie.

In closing, I am saying that what is happening here in Chicago, represents a further development in our struggle and a consolidation of our ranks, and the educating of our cadres. It is not being done in a classroom, although in part it is happening there, but it is primarily in the streets, primarily in the process of seeing that this struggle is but one stretch of our triumphal march to victory, in the day in and day out work of convincing that person who might be a little backward that this struggle is necessary.

I support the struggle in the electoral arena. I think it is an extremely important one, but we must ramify our struggle. We must struggle on every front. And we must unite that struggle, and proceed on to victory. Do not forget the decisive importance of the Black worker in the totality of the struggle. Do not forget the national demands of the Black people but do not forget also that Black people are a decisive section of the whole of this U.S. working class. We do not want our working people to be isolated for attacks like the Jews, the Rumanians or the Yugoslavs in Germany under Hitler's Facism.

QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

LOCKSLEY EDMONDSON

We've had a real treat. The particular perspectives people took today are all very much in the tradition that almost 20 years ago Malcolm X was hoping for, a liberation of the mind, of the political mind, that would lead to a constant commitment to move against some of the ingrained inadequacies of the political, social, and economic system. We are going to open up the floor for comments. We are now open for discussion.

QUESTION: I have a question about Malcolm. In light of Malcolm's reference to the current situation, in addition to talking about the ballot or the bullet, Malcolm talked at some length about revolution. He instructed people to turn to history. Let's say you have a problem and you want to solve that problem, you should look back in history to where people had a problem similar to that and find out how they solved it and you will find out how you might solve yours. When he gave this speech on the Ballot or the Bullet, Black people were in a different position with regard to the vote than they are today. We've got 20 years of additional experience with the vote. In fact, in Chicago Black voting goes back to the 1870s with Jones and the various levels of the county, city, and the state legislature. We elected the first Black Congressman in 1928 after the Reconstruction congressmen left office by 1901. Anybody who grows up in Chicago, grows up with politics being part of what you breathe and eat every day, particularly if you understand that politics has a lot more to do with things that happen other than the vote. Everybody knows that in Chicago.

In light of what people have said and the theories that have been put forward it seems to me important to turn to history and ask our panelists to give us a situation in this country or in the world in which people who have problems like ours used the ballot for revolution or liberation? That would help us understand the link between this situation and the goals and aspirations that possibly we share.

CONRAD WORRILL

Frankly, studying the history of earlier periods, I don't know of any people who have been oppressed or who have been enslaved or captured, as I indicated we have been captured under capitalism or imperialism, that were actually freed by the vote. We can take the Chinese Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, or more recent, the Vietnamese or Cuban Revolutions. I'm also concerned with the Haitian Revolution led by Toussaint because we forget about where our own people struggle. I think history would indicate most clearly, that no oppressed people or enslaved people get independence, freedom or liberty through vote.

WYLIE ROGERS

I agree essentially with what Brother Worrill put forth. If you just want to rely on the vote, you will be waiting for politics to change its tide. Every revolutionary process that has taken place has involved naturally, the politics of voting. One of the key things, however, is how the vote is used. For example, let's take the experience of the Bolsheviks in Russia. The Bolsheviks made it a matter of policy for the Bolsheviks to participate in the election and put forth working-class candidates and a working-class program. Those were all tactical maneuvers. I think that voting and the electoral process can be effective in the process, but not as a strategy, not as the main way to do it. Why? Basically, the forces that control and rule society are never going to on a vote-voluntarily-based give up their power. You have to take it. And you ain't never going to take it through the ballot. You are simply not going to do it that way. I believe that if voting is used as a tactic it can be effectively used. But certainly it can by no means be the major weapon.

LOCKSLEY EDMONDSON: What examples are there in history where a distinct minority has found it possible to overthrow a majority system by revolution and to make it stick?

AUDIENCE COMMENT:

From my perspective, I don't think that it is possible that the ballot alone can be used for liberation. But I think that it should be considered a very effective means in conjunction with movements and/or organizations and/or forums where people are actively working together to put the overall program into effect.

CONRAD WORRILL

I think that this is a healthy exercise for all the tendencies in the Black Liberation Movement to unite around this objective of political empowerment, and especially the situation we have in Chicago with the movement around Harold Washington's campaign. One of the weaknesses of these electoral politics movements as they have emerged in the modern period since 1967 in Newark, Gary, and other cities is that we have not been able to sustain our movement after the election. Something always seems to happen. I would challenge anyone today that our real movement will begin February 23rd when everybody goes back into their apartments and we don't see people again for 10 years.

I think that what we are doing now is trying to build the movement with the objective that goes beyond February 22nd into the future, given the fact that in this city in 1992 there will be a World's Fair, especially in light of the various trends that are going on in the world and in the country and as they impact specifically on Black people residing here in Chicago. I think that is a very important consideration in terms of building a movement with all the forces and tendencies we have participating in this campaign. The challenge to the Black Liberation struggle locally, is to continue this movement beyond February 22nd.

QUESTION: I am concerned with the efforts of CBUC in the mayoral campaign. Harold Washington being elected in the city of Chicago is very, very important. At the same time, there are community people who are running for City Council that are the machine's candidates. There are others of us--I happen to be an aldermanic candidate in the 7th Ward--who don't have that much money but we are candidates who are running against the machine. The machine candidates are the ones who are not going to support Harold Washington once he does get into office. As we know, a mayor must have the cooperation and support of city councilmen who can help him along his way in the administration of the city's business. Now unless we are able to expose those candidates who have been planted in the community to do the devil's work of the machine politics, then Harold will be ineffective to a great degree in the community and in City Hall. What help can we get not only in the 7th Ward, but systematically throughout every ward in the City of Chicago?

MERCEDES MAULLETTE

I would like to respond from two perspectives. I'll put on the hat that I wear in the Washington campaign. I am Far South District Coordinator for Congressman Harold Washington. On the question of the aldermanic candidates, throughout the city, as you know, we have had more candidates file for office than in recent history. Some 239 aldermanic candidates filed petitions and many will be on the ballot on February 22nd. As of this date, the Congressman has not made a firm decision on supporting aldermanic candidates. Now, from another hat that I wear. As a central area Chairperson of the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment, we have decided on a strategy and approach in support of Black aldermanic candidates and a Black slate for February 22nd. We will begin the process and you should receive as a candidate a questionnaire from us and you will be asked to come for an interview. Rather than have CBUC endorse a candidate, PUSH endorsed a candidate, and all the Black organizations endorsed

separately, essentially what we have done because the field is so full of candidates, is to plan one session and have the Task Force endorsements for aldermanic candidates. This would mean that Reverend Jesse Jackson on the Saturday before, will be talking about the same slate that Lu Palmer is talking about, and that CBUC or Citizens for Self-Determination, Nancy Jefferson on the West Side, and all of us who are part of the Task Force will be endorsing the same people. The problem with that is this: For example, Fred Jackson, in the front row here, is a candidate in the 9th Ward, running in a field of ten candidates. When we pick Fred Jackson, we alienate the other nine. So it becomes a very crucial issue in determining the endorsed candidates. If Congressman Washington felt he did not want to take our recommendations, if he chose to endorse only a few candidates, the Task Force would be the group that would come into the campaign, give you the bodies, and the financial support to win.

SAME QUESTIONER: I am not necessarily talking about endorsement. I am talking about those individual candidates who are running who we know are going to be detrimental to the community. I think that a decision on not endorsing any particular candidate is correct. What do we do about those mavericks who we know belong to the machine who are getting money from downtown and lying through their teeth to the people of the community. We need help from an organization that can actually expose those individuals. Because in many instances, there are more than one or two good candidates in the community, but the community has to have the ammunition to be able to decide which of the candidates are no good and dangerous. In my ward, out of 11 running, there are about six devils. They could be identified. There are only four or five people who are legitimately concerned about the community.

MERCEDES MAULLETTE

May I suggest that you bring that issue to the Task Force? It is one that we would certainly be able to help in. We certainly want to support a Black

slate. In fact, earlier on in the process, the Task Force wanted to run a slate from mayor on down--the city clerk and all the rest. And finally at one p.m. one night on the phone, Conrad and the rest of us decided that we wouldn't do that, but basically, we never abandoned the idea of having a total Black slate of candidates and a straight ticket.

CONRAD WORRILL

Some of these candidates may be exposing themselves--Mary Bullock and that whole gang, we could just call the roll on them. That West side group of Henry and so forth. But the Task Force is at a very formative stage in the campaign. We can't take on everything and we're not going to try to take on everything. The masses responded to some extent after the Task Force picketed those preachers and put out a call for people who were oppressed inside some of these churches to rise up against their ministers just like they did in Montgomery when the preachers were against the movement of the bus boycott to resist racial segregation on public transportation in the South. And, in some instances, the word has begun to spread. People have to take up their own initiative in the precincts and their wards and unite to take on their organizing activities to confront situations they feel are in their vested interests. One thing has happened in our experience of organizing in the last 10 years or so in Chicago. It is that all of this is an experience in the process and that hopefully, we can improve in our organizing towards Black liberation in Chicago as it relates to liberation inside of America. We have a lot of work to do and we need all the support we can get inside the Task Force to make possible the victory for Washington on February 22nd. We think that you should attend the Task Force meetings and we invite you to participate and to get involved in our work.

QUESTION: In recent weeks, the media especially has put a lot of emphasis that the Hispanic community would not support Harold Washington in the election in the tension that has been created on the basis of race. My question is: What becomes the determines if aldermanic candidates should be supported regardless of their color?

MERCEDES MAULLETTE

There is no problem in supporting Hispanics and/or white aldermanic candidates. I think that is not true. I think that is a fact there is support in the Hispanic community. It is misleading. If you rely on Walter Jacobsen (CBS political commentator) to tell you that Linda Coronado says that all her literature is printed in Spanish and English. And that in those communities in the tenth ward, Homboldt Park, Logan Square and Pilsen, that we are not working as hard there in the eleventh ward as we are throughout the city, that is not true. In many instances, some of the white independent candidates, for example, David Orr up north, don't want an endorsement for us. In a sense, they want to play both sides against the middle. Miriam Balanoff in the tenth ward--independent at some level and has been supported by the community, however, she wants to support Harold on Paxton Street in the Black community but on Avenue "O" in the white community, she wants to be a Daley supporter. It's just not that simple and clear. Many of the independents want Harold support when it's on our side of the tracks. Miriam Balanoff is a perfect example of that whole thing. She has been supported by the Black community in all of her efforts and this one where she could not be decisive about where she stands.

WYLIE ROGERS

I think this raises a very good point. A lot of people are in the race, a lot of issues are being raised, a lot of faces are being seen. What does this mean? This means simply, that this is the way the political process is--many

trends and tendencies. What does that require? Thinking of individuals' interests. We can listen here to what people are saying, we can look at their track record. When we talk about practical politics, be it revolutionary or whatever, one thing it requires is thinking and knowledge about what the problem that you are trying to deal with. There's going to be deception, double talk, etc. Any discerning person has got to figure out that process. That's why, I think that political education efforts such as CBUC are important. It gets people sitting down. Politics is not just the mechanics of an election; politics is the actual participation in that process that determines what goes on in society. And you're going to see not only 10 or 11 candidates, but more. It's a very simple question for the machine. The machine would be foolish not to flood it with candidates. That's how they have been staying in power--why give up now? You are going to see more of them, as well as any other tactics they can use.

We can't say like in the old days, "SNCC is going to do it for us, or NAACP is going to do it for us." No organization is strong as the participation of those people making the organization's guidelines, policies and principles. To you brother, your question is very good. But the best answer to the question would probably be gotten by you as a concerned citizen dealing with those different forces and elements out there. If a candidate has a position which speaks in the interests of Black and poor folks, and he or she is consistent with that position, has a track record in support of it, and you are convinced that that person can carry out what is necessary, then that person should be supported.

COMMENT:

Let me follow up on why I raised that. The nationalist movement has traditionally stayed out of the white man's politics that dealt with the white

man's game. And the left did, too, but it was splintered and didn't do grass-roots organizing. Somebody runs on the left ticket and Donald Duck might get more votes, just because there wasn't the type of work done that we are seeing being done now. The point you made that a lot of people may not understand is that, Black folks have played a significant role in this society because of the political, social and economic landscape--why we are here, how we got here, and what role we play.

It's kind of like a light bulb or candle lit up a really dark situation in which we can witness other segments of our society take advantage of the light. This is what society is all about. Why make the same mistake, if we can provide that sort of leadership? My concern is that the knowledge and experience that we have come to in many struggles isn't so separate and so isolated and specialized just to people of African descent that we cannot use those skills to help us not only free Black people, but other people who are in comparable situations. I am not saying what has been said before--that Black people aren't going to be the cannon fodder of the left. That's not what I am saying. What I am suggesting is that obviously there has to be some type of coalition among a number of groups who in fact have mutual interests wanted to know what that meant in terms of aldermanic candidates. There are some white aldermen and aldermanic candidates that have voted "Blacker" than many Black aldermen. I think people should expose this con game--"I should be an alderman because of the color of my skin, not by the actions and the work that I do." I don't want to be fooled by a Black person because I am not clear on the dimensions of the political and economic struggle.

MERCEDES MAULLETTE:

One of the reasons the field is so crowded in aldermanic elections is that many of the aldermanic hopefuls anticipate the one million plus voter turnout and

hope to ride that crest to victory. The big turnout concerns a lot of candidates who have existed there because of low voter turnout and no real challenge. One of the reasons why the machine has not challenged them, is because most independents also got a free ride. They got a free ride because the Democratic Party has a base vote they can deliver. And despite Harold Washington's victory on February 22nd, they are going to deliver that base vote. That base vote in the aldermanic can be anywhere from five to six thousand votes. That means that in a field of 11 candidates, more than likely, there will not be any clear aldermanic victory. There will probably be a runoff and they feel that each of the independents will get 2,000-3,000 here, and the machine still has its capability of delivering its base vote.

My mother said, "Give the Devil his due!" He is going to deliver that five thousand votes despite Harold Washington. The Bob Shaws and Wilson Frosts will go safe saying "vote for me, and damn Jane Byrne." And when they do that, that means that once aldermanic candidates in that large field is going to have to catapult their campaigns over and above the fray. And when Black people are looking for a choice on their ballot, they are not going to look at that long list of names and many will vote for the machine candidates because the name is familiar, not because the record of service to the community is positive.

Malcolm talked a lot about economics. We might call it "the ballot, the bullet and the buck (\$)." How do the panelists view the relationship of economic power in the U.S. to the struggle in the arena of electoral politics?

QUESTION: It seems to me that what we have been discussing here proceeds from the premise that we as Blacks are always struggling towards some kind of liberation, towards a more equitable piece of the pie, that we will lead a monolithic existence until we fight communally. It's my

understanding that basically, in the economic setup of the country, and I think these statistics are still holding, 10 percent of the population hold 90 percent of the wealth. Any one looking at that can readily see that the money and the resources are up at the top and masses of Americans, white and Black, are poverty-stricken. It would seem to me that the masses of white people would quickly recognize this fact if the information could be gotten to them.

What I think goes on is basically that, the white population is very brainwashed to the point that poor white people are not realizing that it would be in their self-interest to form coalitions with poor Black people and consequently the two groups together could confront the rich people and get a bigger part of the economic pie. My question is, if these premises are true, why can't the Black intellectuals call some type of conference with the white intellectuals where these things could be recognized -- that both groups would benefit if they could come together and have the economic structure of this country adjusted so that everybody could have a decent living and have decent resources--housing, jobs, medical, etc. If the two groups could come together and agree upon this, they could come up with some type of paper and get it out to the white masses to convince them that they would actually benefit by forming coalitions with the other poverty-stricken people in the country and have the economic system adjusted so that it gives everybody a better share of the pie.

QUESTION: You mentioned before, and I believe, that capitalism won't work for the people. Do you believe then that socialism will work, and that we are moving towards it?

LOCKSLEY EDMONDSON:

There are three interrelated questions here. One is, how does the panel address the whole of Blacks trying to acquire some economic power in the system, vis-a-vis political power, and perhaps a military option? Secondly, what are the prospects of trying to support some interest in the class alliance, given the highly skewed distribution of income and wealth in this country? And what role do intellectuals play in trying to put forward a position so that people can discover their real class interests and not be diverted by other divisions? Thirdly, what is the comparative relevance of capitalism and socialism.

WYLIE ROGERS:

Those are very good questions because they go to the core of the problem. Why don't we put that question of economic power up there with the "Ballot and the Bullet and the Buck?" Some of our leaders have a very good habit of saying Black people are worth so much purchasing power--they have 142 billion. All this shows is that there is a lack of understanding of the nature of capitalism. Capital doesn't become capital until you have a certain amount of money until you can invest and live by hiring and exploiting the labor of other workers. I would submit that probably less than one percent of the Black people in the U.S. are capable of being independent capitalists. As a matter of fact, capitalism has reached a stage called imperialism which is monopoly capitalism in which even most white people can't get into the ballgame, except as a franchise like McDonald's or something like that. As a matter of fact, when you are talking

about capital alone--you are talking about multi-national capital, a whole network of finance capital in several nations. Certainly, Black people have economic power, but this is basically consumer income.

Most Black people are wage workers, even professionals and intellectuals have got to work. If your check stops for two weeks, you are finished. You got mortgages and car loans and installment loans and credit cards and everything else. Not because you want them, but because with surplus wealth that's the way you are forced to live under capitalism. It forces you into the installment plan. Who can afford to go out and buy a car brand new without paying 15 percent interest--put down cash money out of their pocket. Most can't.

The other thing that's important about this type of coercion is that capitalism exists for the sole reason of making a profit. The only way they can make a profit is by keeping the wages of the workers as low as possible. That's happening with the crisis today. They have done such a good job keeping wages low, that the people who produce the goods--cars, houses, etc--can't buy it! You have overproduction--the capitalist can't sell their goods and they got to lay people off.

I am simply saying that it has been the action of this system to keep Black workers in the most deprived, and exploited positions, because superprofits, a higher rate of profits, can be wrested from Black people as a result of discrimination. Look how many billions of dollars more in profits are made by the capitalists every year because they can pay Black workers less. White workers tend to support this kind of discrimination because they are being sold the same type of bill of goods they were being sold during slavery. Poor whites could always be bought off with a proposition by saying, "Even though you are as poor, even poorer than the slaves, you are at least better off because you are white

and free." And his freedom was in abject poverty, and many whites are still paying for this today.

My second point is, and I don't want to be crude or anything, but capitalism is not going to be beaten by intellectual organization and struggle. This has been tried many times. You look at the intellectuals. The intellectual is supposed by virtue of his or her intellectual development, to understand the problem and by the force of that intellectual's understanding, people can be persuaded to come together to solve the problem. It just doesn't happen like that. Because while we are busy, the capitalist is also busy. He ain't going to let us plan nothing without his interfering and intervening just when we get things going. At the same time, however, we have to understand the role of the intellectual, because no revolutionary process anywhere has succeeded without the intellectual playing a leading role in the revolutionary process.

Revolution is a science; it must be studied. I say that socialism is going to follow capitalism not because I am hoping it, but because theory has demonstrated it and experiences have proven it. I have seen no countries anywhere in the world go back to capitalism. Every country that has won liberation from direct colonialism has either freed itself from colonialism and gone on to socialism or fallen back into neo-colonialism. That's been the motion.

It is obvious to me that a system which looks after basic human needs is an advance over a system that is based on the operation of the so-called "marketplace," where it is just dog-eat-dog, do or die. You either make it or don't make it. It is your own fault. The point I am trying to make is that socialism is an advance over capitalism because socialism is a recognition that man's technological and sociological development has progressed to the point that it is no longer necessary for one part of society to be exploited by another

part of society in order for the whole society to live. That is all socialism says; there ain't nothing magical about it.

To summarize, we should not delude ourselves that the capitalist will ever allow Black people -- as a heavily oppressed and exploited minority, as a very profitable minority--to ever have a meaningful piece of the economic pie. He is going to give a certain section of us some crumbs from the pie so that that section can control the rest of us. That is called "cooptation" or "compradorism." A comprador is just like the head slave in line. Give him a little more to eat and he will control the rest of them for you because he is thinking more or less like everybody else does--in their own self-interest.

Finally, I agree that the role of the intellectual is extremely important. But success in our struggle will come only on the basis of elevating the consciousness of the masses of people about what is necessary, historically, as well as in an immediate practical way to solve their problems. The role of intellectuals is to explain that process that is going on. It is the intellectual who makes the revolutionary process a conscious process in peoples' minds in terms of what the ultimate aim is and how we get there. Only intellectuals can do that, especially intellectuals that come from the working class and oppressed people or take their interests as their own. That worker can struggle and fight, that poor person can struggle and fight, but the very fact that they are poor, often means that they don't have time to study the situation. They only have time to survive, and often don't have time to reflect on the system that makes it so hard for them to survive.

COMMENT:

I would like to make a couple of comments that may serve as linkage between the two sessions. In the first plenary, we talked about the phenomenon--

trying to identify concretely who are Black mayors, what is Black mayoral politics, what is a Black mayor city, and the like. We identified and generally agreed that there were certain symbolic as well as substantive gains being won by different elements within the Black community as a result of Black mayors being elected. On the other hand, one of the things that was very pronounced was that there was a structural limitation that limited the sphere of operation of Black elected officials, including Black mayors. We also, pointed out that the question of Black politics is an historical phenomenon--it changed over time due to dynamic changes in conditions, and that we have to understand these changes in order to get at what role Black mayors play relative to other social forces in society.

Keeping that in mind, we came back to the more ideological and more political questions. Some people may question the relevance of the first panel to the concerns of this panel--that is, does Malcolm's thesis have anything at all to do with the various ideological perspectives that are operating not only in the Black community as a whole but within the different sectors and strata of the Black community i.e., community groups, Black Studies, middle class working people in the plants, and so on. The question was raised earlier about the role of the intellectual especially given the historical position of intellectuals' experience and for example, Black studies is a field, an arena of ideological and political struggle and dialogue. And it must be because it comes out of a particular history, and it is a product of the struggle for academic excellence as well as a struggle for social responsibility. What becomes problematic is when we try to just wall it off (Black Studies) and pretend it doesn't have its own character, and that the intellectual is somehow supposed to remain aloof from it and cannot intervene in the political process. Another point we mentioned on the

first panel is the significance of science informing politics. I would like for us to comment on these points before we lose sight of them.

WYLIE ROGERS:

I want to say something specifically to the youth in this room. I have a sixteen year old son. The important thing I want to address is specifically the question of science. I think it's very important for the young people who are participating in the struggle today to recognize that the revolutionary process is a science. Revolution is a science. You have to study the history of a people and it is impossible to understand what is going on without perceiving it from a scientific understanding. You have to study! Too many times we, in a metaphysical way, polarize two aspects of a necessary process. We put study over here, action over here. The two interpenetrate dialectically. You cannot act upon and neither can you study without having been engaged and concerned with some activity that is the object of your study.

The present electoral process in Chicago is a virtual laboratory for learning. I mean don't make the kind of mistakes we made earlier when revolutionaries said: "Damn the electoral politics. People just voting as a popularity contest." Wherever the people are in terms of their consciousness, even if we disagree with them, it is our responsibility to go in there and explain to the masses of people why we disagree with them rather than sit and grumble on the sideline. It is very un-revolutionary to have an opinion about which way the struggle has to go but not tell anyone about it except your friends. Because it is the people out there who are going to carry this struggle through.

It is almost a standing cliché but there is some truth to the saying that is the youth that are the future. Some of us who are older must take every opportunity to give up all we know so that youth can maintain the continuity in

in that struggle, or we won't go anywhere.

This brings me to my last point of analysis. Malcolm should be studied. The people who sponsored this conference are some of the highest developed intellectuals in the country. For them to select Malcolm and consideration of Malcolm's 1964 speech at this time twenty years later is very significant. There are certain things about that speech which the penelists have pointed to which you should look at. You should look at the portion where Malcolm talks about the difference between the ballot and the bullet. And more than anything else, you should look at the time and the period and the conditions in which Malcolm worked, and study them scientifically. I am saying this, not just because I like Malcolm, because he is a together brother. But the ideas that Malcolm was injecting and how his particular teachings are of great value to us today. And you have to understand and appreciate what is no longer useful. You have to know all these things because this is what keeps our movement going.

COMMENT:

It seems to me that a lot of things that you would say about a Black viewpoint towards one thing or another you would also have to say about the Black left and the Black nationalist movement. Neither movement has ever put together an integrated multi-level strategy to deal with economic, political and social issues. We talk about revolution and all these words--but we cannot finance getting a tape of this discussion that is been going on here all day, broadcast on the air so that more people can hear it, and decide for themselves what of it makes any sense for their lives. Until we start, talking about those of us who don't have to get hung up in some of this stuff that happened in the past and on some of these words, we can really pull this together, but it is going to take

study. It is going to take an absorption of knowledge about business and economics and engineering and all the rest of it that we get out of this place to put behind a program and a strategy. Certainly, tactics without strategy can lead to a great deal of harm, and perhaps to something you never intended. But strategy without tactics is also bad, and a lot of what has come out in the last decade has been strategy without tactics--words and programs unwilling to deal with basic, step-by-step, day-to-day realities that the people that we propose to lead expect you to deal with. I hope that all of you will think about this and that we start communicating on these different levels.

COMMENT:

I would like to get back to the question of youth. One thing, Malcolm would like to see I think, is to discuss Black youth in light of "third world phenomenon." Demographically, in the major industrial cities of the United States, there is a high concentration of female headed households. But more important than that is that a large proportion of the Black community is under the age of 20. In Chicago, I think it is over 30 percent, and in some specific community areas, young people outnumber adults. In a political-economic sense, that means that for the most part they are traditionally outside of the political processes that Americans traditionally accept. From my experiences in the 1960s, there was no opportunity for young people to influence the political process. Economically, they are not in the work force so those concerns that will determine the goals of society are generally only of interest to adults.

Many of the things that are going on now concerning policy and decision-making will determine the ability of young people to survive into the 1990s. What is the potential recognizing that in other third world countries young people play a significant role. In El Salvador, for example, within the

revolutionary organizations there are very young people in responsible positions, doing things that many of us who are adults have yet to grapple with.

WYLIE ROGERS:

I think that we have to look at the history of the 1960s. It is very easy, when we look back and see the mistakes we made on the Left. Hindsight is twenty-twenty, and we can be very critical. But I think we have to be very careful in our criticism of the legacy of our struggle--bad, good or indifferent. We have to be critical in a scientific way. A lot of people fought for what they thought was right. It was not their fault that they didn't properly understand how the struggle should proceed under those different conditions in the 1960s. It was a very tiny struggle. I have very serious, serious differences with the New Left and many groupings on the Left. But I always respect the fact that they picked up the revolutionary banner, and that they tried to wage struggle and run the risks. That's very important.

While we criticize the political mistakes, and criticize them to the point of driving those mistakes out of the movement, we have to also respect the revolutionary fervor, that many people still feel. Che Guevara was wrong in many ways--he died in Bolivia. But the point is that Che took up arms against the beast, and we should reserve undying respect for that. We have to be very, very careful about this legacy, particularly after a period of relative quiet.

The Left, the working class and the progressives in this country, particularly Black people in the South, took up a struggle under very different conditions and carried it through. If you don't believe me, look at some of the films of 1967 in Detroit, and Newark and other places. You will see that whether they knew who Marx was or not, the people fought. They may not have understood it, but they fought. And we have to be extremely careful of our criticism.

What is happening to Black people in the cities is a concentrated expression of what's happening to the city itself. Look at Chicago. It's not only people going down the drain, but streets are going down the drain, the bridges are going down the drain, the services are going down the drain. The point is this: this system cannot maintain the level of quality life that it could during the post-World War II period. Everybody should go down and pick a copy of the Statistical Abstract of the U.S. and look at the figures on the return on invested capital around the world. You see the rate of profit decline from 1973 on and you will get a picture of the kind of crisis this country is in and why they can't do what they used to do. The U.S. capitalists have taken from Western Europe, from Asia, Africa and Latin America through its control, through being the number one capitalist country in the world. And it has managed to keep us quiet here by throwing off some of the crumbs to us. Now that day is past.

People won't let the United States take their resources anymore. Why do you think there is all this hullabaloo about Japan? Why do you see France and Germany standing up to the U.S.? Because the days of the U.S. running roughshod over other people are all over. Other countries can compete. If you can't take away from them over there, if those people over there shoot back, the U.S. capitalists are going to come back home. And that's what you see happening.

If you look at the history of the struggle--Black people's struggle--you will see a funny combination. Our struggle has always depended on the intervention of the federal government since Lincoln. Virtually everything we get, depends on what the federal government is willing to give us. Do you follow me? and so therefore, when the government turns its back, everything goes. Look at the figures. Where are we located in most of our jobs? Either on the assembly

lines, in the basement of the steel mills, or on the governmental payroll. The point that I am trying to make is that, what you see happening to our people is not a complex phenomenon. It is a simple phenomenon where the capitalists say "we're taking it away and depriving you of the ability to build something independent for yourself." That's what is happening.

This brings us to the question, of how we must criticize our past period. Many of our demands, many times you will make your demands, and I see anybody that's naive about politics starting out are going to make their demands on the basis of what is in front of their eyes. One of the traps that we fell into, was the whole "community control" trap and our thinking about that. It's the same thing here with the electoral campaign. What is to be gained if Harold Washington wins and the city goes bankrupt? And then everybody will be saying "Harold Washington is the cause of it." The die has already been cast.

The process of decline has already been set in motion by the previous administration. Look what happened in other major cities: Blacks got in just when cities were going broke, and they said "we will put a Black man there to solve those problems." Symbolically, it was good, but the point I am trying to make, is that we are dealing with extremely complex problems here. We are dealing with a process where a society, an economic system is no longer able to behave in the same old ways because of its crisis and there is going to be a return to more direct ways of coercion of oppression and exploitation. The results of it will be harder times for a certain segment of the population, in this case Blacks, because Blacks always been on the bottom and they are going to be the first and the worst hit with the decline. The more important question is how are we going to come out of it?

How we come out of it is dealt with in terms of many of the things that we

have said today. I want to close on this central point. Capitalism is an economic system in which even the capitalist would admit that the bottom line for them is not human needs but profit. Human needs are important only insofar that meeting those needs serve the interests of making bigger profits. Basic economics textbook will point that out to you. You cannot expect such a system that is operating on these principles to give up anything unless there is pressure put on it. And you cannot expect the people to put on that pressure unless it is organized and can be respected as a force that is capable of putting the necessary pressure on.

What we see happening to Black people in these cities today is tragic and is an abomination on mankind. The answer is not to appeal to the capitalists-- Reagan has shown us that--the only answer to organize not on the periphery, but right dead at the center of where that misery is sharpest. We must show the people how they can become allies with others and turn the capitalist system around.

LOCKSLEY EDMONDSON:

At this point, Ladies and Gentlemen, we will wrap up. Before formally thanking the panelists, I hope you will permit me to make a few minor comments which I hope will help to put into focus some of the general issues that have been raised today. As I re-read Malcolm's "Ballot or Bullet," I think there are perhaps six major themes that recommend themselves for our attention. They have been raised today in different ways, and let me just briefly indicate what I think these major themes are. One theme I would call, the theme of systematic analysis; the second theme: the issues of method and direction; the third is: the question flexibility and commitment, the fourth is the question of political maturity; fifth, is the question of national and international interaction; and the final theme is what I refer to as systemic crisis.

Secondly, with regard to the "Ballot or Bullet," we must realize that Malcolm was speaking in partly symbolisms. You have to look at the implications of what he was saying. And, in general, he was using ballot as a symbol of something and bullet as a symbol of something else. You could argue that one represents working within the system--the ballot, and that the bullet represents working outside the system. But whatever way we take it, I think it seems to recommend for our attention the fact, that we have to look at two particular dimensions: the method of struggle and the direction of struggle. And the two are not always continuous. In fact, if you check it out you can end up with four types of ideal types of combinations. You can have a method of struggle in which people work within the system as a method with a direction that helps to maintain that system. If a Black person does it, I suppose you could characterize that person as an "Uncle Tom."

You can have another type of person who works outside the system or remains outside the system--the totally alienated who decides not to lift a finger -- "A plague on both your houses, I don't want to have anything to do with you!" It is outside the system, but that's not necessarily revolutionary, because by staying outside the system by refusing to engage it. If Black people all stayed outside and kept quiet about it, we would be no better off. In fact, it would be infinitely worse. So that is another type I would call that "escapist"--not a "Tom" because that person might have logical reasons why he might want nothing to do with that dirty piece of work, but it is escapism anyway which is addressing the problem.

A third type, of course, is the person working within the system in order to help transform the system. One could call that type of person, I suppose, a reformist. And, then you of course have the fourth type--the person who is

working against the system, not reform it but to overthrow it. This person would be your full-fledged revolutionary.

There is no question that Malcolm was anything but the fourth type of this ideal dimension--a revolutionary. But I think he was understanding that there are these nuances and that he could live with option number three. He could live with that person working inside the system provided that that particular group or individual was not using their work inside the system simply to help perpetuate its full existence, and they were at least trying to chip away at some of the weaker points and trying to bring some degree of reform even if it could not result in total or substantive transformation.

Malcolm does not reject the ballot at all. Even though at times he seems to be rejecting it, he is not rejecting it. He is arguing that the ballot should be used logically in the particular time and in the particular place with a particular type of methodology. The classic manifestation of what you were saying occurred somewhere in the middle of his speech when he said, addressing Black people, "Blacks in the community must re-educate into the science of politics so that he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return. Don't be throwing out any ballots. "A ballot is like a bullet." That is where the linkage occurs. "A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw the ballots around, until you see a target and if that target is not within your reach, keep the ballot within your pocket." I hope you will understand, therefore, that Malcolm makes much sense, and that he can appeal even to people who are not as nationalistically-inclined or as revolutionarily-inclined as Malcolm the individual was.

Another dimension was flexibility and commitment. Malcolm made the point clearly, that Black people should try to submerge their differences. I am quoting him: "We should realize that it is best for us to see that we have the

same problem, a common problem." That is a very flexible position coming from a man like Malcolm who many people thought was so very rigid and uptight with one way of doing things. Not at all. Malcolm was not arguing that you should open the door for everything. He was making certain advanced assumptions that you are serious about something. He was addressing Black people who recognize, that we could not stay where we were and therefore he was preparing at that stage to engage in coalition building recognize the multiplicity of interests that need to work toward a common cause, even with those that did not fully agree with a particular methodology of all the groups involved. What you needed therefore was a commitment and clarity about the fundamental baseline purpose of the struggle and movement towards or away from something into something better.

The next dimension is political maturity. Malcolm's message in 1964 was simply an invitation to that political maturity. And while I fully agree with my brother that 1964 was not identical to 1983, what I think is in common in 1964 and 1983 is that the invitation to political maturity still remains an invitation. The levels of the struggle have changed. Black people have become more politically aware in many respects. But it does not mean that we should ever be satisfied with the stages we have reached beyond 1964. It is a constant invitation to become more politically mature.

The fifth point I raised, and this is something very close to my own heart and being, is the relationship between national and international forces. Someone this morning pointed out that mayors, Black or White, were affected not only by the national economy, but by the world economy. We must realize that we now no longer live in a local economy, or a domestic national economy; we live in a global network of economic communications, with ripples being felt all over the world. Chicago plays an important role in the world economy itself.

What is important here is that Malcolm identified the way in which Black Americans should keep in mind their roles in the wider global setting. He mentioned it at one level as civil rights vs. human rights, taking the case of Afro-Americans in the U.S. to the United Nations. He said he didn't understand much international law and it couldn't be done that simple, as he said. But his symbolism was clear--that Black people should realize that politics in Chicago here has an impact beyond to the nation, and that potentially it has global repercussions. Correct me if I am wrong, but Chicago has the 6th largest Black population of any city in the world. The United States, for better or worse, exerts the most influence on the world today. Given that fact, the presence of a Black Americans within the United States directly and indirectly has an impact on what America does in the world. And you will understand that I speak with some degree of feeling and perhaps authority on this because I originate from a part of the world that is classified as Third World, the Caribbean. If you speak about oppression, we know it as well as anybody in the world, not only as people, but as a nation.

It is important for Black people to realize that the struggle in Chicago and Washington is ultimately related to global themes. Anything that people do to help even at minimum to humanize this inhumane system here in the U.S. will have significant repercussions in the wider system. The Black responsibility must be brought to the forefront. I believe Malcolm would have endorsed this statement in its totality.

Finally, the panelists spoke constantly about a system in crisis and there is no more appropriate way in ending tonight's discussion. In 1964, this is what Malcolm had to say. "Time is running out," he wondered. He said, "No, no. Time, has run out." That was what he said in 1964. This is almost 20 years on.

There are differences between 1964 and 1983. But I think you would agree, that if time had run out then, it has run out even more today. It is not only that here in the United States there are the continuation of racial difficulties, to use a polite word. This economic crisis indicates clearly that systematic inadequacies are more manifest than they ever were before. In the 1960s, we had the highest growth rate of capitalism ever in human history and even then Black people were suffering.

In the 1980s, when you have serious worldwide recession and depression, whatever it is called--we see that hierarchical system which is supposed to represent the highest in human economic achievement not being able to find simple solutions to its problems while technologically, people can be conveyed to outer space and have the nuclear capacity to blow each other apart at the push of a button. But this crisis is not only national, it is also a global crisis--a global crisis represented not only in the international economic order, but also in advancing military confrontation in the world today. Here we have in the United States which is a clear shift away from welfare goals into non-welfare goals. Here we have on the part of the international scene a shift away on the part of the major interest from welfare goals to welfare goals. When we speak about the relationship between welfare and warfare, it is a question essentially of priorities. It is not what the people are able to afford. It is that decision makers feel that more money should be spent on armaments rather than on constructing homes. It is that systemic inadequacy which we have to keep very clear. Related to this is the continuing threat that Black people here and Third World people in the international system represent to the establishment. Ultimately, this is what it is all about. Our condition is caused by the crisis and it continues to be a challenge to the crisis.

When I see Black people in Chicago trying to organize anything, I personally feel extremely proud. I feel very much a part of it even though I do not have a vote here or in Illinois. But I feel very much a part of it because it seems to fit into a pattern of continuing change and challenge that is happening on a worldwide basis. This is an inevitable outcome of the historical impositions of the past.

Let me again, thank the panelists for their presence here today and their contributions. Thanks for your great patience.

**Black Mayors and Black Politics in Atlanta, 1973-1983:
Is the Prize Hollow?**

**Mack H. Jones
Atlanta University**

Prior to the 1973 mayoral campaign, as was the case throughout the South, Black electoral participation in Atlanta was quite limited. Blacks had participated during the 1940s and 1950s in moderate numbers, but their participation consisted mainly of voting for white candidates sponsored by the dominant white business elite.

In 1969, a prominent Black educator offered for mayor but did not receive the support of the city's Black leadership and consequently, although he received 49% of the Black vote, he failed to make the run-off.

In the 1969 election, however, Maynard Jackson was chosen as Atlanta's first Black vice-mayor and five Blacks were elected to the 18 member Board of Aldermen. The 1969 elections created a critical mass from which a more aggressive campaign for Black political empowerment could be launched in 1973.

Two major Black candidates, Maynard Jackson and State Senator Leroy Johnson, and two major white candidates, the then incumbent mayor Sam Massell and a local judge with liberal reputation, Charles Weltner, ran for mayor in 1973. The presence of two Black candidates caused considerable consternation among some who feared a fatal split of the Black vote.

Within the Black community, the police-brutality and the seeming indifference of the police chief--was the major issue. The election was widely perceived, but not publicly acknowledged as a Black/White contest. Blacks constituted 49% of the registered voters, but their turnout of 54.9 percent was more than ten percentage points higher than the white figure of 44.3 percent.

Voter Distribution 1973 Atlanta Mayoral Election by Percentage

Candidate	Total Votes	Black Votes	White Votes
Jackson	46.6	79.3	7.7
Johnson	3.8	4.8	2.7
Massell	19.8	7.0	35.2
Weltner	19.1	5.6	35.3

The above table shows the sharp racial polarization of the vote in the 1973 general election. In the runoff, Mayor Massell sought to capitalize on this division by using the declining property value argument and telling white voters that "it's cheaper to vote than to move." A white-orchestrated get out the vote campaign for the runoff was launched in an effort to close the voter turnout gap which was manifested in the general election. The strategy backfired. While white turnout did increase from 44% to 55%, the Black turnout rose from 54% to a nominal 67%. Maynard Jackson was elected as the city's first Black mayor with 95 percent of the Black and 17% of the white vote. Race explained voter behavior. There was no evidence of class being an important factor in either Black or white behavior.

Blacks in Power, 1973-1983¹

The elections of 1973 gave Blacks nominal control of the Atlanta city government. Since this was a novel situation, and there were no forms around which behavioral expectations could be built, there was considerable speculation regarding what posture the new government would take. As evidenced by the comparatively high voter turnout, the campaign had generated unusual enthusiasm among Black citizens, who doubtlessly expected the new government to begin to redress centuries-old grievances.

White interests, on the other hand, were apprehensive and apparently feared that a majority Black government would mean white subordination. Given this situation, it could be expected that the first four years of Black

empowerment would be characterized by fairly intense, yet guarded, racial conflict as these competing forces jostled for position and, in the process, began to establish new norms for political behavior in a city with a majority Black population but dominated economically by white interests.

By 1977, the most serious conflicts had been muted if not resolved. Mayor Maynard Jackson was re-elected with a landslide vote and the racial composition of the city council and school board remained unchanged. This section of the paper analyzes the first four years of Black political empowerment by focusing on the general political setting of the new administration, the important policy initiatives of the mayor, the reactions of various publics to these initiatives, and the accomplishment of the Jackson administration.

In Atlanta, as in other major American cities with Black mayors, the economy is dominated and controlled by white interests which benefit in varying ways from the inequitable status quo which Black voters expect the newly empowered Black leadership to reverse. Given the nature of local government financing, however, Black elected officials need the support of these same white elements in order to maintain existing levels of services, not to mention increasing them significantly.

At the same time, the white business and commercial elite needs a sympathetic city government to accommodate its plans for economic growth and development. Finally, the election of any public official, and especially Black ones at this point in history, represents both an individual accomplishment and group success. Consequently, there will always be a certain amount of tension when the incumbent attempts to balance his individual aspirations with group needs and expectations. The norms which will ultimately develop governing political behavior in Black-controlled jurisdictions will be constrained by these three factors.

The rise of Black political power in Atlanta coincided with the plans of the business and commercial elite to retain and strengthen the city's economic viability and, in the process, increase its own affluence by building a series of modern luxury hotels, a modern sports complex, a sprawling convention center, a new airport and/or expand the existing one, and a billion dollar rapid transit system. These plans were summarized in the slogan "making Atlanta the next great international city." Thus, in spite of the dire socio-economic statistics for Blacks, Black empowerment came to a vibrant rather than a decaying city, although Atlanta, like the rest of the country, was in a recession.

Based upon the activities of Black interest groups and the public discussion during the 1973 election campaign, the behavior of Atlanta police and particularly the attitudes of the incumbent police chief, John Inman, were of major concern to the Black electorate. According to news accounts, 23 Black persons were killed by Atlanta police from 1973 to July 1974 and a number of others had been wounded under questionable circumstances.

Blacks were significantly underrepresented on the police force, numbering only 355 or 23 percent of the 1,545-person force. Shortly before the election, Chief Inman had announced that he would defy a recommendation by the city personnel board that two-thirds of all new police officers hired be Black until the racial imbalance had been eliminated. His position had been supported by white aldermen and the editorial policy of the city's morning paper.

Within the Black community, the mayor's support was solid. There were differences between him and some of the more senior politicians who felt that the mayor was a political novice who, due to fortuitous circumstances, had inherited the fruits of their past labors. These feelings were based upon the argument that Jackson had not been involved in Atlanta politics until he ran unsuccessfully and, in their view, quite precipitously, for the U.S. Senate against

Herman Talmadge in 1968. That was followed by his successful campaign for vice-mayor a year later. Once he became vice-mayor, he leapfrogged over older Black officeholders with mayoral ambitions.²

Finally, one other salient dimension of the setting in which the Jackson administration began deserves mentioning. The new city charter, which was approved by the state legislature in 1973, gave the new administration responsibility for developing a reorganization plan for the city government within six months. This meant that, unlike most new mayors, Jackson would not be completely hostage to the held over bureaucracy. To be sure, wholesale dismissal of senior level bureaucrats would have been politically improvident. However, the mayor would have an opportunity to develop what he believed to be more functional administrative structures and to place supportive personnel in key positions.

During the early days of his administration, Mayor Jackson took great pains to demonstrate his commitment to establish a biracial government by judiciously balancing major appointments between Blacks and whites. Everything, from his inauguration committee to the task force to develop his government reorganization plan, was racially-balanced, complete with interracial co-chairpersons. The reorganization plan which was ultimately developed called for the existing 26 departments to be consolidated under nine commissioners. To head the new departments the mayor appointed five white and four Black commissioners.

In spite of this posture, during the first three years of his incumbency, the mayor was accused of being a Black racist by certain elements within the business and commercial elite, and he was roundly excoriated by the city's major morning newspaper. These charges stemmed primarily from the administration's efforts to restructure the police department, develop effective affirmative action and contract compliance procedures, and to have the proposed second airport

located in the southern part of the county, where it would stimulate economic development more beneficial to Black residents than other proposed sites.

White opposition to the mayor's initiatives resulted in scathing denunciations by a variety of white interests and eventually public discussion of the idea of having both the police function and the airport authority taken from the city and placed under regional authorities responsible to the state legislature.

The police problem developed when the mayor moved to implement the re-organization plan which called for a public safety department within which police, fire, and civil defense responsibilities would be housed. The heads of these units would be responsible to the commissioner of public safety. Rather than firing the incumbent chief outright, as many Blacks suggested, the mayor proposed to handle the problem by making the chief subordinate to the mayor's handpicked director of public safety.³

Chief Inman brought suit in a court presided over by a friendly judge who enjoined the mayor from appointing a public safety director based upon Inman's argument that the new charter's provision authorizing such action was unconstitutional. The mayor responded by suspending the chief for 30 days and announced that he would be fired at the end of his suspension. The suspension was given only to allow the chief ample time to appeal the mayor's decision.

The mayor then appointed a senior white officer to serve as acting chief, but the old chief surrounded himself with armed supporters and refused to vacate the office. Again, Inman appealed to a friendly judge who enjoined the city from removing him and appointing an acting chief. Eventually, higher courts declared that the city could legally appoint a director of public safety, but could not summarily fire Chief Inman until his contract expired in 1980. The mayor then appointed his chief administrative assistant and former college classmate,

Reginald Eaves, as commissioner of public safety. This appointment was roundly opposed by the business and commercial elite and the local media.

The conflict between the mayor and the business and commercial elite regarding the airport problem had at least two dimensions. First of all, if a second airport were to be built, Jackson wanted it located in the southern end of the county to balance the rapid growth of new office parks and light industries occurring in the northern portion of the county. The business elements, with few exceptions, preferred the northern site since white migration from the city was in that direction.

The second dimension of the problem centered around the mayor's insistence that firms receiving contracts to participate in the \$400 million dollar expansion of the present airport participate in joint ventures with minority firms in order to obtain contracts. The mayor suggested that between 20 and 25 percent of the contract work go to minority firms.⁴

Major white opposition to the mayor's initiatives first surfaced in September 1974 in a letter from Central Atlanta for Progress, the major political organization of downtown business interests, to Jackson and the president of the city council. It informed the recipients that some business operations "have moved or are considering moving for other economic or management reasons."⁵ The letter expressed the businessmen's fears of the increasing crime rate, the growing racial imbalance in the city's workforce, and the "perceived attitude of the Mayor as anti-white."⁶

The next week at a forum in which Atlanta's commercial elite gathered to discuss the future of the city, "Black racism" was equated with white racism as a co-equal threat to the city, and Black leaders were accused of being selfish for opposing annexation and consolidation in order to maintain their political dominance. The Atlanta Constitution carried the story as the lead article on the

front page under the sensationalist headline "Racism Killing City, Ivan Allen Tells Forum."⁷

During the first four years of Black political empowerment, the racial friction which arose between the mayor and the business and commercial elite was also reflected in city council deliberations. On crucial votes involving the dispute between the mayor and the police chief, on matters involving joint ventures, on the appointment of the director of public safety, and on other important issues, Black councilpersons invariably voted together.

Near the end of the second year of the Jackson administration, ten council members, seven whites and three Blacks, were reported as saying that the council was threatened by serious racial dissent. One white council member, who was usually referred to as a liberal, was quoted as saying "from now on, if I'm voting with all whites, so be it. . . ."⁸ This disposition was accentuated three days later when the finance committee defeated a motion to eliminate the salary of a Black nominee for police deputy director from the budget, because he had been quoted as saying he believed in hiring more Black than white police until racial equality was achieved. The vote was split along racial lines.⁹

During the same month the white president of the council, in making committee assignments for the next year, reversed the four to three edge held by Black councilmen on the finance committee and placed a conservative white councilman as chairman. The executive committee which oversees the mayor's office was loaded with whites, five to two, and whites were reappointed to head the public safety and human resources committees even though Blacks had opposed this decision.¹⁰ Blacks had argued that, since these committees dealt with matters especially important to Blacks, Blacks should be allowed to chair them.

During the first term of Atlanta's majority Black government, the friction between the administration and the white business and commercial elite was

also apparent in the relationship between the administration and other important white political actors, including the media, particularly the major newspapers, and the Fulton county superior court.

As a response to charges that the city's joint venture program was unfair to whites and favored Black firms with political connections, the Fulton county grand jury considered the allegation and issued a presentment critical of the city's practices.¹¹ Ten months later, a Fulton county superior court judge urged the grand jury to investigate possible reverse discrimination by city and county governments. The judge's initiative was quickly seconded by the prestigious Atlanta Bar Association.¹² In a subsequent presentment, the grand jury reported that it found no evidence that the city and county governments were guilty of "reverse racism."¹³

The Atlanta Constitution opposed the administration's initiatives to increase the number of Black police through preferential hiring as well as the mayor's joint venture program. Black leaders constantly complained that the media was unfair to Black interests. In May 1973, the Atlanta Voice, a Black weekly, published a feature story entitled "Papers Harass Elected Black Officials," in which it charged that unfounded conflict of interest charges against Black officials were being printed without supporting evidence.

In March 1975, the Constitution ran a seven-part series on the city entitled "A City in Crisis." The editor's note introducing the series said:

Throughout the Sixties, Atlanta was Camelot. Spared serious racial turmoil and blessed with experience leadership, the city became a center of commerce and a mecca for emerging Blacks. Today, political power has shifted. New leadership wrestles with new problems. There are tensions among the people. Camelot has faded.¹⁴

To many Black readers the editor's note inferred that Black leadership had killed

the Camelot.

Twice during the administration's first term, in September 1974 and October 1977, Black leadership called press conferences to complain of biased press coverage. At the 1974 press conference, State Senator Julian Bond, speaking for the Black coalition, charged that "the two Atlanta newspapers . . . have continuously attacked the mayor of this city viciously and blatantly, creating widespread fear among the citizens of Atlanta."¹⁵

While the relationship between the Black administration and major white interests was rather contentious during the first term of Black political empowerment, this was not the case between the administration and identifiable Black interests, although a number of intra-Black community conflictual situations did arise.

The commonplace assumption that Black political actors should present a unified position notwithstanding, such conflicts should be expected; once the major common objective of Black empowerment has been reached at least nominally, the ordinary differences in philosophy, personal and group interests are sure to surface.

The first such issue developed in 1975, when Mayor Jackson apparently decided to capitulate to white demands and accept the resignation of the Black director of public safety. Since his appointment, white interests had consistently criticized Eaves, and after the Constitution published exposés alleging that the commissioner's personal secretary had a criminal record and that one of the commissioner's relatives had been given special treatment in obtaining a government-funded job, pressure for his resignation became intense. On the day that a press conference had been called, ostensibly to announce Eaves' resignation, a group of Black leaders physically restrained the commissioner from making the announcement and condemned the mayor for capitulating to white interests.¹⁶

A similar situation developed in 1976, when the mayor submitted a re-organization plan to the city council, which would have eliminated three of the existing departments, established a number of new offices, and transferred several bureaus from one department to another. The charter adopted in 1973 had authorized the mayor to propose changes within the administrative organization two years after the first plan was adopted. The mayor insisted that the proposed changes were designed to enhance efficiency.¹⁷

However, members of the council and other Black leaders noted that two of the departments to be eliminated, administrative services and community and human development, were headed by Black commissioners out of favor with the white business and commercial elite. The commissioner of administrative services, who was responsible for contract compliance, including joint venture efforts, had been roundly criticized as being overly zealous in pushing affirmative action. The commissioner of the department of community and human development had been denounced for not acceding to the wishes of the business and commercial elite to spend community development block grant funds primarily on projects in the downtown business districts.

In spite of the mayor's explanation, Black leaders, led by State Representative Hosea Williams, organized "The Coalition to Save Atlanta" and publicly opposed the mayor's reorganization plan. The mayor withdrew his plan when it became clear that the council would not approve it.¹⁸

The final intra-Black community issue to arise during the first term of the Jackson administration involved the mayor's handling of a strike by low-paid city employees, principally sanitation workers, whose earnings on the average were below the poverty threshold. Although the mayor's position was the opposite of that normally expected of a liberal mayor, he received overwhelming support both Black leadership and the white business and commercial elite.

In March 1977, low-paid city workers, represented by the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), initiated strike action against the city to support their demand for a 50-cents an hour pay increase. At the same time the local union was on strike, the parent international union was sponsoring ads in national publications portraying Atlanta as a decaying anti-union town run by a non-progressive mayor. The mayor said that although the workers' request for wage increase was justified, the city simply did not have the money to meet the demand. After negotiations broke down, the mayor announced that workers who did not return to their jobs would be fired.

Similar strikes had occurred during the tenure of Mayor Jackson's two immediate predecessors, and in each instance Black leaders had rallied to support the workers and forced Mayors Allen and Massell to rehire the fired workers. Indeed, when Jackson was vice-mayor he had marched with the striking workers against Mayor Massell, and when the latter argued that the city had no money for raises, Jackson replied in a press statement that the city had a responsibility to anticipate its needs so that its employees could receive a living wage.¹⁹

In 1977, Jackson used the same argument that his predecessor had. In his final offer to the workers he went even further by offering to allow them to return to work if "AFSCME agrees henceforth, never to recommend or engage in a strike or other concerted work stoppage or slowdown . . . against the City of Atlanta."²⁰

In spite of the Mayor's union-busting tactics, he was roundly supported by Black and white leadership. Several Black organizations and prominent Black political personalities held a press conference in the offices of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, where Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr., whose son had been slain while supporting workers in a similar strike, announced that the assembled group

supported the mayor and that he should "fire the hell out of the striking workers."²¹

The response of Black leaders to the mayor's handling of the sanitation workers' strike suggests that Black leaders may be predisposed to support a Black government on issues and under circumstances in which it would not support white-dominated governments.

Such a posture could have far-reaching consequences because, to the extent that city governments, regardless of the race of the mayor, are likely to support certain class interests, Black working class elements, such as city sanitation workers, will find it difficult to marshal sufficient community support. In the past, only support of this kind has protected such workers from unfair labor practices.

During Jackson's second term, two issues of special importance developed: the mayor's firing of the Black police chief and his lead role in pushing for a one cent local option sales tax to reduce the city's modest property tax levy. The police chief was fired amidst charges that he should have known about alleged cheating on police promotion examinations some two years earlier. His firing of Eaves was seen by many as capitulation by the mayor to the dominant white elite which had opposed the chief from the beginning.

Regarding the sales tax issue, state law allows local governments to adopt a one cent sales tax and use the total proceeds to reduce property taxes by an identical amount. This shifting of the tax burden, however, must first be approved by public referendum. Jackson, in 1978, spurned a request from the white business community to support such a referendum citing the fact that the proposed shift in the tax burden would impose an undue burden on the poor. However, a year later the mayor reversed his position and headed the campaign to increase

the sales tax. The measure was defeated by a two to one vote.

Thus, by the end of Jackson's eight years as mayor, Black political leadership and white economic interests had reached an accommodation which favored business interests. Black political participation had become legitimate and routinized, but it took place within the parameters and priorities established by the white economic elite, and inasmuch as these priorities have worked historically to the detriment of rank-and-file Black citizens the impact of Black political participation on the lives of the latter was a mixed blessing at best.

Equally as important as the nature of the accommodation reached between Black electoral leadership and the dominant white economic elite ushered in by the routinization of Black political participation is the nature of politics internal to the Black community produced by this development. A brief analysis of the process of choosing a successor to Mayor Jackson in 1981 and of the behavior of Atlanta's second Black mayor, Andrew Young, may offer pertinent insights into the politics internal to Black communities in which Black electoral dominance has become routinized.

The Election and Administration of Andrew Young

With a Black voter registration majority of almost 55% and growing, Blacks serving as mayor and president of the city council, and with Blacks comprising a majority of the city council, Black political dominance had become routinized by the time the 1981 election was held. The fact that the Atlanta City Charter forbade the incumbent and the City's first Black mayor, Maynard Jackson, from serving a third term, meant that the 1981 election would give us a clue to the nature of politics in a major American city in which Black electoral dominance had become routinized.

Politics Internal to the Black Community

Perhaps the most important factor in determining the nature of politics internal to the Black community is the political organizational process which decides who will contest for public office and thereby determines patterns of succession once the first wave of Black elected officials are replaced. Prior to the election of Atlanta's first Black mayor, in 1973, an intermittently functioning coalition of community organizations served as the primary political structure for establishing priorities and mobilizing the Black community behind them. During Maynard Jackson's eight years as mayor, the coalition atrophied and no new organizational structure was formed to replace it. In the absence of a community based organizational formation, internal Black politics was dominated by Black elected officials and a smattering of other economically well-situated community notables for whom the most important issue was access to government-sponsored jobs and contracts. The city charter limited Jackson to serving two terms. Thus, when his incumbency was approaching an end, there was no accepted community process to address the question of succession.

There were forces within the Black community acknowledged to be both pro and anti-Jackson, but the basis for this factionalism was a bit obscure. Neither ideological or policy issues seemed to be the deciding factor.

Reginald Eaves, who had served as Jackson's chief of staff and later as police commissioner before being fired in 1978 at the urging of the white business elite, was elected to the Fulton County Board of Commissioners and immediately launched his unofficial campaign to succeed Mayor Jackson. Eaves headed no political organization, but was generally perceived by his supporters to be more working class-oriented and more aggressive on the "race" question. However, how this orientation distinguished between Eaves and others on substantive issues

remained unclear. Nevertheless, both the white elite and much of Atlanta's Black leadership perceived Eaves to be "too Black" to be mayor.

The pro-Jackson Black leadership faction had no consensus candidate to succeed the incumbent until U.N. Ambassador Young was fired by President Carter. Once Young was persuaded to announce his candidacy, most of Atlanta's Black leadership quickly fell in line.

The 1981 Campaign

As for the dominant white elite, in spite of the fact that Blacks constituted 54% of the 163,960 registered voters, the white business community decided to throw their support behind a white candidate, Sidney Marcus, a veteran state legislator.

The three -- Young, Eaves, and Marcus -- were generally considered to be the major candidates. Young's campaign strategy was to depict Eaves as a candidate who could not win because he had no white support while Marcus campaign tried not so subtly to suggest that the preceding eight years had been characterized by administrative inefficiency and ineffectiveness and that a Young administration would mean more of the same. The burden of the Eaves campaign was to convince Black voters that he could win without white support.

The major media outlets were pro-Marcus, but the general theme was that there were two acceptable candidates -- Young and Marcus.

Both the Marcus and Young campaigns were well-funded. Each raised in excess of \$1.5 million. Marcus was bankrolled principally by local white business interests while Young had to rely to a considerable extent on out-of-state support. Eaves campaign raised less than a quarter of a million dollars.

Protestations of the media and candidates notwithstanding, race was the deciding factor in the election. In the general election, Young received 41%

of the vote while Marcus and Eaves garnered 39 and 16% respectively. The two Black candidates received a combined 57% of the total vote and 87% of the Black vote while Marcus received 79% of the white and 10% of the Black vote.

In the runoff between Young and Marcus, Young received 55% of the total votes and 88% of the Black vote. Marcus, on the other hand, received 90% of the white and 12% of the Black vote.

National Impact

Atlanta enjoys an image, undeservably so in the minds of many knowledgeable observers, as a pacesetter in race relations. Consequently, what happens in Atlanta is often cited as a model to be emulated nationally. In that light, the election of Andrew Young as a second generation Black mayor and the political practice which evolves under his leadership may have special national significance. To date, the most salient development connected with Young's election is extremely supportive relationship he has developed with the dominant white business elite.

Essentially, Young's philosophy sees to be that there is an identity of interest between the business community and other groups, including the Black poor. As a result, he has taken the lead in marshalling support among the poor for initiatives sponsored by the business community, initiatives which have historically pitted the business community against Black leadership. For example, during his first year as Mayor, Young reversed his campaign stand and supported a referendum which called for a 25% increase in the sales tax and a companion reduction in property taxes. Young acknowledged that such a restructuring of the tax system move would impose an unfair burden on the poor if it were done by some other mayor, but inasmuch as he was a defender of the poor, the increase in the sales tax in order to reduce property taxes in this case would not be regressive.

The Mayor was successful in persuading many Black groups who had opposed the same referendum two years earlier to support the proposition. Included among the supporters were those who would be directly hurt such as public housing tenant organizations and the AFSCME Union which represents low-paid city employees.

Another matter of national significance is Mayor Young's handling of appointments to the police department. The police function has been a contentious issue between Black mayors and the white business elite in most cities including Newark, New Orleans, Birmingham, and Atlanta among others. After considerable opposition from the white business community and much political strife and a lengthy legal hassle, Mayor Jackson appointed Blacks to the position of Commissioner of Public Safety and Chief of Police.

The Commissioner resigned shortly after Young took office. Young elevated the Chief to the position of Commissioner and replaced the Chief with a white. Young later explained that he felt that the police department was top-heavy with Blacks and that his appointment of a white police chief was an act of affirmative action.²² On the other hand, when the white fire chief and head of the finance department resigned, both were replaced by fellow whites.

A second element which gives national significance to Young's election is his self-declared and widely accepted role as friend and benefactor of Third World people, especially the people of Africa. Just as he sees an identity of interest between poor Blacks and the affluent business community, he perceives a similar confluence of interest between the industrialized countries of the North and the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. Young wants to make Atlanta a major conduit for transactions between the industrialized and the developing nations. Apparently, dismissing completely the argument that the current economic order results in the exploitation of the people of the Third World, Mayor

Young's only concern is that Black Americans be allowed to participate in the process.

In summary, the Atlanta experience suggests that as Black political power in American cities become routinized, it will not be without cost for the Black liberation struggle. As Black leadership becomes fully integrated into the patronage dispensing apparatus, the apparatus which allocates jobs and contracts, establishes priorities for spending federally advanced funds, etc., it also becomes integrated into and dependent upon the broader white-controlled economic process of which the municipal government patronage apparatus is only a subset. Under such circumstances, Black political leadership develops a self-serving accommodation with the dominant white business elite.

Rather than leading the opposition to initiatives of the business community which impose undue burdens on the poor as they did prior to their ascension to political power, Black leadership joins the business interests in pushing such initiatives. This leaves Black rank-and-file and other poor elements without a recognized force to articulate their interests. Unless the rise of Black dominated city governments is accompanied by the development of Black opposition to the system movements, Black controlled cities may be hollow prizes for the many. Efforts must be made to use the rise of Black elected officials as a stepping stone to Black community empowerment, rather than assuming that the election of Black officials constitutes such empowerment.

Thus the key to effective community empowerment is the presence of a well-organized and highly disciplined community organization which not only works to help elect candidates sympathetic to its interests, but also develops a plan for action, or an agenda, and works with its candidates, other officeholders, and other political actors to convert agenda items into policy.

A community which has achieved empowerment would thus be one which exhibits sufficient ideological clarity and organizational discipline and efficiency to develop a consensus on the fundamental issues facing the community and to mobilize its resources to persuade appropriate decision-makers to support the community's position.

The presence of such ideological clarity and a disciplined organization are especially important for a subordinate people who do not possess sufficient economic muscle to exploit the vulnerabilities of their adversaries. But by the same token, the absence of such economic muscle makes it extremely difficult for a community to develop ideological clarity and organizational discipline.

In the first place, members of an oppressed minority are likely to be impressed with the economic success of the dominant majority and adopt its ideology, and, in turn, its policy preferences and priorities, assuming that if they brought empowerment and success to the white elite they would do the same for the Black community. The minority community fails to comprehend that the prevailing ideology and the policy preferences and priorities flowing there from are all essential and mutually reinforcing parts of the existing order.

Likewise, the absence of economic muscle mitigates against the development of disciplined political organizations. The economic elite of the Black community is comprised mainly of individuals and groups which owe their prominence, for the most part, to those forces and institutions which they are struggling to overcome. Thus, a preponderant majority of the leadership of the minority community is almost always integrated into the existing political order in such a fashion that it is reluctant to contemplate establishing independent, disciplined political organizations designed to maximize political power.

Instead, the minority leadership is almost always bashful about power. It will go to great lengths to ensure the adversary that it does not wish to take over, that it does not wish to take power, that it only wants to participate in the decision-making process. Instead of making maximum efforts to organize their own communities, to develop community-based priorities or agendas, and to attempt to develop alliances and coalitions around their own independently determined policy choices, Black leaders establish loosely organized and poorly disciplined coordinating councils which seek to establish ad hoc alliances in response to policy initiatives of the adversary community. The primary concern is with securing equal opportunity within the priorities.

The elected Black political leadership which emerges from these circumstances will be one which, even though propelled into office by Black votes, has no organizationally based support. There are no regular structures for political debate and deliberations between Black officials and Black rank and file. Political discussion of consequence continues to be monopolized by the white commercial and business elite and the elected officials.

Under these circumstances, the political empowerment of the Black community remains a goal to be attained rather than an already realized milestone.

Notes

1. The following discussion of the Maynard Jackson administration and the concluding section are taken from my previously published "Black Political Empowerment in Atlanta: Myth and Reality" Annals, (September 1978), 90-117.
2. For the senior Black politicians who already held seats in the general assembly or on the city council, since Blacks had little chance for winning any state-wide race, the mayor's office represented the only chance for political advancement.
3. The following discussion of the relations between the Atlanta police department and the Black community draws heavily on Larry Moss, Black Political Ascendancy in Urban Centers and Black Control of the Local Police Function (San Francisco: R. and E. Associates, forthcoming), Chapter 2.
4. Interview with Mayor Maynard Jackson, 22 July 1976.
5. Letter from Harold Brockley, President, Central Atlanta for Progress, to Mayor Maynard Jackson and President of the City Council Wyche Fowler, 16 September 1974.
6. Attachment to Brockley's letter. See note 5 supra.
7. Atlanta Constitution, 26 September 1974, p. 1.
8. See "Councilmen Affirm Racial Split," Atlanta Constitution, 17 December 1975, p. 1.
9. See "Vote Saves Napper's Job," Atlanta Constitution, 20 December 1975, p. 2A.
10. Atlanta Constitution, 26 December 1975, p. 1A.
11. Fulton County Grand Jury, Presentments of the September-October Term (1975), p. 5; see also "Fulton Jury Raps Handling of Contracts," Atlanta Constitution 1 November 1975.
12. See stories in Atlanta Constitution, September 9 and 11, 1976.
13. Fulton County Grand Jury, Presentments of the September-October Term (1976), p. 5-7.
14. Atlanta Constitution, 23 March 1976, p. 1A.
15. Quoted in "Blacks Here Call 2 Papers Inflammatory," Atlanta Journal, 22 September 1974.
16. See "Mayor Seeks Replacement for Eaves," Atlanta Constitution, April 15, 1975, p. 1A; and "Editorial," p. 6A; Also "Mayor Asked Not to Fire Eaves," Atlanta

Constitution, 16 April 1975; and "Eaves Hangs On To His Job," Atlanta Constitution, 17 April 1975.

17. See Maynard Jackson, "Statement of Purpose and Justification, Proposed Reorganization, City of Atlanta," September 20, 1976.
18. See "Reorganization Council Members Wary of Plan," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 9 October 1976 and "Jackson Drops His Plan for Revamp," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 6 November 1976.
19. Maynard Jackson, press statement, transcript, 19 April 1970.
20. Point 8 of the city's offer, 22 April 1977.
21. Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., quoted in Atlanta Constitution, 5 April 1977.
22. See "Young Brags on City for Minority Rights," Atlanta Constitution, May 26, 1983, p. 3A.

Black Mayors and Liberal Democracy: The Struggle
for Self-Determination and Socialism

Amiri Baraka
Newark, New Jersey

This particular paper is a very small part of what needs to be written about this subject. It should serve as a beginning for a discussion here.

In 1970, a Black and Puerto Rican United Front in Newark, New Jersey succeeded in electing Kenneth Gibson as the first Black mayor of Newark as well as the first Black mayor of a major northeastern city. This happened because of an intensive drive beginning in 1966 with the emergence of the concept and political trend of Black Power as voiced in various ways by people like Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and others. The 1967 Newark Rebellion which was one of the largest urban rebellions in the 1960s and served to fire up that political trend in the blood and smoke of revolutionary struggle. It was coincidental that the 1967 Black Power Conference, which was the second such conference but the first mass-oriented gathering, was held that same year in Newark. The rebellion subsided the day the conference began.

Black people of Newark were transformed by the open warfare with the white racist monopoly capitalist state. Transformed and armed with the knowledge of a Black majority in the city, Black Newark swore upon the corpses and ashes that 1967 would begin battle to seize political power in that city. The details of organization and political development of that motion to elect Newark's first Black mayor are laid out in detail in a forthcoming work of mine called Memoirs, to be published in 1984.

For the purpose of this discussion, it will suffice to say that in 1968, we ran two councilmanic candidates and lost, though even in losing we brought more Black people out to vote than had ever voted in a Newark election before. In 1968, we organized the Black political convention for the purpose of narrowing

down the field of Black councilmanic candidates. By the next year, we had developed sufficient political consciousness to organize a Black and Puerto Rican Convention, thereby, extending the line of impact of the movement. In 1970, the organization known as the Committee for a Unified Newark--CFUN--managed to bring together such a broad-based united front of those who opposed the status quo of racism, poverty and corruption that they were able to defeat the incumbent, Hugh Addonizio, quite handily, in both the general and runoff elections.

This victory could not have been the product or effort of one man, but the express energy and inspiration of the collective popular movement. What was clear was that the victory of Kenneth Gibson was the result, the expression of the will of the Black majority and the Latino and progressive white allies.

One key problem with this victory was that the leadership of that successful electoral political movement was petty-bourgeois cultural nationalists. The Committee for a Unified Newark, of which I was the chairman, and others were naive and idealistically-oriented and actually believed that the election of a Black mayor in and of itself insures revolutionary social change.

The cold fact was that by the time of the runoff election, Ken Gibson was already signed, sealed and delivered to Prudential Insurance Company which has its headquarters in Newark. They are the owners of both Newark and the state of New Jersey itself. We were not prepared for the neo-colonialism like this new Prudential relationship with Gibson quickly signified. But events within the next two years began to educate us to this development that we had lent a hand in creating. Gibson began after a brief period of euphoria to serve the traditional rulers of Newark, just as Addonizio had before him. We were shocked, hurt, furious, and confused. But, basically, we had never looked at the Newark elections and our candidates with the scientific eyes of class analysis and dialectics. If we had, we would not have been surprised by the fact that Gibson

quite soon began to distance himself from his old allies both in word and deed. Very soon, he began to openly serve the traditional rulers of the city, state, and national government.

Even if we had been clearer on what Kwame Nkrumah, former leader of Ghana, had said in Neo-Colonialism: The Last State of Imperialism, or what Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau had said in Return to the Source, or what the Comintern [Communist International] had said in 1928 about the Afro-American national question, we would have been better prepared for how closely an oppressed nation in the United States resembles classic colonial oppression and how the rulers utilize the same devices of indirect rule. Today in Newark, after 13 years of Kenneth Gibson being the mayor, we find an entrenched bureaucratic Black bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie almost totally isolated, hated and feared by the Black masses. We also see an aroused people now preparing to struggle again, now on a much higher level, and this time against Black representatives of white racist monopoly capitalism.

To understand this interrelated phenomena, we must be clear that participation in electoral politics, by even the most advanced political forces among us, is not only necessary, but critical. But at the same time, we must use more than skin politics to determine who our candidates will be. And we must be absolutely clear that elections cannot fundamentally change or destroy white racist monopoly capitalism. We must be directly involved in electoral politics because it is a legitimate tactical arena of struggle, particularly for the Black masses.

One obvious aspect of our national oppression has been the denial of democracy in the Black Belt South, for instance, the land base of the African-American Nation. Blacks constituted numerical majorities in county after county. This is the reason that Reconstruction had to be destroyed to stop formal political domination by Black people. And even today, Blacks live in the Black Belt or

outside of the Black Belt South where some 60% of the African-Americans are concentrated in ghetto reproductions of that Black Belt. Eighty percent of the Black masses live in concentrated contiguous areas in and outside of the South. It should be obvious that mastery of the electoral political process by Black people could obtain formal Black political representation--that is, bourgeois democracy. But we should also be very clear that mass political power could only come with the final elimination of monopoly capitalism which, I repeat, elections cannot succeed in bringing about.

Unfortunately, too often, the U.S. Left does not understand the meaning and use of electoral politics. The Left tends to opt for some metaphysical purity in quotes, not understanding what Lenin taught about the use of bourgeois politics and that elections usually create a sense of political struggle, and to some extent, of mobilization and movement that could enable progressive forces to educate and even organize the masses around important issues, democratic struggles, and even socialism.

For the Black liberation movement, electoral politics and the struggle for political democracy constitute important elements for the overall struggle for equality and democratic rights. Black struggle for self-determination is in essence a struggle for democracy. One key definition of Black national oppression is the denial of even bourgeois democracy. Democratic struggles are thus, fuel for the masses of all nationalities to move toward fully revolutionary positions. Certainly, it should be clear that in the Black masses' fight for self-determination, this essentially democratic struggle has been one of the most revolutionary struggles in the United States history. The Leninist line on electoral politics would see that in these largely Black enclaves within and without the Black Belt, that electoral struggle around such important issues as Black mayors or councilmen and such--representation--can do much to eliminate

among Black people, the purely racial understanding and approach to Black struggle. It would significantly isolate nationalism as a valid means of analysis and organization in the Black liberation movement.

Too often in these Black enclaves with all-white power structures, nationalists' mis-analysis can be encouraged. Once a Black bureaucratic bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elite assume formal political administration and management of these Black majority and plurality cities, then not only do most advanced elements in the Black liberation movement, but even many of the middle class forces will come to see the basic importance of class analysis rather than race politics or simple nationalism in the face of the blatant abuse of the Black masses by these Black management elites. This is what Lenin meant when he said that democratic struggle and that coming into existence of formal bourgeois democracy, where before there was some cruder form of oppression or absolutism, can raise the level and intensity of class struggle because it gives it a freer rein.

In this case, Black people began to see more clearly, not only the existence of different classes in the Black community, as in the Afro-American nation as a whole, but the many opposing interests of these classes and the various forms of struggle between these classes even though they are all oppressed to various degrees, depending on which class they're in, by white racist monopoly capitalism. This is Black national oppression.

The existence of a conscious and viable united relationship among these classes can insure common struggle against the common enemy. But even in such a united front relationship, there will be struggle between those classes based on the different ideologies, the different needs, and their different interests and different methods. Obviously, such a united front will be necessary to build the strongest possible political organization to deal with the various

tasks of electoral political struggle, thereby appealing to all sectors of the Black community as well as all other nationalities in most classes. But such a united front must be led by the Black majority, its working class.

Thus, the question of struggle in electoral politics is one of ideology, politics and organization. If we are clear Black liberation movement is a struggle for democracy and self-determination, and ultimately that this struggle for self-determination will not be successful unless and until white racist monopoly capitalism is eliminated, then we will see obviously that electoral politics is simply one tactic, one form of struggle to use when maximum advantage can be achieved by its use. Certainly, in periods of reaction, such as the period we are in currently, when the tide of revolution is momentarily low, electoral politics, like Lenin's use of the "duma" or bourgeois congress in Russia, is one weapon that can and must be used.

The Black masses enthusiastic participation in the recent November elections--for instance, blocking the right winger Lou Lehrman as Governor of New York or stopping the Republican Millicent Fenwick as Senator of New Jersey--are positive indications of Black mass clarity on the use of elections as part of the overall struggle. This clarity is expressed even though more advanced forces are still stuttering in theoretical sterility.

What seems most important for political activists and otherwise politically advanced people to understand is that it will take the building of a strong political organization to participate successfully in electoral politics for the benefit of the Black masses or the working masses of any nationality. Not only to win the election by educating and organizing and mobilizing the people, but also to insure that the candidate or candidates the people have chosen continue to represent the people and do not sell out to the people's enemies as is the case in Newark, and the other places where a semblance of Black political

representation has emerged.

In the city of Newark, I can cite a long list of abuses and attacks that the Black bureaucratic elite of that city has dealt to Black people and the masses of the city in general. Gibson's attack on the Puerto Rican community and its rebellion in 1975, his whoring for big business interests, his self-hating submission to white racism, his and his colored classmates' absolute rejection of the Black masses and the needs of the working class majority of that city are among them. For instance, there is his failure to press for a police residency law and his backing away from a payroll tax on the huge white insurance companies in Newark that employ only a few Blacks. There is his refusal to struggle against Nixon; his refusal to struggle against Ford; his refusal to struggle against Carter or Reagan or against the people's enemy; his destruction of the public education system; removing--four years ago--art, music, home economics from the elementary schools, courses which are still removed; closing the school libraries two days of the week with the cry of "Back to Basics" all--so that he could return a surplus in his budget like a grinning Ben Vereen of Black politics.

While the children of the city suffer, my own included, last year the people voted for an elected school board to remove Gibson's influence and control from the education system. Now he is using our tax money to try to thwart the actual election. He has hired endless carpetbaggers as Superintendent of Schools, for instance, so that he can have people to manipulate who do not know what is going on in the city. The present one, by the way, comes from Chicago. His name is Columbus Salley. If you could get him back here, we would appreciate it.

Mr. Salley is making \$59,000 and in two weeks, he will ask for a raise to \$72,000 which is supposed to go up to \$90,000 in four years. This is because we are now going to get an elected school board so they must consolidate his bucks

and kickbacks before the people get control of the school board. All this is in a city where the average worker makes less than \$7,000 a year.

He has tried to turn the schools into penal institutions, for instance, with Black codes and police while education is non-existent. They recently issued The Student Discipline Policy that you and your children are supposed to sign. It says that if children are caught doing various things, they can be arrested by the police, not disciplined by the teachers, but arrested by the police. Where they cannot educate, they will turn it into a penal system.

Housing, employment and health problems, and corruption, nepotism, and all the ills in the urban United States exist more radically in Black Newark. Sixty-five percent Black Newark--Black mayor, Black police chief, Black superintendent of schools, Black majority on the board of education, wall to wall Black infrastructure, but the Black masses still suffer inordinately.

In only one area has there been some improvement--the lessening of open, abject police violence against the people because Black people struggled with Gibson to replace the racist police director with a fairly progressive Black activist.

Gibson's civil servant mentality has made it impossible for him to see that the point of political power is economic development. Black people want to live better, not just worship some backward civil servant as a holy relic to be rubbed up against during Black History Month.

Yes, we must see that Black involvement in the electoral process is necessary and critical. Participating in the electoral process, as I have said, will not transform the society fundamentally, but not to participate in it will only allow the society to get worse. We must learn to use bourgeois democracy, it's relative freedom, to struggle against it. Reagan and the sector of the bourgeoisie he represents have indicated that they will do away with bourgeois

democracy if they think it necessary to preserve maximum corporate profits. And for Black people who have been lynched, maimed and imprisoned struggling for the right to register and vote, to abstract and oppose participation in electoral politics is vulgarly reactionary.

Reagan's attack on the Voting Rights Act shows that the white racist rulers are all too aware of the importance of the Black vote. But we also understand that, ultimately, the strong political organization that we need to completely transform the society is a multi-national revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist party, a revolutionary party, a party that cannot only guide and direct its mass democratic struggles in this country such as electoral politics, but finally pull all these democratic struggles together to coordinate them and ultimately weld them into a fist to smash white racist monopoly capitalism forever by means of socialist revolution.

For this reason, party-building is the most important task that advanced political forces can take on at any time. The actual struggles and the mobilization of thousands of people around these struggles must also be seen in light of this critical task--party-building--and utilized to advance that.

Race, Class and Political Power in
Washington, D. C.

Ronald Walters
Washington, D. C.

In many ways, the District of Columbia is an atypical and unique city in which to test out a theory of urban politics. It is atypical in that the Congress maintains a colonial-like relationship over vital aspects of city operations such as its budget and police, while being able to overturn almost any legislation passed by the D.C. Government. At the same time, it is unique because it is a majority Black city of over 72%, and thus, while it might be regarded as the one place where Black political power could garner substantial rewards for all Blacks, it is also vulnerable to the better organized power of the white minority.

These preliminary observations raise questions concerning whether or not the acquisition of political offices by Blacks in a majority Black population city means that the Black population is substantially more or less better off. While one key answer to such a question resides in an analysis of the recent elections of Mayor Marion Barry, it is also reflected in the policies he has pursued. In this paper, we will comment upon the development of city politics and the rise of Mayor Barry as a prelude to an analysis of his elections of 1978 and 1982 and his policies.

The Evolution of the D. C. Political System

Although, the history of elections in the District of Columbia is relatively old, going back to 1802, when the first elected City Council was provided for, it was not until 1820, that the Mayor was elected by popular vote. In 1874, this form of government was terminated by the Congress and it was not until 1963, that the citizens of the District could vote in national elections

for President and Vice President of the United States. Then in quick succession, in 1976, a non-voting Delegate to Congress was enacted by the Congress (after having previously provided for one in 1871), and the Mayor/City Council form of government was approved in 1973 with the elections set for 1974.

Thus, the District of Columbia Government "entered history" at a point in time when most other major American cities had gone through the period of "boss" or "machine" rule and transformed themselves into highly bureaucratic structures with more professional staffs and somewhat more rational allocation of city services. As is well known, the period from 1963 to 1974 was one of the Civil Rights movement in America and there is little doubt that it had an impact upon the extent to which the Black population majority in the District might have access to more effective political participation.

One outcome of this historical juxtaposition was that, of the 13 newly elected members of mostly the City Council Democrats in 1974, three were ministers and fully eight were grassroots community activists while only two could have been regarded as more middle-class "civic activists." And while the mayor, Walter Washington, had previously been an appointed mayor since 1968, his lack of serious opposition and non-controversial style made him acceptable. Nonetheless, the City Council reflected the street politics of the era and the transition of street politicians, along with their aspirations of a better life for their largely Black and poor constituents, into a new arena.

Washington, D. C., is also atypical in that, while it is somewhat like other cities in that its reform style, it leans heavily upon professionals for city administration. The lack of patronage and the weakness of the industrial union base, also means that the power center is dominated by the monied interest, communications, and professional whites, not to mention the Congress. This means that the Board of Trade which represents business interests, has an

important role in city decision-making, along with large communication establishments such as The Washington Post newspaper syndicate. White professionals provide a talented pool of expertise in many areas because Washington, D. C. is a seat of national government that attracts skilled persons such as association headquarters personnel of an infinite variety and government bureaucrats. Many individuals from this pool become available for advice and often employment.

Mayor Marion Barry fits the development of D. C. politics almost exactly, having come to the City in the early 1960s, after having been the first Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Nashville, Tennessee. His rise to prominence began rather swiftly as a street activist when he participated in developing a job training program called PRIDE which focused upon youth employment, winning funding from the Department of Labor as a model activity.¹ But it was also a base which catapulted him into the limelight and eventually elected him to the School Board in 1972, where he proceeded to become its Chairman. Two years later, he left the School Board to run for an At-Large seat on the City Council, winning that seat by only 109 votes less than the popular militant grassroots leader, Rev. Douglass Moore, also a City Council candidate.²

The 1978 Barry Election

In 1978, Barry was elected Mayor over Walter Washington and another challenger, Chair of the City Council, Sterling Tucker. Indeed, this three-way Primary race was the key to Barry's victory, as he ran first in four of the eight Wards attracting 41.5 percent of the vote, while the Tucker and Washington split the remaining Democratic vote, earning them 32 and 34.5 percent of the vote respectively.³

It is most instructive that the largest white Ward (3), and those Black Wards with the heaviest white concentration of voters (1, 2, and 6) went for

Barry first, or Tucker second -- which might be explained by the fact, that Barry was also endorsed by the influential newspaper, The Washington Post. But the victory lay in the fact that Tucker and Washington had split the Black Wards (4, 5, 7, 8) between them, creating an opportunity for Barry to win. Barry went on to win in the General Election, since the heavy Black Democratic population makes a Republican victory almost impossible. The Republican candidate in the General Election has never received over the 23% of the vote Black Republican mayoral candidate, Arthur Fletcher received in 1978.

Barry, then, who was widely looked upon as the candidate of the white progressive community, in his first term, had to practice the politics of constituency building. The media spent a great deal of time questioning whether or not a "progressive" Mayor, who had surrounded himself with friends from the SNCC days, could govern a largely Black city, yet relate to whites in the economic power structure, in the professional areas, and in the Congress.⁴ This, of course, was a fair question, but it neglected for many the reality that Marion Barry had already begun his acclimatization to political office long ago with the moderation required to serve as head of the School Board.

In this role, it is remembered that he failed often to support the fiery Black female superintendent, Barbara Sizemore, who was attempting to turn the school system over to a coalition of teachers, parents and students in a highly decentralized system. Then, of course, he did not support Sizemore, when her comments about the racism of the Congress led to her dismissal.⁵ In addition, his performance on the City Council as Chair of the Budget Committee became an important instrument of his socialization to more moderating influences of public policy formation. He had long since left his daishikis in the closet.

His first Administration was aimed at securing a base among both the

Black poor masses and middle-class, and among his first moves was to physically move his family to Ward 8, the most heavily Black Ward in the City. He approved City employees raises, and adopted policies which ameliorated Blacks by appointing Blacks to head police, fire and other key city offices such as City Administrator. One of the most successful tasks performed by his Administration was to preside over the auditing of the City books which had never been audited, due to the Congressional responsibility for maintaining the City budget.⁶ This won him considerable praise from the Congress and citizens, and enabled him to place much of the fiscal dilemma of the city on Congress, especially the unbalanced budget. One of the most popular programs with the middle-class and poorer elements alike was Barry's summer jobs program for youth.⁷ Initially, he had promised to deliver 30,000 jobs and actually developed 28,000, a record which was nevertheless, praised by grateful parents and his Administration alike. The popular program, although it ran into administrative difficulty in its first summer of operation by 1981, did much to rehabilitate his image among "old Washington Blacks."

Old Washington Blacks were slow to warm to Barry who, although, he had studied for a masters degree in Chemistry at Fisk University, was regarded as an outsider and of dubious middle-class credentials, not only as a result of his activist background, but also because of his Southern manner and speech. Nevertheless, he was fast becoming a successful politician, learning to keep away from controversial issues such as the much ensnarled D. C. subway routing and service controversies and the Lorton Reformatory replacement.

The 1982 Elections

The outcome of the 1982 elections, clearly indicate below that Marion Barry had succeeded in consolidating his ground among the City's Black voters.

Table 1

Votes for Marion Barry Washington, D. C. General Election:
1978 and 1982

Ward	1978		1982		Difference: 1978 - 1982	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	7,748	73.5	9,707	82	1,959	8.5
2	6,507	69.33	9,086	71.7	2,579	2.4
3	9,692	51.04	9,812	50.9	120	-0.1
4	12,545	72.02	17,684	89.7	5,139	17.1
5	10,179	73.50	15,249	90.6	5,070	17.1
6	8,485	76.98	11,405	85.5	2,920	8.6
7	9,054	74.61	13,745	92.8	4,691	18.2
8	4,144	79.06	6,682	94.4	2,538	15.3

Source: Board of Elections and Ethics, Government of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.

The outcome of the Primary was relatively uneventful, as the contest between Barry and Patricia Harris, former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the Carter Administration, ended in a 58%-35% landslide for Barry in all except Ward 3 which Harris won. Thus, the primary lends support to the evidence above from the General Election which shows that Barry did indeed solidify his support in the Black voting wards of the city. The irony is that his white electoral support, except for the Gay community, appears to have seriously eroded both in the General and Primary election. Yet, he was able to retain enough white votes to overcome the challenge by Harris in all of the Wards except Ward 3.

If one looks at the heaviest Black Wards, or those which Barry lost in 1978 (4, 5, 7, 8), we see an average increase of 17.1 percent. Thus, a definite racial influence in the voting is suggested by the fact that while Barry was losing a substantial portion of his white vote, he was gaining the confidence of

the Black voter. This racial voting may be further amplified if, for example, one considers the strong Black majority wards above (4, 5, 7, 8), and the remaining white-influenced Wards (1, 2, 3, 6). Then it is possible to show additional dynamics of this pattern, as described below.

Table 2

Voting Pattern for X and Y - Majority Mainly Black
and Mainly White Variable Wards

(1982 Election Data) Percent

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>White Influenced X (1, 2, 3, 6)*</u>	<u>Black Majority Y (4, 5, 7, 8)*</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Fauntroy	74.5	94.2	19.7
Barry	72.5	91.8	19.3
Clarke	93.7	93.3	.4
Statehood for D.C.	23.1	63.7	40.6

(Compiled from data provided by the Board of Elections and Ethics, Washington, D. C., 1982 elections.) *The white influenced wards have "non-white" populations ranging from 8.5 percent to 79.7 percent, averaging 55.6 percent. The strong Black majority wards range from 84.5 percent to 96.2 percent; non-white, averaging 90.1 percent. In 1980, D. C.'s non-white population was 73.1 percent of the total. See Appendix.

Walter Fauntroy is the District's Representative in Congress and the highest vote-getter in the Black Wards at large. If one compares his performance with that of Mayor Barry, it is possible to see how he has improved, and that his profile now resembles that of Fauntroy's in terms of the gap between Black and white voters. In addition, David Clarke is white and recently elected to Chair the City Council, and it is important that in his case, an average gap between Black and white voters of 17.5 percent dwindles to less than .5 percent. This is accounted for largely by the higher vote accorded Clarke in the white-influenced Wards. It is also instructive that the racial preference for Statehood for D. C., differs by so wide a margin, and that result is also reflected

in the racial difference among those who supported the existing form of Home Rule in the 1973 referendum.

David Clarke's election as Chairman of the City Council in a majority Black City may be looked upon as an anomaly. Clarke, however, is a highly-regarded attorney, former member of the City Council, a graduate of Howard University Law School and a former Civil Rights activist in terms of his personal profile.⁸ But he also benefitted, ironically, from the same situation which won the primary for Marion Barry in 1978 - a split Black vote. In the primary election, Clarke ran against Arrington Dixon, the former Chair of the City Council, and Sterling Tucker, Chair of the City Council before Dixon, with the following result:

Table 3

Primary Election Votes (Total)
Democratic Candidates for City Council Chairman

David Clarke	49,279
Arrington Dixon	31,834
Sterling Tucker	29,783

Thus, while the Dixon/Tucker vote total amounted to 61,617, Clarke won with less than 50,000 votes. His vote profile by Wards, as we have seen indicates that he ran strong enough in all Wards to win in a split race situation. This event affirms the conventional political wisdom with regard to racial politics in most major cities. It has been said that where the white vote is split, the Black vote can be the "balance of power." But as can be seen, the principle works equally for whites where the Black vote is split in Black majority population cities. This outcome has led many to speculate that it is possible for Clarke, given a similar situation in the future, to be elected mayor.

The Second Barry Administration

Given what might be termed a mandate from the Black community in view of

its support for Barry's re-election, it would appear somewhat strange that his first budget after the election would signal a clearly conservative and anti-service policy-orientation. The worsening economic crisis for the less well-off, initiated in large part by the policies of the Reagan Administration, made it necessary for Barry to point to the White House frequently as the reason the unemployment rate soared from 6% in 1978 to 11% by 1982. In addition, Barry's re-election financial obligations were considerable, for whereas his campaign spending amounted to \$491,713 in both the Primary and General election in 1978, he spent over \$1.2 million in 1982.⁹ This would mean that there were severe limits to the extent of the burden Barry would be able to ask the business sector to share in the economic downturn. The logical solution was that the masses of people would have to shoulder more of the economic disadvantage.

Evidence of the fact that the poorest sector would be asked to bear an inordinate burden of the retrenchment in economic resources can be found in Barry's startling cut of 50% in the General Public Assistance budget from \$14 million in 1982 to \$6.6 million in 1983.¹⁰ And although City officials suggested that some individuals would be transferred to other city programs or receive one-time payments, these assurances were generally weak and initiated a protest at the Mayor's offices by a coalition of welfare recipients and activists. Other cuts in the budget, such as that which would affect the summer youth employment program administered by Employment Services, would reduce the number of jobs by 1,000, or by approximately the amount of cuts in the federal resources available.

Simultaneously, Barry recommended that citizens pay for some City services formerly provided free or at reduced rates, such as some services provided by health clinics, and he reduced student bus fares, both of which caused a great deal of opposition, as did the proposal to decrease the maximum amount of time one could collect unemployment benefits from 34 to 26 weeks. Barry, while

increasing slightly the business contribution to the Unemployment Insurance Trust Fund (UITF) by 1%, explained that the proposed cuts were put forward in order to "attain a fair balance between our goal of attracting and retaining businesses (and the jobs they produce) and our goal of insuring partial, temporary wage replacement for workers in this recessionary period."¹¹

Critics of these proposed cuts in the UITF suggested that the Barry budget "must have been drawn up by the Republicans in the White House."¹² These cuts appeared inexcusable at a time when Mayor Barry was preparing to distribute to top city officials (each of whom earned \$56,000 per year in salaries) incentive bonuses totaling \$42,500.¹³ One puts these cuts into perspective when the Mayor's budget is found to contain a variety of consumer tax increases totaling \$26 million, but takes a more considerate attitude toward property tax increases, attempting to hold the line or to let such increases rise naturally at the rate of inflation.

Further understanding of the philosophy which led Barry's Administration to consider these cuts in social services and an increase in taxes, is provided by reviewing his Budget Message to the City Council. In it, he suggests:

We have all the associated costs of poverty which tends to increase the dependency on government and produce high public assistance and unemployment compensation increases, the pressures and costs of alcoholism, drug abuse, crime, incarceration, family strife and separation. It also produce homelessness, and a wide assortment of other health and social maladies which are made worse by the deepening recession. While poverty is or should be a regional and national problem, the costs are largely borne by cities.¹⁴ [my emphasis]

Then, recommending the solution to the problem of dependency with reference to his budget, he says:

Dependency is often the result of long-standing social and economic problems. We are committed to helping the one in six D.C. residents who are

dependent upon us for support and, more importantly, to aid them in achieving self-sufficiency.

We are targeting assistance to those most in need,* avoiding duplication of benefit programs, and moving from funding programs which support dependency to funding jobs and other programs which promote active participation in the broader benefits of our society. Consequently, I am adopting several recommendations of my transition committee on human services, including redefining General Public Assistance.¹⁵ [*my emphasis]

These rationales by the Barry Administration bear a striking resemblance to those proffered by the Reagan Administration as it approached the task of cutting the national social service budget, countering critics by suggesting that they were continuing to serve "the truly needy" and that government assistance produced "dependence." Given the fact, that the Federal Government not only retains statutory authority over legislation produced by the District of Columbia Government, but provides it with an annual payment (increased by 7% for FY 1984 to \$386 million, from \$361 million in FY 1983), it is natural that there also exist a responsiveness by the D.C. Government to federal policy initiatives. But it is far from certain that the adoption of a strikingly similar philosophical framework for District policies is also required. The outstanding question, therefore, is whether or not such philosophical accord is produced by the inducements of the Reagan Administration or by the desire of the Barry Administration to break with the serve the poor-orientation of its government and more deliberately serve the interests of the middle classes as the key to the survival of his Administration and of the economic fortunes of the city.

One reason for posing the question above results from the additionally irregular juxtaposition of the attempt by the Barry Administration to "redefine" (eliminate!) general public assistance from his budget, while at the same time promoting new capital expenditures. For example, in an area undergoing

transition from poverty status to middle class Blacks and whites, the Barry Housing Program contained an additional \$2.5 million to complete the renovation of 47 homes at the Bates Street project totaling 133 townhouse units. In addition, the Barry budget contained \$2.3 million request for a city park on the Georgetown waterfront, in the face of a Recreation Department staff proposal that there be no capital projects included in the budget for FY 1984. Reports indicated that the park is related to the site of a floating restaurant, one of whose owners is a close Barry political associate.¹⁶ The fact that this project is contained within a \$111 million city construction budget for FY 1984, led at least one observer to indicate that the switch over to capital projects and road repair funds of interest to business represents "a more than subtle change in the whole attitude of the D.C. Government," and "a switch over to the corporate business world."¹⁷

Conclusion

This brief picture of the Barry Mayoralty in the City of Washington, D.C., although meant to be critically analytical, is neither meant to distort what is conceived to be a consensus on a positive record overall, nor a characterization of his entire second term. It can be anticipated that what might be regarded as negative proposals which began his second term were meant to be exaggerated in the knowledge that the City Council would restore the legislative balance to a point that the eventual policies might reflect the preferred desires of both sides. Nevertheless, the concentration upon his budget proposals is justified because the budget, after all, has become for most governments at all levels, the chief instrument for setting public policy priorities.

In this case, we do see a striking change between Barry's first and second term with respect to the intended distribution of benefits as between the dependent and the middle classes -- a change which appears to be accompanied by the

predominant ideology of the Reagan Administration. Again, one might say that this was a deliberate posturing of an Administration in its beginning stages, but an important counter signal was that Barry transferred two of his most trusted former SNCC aides, Ivanhoe Donaldson and Courtland Cox, to administer the economic development bureaucracy.

Then, there is the feeling that the scope of the second term victory for Barry, in both the Primary and General election presented him with undeniable evidence of his popularity which he intended to use as political capital to achieve greater control over the bureaucracy. Thus, he is reported as demanding immediately after his election that his administration would "speak with one voice"¹⁹ in a public dispute with his corrections officials concerning overspending estimates.

But in the thought that the election provided Barry with the latitude to move subtly in the direction of changing priorities, there is the companion thought that those who supported his re-election might have felt somewhat betrayed viewing his post election budget. They may have felt that they, like the disadvantaged in all cities, were susceptible to exploitation through symbolic politics, while substantive considerations gravitated to those with the real determinants of political influence--money, access to shaping public opinion through control of communications, professional expertise, and higher levels of political participation.

With regard to the question of higher levels of political participation, although Mayor Barry symbolically moved to Ward 8, the City's most heavily Black and poor Ward, no doubt he also understood that while the other heavily Black and less poor Wards (4, 5, 7) contributed an average of 15,600 votes to the electoral process, Ward 8 contributed only 6,600. Since the average population

of the three Wards above (82,600 in 1980) exceeds that of Ward 8 by roughly 5,000; the difference in population is not the only explanation for the difference in electoral participation. It is more likely, that the causes for the relative lower level of such participation in Ward 8 is the sense of racial isolation and political powerlessness found in other Wards and among Black populations in other cities. Clearly in this case, the presence of a Black candidate either in the neighborhood or in the election as the chief executive was not enough of an incentive to increase electoral participation.

Without accepting the argument, it has been suggested that perhaps a white mayor who has been tested in the fires of "minority" politics might be more responsive to the plight of the Black poor than a reformed Black progressive.

The logic here is that in order for whites to win at large offices in the majority Black city, they have to work harder at establishing a record and an image of sensitivity to the concerns of Blacks -- still symbolically identified as the Black (poor) masses. Such a person, the argument continues, would be more likely to attempt to provide real benefits to the Black poor in an effort to retain their support, given Black sensitivity to the existence of a white mayor.

However, the Black population does not exhibit the same racial sensitivity as whites, as is evident from the previous data on voting in the Black majority and white-influence wards. For while the heaviest Black Wards gave David Clarke an average of 93.3 percent of their votes, nearly equalling the 93.7 percent provided by the (X) Wards -- white Ward (3) and the heavy white-influenced Wards (1, 2, 6); gave Black candidates Fauntroy and Barry an average 19.5 percent less. Also, the fact that there are three whites on the City Council of 13, or 23% roughly approximating their percentage in the population of the City, would be normal except for the fact that two of the three whites are At Large representatives. Therefore, both the present Chair of the City

Council, David Clarke and a white female, Betty Ann Kane, are poised to make a run for the office of mayor from their at large base of electoral support. Such an eventuality only appears credible because of the racial generosity of Black voters.

It should be pointed out, however, that the "minority" position of whites in the District of Columbia does not equal Black minority politics because whites inevitably come to be related more fundamentally to the institutions of power in cities controlled by other whites. For example, The Washington Post vigorously supported the candidacy of David Clarke for Chairman of the City Council. At one point in the campaign, Clarke dropped out, suggesting that a white could not hope to win such an office, but the Post attacked this rationale, suggesting that this was not a valid reason for dropping out, thus putting Black politicians on the defensive by the hint that opposition to Clarke was purely racially-motivated. Clarke re-entered the race, as if by predetermined design, and began to fare better in the public opinion polls taken by the Post during the campaign.

Clarke may, therefore, feel a sense of obligation to the Post for having "managed" an important aspect of his public relations in connection with his campaign for the post of Council Chairman. The fact which makes this perception of relationship a more "fundamental" one, is that Clarke may, more easily than his Black counterparts, traverse the center of power in the white establishment because he is both white and a responsible city official. The opposition which Black City officials have had in penetrating the white establishment in Washington, D.C. on every level from social to political is legion. But it is for this very reason that some have suggested that a white mayor would be better for the District than a Black mayor who has difficulty "getting things done." Perhaps

this is the real incentive behind the apparent shift in the priorities of the Barry Administration.

Finally, the implicit question, impossible to fully address here of what difference a Black mayor makes in a majority Black city, is beginning to clarify, not so much because of the personality of the mayor or his priorities, but because Barry has reacted to a real set of constraints as part of his rationale for the priorities in his FY 1984 budget. One major constraint is that the priorities of cities are most often determined by those of the national leadership and only mediated at the local level. Ironically, if the "new federalism" program of the Reagan Administration had passed, cities may have had more authority in determining local allocation of resources, although the total amount of resources would have been much smaller. In any case, the point is that the city as an instrument of Government is a mediator of powerful interests and responds to the most powerful of those interests most often. Regardless of the Black population size, the city should not, therefore, be regarded as synonymous with the Black community, but an instrument through which the interest of the Black community are mediated in competition with other groups. The leadership of the City, then, is not regarded as the leadership of the Black community -- which should possess an autonomous organizational framework the same as other groups with which to lobby the City Government.

Because of the historical accident of the development of Black political power through the electoral process in many cities as a result of the Civil Rights Movement, many Blacks have looked upon the accession of Blacks to the control of city political office as an expression of the highest achievement of Black community leadership. This view, however, naively overlooks both the function of cities and the competing power centers in the typical city,

regardless of its population complexion, which are in constant conflict with the interests and concerns of Blacks and which are often successful in bidding away the loyalty of Black officials from their presumed Black constituents.

Given such a situation, it may be more realistic for Blacks to begin to disaggregate their "reality" from that of city government whoever is in nominal control, in an effort both to achieve the correct perspective on the function of city government and tailor their expectations accordingly, and to concentrate upon developing the institutional strength of the Black community which will constitute the real determinate of power and without which city governments will remain unresponsive to their needs.

APPENDIX
D.C. POPULATION CHANGE 1970-1980 BY RACE, BY WARD

AREA	TOTAL			WHITE			NONWHITE*		
	1970	1980	% Change	1970	1980	% Change	1970	1980	% Change
City	756,500	637,651	-15.7	209,300	171,796	-18	547,200	465,855	-15
Ward									
1	94,000	77,400	-17.7	19,300	18,500	-4	74,700	59,000	-21
2	95,000	72,700	-23.5	41,300	30,300	-27	53,700	42,300	-21
3	94,900	88,300	-7.0	90,400	80,900	-11	4,500	7,500	+67
4	94,500	82,900	-12.5	18,000	10,300	-43	76,500	72,500	-5
5	94,200	81,700	-13.3	10,000	6,900	-31	84,200	74,800	-11
6	94,600	75,400	-22.4	13,800	15,100	+9	80,800	58,300	-28
7	94,900	85,400	-12.1	6,300	3,200	-49	88,600	80,200	-9
8	94,400	77,900	-17.5	10,200	6,600	-35	84,200	71,200	-15

* Nonwhite includes Black and Other
 Source: U. S. Census Bureau
 Prepared by Office of Planning and Development,
 Data Services Division
 March, 1981

Notes

1. The Washington Post, September 14, 1978, p. A1.
2. The Washington Post, November 8, 1978, p. A1.
3. Board of Elections and Ethics, Government of the District of Columbia, September 1978.
4. Milton Coleman, "Marion Barry: An Assessment," Black Enterprise, Vol. 11, September 1980.
5. Nancy Arnez, The Beleaguered Superintendent, University Press of America, Washington, D.C., 1980.
6. The Washington Post, November 7, 1981, p. A23.
7. The Washington Post, August 21, 1981, p. B16.
8. The Washington Post, August 2, 1982, p. B1; also, August 23, 1982, p. B1.
9. The Washington Post, March 15, 1979, p. C3.
10. The Washington Post, January 13, 1983.
11. The Washington Afro-American, January 22, 1982.
12. Ibid.
13. The Washington Post, January 13, op. cit.
14. Fiscal Year 1984 Budget Message, Mayor Marion Barry, Jr., January 10, 1983.
15. Ibid.
16. The Washington Post, January 17, 1983.
17. The Washington Post, January 18, 1983.
18. The Washington Post, November 30, 1982.
19. The Washington Post, September 12, p. A1.

Twiley Barker
University of Illinois-Chicago

MODERATOR

Ladies and gentlemen, we thank you for coming out this morning. The timing of this conference could not have been better and The Illinois Council for Black Studies should be congratulated for including a segment in their conference on "Black politics in Chicago." As I am sure all of you know, we are in the midst of one of the most exciting campaigns for the mayoralty in the history of Chicago. And we are all aware of the profound and stunning events which it has produced throughout many segments of the city.

With a most serious challenge of a Black candidate being mounted by Congressman Harold Washington, it is indeed fitting that we should take a look-back at the history of Black political activity in Chicago so that we may learn from the past and apply it to the present and the future. From the early days of Black political activity in Chicago, in the World War I era, in the Republican days of Big Bill Thompson and his political machine, through the tenure Oscar Depriest, Arthur Mitchell and William L. Dawson, as U.S. Congressmen, the emergence of the Achemic...machine and its ultimate control by William J. Daley for more than a quarter of a century--we are seeing Black political activity in all of its developments.

It is fitting, therefore, that we have a panel to examine the development of that activity in the earliest eras of political life in Chicago. We are very fortunate this morning to have a panel of those who have not only examined it from the scholarly point of view but who have actually been participant-observers.

Our first presentation will be made by Professor Charles Branham of the Department of History at the University of Illinois at Chicago. His major research has focused on Black political leadership. He recently produced a very important work on the transformation of Black political leadership in the city of Chicago. Professor Branham will be followed by Professor Harold Baron, former director of research of the Chicago Urban League, a faculty member of the Urban Studies Program of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest. He is presently the chairman of the Research and Issues Committee of the Washington campaign for Mayor. Our next speaker will be Mr. Bennett Johnson, an urban consultant and an activist in the area of manpower and human resources, and a founding member and leader of Protest at The Polls, an early forerunner of the current Black political activity. Our final presentation, will be made by Professor Michael Preston of the Urbana-Champaign Campus of the University of Illinois. He has been a scholar-observer of the Black political scene in the United States and, more particularly, in the city of Chicago. He is a coeditor of a recent book on Black politics in which he wrote a very insightful chapter on the Black politics and public policy. Our panelists will present their formal remarks in about 25 minutes. After each has had an opportunity to present his comments, we will have an opportunity for audience participation and exchanges. Without further ado, it's a pleasure to introduce for his analysis of the historical development of Black politics in Chicago, Professor Charles Branham, University of Illinois at Chicago.

BRANHAM

I am pleased to see this many people awake on a Saturday morning. Something that occurred before this panel convened that I want to share with you. I received a call from State Senator Newhouse, went downstairs. He asked about information on one of the panelists here today. When I went to get a brochure, one of the young men who works for the University said, "well, this is not a public phone. We don't just have calls for anybody." I said, "that's Senator Richard Newhouse on the phone and he's Chair, Illinois Senate on Higher Education Committee in Springfield, and I don't think you want to hang up on him." The guy jumped back and that gave me a little more insight into the importance of Black political activity and Black power, especially as it relates to Chicago.

I agree with Harold Cruse who once observed in an article done in Harlem, the cultural capitol of America, where he said that "Chicago has always been the Black political front city of America." The nature of that Black politics has also been under intense scrutiny over the years. What I am going to do briefly is to cover the first 100 years of Black politics, perhaps up to the Second World War, and suggest some trends that we see developing in these first 100 years, trends which I think reflect the present experiences of Blacks in the City of Chicago.

What I am concerned with is the modernization of urban Black politics. The rules of Black politics in Chicago are shown in John Jones' repeal campaign against the infamous Black laws in 1865. It's important to begin with the understanding of early Black politics, by looking at this remote Civil War era. It was in this period that we see Black political identification with the Republican Party. I am always shocked by the assumption made even by Black scholars that

Blacks identified with the Republican Party, because it was a party connected with the election of a "mass" mayor. There's the feeling that Black loyalty can be gained much more cheaply than the self-interests found among other ethnic groups. The most important reasons why Blacks supported the Republican Party are that Black leaders--including John Jones among others--campaign against racial discrimination and particularly the hated "Black Laws." The Republicans comprised a political party composed to a certain extent of those anti-slave forces from the Civil War and the earlier (slavery) period. Indeed, in Chicago in the 1850s, you can find abolitionists organizing into "Republican sects." Indeed, the alderman for the third ward of the city of Chicago was among these. It was this early, conscious aligning of racial goals, with pragmatic practical politics, that was the central feature of urban Black participation immediately after the Civil War. But the late 19th century groups and early 20th century Black politics, may be discerned primarily the Black protest tradition, local and national Republican politics and the personal, social and political relationships which developed between Black and white Chicagoans. This is not to say that there were not limitations to white (post) abolitionism. There was a substantial confluence of interests between local Republicans and the well-organized Black community. There was a common thrust among them which was committed to the ending of Black discrimination. One found, for example, that in 1870, Blacks had not only been supportive of ending the Black laws and passing the 14th and 15th amendment, but by the 1870s, segregation by law was outlawed in the State of Illinois. By 1885, the State of Illinois had passed its first comprehensive Civil Rights Act introduced by a Black legislator, and it anticipated many provisions in the 1964 Civil

Rights Act. These were substantial accomplishments for a race in a little less than a generation ago was held in slavery.

In Jones' own brief career in politics as a member of the Cook County board in 1871-1875, reflects both his preeminence, he was the unchallenged leader of the city's Black community for a quarter of a century and the relative sterility of race relations in the city of Chicago. After his death in 1879, however, no single leader emerged to assume the mantle of community leader, reflective of a diversified leadership structure within the Black community. Because of rapid growth and diversification of institutional life of the city of Chicago by the 1880s a new category of community leadership had emerged. It was shaped and contoured to the rigors and discipline of urban politics, and revealed the increased dissociation of civic and political life in the Black community.

John Jones' career marked the end of the merger of civic and political activity in the post-war city of Chicago. And political careers of the earliest Black professional politician and earliest Black legislator--John W. Thomas, who introduced the first comprehensive Civil Rights Act and was the first Black legislator; John C. Bupkin, one of several of the most prominent Black politicians in the modern era; and M. H. Morris, one of the most prominent lawyer in the nation, a man who made policy--reflect the gradual dissolution of Black politics and Black institutional life.

One of the unintended consequences of residential segregation in the pre-migration Black community was the maximization of the power of Black members concentrated within a strong political unit. Moreover, Blacks were aided by a system of cumulative voting, used for elections to the Illinois House of

Representatives and the Senate after 1870. To this unintended fortuitous circumstance was added a small group of aggressive and ambitious white politicians--including Judge Eldridge Hennessey, State Senator Francis Flagg, Sam D. Middleton, who just happened to have a law partner who was the legal counsel for Samuel Insull, the multi-millionaire utilities magnet who funnelled a lot of his money to the Black community during these campaigns.

Perhaps the most important white patron of Black politics, Martin Agnew who, between 1904-1928, was Congressman for the First Congressional District, and was primarily responsible for aiding and assisting Black recruitment in the transit system for the Chicago Post Office. These were white south siders who were eager to recruit Blacks to their own political organizations.

The initial stage of Black politics and Black political reaction to urban politics was characterized by Black-White patron-client politics, where pre-migration politics was forged in the crucible of the individual Black ambitions and the interests of various white political leaders. They were not usually consumed with it advancing Blacks or advancing Black politics. These were men concerned with securing their own political package advantage on the increasingly Black Southside.

It is this pattern of Black-White patron client politics which rapidly becomes the dominant mode of Black political advancement after 1880. Robert T. Moss, a Black saloon keeper and gentlemen gambler, wielded substantial political influence. Two Black legislatures Dr. William L. Martin and John "Indignation" Jones were elected to the state house between 1898 and 1906 without conspicuous white support. "Indignation" Jones, by the way was given his nickname because whenever anyone insulted the Black community, he became indignant and suggested that the people be tarred and feathered. He was also one of the founders of the

Equal Rights League and one of the most militant of early Black leaders.

But these are exceptions to the rule. What is more common is that most Black politicians clamored after the security and the certain limited political and financial rewards of the patronage system and urban political tradition. Indeed, it was the willingness of the tradition to cultivate and reward Black ambition and the fact that it stood in such stark sharp contrast to the social, economic, and residential proscription that characterized Black life, that we can explain the origins of turn-of-the-century Black politics.

What one can see at the end of this period is that Black political leaders pursued a course which coincide with the dominant conservatism of the age of Booker T. Washington, and compatible with the long standing tradition of adapting conventional politics to create interest. Black legislatures in the John Jones tradition, continued to vigorously defend Black rights and sought to expand Black civil liberties and the general community shared with them the assumption that individual political advancement, could be translated into racial advantage. More important, this pattern of political adaptation evolved into the age of accommodation and marks the genesis of a distinct Black political culture.

Keep in mind that the 1890s was an era of national as well as local racial dimension. This was the age of Social Darwinism, this was the age of the white man's burden. This was the age when the archtypical pattern of social advancement which was concentration and dispersal was actually being reversed for Black people as they were being driven out of white neighborhoods and into the ghetto. A ghetto came into existence in Chicago in the 1890s before the massive Black migration. Blacks were excluded from transportation, they were excluded from heavy industry, they were excluded from construction, they were excluded

in so many features of life. The willingness of some white politicians to cultivate them and recruit them, must have seemed a stark contrast and an inviting alternative.

By fully integrating the study of Black politics with the historical experience of Blacks in Chicago, we can now begin to understand or revise some of the traditional interpretations about the impact of the great migration on Black Chicago politics. Before the migration, before the mayoralty of Big Bill Thompson, or the emergence of some of the Black political sub-machines of some of Edward H. Wright and William H. Dawson, Black politics were characterized by heightened racial self-subconsciousness in which the ballot was prized as a means of preserving social gains in the post Civil War era, and as a bulwark against forces which might proscribe and retard Black liberties.

Ambitious young Blacks forged structured relationships with white patrons as after 1890, the Black political elite was predisposed by the dominant social conservatism of the age to a relative safety of the ethnic political machine. Equally important, Blacks failed to fashion independent political organizations to effectively criticize or offer alternatives to the prevailing pattern of Black political empowerment. Neither the formation of the Afromatic or similar clubs, attempts by Edward H. Wright to form Black independent political organizations, nor the local branch of the NAACP, nor the Equal Rights League, were able to bring Black politics to that stage of interest group articulation, which Martin Kilson has identified as an important stage in Black political advancement.

Independent organizations failed to take on para-political functions, they failed to exert influence and to make demands on political influentials. Indeed, the fragmentation and diversification of Black organizations and institutional life stood in sharp contrast to the increasingly structured pattern of Black political advancement. Indeed, if you analyze the individual careers of

politicians before and after 1960, one can begin to chart this change. Before 1960, Black political leadership largely came from the fraternal, religious and business community. After 1966, Black political advancement came largely, from those who had put in their time and performed the service in the 2nd or 3rd ward or other ward organizations. You begin to see concretely, the clarity of Black political institutions.

In 1906, a prominent Black's defeat for municipal judgeship, and the failure of Blacks to elect a Black county commissioner after 1908 were imminent features in the launching of independent campaign for aldermen in the city of Chicago. It became increasingly clear, after 1910 that Blacks could no longer count on the racial blindness or color blindness of white voters. The power of the party to provide them with a shield from racism in the City of Chicago was no longer effective. They will be forced, as Booker T. Washington suggested, to rely more and more on their own resources and their own political support.

By 1910, Blacks launched a series of campaigns to elect the first Black aldermen. They are supported by the newly formed Chicago Defender, by Archibald Carey and a number of prominent leaders in the city of Chicago including a very aggressive young Black militant who later becomes head of the Garveyite movement in Chicago, and ultimately the first Black Democratic State senator, William A. Wallace. Five years later, the first Black alderman was elected in 1915--his name is Oscar DePriest.

Keep in mind that Oscar DePriest was not a member of the political insurgents. He was the political lieutenant to Congressman Martin Madden, and his chief aide George Harding, who owned probably more real estate than any other

individual on the South Side of Chicago and who had a substantial fortune when he died. Moreover, DePriest had remained politically neutral and had supported white candidates against the Black insurgents in 1910, 1912, and 1914. Naturally, therefore, he became then an agent and an ally of the newly elected mayor, Mayor Bill Thompson. He became a created entity of local reformers.

Despite all this, DePriest rapidly emerged as the most popular Black leader in the city. I say this so that we can understand how a political hack, which was what DePriest was in 1915 when he was elected Black alderman, could become by 1917 a "race man," a man who the Black people of Chicago followed up and down on the street. I have to suggest that the definition of "race man" seemed to suggest in the city of Chicago more posturing than substance. Oscar DePriest was essentially a kind of liberal and a man of conservative economic views who spoke militantly on the issue of race. In 1917, when he was out seeking re-election, and seemed certain of the re-election, Oscar DePriest was indicted with several gamblers and policemen on the South side for protecting vice on the South Side. The principal witness against him had achieved a standing at the police station. DePriest admitted that he bought policemen and gave in his testimony a very good understanding of the rather amazing elasticity which characterized Black politics. Keep in mind that as the red light district on the North side had been driven South, and that the boundaries of the vice district were virtually coteminous with the boundaries of the second ward by 1911. Blacks were one political community who were unable to drive this vice out of their neighborhood. The vice leaders, mushmouth Johnson and others, after all were among the few Blacks with substantial amounts of cash, and in fact, they were major employers in the Black community. Fortunately, Oscar DePriest had a good lawyer--Clarence Darrow--was

eventually exonerated, but he had come to represent the corruption and illicit gambling that went on for years in the Black belt, and he was persuaded to relinquish his seat on the city council. He was replaced by Louis B. Anderson, an equally if not more corrupt politician, but a man more professional in appearance.

DePriest did not like being out of politics, and as the leadership of the ward had been drifting into hostile hands, the hands most notably of Mayor Big Bill Thompson's chief agent in the Second Ward, the leader oddly enough of the insurgent campaigns of 1910, 1912 and 1914--the ironmaster, Edward H. White--the father of modern Black Politics, it was clear that either Oscar DePriest was going to have to subordinate his own ambitions or he was going to launch an independent political movement. He chose the latter. In 1918 and again in 1919, he ran three times for alderman of the city of the Second Ward. At that time, before 1920, each ward had two aldermen. He was defeated, but usually came within 400 votes. But he created the largest single black independent organization--the movement and although DePriest has been dead for several decades, the movement still exists.

The movement had a big push for militancy, and a desire to restore DePriest's credibility as a major political leadership and more important a campaign slogan that "Blacks should control Black areas," that indeed the second Ward was too much under the thumb of Martin Madden, the Congressman, George Harding, a former alderman now state senator, who seemed to retain an inordinate amount of power in the ward which was, in terms of population overwhelmingly Black. DePriest was not able to use the People's movement to win the election, but his reputation was enhanced by the events surrounding the race riots of 1919.

The race riot of 1919 played a large role in the development of his reputation as a man, and rescuscitating his political fortunes. During the race riot of 1919, DePriest did something that you see most in comic books. He put on a patrolman's uniform, got in a patrolman's van, and went into the stockyards, got blacks into the van, and drove back into the Black community and got them in safely. Then, he drove back to the stockyards--facing bricks and shouts from angry whites all the way and got others. This kind of heroism seemingly refurbished his reputation as an independent. Indeed, that he could have run as an independent, and would have been elected to the city council in 1920. But, there was no hurry. He returned to the good graces of the political organization and pledged his loyalty to the new and first Black ward committeeman in the city of Chicago, our old friend, the ironmaster, Edward H. White.

There is something very important to keep in mind. The race riot of 1919 should have been a watershed, it should have been a fighting point, but it held the community at bay. Some Blacks literally faced starvation as white grocers closed their stores and feared to come back into the Black community for fear of their lives. Some business and other agencies set up pay stations so that Blacks working in the stockyards could get their money. Black soldiers came home with their guns and mounted machine guns on the rooftops. It was WAR. And the response of the Black community to suggestions that Blacks might segregate themselves, a response made by a member of the Chicago Board of Education, or the response of the Black community to a resolution introduced by the 35th ward aldermen that racial zones might be created in the city of Chicago, suggested that a new kind of militancy was going to occur. But no such transformation took place.

What is important, perhaps ironic, perhaps tragic, is that the political machine of the second ward was strengthened. Blacks seemed to, if not to prefer, seemed to feel that it was better to stay in the security of the establishment structure with some powerful white allies. More important, Ed Wright, a man who had lost his position on the County Board because he had challenged and finally been victorious over Charles Deneen in demanding that he be appointed to the office of the first Black State's Attorney; Edward Wright, a man who had tried desperately to form an independent Black political organization called the Appomattox Club which has Ed Wright, who now generated; lost the political campaign for Black Alderman--Ed Wright was now the leader of the Black political organization. He was now Big Bill Thompson's man on the South Side. He was now the ward committeeman.

Much of ethnic politics has its origins in Irish Celtic customary law, the Briant law. Part of that is the traditional hierarchy, punishing your enemies and rewarding your friends, but most importantly, when disagreements within the organization are resolved and once the decision has been made, the group accepts the will of the majority. Ethnic politics has its traditions and its foundations in this tradition, but though Black politics is fashioned after white American politics, it doesn't seem to be able to maintain the same kind of political unity. Indeed, much of 1920s was characterized by conflict between Wright and DePriest. Old animosities seem to emerge.

The 1920 wards were redrawn, and DePriest was redistricted into the third ward, where he turned his political movement, the People's movement, into a permanent political organization, which could contest White for power on the South Side. White, however, was as skilful a political organizer as ever existed

in the Black community. What we began to see in Wright's career in the 1920s, was an attempt to create a political variant of Booker T. Washington's idea of a self-sufficient Black metropolis. Wright moves his power into the 2nd Ward, he moves his power into the 4th Ward, he even tried to take over the 1st Ward, that would be his undoing. Because in 1927, the national election occurs, Wright refuses to support Big Bill Thompson. It is clear by this time that Wright had become too powerful on the South Side, and it is not in the interest of the downtown political machine that any one Black politician become too powerful. After all, it was Ed Wright who was able to get the election of the first Black judge. It was Ed Wright who had fought toe to toe for the election of all these various candidates for political office. Indeed, it was Ed Wright who had begun the careers of some white politicians on the South Side. Others may have disagreed with Bill Thompson, others may have opposed his candidacy and come back into the political fold, but in 1927, when Ed Wright refused to support Thompson, he was stripped of all patronage and power, and was forced into political exile. He simply was not an equal among equals.

As Ed Wright's political empire came crashing down on his head, it is Oscar DePriest who steps into the political vacuum. If Wright was tenacious, and perhaps liked to attack, if Wright was perceived as a threat to political power of William Hale Thompson because of his close relationships with other white politicians, if Wright's boldness in trying to enlarge the geographical and political power of Blacks on the South Side threatened the interests of some of the white committeemen, Oscar DePriest seemed to be a more loyal follower. In 1928, Oscar DePriest was elected to be the first Black Congressman from the ward. Wright left Congress in 1901, I believe, and DePriest became the first

Congressman to be elected for a constituency of 12 million Black Americans.

Edward H. Wright's replacement for the Ward Committeeman of the Second Ward, Dan Johnson, probably could have had the Congressional nomination if he wanted it. But Dan Johnson, was just at the point, almost against his will, the most powerful Black politician on the South Side. More importantly, Dan Johnson, who was a funeral operator, controlled vice and gambling on the South Side. I don't think he really wanted to leave his business unattended shall we say.

By 1928, Oscar DePriest was the political representative at large for Black Americans. And his three terms in Congress were marked by a fierce race consciousness, and devotion to the cause of political advancement through organization and racial unity. He gave speeches throughout the country, all at the risk of his own life urging Blacks to register to vote and form political organizations. He convened a non-partisan legal conference in 1931 with the express intent of not only dealing with problems of unemployment civil rights, and political leadership, but building national legally active organization which would parallel function of the national NAACP. The proposal for a legal organization was to split open the individual political alliances and never came to much.

Nevertheless, DePriest maintained his reputation as a nationalist man. He played a significant role in the Scottsboro trial by introducing a little recognized resolution that tried to utilize the 14th Amendment to the Constitution in the courts. This resolution would order a change of venue. DePriest thought that it was obvious that the defendants would not get a fair trial because of their race (i.e., "race, color or creed"). DePriest openly challenged the color line within the Congress of the U.S. as a member of the House of Representatives. His secretary, Morris Lewis, and Lewis' son in 1944.

He risked the political ire of his chief sponsor, Mayor Thompson, when he refused to support a Thompson-endorsed candidate in 1930. Unlike Ed Wright, DePriest seemed to emerge into a position where he could challenge Wright's authority and at least in this instance, survive.

But the Depression seemed to change the politics of the South Side beyond his control. By the early 1930s, his political organizations had already become fragmented. His two chief political lieutenants left. One became a Baptist orator, and William Dawson had become committeeman and alderman, and both were at each other's throats. There was an organization split in 1931, politically patron, Thompson was defeated in his quest for a fourth term, resoundingly defeated by Anton Cermak. In 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president. The near South Side was ravaged by unemployment, home foreclosures, and the like. The boundaries of the first Congressional District were redrawn after the 1930s census and the third ward which was always the center of the DePriest political organization which fell within the organization, was actually removed from the district. The political organization in the second ward split. And, more important, after 1903, after Anton Cermak's assassination, the Democratic organization was now led by popular south sider Edmund J. Kelly, who aggressively courted Black votes. The Republican Party, nationally and locally was in disarray. And DePriest, for the first time, faced an aggressive, Black, Democratic opponent.

Many scholars review these changes that occurred in the Black community, then ask the question--how was DePriest ever defeated, given his popularity and ability. The recent arrival of his opponent, who actually didn't come to Chicago until 1930, the question I ask is how did DePriest do so well, given all of these changes in the in the political fortunes. DePriest was nominated for Congress in 1938 because the white incumbent, Martin Madden died between the time of when

nomination and election. Arthur Mitchell, the first Black Democratic challenger for Congress, was nominated because the party's candidate died between the time of the nomination and the time of the election. I don't want to suggest a conspiracy.

DePriest found that all political verities did not work. The Chicago Democracy was always reluctant to recruit Blacks to their ward organizations. The mayor in the 1920s had failed to attract Blacks to the party. Indeed, the mayor ran for re-election in 1927, with the Democratic Party running a blatantly anti-Negro campaign, with a caliope riding down State Street singing "Bye-Bye Black Bird," and saying that Black people would be shipped out of Chicago in a minute if Kelly was re-elected. The conservatism of the Democratic Party is shown in the fact that for three times, DePriest had been challenged by a white Democrat, and three times the Democrats were defeated in this overwhelmingly Black congressional district.

No two men could have been more different. DePriest, the racial firebrand, sought to build a national following. Mitchell defined his responsibilities more narrowly. He eschewed racial rhetoric. He observed the color line policy in the House of Representatives' restaurant. He sought to maintain harmonious relations with Southern Democrats. He mainly sought the passage of his own anti-lynching bill, and almost single-handedly sabotaged the attempts of the NAACP. He was, in short, a political disaster. Nevertheless, he was there until 1942, serving four terms in Congress.

Ironically, Mitchell is best remembered for his suit against the Illinois Central Railroad. This gives you some idea of the political conservatism of Arthur Mitchell. He didn't challenge them on the basis of segregation. Simply that separate but equal didn't provide him with the equal accommodations he

wanted. His success was a combination of timing the racial conservatism in the Democratic Party, and disarray in the Republican Party, and his almost abject servility in front of white Democratic leaders on the overwhelming Black South Side. He could rest on his own merit and because there was not the emergence of another powerful opponent.

In that decade, the only other powerful Black politician Edwin "Mike" Snead, the committeeman of the Third Ward, which was outside Mitchell's Congressional District. Without patronage, without a powerful Republican in City Hall, without local initiative from Black belt, the Republican Party was floundering. Equally startling was that many of the leaders in the Republican Party, particularly William McKee, and Congressman DePriest clung to the political conservative rhetoric of the national Republican Party. They judged the New Deal as communistic, socialistic, collectivistic. Black people were asking for bread, for jobs, for housing and were less concerned with the ideological constructions of conservative Blacks and were more concerned with bread and butter issues.

Moreover, South Side Republican politics were shaped by the competition between Mitchell and Alderman Dawson. This is important because it is one of the major factors in Dawson's eventual movement into the Democratic Party. Dawson, and his counterpart in the Third Ward, Robert R. Jackson, actually teamed in the City Council by pursuing individual political courses and Dawson became increasingly close to Mayor Kelly and others. Similarly, Black Republican legislators moved further away from the New Deal and in 1932, you began to see Dawson finally move into the Democratic Party after he is defeated for re-election to the City Council.

The man that defeats him is an individual who sets a high standard for his service to the Black community Earl Dickerson. The problem with Dickerson was

that he was too independent, he was too dedicated to the problems of his community. He was a man who packed the City Council and demanded a civil rights ordinance; he was man who led pickets and marches at housing sited for the low-rent housing for the Black community. We find out in 1939, as we end our background discussion of Black politics is that Black politics has returned to the fold, not loyalty to Republican machinery of Mayor Big Bill Thompson, but now to "subordination" of Black politics of the South Side as a "sub-machine" to the Democratic machine. A political machine forged by Anton Cermak which has survived through Kelley, through Kennelley, through Richard Daley into the present day. Dawson did not build this tradition, did not start this tradition, he profitted from it and engulfed the political machine on the South Side which very rapidly grew in the 1940s and 50s, and posed the same threat to Mayor Daley in the 1960s. In the late 1950s and 60s, that indeed tempted the white machine posed by Big Bill Thompson. Perhaps the irony of Black politics.

Harold Barron
Associated Colleges of the Midwest

For the last two months I have been working nine days a week, eighteen hours a day on the Harold Washington campaign and I hope all of you here will join me in getting to work on the campaign. It is the most important political campaign in the more than thirty years I have been here in Chicago. It is a campaign that is taking on national significance, redefining the issues, and becoming a focal point not just for Black political mobilization but for setting the potential for a different kind of progressive political coalition among Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites. So we must get on with the work.

My remarks are going to be informed by some of the work I have been doing for the last ten to twelve years in trying to look at the nature of racism, first within a modern metropolitan setting and in more recent years, I have expanded it to look at racism within the functioning of advanced capitalism. In a paper I am preparing for publication, I speak of the 1960s as racism in transition. The Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement marked a change in the structure of racism in the United States. This was a change on the order of what occurred during the Civil War and Reconstruction where the old racial formation of the plantation slave system was done away with in the Civil War and its aftermath and a system of agrarian paternalism came into being. That system in turn began to go into serious decay just before and after World War II. But its political termination did not take place until the great shocks of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement during the 1960s.

That is very abstract and abstruse, but it is a footnote as to how my mind is working in trying to bring some snapshots of the transitions as they occur in

Chicago. I am going to take three years and give you some snapshot pictures of what is happening. Before we get into the snapshots for the years 1955, 1963, and 1966, let me establish something about Black society and culture in Chicago that sets the framework for this whole period. And for that, I return to my bible on Black Chicago, Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis.

As they get to the end of the book, they talk of the emerging "New Negro." These are people interested in maintaining a stable home life, wanting to marry and raise a family, and who take steady employment when they find it. The older Negro middle class was church-centered. Not so with the New Negro. Doing their leisure time, they see nothing wrong with playing cards, dancing, smoking and drinking. At the same time he or she often maintains membership in the church, attends services regularly, and helps to raise money for it. But he takes its theology with a grain of salt, or ignores it completely and puts pressure on his minister to work for racial advancement.

He believes in Negro business and admires a "race man." Because of the narrow occupational base in the Black community, he has adjusted his thinking to the rise of the labor union movement which embraces many of the occupations in which the Negro middle class is employed. It is not unusual, therefore, to find a person who, though he has finished high school, still works as a laborer in the steel mills and belongs to a CIO union, as well as a social club and a church. Indeed, membership to some left wing organizations is sometimes added to this pattern.

This is Bronzeville's New Negro--usually a fairly well-educated working man or woman, who knows the ropes of the urban world, wants to get ahead, and is determined to be decent. He is likely to be somewhat skeptical of the good

intentions of most other people. And suspicious of the disinterestness of race leaders. He is keenly aware that Negroes don't have their rights, but he sees no hope in the extremism of either the racialistic right or the revolutionary left, although he may opportunistically support both. He is married, raising his family, and educating his children with the hope that they will get a break in the future.

This is the setting for looking at what occurred during the 1950s and 1960s in terms of Black politics, the cultural base of Black political culture. Let me take these images of these particular years.

The year 1955, is the year that Richard J. Daley was elected Mayor of Chicago. This was the year that Congressman William Dawson established himself as a major political figure in Chicago. In previous narrow elections in Chicago, although the Republican Party had been deserted by Congressman Dawson, although the Black community from 1940 on returned as a strong majority in the presidential races, it had been very close in voting for the mayor of Chicago. In the 1951 election, for example, Black wards on the average returned a democratic majority of only 1000 votes per ward.

In the 1955 election, the incumbent mayor, Martin Kennelly, who had come in as a reform mayor, was running for his third term and had been dumped by the regular organization. The campaign was constructed against "the bosses," and in order to garner votes on the South Side, one of the elements in the political strategy of Kennelly, was to heighten the role of Dawson as a political boss, overportraying greatly the extent that he had in other wards on the South Side. But the newspapers ran strong stories about "Boss Dawson" and the Defender, in turn, defended Congressman Dawson. For the first time therefore, Dawson became a well-identified city-wide political figure and there became something of a

crusade in the Black community to defend the Congressman from this attack. As a result of this election, we all know is that Daley was elected by an average majority of 12,000 votes out of the Black wards and William L. Dawson came to citywide attention.

Thus, you had the new Mayor Daley and you had the pinnacle of the Dawson Organization. It was to go on for the next two or three years and go beyond the second and third wards; it brought in the fourth and the 20th ward and in the 1959 election, established its firm control over the 6th ward. So that in the latter 1950s if you went by the corner of 47th and Cottage Grove, you would see on the second floor an advertisement for the big insurance office there, the office of Dawson, Harvey, Campbell and Holdman insurance office. This is where they collected many of their fees. It was an uneasy alliance and Daley tried to get direct control over the ward committeeman.

But this organization was an important element in the Daley victory. Those 12,000 votes per ward were important to the Daley victory, and Daley, from that point on, was very careful to see that Black political power did not become consolidated as a strong subgroup within the party. He tried more and more to get a direct relationship between the ward committeemen and City Hall rather than having to go through Congressman Dawson.

A second point in the picture of Dawson, is to take a little bit of contrast with his other Black colleague in congress, Adam Clayton Powell from New York. William Dawson came up as an organization man, first with the Republicans then with Democrats. He did not come up as somebody who was politically forged by the broad range of New Deal policies. He was not an ideological leader or a politically programatic leader in any sense of the term. He sought election of Blacks to office, he sought the placement of Blacks in politically controlled

administrative and judicial positions.

Adam Clayton Powell, on the other hand, was somebody formed in the process of the Harlem Renaissance of his youth, in the process of that unique way that New Deal-type politics took place in New York as fusion type politics between liberal Republicans and labor-oriented Democrats under Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. Adam Clayton Powell was the fiery race leader of the rhetorical style of Oscar DePriest, but he was a man who had a New Deal reform, government-intervention type of political orientation, and articulated it boldly around the country. His leadership was charismatic, his base in the Harlem community was largely charismatic rather than grounded in the control of a well-articulated political structure. That's one image of Black electoral politics of 1955.

The other image that stands out sharply in 1955 was seemingly not politically related. You will remember in 1955 was the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. It was avidly followed in Chicago's Black community, but without much of that a well-developed support organization developed here. There happened in the summer of 1955, as so many Black youngsters out of school were sent down to visit with their grandparents, aunts and uncles in Mississippi, a young kid by the name of Emmett Till was sent down to spend the summer with his relatives in Mississippi. He was brutally murdered, supposedly for making a wolf-whistle at a white woman in this small town in which he was staying. It was a brutal lynching, his body was brought back to Chicago for burial. Something electric happened. Tens of thousands of people line the streets to view the body of Emmett Till on the South side of Chicago. It wasn't in a political form, but nevertheless there was statement recognizing that something had to change first in the South. It was an outpouring, it wasn't well-organized, almost spontaneous, but it marked a change in the political psyche of Black Chicago.

Now Congressman Gus Savage had a little radical counterpart Jet, on the cover of its first issue was a picture of the lacerated face of Emmett Till. There were what ten or twenty thousand copies sold. They didn't know why the second issues didn't sell very well, but this was a statement.

Let me turn now to some images from the year of 1963. By now the Civil Rights Movement is well-launched in the South. We have seen the great rash of sit ins. There have been the dramatic bus rides into Alabama. Dr. King is starting a number of various kinds of voting rights protests, and the demonstration is planned to take place in Birmingham. At the same time, in Chicago the question of Black rights comes forward as a Civil Rights issue around the schools. Started in 1961, a major protest movement builds up challenging "defacto" segregation in Chicago schools, that Black schools were overcrowded and on double shifts. Half the kids would go from eight to twelve in the morning, and the other half would go from 12 to four, while there would be nearby white schools with empty classrooms. This school protest mounted. The symbol of the enemy became the superintendent of schools, a man named Benjamin Willis. To keep Black kids going to school within the Black community and to end the overcrowding, he brought in portable classrooms, and these became known as "Willis Wagons."

The tempo builds up, and in 1963, there is a boycott of the Chicago schools. In the preceding half year, there had been Black boycotts of selected target schools in Boston and Milwaukee. Chicago civil rights movement was much bolder than that. It called to close down the schools. The boycott was organized out of offices given by the Appomatox Club. And the organizers on the night before the boycott thought that it was going to be successful if it succeeded in getting 75,000 kids staying out of school. The next day, the Superintendent of

Schools announced that 300,000 children stayed out of the Chicago schools.

Electrifying! A spontaneous response way beyond anything that was ever expected by the organizers. And yet, since the school board was independent, Mayor Daley had managed to insulate himself rather well from this process. It was Ben Willis, not Mayor Daley, who was the target.

Then another near spontaneous event occurs. In the summer of 1963, the NAACP was having its national convention in Chicago. As part of the convention, there was to be a mass rally in Grant Park in which they were going to deliver the mayor to give speeches. They were going to have Senator Paul Douglass, and they were going to have the chairman of the National Baptist Convention, the Rev. J. H. Jackson. And, indeed, there was a great turnout in Grant Park-- 20,000 people. The NAACP officials looked exalted. They get to the peak of it, they introduce the Mayor of Chicago, and all of a sudden, about 30 or 40 Black young people start down the aisle organized by a radical nationalist group known as RAM, the Revolutionary Action Movement, which had been putting out leaflets the night before. These youngsters started booing the mayor as they walked down the aisle. And, all of a sudden, this rally which had been organized by the NAACP, and the NAACP was controlled by Dawson's organization--they had engineered a coup about four years ago to throw out an official of the United Auto Workers, who was an independent--at a Dawson organized event, 10-15,000 people start booing the mayor! He tries to speak and his face gets redder, and the boos get louder, and he finally has to leave the stage. Senator Douglass walks off with him. Then Rev. J. H. Jackson, gets up there, the chief Black Baptist in the whole United States and he gets booted off, led by 30 young people. It was a political break in the psyche of Black Chicago.

The other image I want to give you of 1963, is with the Southern Christian Leadership Council organizing a series of demonstrations in Birmingham, if you

will recall or remember your history books. It went in there under the non-violent rubric of SCLC, and Bull Connor, the police chief and political chief of Birmingham, fought back vigorously with fire hoses and police dogs. And when they set the dogs on the demonstrators, it was at that point, Dr. King lost control of the people of Birmingham and they retaliated, throwing rocks, smashing windows, etc.

That event had a shocking impact on the psyche of the white ruling class of Chicago. They had accepted that there was Black discontent, more discontent than they thought was there. And they were rather willing to make a few maneuvers on that. They didn't know what to think of Dr. King. But they were frightened of one thing about Birmingham. And that one thing that frightened them about Birmingham was that Dr. King didn't seem to be able to control the youth.

At this time, I was research director of the Chicago Urban League. And at this time, the Chicago Urban League had on its board representatives from major Black corporations, the number two personnel from the more enlightened big firms, and very little financial support. Word came through a couple of the number two people that their bosses wanted to know what in the hell was happening. And it was arranged that about 25 largest firms, would attend an all day workshop in which about twenty of the chief executive officers would attend. I wrote the briefing papers for that workshop. I didn't get to give the briefing papers for that workshop. I didn't get to give the briefing papers. My boss, Bill Berry, didn't get to give the briefing papers because the executive officers of these billion dollar firms weren't used to being briefed by a Black person. Bill Berry in turn, had to brief these two white board members who were upper middle management for their firm on how to brief their top bosses. And they did brief them.

These guys decided that the situation had changed, that they would have to change and develop an active strategy vis-a-vis the Black community. Amazingly, in about two months, large corporations who for years had written that they couldn't give to the Urban League because the Urban League received funds from the United Way, and they gave their contribution to the United Way--all of sudden changed their minds and sent checks for \$10,000 dollars. And you had the development of a sophisticated concessions strategy on the part of the Chicago ruling class.

Let me just say one other thing about 1963: the 1963 protest at the NAACP Convention was not reflected in electoral politics one bit. The then six Black members of the Chicago City Council were known in the civil rights movement--this is before the Black Power Movement emerged--as the "Silent Six." You could vote or have anything that had to do with race and they wouldn't say a damn thing--not one speech in support of all of these demonstrations, not one speech against Ben Willis and the Board of Education. In fact, the first independent Democrat to be elected to the Chicago City Council since Earl Dickerson was elected in 1963 from the Inglewood Community mainly the old 17th ward; Charlie Chew. One of the reasons he was elected was that some Black mothers organized two fantastic month-long campaigns against Benjamin Willis' policies in their community. As soon as Charlie Chew got in office, he became silent. And accepted getting out and being elected to the Illinois Senate the next year so that the regular committeeman, William Shannon, could occupy that seat.

For images was 1966, there are three images I wanted you to have. One is that 1966 was the year of the Chicago freedom movement. The overall civil rights organization in Chicago was called the CCCO--the Coordinating Council of

Community Organizations and entered into a coalition with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to bring the Civil Rights Movement north. A whole set of demonstrations and a program ensued. Martin Luther King, Jr., did not nail 95 theses upon the door of City Hall. I had occasion to look at that document last week and there many similar demands with the program of Congressman Harold Washington. That was one image.

The other image was that you have an independent Black Democrat elected who stays independent for the first time, Senator Richard Newhouse. This was succeeded the next year by election to the city council in '67 of Alderman William Cousins from the eighth ward and Alderman Sandy Ringer from the sixth, both as independents.

The third image from that year, and let me end with that image because it marks a tremendous change, an acceleration of change in Black political culture-- it is that the first major uprising takes place on the West side. There had been a smaller uprising in 1965, but in 1966, the young people over there really tore the hell out of the community. This uprising raises fear in the minds of the Chicago business elite and in the minds of the Chicago political elite. "What the hell is going to happen?" And it is after that that you begin to see Daley, based on his reactions to the 1966 uprising, enter into the rigid posture that leads to the farce of the 1968 Democratic Convention. Thus, the threat of the Black political resurgence begins to shape directly national politics to bring a certain section of the now activated younger whites, particularly from the anti-war movement, and frames much of the way that Chicago politics and independent Chicago Black and White politics thrust themselves during the 1970s.

Bennett Johnson
Path Press, Inc.

Let me tell you a little bit more about who I am. I was raised in the city of Evanston and was active in the Civil Rights Movement beginning with the formation of CORE in 1945, meeting with people like James Farmer, Geoffrey Stewart and others. In 1947-48, I came to Roosevelt College. At Roosevelt College was Harold Washington, Gus Savage, Warren Baker, Sid Ordower, Richard Durham, Oscar Brown Jr., and others. I am sharing these things not because they point in a certain sense, to the need of Black people to become educated and to the limitations in this society for these types of resources.

In other words, the reason that so many exceptional people were at Roosevelt College at that time was because that was the only school in Chicago that didn't have a quota system. If you know the history of the school, that was the reason it was formed in 1946-47. When I left the south--I went to school first in Augusta, Georgia at Paine College, and came to Roosevelt, I had to meet everybody who was thinking.

The other thing that I did subsequent to that is more or less connected with my discussion. My presentation will be what happened, what I did and what various organizations did concerning the whole issue of electoral politics. I want to refer to an article and a statement made by Professor Branham concerning Earl Dickinson to begin the discussion what Black independent political actions was about. Black politics was not necessarily reflected in the election of people to public office, but in the raising of certain issues and the raising of certain concepts and doing those things that affected the entire process. I submit to you that we substantially affected the process that is culminated today

in the campaign of Congressman Harold Washington, and what I am certain will be his eventual election on February 22nd.

In 1943, when Earl Dickerson ran for alderman, one of the reasons he was defeated and one of the reasons that occurred subsequent to that, was he was very active in the Progressive Party. Those of you who know the history of American politics are aware that the Progressive Party was a very important factor in American politics about that time. In 1948, there was the campaign of Henry Wallace for President and the convention of the Party was held in Chicago Stadium in 1948. That activity of the Progressive Party spun off into the political movements--one of them for example was the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) it certainly was influenced by the Party. The other was what we decided to do some years later.

Incidentally, Gus Savage was one of the South side coordinators for the Progressive Party in that period of time. Gus, as some of you may know has a rather checkered career in his congressional activities. But his past as far as his commitment to civil rights has been very good and very consistent. I am not saying this because he's a personal friend of mine, but because it is something we need to keep in mind when we think of people elected to office and those personalities and how they affect the entire freedom movement. I think that is a very important factor.

The actual coming together of the Black independent political movement began in 1958. In 1958, we had a conference on the Southside, and the purpose of that conference was to begin to move the civil rights and the protest movement into the political arena. Some of the people at that conference were Dr. Howard. As you will recall, the Emmett Till murder and the activity surrounding that spun off us a number of leaders and one of those was Dr. T. R. Howard.

He was from Mississippi and was run out of Mississippi because of his activity there in trying to raise money for the protest against the murder of Emmett Till. He ended up in Chicago and he became active at that time in our political movement. He later went into the Republican Party.

In 1958, we decided that we had to organize and focus electoral activity and move it towards protest in the political arena. We organized in Chicago the League of Negro Voters. The Chicago League of Voters had a number of very important activities. The first was to meet with the Cook County Democratic Party as well as the Republican party, and we demanded that Blacks be slated for judicial posts. And we were successful in that activity. Duke Slater, a football star was elected to public office because of that activity, in part. Some other judges were also slated on the Republican and Democratic tickets.

The second thing we did, was in 1959 during the aldermanic race. We felt that the best way to organize throughout the city, was around political campaigns especially aldermanic campaigns. Unfortunately, I was one of those candidates. I didn't want to be a candidate at all. I had no interest in holding public office, but there was a need to organize on the Near Northside's near Cabrini-Green. I was living at Cabrini at the time. We were very successful in the 42nd Ward, with literally no money, we got 25 percent of the vote. No Black candidate has equalled that percent of the vote since. Interestingly enough, understanding my personal activity is very important in helping to understand the relationship between independent politics and the regular organization politics.

I was and I still am a very close personal friend of Harold Washington. Harold Washington was very active in the Third Ward political organization and the leader of the Young Democrats. Harold volunteered that I should meet with

Ralph Metcalfe (former Black alderman and U.S. Congressman) for the purpose of discussing whether or not Metcalfe would support my candidacy in the 42nd Ward. And Metcalf, although he turned it down, made a very interesting statement. He said that he felt that "there was no need for him as a politician to commit himself openly to any kind of freedom movement until the demand came from the people." Those of you who are more conversant with Metcalfe's later activities in 1976 and following, reveal that his activities and what he did later on was reflective of that philosophy. I am not supporting his philosophy or what he did at any point, but I think that this was an important statement he made.

We endorsed about eight people in 1959. In the second ward we endorsed Harvey. Harvey was a machine hack, but we felt he was the best machine hack and we wanted to show the Black community that we had some broad concept of what should happen with Black voters at that point. In the fourth ward, we endorsed Peggy Smith Martin--her name was Peggy Smith at the time. She called us just before she was supposed to file a petition and said that she was going to get out of the race. We said why, and we finally got out of her the fact that Holmen was going to give her \$300. And she felt with that kind of payment, she should get out of the race. She got out of the race, but she did not receive one penny from Holmen. Holmen is dead now and I don't think she will collect on that.

Charlie Armstrong, who is the editor of Metro News, ran in Peggy's place and we endorsed Charlie.

In the fifth ward, we endorsed Leon Depres. And to this day Depres credits us with his election. He was elected by a small margin but he feels that our support contributed substantially to his election. In the sixth ward, we endorsed Ruth Porter who was very active in the social programs at the time; Coleman Holt, who was an attorney, in the eighth ward; in the seventeenth ward,

Raymond Hart, who is presently an attorney in the twenty-seventh ward, Carter E. Jones and, of course, myself in the forty-second ward.

The other key thing we did 1959, was that we slated and ran Attorney Lemuel E. Bentley for City Clerk. It was the first time in a long time that a Black ran for city-wide office. Bentley received 60,000 votes, and we had no money. We fell on our own face because we did not have the money, and because of a few other problems.

Harold Baron mentioned the school boycott that the reason the school boycott was successful was not just because of spontaneity. Spontaneity was there. But we were organized throughout the city. On the West side and South side, we had people who were canvassing because we had learned how to canvass over the years. We spent a lot of time getting people to involve themselves in the school boycott which was led by a man named Lawrence Landry who was subsequently driven out of town to Washington, DC.

In 1959, we decided to lobby the NAACP convention. Gus Savage and I wrote a political tract called "To Increase the Power of Negro Voters." That particular tract dealt with the analysis of the electoral vote. In other words, we demonstrated that because of the concentration of Blacks in urban areas that we could substantially influence the election of a liberal or a person who could deal with Black problems for present. This was the first time in my memory that that particular phenomenon had been brought to the attention of the Black community. We spent a lot of time in New York because it was the 50th anniversary of the NAACP convention. We got a lot of people who could be potentially involved in what we were trying to do.

In 1960, we went up in St. Paul-Minneapolis with a political tract entitled "Freedom Now" (reprinted below).

This tract again, dealt with non-partisan activity for Blacks. We also talked about the need for Presidential Executive Orders. The "Boll Weevil" concept describes the marriage of the Southern Republicans and the Southern Democrats. But it was the Northern Republicans--the Republican Party generally--and the Southern Democrats who have fought for a long period, and in general, have frustrated the desire and the needs of Blacks, minorities and women to achieve any kind of equity in this society. Thus, we talked about the need for the President to get around that particular roadblock by using Executive Orders.

But the most important thing that we did in this particular tract was to talk about the concepts of "intraparty independence." In other words, a Black could be within the Republican Party or Democratic Party. And in that particular confine which is limiting, he or she still could still advocate and carry out the needs of their community and function as a representative of the community and function as a representative of the community by functioning as a caucus within that party. In my opinion, Harold Washington has functioned on that particular philosophy at all times while he was within the Regular Democratic Organization.

Getting on to 1963, we felt that what we needed to do was to organize a broader organization and that is the document described in "The Protest at the Poll" (reprinted below). The way we came up with the name, which may sound a little extraordinary, is that when we had a conference twenty years ago, Len O'Connor who some of you may know is a very important political commentator in Chicago, has read what we wrote. And he said that a group called "Protest at the Polls" was having a conference. We felt well since he selected it and it certainly was appropriate, we selected that our name--"Protest at the Polls." Let me read to you some of the people who have become important political people in

Chicago who were involved in that movement.

Sam Ackerman is very active in Independent Voters of Illinois (IDI) on the South side. Tim Black, a long time political activist and professor at Loop College--most of you know, Wade Cousins was an attorney and now is a judge. Herman Cromwell Gilbert is my associate in a venture we call Path Press, a book publishing company. Bernetta Howell-Barrett is very important. I was her campaign manager when she ran for Congress in the 6th Congressional District on the West side in 1964. Bernetta is a very articulate, very intelligent, and very dedicated Black woman and she ran against a man by the name of Burt. Burt had a wide reputation of being corrupt and a very bad Congressional Representative. In a congressional district that was 60% Black and a Black woman of her ability and her commitment and activity in the community, she lost to Burt, who was white. But the significant part about it was that Burt was dead. Burt died before the election and the Black community selected him for Congress. She made history in that manner.

Robert Lucas--some of you know Bob, head of the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization, was active in the organization. Attorney General who held the Hampton-Clark Panther case; State Senator Dick Newhouse; Alvin Pitcher, who was a very important person in the freedom movement on the South side of Chicago, a white person who was a very dedicated person who was very dedicated and contributed a lot to the freedom movement of Chicago; Sammy Rayner; Ed Reddick who is with PUSH. Don Rose--much to my regret, I think we invented Don Rose. The problem with Don Rose is that he has become the white expert on Black politics. I have to admit, and I think he knows it, is that I resent the fact that he has a particular label and he doesn't deserve it. These are some of the main people who were involved in our organization.

I want to draw your attention to several important campaigns: One that was alluded to earlier was that of the Charlie Chew campaign. In 1963, we had another aldermanic alliance. This aldermanic alliance was not brought together under our rubric of Protest at Polls. It preceded Protest at the Polls and its influence. The 4th ward was Tim Black, in the 6th ward Sammy Rayner; in the 17th ward there were two people, Bill Randle and Charlie Chew; in the Bobby Watkins who was a football player; in the 27th, was Carter Jones again; and in the 29th ward, Robert Biggs. Our activity was centered around the Biggs' candidacy. In the Biggs' campaign situation we had Jim Walton, who is a judge now, and was part of our 1959 Chicago League of Negro Voters' activities. Walton was supported by Doug Andrews. We were very sophisticated with the people you have to understand, we were really driven to political things. So we challenged everything. We got Wesley South knocked off the ballot and two or three people. Wesley South had a hook into the Democratic organization so he got back on the ballot. But Jim Walton was knocked off. Doug Andrews ran a write in campaign, and they got 1,000 votes in the write-in campaign in the 29th ward.

That doesn't seem like a lot, but I submit to you that probably the most important political victory that has ever occurred. We lost that campaign run-off by 150 votes. We know it was stolen and where it was stolen. It really was significant that Doug could get that many votes counted for Jim Walton who was not, in my opinion the most outstanding candidate. That particular activity and the various activities throughout the city led to a concretizing of Protest at the Polls movement.

Charlie Chew won. In the primary, Randall was our candidate and Randall lost. Thus, in the runoff, we supported Charlie Chew and Charlie Chew went into public office as an independent, Chew decided that he wouldn't talk after that.

and, as Gus Savage used to say, "you can't Chew with your mouth closed." Charlie Chew, in fact, defected and became a part of the regular Democratic organization coming out against Milton Lee in his race for State Senator against Russell. You have to understand that Charlie Chew won the State Senate seat not as a regular Democrat, but as part of the Black independent movement.

The important part of the whole process is that we, the Black independent political group, have a number of victories, some that we could not count, like the Biggs' election in 1963 that was stolen from us. And we elected other people to come to office like Charlie Chew. But we had no base. We did not have a strong enough base to control them and make them adhere to what we were about and what Black people should have been about.

In 1964, two things occurred. First, the state legislators had to run at-large because the General Assembly would not redistrict them. So you had 177 people on one ballot. The Democratic Party and the Republican Party, because of the fact that they had this trade off, decided to only nominate 118 on each side. The Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) led by a guy named George Boghert decided to fill the breach and run 59 candidates, quality, blue ribbon candidates, for a general assembly. Independent Voters of Illinois changed its mind. Pressure was put on them from the white power structure, and they got out. Protest at the Polls, with some progressive whites organized, the third slate. The third slate did not get on the ballot. But what it did was substantially influence the election of Harold Washington to the slate legislative. This is how Harold's career started. Its because they ran statewide, so the influence of the machine was diluted. With the support of our liberal friend, we had a statewide apparatus developed because you had to have petitions signed with 100 signatures in each of 100 counties. We had to have a statewide apparatus just

to get our petition campaign together. We were successful because of this influencing the election.

As I indicated earlier, Phil Smith and Sammy Rayner in the 6th ward won that election in 1967. Bill Cousins won in 1967. The other important race in 1967, was the race that Gus Savage ran in the 21st ward. In that race, Gus lost but that was another close race and another indication of the power of the independent movement.

The key activities subsequent to 1967 was in two races. I want to make some assertions. First, that in those areas where our protest organizations were active we were the second most powerful force. In other words, the candidates which we endorsed ran above the Republican candidates in every instance. This is documented. In 1968, after the riots, in the congressional race against Dawson, I was Sammy Rayner's campaign manager when he ran against Dawson. We counted on Election Day 24,000 votes. The record shows 20,000 votes. I don't know what happened to those other 4,000 votes, but that was the highest vote that was ever scored against Dawson. It was in part, because Daley, as you may remember ordered "Shoot to Kill" and we put together a leaflet which we distributed all over the Southside showing Daley saying "shoot to kill." I think that this had a lot to do with the number of votes that we finally got.

After 1968-1969, the organization fell apart. It fell apart, in part, because there were FBI informers in the group. One person said it was Don Rose. Another person said that it was Sam Ackerman. They argued with each other about who was the FBI informant. Sam was a good guy so I don't know who the FBI informer was.

The other problem we had was this and this is essential to electoral politics. It is the issue of the candidate. It takes a certain kind of person,

a certain of ego-need to decide you are going to run for public office. You have to arrogate to yourself certain qualities. It means that you are the most equal among equals. When you win, or not even winning, when you have a good campaign given all this adulation and all this attention and media, it tends to alter your view of the world. The world centers with you and goes out, and people stop trying to understand what is occurring in the world.

I say this because subsequent to this time, there were a number of very successful independent campaigns, especially on the West side. This was our strongest base around the 29th ward. After the Biggs campaign, unfortunately, and this is another reason Protest at the Polls was diluted, half of the group decided to go with the regular Democratic organization. That was pretty consistent with our concept of intra-party independence, but it was inconsistent with the idea of trying to develop a strong and independent Black political apparatus. Some of us went in and some of us stayed out.

The other problem was that in these independent campaigns, Rayner, for example, became less concerned with the development of an apparatus and more concerned however, was how, he, Sammy Rayner, could affect the political process. And that is true throughout this particular period. In electoral politics, all of a sudden you see a Harold Washington and he appears as an instant candidate.

But Harold, like Gus Savage, like Ralph Metcalfe has a long history of activity and I submit to you that our organizations and the various Black independent movements substantially affected what they did and why they are what they are.

For example, in 1975, we had privately organized the Black community around the issue of a Black mayor. We came together and had a Committee for a Black Mayor. Metcalfe said that he would run if we raised \$200,000 dollars.

We told him that was not reasonable because Coleman Young had won the election with less than that in Detroit. But we agreed to do that. When we raised the money, Metcalfe said that he would not run. We believe the reason he didn't run I don't want to go into that. He was intimidated. It was not only his decision but he was intimidated by other people.

But Harold Washington came out of that as a person who focused on the concept of a Black mayor. The reason we didn't support a Black candidate at that time was when we went to Dick Newhouse we said "Dick, do you want to run for m mayor? We are willing to support you. What do you have?" He virtually had nothing. When I say nothing, I mean that. It was our opinion that he could not capture enough votes. As I told you in 1959, we got 60,000 votes for Bentley who was an unknown person. Dick Newhouse, much better known, got only a little over 75,000 votes. If we had committed the Black community to him, we would have been embarrassed and they would have realized how weak we were.

One frustration of being an activist and having done so many of these things is that I really would like to spend three or four hours just going over all these war stories. I was there in 1978 and was campaign for Roland Burris and he decided to run and he was successful as State Comptroller. In 1980, I was Harold Washington's campaign coordinator when he ran for Congress. Thus, there is a lot on my mind. There is a lot that I really would like to talk to you about. There is a lot we really need to know. But I would like to wind it up like this. First, the problem of a candidate being elected to public office and the problem of this power and the attention that he gets can only be balanced and can only be controlled by an apparatus to which he is responsible. That apparatus has to be controlled by politically sophisticated people. And I submit to

you that until the Black community nationally, not only locally, pulls together an apparatus which is responsible not only to themselves--to the community, to the people--that we will again hear the stories of a Coleman Young, an Andy Young and the Gibsons who have defected and who have not been consistent in their commitment of the Black community. Thus, this constitution that we developed in 1963 in my opinion, is a prototype. I assume some part of the authorship because I think it is an excellent prototype for an independent political apparatus that can be replicated throughout the country.

Michael Preston
University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign

It is very difficult to come last. I sat there and I listened and learned a great deal. I thought I knew something about Chicago politics--and indeed I do--but one of the marvelous things about coming to a conference like this is that there is always something new to learn. While I knew something about the independent movement, I didn't know a lot of the details and I can thank my colleagues for bringing those details forth.

I came to Chicago politics very late. Unlike most of the people here, that were involved, I came from California. I came to the University of Illinois and one of my fields was urban politics. It is very difficult, as most of you know, to study urban politics in Champaign. I decided that I should take a look at Chicago. One thing puzzled me when I came from California--which had good, clean, crazy politics--people are crazy there.

Chicago was fascinating because I found out that it is very easy for votes to get lost in City Hall. From one office to another, votes get lost and I thought this might be something interesting to look at. In Chicago, people fish in the Chicago River, but instead of fishing out fish, they fish out ballots that somehow disappear over time. As my colleague pointed out, in Chicago very frequently dead people voted in the last election. I thought this happened a long time ago but it hasn't changed much. The more I knew, the more interested I got in it.

I heard somebody talk about "The Silent Six." Chuck Branham and I participated in the redistricting case not long ago and there was "The Silent 12." Twelve might be arbitrary, but of the 12 or 15 aldermen who were interviewed, most did not know that the 15th and 37th ward had been changed from 66.6 percent

Black to roughly 40 percent white. They voted to have the change from 66 percent Black to roughly 50 percent white. They took out sections of wards with something like 30-40,000 Blacks and put in 30-40,000 whites to give whites the majority in these wards.

And in these interviews for depositions with Black aldermen, they voted to assist in shrinking the Black vote in the city of Chicago. And their answer was that they were ignorant, that they didn't know. "We were told that this was the map that the City Council wanted by our floor leader and we voted for it," they said. Basically, what it comes down to is that we had a solid six in some cases and we have a solid 12 in some cases. Essentially, what they admitted to was ignorance of the largest kind that one can believe. Or you have a situation where people simply don't care. What it came down to is, "did they screw around with my ward?" "If they did not, I don't care." That's what it came down to. So what we have is 12 Black aldermen in the City of Chicago voting for a map that in effect diluted Black voting strength in the City in the 1980s.

Senator Newhouse was actively involved, so was Harold Washington, and a number of other people involved with both suits. The state suit on redistricting was one, of course and the city suit in which a decision was recently given. We won the battle but lost the war. I mean by that that the judge arrived at a decision that Blacks and Hispanics were discriminated against and what he did essentially was give the map back to the City Council to redraw. They drew a map. We were asking for 65 percent Black--they redrew a map that came out to be roughly 55 percent. The fact that there were two white aldermen shows that they were protecting those wards. Whether or not we were successful remains to be seen. I should think that there's a good chance in the 15th and 37th. The changes will be made. When you look at a 55 percent Black population, the Black

voting age population is much less and younger, and the chances in this election is problematic.

At any rate, this is really how I got into Chicago politics. It seemed so fascinating. As we looked at it I decided to take a closer look. I then talked to a colleague of mine because I was fascinated and I asked why Blacks kept voting for Daley. And the colleague of mine, Twiley Barker told me that I should look very closely at that and look at the votes. What I found out is that when you look at the newspaper as most of us do downstate, we saw that there were a huge percentage of Black votes for Daley. Well, that's true. It was a huge percentage. But if you actually look at numbers, what I then found out was that the numbers were not large. And a significant number of Blacks were not voting. Barker pointed this out to me and, indeed, some of the data I will talk about in the next few minutes will relate to that.

Let me move very quickly into the 1970s. This is my task--to talk a bit about the 1970s. Essentially, I will talk about information that I have developed up to the 1980s and stop there because we can talk about things after that in the question and answer session.

I was very surprised that Chicago politics is in a state of transition. Under Mayor Daley, the Democratic political machine sought and achieved an enormous amount of political power in the city, the state, and indeed, the nation.

Yet, during Daley's last term in office, it was clear that the machine was losing some of its force as internal and external forces began to erode in power. There are significant events taking place now that are likely to have a critical impact on Chicago politics in the future. The first one which I will point out is that leverage over elected officials basically rests on the ability to get jobs or take them away. And this power has been diminished by the two recent Shakman court decisions.

Shakman I now bars the firing of public employees for political purposes. Shakman II restricts the hiring of employees for strictly political reasons. Having said that, now let me issue a disclaimer. Clearly there is a long and a short range impact is that Shakman probably will not have a big impact on Chicago politics, especially in patronage hiring. There are court suits now, that will by and large in the long run have some impact, but in the short run I don't think it's going to be that important.

The second major change in Chicago politics is loss of the machines dominance of the Black voters. I think that this clearly is one of the most significant things. The sharp decline in Black support for a local machine candidates began with the 1975 primary and general elections--the last election in which Daley ran. The decline continued in a special mayoral primary in 1977, when Bilandic was elected mayor, accelerated in 1979 when Byrne defeated the regular Democratic candidate. Indeed, you can follow that up by looking at Byrne's election when she received over 63 percent of the Black vote. In the year that followed, disappointed by Jane Byrne's not being a reformer as most people thought, in the 1980 election Black voters defeated almost all of Mayor Byrne's candidates for political office.

The trend I think basically is clear in Chicago that Blacks are seeking alternatives to machine candidates and offices. Black voters are no longer loyal, predictable voters as they once were. Since 1975. they have become increasingly more unloyal, unpredictable, uncontrollable and undeliverable. In fact, one of the most important changes to date in Black voting behavior--and this will make Bennett Johnson happy--is not the anti-machine posture, but more pro-independent inclinations especially among Black middle-class voters.

When we look at another significant trend--the demography--we see a total population in Chicago of roughly 3 million voters with white population being roughly 1.3 million, or 43 percent; the Black population is 1.20 million, or roughly 40 percent; and the Hispanic population is around 14 percent. Between 1970 and 1980 in Chicago, the overall population in the city declined by 365,000 people. The Black population, however, increased by 90,000 and Hispanics by 175,000. Importantly, however, is that the white population declined by roughly 500,000 since 1970.

It has also been estimated and pointed out by Gerald McWorter and Ron Bailey in their publication called Black People and the 1980 Census, and by other people, that the census undercount is roughly around 300,000 people. Most of these are minorities who are involved in undercounts, and this makes the Black percentage perhaps even higher.

The third very significant development in Chicago politics, that I want to talk about later on, is the return of the Black middle class to politics. By and large, if we look at the elections' data prior to 1979, the Black middle-class in terms of voter turnout was relatively low. That changed in 1979 and the upward trend has continued.

These changes in Chicago politics allow us to examine several major assumptions that are widespread in what is now labeled "the new Black politics." The first assumption is that there is power in numbers. And that if those numbers are large enough, Blacks can elect officials who will use their influence to achieve policy goals for the Black community. The second assumption is that Black leaders share a community of interests and this should lead to the collective efforts on behalf of their constituents. The third assumption is that the vote should be used to award friends and punish enemies. That argument, by the

way, assumes that party is less important than the interests they represent. What I decided to do very quickly is to look at these three assumptions. Let's start by looking at the first two, dealing with Black political representation and the power of numbers.

Essentially, when I started looking, there are two things I noted about Black political representation in Chicago. First, it is very large, yet, ineffective. Second, it is divided rather than unified. One of the clearest recent tests is to focus on the recent endorsements. Thirteen of the 20 Black state legislators came out for Mayor Jane Byrne only three aldermen have come out for candidate Harold Washington. What this means is that Black representation in Chicago is clearly not unified. Not only is it not unified, but there are some other things that we can talk about later on.

One of the things that I noticed as I was looking through this is that the Black aldermen feel they don't have power because Blacks don't vote in Chicago. In fact, Alderman Humes put it this way, "Blacks don't have political power in Chicago. You get power through the exercise of vote and Blacks are not voting in significant numbers my ward has 38,000 registered voters. But only 11,000 come out to vote. Patrick Huel of the 11th ward gets, indeed, 20,000 out of 30,000 registered voters." That she calls political power. And the argument by some of the Black aldermen is that they don't have power because Blacks don't come out to vote.

Lu Palmer countered with a quote that I think is very accurate up to a point. "Black people have voted and voted in this town but the more they vote, the worse things get. It doesn't matter if they vote for a white or a Black. Sometimes I think that people who don't vote are more sophisticated than those who do, because the Black voter has to choose between the lesser of two evils.

If a person decides not to vote for evil, then he is more sophisticated." That basically is the argument about Black representation.

The other thing that you note about Black politics in Chicago, a particularly consistent trend, has been the trend of Black anti-machine voting. The figures show dissatisfaction with the machine since 1975, that Black voters have voted in greater percentages against the machine than all other wards combined. For example, in 1955, only 17,000 Black voters voted against the machine. By 1975, that number had jumped to roughly 92,000 voting against the machine, or 51.8 percent. In 1977, the percent against the machine was 51.1. In 1979, it was 59.7. What you see over time is a trend that has developed that is clearly a trend away from what happened between 1955 and 1975.

If you take a look at Black voter turnout, it is disturbing to some degree. Looking at the wards from 2 through 34, you will see I have calculated the number of registered voters in Chicago's 1979 mayoral primary election. And you see there that the Black voter turnout was roughly 42.2 percent of the registered voters. And if you look at the turnout for Byrne and Bilandic, you will see what that turnout is. If you add to that, when I did this initially I did not add these other wards, but if add to that the totals for wards 5, 7, 9, 37, and 15, you come out with something like the number of registered voters in these wards--594,106. Of these, 258,000 people asked for ballots, and thus the turnout was 43.3 percent. Let me not mislead you--that 594,106 figure includes some whites; so we are talking about roughly 550,000 Black voters in these wards and this was in the 1979 primary and is the latest data out.

I went down to City Hall before coming to the conference yesterday to get some data from the Chicago Board of Election Commission. To show you how hot the campaign is, on my way in, a fellow walking in had a Daley button on one side

and a Byrne button on the other side. And as he entered City Hall, he took off the Daley button and put the Byrne button on (laughter). The brothers and sisters I saw there had Byrne buttons on. I guess if you want to work in City Hall, and you want to continue to work in City Hall, you must wear the right kind of button.

At this rate, a Black candidate does not have a chance if this is going to be the turnout in February. That is clear. However, this is Byrne and Bilandic campaigns and not that of Harold Washington.

Another thing which I tried to do in my research had not been done, as far as I know, was to try to look at middle-class Black voters and non-middle class Black voters or to see if there is any difference overall. There's not much difference.

Another thing I find interesting, is that Chicago voters tend to be national Democrats, but not local Democrats. That is to say, in presidential elections you get the middle class turning out at 71.5 percent and non-middle class wards as 66.6 percent. But in the mayoral general election, the middle-class turnout was only 38.2 percent and the non-middle class turnout was roughly 41.2 percent--a difference really of about 33 percent. What I might want to argue later on--if you take a look at this--that in order for an independent Black candidate to win, the Black turnout is going to have to be substantially higher than it has been in these elections. Indeed, it ought to be at the level of turnout in the presidential elections if an independent candidate is to win. The other table, also talks about this in 1971 through 1977.

If you look at the 1980 primary, most of you know what the results were in the House races of Washington and Savage. But I think the most significant thing about Chicago politics to me, as I understand Chicago politics in history,

particularly from the standpoint of Black voters, is the election of or the defeat of certain ward committeemen. Five of the regular Democratic organization committeemen lost their positions in 1980. All of these people were supported by Mayor Byrne. This is significant. It is difficult to knock off a ward committeeman in February. It is difficult to get people out to vote in the middle of winter. But when you knock off ward committeemen it is rather a significant victory for Black voters. And it shows their inclinations clearly to be much more independent.

Having looked at some of the voting data from the last election and the turnout for Adlai Stevenson, though I think it was not as much a vote for Adlai as it was against Reagan and Byrne to some large degree. This brings us to Harold's campaign, and whether or not Harold's candidacy will be successful in the City of Chicago. It is significant that defections are large. It is significant that he has defections among the Black community. Clearly, Mayor Byrne has between 4 and 10 million dollars, and that can buy a lot of favors in Chicago, including votes.

Candidate Daley has picked up some Black support which is going to be increasingly important for Harold to hold his Black base as well as pick up a few votes in the white community. And I think the wild card might be the Hispanic community. The problem there, however, is that the Hispanic community in 1979-1980 voted pretty much in the regular Democratic organization, even though the Hispanic community participated in lawsuits along with the Black plaintiffs and it was good cooperation, I am not at all sure how reliable an ally they are likely to be in the coming election. Somebody might know more about this point than I do, but from what I gather, particularly from those I have talked to, and the voting trends I have seen, Hispanics are not likely to be a major ally,

though I suspect that even if they are not major allies, a significant vote from the Hispanic community is going to be important to Harold's candidacy, as important as getting a piece of the white vote.

One of the things that disturbs me when I hear people talk about the Independent Voters of Illinois--is that my own research shows they have not really supported Black candidates in Chicago. And if you are looking for a progressive Harold Washington, you certainly ought to think that he is going to get the Independent Voters League endorsement and votes.

Also, he should probably get some votes from the liberal white silent white community in Chicago.

If things work out, and he's been developing some coalitions with Hispanics, he ought to get a few of those votes. It's going to take all that because you are going to have to balance off the defection of the Black community--and I don't think there is any secret that there is going to be defections in the Black community. How large it is is going to be critical. If that defection can remain at a reasonable level, Harold's chances are much better. If the defection is large, then I would suspect that his chances will go along with those defections. The rest I will leave for question and answers.

BLACK COMMUNITY.

Christopher Reed, University of Illinois

This workshop, one of eight workshops planned today for this conference, is concerned with community involvement in both political and civic activities. My name is Christopher Reed. I am in the Black Studies Program here at the University of Illinois - Chicago. We have Father George Clements of Holy Angels Church, a pastor who is well known to many people because of his concern for the betterment of our people. I was just chatting to Father Clements a minute ago about how he has required those parents with children in Holy Angels to show evidence that they have registered to vote before those children can remain in school. Some criticize him for being too heavy handed in this but many times the horse being thirsty is being brought to water just doesn't know what he is supposed to do. Sometimes it doesn't hurt to sort of bend the head down into the water or take the water into a cup and put it to his lips, Father Clements is doing that in terms of getting us involved in political activity for our own betterment. He is an activist as well as a religious person and we will hear from him in a moment.

On Father Clement's left is Mr. Timuel Black, known as Tim Black, faculty member at City Colleges of Chicago's Loop College. This young gentleman has been very active in his short time on the earth in just about every civic and political campaign that has gone on.

The topic is: Overcoming Black Community Disunity.

Without further ado, let me present Father Clements.

Father Clements, Holy Angel's Church

Thank you very much. I want to greet all you brothers and sisters. I was just given the label of an activist and it seems as though I am always being given some kind of a label something on my head that says what you are. One of the labels that I get is that of being an agitator. I was a little disturbed by that when someone first called me an agitator until I looked up the definition in the dictionary. When I saw what the dictionary said, I was very proud of being an agitator. An agitator is that which stirs things up so that they become clean. O.K., I am an agitator. That is what I would like to see. Integrity and honesty, justice, and if that means I am an agitator, I do not mind it.

Of course, I am also trying to follow in the footsteps of the greatest agitator that ever lived so far as I am concerned and that is my leader, Jesus Christ. He agitated so much until he left here. I do not mind being called an agitator.

I would like for you to get a little bit of understanding of where I am coming from; my position. First of all, I was born right here in the City of Chicago. That always disturbed some of my parishoners. They would say, "Where are you from?" and I would say, "The City of Chicago." "What?" You know everybody is supposed to be from somewhere exotic, you know--Holly Springs (Mississippi) or somewhere. But I am from Chicago, and I have grown up right here. I went to school on 49th and King Drive--it was called South Park--at Corpus Christi. And I graduated from there back in the middle ages in 1945 and, at 13 years old, I went immediately into the seminary. I was ordained 12 years later, went to school at St. Mary's in Mundelein, Illinois.

They trained me well. I really did get a top notch seminary training because I was trained to act upon the adage that a good priest is an obedient priest. And you never saw anybody as obedient as I was. That was back in 1957 when I was ordained; I was totally, totally obedient.

Let me give you an idea of my obedience. We had something that was called the 11:00 rule which meant that you were supposed to be back in the rectory at 11:00 in the evening. And I had a pastor who was an absolute bigot, a tyrant, a dog, or whatever you want to call him. And one of the first things he did was shake his finger in my face when I first arrived and said, "Do not forget about the 11:00 rule." I had been there about six months and I was coming home on the 47th Street streetcar. I got about as far as Vincennes at 47th and it was about 10:53. I jumped off that streetcar and ran down the street and got to St. Ambrose. To this day, I swear that it was about 10:58--two minutes before eleven. And the priest was standing there in the doorway and he said, "You do that again, and you will be sent to your room. You will not be allowed to come out until I tell you, you understand." I said, "Yes, Father."

About four months later, same streetcar, same situation. I went to see my parents in Forrestville. And it was about four minutes to 11:00, and I jumped off that streetcar and ran as fast as I could, and when I got there, he was standing in the doorway. "I told you, young man! Now, you get to your room and you will not be allowed to come out until I tell you to come out, you understand?" I put my head down and I said, "Yes, Father." Three days later he came to my room and said, "Have you learned your lesson, young man?" "Yes, Father." "Well, you may leave."

I say this because nowadays, of course, if any pastor were to say that to his associate, the associate would tell him to go and fornicate

himself immediately. There would be no question about that. It just would not happen. Back at that time that was what was considered the thing to do. My conversion came about in 1968. In 1968, one of the greatest men that ever lived was killed--Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. When he was killed, riots began to erupt. I had all kinds of liberal white friends and we were doing all kinds of things together. By that time, I was intergrating, assimilating and moving--just doing all kinds of things. And my liberal white friends looked and said: "You better stop them niggers from burning down our country." And I said, "Well, you see what happened is they think they are second class citizens and this is their way of trying to show that they are really disturbed by what is going on here." And they said: "We don't care what you are talking about. You just stop those niggers from burning down our country and when that happens then we can turn around and we can discuss these other issues."

It was at that time when I realized what had happened to me. And I went back to the rectory, and I looked in the rectory mirror and the face that came back to me was that of a clergy prostitute. That is exactly what I had become. And I decided from that point on I was going to be what the good Lord put me here to be. I was going to be Black first.

That is what I came in this world as, and all this other stuff can come along after. And I found from that point on that I was not so welcomed in all these surburban settings and so forth where they used to talk about the nice little, sweet Father Clements, and how fine he was and what a wonderful priest he was and all that. All of a sudden, white folks got very disturbed at me because I began to deal in earnest. One of the first things that I decided that had to be done was to get involved

in one of the only groups of Black men in America who are officially allowed to carry guns, the Black police. And so, I grouped the young Black police together, and we formed an organization called the Afro-American Patrolmen's League.

When I did that my superior, Cardinal Cody, called me in and he-- of course, being very polite, fatherly and all that, as they know so well how to do--told me that he was only "looking out for my best interests, and that, really, this is not the road to go down." "Father Clements," he said, "you are dealing with a very sensitive issue, and you must be extremely careful because these men have to work together--Black and White police must work together. And I said, "Well, you see, we just formed an organization that is similar to the Irish Police Association, the Polish Patrolmen's Association, the Italian Police Federation. In other words, it is just another ethnic police group."

And he said, "Yes, son. That is what I am trying to tell you. I am against all those organizations because they put walls around people, and we are supposed to be building bridges." And I said, "Well, Your Eminence, if you will recall, you gave the invocation at the Irish Policemen's Association Banquet." And the man looked at me and he said, "And there are other things you are doing that I do not like."

I think that that really symbolizes the problem that we have because they have no problem at all when whites organize. None whatsoever! None! As a matter of fact, it seems to them that that is the proper thing to do. It is only when we start organizing--when we start getting the Black firefighters' group and the Black postal workers' group and the Black teachers' group and all these things--that there is a problem.

Because then, you know, we are being "subversive," we are being "divisive," and we are being this, that, and all the other things.

But I say to you this afternoon that we have to take a serious look at where we are in this nation, a serious look--because we have a tendency--and I know where it came from, it is a vestage of slavery--we have a passion for coming and severely criticizing anything that we do as a group. There is always that element out there to criticize and try to divide.

I remember so well when Mayor Richard Hatcher ran for office in Gary. There was a large group of white politicians in Gary who put the word out and said, "The community of Gary should vote for the best man. It should disregard his color. Color is irrelevant. Let us put the best possible man in that office." And, there were, of course, some Blacks who listened to that, very gullible you know, because it sounds reasonable, it sounded right. They went ahead, but thank God that there were many more Black people in Gary who had enough sense to not be taken in by that garbage, because after the votes were counted it showed that Mayor Richard Hatcher got one percent of the white vote. Now after all that pious preaching, one percent! One percent!

And I think this is what we talk about when we talk about disunity. What I am saying is let us take a strong, serious look at where we are. If there is one thing that I have found that Caucasians can agree on, and that is that Black people are not to organize. That they can agree on.

I remember an old, old story thold to me about this southern Jonah, a very old man who was on his death bead. He had all of his sons, daughters, grandsons, and granddaughters all around his death bed. The poor man was dying. He had this huge plantation. They said to him, "Papa,

Papa, give us your last words." And the poor old man, he raised up a little bit and he said, "Keep the nigger down!" and he fell back and he died. That may seem like an exaggeration or whatever, but that is the way that Whites keep control and power. They do it by instilling in our children as what we call a fact--that they are born to rule, that they are supposed to rule.

I went from Corpus Christi, a Black school, into a totally white setting in a school called Quigley. I was the only Black student there, and I felt that I was very intelligent. I was surprised when I got there and found out there were a lot of those boys that were smarter than me. But the thing that surprised me more than anything else was to see how so many of the dumb ones were walking around so cocky like they owned the world. And I could not understand that until later on in life when I realized that the legacy that is left to Caucasians is that they are supposed to run it. They are supposed to be in charge. And that is why you have so many Black people around here now, talking about Mayor Washington, that "he can't run no city." They are not going to let no Black man run this city. They say this because we are infested with that kind of scurrilous sort of self hatred that is a vestage of slavery.

What I say to anybody in this city, any Black person who has the gall to let me know that they are going to vote for one of these white candidates over Harold Washington, what I say to them is, "I am going to pray for you, because it is obvious you are sick. Sick! Sick!" And please do not have anybody come telling me something about how we should be free to make our own choice, our own option and all that. That is so much bull. That is all that is. Bull excrement!

We are in a position now to take control of this city. If we don't take control of this city, then we need to get our behinds beat. We need it because we have never been in a position like this. And to say that Chicago can't have a Black mayor--Birmingham has got one, Atlanta has got one, Newark has got one, L.A. has got one--on down the line, it's in city after city. What makes Chicago so different? The only thing that can stop us from electing a Black mayor is that we do not have the intestinal fortitude. That is the only thing that will stop it. I do not mind arguing with anybody on any of these points because I know I am right.

And I feel that Jesus Christ would vote for Harold Washington.

Thanks for listening to me.

Tim Black, Loop College

There is a long history to this struggle we are involved in. The first time I remember seeing Father Clements was August 27 of 1963 when we organized for the historic March on Washington. We were in the old railroad station. There were people piling in like they are going to this election, coming in at the last minute. They had not made up their minds whether they wanted to go because it might be embarrassing but it did come off and turn out to be a success. It might be embarrassing to be a part of something in their view of big wealth. The thing swelled so quickly and so big and I see my good friend Barbara down there and she was a part of this as were a number of them.

I had not even considered putting the possibility forward that the Catholic Church or at least members of the Catholic Church, certainly Black members of the Catholic Church, might be interested in something that had the possibilities of violence or the possibility of seething unrest.

We had a lot of problems of getting coordination of trains and buses. We sent out a very sizeable contingent of people from this city. One of the writers who is a world famous person, Georgeann Guy, was on our train and she was waiting to see the explosion on the train, because of her assumption that this would happen when Black folks got mad like that. They were, in fact, going to be very angry and violent and I remember saying when is the trouble going to start. Look at these Black folk on the train. They are not ready for trouble. They came along for the ride in order to be a part of history. But those trouble makers were back there still making trouble because they were the people who laid the groundwork in

order for us to be on that train going to Washington. They can not afford it. They do not have the money. They are the people who make change, the people who sort of ride in on changes. That was half true. None of that was in the station that day as we were trying to move out. Then came two young priests--Father Brighams and Father Clements--and a group of handsome, magnificent strong looking young men. It was Father Clements who organized a group of young men to go on this historic march. He knew it was in the air and he had organized it. With or without the sanction of his church, they were there and they helped to make that march. From that point on, Father Clements has been a person that I have watched assiduously because in his own way and in within the framework of his own institution, he has made a difference. He is an innovator and creator. He has been courageous. He has been intelligent to know where the parameters are so that he would not be destroyed. So we sit in the presence of a very unusual and in my opinion a very great human being.

FATHER CLEMENTS: Thank you.

TIM BLACK:

That is the kind of attitude and the kind of courage and intelligence that is going to help us overcome Black disunity, the theme of this panel. We do have it; it is being reduced. Having lived a long time, you have the advantage that you can look back in the history as well as make history. And you hope that the history that you help make will move the group in which you happen to be a part a step further, keep them on moving together, amalgamating themselves. I hope we can use history to create coherence and cohesion so that Black people move in a deliberative manner toward a

goal which is necessary in order to survive prejudice that all of us have to fight for survival--that is what we are talking about.

In yesterday's paper, some of you may have read Mike Royko's column. It is classic because it tells it all. It said that "Yes, Black folks, you have registered in massive numbers." And some of us were out there helping register those people that critics said could not be registered. Father Clements told his parishoners: "If you ain't registered, you just can't belong. If your momma and daddy are not registered, I'm sorry you cannot become a good Catholic and therefore, you cannot belong to this Catholic school." And, it was effective. We used various other methods. At Mt. Pisgah, maybe some people consider this rather cruel, but Rev. Wells said to people lining up for free baskets of food, "Go ye; show me your registration card before you get the best." And it was effective. There were those who called me up one morning and said, "There ain't no way you are going to register enough people." And I said, "Well, we are going to be working on it." I was moving forward along with the group that I was a part of, The Peoples Coalition for Voter Registration. There was grave trepedation because some did not feel that we had the unity to bring it off. But we are going to move toward the goal and we are talking about 100,000 new voters. Then we backed away from that and said that when the people are ready, they will make the decision about how many people are going to get registered.

They are going to make the decision on February 22nd on who is going to be the mayor. The people will make that decision. We have something called an organization, and certainly we ought to always have something called the headquarters, and the chairman, and the executive director of

the program. But only when the people have the need and the feeling of confidence will they make the move. What we call apathy and lethargy is the fact that there is an absence of that confidence that there is something possible and something which is necessary that ought to be done.

And so we registered in that period of time--about three months--more than 250,000 new voters, most of them Black.

Two months ago we had another goal. They were put to the test. Most of those people had never voted in their lives. So they went out on November 22nd to test, to look at that thing called the voting operation. Now they may have voted against what you thought was best, but Adlai Stevenson (Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois) would not have even had a prayer had it not been for the voters, for the young people and older ones, who were registered to vote and who came out of despair and hope that something was going to happen for them and for their loved ones.

We then set another goal because we knew we had to go after the hardcore. We had gotten the cream that has been there all the time. There has been a surge of people who are riding on the fence, push them over to the right side of the fence so that we are all in the same yard, or the same ballpark playing the same game. But there are some who are still outside, still very, very hesitant to get involved in the game. We said we are going to some of those and again we went. And last Tuesday the accumulated count was that we had registered again something like over 125,000 new people. We had registered over 100,000 new people, about 70,000 of those were Black. Remember that now we are talking about the hardcore. We are talking about the junkies. We are talking about the alcoholics. We are talking about the one who is loose on her behavior

at several levels. We are talking about people who have reached the very bottom of the pit. We got 70,000 of those kind of people.

If we can hold what we have, and believe me, it will be hard because starting Monday the current administration is going to try to clean the books of these newly registered people because the enemy recognizes that these people are moving towards change; something which is new, something which is honest, something which is dedicated, something which is intelligent. That something is Harold Washington. All of those Black folks did not get registered just to be good citizens. They got registered because they believed that a Black person can be the mayor of the City of Chicago. They do not have sophisticated arguments and the rhetoric of those who discuss "can he run the city?" "Will he?" "What about his taxes?" "Why didn't he pay his bills?" "Nobody pays their bills. I got some bills at home. Who does not have some bills unpaid? Who has not failed to file their income tax. I am not saying that it is right to do it, but sometimes circumstances and the selflessness of a person with conviction forces you to postpone what you ought to do, and then you become afraid to do it. But it should have been done and you are kind of afraid that you might be embarrassed if something is said about it. Public figures ought to be very careful about that kind of thing, particularly if they are Black.

No one talks about the fact that Richard Daley's father persuaded the insurance people to send some insurance business to his son's firm. Over and over and over again, no one questions vigorously how Jane Byrne happened to get a war chest of \$9 million. It is obscene to have a local war chest of \$9 million. Where did she get all of that money?

So, in this election, we have Black folk who are concerned with the major issues of their lives--housing, health, education, recreation, safety, poverty, overcoming ignorance. And some Black people have the assumption and the gall to believe that a White woman or a White man, neither of whom have lived in a housing development or have had relatives who lived there, nor have ever attended the public schools, nor have ever had the aggravation of having the money and not being able to get a doctor to tend to one's ailments, nor have had the experience of having to play stick ball, or make up a basketball basket with a bushel basket in order to have recreation because proper facilities are not available; never have they had to run the risk of getting out of their car and not making it to your door; neither of whom have ever had the strain of watching children on a regular basis who are malnourished--some Blacks have the gall to argue that either of those people has more compassion, understanding and experience to run a city of those kinds of needs than a man who grew up in all of the above.

Father Clements is right. These people must be seriously dealt with. They have some real problems. They do not like Black people. They do not like themselves. It is an insult to our community to believe that a man who grew up on the South Side--whose father was not only a lawyer but also a minister of the AME faith and a politician; who has experienced in his own right, a prejudiced and segregated army, where many of us who qualified could not go to Officer's Candidate School, and became the next best thing, a First Sergeant in the United States Army in the days when we could hardly get into the Air Force; who returned from that Army and became a campus leader in a school that only had about

10% Blacks--Roosevelt University; who went from there to Northwestern University Law School; which is a school of some prestige and who distinguished himself in the state legislature over a period of years--can even be compared to those two White people who are his opponents. Something is wrong with those Black people who do not support Washington. Now we got to vote because they are not going to live over there next to Jane Byrne. And they had better not go there to live next to Daley.

We have a responsibility to not lose sight of the goal. We must persuade, we must carry, we must drag all those Black votes who have registered to the polls. We have the numbers--more than 650,000 Black people are now registered and they want to keep it a secret. What is the total registration for the city? Something like 1,000,500.

Now if Jane Byrne and Richard Daley split the white vote, assuming that every other White person comes out and registers, they would have to split between them about 900,000 votes. If Black folk come out to the percentage of 85-90 percent and cast 80 percent of that vote for Washington--or if we get over 500,000 votes from anywhere, but we got them in our own community--we will be proud to say that Harold Washington is the Mayor of the most corrupt, the most violent, the most segregated city in this nation. We will have the privilege of bragging to our friends that, in fact, we were able to overcome the apathy, the anger, the ignorance, all of those other debilitating elements of our community. And, we were able to overcome the hatred, the bigotry of the white community.

We are going to hear some white folks, but don't ya'll get familiar. If we get 10 percent of the white vote, it will be amazing. The Latinos, who ought to know better, will only give Washington 7 percent of their

vote - because they assume that their future self-interest is with white folks. And that is an error which they will rue the day that they made it. We are not going to get much of the Latino vote, though we are working for it. As Father Clements has indicated, we have to go to vote and rely mainly on ourselves. Why do I say that? Look at our liberal white friends--Marty Oberman, Dawn Clark Netsch, who Harold Washington helped make a leader, in a sense, for the State of Illinois; Ellis Levere, who almost got me killed going to Washington one time because he couldn't drive; Daley, the great liberal on the national level who supported John F. Kennedy, the guy that we helped elect into office, and his other brother, before he was assassinated, could not have done it without us; Mondale, the great Minnesota liberal, we cannot depend on anybody but ourselves. All of these liberals have refused to support Washington. When we read Royko's and Simon's columns and we listen to Walter Jacobson (TV commentator) and others, they are actually reflecting the mood of the White people. Our friends in the White community in this town are not ready to accept a strong Black man. It might be they would do a little more for a strong Black woman. But it is against almost everything that white America, particularly the male belief. Struggle of this nation, the nation that emphasizes male-race and manhood is to be Black men and white men. We need no White men. White women follow what white men dictate. Black women sometimes get misled because of the fact of my assessment of where the power is, people tend to fall where they think the basic decisions that will be lasting happen to be, unconsciously or consciously.

Thus, there is less reverence for the handsome, affluent, blond, white male than there used to be. We are learning the hard way. It was

wrong, but the struggle for power in this nation is between Black folk and White folk surely. But the focal point of that power is Black males and White males, and we must begin to understand that because our children see it and are affected by it. Until we can set the kind of role model into high office that Harold Washington represents, that Andy Young represents, that all of those leaders across the country and over in Oakland, California where they are having great success in the Black community; and in Pasadena where they are having great success with a Black woman mayor--until we have those role models, how can we ask our children to be good to pray, to work hard because everything is going to be all right when the successful role model does not look like them at all.

Thank you very much.

Christopher Reed

Thank you very much.

Let me give you a short summary of what has been said today here and in some of the other sessions. And then you will be encouraged to ask questions of the two presenters, and to make short comments.

By way of summary, let me say this. We have been listening to the two presenters who have been made more aware of how we are moving very positively toward a heightening consciousness. We are seeing, in fact, a mass activism in the form of electoral participation. That is all good.

What we have been hearing at the other sessions ties into this. There is a great deal of organization, positive organization, going on in the Black community. We saw that in getting people out to register to vote, and in the actual voting. They came alive on October 5, and they voted on November 22nd. People will vote on February 22nd. Participation is there. For example, whatever your ideological background, I think we all have to agree that electoral politics is important--whether it is a tactic, a means to an end or in fact, an end in itself. There is no denying that. We should not have to worry about too many comments from the floor or any speeches on this.

Yesterday's sessions led me to a position to believe that we are going to start ignoring Water Jacobson on television, and in the Sun-Times, we have to ignore Mike Royko, Roger Simon and Basil Talbert (all columnists); we are going to ignore the Tribune Granger, Wedrick and Axelrod. What we are going to do is start looking in the mirror and we are going to tap our brains, if necessary, and start looking, thinking, and doing for self.

I think this session has contributed to the overall pattern that has come out of this conference of showing Black people and others who come here that we are on the move. This is just a battle. In fact, the successful conclusion on February 22, when we get the vote totals will just be a dress rehearsal not even the full steps toward winning the war. We got a lot of work to do once Washington gets in. We will have those wards where we didn't get aldermen in and will have to work two years from now to get aldermen in.

We have got to make sure that the power brokers don't try to squeeze Harold Washington as the power brokers in other cities have squeezed Andy Young and Maynard Jackson in Atlanta. This came out from last night's session. Gibson has been squeezed in Newark, as Baraka told us. We know that Marion Barry has been squeezed in Washington. We have got to march right along with our new mayor on February 23rd as we help protect him and he helps and serves us. Let me silence myself and let us go out to the audience for questions.

BLACK COMMUNITY

Questions and Answers

PROFESSOR LUCIUS BARKER

It is well known that the two dailies downtown--The Tribune and The Sun Times- gave exceeding coverage to the white candidates, and backhand, unusually bad coverage to the Black candidate. My question is what about the Defender and its coverage and its possible future endorsements. Do you have any ideas on that?

TIM BLACK

Traditionally, for a long time, the Defender has been controlled at certain periods by the regular organizations. If you notice their endorsements, their endorsements pretty well follow the candidates of the regular organizations. They are in a bind, and a service that some of you can perform is to move them away from the bind, or at least keep them in a bind, by writing to their editorial board and to the publisher, John Sengstacke, demanding that he support and that they support Harold Washington. Demand that, because it is our community--the readership which keeps the paper alive. And they owe us, regardless of their other kinds of obligations, if they are going to stay in business even with the enemy, it ought to be because they can sell some newspaper. A little note asking, demanding, that they support Harold Washington is important. If we don't do that, the pressure is going to be on them to find a way to support Jane Byrne. The rest of our newspapers are more free, but the Defender is the one that is best known and has the most prestige. The mayor is going to pull out every stop.

Do you know that I would be surprised if just the last few days, those of us who have been demanding to have a Black Chancellor over the City Colleges of Chicago for a long time that she will not give us one of them who looks like us. Thus, some of us should beat that game by demanding not any old Negro, a real Negro.

COMMENT

I wanted to verify what Tim Black was saying a few minutes ago. Having been in broadcasting for 15 years, I know what is generally done. It does put the Chicago Defender in a bad position. Jane Byrne can go to their sponsors and, if they are buying ad space in the Defender, she can tell them not to. If they then don't buy space in the paper, the Defender is not going to be able to function very well. There is a possibility that she can get to them and the Defender has to take a back seat in deciding its own endorsement policy.

QUESTION

In Washington, D. C., as we heard last night, the white candidate looked better than the Black incumbent. Are you for Blacks no matter how bad he is? And is the question of Black disunity larger than whether one votes for Harold Washington?

FATHER CLEMENTS

Your question about Black disunity, I really didn't understand it. Would you rephrase it?

SAME SPEAKER

It is a question of overcoming Black Community Disunity, the name of the workshop! Apparently this has been spoken of only in terms of voting for Harold Washington. My question is: is the question of Black community disunity larger than whether one votes for Harold Washington?

FATHER CLEMENTS

Obviously, it is larger. We are focusing in on that because February 22nd is just a few days away and that is on everyone's mind. But the whole question of Black Disunity is a question today because of an institution called slavery. That particular institution is a way in which Whites were able to keep control over us was to keep us disunited. I remember so well the scene in "Gone With the Wind" when the slaves were out in the cotton field and the sun was going down and the Black overseer was on a horse, overseeing the whole process. One of the slaves stood up and said, "Quittin' time! Quittin' time!" and the Black overseer rode over there and started beating him and saying, "What is wrong with you nigger? You know I am supposed to be the one who says 'quittin' time.'" And then he said, "Quittin' time. Quittin' time." And that to my mind symbolizes the whole struggle that we are in. Because while we are doing that, master's up there on the veranda, with his punch and his whatever and looking over the whole process. Were the slaves ever to realize that the thing to do was to unite, then the man couldn't sit up there on that porch and control all of them.

One of the ways in which we can unite our community as Tim Black said, is to put people in responsible positions wherein we can look to them as role models. And I could never be able to say to my son that you have

role model in Jane Byrne or Richie Daley.

TIM BLACK

Let me repeat what Father Clements said. In my opinion, disunity, at this point, is a greater problem. The way in which to bring about the unity is through some agent or agents. We believe Harold Washington, at this point, will be the best agent around which to galvanize the community to deal with disunity around specific issues. What about Harold Washington taking the leadership and going to D.C. to begin to talk with us and bringing large numbers of us with him. Jane Byrne would not do that. Richard Daley would not do that. And so, unity and unanimity begin to come to fore because you have an agent established that can bring hope that the job can be done.

QUESTION

I wanted to address this lady's comment about Sears or the other White corporations that may pull their support away from the Defender. I feel that Black people who shop at Sears and all the other businesses that advertise in the Defender can use their status to mobilize and put pressure on those people. We could boycott and not bother with these stores. In effect, if they retaliate against the Defender, then we don't have the freedom of our own press, and we know we don't have the freedom in their press. If we could get 100 letters to the corporate president of Sears, they will not only keep buying ads in the Defender, they will increase their support of the Defender.

JAMES ROBERTS

Father Clements, I can only concur and agree with your use of the legacy of slavery I have been involved in higher education where we struggled with this campus and opened up opportunities for minority students. It is now very interesting that, 10 years later, many of the same students have gone through this program who are now doctors and now asking that I be fired from the university. It is very interesting and dynamic. The same people who you find, train and develop--you pay their rent and bring them along to help them--now they are driving their Mercedes and the whole bit and see me now as a problem.

But I told them that I am going to deal with that. It is something that I see more and more is connected to the legacy of slavery. That is my comment.

My question regards the Black legislators who came out and endorsed Jane Byrne the other day. How are we going to deal with this type of nonsense? Do you see, after this election, that these types of people will have to be dealt with in terms of getting them out of office and putting other people in?

TIM BLACK

Victory is absolutely paramount for us to have any leverage or discipline over these people. If we do not come very close to victory, we will have let off not only them, but others who are now marginal and have not met our demands. The ones with spines like Alderman Tim Evans and others, they will be morbid. Guys like Alderman Danny Davis will be heroes and leaders and be the dean of the city council. These Whites on

the periphery of the Black Community, who have large constituencies, will have to shape up; however, that doesn't matter because we will have to ship them out anyway. What is wrong with us? No other group will tolerate the way selected politicians have treated our communities.

To summarize: This victory will make a tremendous difference. The ripple effect will make everyone feel good that a good hunk of this disunity will psychologically disappear because it will be proven that the almost impossible has become not only possible and realizable, but a fact.

FATHER CLEMENTS

There is an extremely important dynamic taking place right now: we have not called the roll and we are supposed to be calling the roll. We are suppose to know who are the Blacks in our community who are working on Richard Daley's campaign. I need to know who is in Jane Byrne's campaign. If we do not call the roll, then the audacity that they are displaying will go without response whatsoever and that should not be allowed. We need to know who the people were in the community who are willing to castrate that community.

SPEAKER FROM AUDIENCE

After this election, the Black community will go through a revolutionary change--not evolutionary but revolutionary. We have got to know our enemies. It is incredible to see some living right next to us. At first it was hard to understand what Malcolm X was saying when that revolution went down in China. A lot of Uncle Tom Chinese had to be

dealt with and that is confronting a lot of us now. Remember Malcom X saying, "Those who want their freedom--Stand Up. The people who are left still sitting down, you are going to have to !" There are some real activists in this election, because some dynamics have been set in motion. There are a lot of young people watching us. A lot of young people are watching and this is the absolute critical point in time of history and it is critical that we do not lose this opportunity.

QUESTION

What are some key examples of black unity from the past and why do you think these movements worked?

TIM BLACK

If we look even at Chicago, we have had some key successes in unity. One example is the struggle against Hanrahan, the State's Attorney responsible for the attacks on the Panther's in the 60's. There were many people supporting Hanrahan and would not give him up. All kinds of things went into supporting Hanrahan. And yet there were few people speaking out against the dastardly deeds that man was responsible for. We were able to get that kind of psychological unity and Hanrahan was beaten. That was unity that was not well organized, but that was an attempt to organize.

On Jane Byrne: Four years ago she had no organization and had no money. And some of us were traveling the route with her. I supported Jane Byrne. I did not like her, knew she was a shrew, but that was not the point. The point was to try to upset the regular Democratic organization. If I had to do it again, I would do it that way: to upset them and to

prove to Black people that the organization could be beaten. I saw young people standing out in the cold watching the trains and buses pass by going to the White community. They said, "There has got to be some changes." I knew the brothers and sisters were ready.

I said to them that when election time comes, we can do something about this. And we just did it that way--on the streets, in the churches, wherever. In that very disorganized way of organizing, we became organized and we became unified. When we went to the polls, everybody knew what was going to happen. Bilandic was not going to be mayor the next day. It was clear what was going to happen. We have had those examples. I could go across the country--places like Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Oakland, Newark and Cleveland--to see examples of unity. There was unity when Stokes was elected some years ago.

All of those indicators give examples of the possible.

FATHER CLEMENTS

I have seen this city come alive and one of the times I remember so well is when Congressman Ralph Metcalfe came out so strongly against police brutality and so many people in the Black community were just fed up. We had a big rally at Mt. Pisgah Church. Metcalfe got up there and got everyone stirred up. The Black community was so stirred up until Mayor Richard Daley, who had put Metcalfe in that position, got furious and said he would kick him out - he would get him out of office. He then unleashed all the forces of the machine to try to get rid of Metcalfe and the Black community consolidated behind him because of the stand that he had taken against police brutality and they stood with him.

Another time I recall so well is when Mayor Daley died. The president pro tem--who happened to be a Black man, Wilson Frost--was supposed to take that chair by their rules. We had a meeting out on 63rd Street at Roberts Motel. We were all stirred up down the line-- Black people of all different persuasions were also stirred up. We all told Wilson Frost that we were behind him. He told us that he was going to march into that fifth floor and sit in that mayor's chair because it belonged to him by right. All that he needed was for us to back him up. And we left. I was walking on clouds because I knew the day had come. Well, the fact is that Wilson Frost did not really have those feelings whatsoever and he did not think the Black people were going to support him and he cut a deal.

MODERATOR

All sessions that have been held will be put in print. If you want to order the proceedings before leaving the building, check at the desk on the 2nd floor and find out how you can get them. The morning session dealt with the main instances of Black independent actions in Chicago going back to 1955 when Daley was put in by Dawson who had the support of Black folks. Daley got in because Kennelly was dumped. Kennelly was the man who did not protect Blacks who wanted to live in Trumbull Park and other places like Park Manor in Chicago. The Black community through Dawson dealt Kennelly a blow and that brought on Daley, an unknown for the most part in 1955. There were other instances of united action. I encourage you to get the proceedings because throughout yesterday and today all of this has come out.

We are the same race that had two senators and 22 or 23 representatives. We are assuming this is unity. We are the same people who had a million people in Colored Farmers Alliance over 100 years ago. We are the same people that joined the Knights of Labor over 100 years ago. We did a lot of things that we just do not give ourselves credit for and we have to give ourselves credit some times.

QUESTION

After Harold Washington is elected, and I believe he will be, what can we hope for our community in the form of decent education?

TIM BLACK

That happens to be my field. The first hearing which Harold Washington had in his district was on education. His proposal is to pass the power of making decisions by the school board on somewhere else--preferable to an elected school board. Another factor is decentralization. And third, and most important factor, is finance. If you heard his latest speeches, it is a fact of the constitution of the State of Illinois that the state is supposed to fund the public school with what you called full funding--at least 51%. They are up to about 49%, but those two percentage points could make the difference in millions and millions of dollars.

FATHER CLEMENTS

Another thing that I feel very strongly about is this. We have thousands and thousands of students in our city college campus--Black

students. We have an arch-racist who has run that institution for years and years--a man who hates Black people. His name is Oscar Shabat-- he hates Black people. If a mayor gets into Chicago who is black--if Harold Washington gets in--I'm sure he will accelerate the exit of that man. We happen to have another man who is right here in the room now who would make an excellent choice as his successor--Dr. Edward Malcolm-- who stood up as a man out of that Dawson Skills Center and Shabat did not want him in there. There is a group of us who are trying to get him as Shabat's successor. But Shabat is going to go!

QUESTION

Now that we have gotten massive voter registration, what can we do on a community level to insure that (1) they do go out and vote, (2) they vote for Harold Washington and (3) what do we do to protect them from the psychological apparatus that Mayor Byrne and Daley will use to get their vote?

FATHER CLEMENTS

I am a firm believer in taking the Black community as it is, not as we would like for it to be. What is it that we do--we love to turn on WVON, WGCI, WBMX and we will have that on for hours and hours all day long. We need to get to those disc jockeys and we need to tell them to get active, to get busy pushing the Harold Washington campaign, constantly pushing over those airways.

We need to also get in and let Sengstacke and let the Chicago Defender know that we are going to support him if he comes out strongly for Harold Washington--that he is not going to be out there on that limb

by himself because I know that is the feeling that is there. "I'll get out there and there will be no one there to back me." We need to do those kinds of things.

Taking the Black community as it is means that we acknowledge that there are a lot of people in the Black community that people here in this room wouldn't want to be seen in the same proximity with, but those people are part of the Black community to and we need to drop this thing of a caste system within our community and let all these people know that we mean it when we say "brothers and sisters"--that we really do mean it! O.K., say you are not going to do the kind of things that maybe I think you ought to do, but you are still Black, you are still my brothers and sisters and we need to get together and put this man in office. Those are some of the psychological things.

TIM BLACK

From the activist level do you know that the Bingo games have more people sometimes than some of the churches? The Bingo games have large numbers of people. Even if you hand made some material and reproduce it in your own way. Don't wait for someone else to do a lot of things. Just go and do it yourself. Pass out some kind of little handwritten leaflet with an issue or a message on it.

The local disc jockeys who have the most impact sometimes they are in the tavern and being an old tavern goer, it is my proposal that you can have them say somethings in between spinning those records that would have a great deal of influence on people. Those are little practical things.

On February 22 or before February 22, find out where the training office is. We have 10 offices across the city. Find out where one is and get trained to give a full day or good part of a day doing precinct work. Those rascals will steal this election! Did you know that? They will steal it! They have started already. You know how they have started? They have 200,000 absentee ballots already out. Why do they have so many out? They are already picking up absentee ballots that are already voted in various housing developments. They are not playing and we should not be playing either.

We have to devise every possible means to get out the vote. The easiest method is the one to one contact with your neighbor or someone you know. That kind of intimacy usually is most effective. That is what the precinct captain is all about.

QUESTION

This question is asked out of the background of trying to learn the lesson of what is out there as we go along trying to elect a Black mayor. Two questions I want to ask: The first one is to Professor Black. How can you as a citizen participating in the registering of people, how did you identify these people? Give us some of your techniques-- lessons that we can learn to carry into the future as to how we can identify and register people, the methods, logistics, etc.? The second question is this: Trying to understand the dynamics of what goes on, I am thinking about a young attractive, Black politician that I heard on the radio the other night defending Jane Byrne. I do not know much about him personally but I had seen him on the scene before--NAACP meetings and everywhere you had something Civil Rights he was there.

He sounded very articulate, highly educated and sophisticated. It was such a big surprise, realizing this historic contest of trying to elect Harold Washington, I thought that he should have been sophisticated enough to come down on the right side. My question is: what powers do these people have to get to somebody like that and to win them over? I am trying to understand the psyche that he had under these circumstances, the fact that he has to face the Black community, live in the Black community, he has children. Help us to understand this so that we can gain experience and lessons for our future practice.

TIM BLACK

I know who you are talking about--Larry Bullock. Larry Bullock is a very articulate, bright and attractive young man. But I am not surprised because what we have in terms of the model of Larry Bullock is unfortunately a guy who believes that the road to the promise land is laden with white stones. He is like many of our other young men--that is the reason we have to beat them--an opportunist. We have had religious Prostitutes following in the category of political prostitutes. Larry and I get along well--we talk. I have known Larry for a long time. He asked me in his first campaign to be the chairman of his citizen committee and we broke rather vigorously and I was so infuriated that as small and as old as I am, and as big and as strong as he is, I was prepared to do battle because there was an insidious insult to my integrity and my intelligence. He is a smooth operator and has become smoother since that time.

There is a personal issue involved also. He feels that he will be the next Congressman from the First Congressional District if he

supports who he believes is going to be the winner - that winner will have to support him for that post. I think he is whistling Dixie in the dark, but that is what he believes when he knows that if Harold is elected, that it will be unlikely that he will have the post. He is a very ambitious, aggressive young man. The mayor can offer him something.

He is functioning not on principles, but being a creature of the moment. We can ask that same question about others. Why is Cecil Partee, who is bright and already rich and has lived out of the fullness of this life--why would he not say "I must give leadership and support Washington."?

In the registration process, we went where the people were. We went to bread lines; we went to the unemployment compensation place; we went to the Welfare station and we just registered people. Father Clements had a captive audience in his church. He had a big festival and had a registration table. Some people went and knocked on doors and said "come on out of here and register." Now we are at a time where they have to vote. We have to knock on those doors, talk on those churches, wherever we have a forum, whenever you go to a party, don't let the people play bridge too long. Just tell them we need to talk about these issues which is the paramount issue of our community in this century. And so we have to tell them, nag them, cajole them, argue with them, listen to the insane talk about, "Is he qualified?"--we got to deal with that. Don't be mad, just be cool because you are going to win the battle because he is real and most of us do have some sense.

Play to their judgement, to their race pride. Roman Puchinski got 95% of the Polish vote when he ran a few years ago. 95%--they do not give a hoot about qualification, they were just Polish. We have to

somehow instill that feeling which can be dangerous of nationalism in us. That Black history is in fact beautiful. Thank you.

QUESTION

The title of this workshop is Overcoming Community Disunity and we are dealing with the mayoral campaign right now. In terms of the long run, I think that what we need to--meaning those few actively concerned people--be about addressing the weakest link in the Black community which is the Black male. I think we need to plan a strategy around building Black men and I think in the long run, as we begin to address these kind of issues in the future, we will have taught our youngsters what it is to be Black, Christian or whatever, and then we can deal with things from a position of unity and cultural oneness that we should have.

MODERATOR

I am President of a Black Club which supports Nancy Jefferson, Chairperson of the Midwest Community Council. She took over 100 young men who need the number one thing that all of us need--jobs--to a job site less than a month ago at Five A.M. where they stood all day until a large percentage of them got jobs. The Midwest Community Council and other organizations are addressing those long term problems. My suggestion would be support your local organizations although the meetings may be long, the speeches may be boring, and they always have a lot of work to do. That's what you have to do--get your hands dirty. That's the whole thing.

FATHER CLEMENTS

One of the primary things that we have to realize when we talk about Black males is this: the Black male has to accept responsibility for his actions. And there are too many irresponsible Black males out here who produce life on this earth and walk away from it leaving some woman to take care of it. That is one of the first duties that a lot of Black men have to bear in mind. There are too many of us who will condemn and denounce women who are on ADC (welfare) and will say absolutely nothing at all about those dogs who talk about having a notch in their belt about how they scored. Somewhere along the line we are going to have to bring them to task because that's one of the worse cancers in the Black community: what they are doing to our family life, our family life structure and very few people are saying anything to these men about this, and somebody should. As far as Black males are concerned, we also have to tell them that as long as they go out here and have Black on Black crimes, we are going to, as Black people, be fragmented because they are doing nobody any good rotting away in these jails that these White folks built for us.

QUESTION

For the most part, most of the questions and responses have been toward Harold Washington and registering new people at the hard core I have no problems with that. But in my recent working on polls in November, I found a lot of our people who were registered, who came to vote, who stood in the lines and whose names had been pulled off the voting rolls. What is the reasonable period of time for a registered

voter to be registered? That is the information that we need. A lot of people feel that once they are registered to vote, it is forever. That is not true. In November, people who were residents and had been registered to vote, whose names previously had appeared on the poll sheets--and I am not talking about one or two--but many cards were pulled out of the binders.

TIM BLACK

That is another factor in wanting to get a mayor who is favorable to not depriving people of their electoral rights. The Election Commission and judges are positions that come under the Chicago mayor's office. Obviously, if the mayor is endangered because the registration is increasing, it is to her advantage to get some of those people off the rolls. As to which of these people will come off, it is difficult to say. They will select by picking particular districts. People who are not legitimately registered, however, should not be on the roll, only those who are legitimately registered should be on the roll.

On Monday some of us will be meeting with members of the Election Commissioners and we will get some answers to these questions.

FATHER CLEMENTS

One last comment, do not be surprised, if after all this, Jane Byrne and Richard Dailey kiss and make up because if they find out that we are really serious and that the Black community is united, and they will bury their differences.

Building Coalitions
Robert Starks
Northeastern Illinois University

Robert Starks, Professor, Center for Inner Cities Studies, Northeastern Illinois University. Let me introduce our speakers in the order they will appear.

Anderson Thompson is a professor of history at Northeastern Illinois University's Center for Inner City Studies. Slim Coleman heads the Heart of Uptown Coalition and the All Chicago City Newspaper. Bob Lucas is the chairman of the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization. Our final speaker will be Arturo Vasquez of the Pilsen Housing and Business Alliance.

The purpose of this panel is to explore the means and the process necessary to build strong coalitions, to maintain coalitions and to try and move the city forward. There have been numerous attempts on the part of Blacks, Latinos, and Whites to build coalitions outside of the Democratic Party. But all of those coalitions have been stalled by the Democratic Party and the structure of this city. Historically, the only way in which poor people and people who are powerless get anything done is to coalesce together. In terms of mayoral politics, the best recent example of a coalition is the situation in San Antonio, Texas in 1980, when Mr. Cisnosis won the mayor's office in San Antonio with the support of a coalition of Blacks, Latinos, and poor Whites. The white power structure that dominated the city of San Antonio, was squarely against the candidacy of Mr. Cisnosis, but he won because he pulled together a coalition like the coalition we're trying to pull together under the banner of Harold Washington.

Recently, Rev. Jesse Jackson had some high level meetings with the leaders of the oldest Latino organization in the country. They have agreed to

continue that dialogue so that for the first time that there is a joint movement on the part of two of the major civil rights activist organizations in this country. Operation PUSH on one side and the Latin American on the other.

We will start this session with Anderson Thompson.

As a member of this panel, we were asked to address ourselves to the question: what are the important reasons for building coalitions. It states that there are organizations in coalitions, people in coalitions, and neighborhoods in coalitions. We are supposed to comment on the negative and positive lessons of coalitions. Further, the question is asked: how does race, nationality/ethnicity and class operate in shaping efforts to build and sustain coalitions in a city like Chicago. And then, of course, what do you think the future holds for building coalitions.

I want to address myself to the various forms of coalitions. I want to speak of Black formations that have in them various organizations that call for coming together in a kind of coalitional fashion. This has been my experience in the Congress of African Peoples, the African Liberation Day Committee, and the African Liberation Support Committees. These were made up of various organizations in the 1970s.

Although the National Black Political Assembly was not supposed to have been a coalition, it involved many interest groups which in some ways shaped its future. As a member of the National Black Independent Political Party, (NBIPP) that question of the use of coalitions was a real problem for us in 1980 when the question of what the relationship of NBIPP to the National Black United Front (NBUF) would be. This is still a question that is being asked. I can give you more of a history of these organizations during the discussion period.

I could speak to the question of Black coalitions, But, on the other hand, we have White and Black coalitions. I have not had hands-on experience in working with Black/White coalitions. I have been around them but I have not been as instrumental as I have been in terms of Black coalitions. Perhaps, we also have a third category--white coalitions--which I know absolutely nothing of, except for what I read about, and that is how various groups have managed to maximize.

I think all coalitions come together around an emphasis on maximizing some kind of interest, whatever it is. And whether or not they achieve that goal is a matter to be evaluated in terms of the particular issue at hand. In this present election for the mayor of the city of Chicago, I don't know if we have coalitions, in that sense. We certainly have cooperation and we have involvement and participation. But, as to whether or not we have coalitions perhaps that remains to be seen. As a result of this discussion, we should have some better idea of what we really mean when we talk about having coalitions, and be able to conclude whether or not we have one now.

It is my opinion, however, that when we talk about Black/White coalitions, both in terms of the national history of Blacks in America as well as some of our local experiences, we have not had too much success in Chicago. And, nationally, even if we go back to 1830 and work up to the present, you would find that we have not had too much success with Black/White coalitions. And without any research -- just mainly my readings and even more so my opinions -- I would say that most of the coalescing takes place around Black issues, within the Black community or whenever Blacks are attempting to achieve some measure of redress.

Therefore, it is very difficult to say whether or not the coalition contributed to these failures or whether or not the goals themselves were

unattainable. If we are talking about reform movements, and I don't want to speak of electoral politics as being purely reformist, then I am quite relaxed in talking about any kind of coalition. It is really not that significant since a reform movement is generally one that will bring some change — a form of change that probably involves not a complete value change in a given society, but just some of the necessary movements that will make it possible for people to exist in a more satisfactory manner. I look upon traditional politics as a reformist activity, although at this point in my life, I find myself fighting to get somebody elected as a mayor. Therefore, I am trying to establish where I stand because, as the representative of the National Black Independent Political Party, we do not accept the Democratic Party or the Republican Party as being legitimate struggle for Black people.

But given the reality of how this election is going here in Chicago, and perhaps in other places across the country, but especially the one here, it has manifested itself in a movement. Thus, we have no other recourse but to participate and support and give every ounce of our energy to achieve the goals that our people, at this point, perceive to be the correct path. In the process of electing Harold Washington mayor of the city of Chicago, I would personally support any type of coalition effort that can be mustered. But, once again, I would like to point out that we have not had that much success in any kind of coalitions in this city. When I look at groups, we have had some help from whites and help from organizations. But in terms of groups coming together and agreeing to mutually support each other in terms of achieving very significant goals, I don't have any evidence. Maybe that can be corrected in this session.

The fire and enthusiasm of the Harold Washington election was spurred not so much by the man Harold Washington. I believe that there was that kind of

enthusiasm before we even knew who the Black candidate for mayor of Chicago would be. This campaign needs the coming together of as many forces as we can bring together organizations in the City of Chicago, we have to consider the white coalitions that already exist, if one recognizes that particular distinction -- "white coalitions."

When we look at the city of Chicago which is owned by a particular group of ruling elite, as social scientists call them, the question of managing the city, which is what one would speak of when one speaks of having a mayor, is a matter of some kind of coalitional effort. For example, Bridgeport, which represents the Eastern European and "the" Irish stronghold of Chicago, has some kind of coalitional arrangement with the Italians, other Irish, the Polish and other ethnic groups. And in dividing up the spoils or the benefits that are derived from holding political office and managing a system that is owned by yet other people, I think whites can form mutually satisfying coalitions that make it possible for them to maximize their interest in this city.

We see it everyday. In fact, the building of this university--the University of Illinois at Chicago--was a coalitional effort in terms of contracts and all the necessary benefits that go into building and bringing about services for a city. We have had coalitions where groups in power have had to accept each other's presence in order to achieve what they are about to do, and that is take the taxpayer's money, and spread it out and allocate it among themselves for the kinds of things they want. We have had very successful coalitions in this respect.

But any effort on the part of an oppressed group to achieve its independence or some measure of relief from the oppression on them, in my view, has not had success with respect to coalition. As I stated, this may not have anything to do with the coalition, but it may have something to do with the effort of the group to free itself.

With respect to the mayoral race that is now taking place, I would guess that the majority of the Hispanics will probably support either Daley or Byrne. That's my judgment. When it comes to the majority of whites in the City of Chicago, I believe they will either support Daley or Byrne. What we would have left would be a fraction of the white community if we are talking about coalescing with that group. That group is generally the reformists--they call them, take-front liberals here--they have already mapped out an agenda for the Black community and have had it for sometime now. There would be no difficulties in having some kind of coalitional activities with the so-called reformist whites because they have an agenda for the Black community.

And generally, this is what we find when we have coalitions if we are going to have them with groups that are non-Blacks. Generally, they bring to the Black community some kind of agenda that in the long run will not benefit Blacks. I am speaking generalizations and perhaps in the question and answer period we can add some specifics to this discussion. But that's about all I have to say with respect to coalitions. Thank you.

Building Coalitions

Robert Lucas
Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization

I would just like to tell everybody who I am, though it is not terribly important. I happen to be the Executive Director of the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization, known as KOCO.

There has been a lot of talk up to this point about coalitions, as it should have been in as much as that is what we are here for. I submit to you, everybody in the audience and at this table, to the extent that we don't build coalitions in this town, we are doomed. It is going to be in our best interest to do that, in spite of the difficulties, if we are going to survive.

First, I would like to just briefly look at coalitions in a historical sense. Some of you are probably more familiar with history of the Republicans than I am. I didn't get a chance to reread materials I had read previously, but I think it was in the 1800s and 1900s, the Republicans were a great movement particularly in the south, known as the Populist Movement. As a matter of fact, some of you may recall Mayor Byrne four years ago had the audacity to call herself a populist mayor. What was she talking about? What she was trying to say, was that she represented all the common people with the common kinds of struggles. Of course! Nothing could have been further from the truth.

The reason why the populist movement did not survive into the 1900s, was that it was not in the best interest of the aristocrats in the South and the capitalist industrialists in the North. Therefore, they put their propaganda machines to work, and whites were told in the South that if you keep mingling

with Blacks in any kind of equal movement or anything that looks like parity, your women are going to be raped, Blacks will end up with all your jobs, etc. That campaign was waged so intensely that finally the aristocrats of the South and the industrialists of the North were able to drive a wedge between the races. And this existed to a large extent up until the 1970s, and really up into the civil rights movement that some of us were involved in in the South.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, by this kind of historical perspective I will cover all the questions that were raised in the letter sent out to us by the conference organizers.

After World War II, I had not been in the city very long. But I remember having a job over at the Pennsylvania Freight House, or the Pennsylvania Freight Station. During that time, jobs were plentiful in the city and one could always go down to the Pennsylvania Freight Station or Freight House, to the steel mills, to the stockyards, or other places to get a job. It so happens that I ended up down at the Pennsylvania Freight House on Polk Street. Being much younger than I am now, I was concerned about behavior of the races. Sometimes, at least it appeared to me, people consciously worked not to get along. This is how it appears to me to be over the years.

I noticed the separation of the Irish were in fact running the freight station. You had a number of Polish people down there and then you had a lot of Blacks. The whole job of the Irish, and I am not intending to offend anyone of the Irish background in the room, please believe me, but the whole purpose of the Irish was to get the Blacks and the Polish fighting. They wanted to keep up the dirty work so they could run the operation. And the Irish were successful with that. I remember making an attempt to talk to some of the Polish workers down

there to no avail. I finally was able to talk to four or five Blacks and we decided that we would approach the Superintendent's office the next morning at 8 o'clock. When it was time for us to go I looked around and I didn't see the other two guys, but I went on anyway. The superintendent listened to me very carefully and agreed with me that my gripes were correct and he was going to do something about it. However, after I left his office, he picked up his phone and when I got back down to my work station, I was fired.

My argument is that the system has consciously worked to keep the races separated. If one would look at the history of the city and go back to World War I, at that time Europe was involved in the war and the people from Eastern Europe were not able to come into the country. Therefore, the industries, particularly in steel and the meat packing, went south and brought Blacks up here by the thousands and even in open railroad cars. After the war, the story is there for you to see. Things went back to business as usual and although the Blacks were needed during the war because they couldn't get the Eastern Europeans into do the dirty work, they went back to business as usual. The city fathers, the industrialists, and the businessmen consciously got involved with the campaign to keep the races separated.

Someone said this afternoon that he "didn't recall of any coalitions in this town working." That is not quite true and I don't think he meant it that way. I will agree with the panelist that most coalition efforts in Chicago have failed. But some have worked, as some of you might recall, particularly the Coordinating Council for Community Organizations, also known as CCCO. The main purpose for the Coordinating Council for Community Organization was to integrate the schools. And some people today may have some problems with that, but I

contend--that if we don't make an effort to live in some sort of pluralistic society, it is going to be too bad for all of us. In that sense, sometimes in the face of hostility in my own community, I am still an advocate of a pluralistic society. I don't see how anybody can call themselves human persons and civilized and can think in any other direction.

As I said, the whole purpose of the CCCO was to integrate the schools. Early on we learned that the reason why they wanted to be integrated, was because of school superintendent Ben Willis. At that time, the board really didn't function as a policymaking body. The chief administrator made the policy and the board just went along with it. And CORE, SNCC, and the Catholic Interracial Council teaches integrated students. But anyway the coalition of a council federation however you look at it was successful. It was successful not in integrating the school, but it was successful in driving out Ben Willis and it was successful in raising the whole question about integrated education and poverty education to the level where people had to look at the schools for the first time in the history of the city, or at least for the first time to that extent. You will agree with me that the debate is still building.

Slim Coleman and I are in a group called the Chicago Rehab Network. The Network was organized around 1976 as a coalition for the purpose of providing technical assistance to small community organizations, though it really didn't have the resources to provide the technical assistance. This coalition has worked at times--it has been rather stormy and thorny but we have stayed together since 1976.

We have accomplished a great deal in this time in terms of rehabing housing units. I can suggest to you that as a result of the Chicago Rehab

Coalition we have indeed, more housing units than the Chicago Housing Authority. The organization that I am involved with has some hundred and fifty-five units, and there are a more than two hundred units on the west side. The point I am making is that the Chicago Rehab Coalition has been successful.

Let me just talk a little bit about what I think we have to do in the future. We came out of the Civil Rights struggle and around 1978. For whatever reasons, I think that a lot of Blacks got involved in what I call "escapist politics." I guess this kind of language is one of the reasons why sometimes I am somewhat unpopular; I tend to speak my mind. I think that at times you have to; it takes a lot of courage to speak your mind. I think that it is especially important people take revolutionary positions. Revolutionary positions are always initially unpopular. But as time goes on the people tend to catch up with the revolutionary positions.

I would like to read a short passage from the Manifesto for the American Revolutionary Party.

To some extent, this is the position of the coalition or organization which grew out of its document--the National Organization for an American Revolution. It is indeed a multinational organization with Blacks in leadership. I don't agree with everything in this document. But I am a sympathizer. I think that in terms of what I am trying to present here, there is not a more inappropriate paragraph I could read. It reads:

Racism is used to justify all kinds of anti-social behavior. And Black Nationalism which was once progressive because it challenged Blacks to give up their slave or victim mentality, has become reactionary. What it does now is to create paranoia and an escapist of mentality, particularly among younger Blacks, retarding their development by encouraging them to

think like subjects rather than like citizens, with the rights and the duties to revolutionize the country with their labor and principle struggles...

The point that I am trying to make here is that I agree with this particular section in that it appears to me that Black people, in the last twelve or fifteen years, rather than face up to their revolutionary responsibilities and in fact form coalitions and be in the forefront of them, have had a tendency to escape into Black nationalism, Pan-Africanism, even into the stars.

The stars aren't going to save you--astrology and all that kind of nonsense. In my opinion, we don't face up to what is really our duty. I think that a group of socially responsible people--if this city and this country is going to be saved--must come together, and lead this country and this city out of the backwaters. I think that this socially responsible group that I am speaking of for any number of reasons, should be Black (nationalism?). Thank you.

BUILDING COALITIONS

Slim Coleman
Heart of Uptown Coalition

Slim Coleman is from the Heart of Uptown Coalition, and is editor of the All Chicago City News.

The first coalition we have to deal with is the Democratic Coalition in Chicago. That's the coalition that has run Chicago for along time. I think that the essence of the Democratic Coalition is that it is not really a coalition of common interests, it's a coalition of divergent interests that people agree to. They say, "if we go together, then you will get yours and I will get mine." But that's not common interests, it is a converging interest in which people get together.

The second thing about the Democratic Coalition is that I think it's really not an ethnic coalition. I think that is really a myth which has been perpetuated in Chicago--that is the coalition between the Irish, the Polish, the Italians, and so forth. It is a coalition of ward organizations and some wards are Italian, some have a lot of Italian people in it; none of them are all Italians, none of them are all Irish, none of them are all Polish and most of them are very mixed up in the actual organizational structure.

There is an ethnic appeal on election day, but the main appeal on election day is that you will get a job if you do right, or if you do wrong you might lose your job. The question of organization power in that kind of coalitional world makes the democratic coalition in Chicago very strong and very hard to deal with. There are very few people who vote Irish any more. Recently, there were a few that voted Polish, but even that was not strong. What people do is vote wards, they vote the 41st ward, they vote the 42nd ward, and the 42nd ward is not an Irish ward. But people vote Ed Kelley. A letter went out to the seven precinct

captains of the 42nd ward. The 42nd Ward sent a letter out to every registered voter in the ward to say that the organization had not only thrown these precinct captains out of the organization, but they had moved that they could never come back in. They were permanently excommunicated from the 42nd ward Regular Democratic Organization. And every registered voter in the ward was informed. This is not an Irish ward, but one with a mix of all sorts of people, different people. But their loyalty is to the organization and they are going to fight it out and see who can get power.

Chicago is based on power more than ethnic alliances in the ward organizations, with the exception of the Black community. No one since Dawson, has actually built ward organization based on a particular group loyalty. Recently, Cecil Partee was getting reports from his precinct captains who said: "Mr. Partee, you always told us to go out and vote for such and such person because such and such person would be the best for us. And now one of us (Harold Washington) is running and you don't want us to vote for him. So, what exactly do you want us to tell the people when they ask us that question?"

In the last 15 to 20 years, however, the Democratic Coalition, has not been primarily an ethnic coalition; it is a coalition of powerful organization based on money, financial power and the ability to continue to reap the benefits for a few. In terms of coalitions that people have attempted to build to oppose the Democratic Party, I think we have a new reality coming to Chicago. Previous coalitions have not been political coalitions, with the exception of Hyde Park, the lakefront liberals and various other groups that have been unsuccessful to the degree that the previous speaker talked about. Otherwise, coalitions have not been political organizations in attempting to achieve political power, taking control of the seat of government. There have been coalitions around particular

kinds of issues, and a wide range of issues have emerged over the last fifteen years.

The first issue I think was the issue of police brutality, which broadened from the Black community into Puerto Rican sections and into the poor white communities. The slogan of the community that was raised around this issue spread very quickly to other areas and other issues. We began to talk about community control of housing and community control of education and so forth. The concept of community control in other cities sometimes had reactionary aspects to it and sometimes a racist aspect in the white community. For the most part, in Chicago, that doesn't exist, and only in a few areas like the Bogan area did the concept of neighborhood schools in the 1970s take on a racist community control concept.

Primarily, a series of issues were developed and linked together, and an explanation and analysis began to develop in the city among the grassroots--groups in the Black, Mexican, Puerto Rican and poor White communities. The analysis was that there was in effect, in Chicago, a kind of master plan by the finance captains of the city. When we first talked about this in the late 1970s --in the rhetoric of the late 1960s--we saw it as an attempt to drive Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and poor whites out of the city in a military fashion. We talked about why they built an expressway here, and why they built a park there and so forth--to encircle these communities.

As time went on, I think that we began to understand that it was a question of land speculation. That is, who was going to own the land? As profits in the production industries began to decrease, the new stock market was not stocks and bonds of the production industries; it was land. And the more millions and millions of dollars that could be made, the accumulation of the

capital took place in land speculation. As we continued to analyze the different kinds of issues emerged, we began to see that there is a small group in the city through its use of the Democratic organizations, that is able to do what it wants to make what profits it wants, especially in buying and selling land.

Even though we talked about the concept of "gentrification" (middle-class people moving back into working class areas of the city) as a means of unifying opposition, gentrification, for the most part is not a reality. It's not working very well. The fact is that they were more interested in the buying and selling. I live in uptown and when you go down and look at the records in City Hall, you find out that almost every building on every block has been sold four or five times every year, and has had four or five different owners who never stopped and looked at the property. They are just buying and selling to speculate.

Chicago has one of the strongest city regulations over land use of most cities. It was structured that way because a small group had control of the city government and could use the city government to their advantage for land speculations and real estate speculation. Reagan's policies easing restrictions on real estate syndications (where several capitalist, can join together) has helped this speculation a lot.

Thus, our fight went on over land. Originally, we had a concept of a kind of military master plan, but we now realize that it is a kind of financial master plan. But the effect is the same. The effect is that they cut services in the areas where we live--Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, poor Whites. They allow the schools to deteriorate. They withdraw health care. They allow housing to become delapidated at the same time as they raise property taxes and put a bigger squeeze on the housing. And then when the area begins to go down, they buy it cheaply and they sell it expensively. We are caught in this squeeze. this is the functioning of finance capitalism in this city.

It is really not just Chicago that this happens in. If you go around the country you will find that even in small towns of only 30,000 to 40,000, the same thing is happening--the so-called revitalization of the central city core and then moving out in concentric circles to the edge of the city and coming back in and revitalizing again. That process is devastating to poor working people throughout the city -- it destroys their lives.

The issue thus becomes, obviously, that the city is being operated in the interest of the rich. I had an opportunity to talk one time with Miles Berger who headed the Chicago Planning Commission and honcho of the North Loop Development. And I said "Miles, don't you believe in stable neighborhoods?" And he said, "Slim, sometimes I have nightmares, I see long rows with brick buildings and people live in them and go to the same schools and they deteriorate slightly but not very much. No money moves, that's my nightmare." Stable neighborhoods are his nightmare. That is a fact. They need to constantly destabilize our lives to deny us our ability to survive, to buy and sell industries out of the city. This buying and selling is where the money is being made as opposed to profits on production and this creates a situation where we are constantly destabilized in whatever kind of employment we have.

These kind of activities and issues created an opposition with a common analysis throughout the city. Gradually, that common analysis spoke to a series of issues -- employment, housing, education, or health care. Because a common analysis that developed in the city since 1968, this common analysis became the basis for an opposition political platform in the city.

It's amusing to see Richard Daley talk about the Economic Development Commission. The EDC never would have been mentioned in the city of Chicago in a

mayoral campaign ten years ago. It was a secret instrument of corporate power that was never even known to the public. It was a coalition of 25 different community organizations that made the EDC a reality and an issue, that fought it, that filed suit, that demonstrated and protested. It was this coalition which said that this is what the EDC is doing, that showed their use of Internal Revenue Service funds, and that brought out the research which proved that \$120 million in industrial revenue bonds was given out to 6 or 7 corporations to produce, allegedly, over 5,000 jobs when actually they lost 300 jobs. That was just a ripoff of that of money.

In fact, what this money was used for and what the Urban Development Assistance Grant (UDAG) funds were used for was actually to subsidize condominium development or high-priced building development like Presidential Towers which was part of the land speculation/land grab on the West Side.

Our common analysis became a political analysis that could be applied to the Economic Development Commission, the Financial Control Board, the issue of education and the dual system of education where there is a mastery learning system for 85% of the population and elite academies and so forth for a very small percent of the population put in places like Lincoln Park in order to create new communities and higher land values and result in more land speculation. Along with issues like health care and housing and so forth, these have become central issues in this mayoral campaign.

It was community organizations from the grass roots that created a series of coalitions and created the issues for this mayoral campaign, whether the issue was public or private housing, education, health or whatever. And for the first time we see a political thrust which came from those issues. We have successfully redefined the issues in Chicago politics. I think that is a real

step forward. It came from a coalition effort. I don't think there is any question about it. It was a common interest not a common gathering of interest in order for everybody to take power. It was a common interest that defined with some loss of life and bloodshed over the last 15 years in the City of Chicago.

Our problem is now that a common political interest has been defined through coalitional efforts, we still do not have a political coalition. That's to say when we were ready, it was easy to get the voter registration drive moving and it was really effortless to put together all these groups that have worked in coalitions for fifteen years together and had to recruit and go out and register people to vote. That was simple. But when it came to putting a campaign structure together, raising money, developing a precinct by precinct structure and so forth, they weren't here. We didn't have a ward organization except in half a dozen wards in the city. They were actually ward organizations that could compete with other ward organization. We didn't have a coalition of ward organizations. What remains to be seen during the campaign and after the campaign are the kinds of coalition which can be put together based on a common interest where there is basically a class perspective on which class will control the city or which class interest will be running the city.

A common analysis of which class should rule and how that class has ruled previous is necessary for a political organization to be put together. We do not have a political organization, a permanent one. The Harold Washington campaign from an organizational point of view had forty times the organization Jane Byrne had when she first ran for mayor. They are very organized in every precinct, in district offices and financial committees, labor committees, and women's committees. Is it as well organized as Daley or Byrne? Of course, it is not.

It is not a permanent political organization, it is a temporary organization that was thrown together in 1968. And after experience and tested leadership in each different area of work we put together, there were a lot of weaknesses and problems in it. I think that organization cannot beat the machine on its own. It depends on the movement that exists to go out and work. The campaign organization can not direct the movement; it can set some terms, put some things forward, but it cannot contain a movement. The movement has to go on its own if Harold Washington is to be successful.

We need to say one last point in terms of coalitions between Blacks and Whites and Whites and Latinos. One of the problems is this attempt to build coalitions Blacks and Whites and Latinos will never work. You have to build a building the right way, you have to have a foundation. In coalition-building you have a certain unification in the Black community that allows a coalition with the Latino community, and is the basis which makes it possible to move to the white community.

Secondly, I think there is a lack of a well-organized and deeply rooted organization in poor, working class white community in this town. The tendency has been to have coalitions between the Black community and the White so-called "liberal" communities and this has been destructive to any progressive movement in the city over the last 12 years. In fact, the more progressive forces in the Black community can only take leadership politically within the Black community in this town if a class coalition is made. This is because the ability to win power through building political coalitions between the Black community and the liberal white community always hangs together with a Bill Berry (a former Urban League official and chair of Washington's campaign).

The ability of progressive Black leadership to make more successful coalitions with poor, working class white does not stand with those people who have been happy with the power structure in the Black community for a long time. It stands with the grass roots within the Black community and strengthens their position within the Black community. The emergence of that kind of organization in the white community is very slow. It exists to some minimal extent.

Robert Starks, Moderator

We have a few minutes for questions and answers. We'll have a summary and then questions and answers. Andy Thompson, for those of you who came in late, said in effect that the oppressed groups have had little success at building coalition across racial and ethnic lines throughout the world. And he sees no evidence of any successful coalition across racial and ethnic lines today in Chicago and in its history. Slim Coleman stated that the Chicago Democratic Party is a coalition of persons in power more than a coalition of ethnic groups. Bob Lucas said that in effect that Blacks have not really tried to put together coalitions. My first question to the panel, and then we'll throw it out to the audience, is, Is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic coalition possible, desirable or even necessary?

ANDY THOMPSON

I would like to respond as we start. Slim Coleman felt the ethnic description--I won't call it an analysis--is meant being born in this city, having not gone to school, I know there were ethnic groups in the city with real power, not just the Irish. You can talk about Edward Vrdolyak, and his group--the Croations. And we can talk about the Polish interest in Poland taking place in Chicago down at City Hall where they have boxes for shoes and clothing. That definitely makes an ethnic interest, especially for the Polish population of about 700,000 in metropolitan Chicago. And that is why Pucinski garnered so many votes in 1977, he got the Polish vote.

The Italians are no strangers to us on this campus on Taylor street having been removed by the Irish. The whole Harrison-Halsted fight, with Florence Scal

and Mayor Daley made it . . . evident that there was some kind of ethnic involvement in this city. And far be it from any of us here to try to fight over that kind of model. I don't think we would win, arguing one way or the other over it.

However, I do submit that a kind of white male secret society is functioning in Chicago along ethnic lines and religious lines--Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, just to add more to it. I do believe that there's a Zionist structure in this city, and it penetrates the Russian-Jewish, German-Jewish, and Polish-Jewish communities. They do exist in this city, and in very concrete fashion, on the North and Southwest side of the city of Chicago. But we don't have a hard analysis of that, but most Blacks tend to see these people as white people, and just let it go at that.

The only other observation I would make to Bob is that we have been together for a long time, going all the way back to 1963, I suppose. And we have been good friends personally, but we don't share the same goals. I would disagree with you about the CCCO as being successful. I would say it existed. I was opposed to it when it was formed, and I believe it was Rev. Arthur Brazier who might have been one of the heads at the time. Al Raby became a representative and then somehow left. I think we presently have a presence of CCCO again in Chicago. I am not going to try to make any predictions about its future in the campaign. But I do know that is one of the reasons why the movement is so important, at this point, in the election of Harold Washington.

I am not saying that these coalitions have been unsuccessful from where you sit. But they certainly have been unsuccessful from where I sit, in terms of the long haul, in terms of what we are talking about and in terms of the independence of Black people, be it in Chicago or be it in Alabama. I think

whites have interfered with the efforts of Black people to free themselves. They brought money to our situation and therefore have tempted us. There have been many attractions which coopted a great amount of our leadership over time. Those of us who are Pan-Africanists where even in our Pan-African strongholds we find many of our Black leaders being led by what we call World Church Imperialism, the National Council of Churches having revolutionary movements up in the Rockefeller Chapel at the behest of Riverside Drive.

We see all these things taking place. And that is my reason for questioning coalitions. I certainly don't condemn them. But I do think they are especially bad if, speaking of the white coalitions as we speak of them today, they have the same vestiges of racism and some of the reactions that white people say we have to contend with. I think the arrogant racism that comes out of these leadership groups is that "Blacks need to be led since we have the money and the wherewithal and the experience and the knowledge, and they have none of those things. We should participate in leading Blacks in their struggle." I don't know if I am going to answer the question, is a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, coalition possible, desirable, or necessary?

COLEMAN

I don't need to deny the history or the present existence of ethnic coalitions throughout the white community or religious coalitions throughout the community. They exist in every community that our organization currently works in. We find them and we have to be sensitive to them in order to function there. There is no question about that.

However, it is not predominant any longer in this city. The method of operation of power in this town is corporate power, and it uses and accepts some

of the ethnic organizational forms when it is useful, and thrusts them aside when it is not. The method of political organization is the ward organization and it uses them when they are convenient, but less and less. The Polish are a more possible example that reemerged in the last couple of years, because of the crisis in the country of Poland, but even in that, it is not the predominant example of mobilizing voters and support within the Polish wards; but not because they are Polish but because their property owners who don't want to pay property taxes to support those institutions which serve the Black, Latino, and poor white community. But I think that the nature of the coalitions has changed drastically. In some sense, these coalitions have weakened and don't have the glue that held them together on a reactionary basis.

Is some kind of multi-national, multi-racial coalition desirable? I think that's a subjective question. Sometimes I feel very close to Lucas, We are close friends and everything, but sometimes I get along better with the nationalists. We have a common disagreement with miscegenation--I am from an old clan background. And we can get together on basic fundamental common interest and the preservation of separate cultures, and we don't have any kind of friction, I know myself too well to know that certain things about me are not going to change.

On the other hand, I think that the realities of power will dictate the necessity of coalition. Therefore, we have to think about what kind of coalition we should have before we get thrust into opportunistic coalitions that are destructive. The poor whites, which is an enormous group of people in this country and in this city, are invisible, made invisible by necessity of preserving the concept of white supremacy and the availability of the American dream. White supremacy, by necessity, makes the poor white--and the lower income, stable

working white--invisible. Therefore, the tendency for coalition is always within a certain sector of the ruling class which tends to call itself liberal. And that coalition is doomed to failure because they do not have the interest of any of us in this room, or who seem to be in this room. They are just not concerned with our interest. They don't have the same interest.

I would tend to agree with the analysis of the CCCO. It was basically an organization of cooperation, and was highly destructive of the movement no matter what it might have done positive with regard to Ben Willis, the racist school superintendent. The organization was basically destructive, and I think that points to one kind of coalition which should not be pursued. Let me speak real frankly, regardless of whether it is this campaign or any other campaign. Our biggest fights in our community are with the liberal whites. That's who re-gentrifies us, that's who attempts to displace us, and that's who attempts to represent us.

MODERATOR

Why don't you take a minute to give the geographics of your community in relationship to the lakefront liberals. That might help us.

COLEMAN

Uptown is easy. Uptown is a kind of an intensified situation because it is right behind Lakeshore Drive, next to that monstrous wall of prosperity and condominiums. It is the lowest income community in the city next to Kenwood. And we got 60% unemployment behind these great walls. And the question of who will speak for our community is a serious problem. Now, the fact is that I can go to what we call superficially, the most racist whites and say "Look it's in

your interest to have Harold Washington to be the Mayor of Chicago. You are going to do better. He will recognize that you exist. You can't imagine the elation in my community when Harold announced and said, "We are going to build a coalition of Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Appalachian whites." Nobody had ever heard that word on television before in Chicago, and they said, "Who is this guy who knows who we are? What is this all about?"

And I think that the history of this if you go back to the Populist movement, that I think tended to be a reactionary movement in general, but let's go back to the tenant farmers' movement in Arkansas or East Texas. There was a successful Black tenant farmer's movement, one of the most successful rural organizations that ever hit this country. What happened? The Communist Party, under the guise of some union--I think it was the packing house--came in and took over the tenant farmer's union, established white leadership within a period of two years and in three years it was totally destroyed. Once they established white leadership the process of cooptation was possible.

The situation that exists in Chicago is the basis for the reorganization of class struggle in this country. This is what can come out of the city. We go to whites on a very simple basis. Whatever happens with people's subjective natures, and my children's natures, and so forth is far down the road. What we say to white people is this: "Look, we can do better with these folks than we can with these folks. There is a stronger power base in the Black community and I can do better over there than I can do with the power structure or with the liberals." That's a fruitful coalition. It's a coalition that once the first building block of the poor whites is put on, then the next building block is possible, because you have something to offer. When you are involved in a

struggle for power, you got to be able to say you are not just doing this because of the causes, you are doing this because you will live better. And if you have a power base, you can say this will improve your material survival. The power base in the Black community because of the interest and the issues that the Black community is concerned with, is a more sympathetic power base to poor working whites than the power base of either the Lakefront liberals or the various factions of the Mafia that currently run Chicago, and are vying for power in Chicago.

Therefore, I think that when we talk about building coalitions, I think it's a question of what way are we going to build coalition. In this campaign, we see the dynamics going both ways. We could go either way. It will depend on the strength of the movement from the grass roots for it to be successful. I do not believe that the coalition of liberal whites, corporate whites and those so-called Black leaders that are controlled by corporate whites and always have been controlled will lead this campaign to victory. It will not do it. It does not want to and it's not trying to.

There's one footnote. The chairman of the campaign committee for Richard Daley is one of those Lakefront liberals, Dawn Clark Netsch whose husband is an executive of Skidmore-Holts who has planned the destruction of our community for the last 16 years. They are also the ones who are going to run the 1992 World's Fair.

LUCAS

The question of cooptation seriously needs to be dealt with. Let me just digress and go back to the street for an analogy. I can remember when I was a much younger man, running up and down 47th Street and running after this woman and the

other woman. And, ususally, I would be with a woman one night and the next night or the next week or the next month or something, in all due respect to women, a guy would lose the woman and then he would come into the tavern and he would complain about somebody stealing his woman. Our reaction was "look, man, "you can't lose what was never your anyway." In other word, on the cooptation, nobody can be coopted. I have been in the movement longer than anyone in the room and there have been attempts to corrupt me. There have been some strong attempts to corrupt me early in the 1960s. Money, jobs and what have you. I can sit here and name them. But I did not want to be coopted. You can only corrupt folks who want to be coopted anyway, and that's the end of that nonsense.

The other thing is, that a multi-racial, multi-national, multi-cultural, etc., coalition is very necessary. Yes, I think it's necessary. The problem of this country is reflected in this room, at least up here on this panel. And what do I mean by that? This country is the most socially and politically backward country for its size in the world. That's a fact. It's most advanced in terms of technology and economically, but this country is socially and politically backward. Therefore, we cannot be reared and educated in this country without some of that social and political backwardness rubbing off on us. And there is evidence in the comments here that we share that backwardness.

It has nothing to do with liberal whites. I am talking about a socially responsible group of folks. I can write volumes about liberal whites. I am saying that a socially responsible group of people, responsible people that cut across all racial and cultural lines, are going to have to come together in order to save this country. I didn't say anything about liberal whites. Blacks are guilty of this in particular. I am hard on Blacks for a number of reasons.

Blacks tend to think that somehow the Black community is an island within itself. That's just nonsense. That ain't nothing but pure nonsense. Kenwood-Oakland is a part of Chicago. We can't exist out there without Chicago. Where are the resources coming from? Chicago is a part of Illinois. Illinois is a part of the U.S. The U.S. is obviously part of the world. These are inescapable facts.

As Harold says, "you can run and duck these questions, but you can't hide." Sooner or later, and it may not be any of the actors in the room, but sooner or later, the coalition is going to happen. And it's going to happen, not so much to survive, but it's going to happen to save the situation. And it must happen. And the longer we put it off, the more difficult it's going to be.

I was listening this morning, in fact, while I was at PUSH, to the leader of LULAC, Mr. Bonilla. I wish all of you could have heard him because that man has taken a gigantic step. Hispanics in this town are asking him, "What's wrong with --, niggers are our enemies, bla, bla, bla." It is not so much that he wants Harold to be the mayor. I think that's true. But he sees it as an opportunity. All good leaders are in a sense, opportunists--opportunists for the right reasons. He sees it as an opportunity to bring together Blacks and Hispanics, not only in Chicago, but in Texas and in California and in Colorado and around the country. And that man has taken a lot of heat. He stepped out there, brothers and sisters; he stepped out there and said, "The Hispanics should support Harold and should support this campaign."

I don't care what anybody says. I think that Harold Washington can win. I think he can win for one reason--a number of people in Chicago are looking for a change. They are not going to tell the pollsters how they are going to vote, they are simply going to go into the polling booth on the 22nd and vote. And probably come out and say I voted for Byrne or Daley. Because, in a sense,

Harold is some sort of a phenomenon. Harold is symbolic of the beginning of a progressive movement.

Mike Lavelle (Election Commission Chair) practically told us the other day, for whatever his reason, the day after the very successful voter registration project, that "Harold has more than enough numbers to win." For whatever his reason, he said it. And he went on to say (in an interview with a Chicago Sun-Times reporter) that it would be extremely difficult for Byrne or Daley to beat Harold. If that comes to fruition, and I believe it will, limited though it has been, I think that it will be partly because there was some sort of coalition operating, at least on the surface. A number of Blacks after they saw Slim and some other visible whites, involved in the campaign in the Fourth Ward, it made it easier for them. This is because they didn't feel, for whatever reason, that it would make too much sense for Harold to run an all-Black campaign.

I think they are necessary, I think they are needed, and I don't think we are going to be around the planet earth too much longer without them.

QUESTION

I would like to throw a question out to the panel. My training has taught me to be apprehensive and paranoid of that paragraph that Lucas read. As a nationalist, and also being raised here in this city for 32 years, and understanding very clearly the polarizations of the various communities of this city, this makes me very apprehensive. Question is this. In coalitions, one directs towards coalitions with a collective interest, but private interests, too. Now where do we go from there? What I am also trying to find out is what is the best interest of the coalition?

MODERATOR

If I can paraphrase, can a political coalition be built on the success of a voter registration drive and the victory of Harold Washington on February 22nd?

LUCAS

I think Slim will agree that we did build somewhat of a successful coalition in terms of voter registration. I would like to say this, as I sit here next to my good friend Slim, that the organization, the group that really got voter registration off the dime in this town was POWER (People Organized for Welfare and Economic Rights), a group that Slim headed up. POWER did the first leg, and when I say the first leg, I am talking about from August to October 5, when we registered something like 40,000 people. I think it was a good model. The People's Movement for Voter Registration and Vote Community, after they saw how easy it was, then got involved. This was good, but the POWER, a multi-racial group, did in fact, initiate the voter registration drive in this town. And in fact, if Harold wins, it will have a lot to do with him going to City Hall.

Secondly, it's too easy for me to be Black. I just go round talking about I am Black and keep on bemoaning racism. We do it all the time. Some of my friends said to me: "Bob, come to a conference." And I said: "What's the conference?" They answered: "We are going to curse out white folks." I said, "Hey, I was in New Jersey and we cursed out white folks [at the 1967 Black Power Conference.] And I was in Gary [at the 1970 National Black Political Assembly] and we cursed out white folks, and Little Rock [at the National Black Political Assembly] and we cursed out white folks. I don't need to go to another meeting to curse out white folks. That ain't solving nothing." It's easy for us as Blacks to bemoan racism, to bemoan slavery. It shouldn't have happened, but it

did! Now, I am saying that Blacks have got to lead the country out of the wilderness. Yes, it is possible, whether Harold Washington wins or loses, it is possible to go on this point and build a political coalition in this town.

COLEMAN

I think it is possible and I am dedicated to it. But I think there are some guidelines that we have to have to make it happen. One is that coalitions have to be built on the basis of perspective, analysis, a comprehensive set of issues, a political line, and not on the basis of ethnic groups. I have to ask a question of my comrades in the Black community. Those groups that have been built on an ethnic Black basis within the Black community, not thinking groups, but acting groups, have tended to be coopted by the white corporate power structure because they wanted the essential resources like capital, etc. And I think that's a danger, I think that coalitions can be built on the basis that based on a political line and perspective that benefit the Black people, not on the basis of ethnic power. I think we are seeing the frustrations from that in this campaign where it was easy to build a movement on the basis of ethnic power and then they come in and take over because it's not built on a solid political line.

The second thing I wanted to emphasize is this. All of the discussion that we could resolve about the nature of class coalitions that should be or shouldn't be and so forth, don't mean anything unless they implemented organizationally. Our weakness in Chicago is organization. It's a wonderful city to work in because we are up against the toughest street organization in the country and you can't bluff your way through anything here. They will knock you down, because they are there, door to door, street to street. We are not politically organized in the City of Chicago. We are organized in a lot of different ways

to do a lot of different things to mobilize around a lot of different issues, but we are not politically organized. For a coalition to continue after the Harold Washington campaign, it will depend on a new understanding of methods of organization. If we are not able to move towards mass organization in the City of Chicago, which goes from the street level up, we are not going to build anything.

MODERATOR

So you are saying that for a coalition to be effective, it has to be built along class lines rather than ethnic lines with a much more strict and orthodox organizational form?

COLEMAN

I am a little wary about saying class lines because I don't know what that means in this country. One of the biggest problems we face in the Harold Washington campaign and everything else is the "left" because they can't walk across the street and chew gum at the same time. They can't talk to nobody. We can get 400 of them to go out and they won't get a single plus, not a single plus vote. Somebody who don't know nothing and goes out there and says "Yeah, I am going to vote for (excuse me) I am going to vote for the nigger" is better because he's going to get me some votes. But the left goes out there and can't do nothing. I think that in the terminology that has been fostered within the white national chauvinists left, "class" is a concept that has to be revived. I would rather say we have to have a clear political analysis and in perspective that details in specifics the benefit of the masses and stay away from the term that's been destroyed in this country.

THOMPSON

I hardly know what to say except that I agree with Slim on everything except that earlier statement on the myth of ethnicity. I think we can clear that up without too much difficulty. I am not quite clear on what brother Bob Lucas is talking about, we have been struggling for so long, he could be saying one thing and mean something else. I am not quite clear on what he's talking about. I know he's talking loud, but I am not sure what he's saying.

On this matter of coalitions in the city of Chicago, I don't think there is anything to coalesce around, really. With a population of one million, five hundred thousand Blacks, who need to organize themselves in some way, I think that's a tremendous responsibility. Most of the white input in this Black struggle has been voluntary through organizations that have their own interest, perhaps some altruistic need, just to see Blacks advance. I am waiting for that. I would agree with you on the role of the left. I would oppose that. If we are talking about coalitions we ought to have a role call on left wing organizations, especially the white left and find out just where they stand on this matter-- where they were running mayors, if they would cease having some of our Black brothers running for mayor in this city.

Maybe the word coalition is inappropriate, at this point in terms of the movement of Chicago in 1983. This is why I would like to get back to brother Bob. I would argue what he argued in 1963 and I would take this position in 1983 because I think the results are in on what happened with CCCO. Although it hasn't been analyzed and publicly put out for further discussion, I think those of us who were participating in organizations know about the role of the integrationist movement in Chicago with the University of Chicago behind it which

houses all of the corporate forces that now have removed Blacks and everyone else from the central core of the city. Those are some realities that I don't think we have to debate, unless Bob wants to continue to debate the role of these groups.

So, I really don't see any kind of coalition when we talk about the Harold Washington election. I see a man running for office. I see those who want to volunteer to help him to achieve that goal, bring any organizations in, pitching in, in whatever way they can. If they want to bargain with Harold Washington forces for what interest they will derive as a result of the election, that's good politics. I see nothing wrong with that. But what coalitions are we talking about? I understand that the Hispanics have leadership overtures that are being made to the election, but I think we will be able to count, after the primary, just what role all these groups played on a precinct by precinct basis in the election.

But I started off in the earlier statement before I went rambling, but I did say that in electoral politics we can't lose too much blood having coalitions. In the first place, because they are reformists in nature, they are buying into the system. We understand that the Black movement manifests itself in this election and therefore, we are going to struggle with it. But I don't have any great feeling that we are going to be liberated. If we have a Black mayor, we will certainly maximize the possibility of Blacks managing this city for a short while. We certainly will not own the city, certainly not going to take over Inland Steel, we are not going to take over the Board of Trade, own the stock options or the grain markets.

So we are in this city and we are in a quandry. If there is going to be any kind of coalition, I think that would have to follow as a result of the primary. It might be some bargaining at that point. But at this point I have no trust whatsoever in any group talking about coalescing even in a reformist struggle such as that of putting in a Black mayor.

COLEMAN

For a long time, Black people and others have been waging a struggle in this country, usually focused on the Democrats and the Republicans. This has been there a long time and we have been thrown back between two faces of the same corporate fascists in this country.

If the leadership of that resistance is able to be challenged by a strong collection of urban bases with enough of a base to hold on to what leadership got elected there and direct them, then we can fundamentally transform the nature of the development of resistance in this country (I think that this election has enormous implications for the development of any kind of progressive resistance movement inside this country.) Secondly, there is a coalition in place that cannot be contained in this campaign. It's not a coalition where the people in it don't necessarily know each other. It's not important that they have to know each other. It's important that they have been active for 15 years and have developed an interrelationship in one way or another that helps to come to a common definition of the issues of the fight in Chicago and which class will Chicago be run for a definition that crosses the lives of Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican and lower income whites. Because we are all getting our ass kicked, we are all getting run out of this town for the benefit of Charlie Swibel (big real estate capitalist and Byrne ally) and a few of his friends who make a lot of money off it.

That is a coalition. The fact that that's not an organization-coalition is a fact and it is a problem. It may be both a problem that we face and also the reason that we will be successful in this election. I think that an organization-coalition probably couldn't exist at this time, but I think that that movement will elect Harold Washington.

HAROLD PATES.

It seems to me that a coalition is based on some kind of leverage, I mean if you can't look at a person eye to eye, then in fact, you don't really have a coalition. What you have is a kind of top-bottom relationship, especially as it deals with the question of resources. Any kind of coalition that takes place where Blacks are always the receivers and the productivity is being done by other groups who are going to give Blacks and as a result see to it that Blacks fit in the places where they want them to fit, seems to me not to be a coalition. The question that I want to ask is, do we just simply discount what appears to be natural coalitions that are coming into the Black community like the Arabs. They seem to have their own capacity, their own kind of leverage now to make a coalition. The Koreans, the Vietnamese and all these other people are jumping into the community with the capacity to negotiate. Do we just discount that?

LUCAS

I'll answer that. And maybe, Andy, you been missing the essence of my stuff because of the range of my voice. I'll lower it down.

Let's look at some coalitions which have really been self-interest groups, and that's the problem. Look at the labor coalition of the early 1930s. That was, in fact, outside of the system. With the Wagoner Act, Roosevelt made them a part of the system. Roosevelt said to the labor movement, "Look, come and get a

seat at the table," and they became a part of the system. Look at the recent Civil Rights Movement. Prior to 1954, Blacks were indeed outside of the system. The Civil Rights Movement was coopted. Whether Blacks like it or not, the Civil Rights Movement made Blacks a part of the system. That's a fact. We don't like to admit that, but we are part of the system. Recently, the women's movement got coopted and the Hispanic movement is going to be coopted if it hasn't been already. And those things were only able to happen, brothers and sister, ladies and gentlemen, because those were self-interest groups. All Andy, Bob Starks and Slim are talking about at this point is self-interest. I ain't talking about self-interest. That's archaic. They are talking about Black rights and Hispanic rights and white rights--that's nonsense. That's why we can't build a coalition. These cats are still talking about civil rights. Ain't nobody talking about no Black rights and Hispanic women rights. We will never build a coalition that way. We need to talk about the problem.

The real problem is the multi-national corporations, you know, that's taking the money out of the country and investing it in third world countries, Europe and other places; manufacturing cheap goods by getting cheap labor; bringing it back to this country and through television and what have you, mesmerizing people and making people buy that junk; and making them feel like they are nobody when they don't buy it. That's the real problem, it's the multinational corporation.

Folks are afraid to say that, especially Blacks, because that sounds "left." What I am saying, and I will keep on saying, is that a group of socially responsible people--it has nothing to do with the white left, Black left or no left--socially responsible people are going to have to come together and give this country some real leadership and direction.

MODERATOR:

Bob, I just want to restate what I thought was the classic definition of coalition--two or more groups coming together, respecting each other's interest, to solve a problem which no one group can solve by itself and still understanding each other's private interests and self-interest. In other words, those self-interests are not wiped out by the fact that they come together for one particular issue.

COLEMAN

To respond to that question, I am not really sure. In uptown we have the largest concentration of Southeast Asian refugees in the city. We have 90 percent of the refugees in our community, basically as a form of displacement. The way it worked is they were able to get a lot of money through refugees and they would put them in apartments where they could generate \$800 worth of rent a month by putting them together and displace somebody else.

I think that the Arab situation is different; there's been some Arab participation in the Harold Washington campaign. But the Southeast Asian one I think is one, that is very difficult. I sat down with a brother in my office from the Mungs to talk about what you can do to alleviate the gang war between the Mungs and the Hillbillies, and how we can work certain things out. And he tells you about the last 10-year history of the "CIA." The CIA was like another gang that came in with a lot of money offered them the best price and they did that. And he's still taking trips over to Vietnam and still going up to Washington, DC.

The new Southeast Asian communities are still so federally-controlled at this point and there's such a strong reactionary CIA leadership in those groups

that I think it may be just like with the Cuban population, another generation before coalitions are fruitful.

HAROLD PATES

It seems to me that there's a problem of perception. It's a problem of how Blacks on one hand perceive their potential for coalition with groups that see to come into the communities with resources and definite capacity for political leverage within the community.

Maybe it's not seen as a possibility for political leverage when you have persons who move into the community, although they are aliens in the sense that they don't have the capacity to vote, but they do have the capacity to create a kind of leverage that puts pressure on the community and once again creates formations that will make Blacks more and more dependent and therefore decreasing their capacity to have a higher leverage or to build some kind of economic coalition in the community that would enhance its survival. I am assuming that one aspect of politics has to do with how you get sufficient resources to function in society. And I am assuming the result of the vote--enhances one's capacity to eat and live and so forth and so on. This was my point.

In that type of situation we are weaker and more prone to corporate elements being able to put who they want in. And I think that, that's to be expected. It shouldn't be unexpected. It's happened to most Black mayoral campaigns around the country. The success of the campaign depends on whether or not the movement continues or not, and actually takes its responsibility and takes its rightful place beside the campaign structure to make it work.

COLEMAN

First, I am confident of victory in this election. But it depends on the movement not depending on the campaign structure to do everything for it. The movement at the grass roots has got to produce. It can't wait to be told this is where you work your precinct. It's got to produce on its own, it's got to take action on it soon, it's got to crystalize the issues on its own, and it's got to mobilize on its own. The campaign structure is not a bad structure. It's a good structure. It's one of the best opposition structures that has ever been put together in this city, the best. But it's still not sufficient because it's a temporary organization and therefore could not contain in two months the extent of the movement.

I think that that's the basic reason why those organization that put together the voter registration drive were not formed in a city-wide political organization that could move the next step into becoming a campaign. Therefore, when the campaign was structured, many diverse elements were brought into it as individuals, this person, and this person and this person.

ROGER ODEN

Do I hear you saying that you don't have a movement in the classic sense?

COLEMAN

There is a movement in the classic sense, and it's a very strong movement. It's one that, just like you talked about in the beginning, was a movement that was fundamentally opposed to the conditions of life that people were forced to live in. It put Reagan and Thompson and Byrne in one category and targeted that as the enemy. That movement is alive and well and strong, in spite of the fact

that "Insane Jane" (Byrne) has become "Novacaine Jane" and has put \$9 million worth of novacaine into the city of Chicago. She sits in a chair or walks down the street with blood running all down her mouth and her ads are to make it so we don't feel anything. In spite of this ad campaign, the movement is alive and strong, and I don't think there's any question that we will persevere in this election.

THOMPSON

I spoke of the campaign as being reformist, but not the movement. I would just like to add to that that we speak of the movement and the vitality that we are getting from it here in the city of Chicago, I think the threat to the movement is the reformist liberal community and the corporate community between which I see no difference--I think it's really one--and perhaps the Black establishment leadership that led us during the civil rights movement. I think we got some problems there. This can be challenged with very strong, conscious and well-informed cadres in the movement, I believe. But the struggle at this point I would see would be to work as diligently as possible to make this movement a success while it manifests itself through the campaign. To those of us here, I am trying to make a distinction between a bureaucratic structure called a campaign with money and funds and deadlines and hired persons and paid folk. And a movement with a great number of people who have been fired and with enough imagination to try to go out and accomplish a goal.

DOUG GILLS

This discussion has generated a lot of concern. I would like to narrow it down to the last two comments that were made. If you look at the Conference News, one of the things that was clearly the point of departure for all of us

coming together today, was the Conference Call, and in that call, the Study Guide. And one of the points that has been addressed here that implicitly, if not explicitly, is this whole question of the relationship of race, class and nationality as obvious factors contributing to the motion underpinning the current campaign for mayor.

One other aspect of that was the question of summing up the objective, empirical information as we know it about what have been the contributions of Black mayors to improving the real conditions of Black people in particular, and people in those cities in general.

The third aspect is this concept that Andy just mentioned about the character of the movement as it exists today. This raises up a question, that we should have some more discussion around; Slim's concept of a class-based coalition and a more strategic conception of that as opposed to the tactical forms of coalitions that have been mentioned.

So, in the letter sent to panelists, the conference organizers, talked about the fact that Chicago has got coalitions of people and coalitions of organizations, tactical forms around issues and many others. This seems to have gotten lost and we jumped many types of coalitions together. Furthermore, we didn't really define what we are talking about--coalitions--and a lot of us are maybe a little bit confused now.

I wish the panel would walk back through some of these formulations that have been put out here, particularly coming off the last point that Andy raised about the movement itself not being reformist. I think that there are some of us who think that the dominant character of the movement itself today is its reformist nature, as opposed to posing any fundamental viable alternatives that

go beyond electoral politics and a Black mayor to talk about the substantive change for people who won't be impacted by Harold Washington's victory one way or the other. Their life chances will not be changed significantly.

THOMPSON

I will defer and give my time to Brother Slim, I mean Slim and Bob.

COLEMAN

From a general point of view, the question is that of organization. And within a political framework, which I think is a good framework, the question of coalitions in Chicago is that we are following the ward organization model but we are not going very far towards it. We have to decide if that's really the right way for us to build coalitions in the city or not. But it's the model that we are on now because it's the model that we have to be on.

In terms of this so-called class-based coalitions, I think that's what we have in Chicago at this time and that's why there is a campaign that's possible and that's the basis of the movement.

Whether the movement is reformist or revolutionary, I think it's neither one. A movement is revolutionary when it's successful, it's reformist until it's successful. (Laughter) I think at this particular time, the movement is neither reformist or revolutionary. I think that it takes different turns at different points. I think that we would be wrong to try to put it into a pigeon hole at this time.

The final thing is let's look at some realities in terms of what this coalition means. If we are successful in this election, there will be between 350,000 and 400,000 Black votes. There will be a minimum of 60,000 white votes and there will be about 20,000 to 25,000 Latino votes. That will give us the

margin of victory necessary in this election given the split in the machine. Whether it could be done solely with the Black vote or not, I think it is not to question. In terms of the movement that needs to be built, and the realignment of class forces, the practical realignment of class forces that's necessary for the national movement in this country as well as for the ability to rule in Chicago and be able to bring some quality of life, that kind of a coalition of votes and voting forces is necessary and has been built from the grass roots--not by the CCCO's. It's been built by the Marion Stamps of Chicago who took a class point of view within the Black community and allowed, therefore, an alliance to be made within the poor white and the Puerto Rican and Mexican community, because there was a common issue, there was a class issue that she developed within the Black communities. The example goes on with Dorothy Tillman in the schools and so on where it's possible to move like that.

LUCAS

First, I guess I have to say that this is a reformist movement. I don't think you can get around that. To my mind, something is reactionary, reformist or revolutionary. This is certainly not revolutionary progression so we therefore have to label the current movement a reformist movement. I don't see anything wrong with that.

I also agree with you, Doug, that if Harold is elevated to the fifth floor of City Hall, it will not be a panacea in terms of Blacks or anybody else in the city. But I think that people will be better off in a sense, symbolically perhaps, more than anything else.

I don't want to oversimplify this question, but I am to deal with some basics quickly. When you think of a movement, you look at a movement in the

same context you look at an organization. Any organization has really three principal parts--you have an ideology, you have programs and a structure. I think that if we are going to build a successful movement in Chicago--you can call it a preface or you can call it a preamble or you can call it an ideology--but first, I think that we are going to have to develop an ideology. I am talking about the various groups. Once we develop the ideology, then I think we can go from that point and develop the movement.

But what is sad in Chicago is that we are going toward the 21st century and somehow we still haven't managed to live together. To me that is particularly sad.

ROBERT STARKS

I would like to end this by charging the Illinois Council for Black Studies (ICBS) with the responsibility of pulling together another forum on this question since we have so many dangling questions. I would be glad to help you pull that together at some future date. Thank you for coming.

JOB

John McClendon
University of Illinois

We have a distinguished panel of experts who shall each contribute to the discussion of jobs. At the same time, we feel that questions and discussion period is probably the most vital part, not to minimize what our panel has to say. But the exchange could be extremely important to trying to get down to the heart of important questions and to arrive at a programmatic position for solving some of the issues and problems that we see of concern to the Black community. We would also like to see how jobs relates to the participation of Black people in electoral politics.

There are a number of concerns that we could raise with regard to the question of jobs. From the standpoint of the Illinois Council for Black Studies we find that there is, in fact, a direct connection between this question of the crisis in unemployment and the question of what is happening at the level of higher education and Black Studies. What we are beginning to see now is that there is a conservative attack on Black Studies throughout the state. It is becoming extremely important in terms of the activities of the ICBS that we begin now to organize and to address some of those issues, especially as we see that the attacks on Black Studies is directly related to the question of quality education for Black people and the general struggle for the Black Liberation. We see now that this connection between campus and community is no longer just a philosophical question that some activists and students raised in the '60s but has a direct link to political economy.

What we are finding is that the rise in tuition costs and the cut backs in financial aid have made higher education inaccessible for many students who look to education as the means for a job. Students are being driven from four-year institutions to two-year colleges and vocational training because of lack of educational funding and scarcity of jobs. This just hints at some of the questions that need to be discussed.

The first speaker will be Roger Fox, the Research Director for the Chicago Urban League.

Roger Fox
Vice President for Research and Planning
Chicago Urban League

Let me begin by thanking you for the invitation and opportunity to address this most timely and important conference. As the head of the Chicago Urban League's Research and Planning Department, I am chiefly an administrator and supervisor who dabbles in my staff's research on education, economics, housing, empowerment, health, social welfare and justice. As a consequence, I know all too little about any one topic including -- and perhaps particularly -- the complex and enigmatic topic of jobs. I hope, therefore, that my presentation produces more light than confusion.

The first question I have been asked to address is "What are the critical issues in the problem area of jobs?" Even without knowing much, I could talk for more than the 15 minutes I have been allocated detailing the nature and causes of joblessness among Chicago's Blacks. Without attempting to be comprehensive, I will try to illustrate the issues involved by approaching the subject from several different angles.

First, let us briefly document that a serious problem exists. The handout I have provided deals with unemployment and income. The first page describes official unemployment by race for Chicago, the SMSA, the State of Illinois, and the nation during 1981 (the most recent time period for which local figures by race are available). We all know, of course, that the unemployment problem worsened considerably during 1982, so that unemployment among Chicago's black population is undoubtedly far higher than the 19.4% annual average for 1981. And,

when we add in the discouraged worker phenomenon, the percentages, the sheer numbers, and the enormous amount of personal suffering, physical deprivation, frustration, strained family relationships, and despair in the Black community is simply overwhelming. When 30,000 people -- almost all blacks -- stand in line in the cold for endless hours to apply for 3,800 temporary jobs lasting only a few weeks, the scope of the problem is all too apparent.

Given that the backdrop from these figures is the role and significance of a black mayor, I want to emphasize in these analytic data the discrepancies between blacks and whites. While Black unemployment has historically been roughly two or two and a half times that of whites, there are several trends worth noting briefly. Black youth unemployment rates have -- virtually since the end of World War II -- been falling farther and farther behind the rates for white youths. While the causes for this distinctive long-term increase in black youth unemployment are numerous, several of the more important ones can be mentioned: triple disinvestment of the black community -- that is, the movement of jobs from the Frost Belt regions, from urban areas, and from the inner city areas, all of which hold a sizable potential of this country's black youth; disinvestment and industrial decline generally have hit hardest in those less skilled sectors of the economy which historically served as the entry point for less skilled and educated young people; the physical movement of jobs away from inner city areas has been especially harmful to youth who cannot afford to travel long distances for work and who rely heavily on word-of-mouth and neighborhood visibility as job search methods; the continuing disparity

in the quality of education received by blacks and whites during a time period when educational quality and academic credentials generally have become increasingly important in the competition for jobs; an extraordinarily large cohort of black youth entering the job market during this period of increasingly scarce entry level jobs.

Second, as illustrated on the second page of my handout, the distribution of white median family income nationally has been fairly steadily improving, while the distribution for blacks has been going through more complicated changes. Between 1959 and 1969, the distribution patterns were improving discernibly -- going from a pyramid to nearly cylindrical in shape. By 1979, however, the shape was more distinctly like an hourglass, having expanded somewhat at the top, expanding much more markedly at the bottom, and thinning out considerably in the middle. In sheer income terms, the black community is moving toward two rather distinct classes. In comparative terms, the progress blacks had made during the '60s toward more closely approximating the income distribution of whites was largely wiped away during the 1970s.

Finally, the third page of the handout compares family income for Chicago's blacks in 1969 with 1979 controlling for the effects of inflation. Here we see how blacks in Chicago have been doing relative to themselves rather than to whites. If blacks have been doing better economically, perhaps their lack of progress relative to whites might not be so distressing. Clearly, however, the table shows that blacks have lost enormous ground to themselves. In numerical terms, this is illustrated by the change in poverty levels among black Chicagoans. The

percent of black Chicago families living in poverty rose from 19% in 1969 to 34% in 1979.

But to return to my stated interest in local black-white comparisons, let me mention a few facts from 1980 Census data on Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas or SMSAs. Comparing Chicago to ten other large SMSAs with sizable black concentrations, we find: Chicago ranked highest, or worst, on the ratio of black to white median family income; Chicago ranked first in the percentage difference between black and white poverty levels; Chicago ranked first in the difference between black and white labor force participation rates; Chicago was tied for the top spot with Detroit on the difference in black and white population employment ratios; while Chicago ranked only third behind Detroit and Philadelphia in the difference between black and white unemployment levels.

In summary, then, what have the facts told us about the problems blacks in Chicago face when it comes to jobs and income? Clearly blacks in this most segregated of major cities are burdened by tremendous economic problems, and the inequity of the burden they endure in relation to the non-black local population appears to be greater than in any other comparable metropolitan center in this country.

Turning from facts describing the problem to more analytical issues, I think these data suggest several points rather plainly. First while the problem of job creation has a generic dimension to it which every mayor of a large Frost Belt city must confront, the magnitude of the structural barriers to black employment are especially severe in Chicago. Thus, in addition to the pervasive urban problems of a declining tax base, population decline (particularly middle class population decline),

the flight of jobs and capital, the deterioration of the housing stock and infrastructure, rising crime, increasingly inadequate services in relation to need, the withdrawal of federal funds and increasing pressure on state revenue resources, and the disasterously long and deep economic downturn affecting just about everyone -- in addition to all of these problems, Chicago has some especially serious and recalcitrant problems of race as an entire second overlay of problems requiring remediation.

The second point the data suggests to me grows immediately from the first. The solutions to the economic problems of Chicago's blacks both are longer term and stretch farther from matters of job creation strategy than may be the case elsewhere. I am not saying that the problems facing black people in Chicago are unique -- for they undoubtedly are not. I am saying that more attention and more time may be required to address the elements of racism -- in both economic and non-economic social institutions -- which account for the exceptionally debilitating economic conditions confronting Chicago's blacks. To phrase it another way, if blacks are to compete effectively with whites for jobs in Chicago, the greater institutional inequities they face will have to be corrected and the personal resources gap which blacks must close is wider than blacks in other cities are facing.

The third inference I am prepared to venture based on the factual data is that the resistance to constructive change is likely to be greater in Chicago than elsewhere. This resistance is not just racial in motivation -- though surely it is in good part racial; it also is due to S.O.P. -- standard operating procedure. If Chicago is to focus more on the needs of blacks, other minorities and the poor, if a

heightened commitment and sensitivity to the needs of the city's most destitute communities is to emerge; then the rigidly closed and self-aggrandizing way in which power is utilized in this city will have to be changed. That in itself is no small task; and clearly, I believe, will be vigorously resisted by some blacks as well as whites, and by some advocates of greater racial and social class equality.

Before I use up all my time discussing elements of the problem, let's turn to the second question I have been asked to address: "What difference can a mayor make in solving this problem, and particularly what impact can a black mayor have, and what kinds of policies should be adapted?" Certainly with especially severe and wide-reaching economic problems, the leadership, skill, and priority which a mayor of this city bring to the task are crucial elements of any solution. But what about specifics? Since I am afraid I am a lot weaker on the solutions than on the problems, let me try to answer through a series of brief assertions in no particular individual order, but grouped into two categories: directions to be pursued in relation to generic economic problems and directions to be pursued in relation to greater racial equity in the economic area.

First generally speaking, I believe that:

1. A new national economic strategy to undo the devastation of the last few years and produce a vigorous upturn in the business cycle is essential. Most of the jobs are in the private sector, and a revitalized economy will do more than any other single factor to put people to work.
2. Even with a vigorous domestic economy, large numbers of people, particularly urban blacks, will remain unemployed. As our economy

becomes more capital intensive and less labor-intensive, the private sector is becoming increasingly less capable of absorbing the unemployed. A federally subsidized jobs program of some sort is essential if we are to avoid in the future the ravaging our society is currently experiencing.

3. In relation to these first two points, it is vital that the mayors of major cities like Chicago work diligently for congressional action.

4. There is considerable evidence suggesting that the nearly ubiquitous strategy of providing tax and financial incentives -- that is, the use of Industrial Revenue bonds, tax breaks, loans and loan guarantees, and outright grants -- is of little or no use in actually influencing decisions on capital mobility. Indeed, the taxes lost through Industrial Bonds alone on the national level are said to be amounted to more than double the annual outlay of AFDC payment. Locally such incentives may in the long run, lose more jobs than they gain since their diversion of revenue damages schools, police and fire protection, and other services which may attract or keep jobs for the community. At best the use of tax and financial incentives should be limited to only those very few circumstances when their positive impact is relatively certain.

5. A system of early notification of plant shut downs is needed; and local government needs to develop the capacity and technical skills to pursue alternative sources and forms of ownership, should efforts to help keep the plant open fail. Joint public-private ventures should be tried as a mechanism to retain businesses and jobs.

6. Local government needs to systematically pursue and plan ways to retain the community's wealth. Working with interested businesses -- starting with those such as utilities, banks, and others with little

opportunity or likelihood of leaving the city -- local government should facilitate (and seek out for itself) contracting with local vendors. Brokering to facilitate such networking, particularly among small and moderate sized businesses, increases local wealth and promotes growth in those businesses with the greatest job creation potential.

7. Exporting the goods, products, and services of the city to other markets is the other half of building community wealth. If local government can develop a constructive role in aiding such exports as well as keeping local capital within the community, more jobs, taxes, and services will accrue.

8. More emphasis needs to be placed on aiding smaller and middle-sized businesses located out in the community where job growth potential is greatest and where the residual benefits such as increased community stability, identity, and appeal can all be garnered.

9. Far greater cooperation and increased reliance on public-private partnerships in special job-training programs, in providing venture capital, technical assistance, and land packaging are needed.

10. Greater public accountability is needed. This means opening of the records of the city's Department of Economic Development and other public agencies so that we know how many new jobs are being created, where, for whom and for how long?

In terms of the particular things which need to be done to improve employment equity, several come to mind:

1. The city and other local governments need to do a better job hiring blacks. While the city is 40% black, city employees are only 27% black with some departments such as Fire (13.9%), Streets and Sanitation

(19.5%), and Utilities/Transportation (18.4%) being especially underrepresented. While complete and precise numerical parity is not essential, significant underrepresentation needs to be eliminated.

2. Job training, placement, counseling, and supportive services must be partially designed to address the particular needs of female-headed households which constitute the vast majority of the poverty in the black community.

3. The use of mayoral appointments is crucial to changing the value perspective of major policy-setting boards and committees. To promote equity to the public schools, in parks management, in transportation, in public housing, and so on, it is essential to alter the composition of the boards governing these public service sectors. The Chicago Board of Education provides an excellent recent example. This \$1.4 billion institution serves a student population that is 61% black, 85% minority, and roughly half economically disadvantaged; nonetheless, it historically has been preoccupied with catering to the interests of middle-class white students. Chiefly through the influence of the mayor, the board recently submitted and received judicial approval for a school desegregation plan which all three black school board members opposed. That plan, in our judgment, was constructed to keep and attract white middle class students by permitting high concentrations of whites, by preventing blacks from entering schools with large white concentrations, by forcing black students to move from their neighborhood schools but forcing no whites to move from their schools, by refusing to commit the Board to using back-up mandatory procedures, by giving whites more latitude to transfer than blacks, by permitting a school -- even the entire system -- to be defined as desegregated without necessitating that any blacks attend

a school with non-blacks, by providing no meaningful safeguards against within school resegregation or against skimming off the best students to the system's few integrated special schools. Perhaps worst of all, rather than complying with the Supreme Court's mandate for Milliken II relief -- that is, extra funds to compensate the more than 80% of black students who are to remain in virtually all black schools -- the Board is reneging on its financial commitment and is spending more supplemental funds on the system's few "integrated" white schools than on the 385 all black schools. Thus, we have a plan which is to remedy past injuries to blacks that is, in fact, designed almost exclusively to serve the interests of whites. Clearly a black mayor could do much to avoid such ludicrous situations. Equally clearly, a heightened financial priority to public education is one of those long-term solutions to unemployment among blacks which necessitates a mayoral commitment.

4. The very sizable city contracts for construction, goods procurement, and services need to have minority set-aside components and affirmative action achievement requirements covering those hired by these contractors.

5. Housing rehabilitation, a labor-intensive industry, and other job generating enterprises -- like energy conservation, and urban food production -- which can increase the purchasing power and life quality of the poor are the type of double-duty job programs which must be emphasized.

6. The city's historic policy of directing aid to the well-connected needs to be changed, and the policy of prioritizing projects chiefly on the basis of the biggest bang for the buck needs to be counterbalanced by considerations of need. In the latter instance the city has historically held the view that capital improvements and other expendi-

tures to aid communities, which are relatively healthy economically but are showing early signs of decline, will produce the largest job return on city collar investments. While this may be correct, the result of such a policy is to write off the economic development of devastated, inner-city, largely minority areas. Such a write-off is simply unacceptable and a more balanced distribution of resources is both necessary and appropriate.

7. In any adequate economic development plan for the city, we need to have a demographic as well as a numerical and geographic analysis of impact. In arraying the city's resources among such strategies as high tech, capital improvements, neighborhood tech, enterprise zones, IRBs, tax incentives, and so on we need to know who is going to derive employment in what numbers from each strategy. Each component of the plan and the combined impact of the plan on job creation can then be assessed by the public. Without such information there is no meaningful planning for the needs of the unemployed in this city -- there will only be insensitive opportunism which will undoubtedly benefit chiefly the vested interests who least need help.

Finally, the third question to be addressed asks about the road ahead -- what to look for, what to monitor, what to do. Let me, given the time constraints, just mention two overriding concerns I have. First, the demographic trends in Chicago and elsewhere are clear. Our cities are becoming increasingly black, other minority, and poor. This separation is not only geographic but also conforms increasingly to political boundaries. Such geo-political isolation of traditionally less powerful groups means increasing control of these interests within the city, but

also decreasing control and influence outside the cities -- on the state and national levels. While there is much that can be productively accomplished with the assumption of local political power, efforts to build interdependence, linkages, and leverage other power bases must be scrupulously and systematically pursued.

Second, economic recovery, direct governmental responsibility for creation of some jobs, and effective development strategies are not enough. Our society seems to be moving steadily in the direction of fewer and fewer jobs in relation to the size of our work force. Higher productivity, through automation and heavier reliance on cheaper foreign labor, is being achieved at the cost of reduction in the number of jobs left for Americans to perform. We are trading in the production of decent housing for the less well-to-do for video games for the more well-to-do. While GNP may, after the current slump, start to go up again, the status of the quality of our lives in terms of our basic, historical values seems to be declining. That is, the growth in GNP is not the truly more important aspect of life. The decline in jobs relative to need and the decline in quality of life are especially troubling economic conditions which a mayor ought to address or at least bring to public consciousness and discussion.

I am not pleased with what I have been able to communicate about jobs to you today. However, I am confident that my colleagues in this workshop will rectify many of the omissions or inadequacies of my presentation. There is a great deal to be said and done about jobs and economic development, and many questions to which we do not know the answers.

Accessing political power through the election of competent black mayors

in cities with sizable black population is a first and very large step in the right direction. For blacks in Chicago, it may well be the only chance they have for finding the fairly steady work and decent income necessary to accessing the good life.

TOM CARLSON
COMMUNITY RENEWAL SOCIETY

I want to state at the outset that I will limit most of my comments to the generic problem of economic development and the creation and retention of jobs in the city. We are facing, indeed, a thorny problem which is both local and global, and I want to limit my remarks to what a mayor could be doing. There are many forces--disinvesting forces--in the city which are national and global in scope. I would like to focus my remarks this afternoon on what kind of specific city initiatives a mayor--indeed a Black mayor--could be doing to improve employment opportunities for the city's own residents and therein help to redress the inequities in jobs and income between Blacks and Whites.

I think we need to take a look at the ways in which the city assists business in the creation and retention of jobs; and we also need to take a look at the city's own jobs over which it has control and at publicly-assisted work in various forms. Every year the city administers or spends billions of dollars in tax dollars--from the Federal level or from revenues levied by the city--which create jobs. Several cities have put in place residence-job requirement policies. The most famous is the Boston policy and I will give you a little history of how it came about.

The Boston Jobs Coalition is a coalition in which 70 or 80 community groups came together to advocate a jobs policy because of a large scale publicly assisted development called Copley Place which was being built in Boston. It was displacing many community residents and after losing that fight as a concession, many of these groups who were running programs of employment and training, pre-apprenticeship and apprenticeship

programs for local people, felt that it was only appropriate that they should get an equitable share of the jobs which were created on that project. It was election year and the mayor in fact ran on a platform that on all publicly assisted projects of that kind in the city, 50 percent of the jobs would go to city residents, 25 percent of the jobs were to be given to minorities, and 10 percent to women. And that was on top of that 50 percent, so that was about 85 percent of the jobs going to Boston City residents.

This is one kind of thing that can be done. In fact, I recently read an article by Pierre DeVise, a local social scientist, who said that it is not a matter of not enough jobs in the city of Chicago, it is a matter of who gets them. These kinds of policies are difficult. In fact, the Boston residents jobs policy is now in court being tested for its constitutionality. The defendant and plaintiff in the Supreme Court Case is the City of Boston vs virtually all the trade unions. So this has to be reckoned with.

There are various ways of constructing residents jobs policies or residents jobs initiatives on publicly assisted work. The City of Baltimore has a voluntary initiative where it goes out and actively seeks developers and markets its employment and training services as a quid pro quo for job set-asides for the long term unemployed. There are many ways in which to do this.

But there are other kinds of work over which the city also has control, such as contracting for a variety of city services. In the future, we need to look at neighborhood and community groups getting assistance so that they can begin to assume many of the city services and

contracts where the city is now contracting with outside employers and outside contractors. And these kinds of services range always from health care right down to basic streets and sanitation work, waste management and other housing services. There is a proposal on the table where I work with a coalition called "The Community Workshop and Economic Development" to have residents take over public housing projects and manage public housing projects in Chicago. This could also create a good deal of work.

We need to look at this in terms of capital works projects on the streets as well. There are about \$400 million in capital works projects on the streets of Chicago every year. We need to take a look at minority contractors and local contractors getting an equitable share of this employment and targeting this employment to the long-term unemployed, and at the same time targeting training to those people so that they are trained and able to do that kind of work. Here again we ran into the unions who are notoriously racist with most of the membership living in the suburbs. I think we need to redress this inequity as well.

We need to look at city assistance for economic development. The city offers many incentives for the creation and retention of jobs. I would agree with Mr. Fox that they are largely ineffective. In some cases, they are effective in keeping a plant in an area or even attracting a new plant when they are used by imaginative developers. Most often, those imaginative developers are community-based developers, however, and this is something to keep in mind as well. But we need to know what we are getting in exchange for these kinds of public assistance. Again this comes back to the residency jobs requirements policy. We could say in exchange for any kind of public assistance of this variety, there should be specific jobs goals for local residents or minorities in exchange for

these kinds of public subsidies.

I was the architect of a study last year which was called "Tax Dollars and Jobs in Chicago". We looked at the major forms of subsidy assistance that the city was offering to employers. We found out that the city was not even monitoring the number of jobs actually created and retained through the offering of what we found to be over \$37 million in various kinds of subsidies--Urban Development Action Grants, Industrial Revenue Bonds, Revolving Loan Funds, etc. In fact, in case of Industrial Revenue Bonds, there is no criteria in respect of the creation and retention of jobs. It is very loose at the federal level. There is the possibility that municipalities could put some sort of screen on the granting of Industrial Revenue Bonds to insure that an adequate number of jobs are created and retained. I think that is another city initiative that could be undertaken. We need to keep an eye on those. I think it could be used in much more creative ways, as Mr. Fox has suggested, to promote worker ownership plans and other kinds of alternative ownership in the face of plant closings.

In terms of other city assisted economic development, probably the most important forms of assistance that a city can offer a private developer or the private sector are capital improvements to public works projects. In Chicago, there is a tremendous inequity in the distribution of public works projects. Seventy-five to eighty percent of the planned public works projects in the City of Chicago will take place within 2 miles of the Loop, and I am including the medical center area and including the South development for the World's Fair and the Near North. But this is a tremendous inequity when you consider the fact that 75-80 percent of the

jobs are in this neighborhood and it is this kind of assistance that business needs most--streets, sewers, bridges, etc.

Many of you are familiar with the study "American Ruins" by Pat Choke. He documents the tremendous importance of this kind of improvements for helping business.

Thirdly, I think I want to point to the action transformation of many city services. There are many ways in which many cities are going about doing their business which are, in themselves, disinvesting. Mr. Fox has mentioned energy. The city now has an 8 percent utility tax out of which it gains a third of its operating revenue. That utility tax has gotten off of large scale centralized investments--nuclear power plants and so forth--which really disinvests the city. Every time there is a rate hike, dollars fly right out of the city. There are no jobs created with that investing. The jobs are way out in Bailey or Zion somewhere. What the city is doing is financing its own operations out of a disinvesting activity. Thus, the city is in a peculiar position of standing with its feet on both sides of the fence and wondering why it hurts.

The city could begin to transform that service, as the Chicago Energy Commission has recommended, put a cap on the utility tax eventually and set aside a certain portion of the revenues generated by the utility tax and put them into energy conservation and housing rehabilitation, and use it as a fund for job creation. The same thing can be done with waste management in the city. The city presently spends \$180 million a year for double cost-waste disposal system. While it is using revenues for many valuable recyclables, it is now transporting and disposing its waste at the cost of \$100 per ton. Landfills are getting fuller, and its

getting more expensive to go about operations in this way. If the city were to take over all waste managements in this city and recontract it out to private haulers, the municipal streets and sanitation workers, and to community based organizations, we can create a city wide recycling program in all 50 wards which would reduce the budget cost by 50 percent for hauling and disposal, and also create 5,000 jobs and recover, over 5 years, \$31 million a year in revenues through recyclable waste.

This kind of transformation of city services could also create a vast number of jobs for neighborhoods with minority people.

I will stop there. These are just a few suggestions that may be somewhat helpful.

BERTA SHELTON
Illinois Bureau of
Employment Security

My speech will be even shorter because my fellow panelists have covered some material that I intended to talk about.

In all major occupational sectors, the number of job openings which become available as a result of employment growth is substantially smaller than those which are created as workers leave the labor force. This is particularly true in those occupations which employ many women and older workers. Consequently, many large occupational categories which are growing slowly offer more opportunities and small rapidly growing job titles.

In our section, Research and Analysis, we have projected a few of the major industry groups with employment growth between 1980 and 1990. The highest ranking is medical and health services, eating and drinking places, business services and banking, to name a few.

Also in our local Illinois Job Service offices, those occupations in which the largest number of job openings were received at the Illinois office between October 1981 and September 30, 1982 were as follows: for licensed practical nurse, the number of openings received was 272, but the supply/demand ratio was 4.9. This is the number of job seekers available for each job opening, and represents the labor surplus.

We know the employment situation is bad. The unemployment rate for the month of December 1982 for the State of Illinois is 12.8%; the city of Chicago--12.2% as compared to 10.8% for the U.S. Relative to other large industrial states, Illinois ranked fourth behind the states of Michigan at 17.6%, Ohio at 14.5%, and Pennsylvania at 12.9%.

Let us look at what the statistics indicated about unemployment among Blacks in Illinois. The rate among Blacks is 31.4% and 49.6% among Black youth, ages 16-19. According to the 1981 annual average unemployment rate, the unemployment rate for non-white youth, 16-19 years in Chicago and central cities was 55%. In Illinois, the labor force can be affected either positively or negatively by changes in the youth component. Because of the larger proportion of the total unemployment that is represented by youth, any remedial actions which do not include a youth component would not be very effective. Youth represent twice as large a share of unemployment as they do of the entire labor force. In particular, Black youth and Black men appear to be completely separated from the mainstream of the workers. Youth, during recessionary periods when jobs are scarce, will find that the most productive use of their non-working plan will be furthering their education, and, at a minimum, completing high school.

Many minority children brought up in homes without a father, often with a mother who cannot work for various reasons, see no point in taking school seriously or believing in competing to get a job that can lead anywhere. If their early job history and work experience confirm their pessimistic expectations, many give up and become discouraged. Many white youngsters are introduced by a parent or a friend to an employer who is looking for workers. The path is smoother for them--at least they would be interviewed. This is not true for those Black youngsters whose appearance and speech are likely to prevent their receiving an application form, even if they can get to an office where employees are interviewed.

In the long run, usually they are older and live in the other age classification, but they will bring with them their earlier experience in the labor market. It is to their advantage to develop as many positive experiences as they can. As they age, they will be replaced in the youth classification by still younger people. Unlike middle-aged workers, today's youth will not be chased by larger better educated youth population. They will be succeeded by a smaller but better educated youth population.

To me, it is a big problem among our youth and this is why I put quite a bit of emphasis on suggesting that what we should do is try to encourage our youngsters in getting education so they would be better prepared to meet whatever is out here. It is bad enough for those of us who are educated in the world around.

I have brought several handouts here with a lot of data. The upshot is that jobs are scarce.

We have publications in our division--Research and Analysis--that some of you may be interested in receiving. I won't go through all the numbers. We have a monthly we put out Labor Area Trends. This is the newsletter for the standard metropolitan statistical areas which includes a brief analysis of local economy and employment. We have Illinois Labor Market Reviews which is a newsletter for the state which includes some of the same data as Labor Area Trends includes. Annually, we have planning information report which is a comprehensive report on the economic situation of the states and SMSAs. "Where Workers Work" is for Chicago SMSA only and covers employment by industry, zip codes and municipality for all workers covered by the Illinois Unemployment Insurance Act. And there are others. I have these books here so you feel free to take one.

Finally, I want to say according to the data we received this past week, the number of initial claims are steadily rising in the State of Illinois. We got a figure over 300,000 reports this past year, and this means that in Illinois now, those recipients will be able to qualify for an extended two weeks of federal supplementary compensation.

In sum, the situation is bad. And it does not seem to be getting any better.

CHUCK WOOTEN
United Auto Workers Activist
Detroit, Michigan

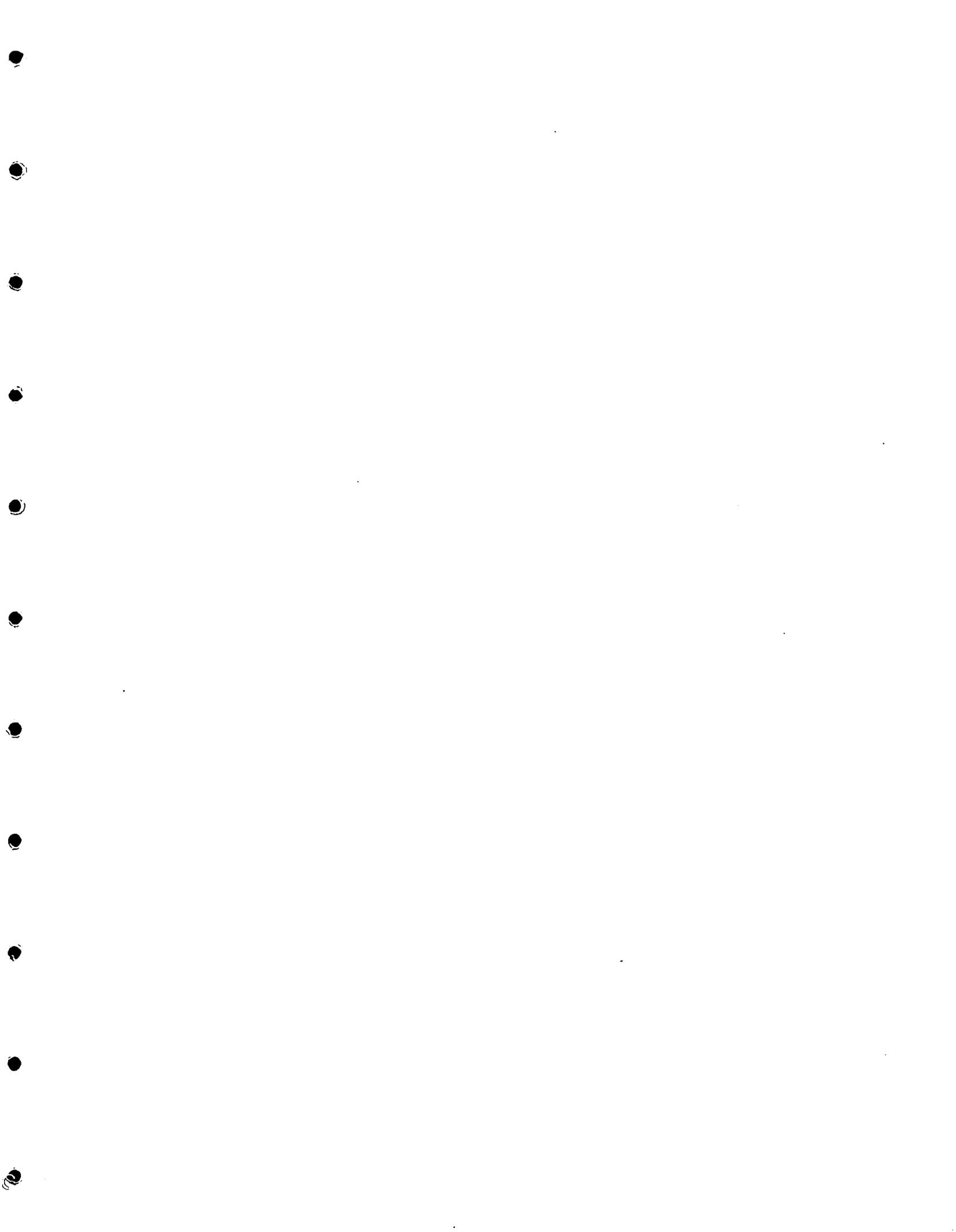
I think that first we have to understand what is a capitalist crisis, a crisis based on the capitalist system. And when we talk about jobs we have to approach it from the position that we got to struggle for jobs based on the foundation of peace and equality. This is because what the capitalists are doing now is leading attacks all over the world to try to overthrow the revolutionary movement and support white minority governments and military dictatorships throughout Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

The problem we face now is how do we approach the question of jobs and raise the question of peace and equality at the same time. Do we understand, for example, that the contradictions that exist in terms of so many people on drugs or being denied education or jobs is a contradiction of capitalism. What I am trying to say is that until you deal with the question of capitalism and lead our attack and talk about us throwing out the capitalist system, talking about jobs alone is basically talking about it in the abstract.

Here we are to talk about Black mayors. Can they make a difference? I would say -- No!

Take a city like Detroit with the sixth largest population of Black people in the country. We have a mayor who has a long history of labor involvement. What he did once he got elected was to tie himself close to the capitalist class. Like they say--"As General Motors goes, so goes the U.S."

(PRESENTATIONS PARTIALLY RECORDED, TRANSCRIPTS WILL BE OBTAINED FROM PANELIST.)



HOUSING

JULIALYNNE WALKER
Peoples College

I am Julialynne Walker. I am a member of Peoples College and the moderator for the panel this afternoon on Housing at the Conference on "Black People and Politics in 1980s: The Mayors Race in Chicago." We have as speakers two people -- Waymon Winston, the former board president of the Chicago Rehab Network and former Director of the South Shore Housing Center. He is now working in Milwaukee as the Director of the West Side Conservatory Corporation which is a neighborhood based housing development organization. He has also recently been active in organizing other such groups through the city of Milwaukee.

Our second speaker is James Payne, a long time community activist, who currently serves as Chairman of the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization. He is also active with Operation PUSH.

I want to refer us back just briefly to the conference call and newspaper that was distributed. You will see that both days are trying to work through two key questions. (1) How do Black Mayors get elected? (2) What difference does it make? Once they get elected what are the limitations? Intergovernment relations--the effect of the federal government and the federal policy, the effect of state policy, and the effect of the county policy in the area of housing--all limit the kinds of things that a Black mayor can do to bring benefits to the Black community and to the masses of the working people throughout the city. We need

to understand these and other factors in order to develop a housing agenda in Chicago. Because no matter who becomes mayor, the Black community needs to make sure that we get better benefits in housing than we have gotten under the previous mayors.

WAYMON WINSTON

Director, West Side Conservatory Corporation
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

I am going to try to view the housing problems within Chicago, and the Black community specifically, and respond to those questions proposed by the convenors of the conference. It has been 17 years this month since Dr. Martin Luther King first arrived in Chicago to lead Chicagoans to press for improved housing and economic opportunity for Black ghetto dwellers. Dr. King's primary objective was to bring about the unconditional surrender of forces dedicated to the creation and making of slums. He viewed Chicago's slums as a slow striking death of concentration camp life. He felt the relationship between Black Chicagoans was not unlike the unconscionable exploitation of Third World countries.

Black slums--we now call them neighborhoods and community areas--have changed since the early 1960s and when Dr. King arrived here. But they still remain bigger and more devastating to Black life and aspirations. Dr. King's dream of ending housing segregation and economic exploitation have not been met.

What I will try to do is focus on the key housing issues now facing Chicago and the Black community. What has been the pattern of development within mainstream White America and its involvement in Chicago's Black community and what have been the struggles to eradicate segregated housing and economic exploitation in Chicago? Also, what has been the pattern of City Hall involvement and how have community groups responded to underdevelopment in deteriorated neighborhoods? I will also try to answer some very basic questions of who controls much of the Black slums, and discuss how it affects the community in terms of racism and economic exploitation.

Suburban and White ethnic interest have played very dominant roles in shaping the Chicago housing landscape. This is most critical in light of the unprecedented mobilization of Chicago Black communities to participate in the upcoming 1983 elections for the city mayor. What difference can a mayor make in Black Chicago's housing problem? The mayor of Chicago does wield unbelievable influence in relationship to housing. The next mayor will control policy commissions, department needs, and municipal capital expenditures that can have significant impact on Chicago's Black community. What are the issues? I am going to review seven issues that I think will affect Chicago Black community.

1) Segregation and very simply, the process of social, political and economic exploitation;

2) Disinvestment, the flip side of segregation, is taking capital and resources out of the community and placing them in other communities. In short, it is making sure that the Black community declines to the benefit of the affluence of White communities and White suburban areas;

3) Displacement. This has a two-edged sword. One side is abandonment and demolition--the housing is so deteriorated that poor people and Black people are forced to vacate those properties. The other side of the two-edged sword is displacement and gentrification--where people are displaced because of public or private reinvestment activities.

4) Public Housing: Public housing is a critical issue in as much as it will be a significant litmus test in terms of how housing conditions will fare for Black Chicagoans under a new mayor.

5) Home ownership. Who controls the land? I view home ownership not in the traditional middle class aspiration of owning one's home with

a white picket fence out front, but a question of who controls the land. It is similar to issues of land control as discussed in Third World countries regarding peasants and their ability have some decision making power and some impact on how their housing conditions will be shaped.

6) Tenant rights. Chicago's Black community is a community of tenants and how one fares as a tenant is for the most part dictated by "the lord of the land" or landlord, and city policy through programs available for tenants.

7) Housing code. This issue is probably the most critical one and in the last twenty years, from the 1960s to the 1980s, a lot of the substandard housing in Chicago was demolished and several mayor's have patted themselves on the back and said, "we are going to eliminate these problems." As a matter of fact, Dr. King's last marches exposed the poor housing conditions in the Black community. The then mayor, Daley, indicated that Chicago's Black community housing problems would be eliminated by 1967. Basically, the process to do that was to destroy the housing. If deteriorated housing was destroyed, there would no longer be poor housing and the problem would be solved. The problem is that in destroying the housing, an equal or greater amount of new housing was not produced for those families who had been previously living in deteriorated housing. In fact, what you had was a situation of segregation which was essentially a process of exploitation. I will speak more about this phenomena of affordability, or simply being able to find an apartment or home within your economic means to pay rent or buy. Which is usually based on anything between 25-30 percent of ones income.

What I will do is focus on a couple of these issues and give you an idea of some of the material conditions that affect the Black community in Chicago. Let us look at the rate of demolition, that is, housing destroyed in the Black community. The majority of the housing destroyed in the City of Chicago was in Black neighborhoods. When you look at the number of housing units constructed to replace those demolished, all of that housing construction occurred outside of the Black community. Look at the number of housing units destroyed in the 2, 3, and 4 flat buildings. The majority of the buildings destroyed in that group were within the Black community. In some community areas well over a thousand 2 - 4 unit buildings were destroyed.

Look at public housing as an issue of segregation. The majority of it again is within the Black community. When you look at subsidized family housing, again the majority of this housing is within the Black community. When you look at the number of housing units demolished in multi-family buildings, eight units and greater, again the majority of that housing is in the Black community. And in many community areas well over 1,000 buildings of this size have been destroyed. However, when you look at the number of new units being built in multi-family buildings, eight units and more, most of it occurs outside of the Black community.

There are some rarities where subsidized housing comes into the community. They have, in fact, adjusted the figures to reflect that there has been some new construction activities. All of that new construction activity, for the most part, has been federally insured housing. When you look at the percent distribution of subsidized units, again

the majority of it is in Black communities. When you look at the net change of housing units, comparing the number of housing units that are demolished and taken out of the housing market, the number of new units that are constructed to replace those units, you see that again within the Black community there has been a net decline of housing units. There have been more units demolished, eliminated and erased than there have been units replaced.

Let us look at the issue of segregation. Despite some increases of income in the Black community in the 1960s only 12 percent of all whites with incomes above poverty lived in poor areas. But, in the Black community, 60 percent of the Blacks who had incomes above the poverty level lived in poverty areas. What that means is that irrespective of a Black persons income or status in the society, he or she lived in segregated poorer communities. This means that Blacks are restricted in what housing is available for them.

In the Urban League Report of 1970, 80 percent of Chicago Black residents lived in segregated housing. In looking at the recent 1980 Census, my figures indicate that that has decreased just a little and now approximately 74 percent of Chicago Black residents live in segregated housing. And that difference very well may be a slight of hand in how the statistics are collected and reported. It may very well be that segregation has increased to a much higher level based on how you view those community areas that are now integrated. On the North side and in Lakefront areas there are a large number of Blacks who have high incomes and can live in higher income areas, it remains to be seen in the 1980s if those areas will remain integrated or will they reverse to become segregated areas.

Black segregation patterns are, in fact, the work of exclusionary interests and the city has traditionally played a major role in that. I should explain what segregation means as it relates to housing. Segregation and underdevelopment, in fact, insures superprofits for the owners of the buildings. And how is that done? Seventy-four percent of the Black community live in segregated housing. That means that they have few options. That allows landlords to charge rents as high as they want. Because the Black community historically has been underdeveloped, there have not been enough housing units. People are forced to live in overcrowded situations. There is a high demand for these for decent units. What this demand does is creates artificial and higher prices for these units so that, in fact, a one bedroom apartment that should not rent for \$180, because of the large demand by people who want that unit, the owners can jack the price up to the highest bidder. Thus, though the landlords and the owners of the property are receiving super high income from the building, the tenants are not receiving a comparable level of improved housing.

In most cases, the housing has decreased. What is the city government's role in this? Traditionally, the city government represents the real estate industry of Chicago's inner city. The city government subsidized the slum lords through the use of non-existent code enforcement, thereby funneling the poor peoples money to slumlords without equal compensation--decent housing. How is this done? We are talking about a situation where people are paying extremely high rent or mortgages for homes that are in poor-deteriorated condition as determined by the city in the in the form of building codes which establish what is decent housing. It is not just a general phrase but there are very specific criteria based

on structural conditions, electrical conditions, walls, floors, stairs and the like that determine if a property is habitable.

The problem has been that when it comes to policing the large real estate industry within the city, building inspectors know how to look the other way. The second part of the problem is that the owners milk the buildings. They put nothing back into the building. Over a period of time, despite the normal wear and tear that any building goes through, replacements of the deteriorated components of the building is not even done.

When you look through the black community, it is a common phrase that Black people do not know "how to keep up buildings." They tear up buildings and if you put Black people in these buildings that it would just wither away. Well, the fact of the matter is that it was not so much a problem of Black people not knowing how to maintain the building but the owner refusing to take the income that he received from Black people for compensation for decent housing, refusing to use that income and maintain the property in a safe and sanitary condition. Again the city plays a key role in this.

The end of the process is that much of the housing goes into abandonment where tenants are in and out. Tenants move into an apartment, the owner makes promises on how he or she will repair the place. They do not make the repairs; the tenants refuse to pay rent because in this case who would want to pay rent in a rat-infested deteriorated apartment. The owner takes the tenant into court and it has been documented, in a number of studies, how the housing courts have favored the owners. The tenant has limited or no recourse.

The process normally ends in many cases, as reflected by the amount of abandonment and housing abolished in the Black Community, as the owner gets the last kicker. Keep in mind what the profits have been. Owner started out by renting units to Black people in the only community that they could live in. That means charging high rent, not a rent that is fair, but whatever the owner can get and to make super profits.

Secondly, the owner returns nothing back to the property which means it can not be maintained so the property over a period of time is steadily being eroded.

The other factor is that the owner does not maintain utilities-- electric and gas. All of this means that the owner is taking all of the profits from segregated housing and putting it in his pocket, putting nothing back into building, nor back into the city in the form of property taxes. This is the key because what has occurred is the owners tend not to pay the amount of property taxes for a comparable building in the white community. And what that means for a mayor is that the Black community is not generating the types of property taxes needed, so that you can expect the services to decline based on those types of property taxes. The city loses revenue and the residents as a whole suffer from this by not receiving decent services.

The last part of the process is arson. Arson is a major problem in Black and poor communities. Traditionally, the process has been to torch your building and collect insurance. The building has been deteriorating over the years because it has not been maintained. It is a ragged, ranshackle building and the owner over a period of time has been steadily jacking up his premium. Someone torches the building or

the building just happens to burn one night by a fire of unknown origin and he receives a large payment from the insurance company.

This affects everyone who owns property or is a tenant because the insurance companies jacked up the premiums because they are not going to lose money by this--they spread those costs to other owners who pass those costs on to tenants or to other smaller owners who have a hard time maintaining insurance or as in the case they have to come under a ridiculously named program called "The Fair Plan." There is absolutely nothing fair about it. It is basically a state subsidized program that creates high priced insurance because buildings must have insurance in most cases. And that it in fact extenuates the situation of segregation.

Another area that I wanted to touch on is in the area of public housing. First, public housing since 1945 has been an extension of the segregated policies of the city in a number of forms. I already talked about the economic stream that is created in as much as many non-Black owners receive super profits at the expense of Black people. What occurs in public housing is a bit different because public housing can not charge the super rents. Something else happens, a two fold process. First the racists within the white communities and the racist politicians fought very hard to keep public housing out of white communities. The primary purpose of keeping public housing out was to maintain white enclaves within the city, and would allow these politicians to remain in public offices.

Public housing as it relates to segregation as a whole is, in fact, tied to the stability of the Democratic Party. If you had an integrated Chicago community, the ability to place Blacks, White ethnics and Hispanics into office would be diffused. By being able to keep the city segregated,

they are also able to sustain political control and power throughout the city.

Traditionally, public housing can not charge high rents because the federal and state governments restrict what the rents can be. What occurs is that public housing is a two-fold money maker. One, it provides patronage jobs to the Democratic Party. People are working in public housing not because of their ability and skills but because of the Party cards that they carry. Secondly, public housing provides subsidy to the private sector. I am going to quote a board member of CHA.

"Chicago Housing Authority receives \$90 million a year.

No one knows where it goes. Last year during the great winter that Chicago had, Chicago Housing Authority bought large snow blowers. No one has seen them. CHA buys large trucks to remove garbage; when they want to evict tenants, no one can find the trucks. This summer CHA bought thousands of gallons of paint and no one can find the paint."

And the point is very simple--CHA through this administration's control by the Democratic Party buys \$50,000 worth of paint, pays for it then someone happens to pick up the paint, then the person who happens to take it vis vis the supplier comes back and sells the paint again to the CHA. That is the illegal activity that occurs.

The legal but unethical activities is that through the relationship of the Chicago real estate interest and the Democratic Party, the party provides sweetheart deals to the real estate industry. And what that means is that Otis Elevators receives \$50 an hour for repairing elevators where the industry's standard on an hourly basis is half that

amount or they pay Otis elevators for fixing elevators that are not repaired. Or the situation where Charlie Swibel, who is the former head of the CHA, arrived in Chicago 25 years ago penniless and now is one of the wealthiest persons in the City of Chicago.

Thus, in fact, the Chicago Housing Authority in the Black community as a whole is an economic whore. Basically, the Black community is used to generate super profits or to funnel dollars that are for the benefit of the Black community and Black people who have poor housing conditions, out of the communities and into the pockets of Democratic patronage workers and Chicago real estate industry.

Over the next 10 years, a lot of the bonds that the CHA holds to pay off the mortgages through the public housing authorities will be paid. Much of the public housing is in very attractive areas, particularly Cabrini Green, for example, and the projects around the Illinois Institute of Technology. Most recently in the south, there were a number of projects that were approved by state court for the city to sell those projects to private developers at whatever price they wanted. As a matter of fact, there was a case in Virginia, if I am not mistaken, where quite simply the public housing authority sold the housing to the university and the university began a process of displacing the tenants and replacing poor Blacks who had occupied this housing with students. This is going to be a whole new type of displacement that will occur.

One of the other areas that I had talked about briefly is disinvestment. Quite simply the income that Blacks earn and the income payments they receive from public assistance and the like is funneled out of communities. In Chicago, banking and insurance communities play a significant role in that. The dollars come out of the Black community and to go build

other suburban affluent areas. The major developments which occurred in suburban areas were at the expense of communities such as Woodlawn, Lawndale, the near Westside, Kenwood, and Oakland--they simply pulled the plug on those communities and took the economic resources that were within those communities and placed them into other areas at the expense of Black residents.

In terms of home ownership, Blacks do not own a lot of housing in the City of Chicago. Approximately 70% of Black Chicagoans are tenants and the issue of home ownership is key because traditionally Black home owners have maintained their community in much better condition than the White owners who held the property. The city has played an historical role in limiting Black home ownership. If you look at the 1976 election when Harold Washington ran against Bilandic, Harold Washington won overwhelmingly those communities where Blacks were predominately home owners. He won by a large margin. In those areas where Blacks were tenants or were very poor, where the Democratic Party could run roughshod over them, Bilandic won. Homeownership is a key factor.

Traditionally the city and major institutions such as the University of Chicago, the Illinois Institute of Technology, Michael Reese Hospital, and the University of Illinois have played a major role in limiting Black ownership. We are talking about in this case in the 40s and 50s where you had a small number of Black middle class that had sufficient incomes but they could not buy. The mechanism or method that was used was restrictive covenant. Very simply, if I was White and I decided to sell my home to a Black person, there was a covenant within the mortgage that said by law I could not sell to a Black person. Restrictive covenants

became widespread within Chicago White communities. It was not until the 1970's that the Supreme Court wiped out restrictive covenants and allowed for Blacks to participate in home ownership by getting mortgages within the private market as well as purchasing homes from previous white owners. Up until that time when Blacks did buy, they had to buy within that time frame. What a contract meant was that if you missed a payment, you lost your home. And that was best illustrated by the battles that Black homeowners fought through the Contract Buyers League that owned homes particularly in those areas adjacent to the Dan Ryan between the area of 95th and 79th Streets. There were a number of single family bungalows built on that. A Black pair who bought in the 1960s bought under a restrictive contract even though the city, under pressure from Martin Luther King and black struggles for open housing and eliminating restrictive contracts, did put laws on the books, but they were not followed. The real estate industry followed their typical pattern so that Blacks could only buy that way. In the sixties and seventies, when the laws had changed, Blacks tried to convert those contracts into mortgages and they could not. Many people lost their homes. There was a situation when you lost your job if you missed one payment, you were out. When you had a mortgage, there was a redemption which allowed you some time to negotiate something with the holder of the mortgage and gave you a period to catch up. Under the contract, if you missed a payment, you could lose your home within 10 to 30 days.

Tenant rights. As I said, the majority of Blacks in this city are tenants and they are, in fact, at the whim of the predominately white, male controlled real estate industry. All of the problems we have talked

about--segregation, deteriorated housing, displacement--all of these factors affect this. Since 1945, the Black community, particularly a large population of tenants, have been an urban refugee class constantly in motion. This creates instability in the schools. South Shore's Parkside School had a 60 percent turnover of students on a yearly basis. Tenants would move in and in six months they were gone.

Traditionally Black churches in Chicago were concentrated because of segregation around the projects. When the Black ghetto expanded and certain neighborhoods were blown out, churches could not keep up with their parishioners because tenants were constantly on the move. This was not because people enjoyed moving but because they were forced to. Particular communities were affected by this: Kenwood-Oakland, blown out. Woodlawn, blown out. Parts of Englewood and West Englewood, blown out. South Lawndale, Garfield, West Garfield, blown out. Parts of the near North Side, blown out. Uptown, blown out. These are specific communities that represent the bulk of those areas that have suffered the largest percentage of housing loss. One estimate in the Chicago Rehabilitation Network is that 70,000 units have been destroyed this way. My estimate is that it is closer to 125,000 units.

The last issue is affordability. Again, the majority of Black people are working people. Incomes tend to be 50 percent of the median income of White people. This means that the income is approximately \$10,000 or \$11,000. With an income of \$10,000, rent over \$250 is a hardship. We know that rents in many communities are well above that. In South Shore, for example, a one bedroom is \$355. \$175 over the rent that Black people should actually pay based on income. Affordability becomes a key issue.

Now, what can a mayor do? The mayor controls some key areas. The planning commission can set patterns or the type of housing that can be built and dictate how much in a given quarter square area. The Zoning and Development Committee, which is controlled by Eddie Vrodolyak, can approve or not approve development as well as establish the zoning. The issue of zoning and planning is very important because they, in fact, dictate the physical type of structures you can build--single family home, two flat, four flat, multi-family, or high rise. The Department of Planning implements the programs of the Planning Commission and the Zoning Commission. The Department of Housing, which is a new department, was created by Mayor Byrne and continues the process of exploitation and controls the majority of housing funds which are supposedly funneled into the neighborhoods.

Most recently the Chicago Department of Housing has been subsidizing upper income Whites who are taking portions of community development block grants and writing down the cost of bonding issues that the city puts out. Most recently there was a small note in the Sun Times that said they had pledged their numbers and again the mayor and her normal ploy had said that they were going to do a \$92 issue which could have built approximately 2,000 or 1,500 homes. They could only do 500 homes under the new issue of approximately \$25,000,000.

Income on the top end is \$50,000. Now keep in mind that working class Blacks in Chicago have incomes of an average of 10,000 - 12,000 dollars. The majority of the people who are in fact taking in the benefits of this program have incomes two and three times greater than that. So the Department of Housing is a key element to providing housing to those who,

in fact, need them. The Economic Development Commission, through the EDC's primary area of concern is industrial development and jobs, usually makes recommendations on industrial development by bonds. While Industrial Development Bonds were developed in the south to attract business and development, they have primarily been used as a way to subsidize the private sector. Keep in mind when Reagan came in and received significant support by Chicago wealthy, the whole thing was "we want to get people off of the government dole". We are tired of people taking government money and not working. Well, in fact, the Industrial Development Program has been the public dole in which the American people's tax money is spent subsidizing low interest mortgages.

That is basically how an IDB works. The city can issue mortgages and can raise capital from the private market. Private individuals who are in the high tax bracket get a tax writeoff. That tax writeoff, in fact reduces their income. It reduces the amount of taxes that the upper income person pays but it increases the amount of taxes that are paid by the poor and working class people. That is one dimension as it effects the person who buys and who gives the capital that they have and receives the tax shelter. The second thing that occurs is that the bank who holds the mortgages does not have to pay taxes on profits that they make on IDBs. So the banks have a sweetheart deal also.

Lastly, but not least, are those people who are recipients of the mortgages they sell. Most recently, and this is a perfect example, there is a restaurant that is owned by a 30 year old Black male in Hyde Park. He is now putting his second restaurant in the Printers Row area in the South Loop area. He is using IDBs. The bonds are supposed to be used to create jobs in depressed areas. If you compare the community of

Englewood and West Englewood to the South Loop, it is obvious which is depressed. When you look at the issue of jobs and the number of jobs that are created, you will find that those jobs that will be created by this restaurant that is using Industrial Development Bonds, are going to be low wage jobs. The impact on creating jobs and income for Blacks is negligible. Some major beneficiaries of Industrial Development Bonds are McDonalds, Popeye's Chicken, Burger King--all of them are recipients of IDBs.

Lastly, there are two other key governmental agencies that the mayor controls. One is the Human Relations Commission. As I said, the city is significantly segregated and discrimination and racism are major factors. The job of Human Relations is to play a major role in creating an amicable relationship between the races. It becomes a mechanism to dampen the concerns and issues raised within the Black community.

Another major community board that the mayor controls is the Chicago Housing Authority. Now let us consider inner government relations--what are those factors within the state and local government that can set some parameters and dimensions in which our next mayor will have to operate? There are 3 levels of policy--federal, state and local. The weakest part is the local. Chicago, in fact, is surrounded by many smaller municipalities. And now, the discussion is in terms of "metro" issues. The Federal government provides funds through the city and dictates how to spend those funds. I mentioned community development bloc grants, and I think the city has been averaging, with the Reagan cut backs, about \$90,000,000 a year in development. Half of that has been going to support patronage workers. Another 20 - 25 percent has been going into the downtown areas or those revitalization areas that are "gentrifying" Black

communities. And some crumbs have been going to the neighborhoods.

At the state level, you have a number of things. The Illinois Housing Development Authority is a state agency that was chartered and created to provide low and moderate housing for low-income families. The majority of this housing has come through IDA. It has been outside of the Black community. In those cases where it has been in the Black community, it has played a major role in displacing Blacks out of the community. It is estimated that 90% of the residents in that area will be displaced and will not be returned back to decent and affordable housing that these funds will be used for.

In most cases, at the local level, the city has a new weapon that I talked about that is really important for housing and that is that they can generate capital and they can do that as effective as bonding issues. There are various other programs that can have major impact.

Lastly, what about a theory for change. The Chicago Rehab Network (CRN) has produced a very good statement on Development Without Displacement. If you want a detailed analysis of the low income housing problem in Chicago, it is one of the best. We have indicated that there is a need for at least 100,000 units of decent and affordable housing. This is a suggestion on how to do that. That would be the following proposal.

(1) That a coalition of community development groups and the Black cooperative network be formed within the Black community. This network should, in fact, be independent and started by the CRN, the Housing Agenda and all those progressive forces fighting for equitable and affordable housing in Black and poor communities.

(2) That the Mayor of Chicago commit to placing \$100,000,000 in the next ten years into a fund for the Chicago Black Cooperative Network

and in fact, providing \$100,000,000 that would be specifically and explicitly in Black and poor communities. This \$100,000,000 would be used primarily to produce new housing, rehab abandoned housing, eliminate deteriorated units and create over that 10 year period 100,000 - 150,000 units. It would also be structured to continue in the next 10 years to produce another 300,000 units. It would create 60,000 jobs and would generate an additional \$20 million a year in property taxes that the city so desperately needs to maintain operating in the black. Again, it should be independent and administered in Chicago by the CRN primarily because the Network historically has played the role of bringing the various housing groups--who are concerned about Blacks and poor housing conditions--together. Lastly, the housing should be cooperatively owned. One of the concerns that I had is that in the society that we live in to individually own a home you have to deal with the environment and the economic environment does not make sense. You see that in those communities in the last 10 years when Black income increased, Blacks bought a home traditionally under FHA and they lost their jobs and the FHA default rates go up. If the housing was held cooperatively, it would provide an umbrella, an economic umbrella would buttress Black housing from the uncertain and destabilizing economy and the crisis economy that we are now experiencing. It would also do a couple of other things that I think are very important. It would provide community based ownership; it would provide community based government. I would suggest that those coops would be help individually on a building by building basis of within various neighborhoods and would also allow for democratic process.

There has been a lot of discussion of Blacks in this conference on electoral politics. I think cooperative housing provides a very good

way of providing a democratic process at a much more local level of which Blacks can, in fact, control at the level that they are at. You do not need any Ph.D. to properly make decisions for yourself at the local level with the proper resources that could be provided through the local neighborhood groups who are fighting for decent housing. It also would do something which I think would be very important and that is that neighborhood groups, most of which are part of the Network, are stepchildren and bastards. What I mean by that is though they play the significant role and have produced more housing than the public housing authority--which has multi-million dollar programs--they are not recognized as playing a significant role in solving problems in the city.

I want to end on a very interesting remark. This remark was made back in the late 1950s by a White owner talking about the impact of segregation and disinvestment. "Anybody who is well established in this business,"--meaning owning real estate in the ghetto--"in Chicago does not earn \$100,000 a year, he is loco!"

I want to end on that. The white corporate structure is not loco; they are taking tons of money out of the Black community through rent, and through non-payment of property tax, through default on utility bills, and the like. And the Black community is receiving nothing but deteriorated housing and poor conditions.

JAMES PAYNE, Chair
Kenwood Oakland Community Organization

(OPENING STATEMENT NOT TAPED. TRANSCRIPTS TO FOLLOW.)

The accompanying chart shows the reduction in housing units in several communities in Chicago. The chart shows the great loss of housing in relation to the percentage of the population increase. We, thus, establish a basis for analysis of the problem within the context of this discussion. The question, then is, what becomes the role of the next mayor of Chicago? I would say at this point I have all of the statistics for the chart and I want to make the chart in an attractive manner rather than just numbers. I want to submit this at a later date so that it can be published. I want to revise it into a monograph so it can have more meaning.

Saving Existing Housing. First, the mayor must be truly a visionary and very concerted in every single effort that must be made to save and salvage the present housing stock. This means effective and efficient housing code enforcement and thorough, more complete investigation into arson cases. City ordinances should be passed that would allow easy identification of the owners of all properties for investigative purposes in arson cases.

Secondly, the low interest rate home improvement program continues to be a good and worthwhile one and should be extended to all of the poorer and dilapidated communities to the fullest extent possible.

Thirdly, it has been suggested that our building codes are very much outdated, and prevent the usage of some of the more modern building materials. It has been the resistance from the labor unions that has prevented any

changes in the building codes. There should be an evaluation in this area of building codes and any necessary changes made to bring the code into the 1980s and 1990s.

Fourth, it would not be legal to prevent condominium conversions. However, there could be requirements that up to one year's time must elapse before a conversion takes place, if the tenants that lived in those particular buildings objected. Their objection would be given in a hearing that would be mandated by law, and they would have a chance to appear at this hearing and voice their opinion. And if they strongly resisted it, there should be a one year period before a building could be converted into a condominium.

Opening communities. There should be stiff penalties and fines imposed on anyone who prevents any person from moving anywhere they choose provided that they have the means. This means that there should be absolutely no racial discrimination or racial screening. I think that is as explicit as I can put it.

New housing. Given the current political climate there seems little likelihood of any new public housing sponsored by HUD. Therefore, we must look from within to initiate solutions to the problems. It has been a long established and proven fact that housing is going to lead us out of this recession. Given the number of bankruptcies, foreclosures, savings and loan company failures, etc., we are on the verge of a depression--if not already in one.

To look briefly at the other side of the picture, not all industries are in a recession at this time. The computer industry, micro-processing, robotics, and option markets are enjoying a great growth period. To

place the economy in proper perspective, industries are in a period of recession while others are enjoying boom times. This is a nominal cyclical phenomena that recurs on a predictable pattern. And this happens all the time, whether you are having good times or bad, you are going to have certain industries doing badly and certain others that are going to be doing very well. It is a pattern we should look at and study so that we are able to anticipate it and make the necessary adjustments.

Under the present circumstances it will be very difficult to develop a totally acceptable and attractive program and economic plan for building houses. One of the primary causes of housing shortages is the failure of national and local government to anticipate the need. For instance, if people migrate to a state or region because jobs are abundant or perhaps it is because public welfare benefits are better, or even because better schools and educational opportunities are there, an astute administration would observe these trends and anticipate the need and take steps to meet this need. The problem is multi-faceted, yet the government has the responsibility to fashion the solutions and the three entities of government (local, state, national), business, and labor are required to work closely together in order to make acceptable process. The ideal situation or approach is one wherein a task force is appointed from all of these entities with a specific time table to work out details of the solution. I think that I can give credit to the Task Force that the President has put together in order to solve the social security problem is a task force which could work together without any interference from him. On two or three occasions they wanted to go back to ask him "what are we supposed to do?", he would not give

them any input and the end result, I think, is a fairly good solution to the social security problem.

As we know many millions of dollars in CDBG (that is Community Development Block Grant money) have been shifted to other uses. The previous speaker talked about that. Some \$26 million had been shifted to pay for leases and added some extra gauding for some of Byrne's properties. She also shifted money to pay for some of the teacher's salaries. The closest figure I can come up to is something like \$97 million that she abused in community block grant money that should have been going to improve rehabilitate and restore the community.

Another cause of the shortage is the efforts of some realtors to keep the supply of housing down in order to get higher prices. They also try to keep the available supply of housing completely occupied. That is the supply and demand factor.

I am going to recommend two programs that should be initiated by the mayor for housing development. The first program can be considered creative financing, and would be established in the following manner. The mayor would enlist all of the corporations in Chicago to develop and deposit a percent of their net income--earnings--into a tax exempt, non-refundable revolving type fund. This fund would be calculated in order to raise one billion dollars. The previous speaker said 100 million but I think we have to raise a billion dollars to have any impact on the housing problem. This fund would be used for seed money and as direct loans for residential housing construction, both single and multi-family units.

Simulataneous with this effort, he could be organizing insurance companies, union trust funds, development companies, along with any

foundations that are inclined towards real estate development to pull their resources together in conjunction with indigenous organizations to implement and develop any plans that they can for the redevelopment of their communities. The components of this program could work in several ways. Just as the Chicago Rehab Network is the main forerunner putting programs together, it could be a corporation composed of the various community organizations.

It should be controlled outside of City Hall. These programs are not going to be run and controlled by the city. The city is going to see that the money is brought forward to do the programs and the rehabilitation and is going to be administered and run by the community themselves. A practical example of this would be similar to what is known as the housing developing authorities where they have put up money in the bank and they say to the banks that they want you to loan this money for rehab and new construction in your communities. They made this money available to the banks at a very low interest rate--perhaps four or five percent--and the banks in turn give out their money at a little higher rate. It is a good way to get money in that they can use or pool for the rebuilding of the community. The heaviest emphasis on this program should be the involvement of the financial institutions and the community based organizations. It means that the community should have absolute veto on any program that is going to be used in that community.

The second program would be heavily financed by the city administration and would be in municipal revenue bonds management. Operation of the program would be shared with the local community organizations. Maximum input from the community is an absolute must

for the success of either program. Any and all programs to develop housing must clearly reflect the makeup of the given community and the community must be involved at all levels--from the planning, to the architecture and execution of the drawings, financing, through to the construction and the management.

As I stated earlier, the scope of the problem is national--both due to insensitivities of the national government to anticipate and address the problems and also to the economic climate. Therefore, the solution is going to come as the result of the local initiative of a progressive looking man and his constituents. The present mayor said that she did not believe in confrontation politics. However, just the opposite has proven to be the fact.

A cooperative and open mayor will achieve much, much more. There is a wealth of resources within our city which must be marshalled to implement a successful housing program. There are three manufactured housing companies, there are major insurance companies, real estate developers here that could rapidly help put together the finite details of these programs. There are also major educational institutes such as IIT, the University of Illinois Circle Campus, Northwestern University--institutions which have architectural and engineering schools that could be utilized to support the development of this program.

JULIALYNNE WALKER

Peoples College

I want to share with you a work in progress that gives an analysis of the Cabrini-Green community area and the question of public housing. This is work in progress that came out of a particular circumstance that will allow us, very briefly, to pull together many of the things that have been brought up by our previous speakers. By looking at a particular community, we can look at the impact of problems caused by housing on the community, the social problems, how a mayor can address those problems and how a solution has to be rooted in the community where those problems exist.

This analysis was initiated when Mayor Byrne announced that she was going to move to the Cabrini-Green area. She did it because she sought to find a consensus which she had been unable to achieve since she had been elected to office. She was elected to office from a very spontaneous reaction by people throughout the city, and especially by the black community. Because they were the ones, that suffered the most during that winter, and the previous mayor had neglected social services, transportation, etc. And in response, Mayor Byrne was put into office.

But she did not have a base. She did not have a base within the Democratic Party. She did not have a base within the community. And one way she sought to build that base was by exploiting the people of Cabrini-Green when she announced that she was going to move into Cabrini. Her professed aim--what she said what she was going to do--was dramatize the lead that the city was taking in the struggle against gang violence and terror. Of course, we agreed that everyone who actually does that is

to be commended. However, she did not do that. What she did instead was to bring the military-like police invasion down on the community and the residents of the housing project were subordinated to marshall law. And it is this that we want to talk about.

Let us share with you some thoughts about the Cabrini Green housing project which is located on the Near North side is in an area that geographically has been occupied by different classes living within different neighborhoods. It has a very interesting relationship because living there are both the ruling class--those people who live on "the gold coast"--and also the working class and the unemployed. There is an area around Cabrini which is referred to as "slum areas." The slum has historically been multi-national. It began as an Italian neighborhood known as Little Sicily. Then gradually, after World War II, it became housing for workers connected with the war industry. Increasingly, as blacks were allowed to enter those industries, because prior to that they were segregated, the housing changed composition and the area became black.

This first transformation occurred with the building of the first public housing project known as Cabrini-Green. Cabrini was named for a Catholic nun who was known for her social work with the poor. After that, some 20 years later, the high rises were added, named for a labor leader, William Green. By adding a high rise to the small land area, this increased the density tremendously.

On the other hand, the Gold Coast--where the bourgeois and the ruling class lives--produced a similar high rise that was named after Carl Sandburg. It was sort of an ironic twist because Carl Sandburg

is one who identified with the masses and the working people. But, in fact, his name was taken as a symbol for the ruling class.

One of the interesting things about the area is that when it was initially built as housing for war workers it was good housing, it was decent housing, it was housing that replaced the slums that then existed in the city of Chicago. This was the property that was available to the Black community. It was comparable housing which existed in other neighborhoods where other workers lived. It was a symbol of status, as well as being better housing. While Cabrini was primarily white, there had always been families of other nationalities. Thus, there was an ethnic flavor to it, as well as the relationship between Blacks and Whites.

With the decline in war related industry and the subsequent post war baby boom, there developed a surplus population. There was also a rise in the generational welfare phenomenon that effected the nature of Cabrini. This and the subsequent development of Green--that is, adding the high rise--changed the nature of the housing from housing for producers to housing for consumers. That is, it was no longer a place where war workers lived but it became a dumping ground for people who no longer were gainfully employed or people who were employed but on the basis of federal subsidies and played their major role in the economy as consumers. The project is now housing surplus labor--that is, the unemployed and the under-employed who are primarily Black and who subsist on governmental transfers and petty criminal activity. There has also been a general decline in the physical maintainance of the property, something that a previous speaker raised.

The Chicago Housing Authority periodically announces some grand plan for cleaning up and physically rehabilitating the property, but the plan is never implemented. The only change that has occurred is the qualitative difference in the use of technology and manpower for the police surveillance of those who live there. Not only does this increase the number of those who are employed as police agents, but it brings a specter of "1984" with big brother and TV cameras being located throughout the project for constant 24 hour surveillance of the area.

Commercial life and community support systems have also deteriorated which also contributes to the sense of economic crisis in the area. Basically, people feel their life is going to hell. Commercial strips consist primarily of stores which are boarded up. There are a few that remain open, but of course, these sell primarily liquor, milk and bread. These are seldom run by Black people and they are certainly not in the control of area residents. Schools, churches and community centers have also closed so that there is a general feeling of gloom and defeat. In social terms, this limits legitimate social expression by which a community can represent its interests.

As the level of employment and social services has declined, criminal activity and gangs have increased. There is a dialectical relationship here because the fact is that gangs represent social organizations whereby youngsters between certain ages, particularly the teenagers, and young adult years can find organized social activity. To this extent, there is a positive social function to gangs. On the other hand, gangs obviously reflect the social disorganization, not only of the individual lives of the gang members, but more importantly the social disorganization

and disruption of the community in which the gangs prosper. What we are saying is that the gangs become instruments for negative social behavior and furthermore, institute a relationship of terror between the gang and the community.

Mayor Byrne attempted to project the gangs as a failure of the Black community, both by the individuals within it and by the community in general. However, it is quite clear that the gangs reflect the physical and social deterioration of the Cabrini Green public housing and the surrounding neighborhood. The rise of the gang is a direct reflection of an overall impact of society's contradictions on the Black community, thereby limiting the ability of the community to survive. It is in this context of the attack on the Black community by the ruling class and society that the Black community has been beaten down and from its ashes has risen the social formation of the gang. Rather than pointing to the Black community as the victim, Mayor Byrne has pointed to the community as a sort of guilt by default.

The real contradiction here is the relationship of the police, on one hand, and the gangs, on the other. It seems true that the gangs can be controlled by the police. From time to time the gang's violence become rampant in the community and there is a big outcry for the police to do something about it. Every time the police do something about it, they tend to increase their popularity among the masses as if the masses were rewarding them. The fact is, however, is it is the negligence of the police in the first place that gives rise to gang violence. Therefore, though gang violence is on the increase, violence is also caused by the social and physical deterioration in the community, which results from the disinvestment and the lack of financial input in terms of manpower

and resources.

When gang violence is on the increase, the masses of people, when they are class conscious and are aware of the role of the state through the police, will criticize the police for allowing it to happen rather than fall prey to the mystification that the source of gang violence is the community itself, and the thinking that the gangs result because Black parents are not good parents.

Therefore, we certainly refuse to applaud the police for doing what they should have done all along. There are also several other factors which make for a focus and attention on Cabrini Green. The overall economic crisis both in terms of U.S. nationally, as discussed by both panelists, and the way the crisis comes down at the state and city levels. It grips Chicago as it does all other urban areas. Cabrini Green, though, is also in a pivotal position in terms of the city's housing picture. Given its location on the Near North Side, close to downtown business areas, it is close to major places of employment, particularly for the middle class and clerical employment as well as professionals. It is in close proximity to the "Gold Coast" area. Because of increasing control by Third World nations of their own resources, rising fuel costs, both for transportation and home heating, are accelerating and real estate interests are fighting for control of inner city areas because of their close proximity to the financial and corporate areas of the central city. In addition, with the current or pending expiration date on bonding terms which initially financed Cabrini Green, time is right for major reconsideration of re-developing the area to meet the needs of the ruling class in the 1980s and beyond.

HOUSING

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION

I heard people say that a Black man should own the Southside simply because he is walking on the turf, on the territory. There is a lot of housing on the Southside, especially around 39th Street around Michigan where people that are very old--70 or 80 years old--are living. That housing is going to go over to somebody else, either Blacks or mainly White people who are moving back into the inner city. What is the possibility of setting up some capital to maintain and redirect those types of resources so that we can hold on to that area which is fast becoming popular among people who do not want to have to deal with 30 to 40 minutes driving each day?

JAMES PAYNE

I think if we have a change in the leadership in this city, there are very many things we can do. We have talked about something like that with Drexel Bank already. Abboud, who used to be with the 1st National Bank, was a pretty open minded person. Tom Ayers got caught up in that. We can do that if we ever get a change. That is why we got to fight hard for Harold Washington in the next 30 days. There are a lot of people who in the Middle East who are willing to invest money to help us. There are dollars available and we can tap it if we are sitting where we can control it. If money comes in here and if we are not on the 5th floor of City Hall(Mayor's office), it would be controlled by others. We are in

a strategic and very critical junction in our history. There is a lot of property out here. I went down to look at some property and people are running all over each other down in the City Hall basement--it is like a mad scramble.

WAYMON WINSTON

Let me speak to that. The current mad scramble is called the World's Fair. I want to speak to the issue of Thomas Ayers. Ayers was probably the early warning signs of the First National Bank getting caught up in the larger economic crisis that is facing this country. First National Bank got hit hard in two major areas: (1) Third World Countries and changes that were affected then in Iran and in Africa; (2) They also got hurt in that in the housing market began to collapse and they had already taken the money out of inner city areas like Woodlawn and Kenwood-Oakland and put it out in the suburbs. There is a hell of a lot of housing sitting out in the suburbs for sale. They got caught short and Ayers was punished by Chicago's capital for not being able to provide opportunity for Chicago capital to not be under the roof falling in. The same situation just happened with Continental Bank in what happened with the Penn-Colonial Bank and the collapse in oil crisis.

I have already said that one out of three Black persons is a home owner. Within that one out of three in the area we are talking about a significant number of older Black persons. The large majority of Black Chicagoans do not have the income or the resources to have a meaningful impact in this area. There are really only two or three options. Let me talk about the one we have not discussed here. I think that there cannot

be a serious discussion around struggle around the issue of housing without tying it to the issue of the World's Fair. I looked at the previous World's Fairs. I looked at the 1893 Exposition, I looked at the 1933 World's Fair that was held here and property increases in those areas that were associated with it. You could not even chart it. Prices went so high. The value of land was so phenomenal that the areas of South Shore and Woodlawn and even parts of Kenwood-Oakland was landfilled to create additional land that also accelerated in value.

After both of those World Fairs you had significant phenomenon as it related to race and class. White affluent neighborhoods were created. In the area of Kenwood and Oakland you created an upper income Jewish community, and in South Shore you created an upper income Anglo Saxon community. And there is nothing that I see that can be done in the Black community that will be able to stop that at this point.

I would suggest these things: 1) There needs to be serious issues of struggle raised around housing. I know what has been done in other cities. They have been setting up "Hooverilles" (modeled after the Depression era tent cities) to illustrate the problems of housing. Simply, hundreds of people have come into places like Daley Center to illustrate that people might be well be living in tents. I was in a building in South Shore where there was no heat, no utilities, and people had garbage cans burning in the middle of the building's living rooms to have heat. If that is not out of the dark ages, I do not know what is. People are living like that now! A "Hooverville" type of demonstration is one example of the types of things that illustrate these problems. They illustrated the problems in a very graphic form, by bringing the ghettos downtown!

2) I would suggest that there be a significant effort to organize Black people, particularly the older Black people to look at holding their house in some type of community trust. It could create an economic structure that would allow for the housing to be maintained and I think a cooperative housing association is the way to do it. I already talked about the new possibility of being able to deal with democratic electoral politics and decision making, governance and the like.

I also think someone can take a look at what the Chicago Urban League is like. The CUL peeped what is going to happen with the World's Fair. They put in their headquarters. They put in new headquarters next to the existing structure. And they are determined to put in new headquarters next to the downtown capital. They want to control the area down around this million dollar site that they are developing. And that, in fact, you might see a number of Blacks who play a significant role in displacing Blacks and taking over Kenwood-Oakland. Oscar Brown, Sr., who was active in real estate in Chicago and one of the few black realtors to play a significant role in buying up the housing that was owned by blacks and predominately by whites in the South Side area.

I did a little research the other day and I think both projects tell us a story. South Common's primary goal was to prevent the black ghetto from spreading north along the State Street axis. Carl Sandburg was built primarily to prevent the black ghetto from expanding east along Chicago Avenue. In other words, the city fathers sat down and said, look, we are competing for the capital with suburban interests that are drawing commercial dollars away from us. And part of that draw is that if the downtown area becomes part of the segregated area then we will, in fact,

be exploited by having to pay higher prices. Well, we have to create
"a fire free zone" around the downtown area. That was before the new
phenomena of living downtown. And we saw what occurred. We saw the
Cabrini-Green, the South Common and we saw that we have no developments--
they destroyed the black community. South Commons was developed and
you had the depopulation of the community after that. The depopulation
is a key factor. Depopulation and a lot of other things happened after
World War II. Black men who had fought for liberty and justice that came
back home knowing that comparable battles were being fought in Africa
and Asia for liberation. The question for the ruling class was "how can
you contain the niggers here?" One way is to defuse the issue of housing
and economic opportunity and that was done primarily by keeping the black
community destabilized.

I can give you an example of what happened to Cabrini-Green and the
role that the mayor played was interesting. The week Mayor Byrne moved in
there, she got the big headline: "Byrne Moves Into Cabrini-Green." On
page 45 of the Sun-Times was this little blurb that said the Chicago
Housing Authority was broke and that the Mayor had slipped out of town,
went to Reagan, and cut a deal. When people wonder why one of the
only big city democratic mayors to support Reagan, she has been in bed
with him from day one. She would cut deals with him and one of the deals
they would cut was they were going to get the Federal money. But, because
Sweibel, of the former Mayor's --Daley and Bilandic--administration, as
well as the Byrne administration, had screwed up the housing so bad
Reagan was afraid that Cabrini-Green was going to fall and get some
mud on him.

Basically, what Reagan and HUD did was to say to Byrne: "You got to do some kind of cleanup act that will separate us from this mess. And Sweibel has got to go." Well, we know he ain't gone. He is still there in the form of the new Executive Director, somebody called Mooney. In fact, that situation remains the same.

I am going to sum it up this way. There is going to have to be some serious issues raised and some serious struggles about housing. Back in the 1960s, Blacks made a cutting edge around open housing by going into White communities. Now that issues is mute. Blacks are going to have to make the cutting edge on the issue of housing by going to those people who have destroyed the Black community--that is by going downtown in the Loop. Those blacks who need housing should tent out in Daley Plaza. Then we would see some response. But that has to be done in an organized, formal manner. That can not be done in the traditional ad hoc way of responding to problems.

Secondly, there needs to be some discussions as to how there can be better community control with some organizational structure to allow the limited resources that Blacks have to impact on democratic, electoral politics. It could be done with cooperatives as a mechanism. As I said, this World's Fair, in my view, is the "Geritol" (a popular tonic for fatigue) of Chicago economics. That is the role the previous World's Fairs played in the 1893 and 1933--they were a Geritol. When they did the 1933 Fair in Chicago, the country was in the midst of a Depression. And that World's Fair gave a big charge for the downtown capitalist interests. That is what this World's Fair is planned to do. There is nothing in the Black community that is going to stop that Geritol effect from

occurring. And, of course, we know who the Geritol is--us and the resources and the housing that exists in the Black and poor communities.

QUESTION

Can you put the Mooney CHA scattered site housing prospective?

JAMES PAYNE

It's intransiency. Open housing has not been settled in Chicago or the Chicagoland area. Basically, what Byrne has done is cut a deal with the white arm and say we are not going to put no niggers in your housing because public housing since 1945 has been associated with Black people. They cut a deal with them and she cut a deal with the attempt to build up more public housing and to cover her butt. But, in short, it is a continuation of the issues raised since after World War II when open housing and segregation were big issues. The whole scam of scattered sights is a continuation of the mayor's support of segregated housing.

JULIALYNNE WALKER

Let me just say briefly, in summation, that both speakers have presented an analysis that suggests that we do need to prepare some kind of agenda on the question of housing in the future, that we can not sit back and expect somebody to do it for us. Second, a key component of that agenda has to be an element of struggle. That is, what are we going to do to fight to say this is what we are going to have and this is how we are going to keep it--whatever it is that we decide to do. Third, there is the issue of community control. How is it that we can more clearly

establish control over the resources of Blacks and other minorities and poor people in this city? And, fourth, that we know that whoever the mayor is going to be that there are issues that we are going to have to take up with that person because we have to plan not only for what is happening now and the immediate future, but we have to come up with some long range plans so that the gains that we come up with now are gains that we will retain and not gains that we will have to fight for again in another ten or twenty years.

TRADE UNIONS

Charles Evans, Olive Harvey Community College

My name is Charles Evans from the Executive Council of the Illinois Council for Black Studies. I am a member of Local 1600, Cook County College Teachers Union. I am the chapter chair of my particular campus (Olive Harvey) and a former member of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and Local 89 of American Federation of Labor, Cook County and Assistance Local of some years ago.

We have with us Carl Turpin the Griever of the United Steelworkers local union 1033 who will lead off into discussion. He will be followed by James Balanoff, former Director of United Steel Workers, District #31. Next is Mike Mezo, who is a Griever at United Steelworkers Local 1010. And he will be followed by Zorlio Torres, organizer for AISCME District #37. Closing remarks for the panel presentation will be made by Chuck Wooten, a UAW activist from Detroit.

After all of the presenters have made their remarks we will then entertain questions and comments. Unfortunately, we are starting a bit behind the schedule because the panels have tended to go over, and I'm sure that the organizers would like to recoup our time as much as possible. I would like to urge you to do two things, one in posing questions to be as concise as possible and in giving answers to be as brief as possible, though cogent and complete. These programs are being videotaped so it is particularly necessary that people in the audience speak with a very loud clear voice, and this will be recorded as we go along. The people on the platform have the advantage at least of the amplifier. I am very happy to present to you, Carl Turpin.

Carl Turpin, Griever
United Steelworkers Local 1033

Thank you. I am a griever at Republic Steel and a member of the United Steel Workers of America, Local 1033. I would like to start by discussing what it is like working inside of a union as a griever and working inside of a steel mill. At this point, just like in the communities and a lot of other places, we're catching hell. Companies right now are making an all out attack against unions. There is an all out attack on communities, and an all out attack against people's security and jobs. This is the current status of the labor movement.

To give you an example, about three or four months ago a friend of mine got laid off; a young Black worker who had about five years in the Steel mill. He worked in the coke plant. If you know anything about the coke plant, it is one of the dirtiest plants to work in. When he got the notice that he was laid off, he went to his locker and stood with a clenched fist, mumbling "Why me? Why do I have to be laid off? I have been here five years. Why do I have to get laid off at this point?" It is necessary to look beyond that a focus on how do labor unions in these struggles fight around these issues. This is a young Black man who has little skill, little education and been put back out into the community, a community that probably has 20 percent unemployment. Earlier he was put back into a new coke plant that was automated and this replaced his job and he had to go out. Now he is put back out because the company says they are not making enough money, so they are now shutting down different facilities, harassing people into more and more time off, firing people, and then also asking us to take concessions or have our wages cut.

These are some of the things we are faced with now and working in the unions and why it is important to look at them in conjunction with what is happening now in the communities in this whole affair around trying to elect Harold Washington as Mayor. This campaign is one of the serious moves that needs to be developed, along with joint action between the labor unions and the community in these kinds of coalitions. If you look at Black people, 90 percent of them are workers. Ninety percent of them are faced with these conditions at the point of production. That is a key element. We must also look at the high level of unemployment by Blacks, along with displaced housing and other economic hardship. And a lot of these people are working in industries that are not fully unionized. Despite these difficulties, Black workers are at a particularly strategic point in this society.

The large scale companies like Republic Steel and Inland Steel are on all out attack to break our unions. This is the context for the development of a strong coalition at this time. Blacks have a need for unions, but the unions have to address some serious problems faced by Blacks and other people of color at the point of production. The unions need to seriously stretch out into the community and take up such issues like this campaign for Washington's election, the campaign against the budget cuts, the campaign for cutting military spending and stuff. The unions have got to take a firm stand on these issues if they are ever going to grow.

It doesn't come from top down. We have got to start a real movement, a grass roots movement--which includes people at these production levels and confront these day to day problems and want to fight back. It is necessary for our union to take up these issues.

What are some of the struggles that we are into right now? Many of you have heard a lot of concessions talk, about having the steel workers take a cut in their wages--about \$1.50--and cutting cost of living, cuts around affirmative action, cuts around apprenticeship programs. All these programs that people have fought over for years are being seriously challenged now, and seriously talked about by the companies in efforts to take these things back. At the same time, there is a serious fight against these attacks and this has a great effect on Blacks. In my mill, about 20 percent of all the Blacks were in steel trades. That has been reduced down to about five percent. In our field, there is a real attempt to build new facilities, like new coke plants. A lot of people got displaced because of that. There is no re-training program. there is also the struggle around the "consent decree." In 1974, the steel company owners came in and gave some relief around affirmative action and other kinds of programs. With these greater lay-offs, however, these companies are on a concession drive right now and all these gains are being taken away.

There is a real basis for a significant movement among the labor unions. And that movement can be developed and built. Another thing that we need to talk about, particularly in the context of this struggle in the city around the election of Harold Washington, the struggle against Reagan and other things, is the need for labor to move to a more independent position and not shackled to the Democratic Party, or shackled to the Republican Party, or shackled to Mayor Byrne, and others. These are things that we should really talk about.

If you look at it, coalition like the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and other examples like that, go out and try to build various types of coalitions that can involve community organizations with trade unions. I think it is a real need for those types of things and those attitudes and struggle to redevelop the unions so they can play a more leading role. If not, then the membership is going to go astray. There needs to be the type of movement inside of unions that takes up some of the vital issues that are facing Blacks, that are facing whites, that are facing Latinos in order to get them to be actively involved in the union movement. The unions have got to be actively involved in these types of struggles.

James Balanoff

Former Director of United Steel Workers, District #31

Brothers and Sisters, I have a different type of talk to give today. What I want to raise today is the question of the trade union movement in relation to politics. Is it important to get involved? Is it important to get your trade union involved in electing people to city, state and federal government, especially with what is happening in the Chicago election for mayor? The mayor really sets the tone for the city. When I was district director of the United Steelworkers and prior to that when I was president of my local, I was fortunate to live in the city of Gary and to participate and to help in the election of Mayor Richard Hatcher the first time. That was important for what followed, and a lot of things follow when you have a good people-oriented forward looking mayor who reacts positively to worker issues and social issues that really are worker issues. Who also has a positive relationship with working people, especially organizers.

During my term of office, Hatcher was always on the side of the working people. The other towns around there--Hammond, East Chicago, Whiting--were just Democratic-controlled towns. When it was to their self-interest to endorse or support, they would go along with it. The only time you would see those mayors was when they were getting ready for election. But Hatcher got involved. He participated and helped us. When we had an eight month strike against NIPSCO--Northern Indiana Public Service, he raised money, spoke out, and attended our rallies. That is really the role of the mayor to represent the people in his

community. On the question of affirmative action, there was question about where he stood. There was no question about talking to him. We held joint conferences sponsored by the City of Gary and the United Steel Workers on the Weber Affirmative Action case.

There is no question in the City of Chicago that Harold Washington is far and above the best man or woman running. His labor record in Springfield and Washington tells you where he is going to go: you do not have to question or doubt that. And believe me, the struggles that we are going through in the next months are going to be tough ones. The United Steel Workers of America are being taken on by the steel companies. They are pushing hard for concessions, as Carl Turpin said. They are going to go into negotiations next. If that steel company doesn't get off of their dime trying to take away everything that it took us forty years to get, we are going to have problems and the workers will probably have to go out on a strike to defend their interests. That is another reason why they should be concerned about the type of officials you have representing the cities and towns that have steel mills and the factories around them--the support that you can get from them in these struggles. And it is also important that if we are going to push forward that we start to expose the system we live under. You hear a lot about how that system works. That system works for a few! It does not work for the many! And steel workers, who enjoy the highest wages of any industrial workers in this country for many, many, many years, now have massive layoffs. And unemployment lines. Our union is struggling along with a lot of other people to set up food kitchens and so forth...And many people are coming to the realization that the system does not deliver. The American

Dream for a lot of people, in fact for most of the American working class--is gone, the dream of working and buying a small home, the dream of sending your kids off to college, the dream of having two cars has become the nightmare of fighting like hell to pay for rent, or trying to get the mortgage payment together, fighting like hell to keep one car going, and wondering if you will have enough money to send your kids to school. And that is what we must be about. We have to explain to trade unionists exactly where we are going. If there is something wrong, then we must start to correct it. We can elect good people into office like the mayor and the congress. That is not going to be enough. I know that from bitter experience. I was district director for four years, and one of the twenty-five members on our international executive board. And try as I could, I could not change that system because there was not enough of us. And try as I could, I would spend all day long putting something together and just one call to the man upstairs would unravel that whole ball of string.

The only way we are going to do that is make a real radical change, and to change everything around us. And to do that, we must go in steps. I think some of the first steps that we have to take is to start to elect officials in our cities and towns that are at least thinking about the people and the social needs.

Mike Mezo, Griever

United Steelworkers Local No. 1010

Thank you. I would like to start off by raising two points-- the first one is the need to build strong trade unions in this country, and the second point will be to begin a discussion on how they should come about.

I want to start off by saying that, historically, I believe that unions in some form or another is the only vehicle that workers have ever had to deal with their problems. And unions today are the only organizations that exist that are formed solely by workers to deal with the problems of workers, for workers. It is pretty obvious in terms of what is important to workers in this country, that they build strong unions and build a strong American labor movement. There have though been some problems with that. After the initial organizing days, it seems like the organizing stopped. Even more destructive, I think, it is not just that the organizing that has stopped; there was a systematic move to demobilize the membership in the major industrial unions in this country. This led to some real difficult problems in trying to organize and build strong unions.

Some of those problems have come along I think and maybe even been compounded by so called "reform movements" of so called "reform" candidates. Because the rap of that movement and the rap of those candidates have been: what is wrong with the American labor movement, and what is wrong with the trade unions and the reason that they are not strong. "Because of the people in office, because of the people who are

leading them, the leadership is weak. The leadership does not care. The leadership is out of tune. But, they say, 'if you accept this reform position or this reform candidate, suddenly that union will become strong. And their problems will go away'."

Well, that simply is not true. And in many respects, this has retarded and hurt organizing a union from the bottom up. It certainly distracted attention from this key task over the last ten years or so. It is almost an argument of "vote for me and I will set you free" type of thing. The problem is that people start believing it, because it is like selling snake oil to someone. It is the easy way out. Once they buy oil and see that it doesn't work, they become very cynical. And then the role of organizing workers become threefold or fourfold or more difficult.

I want to relate to you some of the experiences I have had in my department. I represent 1200 workers. They are racially split and are spread throughout the geographic area over several miles of the entire Inland Steel Company. Some time ago we put together an organization called Build A Union, and the goal of that organization was just that--to build a strong union. We had some real problems with that. We had eight elected union officials trying to represent 1,200 people. Considering the company and the geography, it was almost impossible to enforce the contracts, much less try to build some kind of an offensive or some kind of real movement against the company's policies. So we did several things. The first thing we did was try to sit down and analyze the strengths of that department. In every area there was at least one person who we could put down on paper and say that person will fight when

push comes to shove, that person will file a grievance, that person will be a witness, that person will take an active role.

And once we got those people down, we tried to analyze exactly where they fit and where they were located and exactly where we had a lot of strength and analyze where we were weak. And we knew where we had to work. We established a monthly shop newsletter, with the very basic preamble that we were organizing to build a strong union because we felt that with the company's attacks, the union had to be built strong and from the floor up. And that it was everybody's role and responsibility. We had a problem when you are trying to organize people that are 25 percent black, 50 percent white, 25 percent Latino. You can not put something together when the only contact people have is on the shop floor. Because they would leave the plants and go their separate ways, and unfortunately, usually to different neighborhoods, different churches, different bars and so forth. So we had to put something together to reunite them in a bond as workers. We did not settle things. The newsletters helped a lot because it gave people a forum to say what they wanted to say.

We went outside the workplace initially with some social things. We had a pig roast and parties and basketball tournaments and softball tournaments, trying to bring people together outside of the work place in some kind of social setting. Which enabled them to inform others on the shop floor and to talk to each other about the problems of the job, about what was wrong with the union without the shop foreman being around and if they got a dialogue going--"well, let's build a union, it's a great organization because it is starting to bring people together."

There was a need to develop an army. (I should not call it an army. I wish it was an army!)

There was a need to develop a real corp of people, other than the elected representatives that would take some sense of responsibility in this whole thing. We needed people that would say "I'll file grievances when I see a violation," for example. If that person isn't going to win any money and is going to be harrassed for doing it, you can see that it is kind of special if you can find that person who will consistently do that. The first thing we wanted to do and I think this is important for organizing anything, is when you get going you have got to win something in the beginning. Because if you get together with a lot of rhetoric about how you are going to topple the world, and everybody gets their brains beat out, it does not stay together too long.

So we were selective in what we went after first. Some things are easier to win than others. And we got what we called watchdogs and we got the company convinced that watchdogs were behind every pillar and beam and machine in the plant. And in fact, we did not have that many, but we had enough to give the impression to the company that they started backing off. They started becoming a little gunshy in trying to do some of the things that they had not been doing in the past. The other thing is that we set up a system where we would rotate our representatives and if they started to hassle an elected official, and it is very easy sometimes to transfer someone to get him away from the workers, and we would simply have that person resign and we would find another one. And we put him on vacation and so forth until it got to the point where the company knew they could not spearate the workers from the union that way and they backed off intimidating the representatives.

What this led to was some kind of sense in the department that everybody had a role and everybody has a responsibility for something more than just sitting around and saying "the union can't represent me, what's the use who gets elected, they're all the same"--all the things that you have heard over and over. And the result is that people started sitting around and talking about issues. At first, I would walk into the shanty and people would say "we don't want to hear nothing about the union and nothing about politics." Now it has got to a point where when I walk into the shanty there is a flurry of political discussion going on and I would like to talk about the Cubs sometimes and all they want to do is talk about the union.

I think it has had a real positive effect in that sense of raising the issues and getting people out and up and feeling like they are a part of the union, and that they have a role in where we are going to go from there. I think that has to be the way that we have to proceed. I think it has to be led initially into political action. And I think that is the way to go. That is my feelings on the first step. I am not certain about my feelings on the second step. But I know that if we are going to build strong unions it has to be on the shop floor and not as a result of electing a reformist candidate or endorsing some reformist platform that comes along from time to time. Thank you.

Zoilio Torres, Legal Worker/Labor Activist
Council 37 of State, County and Municipal Employees

First of all I would like to begin by thanking the organizers of the conference in giving us the opportunity in coming here to address what we consider to be a very important topic. I do not believe the topics set forth in the memo which was sent to me could be covered in a 15 minute presentation, so I am going to deal strictly with the question presented to me.

I do not know if people are aware that I come from New York and I am not too familiar with the politics and situation in Chicago. But, hopefully, the information that I will give may serve as information that could be assimilated in a useful way. I must also mention that the issue and question of Black American labor is now beginning to be discussed in depth in this country. For that reason, I find myself here in a situation where I have to give some sort of background on the situation of black and minority labor in this country, restricting myself, of course, to the questions put forth in the memorandum.

First of all, what is the current status of black and minority union membership in the United States. I think that a quick look into the overall issue will give us some background information into what is that state.

An estimate of the Latino population in the United States is somewhere between 18-20 million, and that is with an undercount. Many of us know, particularly in black communities, that we have been historically undercounted, including the last 1980 census. You may be eager to learn that there was some opposition from mayors and local representatives

from various parts of the country, basically on the premise that the 1980 census followed the pattern of the 1970 census in which one out of seven Latinos was missing and one out of every 14 for blacks. And this is against one out of 50 for whites. There is a drastic undercount of the Latino population in the United States. This does not include undocumented workers, who are not picked up by the census at all. Here we estimate somewhere between six to eight million Latinos have not been counted.

Moreover, with regard to Latino geographical distribution, Latinos make up 76 percent of the population of the state of New Mexico; in Texas, 21 percent; in California, it is over 16 percent. It is very significant also that Latinos are concentrated in certain areas. In the pre-1980 census, 16 percent of the Latinos lived in the non-metropolitan areas, 50 percent resided in the central cities, and another 34 percent resided in the suburbs.

Based on this scanty illustration of the Latin American population, we begin to see why 30 percent of the Latino worker are union members. That is, the percentage of Latino workers in unions is higher than their overall percentage in the United States working class population. According to the CIO itself, it is stated that 25 percent of Latino hospital workers are union members. It also stated that 27-30 percent of federal government Latino workers are also union members. For Latino apparel workers, it is about 30 percent. And for Latino food workers, 41-53 percent. All this indicates the status of the Latino trade union membership and the tremendous potential that this segment can have within the U.S. working class in support and in an acceleration of that movement for the defense of the basic right of labor in general.

The next question is what are the problems in trade union organizing that Latino workers in the U.S. face? The problem must be seen in its totality keeping in mind that emphasis is different depending on which Latino labor activist you speak to. The problems are the following:

(1) current population shifts of Latino labor. This has an historical significance as well as a practical one. Basically many of you already know that most of the Latinos are here due to the political and economic domination of our respective countries--by foreign capital, basically by U.S. capital. This point about foreign control of our economies is particularly true for the Puerto Rican worker in the United States.

(2) Another problem is the language, which inhibits our ability to communicate with our brothers in the labor movement and therefore, results in a lower level of activity by Latin-American labor in the overall U.S. labor movement. This is particularly seen in places like New York where the Latin American participation or activism in the labor movement is relatively low. We can take examples of the three major unions in New York City: District Council 37 of AFSCME, a membership of about 16,000 Puerto Ricans--they classify them as Puerto Ricans, I am sure they are Mexicans. There are 16,000 Puerto Ricans in that union yet there is a low level of Latin American participation. Likewise in Hospital Workers Union 1199, there are 30,000 Latin American members and yet a low level of union activism in that particular union.

(3) Another problem, one that I know is shared by many workers, is the actual fear of losing employment, losing a job. Some have mentioned also the economic hardships which is contrary to popular beliefs. There is a general belief that the more a person suffers economic deprivation

the more he is apt or she is apt to get involved in basic economic struggles, struggles in defense of their basic rights. But, in reality there is enough reason to believe that people who are hard pressed economically rarely have the opportunity to get involved in any particular struggle in defense of their basic economic rights. It boils down to, if you do not have money to pay the rent, you can not go out and get involved in activities outside of that basic need! There is also a cultural and national discrimination that exists not only in the country in general but also in the very realm of the union movement.

In conclusion, all that I have mentioned above is certainly exacerbated, we think because of the absence of an independent Latino labor coalition that would work as part and in unison with the rest of the labor movement in the United States.

The third question that we have just heard about quickly is how important are trade unions in the struggle against concession for Latino workers? Two concepts can basically put us in the direction for adequately answering this particular question: first, the income levels of the Latino families, and secondly, the level of capital return on investments in Latin labor; otherwise, known as the rate of exploitation. In 1979, 24 percent of the Latino families had a median income of about \$7,000 or less. Among Puerto Rican families, 44 percent had made \$7,000 or less for the same year. In 1979, 14 percent of the Latino families had an income of \$25,000, and for a Puerto Rican family this figure was only 6 percent. Thus, in comparing the lowest level of income to the highest level of income, we see that the income of the Latino worker is extremely low in many areas, lower than that of the overall populations.

Considering the other aspect of the problem in terms of the importance of the struggle against concessions, we look at what we call the rate of exploitation. We have to look at this coupled with the level of income of the family. According to the World Federation of Trade Unions, for example, a study they recently issued said that today the level of exploitation for the worker in general in the U.S. is that the employer receives \$4 approximately for every dollar that he invests in labor or wages paid for labor. We look at this situation generally and we look at the level of income of the Latin American labor we will see the level of exploitation is also disproportionately high.

The next question was what is the relationship between electoral politics and the trade union movement in relation to the city of Chicago. I basically do not qualify to speak on Chicago but, generally speaking, I have some knowledge of New York. We first have to realize that there is a relationship between labor and electoral politics in that we are dealing with a social-economic crisis that has touched all levels of the society. The current administration in Washington as well as the reactionary forces on the local levels have tolerated the low standard of living among the working people as a means to obtain solvency of government (by keeping expenses down) and obtain the profits of multi national corporations.

It is the organization, resources, and political direction based on the needs, interests, and sincere desires of all workers that gives the organized labor movement the potential to compel societal change particularly through the electoral arena. A recent example is the solidarity II campaign that took place nationally where labor played a

very significant role in its development and the results of that activity. Another example in New York is the gubernatorial race. Cuomo won but just barely did he win, basically because in the urban area the votes of Black and Latino people were mobilized through the unions themselves.

What role can a mayor play in the struggle of the working people? I think that apart from the subordinate but not insignificant levels of local leadership--such as council members, local planning board members, board of education members, presidents of unions, locals, etc., it is how a mayor acts and shows that he greatly influences the statewide political spectrum, which in turn can have national significance and impact. For example, the mayor of Cleveland lost the election after he put up a very strong battle against the multi-national corporate takeover of the electric power company in that particular city. I am referring to Mayor Kucinich who played a very significant role in having people zero in on the real sources of specific problems that existed in that city.

A mayor can also represent the unity and convergence out of the general population as long as labor organizations and community-based organizations form the foundation of his support and as long as the mayor's term in office is guided by their interests.

We also think that the difference a Black mayor supported by labor and the general population can make is the difference between struggling as a divided people and struggling as a unified people conscious of our oppression and our mis-education as a class. In conclusion on this particular question, we think that the mayor must express correctly throughout his own incumbency and throughout his campaign what the people are conscious of and nothing else--what they are conscious of and why they

are conscious of it.

The final question is what are some key issues to watch for in the future? Here I would like to address Black American labor and relate what key issues Latin American activists in New York and as well as other parts of the country are beginning to zero in on. First of all, it is probably safe to say that all future issues in the country will fall under the heading of jobs, justice and peace. Providing jobs must be the foundation for any economic recovery plan. It must be through justice and equality that we begin to unite first of all our working class brothers and sisters which, in essence, is the foundation without which this nation will collapse. And peace because in this day and age, war--no matter how or no matter what scale--contains within its very nature the potential to destroy the entire world. These basic headings--jobs, justice and peace--also apply to Latin American labor.

More specifically, the Latino labor will be taking concrete steps, we feel, towards the establishment of an independent coalition for Latin Trade Unionists.

This will proceed from the perspective of contributing to the development and unity of the entire working class starting from our immediate allies, our Black brothers and sisters and the progressive White workers in the union movement. This Latino labor coalition will give special attention to the inclusion of the Latino woman, specifically the Latino worker, in all levels of the labor movement and address the specific problems this raises.

It will deal with the issue of discrimination both inside and outside of the organized labor movement. It will organize to help resolve the

plight of the undocumented worker. It will deal with the issue of bilingual, bicultural rights of our people, and fight for the right to obtain, practice and enrich our culture. We will deal with the issues put forth by the forces of anti-unionism and we will do this in a frontal manner. We will defend the past achievements of labor. We will also join hands with other community-based organizations in the struggle for the common interests.

We will also entertain the issue of independent political action, as labor is entertaining it now in Chicago and as they entertained it during the recent mayoral campaign in New York. We will define what we perceive to be independent political action, and will support legislation and candidates whose purpose and cause are guided by the needs, the interests and desires of labor in general and of Latino labor in particular.

In this context the election of the Harold Washington's throughout the country is of the utmost importance to us. Thank you.

Chuck Wooten
United Auto Workers Activist
Detroit, Michigan

First, let me say that it has been stated that a slave who refuses to pick up a weapon and get rid of his slave master deserves to be a slave. For us at this point, given the current economic crisis, our weapon now is clarity--we need to be clear on what we are talking about.

What we are talking about is a contradiction of capitalism--a worldwide capitalist crisis. It is not just in the U.S., it does not just affect Blacks. It affects all workers. We need to understand what role the labor leaders in this country are playing in aiding those whom they represent. They do not represent the working class, they represent capital. For years, the wages paid to workers in this country has been based on the exploitation of the colonial world. We need to be clear on that. Now that U.S. capital does not have the ability to expand as it did particularly after World War II, it is contracting.

In other words, they cannot expand any more in the colonial world mainly because of successful struggles to end their exploitation. Therefore, the capitalists are forced to turn inward in order to continue to guarantee these profits. How are they seeking to guarantee their profits? Through concessions. Who is leading the struggle for concessions? The labor leaders. We need to be clear on this.

What I am trying to say is that these leaders can no longer lead because they can no longer guarantee the bribe. In other words, the American working class has been bribed to a great extent based on the exploitation of the colonial world and other countries. Workers in this country need to understand this. They need to understand that the days of

the bribes are over. We have to raise a concrete struggle against capitalism as such. The struggle for jobs is correct struggle. We have to struggle for jobs. We have to struggle for jobs with the understanding that jobs is only a means to get to the end. And I think the means for us has to be the question of overthrowing the capitalist system.

Part of this conference is built on question of the election of Black mayors. If you are talking about Blacks or any other minority being elected to any other office, we need to understand that irrespective of that person's nationality, we have to look at what class he is going to represent. Is he or she going to represent the working class? or, does she or he represent the capitalist class?

The Chrysler department of the United Auto Workers is now headed by a Black man. There are more Blacks laid off at Chrysler than there has ever been in the history of the entire corporation based on the current crisis. The plants that they closed like the Hamtramck assembly plant, better known as Dodge Main; had 65% Black employees. This happened with Mark Stepp as head of the Chrysler department.

My own history in terms of the UAW was that of a history based on a nationalist kind of struggle. When I first got hired in this plant, myself and friends of mine, recognized the kind of discrimination that was going on. We took that struggle based on our understanding at that time directly to the corporations and to the unions. We fought to have more Blacks elected UAW officials and that still is a good struggle. We fought to have these corporations hire more Blacks in the skilled trades and so on.

In many ways we were successful. But, what did that success bring? It did not bring us any guarantee of jobs. It has not brought

that now and it is not going to bring that in the future. One of the reasons this is the case is that we now understand that you cannot do that under capitalism. Capitalism cannot guarantee jobs. It is not going to ensure continuing employment.

At this point, we have labor leaders out here leading the struggle to have us grant concessions to the corporations. The reason for this is that these leaders have been too closely tied to the industrial capital in this country. When we talk about the struggles against concessions, we also have to talk about the struggle to get rid of these union mis-leaders.

When we talk about the struggle in the community, we have to be clear that we are not talking about electing people unless they represent us as a class. In the final analysis, the struggle is a class struggle. Given the contradictions in a capitalist society, it is quite easy to play on the differences that exist among nationalities. But in the final analysis, the class struggle is most critical and it is time that the trade union movement in this country readopt the slogan that "an injury to one is an injury to all" and we should proceed from there. The capitalists cannot attack Black workers without attacking White workers. It is that kind of clarity that we need to take back into our shops and back into our communities. We are faced with a system that exploits based on class, not necessarily based on nationality. And if we are talking about electing Black mayors and electing Black union representatives, we must first ask: what class they represent.

Charles Evans, Moderator

We want to thank Brother Wooten and our other panelists. I would like now to encourage your participation in raising questions or making comments. If you choose to direct your questions to some specific member of the panel, so indicate that. If you would like to present to the panel in general or the audience in general, feel free to do that. I would like to remind us that the general theme of the conference is "Black People and Mayoral Politics." This means that you can raise questions of the material presented to you, or use this theme, as a frame of reference, although some speakers may or may not have dealt directly with that theme.

TRADE UNIONS

Questions and Answers

QUESTION

I am a member of the National Maritime Union. I belong to a militant solidarity caucus. We were hit with a 25% pay cut so it is not just in Chicago and not just steel. I think the speakers adequately demonstrated exactly what is wrong with the American trade union movement. I would like especially to direct this to Mr. Balanoff. Speakers, including Mr. Balanoff, described accurately the misery and the decay facing workers in this country on a daily basis. I might add, in addition to the economic indicator, the rise of fascist forces increasingly active as well as Reagan's determination to start a war with the Soviet Union. He described these conditions, and as a former leader of one of the most powerful concentrations of workers in the United States, District #31 of the Steelworkers, he says that the solution is to vote for Washington, another moth eaten tired old member of the Democratic Party. I heard nothing in any of these presentations about the word "strike." The workers really are concentrated and have leverage at the point of production, where there really is the ability to make some change and to attack the capitalists. They said nothing about that, just vote for democrats. Look at the cities like Gary, Newark, Detroit or Atlanta, where they have elected Black mayors, or talk about Dennis Kucinich in Cleveland who is a stone racist. Ask if workers are any better as a result of these politicians having been elected or if Blacks are better, or if the labor movement, as a whole are any better. And they are not.

What is needed is new leaders. It is not new leaders from the Democratic Party, who are part of the capitalist class, but, new leaders from the working class who know that it takes some good old fashioned class struggle to fight against concession and to fight against the Reagan war drive and to fight against the Klan and the Nazis. It was that very strategy which mobilized 5,000 people mostly workers from the East coast--steel workers, ship workers--that ran the Ku Klux Klan out of Washington on November 27.

JAMES BALANOFF.

I have to say that I agree with most of what he said. I told people that if I lived in Chicago I would vote for Harold Washington based on his record. Now is that a solution? Is that going to solve all the problems of the people in the city of Chicago? No, that is not going to do that. But it is going to advance what you want to start to do. And I think the ultimate aim of what we want to do is to start to change the social system that we live under. How that comes about is difficult--there is many roads to that. Everybody does not have to follow the same path in order to make it a better place to live for ourselves, our kids and everybody else. I think the people of Chicago are going to have to make a decision on February 28. And by taking the position you take, they will make no decision. There is an election coming up and they will have to make a choice. I expressed what I thought was the correct way to go.

ABDUL ALKALIMAT.

I have a short introduction and then a question. Yesterday, in talking about how do Black mayors get elected, one of the things that was emphasized is that a certain amount of Black bloc voting was necessary and that this occurs generally. But in order to be successful, a certain amount of support outside the Black community is necessary. The first election of a Black mayor is different from the next election and so forth. There was a developmental analysis.

In terms of output, basically the findings from academics seems to be that 1) the Black middle class is cut into more contracts, businesses, 2) Blacks get hired to more top level jobs in city hall, and 3) there has been some impact on police, somehow lessening the attack of the police against the community. Detroit, for example, would be a good case of that.

On the other hand, it is obvious the aspiration of Black people are righteous and that is why there would be this tremendous groundswell for the candidacy of a Black mayor. Thus, I totally oppose the earlier comment for explicitly belittling this. This after all for us is the seedbed of any change that could possibly occur. However, the point is that people were once alienated from electoral politics, that is to say alienated from the control of the government, controlled by these other people--these capitalists. This campaign is righteous in terms of the aspirations of people. Yet, at the same time, the contradiction is that the campaign is bringing them right into the grip of what is at least told to them as a solution and we know it is not going to be the solution.

What I am asking is this. Given the fact that we can see that if Harold Washington is elected, there are multitude of mechanisms independent of Harold Washington--that we tried to touch on in this newspaper-- that are going to limit the results of the election, of the gains that the masses of people want and are righteously fighting for but what is the role of unions? Out of your experience, how could trade unions, in articulating at least the concrete day-to-day interest of the working class bring a different "class balance"--not talking about the ultimate and not talking about a fundamental restructuring--but just a "class balance" (and I hate to use that word balance). I am talking about the other side of these outputs that we were told about yesterday-- working class outputs--the needs in the community, the needs of workers, the needs on the day to day level to improve the standard of living. Recognizing the economy is not controlled from Chicago, still the trade unions seem to have a role to play, and there has been too little talk about the role that the trade unions at least ought to play from the bottom up.

CHUCK WOOTEN

First, I think you need to understand that trade unions as themselves are only the economic organization of the working people. They are not necessarily going to lead political revolution in this country. That is the job of the working class to organize themselves into a political party to struggle against capitalism. In other words, it is a question itself of self-emancipation by the working class. They have to emancipate themselves from the oppression of capitalism.

When you talk about Black mayors, the point that you brought out about people participating in the political process is true. I come from Detroit, a city where we have a Black mayor. When you talk about the question of police brutality, it is true that that has diminished since the election of Coleman Young in the city of Detroit. He rode the electoral crest based on the fight against STRESS (a fascist-like police group called Stop The Riots, Enjoy Safe Streets). The police were actually luring people into situations. They were playing drunk, walking down a street in a Black neighborhood--an Anglo-cop walking down the street acting like he is drunk with money hanging out of his pocket. As soon as some kid tried to rob him, he would shoot him. Coleman Young rode the crest on that. The first thing he did was abolish the STRESS unit.

When we look back at it, was Coleman Young able to bring more jobs into Detroit? We have to say no. He stopped police brutality but at the same time the Black community in the city of Detroit is suffering untold unemployment. Was he able to better the housing situation in the city of Detroit? No. Right now there is a big drive on the city of Detroit to build housing that only upper income people can afford. This is why I said what we need is clarity. If the majority of the Black community thinks that Harold Washington would be the best candidate for mayor, let us fight to get him elected. But let us also fight to bring some clarity to them that Harold Washington will not be able to solve contradictions based on capitalism. And the main contradiction is a capitalist contradiction.

QUESTION

I want to disagree with you, the speaker from the platform, as well as the speaker in the audience. The point is that when you look at either Harold Washington's record or when you look at Coleman Young's record in Detroit, what you see in Coleman Young is not just somebody who can not do anything to keep jobs from being lost in Detroit. But you are seeing somebody who is an open strike breaker against the workers of Detroit, who put down a sanitation workers strike there, the very thing that Martin Luther King died trying to project. But Coleman Young did not do that. Coleman Young went after that sanitation workers strike.

When you talk about Harold Washington, you are talking about somebody who is being set up by virtually everyone who has spoken from the platform as somebody who is just a little bit progressive (except that in the second debate he talked about implementing an austerity budget with the city of Chicago, except that he has been endorsed by Crain's Business News, and he talked about bringing a climate conducive to business.) A climate conducive to business is a climate that will ground down Black people further in terms of this depression; that will ground down the labor movement further in terms of this depression. It means the loss of jobs, it means the implementation of everything that the labor movement and the Black population has got to fight against. When you said, Brother Balanoff, that it means not voting in this election, it means not voting for the party of George Wallace, the party of Jimmy Carter, and the party that Harold Washington belongs to. It means getting out in the streets and fighting like we, in the Spartacist League, did to initiate what was real labor and Black action and was

successful in stopping the Klan in this country. It stopped them from marching and bringing the kind of historic defeat that would affect both workers and Blacks in this country. That is the kind of action that has got to be taken. You got to fight for a party that represents and fights for the interests of the working class. Not only in the polling booths, but in the plant and in the factories and on the streets.

QUESTION

As an unemployed steelworker who has been out of work for a year. I disagree with the last two speakers. We cannot look at Harold Washington simply by the label of Democrat, and I do not think we should look at him in terms of him being Black. We have got to look at what his practices and policy. Who has it represented? I do not know of any other candidate that came down to the steel mill to talk to workers if they had problems or when they asked him to do so. I think we have to look at this practically. Who drafted this man to run? How many steel workers went to his office and felt it was open for them to talk to him? Why did they ask him to run? Because of his record and his practices and who it has represented!

RESPONSE

There seems to be a debate as to whether Harold Washington should be supported or not and in terms of this workshop--trade unions and workers role in politics--that question was explicitly answered. I would like to just say simply that I think the role of the trade unions is to me, clear. If you view what is going on in Chicago as a worker and in this campaign, you see similar interests to these issues being

raised by workers, then I think you should get involved. In terms of what happens when he gets elected and he is not accountable, that is not just a problem with Harold Washington, it's happened time and time again. It will happen if you do not have strong unions. Not only will you not be able to play a strong role in deciding who is elected and the kinds of issues being raised, but you certainly won't have any control over him after he has been elected. You can not run the city of Chicago without workers, whether you are a white mayor or a black mayor.

QUESTION

The brothers from the NMU and the comrade from the Spartacist League have already spoken quite well, I believe, to the question of whether to support Harold Washington. The question is, as Trotsky said in the late 30s, either the trade unions will increasingly develop revolutionary forces, or they will become increasingly subserviant or subordinate to the capitalist state. And that is still, in fact, very relevant to the working class today. I think one of the biggest ties to the capitalist state is through the Democratic Party. All the speakers talked about of the miseducation of the working class. These speakers are, many of them are, leftists, former leftists, and so on, perform a disservice that is equal to the trade union leadership. The worst example, is one who comes out and says, "yes, Harold Washington cannot deal with the problems of capitalism, but vote for him anyway." Vote for somebody who is going to supervise. That is the role that they have to play. They have to play as these administrators and brokers

between the increasing racial oppression and class oppression that is faced by workers and blacks in this country and they have to keep a lid on it. That is the role, nothing short of that. It is not a step forward to elect a Black mayor. Look at the role of Coleman Young--not even during the sanitation strike but during the Republican convention in 1980, he broke a strike to make that city safe for the Republicans, not even the Democrats.

I would like to direct one comment towards Brother Wooten. He talked about the fight against capitalism, and, of course, he talked about it in the same old tired slogans of voting for bourgeois politician albeit his black phase. The question is, is there a concrete program of class struggle in the union? As militants, we have a responsibility to break the stranglehold of the labor lieutenants of capitalists and capitalist consciousness in the union and for a fighting program. Look, you are faced with a situation where Mike Mezo says "the solution is not to vote for reform candidate." Well, that is news. Look at the record of Arnold Miller. Look at the record of I. W. Abel, who is a reform candidate, or Ed Sadlowski or Jim Balanoff.

Yes, of course, they do not work. But it is not just the shop floor, syndicalist politics that is going to work either. It is breaking that Democratic Party stranglehold on the union, breaking the stranglehold on the labor bureaucrats, and fighting for a concrete program for class struggle for jobs. Like sit-down strikes. Remember that helped build these unions, through increasingly challenging the property rights of capitalism, you are facing those tired old reform things that if they were palatable at one time they never worked to

me and are becoming increasingly absurd today when you have steel operating at a 30 percent capacity, you are talking about the fundamental bedrock of capitalism, and these tired old reforms do not work. They never did.

CHARLES EVANS

Let me make a general comment. Let me say that I do not have a watch. I have one but I do not think I can read it, but as interesting and as vital as your contributions may be, this conference cannot provide the forum for the solution of the problems on the world. What I will try to do as the chairman of this panel is to see that everyone has a reasonable opportunity for expressing their opinion. I am not interested in controlling or directing anyone's opinion. But I am interested in giving every person who has taken up the time to come here to listen to the panel discussion, under the general rubric of Black politics and mayoral elections, that they be given an opportunity to speak.

So, I am asking you as a matter of justice that you confine your remarks as closely as possible to the topic of debate--either what the speakers have said or what the conference has advertised or such other peripheral things that are absolutely indispensable points that you choose to make. That way everybody will get a chance for self-expression.

QUESTION

I am a union steward and our Local 2000 is supporting Harold Washington. What he is standing for is to preserve worker's jobs.

Now we have all these guys who are revolutionary, he quoted Trotsky and if he quoted Mao, someone who has historically given a more balanced attitude about walking on two legs. You do not necessarily have to be a reformist to support clean streets. You do not have to be a reformist to support quality public education. Harold Washington is the only candidate for mayor that is a product of the school system. He is a grass roots person. For you to make a mockery of that is backwards. Now, if you really want to help, you should realize that some of you so called black comrades have been oppressed culturally and for you to take that approach is really a form of racism.

QUESTION

I am a member of Steel Workers Local 1014 and I am a supporter of Worker's Vanguard. If you think all the problems of Chicago are going to be cleared up by electing anyone, you are wrong. That is not going to happen. This capitalist system is in crisis, the companies are closing plants down, laying workers off, demanding concessions, cuts in pay. What is the answer to that? Let me tell you. The unions and the panelists here represent the labor movement, right, an element of it. The unions are supposed to defend the interests of working people against the capitalists. Now more then ever, it is quite clear that a class struggle, that means, fighting or starving. That means demanding no layoffs, seizing the plants, holding those plants hostage against the

cutbacks of the capitalists who do not give a damn about the working class in this country.

But we did not hear that program from the speakers. That is because that kind of fighting program would upset the tender balance that the union officials in this country and the Democratic Party want. What you hear instead is for all good people to get together against the Reagan reaction in this country. Well, I will tell you something, the answer to the Reagan reaction, which is being administered at the local level by Democratic Party mayors in the big cities--some of them Black, some of them White--the answer to that is the mobilization of the working people through the unions. It is a class struggle. And that will mean strike action, none of these concessions, but you see the opposition to these concessions especially in the trade unions has not been preparing workers for strike actions for a fight.

Brother Wooten, from the UAW, said we have to have clarity. So if everybody wants to support Washington, let's everybody fight to get him elected, but point out that that's not the basis of the problem, that basis of the problem is the capitalist system. That sounds to me like saying we are going to help the Democrats reforge their chains on the wrists of working people and then we are going to say, see how bad it is being in chains?

QUESTION

I do want to convey something, a point of unity, which we have seen in strong support from black politicians. This was on the immigration bill that was defeated last month in the U.S. Congress. It would have been

very detrimental to the Mexicans, to the Hispanics, to the Latin community in this country. As a matter of fact, it would have been detrimental to the whole of the working class. And we developed a strategy and part of that strategy to get the support, the solidarity of Blacks in this country. And we felt the solidarity of the Congressional Black Caucus in this country. And I wanted to convey that because when you look at it in the context of this city, I would rather have Harold Washington as a mayor than have the racism that Jane Byrne and that other chump, Richard Daley.

ZOILIO TORRES

I would just like to make a couple of comments as to what has been said in very general terms. I have seen many differences.. and all of us can seek out and put forth different solutions to what we perceive to be problems. And no question and no answer is in black and white. And this is particularly true in regards to social and political processes. Some of us may think that a revolution is the answer. But when we come down to look at it, it may be the answer, the problem is, getting there. Social and political processes are not as simple as some of us think they are. We have to be very practical in the sense that when we are talking about political and social changes, we have to see where we are starting from--the people and the social groups that we are dealing with. In this country, I would like to put forth that a Harold Washington or Frank Barbaro in New York City is really not the issue. The issue is, how do we zero in on the most pressing problems of our community. That is one. Second, is, in zeroing in on these pressing problems, how can we articulate them and

put them forth in a fashion that lend themselves to the development of other issues and other problems, to make more profound other particular issues. Harold Washington is not the issue.

Another thing that we have to look at in doing that, is how does this help elevate the general consciousness of the people. And if you are going to talk about revolution, you can't talk about revolution without relating to that. So you may go up there and call for a strike when the masses are ready to throw a monkey wrench in a machine. I think that we have to deal with what are the issues, how we present those issues and how those issues lend themselves to the development of the consciousness of the people. If we can solve that, then we are on the road to a true solution to the problems that are not only facing our people as a people, but the whole entire working class in the U.S. as well.

HEALTH

Marvin Goodwin

Kennedy King College

We have as panelists today, Dr. James Townsel, a faculty member at the University of Illinois and the Associate Vice-Chancellor; Dr. Reggie Jones, who is the Director of Health Education at the Chicago Department of Health; Ms. Lea Rogers, a graduate student at the University of Illinois and a health care activist; and Dr. Quentin Young, formerly a physician at Cook County Hospital. Today, the panelists will be dealing with the issue of health care and particularly with the current economic conditions as we now live, where people no longer have insurance because of layoffs and cutbacks in Federal programs. I believe that there is 13 to 14 percent unemployment in Illinois. Not only do we have to concern ourselves about those people who are not working in the first place and have health care problems, we also must be concerned about those persons who are now put in the position where they must now be concerned because they have insufficient health care. At this time I want to start Ms. Lea Rogers.

Dr. James Townsel
Associate Vice Chancellor
University of Illinois

Let me start off by saying that I'm delighted to be here today to talk about the issues of health care. You have heard a lot about infant mortality from previous speakers. I would agree that this is indeed a problem worthy of consideration and note. However, I think it's a symptom of a much deeper, more deeply rooted problem--the inadequacy of health care in certain segments of population. I feel infant mortality is one barometer by which we may measure the unmet health needs, but it certainly is not the only thing that people need to be concerned about. In fact if we suppressed infant mortality tomorrow, I'm not sure that people would be very happy with the total impact upon the quality of health care in the area of the South Side.

In the paper that you have before you, you will see that in 1976 the issue of the quality and accessibility of health care came before the Illinois state legislature. As a result, House Resolution 944 was adopted in which a request was made for a comprehensive study of the feasibility of establishing a medical school on the South Side of Chicago. There were several studies done in response to this house resolution. One was done by the Illinois Department of Public Health and another staff report done by the Board of Education. If you get your hands on the two studies, you will see that there is quite a difference between the two--one is a very comprehensive study and the other is more of a straight forward response to the house resolution. In sum, they both arrive at the same conclusion--that there were indeed many unmet health needs on the south side of Chicago. And I might add that that isn't peculiar to Chicago,

but that now we may focus on this City. These reports could address the problem in any urban area in this country and I think that there is a fundamental issue involved here.

The reports appropriately noted that the numerous identified health care problems on the south side extend beyond the scope of the direct role of health education programs. It did, however acknowledge that an increase in a number of health care professionals in practice in Chicago's South Side would have an ameliorating effect. For example, we could get into a lot of arguments about how one measures the quality of health care. It is a very difficult thing to assess. There is also the issue of what is an adequate health care team.

One of the things that came out of this report was that at the same time with all these unmet health needs, and this was only one of a list of things that we had seen, it was noted the population to physician ratio of Chicago's Southside was 2,217 people to one doctor, while elsewhere in the city that ratio was a more reasonable 841 people to one doctor. That is done on a very general basis--it doesn't look at the ethnic distribution that goes along with this. I submit that as we will see, when you look at the ethnic distribution, the problem becomes even more acute.

The concept of population parity in the health manpower workbooks holds that a group's percentage representation in the manpower pool should be equal to its percentage representation in the general population. For example, Blacks are 14.5 percent of the state population, you would expect--if you had population parity--that Blacks would constitute 14.5 percent of the health manpower pool. There are those who argue that that's really

not a cogent argument. The comment is often made "Physicians treat the infirm without regards for race, color, or ethnic origin," and that sentiment indeed, is very noble sounding.

However, the data gathered in a national medical care survey in 1975, and reported later in a public health journal in 1978, suggests that it isn't quite true. It suggests in fact that Black physicians are far more likely to serve black patients than are non-Black physicians.

For example, in this survey 87 percent of all visits to Black physicians were by Black patients. While only 7 percent of the total visits of non-Black physicians were made by Black patients. Thus, the likelihood of a Black physician treating a black patient is far greater than for a non-Black. It follows, then, that equality of health care accessibility for blacks requires population parity for Blacks within the health care profession.

In 1980, Blacks, as I indicated, constituted 14.5 percent of the population of the state of Illinois and approximately 40 percent of Chicago's population. In the recently published health manpower survey for Illinois, it is estimated that Black physicians represented 2.0 percent of the states active physician manpower and we're slightly better represented in Chicago at 3.7 percent of the physician workforce.

I want to give you a feel for the national picture and then look at how we stand in Illinois and Chicago. In 1980, Black physicians at a strength of roughly 12,000 were estimated to comprise 3.3 percent of the total supply of active U.S. trained physicians. This gives us a national Black population to Black physicians ratio of around 2,264 to one, as compared with 647 to one for the general population. In order to have attained parity in 1980, we needed an additional 29,000 Black physicians,

a number two and a half times the total number of active Black physicians in 1980. By the year 2000, the supply of Black U.S. trained physicians is projected to range from 24,000-30,000. Thirty thousand is a very generous estimate based upon some considerations which given the past history of Black enrollment in medical school I see as being rather unlikely. Even at that we are going to fall short of parity in the year 2000--that's quite a ways down the road--by 36-38,000 Black physicians. That's a lot of people. And that is a lot to swallow and to be comfortable with.

Another way of viewing parity, however, is to look at the first year enrollment at medical school. Since the other figure is such an enormous problem, there's absolutely no way we can get a handle on this, why don't we ask for parity at least in first year medical enrollment. Then, at some point down the line, it might be the year 2500, but at some point down the line, we might achieve parity in first year medical enrollments. How do we stand in that regard?

In 1980, Black new entrants to U.S. medical schools numbered 11,028, and thereby fell short in the number required of parity by almost a thousand, roughly 900 students. Even with the most optimistic projections regarding the future numbers of Black students enrolling in first year medical school classes, it doesn't appear that we're likely to exceed 62 percent of the number required to achieve first year enrollment parity alone. I won't discuss the issue of black graduates at this time because if you look at that then we have an even bigger problem.

Is Illinois' problem very different from the U.S.? The 20 year projections relative to Black population parity within the physician manpower pool in the State of Illinois is even worse than it is at the

national level. It has been estimated that a sustained production of a minimum of 280 Black physicians per year, from 1987 through the year 2002, is required if population parity is to be achieved in the year 2002.

Assuming a nominal attrition rate of five percent, and I say nominal because that doesn't reflect anything near reality today, the production of 280 Black physicians per year would require the first year of enrollment of about 295 Black medical students. In other words, Black students must constitute approximately 25 percent of the first year enrollments in Illinois medical schools for the 15 year period extending from 1987 to the year 2002.

Over the past ten years, Illinois medical schools have enrolled on average only 60 first year Black students. Prospects of achieving the proposed 295 Black student enrollment seem rather remote. However, if we again take the view that it is possible to achieve parity in the long-haul, by first year enrollment statistics alone, then we see that if the first year positions in Illinois medical schools remains as it is now--around 1200--then the targeted first year enrollment for Black students would be a more modest 174. While I've indicated that this target is quite a bit more modest than the 295 projected, it still is quite a distance from what we have achieved in the past ten years.

I don't come with a ready made solution. I make these points to indicate the presence of a very real problem both on a national and local level. I also would submit that the achievements which have been made in Illinois are pretty much reflective of a concerned and aware community. Last year in the State of Illinois, there were 49 Black students enrolled in the first year classes. That's the lowest number since the early 1970's when I first entered this area of work. It's a number that I find difficult

to live with frankly. However, of that 49 students, 31, or better than two-thirds of those students, were enrolled in one medical school in the state--the University of Illinois. I submit that this achievement is in part a reflection of the Urban Health Program which grew out of the concerns of the community back in 1978 based on the studies that were done and which I cited earlier.

It appears to me that the problem of parity in the health manpower work force is one that is going to require a considerable and continuous commitment at both the federal, state and city level. Hence, I submit that the community must be willing to require any candidate who wishes to run this city to be prepared to deal with concerns of this nature.

Dr. Reggie Jones, Department of Health
Director of Health Education
City of Chicago

I particularly want to thank Lea Rogers for giving us that prelude on what is obviously the number one problem in the city. My presentation is focused on what happens here in Chicago. I'm very much concerned about local struggles and not as much concerned about health status in the world. I am concerned about the number-one problem of health in Chicago. The latter part of Lea's presentation addressed that. The number one problem is infant mortality. That is not just from the perspective of the Chicago Tribune and Sun Times, of the Chicago Urban League, or anybody else--it is from the perspective of the major public health agency in this city, namely, the Chicago Department of Health.

Nothing is more shattering to a family or for that matter to a whole society than is the death of an infant. The most recent year in which we have statistics, 1981, we had 18.7 babies die out of each thousand live births here in the city. That is appreciably higher than the figure the previous speaker gave, and I think we are more accurate. That figure is particularly poor when one considers the resources of the United States. (And the United States has nothing to brag about in this area, believe me!) For that year the estimated projection was 12 infant deaths per thousand.

These are very, very intolerable figures any way you cut it. And the rates for Blacks, the rates for Browns, the rates, for that matter, for undereducated Whites are twice the city's rate and twice the national average. What is particularly more perplexing for us here in Chicago with regards to this problem of infant mortality is the fact that this city has

long been acknowledged as the world's leading medical center.

We have six major medical teaching schools in this area, we produce more graduate medical professionals in this city than anywhere else on this planet and we have more hospital beds per capita than anywhere else in the western world. When one looks at the medical expertise and the health care delivery system, there is no reason for this city to have such totally intolerable infant mortality and infant morbidity rates (which are a little harder to measure). The question comes down to: why do we have such a terrible time preventing infant deaths in this city? What is our problem? We've got all the equipment to solve it. We've got the people! And we have the resources. Why are we having such a tough time?

The first answer to that problem, not so much an answer as it is a restatement of the problem, is that we have too many babies born in this city under five pounds. It is very basic. If you birth a baby under 1,500 grams--five pounds--that baby has a very, very marginal chance of making it past the first 356 days of life. That is related acutely to nutrition which Lea Rogers talked about. Mama is not getting proper nutrition during the prenatal period and the baby is not getting it after it comes out of the hospital. There is no question about the importance of the right nutrition. It is also related to the quality of health care that is delivered to those potential mothers and to those babies.

Even though we have all of these "docs" and even though we have this great medical delivery system, very frequently it is massaged. It is used for the benefit of profit and not for the benefit of humans. We have unscrupulous doctors who take green cards to deliver prenatal care to women, and then when it comes time for term, for the birth, there's no place for

those women to go. We have a bureaucratic system of public aid that does not have the capability, for example, of ascertaining whether a doctor has delivery privileges at a respected, recognized, approved perinatal center. Yet, in turn, we pay that doctor for prenatal services. That is the major reason why we have an undue excess of infant deaths in this city. You can lay it on "docs"--60 percent of the kids that are born, but don't make it past their first 356 days, are serviced by private physicians.

Another reason is that we have too many teenage pregnancies. We have too many moms under 20 having babies. This is something that we don't look at frequently enough. We keep talking about teenage pregnancies, but only about one-fourth of the infants that die in this city are infants born with teenage mothers. It's a big problem but it's not the whole question. The other problem is mothers over 34 years old, mothers who ought to know better.

Another statistic which is important for us, and I alluded to it, is the fact that public aid--the State--has some collective responsibility for infant deaths in this city, particularly when you ascertain that 70 percent of the kids that die during that perinatal period are public aid recipients. These are people whose medical care during the prenatal period and certainly after they are born, is underwritten by the Department of Public Aid. The Department of Public Aid, therefore, has the responsibility to do more about infant deaths.

That is the statement of the problem. I could give you a lot of other general statistics about infant deaths and infant morbidity in this city. But I think you have the basic idea. The real question for me is what do we do about it? I believe that it is maybe because we have been deluded into

thinking that we have the health care delivery system that we haven't done enough about infant deaths up to this point.

I am a health educator. I believe very strongly that people are responsible, that people are the most important cog in the health care and medical care delivery system. They are far more important than the doctors and nurses and all the other people that are a part of that number one industry in the U.S. And I believe that lack of health education or undereducation is one of the seminal reasons why we are so far behind. The Department of Health for too long has taken a back seat in terms of leading the fight against infant deaths. When I came into the department in 1978, if you asked the commissioner or the deputy commissioners what was the number-one health problem in the city, they would probably have told you bad meats.

There was a period of time when the City of Chicago was in an enviable position not too long ago, with respect to infant mortality. We led the nation in terms of having low statistics in terms of infant deaths. I think what happened was a change in philosophy about twenty years ago with respect as to how health care should be delivered, a change in philosophy that said we needed more facilities, we needed more doctors, we needed more nurses, and education wasn't important. Outreach was no longer important. Participatory strategies involving community people in the delivery of health care were not important. We now know that we can not play that game anymore.

Starting in 1980 the Department of Health put together a team of planners. I was one of the members of that team to develop strategies for addressing infant death problems in the city. We stated in 1980 very

clearly that infant mortality and infant morbidity constituted the number one health problem for us--not bad meat and not some of the environmental problems and regulatory activities that we do engage in at the Department of Health. But the elimination or reduction of infant death had to be our number one mission.

This was against the backdrop in 1980 of decreasing monies coming from the Federal Government--I don't have to tell you about the latter years of Carter's administration and I certainly don't have to tell anybody what happened with our dear friend, Mr. Reagan. Even though we planned to tool up, to hire more people, particularly in the preventive areas, in the Department of Health, we found ourselves faced with the problem of reduced monies. What then? The answer to these questions is very obvious. Find out what areas in the city have the most need and deliver your resources to those areas, sometimes to the exclusion of other areas that have need and can articulate that need and have every right to have some kind of care and attention directed to them. Where need is clearly demonstrated to be maximum, deliver most of your resources there. That was a very hard nosed and frankly non-political approach to take to solving these problems.

To that end we identified six community areas in this city--the communities bounded by 22nd Street on the north, the lake on the east, 55th Street on the south and the Dan Ryan Expressway on the west. This is what we called our Maternal and Child Health Care Project model area and that is where we're dispensing most of our resources. It is a model area in a sense that we are a test area (and I don't like to use this word because the feds who fund us in part would take issue with this). It is an area that we are using to determine whether or not health education,

community outreach and intensification of public health nursing, can make a marked difference in a realivately short time in reducing infant mortality.

Now what are we doing? The first thing we're doing is intensifying public health nurses' visits in that area. Any baby born in that area, regardless of their socio-economic status or medical configuration, will be visited after coming out of the hospital within 14 days by a public health nurse. That's radically different from the policies we've been observing for the last twenty years in this city. The purpose of this is obvious-- to find out whether that baby is going to be received into a home that is supportive, whether there is enough heat, whether there is enough nutrition, whether there is even a proper emotional environment in that home to support that baby.

To that end, my office is supplying trained people who go into the hospitals that deliver these babies, and we take demographic data on every single child that's born by means of a little portable computer. That forms a data-base birth registry for us of potential clients with whom we work. That's one intervention, markedly different from what we've been doing for almost twenty years here.

Second, we have charted six major high schools, and about 30 elementary schools in that target area that need special assistance from the Department of Health with respect to delivering health education, parenting education, sex education in those schools. Since the early 1970s because of religious bents, because of politics--and I won't get into the different religious views about teaching sex education and the like-- but for a very long time in our public schools we have not really dealt head-on with the problem of sex education and parenting education. It

just simply is not being taught on a regular, consistent basis in the schools.

What we have done in the Department of Health, and particularly in my office, is that we have deployed in the three school districts in which these six high schools and some 30 or so elementary schools are found, full-time health educators. They work with the school system. They work five days a week serving as presenters in classroom situations, as resource people to help the teachers in the development of the curriculum to deliver sex education, parenting education and nutrition education. And they do something very, very valuable for us. They receive referrals of teenagers who find themselves pregnant while in school and leave school. Before this, nobody did any follow-up on them. In other words, if a girl gets pregnant in the high school, that information is given to us and then our health educators working with other Department of Health people are responsible for tracking those young women and seeing to it that they're in appropriate programs of care, and I underline appropriate programs of care. We just started this project on January 1. I think that if there is any intervention that is going to be successful in reducing infant mortality in a short time, it is this program.

The third thing that we're doing is that we're assisting in the delivery and the dispensation of WIC (Women, Infants and Children) food supplement packages. Last year we had two problems in this city with regards to WIC. Underenrollment was one. Even though free food was given to people, they were not enrolling for it. People who needed it most were not getting it, probably because they didn't know how to access the system. And then once they were enrolled in the system, they faced a log jam in

terms of getting the food coupons and waiting long hours in our clinics and in our health centers for those food coupons to be dispensed. That obviously discourages people from accessing the system.

What our office did was two things. First, we said maybe the best people to enroll the people are the people themselves. Maybe we should call on some community organizations to supply the facilities, to supply the volunteers, train the volunteers to help us with the enrollment process and finally to help us dispense the food coupons. We did just that. About this time last year, we began the program and the King Community Service Center, using community volunteers and the Department of Human Service's personnel to dispense Wic coupons, to enroll people and simultaneously to do something that we had not been doing in the WIC program: a comprehensive health screening on the site at the same time for lead poisoning, anemia and hyper-tension. That program has now been expanded to several community organizations within the city.

Now the state tells us we are overenrolled, we have too many enrollees for Governor Thompson's money. Probably the most notable example of what people can do to deliver needed health services is that of the Uptown Coalition. I can't speak too highly of Slim Coleman's group up in Uptown. Every Friday, without fail, 15 volunteers are there and enroll 60-100 new clients in the WIC program. That's more than the Department of Health, enroll at two of our major health centers in the city. So don't tell me what community people can't do!

The last intervention is the most important. One of the things that we know from international research on infant mortality and how to effectively intervene is that the most important thing that you can do is to

keep consistent contact with prenatal females and with mothers and infants just out of the hospital. If you keep concerted contacts, through in-home visitations, telephone calls and face-to-face encounters in various situations, the infant mortality rate, almost magically, goes down. I have some ideas about why that happens. The fact that it happens is important to me.

To that end, what we have done is ask some churches in the area, in the MCH model area, to provide volunteers who will then visit MCH clients at least four times a year, to make an in-home social service assessment, and to do some follow-up on what the public health nurse does: to find out whether that home can support that child, whether there is enough food, whether there is enough clothing and whether the housing situation is appropriate. We ask them to get that information back to us, and to recommend to us what we must do to give added support to that family. We also ask churches to make frequent telephone calls to remind people about clinic appointments. One of the things that we know is that in cases where clinic appointments are missed, we almost always see that baby in trouble. Just the fact of reinforcing the need to go to the clinic, of enhancing the probability that people are going to maintain clinic appointments, either with us or for clinic appointments to private providers with whom we service, is very important enough to us.

Third, and probably most importantly, we ask them to provide some very elementary, some very fundamental health education to these mothers about the signs and symptoms of illness. You'd be surprised at how many babies we lose, because mothers are too ignorant--and that's a fact--about the impact of elevated temperatures. They don't realize that a baby with a temperature of 103 degrees over an extended period of time is a baby

lost, and if not lost, retarded. They don't understand the concept of dehydration, a baby can be diuretic for two or three days and mothers would not seek proper attention. They don't understand the difference between fretfulness and induced by some physical disorder and just fretfulness which is just part of the baby's intrinsic personality. Those very basic things are what we want our volunteers to teach mothers.

We think through these strategies I have outlined that we are going to have some impact. We'll know in 1984 because it is going to take us about two years to evaluate this project. If it works, it will mean that with relatively few people coming from the Department of Health, and large numbers of people who are concerned about their community, who are investing in the life of their community, we will be able to make an impact. We know it will work!

Ms. Lea Rogers, Graduate Student
University of Illinois

Thank you. I would like to give the big picture perspective and then bring it down to something more specific. Right now we're living in the midst of a worldwide economic crisis and it has direct implications on the health care status of people throughout the world as well as here in the United States. While I won't attempt to give any detailed statistical analysis on the situation, I will give an analysis in which we take a look at the politics of health care to some degree.

Health under capitalism is not a number one priority. This can be witnessed by the fact that throughout the underdeveloped world people are being exposed to toxic chemical pesticides that have been outlawed here in the United States as well as drugs that have also been outlawed in this country, particularly contraceptive drugs. In this country, we also have been subject to dangerous conditions that go on throughout the third world. For instance, it is impossible to pick up the newspaper in this country without reading about the discovery of some new toxic waste dump or an environmental or chemical job related hazard.

In 1979, the Health, Education and Welfare Department announced that at least 20 percent of all cancers in this country are occupationally related, and asbestos is probably the best known toxic. Some 600,000 tons have been used annually in the United States, and it is estimated that 8-11 million workers have been exposed to asbestos since World War II. The implications of this, therefore, are very devastating. It has been estimated that 58-78 thousand people will die a year from lung cancer and other types of diseases that are related to asbestos. Uranium workers, coal

miners, textile workers, barbers, beauticians, agricultural workers, sewer workers, dry cleaners, drug makers, and rubber workers--to name a variety-- are exposed to environmental and noxious fumes, and dust, mist vapors. To quote another statistic from the Environmental Protection Agency, private industry and the military generate 35 million metric tons of hazardous waste each year, and 90 percent of these are improperly disposed of. All of this occurs in the name of profit.

Chemical food additives and preservatives are another hazard that we are exposed to, and it has become so common that we often shrug this off as just another thing that we have to live with because, after all, we have to eat. Food and nutrition or the lack of it, have also been linked to chronic disease in the United States. The food and beverage industry is also a multi-billion dollar industry and it has a direct effect on the American diet. We have been manipulated into believing that processed and synthetic foods are better for us. Some experts estimate that we eat 25 percent fewer dairy products and vegetables and fruits, than we did 20 years ago, and that 70-80 percent more sugary snacks and soft drinks are consumed. One of the advantages of over refining chemical labeled food is that it has a long shelf life and hence has a greater potential for profitability.

Even though the numerous environmental hazards presented should be evidence that the poor health and higher rate of disease mortality as a result of the capitalist mode of production with its emphasis on maximum profit, we are continually advised that we, ourselves, are the cause of our ill health, accidents and even death. This "blame the victim" ideology has become the basis of what passes for health education in this country.

The U. S. Department of Health and Human Services is the most influential proponent of this view. In 1979 when it was still called the

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, this certain general report, which is known as "Healthy People", listed what was called "Fifteen Actions for Health". Two of them were directed at environmental toxics and five were aimed at changing individual behavior. These included smoking reduction, reduction of the misuse of alcohol and drugs, improved nutrition, exercising fitness and stress control. In other words, we must take personal responsibility for our health status, whether we're financially able to or not, and completely disregard or downplay the environmental and socio-economic causes of disease.

Perhaps the best summation of this view can be made by taking a quote from John Knoll who at that time was the President of Rockefeller Foundation. "Prevention of disease means forsaking bad habits which many people enjoy. Overeating, too much drinking, taking pills, staying up at night, engaging in promiscuous sex, driving too fast and smoking cigarettes." This is a very famous quote. I've run into it several times. I think it sums up that kind of "head in the mud" perspective.

Aside from being faced with a system that is in the best of times, inadequate, workers and the unemployed are being faced with new crisis, being caught without any health care benefits. This week The Chicago Tribune stated that 11 million Americans are without health care insurance because the family bread-winner is not at work. The Budget Office director, Alice Rivlin's reply to those who suggested that federal aid might be possible is that any program providing medical coverage for the currently unemployed whether public or private would be too costly. Obviously the Budget Office's priorities are far from caring for the unemployed.

The crisis in health care, and the inability of greater numbers of people to be able to receive any care, much less adequate care, is felt most accutely among the poor, minorities, youth, and children. One of the main indicators of the quality of health used worldwide is the rate of infant mortality. Chicago has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country in 1982. Overall, it was 13.4 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, for blacks it was 23.9 per 1,000. A Sun Times editorial on October 7, this past year, stated that only Washington, D.C. and New Orleans had higher rates, and that both Jamaica and Singapore had more lower infant mortality rates when you look at this on a worldwide level.

The problem of infant mortality is closely linked with poverty and teenage pregnancies, and it is obvious that Blacks have higher rates of both. For example, infant mortality rates in Chicago, here for Rogers Park and Lincoln Park, which are both predominatly white communities and higher on the socio-economic scale, were 7.7 and 6.9 respectively. Pullman, in glaring contrast, was 41.4 per 1,000 and South Shore was 28.9, Kenwood was 32.3. These are all predominately Black communities.

Teenage births is an increasing problem and one of the hardest problems to try to resolve. Along with this particular problem is a very high risk of infant death and infant morbidity as well as mortality. The rate of infant mortality among teenage mothers is twice that of older women. Families headed by young mothers are seven times more likely to be below the poverty level. Intervention of this problem has been for the most part costly high-tech care in prenatal nurseries as opposed to less-costly preventive methods for getting at the problem. These would include better nutrition, risk screening, prenatal care, for the mother, and an education in contraceptive information and access.

In summary, what can be done to alleviate the problem that we face in medical care? Obviously as long as we're living under capitalism, these problems are going to be facing us and they are going to worsen. No amount of pleading or cajoling is going to make the capitalists stop seeking super profits at the expense of the health and well-being of the people and the poor. Only those affected can make any real long lasting changes. And this can only be done by organizing working people and poor people, regardless of their nationalities or colors, in their own interest to make lasting changes.

Dr. Quentin Young
Former Physician at Cook County Hospital

The quality of health care is a crucial issue on everybody's mind and the harbinger of where we're going in terms of real commitment. It is also the hallmark of racism.

I want to talk more about structural reform of the health care system. I have in my hand a preliminary draft of Harold Washington's program. My understanding is that the context of our presentations is this very exciting race for mayor. It is an excellent program that is the work product of a lot of different people, and it represents the most progressive local document I have ever seen. The essence of it is that it engages the realities of America in 1983: of a declining economy, of very large amounts of money committed to health services, and racism in all of its forms--not merely at the training level but the disproportion of services by local geography and minority group population. My favorite statistic on that vein is that there are more doctors warehoused in Old Orchard Medical Center, than there are in the whole west side ghetto of Chicago serving at least half-million people. One could go on and on with the medical statistics but the point is the system isn't working.

This is one social problem where you can't say it isn't working because there isn't enough money. This may surprise you in the face of the vicious cuts which are indeed serious and have to be resisted, but the facts are the \$300 billion to \$320 billion is being spent and believe me, you could have a swinging health care system in this country for \$300 billion. You can't say that about education--there's not enough money. You can't say that about transportation or housing--lots of money has got to be

found. You name the social problem and you got to find more money--and we know where to find it; it's in the military budget. But speaking to the issue of health care, no rational person can argue that an expenditure of about \$1200 or \$1300 or just over 10 percent of the national product is not a significant outlay.

If you want to compare that with countries that are like us or unlike us, you'll see exactly what I mean. Britain, with it's system and all of it's faults, but compared to ours it is infinitely better in terms of equity. The health status of the British people is better than the U.S. and they spend about \$300 per person. The U.S. is spending about four times as much. Whenever anybody attacks you about the flaws in the British system just say that there is nothing wrong with that putting into it another \$900 per person wouldn't solve beautifully. And, of course, that's the point. And it isn't just Britain, West Germany, and the Scandinavian Countries and other countries that have thoroughly socialized systems that are models to the world still don't come close to our level of expenditures. Thus it is not that we just don't have the money. So what's wrong with our system?

There are several things that can be said in the ten minutes without burdening you with a lengthy speech. The most important thing is that we made a wrong turn in this country. We have made a lot of wrong turns but this was a particularly costly one in the health field when we departed from the march of the rest of the human race. And I mean the rest of the human race. The U.S. and South Africa are the only countries in the world that rely on a private system of health care, in what must be the most compelling human public service there is--health care. We can

argue about whether automobiles should be nationalized as an industry or the steel industry. Although it's easier to talk that way now than it was ten years ago given the performance of those corporations. But let's not argue for the whole structure.

The human need for health care has one relationship to the ability to pay--and that's an inverse one. The sicker you are the poorer you are, and the poorer you are the sicker you are, and we all know it. That's established sociology. It becomes a form of perverse madness which is paid for in human suffering to talk about paying for these services. And it isn't mitigated, we just found out, in our vast experiment with so called government medicine--Medicaid and Medicare, when you plug in the public treasury into the private type system. All that has proven is the ability of that system to turn the faucet up is infinite.

I now make my living as a private physician. For ten years, I made my living as a public physician at Cook County Hospital. I know the characteristics of public medicine in this nation as well as private. In fact, by chance and by design I've worked in the several different ways you can--sometimes parttime and sometimes full-time, I worked for pre-paid plans, etc. All I can tell you from that point of view is that health care is a public utility.

To nail that down to the topic, what Mr. Washington has to confront when he's mayor, with these finite funds and finite resources, is recognize that we've come to the point that the hard core health problems of this country are no longer amenable to the therapeutic model. (I would say it's different in emerging countries, developing countries and in countries that are not as affluent as we are.) We experience this as professionals on patients everyday.

What does that mean? Has penicillin gone out of style? No. But I'm talking about the main health care problems that we all know. The big ones are hypertension, strokes, heart attacks and kidney failure. To keep a person on a dialysis machine costs the public treasury \$50,000. You could treat a person for hypertension for \$100 or \$200 per year, delay that event forever, at least till very late years in life while the person is a very productive human being. What kind of an economy is that?

Abuses of alcohol and drugs are also big, big problems. You can spend \$200,000 keeping a liver victim alive for two months, if you call that living, within an intensive care unit with blood pouring in and the end of the day have him die. Or you can have a socially based community program that begins to deal with the things that lead to alcoholism, and deal with the community supports that are going to help prevent it.

Teenage pregnancies--you aren't going to solve that with fetal monitors or intensive care units for babies at \$50,000 a crack and only to find that baby is often mentally retarded or has other defects that will haunt him for the rest of his life, not to mention the cost to the community, if you want to be crass. Teenage pregnancy and more important outcomes like infant mortality and maimed children are solved only by a cultural event, whereby the community guarantees that young people who are sexually active have adequate understanding of the biology and contraception and get early care if they get pregnant. Preferably they don't get pregnant if they don't want to get pregnant.

It's one of the ironies, that the young mothers who are receptive to this problem really have not been taught human biology. They haven't

been taught the elements that go into it. They often don't know that there is a relationship between sexual intercourse and babies. They know vaguely something happens there, but not enough to even practice Catholic rhythm, let alone adequate contraception.

I'm naming the big problems, the ones every reasonable person whatever their political persuasion or bias, would agree that these are the big health problem. And they are not going to be solved by more and more institutions and larger and larger intensive care units.

I introduced the notion of community education and participation in the health care system. It is a paradox that in the worst of all of times when things weren't going well and now they are slashing the budgets and cutting down on equality in admissions and all the rest, we have made a small step toward a solution. I'll share this with you and then sit down.

This self-same medicaid system in this state, which is failing so widely, and now proposes if their suit--the one that was just filed to cut off health benefits to another 160,000 beneficiaries, people who have nothing if they don't have medicaid--the sad thing is that it never worked. Half the money is spent on the last six months of life from what I just said.

We have got the powers that be to agree to consider community sponsored contracts to take that piece of health care which has always been neglected--health education, health advocacy, and even home health care-- and to negotiate with community based groups who will need technical advice on how to do it. This will be brand new territory--for this: community based services aim at hard core problems, with the money could go with it. If this works, this will be the largest significant transfer of

money from the federal budget to the community today includes all the Office of Economic Opportunity and OEO funding.

This is a transfer of power. It is the beginning of the restructuring that helps systems under contemporary conditions. I remain an advocate for nationalizing health service--you might have gotten that from what I said earlier. But that won't do it either. We know how that works, to borrow from that slave song--"she eat the meat, she give me the skin, and that's the way she took me in...". And that's the way they do with most of these reforms. But this one is exciting. The Health and Medicine Policy Research Group, which is a relatively new group through which I and the others who associate with it have been trying to study these problems and come up with fresh solutions. You recognize, and I think we all have to recognize, that just asking for more ain't going to work. And I'm not sure it's a good idea because what it does is re-apportion the stuff with very little good results to the health status of the people that it's supposed to happen to.

HEALTH CARE
Questions and Answers

MARVIN GOODWIN, MODERATOR

We've already established the fact that there's a high infant mortality rate among teenage pregnancies. In essence since the teaching of sexual education in schools has not really worked or maybe the right model hasn't been done, how do we address that if what we're doing now is wrong?

DR. JONES

As you recall, one of our solutions is to see to it that health/sex education, parenting and nutrition education is done in the schools on a consistent and persistent basis by supplying the schools with the experts that they do not now have. And to that end, in that model community area that we talked about, we have supplied the full-time health educators to Districts 11, 13 and 14 to do exactly that. My proposal, and I think Dr. Young's prescription is exactly the same, to the Department of Health and to the Chicago School Board is that by 1984 every single high school--I don't care what their indexes of teen pregnancy is--every single high school should have a program, not Board of Education because, frankly, I don't trust the Board of Education to supply the personnel. But the Board of Health will supply the technician to structure the curriculum, to work with the teachers, to present the classes on sex education, parenting education, and to bring to bear many of the resources of the Department of

Health that have not been adequately employed.

For example: to see to it that immunizations are done in the schools where they can be effectively done, to see to it that there is the development of a health careers advocacy program in the schools, and to see to it that those critical referrals of kids who have problems in the counseling get directed back to the Department of Health. Now that means that 26 school districts in the city would be supplied minimally with 26 health educators and a maximum about 50 educators. That is not much and we are particularly talking about somebody with a Master's of Public Health in Health Education. We're looking for somebody with an enormous reservoir of talent and skills, both in the areas of teaching, community organizing, social service provisions--for \$18,000 a year.

QUESTION

I have a two-part question on a very difficult issue to deal with. I'll start by an example of teenage pregnancy because, although I agree with Dr. Townsel, I think that is only part of the problem. We speak of teenage pregnancy in terms of the issue of nutrition. But how does health education and all of these services serve the needs of the family who doesn't have the means to secure their basic nutrition? I speak of trying to relate to problems which certainly reflect the situation of that population, black and others, who have this problem of teenage pregnancy. It is not only the fact that they cannot generate the income by their own means to maintain that nutrition, but it is also the fact that the very system, mainly welfare, which is to supplement or substitute for their inability to work is being cut. How is it justified to talk about health education to a population who will confront you with the response, "I don't have the means

in the first place."?

Secondly, how can we talk here in dealing with this massive problem of health care, when we are talking about a professional community which is most highly technically developed, which as Dr. Young says, has billions upon billions of dollars, which also has political lobbies and tremendous clout which has frustrated every attempt at making health care more socially effective? While recognizing the massiveness of the problem, can we pose a solution to the American people that will result possibly in the rationing of health care? How do we address the causes of this situation?

What about that young boy who is involved in teenage pregnancy? It's just not the girls, it takes two to make that child. What about his education? What about the conditions which lead those children to get themselves in that kind of situation in terms of a teenage pregnancy? And I think that this is an issue that is often times left out; the impact on mainly young black poor youth who bears a psychological scar as well as the girl. I know those three questions may be difficult to answer, but I would be happy if you answered.

LEA ROGERS

This is a particularly sticky problem. I think the whole question of sex education and health education in general has been very low priority item in terms of health care in the first place--if you have any aspirations to be a health educator, don't expect to make very much money. We also have this real mixed attitude in this society that we live in about this question of sexuality. The kids pick it up; it is very

much in the culture, in music, on T.V., the movies--every aspect of our culture is bound up in it. It does take two--the boy and the girl--who are involved in having a baby. The attitudes they get from adults are very much a part of this. I think that sex education in the schools are very much a part of this. I think that sex education in the schools is a very good first step, but I don't think that a solution to the problem necessarily because there have been school systems and there are cities where this is a part of the curriculum, and they still have the problem. It's got to be taught in a different kind of context with different methods. Kids are great in going into classrooms and reciting or giving you back the right answers and they go out and make the same mistake. There is another link somewhere that is being missed by us as adults and us as educators

REGGIE JONES

I would like to very directly respond to your question. I think your questions get to the heart of the matter. First of all, on the question about nutrition. There is no question in my mind that a major part--not just of the teen infant mortality syndrome, but the infant mortality problem in general, whether it is teenagers or rather its women over 34 years of age in this city--relates to nutrition. We see that time and time again. Again that index of very, very high proportion of underweight babies that we see that have very little chance of making it past the first 356 days speaks directly to nutrition and appropriate pre-natal care.

I do not think that there are many teenagers in this city that go hungry. The problem is what do they eat, and that relates to education.

I am a little distraught that there is a project being developed in this city, and I've expressed my concern, in at least two city schools to offer every single day McDonald's hamburgers and french fries to kids. I have some real problems with that because it does not teach good eating habits, although the McDonald's nutritionist will tell you that this is a balanced meal. I think it perpetuates some bad eating habits. It is wrong.

I think that's the problem: we see too many young women on street corners and too many young fellows and too many old people and people in between those age groups with potato chip bags and coca-cola bottles, constituting their lunch. That is obviously part of our nutrition problem. We see a few poor people who get balanced meals. What we do know is that nutrition education can be effective if it is persistently done--as a matter of fact, any education has to be not a one shot deal, but has to be consistent. It has to be perpetuated, and that also speaks to your concern about this education in the schools.

Right now the schools in this city can produce beautiful curricula on sex education. They can produce lesson plans at individual schools that show you that sex education and parenting education is done. The question is how frequently. Usually it boils down to one or two sessions in a physical education class. That is not enough! If we teach science education or if we teach English education four or five days a week in schools, what is wrong with teaching health education four or five days a week in schools.

The other thing and this gets back to our program in the six model community areas, is that there has to be a regularized way for students to share and get information on questions about sex beyond the confines

of a classroom. Questions that you generally can't ask or you can't get pertinent answers to inside a classroom situation. At every single one of these six high schools that we have talked about--King, DuSable, Tilden, etc.--and now six community areas, we have what are called teen rap sessions. These are held weekly.

You would be surprised to find out that they are mostly attended by fellows. That gets to your question about what are we doing with teenage males. They are interested in knowing more and getting some questions answered: they want to know: "What is this feeling that I get when I am too close to a girl? Is it true that if we have sex, and we stand up that the baby ain't going to get made? Is it true that you develop a baby if you carry on oral sex?" We get these questions all the time. Now those are important questions that these kids have about sexuality that are only generally answered in an informal context, giving their own time. Those are the kinds of approaches that we think are important.

Another question that you developed has to do with the question of whether the system has the potential to get involved with people in the community to address these problem. I am from Harlem, and I like another term--whether the system has the guts to say that the therapeutic model has not quite worked, and whether it is going to be politically nifty enough to involve itself with people, with community organizations who may be antagonistic in terms of their political views to the administration. These are the people who are very critical, who may be prone to say that the mayor is incompetent or whatever, that the City of Chicago's Health commissioner or other administrators are incompetent, etc. You are really asking whether or not, in my case, the Department of Health,

can still work with the masses of people to get a job done. That takes guts.

QUESTION

That is a very important point because I think Ms. Rogers hit it in her presentation about what the key question is. I see these questions about how we handle the problems still not addressing what is the root, the origin, the source of the problem. For example, we talk about nutrition and we talk about what do people eat. Well there is something to McDonald's and how much money they make a year, and why McDonald's is able to sell those hamburgers and tell you that that is good nutrition, and continue to do it. You will find that even on college campuses, that Hardees, and other chains are replacing the typical food service that were once on a lot of campuses. They give you coffee in a cup and they pay 80 cents and if you use the same cup and you can get a second cup for 20 cents-- that kind of thing. This is commercializing--there is a profit involved.

I think what is important is that while we can talk about what people do that is incorrect in terms of eating habits or the ignorance of young people in regards to sex, this has something to do with how we reproduce social relations. I think that is what the first speaker began to get at. In other words, if we look at how social relations are reproduced, even at the very basic level of how do we reproduce people at the biological level, it has something to do with how people are socially and politically related to one another and the society at large. When Dr. Jones raised as a challenge I think is a very critical question: will the state, in fact, accept those who see the state as a source of the problem or leave

the instrument that justifies and assists the ruling class and its continued exploitation of people through nutrition and through health care.

After all, if it is clear that there is an emergency in regard to the question Dr. Townsel raised about professional people--doctors and others meeting the medical needs of black people--then why isn't there an emergency rush to create doctors like they did astronauts a few years ago, but that is not happening.

These kinds of questions become ultimately not health questions or nutritional questions or ignorance of sex--they have something to do with the political economy. In part, I think that has been the problem with the health care professional, that we have always taken the piecemeal approach with this question. It becomes my particular specialty and I look at how do we make a reform that somehow lends a bandaid to the cancer rather than getting down to the core question of how do we transform the whole thing.

Medical education can be seen in regard to the larger question of education as a whole. Why did Dr. Jones say that the Board of Education cannot be the source to tackle the question of health education? After all, at least in Chicago, we have Black people in significant positions, if not of power, of status, dealing with the issue of education. I am saying all this to lead up to a challenging theme. When we talk about nationalizing medicine and private practice of medicine, of course, we are still dealing with political economy. After all, the medical profession has a very significant lobby and they dictate how medical care goes down. If there was not any big profits in it, it would have been changed a long time ago.

The question I'm raising is that in light of the general theme of the conference, that is this whole question of the mayoral election, how can we begin to talk in terms of a programmatic thrust politically that begins to tackle these questions. That might be a little bit out of the line with what we have been talking about, but how do we begin to address the political and economic aspects of this?

JAMES TOWNSEL:

I want to grab hold onto something that was said earlier: if the will is there solutions can be found. I think for those of us who have been involved in medical education, we saw a very dramatic shift following the assassination of Martin Luther King. I mean the numbers jumped very impressively. It was a fashionable thing to do. It is not very fashionable today. And my concern is that if we allow it to lose priority then we deserve to be had.

Another aspect of medical education, that also relates to teenage pregnancies, is that we must not be deluded that it is not the only or even the major problem that we as black people are faced with. I heard a comment about "the silent killers"--these diseases that are going to claim more lives than other diseases but that we never hear about. What does this mean? One of the things that I think that is important from the medical education perspective is not simply having more positions of manpower, but to be a part of the fabric--the socialization of medicine. Where Black people are politically underrepresented, they can expect that their views and their needs are underrepresented. While you talk of having more positions, it is not simply having more hands in the workpool. It is also that view

from a different culture, from a different perspective must be aired, must be part of the national thinking, must be a part of the assignment of priorities. It's a very complicated thing. If we are not going to insist that it be done, it will not happen.

DR. YOUNG

I think we are dealing fundamentally with cultural, political and economic issues--not therapeutic and not even distributional issues although those are derivative. Rudolph Leopold, the founder of modern pathology and a giant by anybody's standard, and a social revolutionary, was commissioned by the Prussian Government in 1850 to study the enormous death rate of German workers from Cholera. The year 1850, remind you, was 30 years before the germ theory, so he didn't know exactly what caused it. He did his study and reported to the government that you will diminish the death rate from cholera among German workers when you increase the income, their nutrition, and their housing.

Carrying that into a more modern period with all due respect, and to make perfectly sure all the colleagues here sense of concern about the distortion of the American diet of the rich and the poor by the enormous cultural impact from that group doing the advertising of McDonald's and all the rest, having said that, it turns out that the treatment of hunger is food. One physician said it all when they were prescribing food for the people in the Delta at Mound Bayou Clinic in Mississippi. The answer to your question is this: the way to get the food is by making the health system responsive to people's needs, and the prescription for people who have insufficient nutrition is a prescription of food. And I challenge any bureaucrat to say that is undernutrition. In the process of that, we can improve choices and so on, but that's secondary.

Several different people asked the other question and I would like to engage it. It's a real question of whether the system can reform itself. I am not going to risk my already tattered reputation by saying for sure it can.

QUESTION

What are the prospects of training more minority doctors to meet the needs of urban poor residents?

TOWNSEL

From my perspective, they are very limited. I am based on one campus and see things from that perspective. I am very much concerned with the money crunch. Money is tight. When money was more available, when the economy was a little better, there were some very global plans that were made and global programs initiated. I don't see those programs expanding to keep pace with the need that we are facing. What I see happening, is those programs are being squeezed to the point that there isn't going to be a lot of highly qualified and highly motivated Black kids and Hispanic kids ready to enter our medical schools in the next several years as we had envisioned. There will be a few as there always have been and there will always be. I don't see that expanding.

And I think it's a matter of reordering priorities. It's discouraging because I think that the commitment to train more minority students grew out of a very real problems--unmet health needs--I don't think those needs have been altered because money is tight. I am all for the bringing forth of high technological industries and increasing employment. I think that will have good results. I'm only hoping that somehow we keep before us the priority of meeting our health needs. One aspect of that is increasing the minority health care manpower pool. I think we have to stay with those commitments that were made. One of those

is increasing the number of minorities in health care training.

Educators are saying that they cannot train more physicians, nurses, pharmacists nor dentists, immediately because there is not an adequate pool of qualified applicants. It is partly true if you look at the full picture--the number is a tiny, drop in the bucket. But that is not a reflection of the abilities of minority students. It is more the reflection of the schools. I don't want to speak out against the Chicago public education system, but it does not prepare our youth to be competitive in this arena. We have to have programs to supplement what the kids are getting. If the money is not available for us to do these things, then we are not going to create any long-term increase of minority youth in the training pipelines.

QUESTION

Has the city or the state addressed this problem?

JONES

No, they haven't. I am fortunate to be a board member of the Chicago Health and Medical Careers Organization, the Department of Health representatives. I serve with deans of admissions and deans of students from the six medical schools in Chicago. In that organization, at our very last meeting, we resolved that the problem of low enrollments in Chicago medical schools, and I am not talking about the University of Illinois, primarily the private schools, is a matter of money. The reason that qualified Black graduate and undergraduate students are not coming here is that the University of Chicago, Rush, Chicago Medical School, Loyola, and others are not coming up with the bucks to induce kids to come here. Part of the cause of that is President Reagan and the rating of schools. I am a solution-oriented person. I proposed to my colleagues

that we submit a very, very simple proposal to the City of Chicago, to the Finance Committee of the City Council and to the Mayor in essence, to underwrite at about 3 million bucks a year a Municipal Health Corps--the same thing we do at the National Health Service. Give the kids the money to come here--supply them with the money--and obtain a commitment from them to practice in the cities after they graduate. It's as simple as that. We don't even have to rewrite existing regulations for the National Health Service Corps. Three million dollars would sponsor a sizeable number of Black students and minority students at private colleges that are now, woefully underenrolled.

The University of Chicago, at last count, had no Black medical students; five years ago there were five. I happen to be a graduate of that institution and I have refrained from making my yearly contribution to the Alumni Association because of that dismal figure. The same is pretty much true at Rush and surprisingly, the same is true at Chicago Medical. It's a simple problem to resolve.

QUESTION

What about nurses? Does your organization speak to the fact that they are importing nurses from other countries to come here because we don't have enough students in our high schools who are willing to go into nursing?

JONES

Yes, we do. We are very concerned not only about medical schools, but dental schools and all of the allied health professions, and the enrollment of minority and disadvantaged students into those programs. It's just a matter of commitment. If the commitment is not made at the state level, it can be easily made at the municipal level. We talk about 3 million--and if I charted

that figure out, I say it would take 80 to 100 thousand dollars per student, for a four-year program of education. Three million dollars a year is going to support a lot of kids.

PANEL CHAIR

Dr. Townsel has mentioned, that part of the problem might be education. Unlike Dr. Townsel who probably gets students at the upper level, I get them at the freshmen and sophomore level. If we were going to indict the educational system, I think that the Chicago public education system would have to stand indicted, we receive students who can't read, they cannot communicate in writing. While they may be adequate if they were taught, they are not taught and not adequate, but they come with high school diplomas.

Maybe we need to have the Board of Education here too talking about this so that they could hear what we have to say. It's unbelievable that in college, you get a student in who is 21 years old, who has a high school diploma, and who cannot read two pages. He has a fourth grade reading level. You can't make a doctor out of him. I would hate to look up and see him about to apply a hyperdermic needle to me with something in it, he may not have read. When we talk about the politics of it, we have to deal with the whole structure, because when Harold Washington gets in, he is going to have to deal with the educational system. You can't get doctors if they don't have the basic education. I see them when they are coming in, and all students complain about having to write papers, I can accept that. But then I find out that they can't read and this is the reason why they ask "Do I have to write?" That's the real problem.

JONES

I understand what you are saying. But again, I come back home with this group that I work with. There are three hundred kids in that group. Those kids

who were going to elect to go on to medical school--about two-thirds of them-- represent valedictorians, salutatorians--these are bright kids from our city's high schools. They are qualified kids. The program gives them tutorial support to build some skills, they give them some internship experience working with medical professionals so that they know what the careers are all about, and they know the game that has to be run in order to get in medical school. They are qualified. Where do they go? They go to Princeton, Harvard and Stanford-- Chicago kids go everywhere else, but here in Chicago, because we cannot provide the right inducements to bring them here--bucks.

TOWNSEL

Let me respond to that. The group that he's referring to is the Chicago Health and Medical Professions group represents a very nice model. There are various other outreach programs that go into seventh and eighth grade to take kids out there, and involve them with educationally enriching experiences and motivational experiences. The problem that we are addressing here is that it isn't adequately funded to make a dent. Now, as far as the dollars, I think a few years ago those funds would have been available. We could have gotten the 3 million. Now it's becoming increasingly difficult to sell programs of that sort. What I have seen recently, is that when the dollars get tight, then these socially-oriented programs, are the first to go.

JONES

I happen to think the 3 million dollars knowing what the budget of my department is and knowing how difficult it is for us to keep physicians who have commitment and who have the necessary skills--is a drop in the bucket to garner that kind of assistance. This is something that a mayor can do. This conference

is about solutions, right? This is a proposal that gets to the heart of what a mayor and a city council can do to immediately impact on health manpower shortages regarding minorities in this state. It may cost them a lot of bucks, but we got \$100 million that we are giving to sponsor home mortgages. A liquor store just got a small business grant of \$500,000 recently. But I think a mayor can seriously influence and impact the question of health manpower shortages by allocating \$3 million a year to potential medical students. The money goes to students in the form of loans, and is money that the city will get back.

ROGERS

I would like to speak to the problem that you raised earlier. It's been answered since. Someone pointed out that the education that the kids are getting in the first place is not up to par. It goes back to the system that we live which has no reason to invest any longer in quality education for the majority of children. We seem built into a system where expertise and high technical knowledge is what is needed as opposed to a general overall education. And that's one of the reasons we are getting people who can't read when they get to their classes and are graduating from high school and reading on a fourth grade level.

QUESTION

I am not going to try to disguise this as a question. I am going to make a comment as a response to something that Dr. Young has said and all of the other panelists more or less implied. I am a mental health care professional. It's only when you understand the health profession in its totality that you understand the need for clarity and focus. For example, clearly, the gentleman on the panel representing the Department of Health is an administrator. I mean

there's a certain question of fine tuning in terms of implementing policy. Dr. Townsel is an educator. There are certain needs and issues that he has to confront. Ms. Rogers, like myself, is an activist. We are in the politics of the problem.

Everytime we go to a health activity, several things are confronted, One is scientists dealing with the technical issues. And second, is policymakers dealing with the administrative and decision-making aspects of the issue. Third, is that most health people are human beings concerned about other human beings.

Dealing with the politics of the situation, indicate something that we have to look at--mainly with what Dr. Young said. This system is like every other aspect of American society. Health care in America is in crisis and the crisis is becoming so blatant that it is collapsing under its own weight. Things can't go on in the same old way. The question is: are we as health care professionals prepared to address ourselves to the opportunities that avail themselves to us in terms of developing new forms of health care delivery systems?

For example, the \$3 million that Dr. Jones speaks about is a drop in the bucket, but it can't even begin to meet the totality of the problem, it doesn't grab the whole scope in terms of nutrition. It does give some political leverage to an individual who as mayor can begin to make changes. Nobody should think that Harold Washington will come in there and not be opposed by vested interests. Nobody should think that that--3 million that Dr. Jones proposed is not going to be hooted and hollered down as a misappropriation of funds. Only the alliance of health care professionals approaching and understanding the problem in different ways can make the political reality of this measly \$3 million a feasible proposition. At the same time, this cuts away at the entrenched, embedded racism and discrimination that the other side will call upon right away

to polarize the community to build political opposition to meeting the health care needs of people on the South Side of Chicago. And I am not talking about Black people--I am talking about all people who have desperate health needs.

In my field, I see that on the North side there are several clinics with mental health services. But on the South side, are the people that are going to be hurt by these budget cuts in mental health. Every health care professional that I have talked to is concerned, but they are concerned about a little piece of it, they don't see how it links up, they don't know what the flow is, they don't know what the politics of it is--all they know is what their scientific training as a health professional tells them about their little piece of the action. We are at a critical juncture, particularly in health care. Reagan and Governor Thompson's cuts are coming in education and health because they know that these are the most desperate needs for the people.

I submit to you, and this is my appeal, that perhaps more than in any other area, it is the ability of the health care community to come together and address an issue politically that is going to make a difference.

MODERATOR

This has been a lively discussion. Many people who need to be here are not here. They are not hearing us. We seem to have some feel for what we are about. (1) We know that there is a crisis. (2) We hope that once Harold Washington is in that he will address it. He can't address it on a national scale, but he can address it here in the city of Chicago. And I am hoping that whoever is elected--I have my cards laid on Harold--he's going to address the education issue as well, because I think education and health go together. Hopefully, what we have said today will have some bearing and we will take it back to our own communities. I would like to thank each of the panelists, Mrs. Robers, Dr. Jones, Dr. Twonsel and Dr. Young--for being here and the audience for coming. Hopefully we can do this again. Thank you.

BLACK STUDIES

Kina McAfee

Introduction

This is a very important session because Black Studies has quite a role to play in the Black liberation movement. This is one of the most important aspects of Black Studies--it came out of the movement for Black people to get into higher education. There are two parts to that, as ICBS says: Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility.

One of the things that the panel has been asked to speak on is theoretical training and education--trying to expand Black Studies courses especially in this period where there have been cutbacks. Black Studies is being viciously attacked in the universities and we can all see examples of that.

There is also a practical and more policy-oriented side of Black Studies. Black people are going to struggle. Here in Chicago, this is taking the form of the struggle to elect a Black mayor. The question for Black intellectuals--people in Black Studies--is what can we contribute to that, or, is there anything we can contribute?

We hope our panelists will go into this more. Dave Johnson is chair of Urban Studies at Thornton Community College in South Holland, Illinois, and the Treasurer of the Illinois Council for Black Studies. He is also a candidate for Mayor of Harvey, Illinois. Carol Adams is the Director of Afro-American Studies at Loyola University and is ICBS secretary. Roger Oden is Chair of Inter-Cultural Studies at Governors State University in Park Forest South, Illinois, and is on the ICBS Executive Council. Sundiata Cha-Jua is at Richland Community College, serves as ICBS Regional Representative and is a graduate student at Sangamon State College in Springfield, Illinois.

THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDIES

Dave Johnson
Thornton Community College

Thornton Community College is about 20 miles south of Chicago. It has an enrollment of about 10,000 students of which about 20% are Black. I would like to make my remarks in a broad sweep and then talk about some specific things that we have done around the question of Black Studies and community development in politics.

I certainly agree with the overview given that Black Studies has a responsibility for community education, and not just the fulfillment of the academic requirements of the institution. Implicit in that is an ideology. That ideology should explicitly and implicitly suggest to the students that there is a direct link between their academic work and their involvement in community affairs and struggles to change their environment.

One of the problems that we have had at Thornton Community over the last 10 years is that after a certain point in time in terms of simply taking students through material, motivating them--firing them up so to speak--the question became what do we do with them? "Well, Mr. Johnson, what can we do?" some asked. We really had no practical answer. That was a glaring weakness in the program. As a result of the conservative swing in this country, the middle class became bought off by various programs. Then Black Studies began to become kind of staid. We went into what ICBS refers to as the crisis of development, meaning that Black Studies was under attack. We saw Black Studies programs beginning to fade away.

Our program at Thornton Community College was certainly affected. We were faced with budget cuts, staff reductions, and the like. At that time the

philosophical view that we held was essentially one of the Pan-Africanism and Nationalism. We had a heavy emphasis on the African liberation movements and the like. But when the crisis hit, we became increasingly aware that we needed the support of the community and that there was a wide gap that existed between the academic world and everyday men and women that our community college served in terms--issues like the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, Pan-Africanism and the like. We immediately began to move back into the community, taking our resources and engaging key student and community issues. We saw this as a self-validating mechanism whereby we would legitimize ourselves with the community at the same time begin to seek our roots in the community to fight for some stability.

We also developed an academic program with Governors State in human and environmental science that gave students a viable career option with their Black Studies/Urban Studies courses.

We involved students in a community organization that is known as the South Suburban Leadership Coalition. After two years we turned leadership of the organization over to former students of the Black Studies program. One of the things about community colleges is that they are generally located near large Black communities. The average age of the community college student is about 29 years. We are talking about largely working class adult--who are affected on a day-to-day basis by the problems that are inherent to Black people living in this society. That has strengths and weaknesses to it.

The South Suburban Leadership Coalition has been very active in the community of Harvey, in particular, doing cultural programs, struggling around concrete issues, having study groups, leadership training and the

like. It has become a well recognized force in the community for change and for leadership. In terms of electoral politics, it played a key role in terms in the area.

Harvey is a town that is 70% Black and the government is the exact opposite of that--70-80% White. We felt that it is the responsibility of the Black Studies programs help to address these situations, especially through voter registration drives and education. Many students have helped to run candidates for school board and for commissioner offices.

I am a candidate for mayor in the City of Harvey. That candidacy is essentially an attempt to consolidate the work that we have done in the last three years. At the same time, we view that candidacy as an attempt to repeat the cycle of community education, activism and ongoing organizational work among the people in that area. We see Black Studies and community involvement as essentially two sides of the same coin. Black Studies should serve as the intellectual arm of the Black community. What that means is that Black people should be taught about our history in ways that motivate people to become involved in not only understanding their community, the nation and the world, but also to become active in changing their environment especially at the community level.

Carol Adams
Loyola University

I have been the Director of Afro-American Studies Program at Loyola for about a year and a half now. Prior to that with a lapse of about three and one-half years, I worked about ten years at the Center for Inner City Studies at Northeastern Illinois University. During that three and one-half years, Black Studies on campuses in the Chicago area seemed to undergo considerable change. Things that I had come to take for granted in the institution where I had been formerly were not to be taken for granted where I am now--for example, is anyone going to take a class?

One of the very first challenges that we need to be address as Black Studies professionals is, why should anybody take it? How can you interest your students in taking it? What relationship does it have to their plans and to the development of the community?

For many of the students that I now encounter, the things that we remember so vividly and that we had experienced in the 1960s and 1970s--the zeal and the fire that we had for a lot of these things--the importance we attached to them simply is not there. It took me a while to even realize that they were two and three years old when most of this happened. Unless they came from a home situation where it was discussed, most of them had no idea whatsoever that what happened to bring Black Studies about or that it had anything to do with them. If I would say to some one, would you be interested in taking any courses in Afro-American Studies, he or she would say, "Oh! I am a chemistry major"; "I am a computer science major"; or, "Well, that really does not have anything to do with me because that is not my field. That is not what I plan to do.

That is not what I plan to go into."

One of the main things we had to deal with was that there was strong resistance to involvement in Afro-American Studies and related issues coming from their families. In response to this, I became actively involved in open house at Loyola. We have now participated in it every semester since I have been there. One of the best things about it is that people who are considering the university for their children can come and visit. They can discuss financial aid, visit classes to see what they are like, tour the campus, etc. Every department and program at the university sets up an exhibit and a display so that they can promote what it is that they are doing.

We had no illusions the first time about who would stop at the Afro-American Studies table. I was not really expecting the White students who had come to stop. I must say that I was very shocked that the Black students went past and did not stop at the table either. I am not an introverted person, and I did not have any trouble stopping somebody or engaging them in conversation. On more than one occasion I would stop a student and say, "Excuse me for a moment, I would like to talk to you about the Afro-American Studies Program." I said this one time to a Black father who replied, "No. You cannot talk to me about that. I am looking for the psychology department. My daughter is interested in psychology."

A lot of students has subsequently told me that their parents told them they were "being sent to college to get an education to get a good job and not to mess around with that Black chick." They were warned not to do anything to get in trouble. They were told that grades come first

as though learning about yourself is going to distract you from excellence rather than propel you toward excellence. They were being told by their parents that taking some kind of responsibility for yourself for your community and for the collective progress of Black people is going to distract you from being a computer operator. This is the worst possible thing that a parent can convey to their children.

Many of these students will be quick to tell you what they want to be and how their individual success is a preeminent thing--their number one priority--far beyond our collective progress. The misconceptions that they have about the status of Black people and the things that we do and the things that you will be able to do if you get a good education and get a good job are unbelievable. They are in the main, just as many White/other students at Loyola, first generation, college students. The expectations that they have of what college can do for them are so far out of whack, particularly given our current situation, that it is not funny.

Being a human being with sensitivity I used to really get hurt about this response. That is when I began to consider strategies that could interest and involve young people in Black Studies because they are open to it. I have been to many meetings and heard people who direct Afro-American Studies departments and programs talk about the apathetic Black student and say that "they are not interested in themselves." There is a combination of factors that operate to keep Black students away from us. You have to fight very aggressively against those views. The fact is that the university itself advises the students and tells them when they come with their schedules that they do not need to take this. "You do not

need to concentrate on this. You must know about being Black, you been Black all your life. You better take this remedial reading and this so and so and whatever."

There are many levels on which they hear this. On a community level, they do not hear the demand for it. The bookstores for the most part that we used to have in our communities ready to mold these young minds have closed. The people who walked around our neighborhoods selling posters of heroes and all kinds of things do not do that any more. And no one is singing about being "Black and Proud." Now the song is "I do not want to be a freak but I can not help myself. We have to understand that in terms of our own approach to what we can do.

One of the very first things I felt was that I had to in some way impress upon my students how they got to be students at Loyola. They actually thought that it was because of their SAT scores--that they were smarter than some other kids that did not get to go. We just started with discussing what sequence of events in the Black community have resulted in their having this opportunity, and what do we owe because of this? And what does it mean? What is the sense of this responsibility?

Since we are now in an age where everything is promoted, advertised and marketed, I set about the business of trying to market my program. We must not assume that students are going to take these classes because they are Black and they ought to be interested. We must try to understand the problems then to try to seek some creative solutions to those problems. For instance, I developed a flyer which is a sort of cartoon situation that shows Black students demonstrating to get Afro-American Studies. The point is to remind students of what some of you here did to get Afro-

American Studies have always been there, just as they assume that the availability of higher education to Blacks has always been there. To try to get the historical context, we set at the top, "This is what they had to do to get Afro-American Studies. All you have to do is register." "It is easy for you," we said. "You can at least do that, if this is part of what people did to get these things for you." On the back of the leaflet we listed our courses.

Marketing is an important aspect. I worked with some of the students on campus to start a Black Radio show that would promote Black talk, interviews and music. They were interested in that. We could use that as a vehicle. We talk about the difference between the theory and the practice. There are opportunities to practically apply what you are talking about right on campus.

From the very beginning you deal with the self-interest that people have about where they are and the things that they would like to be involved with, the kind of experience they would like to have in their fields. We have done a variety of those kinds of things. Most recently we did a cartoon showing a Black and White student, both reading European history books. And the caption says, "If you don't know about any people other than your own, you are in trouble," referring to the White student. "If you don't know about your own people, you are in big trouble." The bottom reads: "Afro-American Studies: Bridge Over Troubled Waters," It worked, and people have told me from some of the other campuses who have begun to adopt these and use them that it has really helped the enrollments.

The other thing that helped is that we established a film festival with independent as well as commercially produced Black films. We have

discussions with people coming in who are associated with the films. The students are interested, stimulated and then would get turned on because the course would relate to that in some way.

The first film we did was Sam Greenlee's The Spook Who Sat By The Door which was a very powerful and meaningful film when it came out. It had a very short life, not because it was not financially successful, but because it was stirring up the wrong kinds of emotions among Black people as far as Whites were concerned. The students had heard of it, but never had a chance to see it. We were fortunate enough to be in Chicago where the person who wrote the book and did his thing lived along with a number of people who were in it. We invited them and everybody from the community that was even remotely connected with the film and it was a big event because the students got to go see the movie, meet the people, discuss what happened, things that they had gone through and everything.

The point is simply this: if you think Black Studies is important enough to do, it is important enough for you to market and promote it and do whatever you have to to get the students into those classrooms. Once you get them there, then it is also up to you to teach them something that is important and that is vital. This means being accountable and not to end up with something that is essentially a waste of time.

We spend a lot of time talking about what Black Studies should be. We should spend some time talking about also what it should not be. And one of the things it should not be is a program that gears up to plan some things for February. I see a lot of programs that are just about non-existent on their campuses in terms of any real Black presence and bringing in people throughout the year, then February is Black History or Black

Liberation Month. This says that the Black presence on that campus has no importance at any other time. We felt that it was important too to plan activities every single month, every single week. There are things happening all the time. Certainly we celebrate the Black Liberation Month; it is very important. It is not the sole reason for our existence, we do not save our entire budget and only spend it at that time.

On the other hand, I do not think that the students should be seen as a captive audience for your particular, somewhat limited views. Too often I have seen programs do that, depending upon who directs them and the philosophy of the professors who spend all of their time trying to indoctrinate the Black students to that point of view, rather than trying to expose them to a variety of views that exist in our communities and encourage them to analyze for themselves, to engage in critical thinking, and make some decisions themselves.

If you understand that the kind of educational experience they have had in the main has been one that promote a learn by rote--the better you can repeat what the teachers said or the book said the more successful you are--then you can understand that by the time we get these students, they have never had the opportunity to engage in any critical analysis, much less begin to think about developing theories themselves. In fact, often we discourage them from that and say "I will tell you what you should believe. I have studied all these things and I have chosen for you what is the correct position and what it is you ought to do." I feel very strong about this point, having taught in a lot of different programs. I have been in one program where I wanted a particular speaker and they said, "Oh! You can't have him. We don't want him. He is a

Marxist. No, we don't want our students hearing about that." Or, "You can't have him. He's a nationalist. That stuff is out of style. We do not want people hearing about that kind of stuff; they only need the so and so level of analysis." When we do this, we superimpose upon our young people without ever giving them sufficient information to make a choice for themselves. We are constantly guilty of thwarting their intellectual growth and development rather than stimulating it through the things that we do.

I think that certainly you want to urge our students to do experimental things, not to just talk about what other people do or what other people did. We should encourage them to do things themselves by giving credit for the things they do and not just how many chapters you read. I try to encourage my people to attend functions such as this one and other things and listen to people talk and debate and write analysis of those things. They can get credit for those things. I encourage them to participate in a particular campaign and to get involved in whatever is going on in that community because my students are at least 50% commuting students. They have another community in which they are involved and those kinds of things to me are equally as important as the things we are reading and help put the reading into context.

I encourage them to use the situation they are in as a social laboratory. Certainly White social scientists and others have used our communities as social laboratories for years. They study and examine us and see how we operate. And, I always tell my students that Loyola is nothing but a microcosm of the kinds of things that happen in life, and that they should try to study it, look at it, analyze it. We write

and talk about that as well. It is an example that is close to them and one which they can relate to.

In closing, I would say that the relevance of Afro-American Studies is in assisting the development of analysis and critical thinking, in giving our students a sense of history as well as the tools with which to prepare for their present and future and to try to get them out of being solely concerned with individual success as opposed to collective progress.

Thank you.

Roger Oden
Governors' State University

Black Studies is in trouble in Illinois; it is in trouble all across the nation. One of the reasons it is in trouble is because of some of the problems America has in higher education in general.

Governors State, very briefly, is an upper division institution. We have juniors, seniors and graduate students. I chair a program called Inter-Cultural Studies. In Inter-Cultural Studies, we have the study of African cultures, Hispanic culture and inter-culture studies. Our approach to the study of culture is holistic, Pan-African and international. Our student body is somewhat different. In terms of our African cultures, the equivalent of Black Studies, we have always had enough Black students at the Master's level. These have basically been students who have the resources to come and study and they come out of choice. They tend to be already established in careers and they come to study to get a better understanding of the Black conditions and to integrate them into their career plans as they see it. Our problem is the undergraduate student body. There Dave Johnson and I have been working for several years on how to get a joint Thornton-Governors State program and we are still working on that.

I want to talk about the basic outline: the role of Black Studies, the theoretical and the policy oriented side of Black Studies, from the perspective of a political scientist.

The basic structure of the U.S. higher education in liberal arts training is structured around the core curriculum. Students coming to any university in the country have to go through a core curriculum--30

to 60 hours or whatever--in which American higher education considers itself training that student to specialize in the junior and senior year. This core curriculum is usually courses in the humanities, social sciences and the natural sciences.

Black Studies as a program came about in the late 1960s and 1970s as an antithesis, that is, a disagreement with that basic structure of American higher education. The powers that be never forgot that. When you begin to integrate into a core curriculum the study of culture, the study of conflict, the study of oppression, the study of poor people and all those things that American higher education never intended to study, you are going to have problems anyway.

When you add to that the study of Black culture or Black Studies, it begins to be a much more dangerous mode of operation. In addition to that, Black Studies brought into the university the connection between the academy and the community--the community must connect with the academy and the university must be responsible to the community. The university in general, whether it is Black, White or Green, never agreed to that. Therefore, when we look at the basic structure of Black Studies, there are Blacks and Whites who disagreed with the entire framework.

As we move into the 1970s and the early 1980s, there was a crisis in American higher education--the baby boom declined, people were popping more pills, etc. There were fewer and fewer students to study in each particular discipline. All liberal arts began to face a crisis. That crisis began to force American universities to reconsider their priorities. We began to hear questions about retrenchment, cost analysis, productivity, labor unions, etc.

It is within this context that I want to approach the first question of the role of Black Studies in community development. Black Studies is basically a liberal arts curriculum. The way it has been structured into the universities led to the humanities side being sliced off and certain aspects of the social sciences included as service courses in which Black Studies normally has to compete for in order to have a viable curriculum. If you look at the model across the country, you will find that the literature, humanities, and sometimes history are located in Black Studies. But you have to negotiate for political science, economics and basic skill oriented courses. Thus, from the beginning, there was a structural problem. In other words, once you get beyond competing for the students to come and understand their culture, to come and understand out of the goodness of their heart, you are in trouble.

There is also leadership problem. We have those who are in Black Studies because they had to be, those in Black Studies because they want to be. Few of us are there because we want to be. I am there because I want to be. If you are there because you want to be, you approach the curriculum differently. If you are there because you have to be, you bide your time until you can get that appointment in sociology and political science or go to another university. The attempt to provide the serious study of Black culture, the analysis of oppression, and then to train a broad circle of students to compete in the labor market is different in a liberal arts in general.

The attempt to bring all of this together is what is facing Black Studies today--it is the crisis. What is happening? Sociology wants the study of the Black Family in their department. Political Science wants

Black Politics in their department. Anthropology, which is a sociology of non-Europeans, has become such were there time to merge sociology and anthropology and make Africa a more exotic study.

African Studies to me is secure as is Latin American Studies. And International Studies, if we can get in the door, remains secure. Why? Because it is the study of Blacks outside of the American mainstream, outside of the American national boundaries. It is those basic areas that Whites never lost control of. The African Studies Association remains absolutely controlled by Whites. The Latin American Association remains absolutely controlled by Whites, and some White oriented Latins.

Thus, Black Studies faces a particular task and that is how we can re-adapt our curriculum? How can we organize it such so that students who take Black Studies courses can they negotiate that curriculum and remain competitive in the job market? Every student has asked me that question. What is the cost--benefit of my BA degree? I think that it is possible to answer this effectively. What is important, I think this is true of Black Studies and White Studies, we have to train the students in the basic categories of verbal skills, mathematical skills, analytical skills and reasoning skills. When I say this, many people call me conservative. That is the basic question. If we cannot train a student to negotiate those verbal, analytical, and mathematical skills in congruence with Black Studies, we are not going to succeed. This leads to the basic question of the policy-oriented, action side of Black Studies.

Minority students come into a program and study in the program and graduate for many different reasons than a White student would. You find that a minority student may come into that program because of a

professor, especially in a large white university. It is the Black professor in sociology who is in Black Studies. It is the Black professor in Political Science. These students realize the difficulty of negotiating themselves to a BA degree or a BS degree and surviving. He recognizes the difference between moving from a BA, MA, and PH.D. degree without a sponsor. Majority students have been doing it for years.

The sociologists, political scientists and economists identify students in their junior and senior year and they send them on to their colleagues for advanced studies. That is the key. We must begin to show the success stories, to show that students can study more than just Black Studies, we have to show a success rate. We are in the liberal arts and everybody in liberal arts now-a-days, except in elite schools is having problems. But we have to make a connection between undergraduate study and advanced study and between undergraduate study and the job market.

My last point is the question of a policy orientation. From my perspective as a political scientist, one has to make a linkage between the realistic aspects of the political structure, the social structure, the political economy. How can we do that? If you look at the basic structure of U.S. national, state, or local government, you notice that there are certain basic problems in changing the governmental process. That is, as resources have become more and more scarce we begin to see in terms like "New Federalism", "Oversight Boards", "Social Management." All those things have to feed in people who will be in the middle of the job market in the 1980s and 1990s. Those things transferred as technocrats as COBOL and systems theory, cost-benefit analysis, etc., and the like.

Like it or not we are a part of that. I think that the key to all of this is that a Black Studies student can be trained to understand the nature of government, and to understand the nature of inter-governmental relations, to understand the nature of even the ridiculous computer systems they are putting now into their courses. If we train a student in those categories and they go into law schools and into city management positions, they have the cultural backgrounds and the security that will keep them from going berserk when they do not get that position. Not only will they begin to understand the alternatives to competing, but also we can begin to guarantee that students are not divorced from the various community structures from which they came. The one thing we know about education is that it trains us from day one in that freshman class to forget traditional culture, to forget grandmother and grandfather if you came from the South; and to forget the South side if you came from Chicago.

This was the precondition for developing an understanding of sociology, anthropology and political science and other mainstream disciplines. Black Studies had already posed questions, not only to the so called Black professors, but also to the very Black students who are now in American universities. There is a pattern which has re-emerged in Black higher education. The Black middle class student has moved back into the mainstream and they are the students who are getting back into the universities.

If you will remember, Martin Kilson from Harvard, in 1972 and 1974 put forward a very vicious argument about too many poor Black folks, too many Black working class folks moving into the slots that had been traditionally

provided for the middle class students.

The third part in this component for Black Studies is to begin to abandon those questionable arguments about a Black Caribbean is different from a Black Jamaican. A Black African is different from a Afro-Brazilian. There are certain basic structures that have commonality across African Culture. I am not pushing that just because that is our teaching mode. There are certain commonalities. Given the fact that there are certain other aspects of the Black world that are much older than the U.S. and if you examine the problems we are confronting and reinventing the wheel on, you may find that a lot of those problems have been studied and studied in other cultures.

In short, I think that relevance in Black Studies has to be connected to the real questions that are addressed in U.S. higher education in general: the obtaining of efficiency in verbal, mathematical, analytical and reasoning skills. We have to do that in the context of Black Studies and in the contest of Black Culture and we are going to have to do that and remain Black.

SUNDIATA CHAJUA
Richland Community College

Let me tell you a little bit about Richland Community College. It is located in Decatur, Illinois which is in the very central part of Illinois and has approximately 100,000 citizens, about 15 percent of which are Black. Richmond is the fastest growing community college in the nation and has 3,800 students, possibly 11 percent of them are Black. Most of my remarks will have to do with experiences of being in a small industrial city where the Black population is a minority.

Many points that I would like to make have already been made by my fellow panelists. That shows unity. There are some things I will have to repeat at the risk of being redundant. Again it should be pointed that Black Studies from its very inception was part of the Black liberation movement. Therefore, Black Studies inherited a dual role. And that role was 1) to develop students who had all the necessary intellectual skills to advance themselves and their families in an increasingly technological society; and 2) Black Studies had the responsibility of motivating these students to use those skills in service because of the struggle of the Black community.

And it is within that dual heritage a major slogan within the Black Studies movement developed, the theme of this panel: Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility. Education for liberation. Study and Struggle.

These slogans reflect a dual heritage. On the academic excellence side of our mission, the first thing Black Studies professionals must do is to provide their students and their people with the most accurate information on the Black experience that is available. Second, we must

develop a critical perspective within our students while providing them with the necessary analytical skills. Third, we must develop research skills amongst our students.

Now it seems to me that in trying to provide accurate data it is imperative that we go back to the Black intellectual conditions that we pull out the pioneering works of Black scholars such as W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier and that we make these studies by Black scholars a cornerstone for Black Studies and then we move from there. In terms of developing a critical perspective and analytical skills among our students, it is necessary to provide our students with a broad knowledge, that we present them all of the diverse ideological positions and while doing this that we give them analytical tools necessary to grasp the methodology that best explains the concrete reality of the Black experience and provides them with a clear perspective and clear road of the liberation of Black people.

In saying this we understand that the educational system still predominantly mis-educates and under-educates Black students. Therefore, many of the students that we get in Black Studies are still trapped by functional illiteracy. At Richmond, and I think it will be true of most community colleges, we have students who have just a terrible time reading a sentence. It is almost a horror if you ask them to stand up and read. They are really frightened by that experience. White teachers consciously do not call on Black students and ask them to stand up and read in those classes because they feel the students can not read anyway so why put them on the spot? They just ignore them. Thus, speaking in front of people beyond your own peer group is a negative experience.

for a number of Black Students. We have to deal with that basic problem.

We are beginning to see that there is a new illiteracy developing and that is the fact that Black Students and Black people in general are not in the technical fields. We are not gaining mastery in advanced mathematics, computer science, and statistics. And, in fact, the few Black students who are in those fields are hostile to Black studies. They consider it either totally irrelevant or something that they just totally despise. We could even go so far as to say that of the students that are in the vocational programs--auto mechanics, etc.--many of them have the same attitude toward Black Studies as students in the more technical fields. As they see it, it has nothing at all to do with the practical necessity of their life. They are, thus, hostile. So we do have to find ways to bring in those students. Because, whether we like it or not, these are the students, by and large, to which the system is going to give every break that is available to Black students. We know that there are few available, but those breaks will go to the students who have shunned Black Studies in relationship to the Black liberation movement.

I want now to talk about the social responsibility aspect of Black Studies. Again my remarks are based on things that we have attempted to do in Decatur on a very practical level to involve our students in the community and to involve the community in Black Studies. There are five specific points I would like to make. One is that a city like Decatur, Black students or Black citizens are unaware of the social services that are available to them. Programs such as winterization for the elderly, help on utility bills, etc. One of the things we found

helpful is that if you can compile a list of community services and have that distributed in the community with the name and address of the Black Studies program on it, that gives the community a feeling that you are actually providing a service, and there are some functional things that you can do that they can benefit from rather than simply push ideology on them.

Secondly, most Black community organizations in Decatur, since it has a very small Black professional class, the people running those organizations have very little skills for doing basic research. Any time there is a community struggle, they are totally at a loss in terms of how to gather data to support their argument and consequently they generally end up presenting a traditional moral approach. In Decatur, there is a struggle going on now to rename a street after Martin Luther King. I know that is something that is past history in a city like Chicago, but in a place like Decatur, this is something that still fires people up.

In mobilizing the number of people to go before the city council on this proposal, the traditional leadership of the Black community began by making their point that Martin Luther King was a great man and a great moral leader. Therefore, you as good Christians should rename the street after Dr. King. The White right-wing and liberal opposition came talking in terms of basic economics. "It will cost \$3,000 from every merchant on this street to change their stationery," they told us. "It will cost X amount of dollars to change those street signs." It came down to the point that the politicians, as always were subservient to the dominant economic interests.

But the Black community did not even attempt to present an economic argument. There was not even an attempt to dispute the economic argument. We presented only a moral argument. Thus, it seems clear that the capacity to do research, which is something that Black Studies professionals have, and they have an institutional base from which to work from, can provide that type of service to the Black Community. Third, is the writing of local history. There have been a number of histories written on the City of Chicago. But when you talk about the scattered Black populations in places like Danville, Illinois and Champaign, Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, Decatur, Illinois--and perhaps even St. Louis--there has been very few studies of these communities. Black Studies programs can encourage their students to do studies of the local community. One example, there is a Black baseball organization in Decatur that produced Bill Matlock to play for the Chicago Cubs for a while. He was a three time national batting champion who incidentally is not the best baseball player ever developed in Decatur. This organization found that every time they would win the district, people would force them to integrate their teams before they could go on to the next level of the championships. They did not want to send an all Black team out of Decatur.

Some of us felt that this was a significant aspect to study--athletics and how it often has political impact in terms of Whites using mechanisms to keep Blacks from dominating this area. "We will force you to integrate before you do this tournament so that you reflect a unified community," Whites said. But when a White team wins, there is no integration. "The best team will go."

We thought it was important to encourage members of that baseball team, who were also in Black studies, to do a history of their baseball

organization which had existed for some 30 years. Within doing that history, it comes easy again to point out things like the budget of the park board which controls the little leagues in the city, and how that budget is used to render no services to the Black community. In the Black community if you have a basketball court and the rim is broken, the community must raise funds to have that fixed, but not so in the White community. We thought that this was a great practical way to get people who were just caught up in athletics involved in the academic side of that aspect. Local community histories are one practical method that could be used.

Fourth, is seminars on grantsmanship. A lot of these small towns put a lot of money into art programs. Decatur has an arts committee with thousands of dollars, very little of which go into the Black community. But if Black people systematically wrote grants, they would be able to tap into that source. We began doing this in the last year. We have written three grants in a combination between community college and a Black community institute and were awarded the grants each time. One led to the publication of a volume of poetry by the community, the other is a film series that is going on and the third is by the Black Student Union of Richmond which will bring in twenty portraits of famous Black women which will be combined with a seminar in which we will bring someone from the ICBS network to give a talk on the role of Black women throughout history. We see that as a practical necessity in trying to tap into some of these funds that are still available to us despite the Reagan budget cuts.

Fifth, and I think is most important, Black studies professionals themselves, if you are to motivate your students into community activism, you must set the example. We could talk about various types of examples-- entering electoral campaigns, mass action campaigns, and in other areas. Students, particularly in a place like Decatur where there have been very few Black professionals, they tend to look up to the Black instructor because of the nature of the relationship. If you set a positive example, many students will try to emulate you as you put your ideology into practice without you having to push ideology on them.

THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDIES

QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

QUESTION

The question I would like to ask and first I would like to preference the remark saying that I am not a student. Basically I am here just in the community trying to learn, trying to understand what is going on and I have always proceeded from the premise that Black Studies was not for me because I believed that before they (Black people) can ever get their freedom, before they can ever get control of their psyche and so forth, they would have to work out this big problem of being Black in a White dominated society. If I start over on this side with my great-grandfather and come on down the line to myself, and on the other side is a second family. And in this family, all of their people have nothing. And all my people have bread or, vice versa. When you get down to the problem--this son on this side and another son on the other side--one coming from a long line of achievers and the other one coming from a long line of nothing and those two people sit down in a room. This one coming out of a long line of achievers has a great psychological advantage over the other. In other words, it is a great advantage to a person to be able to relate to his people, his line of people, having been with important people. It seems to me that we can accept that premise that Black people labored at a great handicap in terms of what we have experienced in relation to Americans. The European people are the ones that have been powerful. They have been given all this literature, given all this science.

Now as Black Americans, we have come down this line without people really giving us anything.

Consequently this is what gives us a great psychological handicap. We go out into the world saying "well my people, my ancestors were really nothing." Whereas Whites in society can say that my people have produced all that is greatness in the world. Now I have heard expressions like Africans were doing high (scientific) operations in Africa at the same time that Europeans were still living in caves and eating raw meat. So my question now becomes what can you say that can basically verify and show that Black society was, in fact, thriving and creating? For example: I saw on Donahue's program not too long ago where these scientists were actually establishing and experimenting with...the first human clone (Now the first human on earth originated in Africa). An African young lady discovered the skeleton and was able to verify her findings. As I said this was the Donahue Show and they got around to the point of referring to the africans as our ancestors. Now, of course, this kind of information can be a great boon to the Black psyche. So my question becomes what information can you give us here today in your studies, your experience that will verify that and therefore, enhance Black peoples understanding of our roots as they have come down through the centuries? Will that put us on an equal footing with other ethnic groups?

CAROL ADAMS

There are boundless sources that validate these things and I am sure that others here might add to these few sources. Ivan Van Sertimas' They Came Before Columbus is an example, and there are the journals on African History and African Studies. The Journal of African Civilization

is an excellent resource for the scientific validation of a lot of these. Ivan Van Sertima edits it as well. The Journal brings a lot of little known facts out. If you are a student of Afro-American Studies--and we are all students of Afro-American Studies as well as being people who teach it every single week, I find something new. I discover something new every time I go to a meeting with my colleagues I found out about new discoveries, new theories, etc. The research skills that Sundiata mentioned are so important. We have to discover and find these things out ourselves. I am a sociologist technically. And, having had a background in sociology and anthropology, they have been telling us for years that our ancestors were the first people that anthropologists encountered. They admitted this a long long time ago. Admitted that a long time ago when L.S.B. Leaky found the bones in Ordavai Gorge in Kenya. They admitted it when a lot of us would not admit it. There are a lot of us who still will not admit it. And that we started most of the civilizations that exists in the world. So it is not that this is a new scientific discovery. They continue to find new remains that validate the theses. They find one older than the one before and they are still us! In many ways, the theses is validated in recorded history. It is there if you really get into some of the older texts that (white) historians have written as well.

ROGER ODEN

The other thing that I would suggest that you do is teach students that you constantly put the history of Black people in the context of world history. Then there is clarity that as divergent as Black history, African history are, our struggles are caught up in the whole world-wide struggle of oppressed people and that our histories are essentially part

of a whole movement. I think it is very important for that to happen so that students are able to look at the particular and general and see that it is connected in that way.

DAVE JOHNSON

I think there is a third thing that should be added and that is that while we do want to stress our great accomplishments by Black people we also want to take a critical look at the nature and social character of African societies. Because oftentimes people pick up on the rumors and enjoy the popular things such as "we are the sons of, or daughters of kings and queens." Well clearly we are not all the daughters and sons of kings and queens. So we have to look at the character of those Africans in the society that we study. Again, when we talk about the great pyramids we should not talk about them as if it was necessary to study the thing. We should talk about it as if the Black people in Egypt--with their hands and their brains--constructed those pyramids in order to keep the focus on the masses of Black people. These slaves who would work to make those pyramids. I think that only a portion of that history and that people were kings and queens.

SESSION CHAIR

If I can also put in a quick plugger...I am not a historian and if my historiography is not correct then somebody correct me. But there is a teacher at Southern who in his classes he gives a lecture in Afro-mathematics and Blacks in the development of mathematics. There is another component on the African development of steel, medicine, etc. If you give

me your address we have developed an independent study we could send a booklet and it comes along with a ten part course of study. It starts from the beginning to the end has about three or four things that go along with the basic booklet. Since it has gotten too expensive, we have independent studies, you can send in the exams to be graded and I will be glad to give you the evaluation if you want, or we can just give you the information and you can read it yourself (without credit). It is probably the most comprehensive approach to the contributions of Africans prior to Columbus in Medicine, Science, Mathematics and technical fields.

COMMENT

I am a former student in the Black Studies program at Governors State University and I think that Dr. Oden will attest to the fact that we had a lot of problems and now it has taken me all this time to come around. I think this is the first time in two or three years that I have finally digested all the information that I was exposed to from the Black Studies program. And if nothing else, I find that being the first to manufacture steel or being the first to practice mummification and all that becomes secondary. The primary thing happens to you when you complete a course in Black Studies here you begin to feel good about yourself. And in my particular job--I am a counselor for the Board of Education--I find it easier to relate to my students. And one of the things that I am able to do with those children in career education program is to let them hear about or read works about themselves, I never heard about myself until after having had Black Studies. It is something that happens to you. I can tell you it is like the feeling I had when I went to Africa. I had

never been to Africa before and on the plane there was just one or two Blacks and everybody else was White. We stepped off the plane in this Black airport and all of a sudden I stuck out my chest and I said: "Look out Black." Look at us Black folks we got a fine airport! I am home! It is that same kind of feeling that you get after you learn all of this history and you learn about how we have been deprived of our heritage.

DAVE JOHNSON

I am trying to say this: that the unqualified glorification of the African ties in terms of civilization and so forth can run counter to the idea of liberation--which is supposed to be a goal of Black Studies.

Because many of these societies were slave societies, they were empires. Their leaders were doing the kinds of things that were done to us in this country. This is significant of us today because this is connected with the fact that in general higher education, the range of options for choosing whatever you think is "liberation", that range is too narrow. It is too narrow because the political alternative is explosive. This is not a special failure for Black Studies, but of higher education in general of which Black Studies is a part. Black studies like higher education has a side that is potentially socially liberating. That side is underplayed because it is about getting rid of these things which are set up to enslave people.

I would agree that perhaps there has been on occasion some people who attempt to glorify a past and basically all history has that function. What you may see in Black History is an attempt to correct an imbalance, an illness. Now I am not a doctor in that sense of the word but if you are

covering a 4,000 year period you have to be selective. You can not cover everything. You will find that any history tends to perpetuate the positive. Perhaps there may have been cases of historiography in this country where it has gotten to the point where even documentaries can not be verified. What good is it, etc.? However, in the overall general perspective that is the study of African History, the study of Black American History, etc., has basically been a positive, productive approach.

CHAIR PERSON

If there are no more questions, I would like to thank the panelists again and just summarize for a bit. There were some very important points brought out in the discussion. One that several people brought up was the need for critical assessments as well as on the other hand the very basic introduction to Black history is important for Black Studies students. As well as the points Roger mentioned, I am not sure that I quite understood all the connections between Black Studies, what it needs to adopt to survive and still be a vehicle for developing really important skills. However, I think that is what you were talking about--skills for Black students and the adaptational things that Black Studies needs to go through. And, everyone spoke about social responsibility, I think there have been some very important points, very concrete things that were brought out in terms of Black Studies and social responsibility.

EDUCATION

William Exum
Northwestern University

Good afternoon. I am William Exum, Chair of the Afro-American Studies Department, Northwestern University. On behalf of the Illinois Council of the Black Studies, I welcome you to this panel session focusing on Education. Our panelist will attempt to define the relationship between the substantive issues raised in the arena of education and Black politics--particularly Black mayoral politics. There are few substantive issues of broad concern which are more important than the issue of education for Black people. And there are few cases in politics and political practices which play a larger role than does education.

We are very fortunate to have on our panel this afternoon--through the assistance of ICBS and the Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research--several persons who have played significant roles in various aspects of the arena of education.

Our first panelist is the Rev. Kenneth Smith, former President of the Chicago School Board and pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd. We also have with us Mr. George Schmidt from SUBS--Substitutes United for Better Schools. Also on our panel today is Professor Harold Rodgers of Olive Harvey. Mr. Rodgers is also of the Afro-American Heritage Studies program and a leading actor in the Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

We will start with Reverend Smith.

Reverend Kenneth Smith
Former President, Chicago Public School Board
Pastor, Church of the Good Shepherd

Thank you very much. This coming day I will have been in Chicago for 28 years, and ever since I have lived in this City, we have had some crisis within the public educational system. I can recall becoming involved in what used to be called the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO), which was a delegate body. That was back in the 60's during the time when the school system was presided over by Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis. We could not have had a person as superintendent of schools who reflected a more autocratic kind of spirit, and I suppose it was because that was his management style.

It is hard to believe that those were days in which the school buildings were actually locked up while community people at that time were loitering around counting empty pupil seats. The issues had to do with the desegregation of the school system, and why we were building so many schools in the Black Community, particularly at a time when there were seats available for so many youngsters in areas that impinged upon that community. Many of these buildings were locked. We went through a great deal of struggle that produced both the Hauser and Havighurst studies. Some of you may recall these studies were received by the Board of Education but as far as I am able to determine, not very much came out of them. Moreover, these studies did not have a major impact on the way in which the school system was operated in the city of Chicago.

Benjamin Willis was selected as Superintendent by the Board primarily because it was the will of the mayor, Richard Daley, that he should be

Superintendent. There was a lesson for many of us in school politics. At least I began to learn that on the school board, the power belongs to whatever consolidated bloc has the six votes which represents the functional majority on critical issues. In 1978, when I was approached by the Urban League about the possibility of allowing them to submit my name to the then existing nominating commission for the school board, I agreed to do so. This was not because I was an educator, but because I thought I had been around my community and other communities and I had a feel for some of the issues which people were addressing. I was not appointed to the school board during that particular term.

When the new mayor (Jane Byrne) was elected, she, of course, called for the resignation of the entire board. However, nobody resigned. Later on in the fall of the year--about October 1979--I was called by the mayor. She asked me if she could submit my name to the City Council as a member of the school board. I remember stating in our phone conference that I thought it very important that we sit down and talk because I needed to know something about her vision for this City and how the school system fitted into that vision. Byrne assured me that we would, indeed, sit down and discuss her philosophy.

But that really never occurred until on one occasion I found it necessary to force the issue. I did this by writing a letter asking that my name be withdrawn from consideration. The reason that I had written the letter was that it had come to my attention that given the makeup of the board at that time, some information was given only to certain board members on particular issues. Somehow the information did not get to everyone prior to the discussion of an issue at a board meeting. I checked

this out before sending the letter. I verified it with several people. I thought this to be reprehensible.

I indicated to the mayor that I thought I should withdraw because I did not want to be a party to this kind of business. At a subsequent meeting, she talked to me about keeping my name in until the fiscal issues could be resolved, concerning school financing and the teacher's strike. I did. As those of you who followed these developments might recall, before I even took my seat on the board the bottom fell from under the school system and the system was in financial collapse and political turmoil.

I did not take my seat until December 17, 1979. By the time I arrived there, we were in the midst of all kinds of crises. It was not only the financial crisis that was disturbing the school system, there was also a "crisis of confidence" in the whole system. And I think everywhere that you went people were raising all kinds of questions about the credibility of the system and whether or not people were really committed to the education of our children.

One of the heated debates occurred either in late December or early January (1980). It resulted from an exchange between the board president and Mrs. Cary Preston. The president made a comment which I thought reflected the central problem of the board but also of city government as a whole. And the comment made by the president was: "These poor people are going to destroy us all." I thought that was a highly charged, symbolic statement coming from the president's chair. It revealed to me a great deal about the prevailing attitude that existed on the school board.

I think it made little difference to those who sat there that there were sixty percent Black youngsters and twenty percent Hispanics in the school system. The point that was made by the president was that essentially it really did not make any difference about the composition--these people were a problem! The issue was not the "education of the children" or how to best insure "quality instruction." In the president's view, their very presence created problems.

Here is another example. Some of you know that Cary Preston and others had championed the concerns embodied in utilizing Title I for several years. There were all kinds of road blocks built regarding the distribution of those funds. They were supposed to follow guidelines that would insure their use to benefit poor children in poor neighborhoods. It was supposed to make available extra amounts of money in the schools to provide for additional compensatory programs for poor children. Prior to being on the board and even after I came on the board I thought that money was being distributed fairly and equitably through the system. I think the year before I got there they had to go back to the legislature to make certain that the law was being interpreted correctly for developing regulations. This was because there were those who sat on the board representing the majority who said that this was not what the law meant at all. So when the president at the time made the statement that "these poor people are going to destroy us all," I thought that that was a very revealing statement about attitudes on the part of that board regarding the education of Black and poor children.

This crisis led to the famous "Summit Meeting." And out of that summit meeting between the governor, the mayor, and representatives from

business, the Chicago School Finance Authority Act was enacted by the legislature, and signed by the governor. We actually had created for the Chicago school system a model patterned after the New York City "Big MAC" (the Metropolitan Assistance Corporation which place representatives of large corporations on an "oversight" committee for city finances).

This made it absolutely necessary by law that the School System and the School Board submit all of its budgets to the Authority for final approval. That took a great deal of the ultimate power and authority away from the Board. Of course, the argument can be made--and perhaps rightly so--that it was the Board of Education itself which lost its credibility in the financial community because its bad handling of its budgets. As I look back over those years--and there were those who were very clear on this notion--that the way in which the school budget was put together, including the so called "rolling-over" of the debt, was not the issue. That had been a common practice well known to the power centers of this city, including the mayor's office.

All of those years we were told that "things were great, this is a city that worked." It really was not working. What they were doing was hiding things more and more under the rug. In a sense, I cannot hold the present mayor responsible for that. But I have to hold the present administration responsible for the continuation of the same pattern of doing business. It has been practicing a continuation of "robbing Peter to pay Paul." For example, when community development funds were moved out of the current 1982 budget, some of that money was moved to the School Board (\$16.8 million were transferred to the teacher's pension fund) to close the financial gap in the school budget. But it created a gap elsewhere while not solving the school's problems.

I recognize that the argument is made that that was absolutely essential to get the schools opened last fall. But what that also did was to deprive some community groups of community development funds they thought they were going to receive. I listened to those responses given by the mayor during the mayoral debates and they were not credible responses. Why? Because what she is doing is continuing to hide the gap between income and expenditures in our school system. It does not solve it. True, we were forced to reduce expenditures by almost \$120 million dollars within one year. But what I contend that we did not do--perhaps we were not successful in doing--was to go into the bowels of the system as far as we could and trying to locate every single ounce of fat that was there. In this approach we would be changing the way in which we actually operated the system.

I left the School Board last April 1982 feeling a sense of great and utter frustration. When you think about the investment of time, the hours, when you think about traveling or trooping all over this City to a variety of community groups and trying to interpret what you thought would happen, then you can appreciate my sense of frustration. And when you think about the fact that we had this significant opportunity due to the creation of a new Board to really bring something fresh and new to the City, and even that was frustrated, then you leave the whole enterprise with a sense of sheer frustration.

Now I admit that some of this was due to my own political naivete. I will admit that I went on the Board truly believing that these people were interested in education. And that I agreed to serve on the new Board with the understanding that we wanted to solve some new problems, and change our way of doing old things. But I was rapidly reminded and rudely awakened to

the fact that that was not necessarily the case. I became the president of the board by an accident of history. This was made possible only because the mayor made the election of the president a controversial issue. Once I said that to her: "Why did you have to go out and raise this issue of a 'brand new' board." It turned out that at that particular moment in history I was the person that everybody on the Board could vote for. I understood when I accepted the post that, in so doing, I would earn the everlasting contempt of the political powers in this city. The people were going to look at me, however. They looked to me to hold my cool and operate with a degree of decorum as much as I could. I did that and, of course, in life you recognize that you do not win a great many battles, but what you can do is stand up for a few principles that you believe in and what you believe is right.

I did not come out of the two and a half years experience on the winning side too often. Even in terms of the vote on the desegregation plan, I was not one of those who voted for it. We lost, and I voted against it along with a few other colleagues because I felt that number one the plan did not really involve that many black children in this city and for those who were left--the so-called "aggrieved" if I can use a legal term--we had really not done very much for them either. We had talked and there was a considerable amount of lip service to the idea that we would provide extra monies to upgrade those schools for them to have more resources available. But that did not occur.

I can recall being with members of the Board in the mayor's office where she talked about the fact that we do not want all of this busing and then she came out for it. Well no one, not even the opposition to the plan,

had talked that much about busing. What we wanted was simple justice for the aggrieved and she said: "Let's educate the children; let's find the money to educate the children." Well, we did not find the money to educate the children. The money was never there; the votes were not even there to do any shifting. You can not go through those experiences over and over again without leaving them with a great sense of frustration.

On the issue of the superintendency, some of you were around here when that struggle was going on. A majority of the School Board decided to support a particular person for the superintendency. It was decided that a gentleman who knew this system best, who knew this system well, who had worked his way up from a teacher in this system to the deputy superintendent for the day-to-day operations during the time of Redmonds' regime should be supported. The Board had every right to that position. But the Board had made an informal decision that no one from within the system could be considered for the position of general superintendent. Well, it was hard for me to understand how at least six people came to that conclusion. I have to say that my conspiratorial antennae went up. My experience would tell me that it was a crass political decision that the superintendency should be denied to that deputy--Dr. Manfred Byrd. I have nothing against Dr. Love and did everything that I possibly could to help with the transition into her administration. I supported her as often as I could in terms of my own vote. But my own deep commitment and concern was to Dr. Manfred Byrd.

I learned that in a system with one billion three hundred million dollars, with 38,000 employees and with all that kind of contractual services that the Board purchases, you cannot divorce politics from the

operation of such a public body. I had to learn that. By sitting on that Board, your very appointment is a political act, and given the way in which we create the Board of Education you are in the midst of politics. There are political considerations operating other than the narrow task of being a board member. I felt, as I heard one staff member say, that they had seen board members come and go through the years, and they would just wait out the independent minded ones because Board members have to go to staff people for much of the data. What you learn to do is to pick up data from others who supply it to you in order to make judgments on the issues.

I came away with despair over our commitment to the education of our children. That was the reason for the existence of the Board. That was the reason for the existence of the system. I recall when I went to see the mayor in March of 1981. It was at that meeting I informed her that I was not going to be a candidate for reelection. I had indicated at the beginning that I thought she needed a president of her own choosing to represent her positions on the Board. I was not the kind of president that the mayor could pick up the phone and order to do something. I was respected by my colleagues on the Board even if I disagreed with them. I was not one of those who said that the mayor ought not to have input in the affairs of the system. But I felt that it ought to be "coequal" with the input of board members. I felt that the school system was a separate system and ought to be allowed its own independence and freedom of deliberation. Therefore, I understood that I was not one who was trusted by the mayor.

In spite of how hard we might have worked, the best thing for me to do was to get out of it. She asked that I serve another year as

president. I said that was not really necessary. I felt she could work better with someone of her own choosing. I never forgot that my election was not greeted by the mayor in the normal manner. When I finally got to see her, I told her that I hoped that she was not reacting to my election because I was black. She assured me that she was not. But from that point on, our relations were sort of "downhill." But I kept my cool. I never did anything to betray the community of which I was a part.

I have always felt that my first obligation was to my God, my family, and to my congregation that paid my salary and allowed me the time to serve. The only promise I made to the mayor was that I would do what I could and maintain my integrity in that process and the integrity of the community of which I was a part.

I left the system with several questions. And I share those questions with you. What is the school system's existence if not for the education of our children? Does it exist as a kind of informal extension of a patronage system for jobs? Does it exist to award and reward those with the contracts that are voted by the Board of Education? And what is the commitment even of the teacher's union to the education of the children in this city and particularly the "New Majority?" Given this particular educational system, I suppose, given everything else, what is needed in leadership is someone who will in a sense "set and sound"--that is, to monitor its course and sound an alarm for the City.

The leadership should articulate where they think we ought to be going at this point in history and where this City ought to be as we conclude this century. There are other questions. Once that vision is articulated, how do the various instrumentalities of the system of the

City--particularly the educational system--became a functional part of that articulated vision.

My own sense is that for the City of Chicago, I think a black mayor can best articulate that vision. Why do I say that? I say that because I have the feeling deep within my heart that, of all the people, Black people understand something about pain and suffering and also understand something about vision. I see people who have operated on the basis of what is to come, and they committed their minds and their souls to the fulfillment of that vision. I am interested in hearing our present mayor say that education is going to be one of her major thrusts in her next administration. But, as I review what has happened in the four years and the opportunities that were provided, I do not come away with a considerable amount of trust in the pronouncements of the Mayor.

I have a feeling deep again within my own heart and in my own mind that Mr. Washington can articulate not only the vision, but I think he understands what the instrument can mean. If any people in this country have thought through what the common school was all about, certainly it was black people. There may be others, but I understand my own community best. Black people believed in what education could do for us--every last one of us. Very few of us ever came through life without our parents or our aunts or somebody telling us: "you've got to get an education simply because that's your key to the future." We all believed that. We depended upon that route more than any other route in the history of a people in this country. We depended upon it. And we have some shining examples of what education has meant. From my point of view, a Harold Washington could articulate the vision. Given the way

that our system is presently constituted in terms of policy, I believe the new mayor would appoint people to that board who would share that vision.

I believe that the leader of a city just cannot wait always for what the followers are telling them to do. They have got to set some goals. They have got to point to some goals. And of all those despairing things that I went through, the worst had to do with the debate on desegregation. I saw the politicians turn out the bigots and the negative people of the city and all those helpless liberals buckled, including the Mayor. I always prided myself in treating people respectfully.

I would never write the mayor a letter and before the mayor received the letter give the letter to the press. But that happened to me while I was on the Board. In order to make political points the mayor had a letter once read in the City Council on how the City was not going to spend a dime to bus children and then the press called me for my response to that letter. And I had never seen the letter. But it was delivered the next day. I would never treat anybody with that kind of disrespect. I considered that utterly disrespectful. But I could not expect more. I was not the President of the School Board the mayor had wanted. I think it comes down to that.

One of the things I take great pride in is that in spite of how hot those meetings used to get on that Board, I never once called the police into that Chamber. I believed that in respecting people in spite of your differences you provide a basis for respect and moving forward. I never once had the police down there--never once because I thought that from

that chair--and a symbolic leader--you can demonstrate a fundamental and basic respect for human beings. I did not care if they were from Bogan (a White community with an active opposition to desegregation) or anywhere else. I first tried to communicate my respect for them as persons, and tried to reason with them.

In sum, what I think we need as a leader for the city of Chicago and across this nation is a basic first and fundamental respect for human beings. If we have that, then it seems to me that we will never be negative about justice, simple justice for all people. The school system is to educate and help open new job opportunities for young people, but it is also supposed to set some examples in terms of simple justice and respect for human beings.

George Schmidt
Substitutes United for Better Schools (SUBS)

My name is George Schmidt. I am an educator-writer. For the better part of ten years, first from 1969-71 and then from 1974 until the financial cuts of 1980, I was a public school teacher. I am a graduate of the University of Chicago and I taught English in the high schools most of that ten year period. Specifically, I taught Reading courses. I taught at DuSable High School at Manley, at Marshall, at Tilden, at Dunbar, and at a whole list of places that you can get bumped to if you are a teacher without enough seniority to stay at one place. I taught the ninth graders, the classes in which 80 percent of the males who got to high school could not read.

The first thing I want to point out to you is this chart because it took us five months last spring to get the general superintendent of the Chicago public schools to release that data. (See Chart 1.) That chart is the data that was assembled by the Chicago Board of Education themselves showing the reading scores of our eleventh graders on the Test of Academic Progress taken in November 1981. And there is nothing like it anywhere in the United States. That is, there is a human tragedy of unparalleled proportions in education. The fact is that that tragedy is being ignored to this day or being apologized for, or being brushed over with skilled public relations efforts. The skilled use of public relations to brush over real issues is something that functions in the present mayoral campaign.

But that's not what I want to talk about primarily. I wanted you to look at this because all of you understand some statistics and all of you understand data and all of you know where that chart should be. The

biggest bar should be at 50, and there ain't nothing at 50. That is supposed to be a standard deviation curve, but what we have managed to create in this city is a system that spends \$1.3 billion a year in 597 schools, on 435,000 children, with 39,000 people working for it that after eleven years has such a negative result.

I can only say personally that I know how to break that curve, and thousands of others like myself are also able to. A lot of us are no longer working for the public school system because of the latest plan approved by the School Finance Authority. The number of employees has been reduced from 49,000 to 39,000. The largest single layoff of any industry in this City since Jane Byrne became Mayor occurred in the education industry and within the Chicago Public Schools. It did not come in steel, not in auto, not at Harvester, and not at Wisconsin Steel. Thus, when we talk about these problems we would be talking about them a little bit mystically if we ignored that fact.

We would see that Chicago has a very carefully orchestrated deep fiscal crisis. Rev. Smith alluded to it. What we would see is that the same people who brought us 1976 Big MAC in New York, first under the name of the Emergency Financial Control Board and then under the name of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, for similar reasons brought to us a fiscal mechanism which is following the same pattern as New York--the Chicago School Finance Authority of 1979. It was also brought to us politically through the mayor of the city of Chicago, the governor of the state of Illinois, and leaders of the labor unions of this state, including the leader of my union, the Chicago Teachers Union, of which I am once again a delegate to the House of Delegates.

Now I come to the specifics. Let's suppose that we took Chicago, the Chicago Public Schools, as bad as they are--and decided to make them work. One approach would be bringing in Reaganomics--courtesy of Jane Byrne (mayor), Robert Healy (president, Chicago Teachers's Union), and Jim Thompson (governor). All these people supported Reagan's policies out of ignorance or malice a year before Ronald Reagan became president of the United States. On November 14, 1979, several key studies were made public. Low and behold! To their horror it was noted that Chicago had been engaged in unsound interfund borrowing and other hazardous financial practices in preparing the school budget. This was a "no-no." It came out later after it was too late to change it, in this report and in a U.S. Senate investigation dated January 13, 1981, that there was high likelihood that the nation's largest banks knew about that interfund borrowing before November 14, 1979. In fact, it was virtually impossible for them not to have known about it. The Board of Education's auditors, Arthur Anderson Company, had put a footnote in every annual report saying it was going on.

But what changed in the Fall of 1979 was that monopoly capitalism began to have a sharp and deepening crisis--specifically the "crisis of rising interest rates." In Illinois, at this time it was illegal for governmental bodies in this state to borrow money at more than eight percent interest, and the folks did not want to loan it at eight percent no more. Illinois was faced with the financial credit crisis. Everything else was epiphenomenon in a philosophical sense--all this screaming we did at board meetings, all this striking we did, all the speeches we made, and all the songs we sang.

The bottom line was the banks wanted more money to offset their perception of the schools as a credit risk. The banks could say "We are

not loaning you any more money" which occurred on November 16, 1979. when the Board tried to borrow \$126 million and was told "we're sorry." Nobody offered to loan it to the City at lower rates. Everything that took place from then until now has been that same script. The key to that script was political. It would have been impossible for the nation's largest banks to come to Illinois and say: "We want to take a hundred million dollars a year of the money you are collecting from your people in taxes for the education of your children--most of whom in this city are Black--and give it to the richest people on earth." They could not say that but that was what they were about.

What they did instead was to say: "You have a ruptured credit rating. Your credit rating has declined from the most favored ratings. It is not as good any more. You have got to have a financial consultant and therefore, we suggest we all get together in Springfield, specifically during the Third to the Fifth of January, 1980. We will propose new laws and amend the Illinois Code and the Illinois School Code. We suggest a new structure to protect our investment." They called it the Chicago School Finance and Authority Act, and it established this financial oversight authority. The act had two basic parts. One part said the Board of Education could borrow more money. The second part said that there was a school finance authority set up to insure that the financial integrity of the Board be protected thereafter. Those were the two key points. However, I would add that one of our state senators at the time, Harold Washington, and other members of the Illinois Black Caucus, attempted to find other sources of revenue. But they failed because the mayor of Chicago, the financial interests and the labor movement were behind it. Moreover,

the interests of the teachers union leaders coincided with the interests of the big banks. Senator Washington called me to reach out to Substance (newspaper of substitute teachers) for an interview which appeared in our December issue. I think it was in November at that time.

We raised the following question to the Congressman: "Why don't we get a one-time tax increase so we don't have to borrow any of this money?" They (congressional staffers) asked: "How in the world are we going to do that?" Here is what happened in Springfield, Illinois. In Springfield, they passed the legislation which enabled the Board of Education--through the finance community--to borrow six hundred million dollars between January and December 1980. The six hundred million got split up. One part had to stay in a special escrow funds account just in case one party--the School--could not pay back the bonds, though that is unlikely. The kicker is the interest rate. And the interest on the money was significant. Since the note sold for roughly eleven or twelve percent--four percent or five percent more than ever had been offered before as interest on a municipal bond borrowing in the State of Illinois. A lot of people learned a lot of "high finance" very fast.

In December, 1979, SUBS had said that the only solution was to close the schools until the political elites and authorities could bring in more money without borrowing. We were the only ones in town who said that. The people who worked at the newspaper, Substance, had taken this position. It seems as though everybody else held the position that "You've got to keep the schools open." January 6, 1980, was the day everyone was heralding the salvation of the public schools. It was the day of the announcement of the results of the "Summit" meeting between Mayor Byrne,

Governor Thompson, the Bankers, and the School Board, and the day the Chicago Teacher's Union was being "railroaded" into voting in support of that special oversight legislation. There is a classic quote that I will never forget. It was from Mr. Robert Healy, President of the Chicago Teachers Union: "You have to vote for what the bankers just gave us." He said this without reservation.

I had previously been invited to a radio talk show on WINZ. When I got on the show it was clear by that point that the audience did not want to hear what I had to say, and one woman tried to talk for the whole hour instead of letting me talk. She said the schools have been saved. We kept saying: "No, they have not been saved; they are worse." What we are going to experience are enormous cuts. We are going to have an enormous debt that every tax-payer in the city is going to have to pay back. And the debt (interest) is going to go to the few people who can afford to buy these bonds. The only people who can afford to buy these bonds are going to be those who already have more money than they will be able to spend in one hundred years and many generations.

Groups like the Chicago Principals' Association and others were naive on this issue. They thought "Democracy" might work. For example: the Chicago Principals' Association could raise their own wage so they started buying some of the bonds. They raised a half-million dollars from their members--after the School Finance Authority--that special oversight body imposed upon the schools by the bankers as a condition of the loan--said: "We would like you to invest in some of these bonds; they are a good investment. They are tax free. Every quarter you clip a coupon and every quarter you get the interest from the coupon on the bond and you

do not have to pay a penny of federal income tax." That is the trick to these bonds, and that is why the eleven (11) percent means so much.

Well, Mr. Dan Gorka told the Principals' Association that the Association could invest in the bonds if it could follow the bonds statement. "All you got to do," he said, "is come over here with a cashier's check for \$220 million and you can make a bid!" That is when the principals learned who was really who. At first offering you could not get in on this gravy train unless you had \$220 million to start with. If you had that kind of money, after that it was all right.

The interest over the 29-year life of the bond was going to total over a billion and a half dollars we said initially. But the Tribune corrected us. The Tribune asked Mr. Dan Gorka if it was going to come to 2.3 billion dollars in interest and principal. Mr. Gorka stated that: "The principal was \$600 million, the interest would be 2.3 billion dollars."

Folks, we are paying that bill now!! Any of you who has a home in the City of Chicago in 1980 has a new line on your property tax. I think there is a verbal picture of the stuff I described for you. It says that Chicago School Finance Authority is the key point of focus. The specific thing was its connection with the bankers and money lenders. That secures the money that is going to pay the folks who have the \$220 million to buy those bonds to "save our schools." Get the picture?

I do not particularly care whether Jane Byrne was naive, drunk, or simply dumb, or whether Robert Healy was serving his membership naive, drunk, dumb or all three--and he is not a dumb man. He went to Springfield, came back from there and he told the Chicago Teacher's Union delegates about how interesting it was to sit with all those high-rollers from the banks. There were all these bankers from New York. He said a couple of them had to

go home early. They had to go back to New York to fly to Geneva for another banker's meeting. Those were the folks from New York who engineered the New York City fix for its fiscal crisis, including the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC). These folks included people from Saloman Brothers, investment bankers, and maybe one or two from Chase Manhattan. They were going to Geneva to foreclose on some other social system, school system, or enterprise that represents an example of the overall system's inability to deal with people's basic needs. These are the people making these irresponsible decisions.

That is at the top. That is what happened in 1979 and 1980. But, of course, what we saw was people screaming. We saw Mrs. Nancy Jefferson of the Midwest Community Council take over a president's seat at the Board of Education. I was there. It was a real weird thing. We witnessed a few weeks of political stalling before the cuts finally hit. We saw a treacher's strike over two weeks which was a shallow attempt to present a progressive front in order to get Healy reelected president of the Union. He came back on February 10 and said "we won." He said it at the International Amphitheatre. "We saved 1,000 jobs." On February 13 a kid came up to my room at Maney High School where I was teaching at the time, and he said the principal wants to see you. I knew what that was. That was the first of four layoffs. Since that day I worked a total of 16 weeks. And I am one of about 9,000 school employees, maybe 10,000, who were laid off.

On October 31, 1979, according to the Chicago Board of Education's Annual Racial/Ethnic Survey, there were 48,316 people working for the Chicago Board of Education. On October 29, 1982 according to the same

survey which was just released before the new year, there are now 39,445 people working in the schools, about a 20 percent decline. Those numbers are changed as they get a little money so that Ruth Love can hold a press conference and say: "We just put in a bunch of new teachers so y'all be happy." But the number of employees is staying roughly the same now.

On October 31, 1979 we had 477,000 children attending 647 public schools. Today we have roughly 435,000 attending 597 public schools. There are 50 fewer schools involving the largest number of school closings anywhere in the United States. New York has cut fewer schools in the past six years than Chicago has cut in the past three. I want to hang a footnote on that because the Mayor Byrne has been recently screaming that the Board of Education can sell more school buildings. She announced that she would condemn the buildings if the Board does not act responsibly and sell the buildings. I want to tell you that the Board has been acting responsibly in this, and we should cheer them on. They have gotten appraisals on those buildings--for example, on some of the northwest side properties--up to \$250 million dollars and they are getting offers for those buildings usually 20-90 percent less than the appraised value.

The appraisals are pretty good although they may be a little bit low, but you do not "sell" at the ideal during the depression. Everybody knows that. If you got money, you "buy-in" during a depression then you can rent to everybody after the depression is over and make a fortune. In some cases that Mayor Byrne is criticizing the School Board for, they have been offered \$9,000 for a \$100,000 property. They say in some places that the "chick is crazy." I am sorry if it sounds sexist, but if it was a guy we would say the same thing. She is not even looking at the numbers she does not read. She does not care.

But there is another trick bag about this plan. If you sell land from the Chicago Board of Education the proceeds from the sale can only go to the rehabilitation and construction of a new school property or existing school property. If you lease and get an income, you can spend it on instruction. Either way you count it, she is proposing something crazy and the fact that she has gotten the press to echo this craziness is something people should think about.

I want to get another footnote in here about the press. The Chicago Sun-Times will probably come out in a few days supporting Jane Byrne for reelection. If they do not, I am not reading them right. (Editor's note: The Sun-Times endorsed Daley.) But the most important thing about the Chicago Sun-Times, and I take them as a specific example, is that if you believe anything that you read in there about education you might as well just ask School Superintendent Ruth Love and Jane Byrne what is going on in the schools because you will get the same stuff. There is less and less relationship over the years between the reality of the schools and what gets reported in the Sun-Times about the status of the public school system in Chicago. That is the most specifically destructive aspect of the media.

I want to give you another recent example, because this may be more serious in relation to the crisis on hand. Then I have more data for people to think about. The people who wrote the finance authority legislation were "pulling numbers out of the air." They did not know how much the Board of Education was in debt. They did not know how much it would cost to "bail the schools out." They did not know how much out of the tax bills would have to be allocated over the next 29 years to repay

the bonds once they did the "bail-out." Thus, they put the number from the finance authority tax a little bit high just to be on the safe side. It was like fifty cents out of the previous two dollars and eleven cents you were paying the Board, fifty cents of that was now going to the finance authority. And they have been collecting that now since 1980. The money has been collected by the County Treasurer.

A month ago all of us read in the newspapers that the superintendents were financing the Chicago Public Schools on a deficit and it was announced that it was going to have to do more cuts at the end of the first semester because the schools had a "cash shortfall." And the governor announced he was going to make some state cuts and the total deficit that the Chicago Public Schools were looking at was somewhere from \$25 to \$40 million. Last week, it no longer existed. I suggest that the same people that Jane Byrne has served so well in 1980 through her malice are bailing her out for the next four weeks to make sure the schools do not collapse again before she gets reelected. All those folks are Republicans, as far as I know, and it is worth looking into. The second semester of the Chicago public school years begins Monday and a month ago we were being told there were going to be more cuts and now supposedly everything's rosy and on "cloud nine." When is it going to happen, February 23, the day after the mayoral primary?

Here is some data on the desegregation issue (Table _____) and on the education cuts (Tables _____ - _____). Between October 1979 and October 1982 the Chicago Board of Education reduced the number of high school teachers in most academic subject areas. English teachers were reduced from 1,014 to 853; math teachers from 626 to 521; biology teachers from 224 to 191; history teachers from 550 to 454; French from 49 to 46;

German from 20 to 6. We have got 66 high schools in this town, and we got six German teachers. There is an important principle here. There is a research theory in education called the "Pygmalian effect.": lowered expectations produce lowered results. Here's the irony. We have a whole system that is doing that. If your kid wants to learn German, he or she can not, unless you get them into a special school which is likely to be ten miles away.

If you go to Manley or Marshall--go through the whole list--there is nobody there to teach you that. It might be a good thing to learn. You go up to Winnetka or Lake Forrest where Mr. Jerome VanGorkam (Finance Authority Chair and Chair of Trans Union Corporation) lives, they have got six of them. In a school of 1,000 kids. And we got six for a school system of 120,000 kids in the high schools and another 300,000 in the elementary schools. This is criminal!

And at the same time, since the cuts represent Van Gorkam's theory of financial austerity, we have increased the number of administrators who are making \$50,000 or more from 2 to 54, at the top. Not only have we raised the pay of people already at the top but we have also created new positions that did not exist before. Most of these were dictated the following way: the Finance Authority told the Board of Education, "you have got to hire Mr. Joseph Mahran"--that was part of the deal--"and you have got to pay him \$100,000." Well, once that happened you had to pay the general superintendent who came in, Dr. Love, more than that because she was chief educator, and he was just the chief accountant. She gets \$120,000. But then you have got a push-pull effect; you have got to pull from the bottom and everyone said: "well, shit, I ain't going to work for

less than \$75,000 or \$55,000." That little sheet I gave you is just one example of the craziness that comes in with this supposed "fiscal reform."

The other handout shows that. We are paying moving expenses every so often for people to move into this city from outside--up to \$15,000. Mr. Mahran was the first so it is based on his precedent. We are paying some of these folks as much as a teacher makes in one year to move people. And we are paying them on the claim that in this city of three million people, in this metropolitan area of more than six million people we cannot find somebody who lives around the corner to do that job.

All the political connections may be vague. I believe that before Jane Byrne was elected things were bad in the public schools. There is only one president in the history of the Chicago Board of Education--Rev. Smith--who has integrity and record, and I wanted to say that.

I have studied the history a little bit. After her first year, Mayor Byrne insured that we got people on this Board of Education who have admitted in the past six months that they have no kids in the public schools, but, in fact, have them in parochial schools.

I remember last year as I was arriving at Gage Park High School, one of my few days of work last year. It was the day of the funeral of my predecessor who died of a heart attack at age 34. This is what is going on in the classroom, folks. The teachers are trying to do their jobs and are working 12-14 hours a day and a lot of them are dying young. You can find more as you look, because the good teachers are trying to hold up. An English teacher in a high school has got 140 to 150 kids--trying to teach that many kids to write. You can not do it. If you try you die.

I got to this school the day that the City Council was approving the appointment of Myrtle Salazar. She is a nice lady. But she does not

know a damn thing about public schools, admitted as much in the Hearing when Alderman Kelly and other people questioned her. She has her kids in parochial schools, which is okay. She has a democratic right to do this. A few people raised the point that maybe we should have somebody else on the public school board and Alderman Roman Puchinski rose to the occasion and said: "Maybe it is a virtue to have people on the Chicago Board of Education who do not know anything about the public schools." That is Jane Byrne's philosophy!

This point can answer the question of the impact of the mayoral election on public education and the impact of the particular Black candidate I am in support of--Harold Washington. The Bryne approach does not work. In this case we have a good man in Harold Washington. I do not know how we are going to do it, but I think it is best for everyone of those 450,000 kids in the public schools. It is worth missing a lot of sleep over the next five weeks.

Harold Rogers
Olive Harvey Community College
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

I have been in the community college system in the City of Chicago for seven years. I am going to try to look at the charge that we are given in this workshop in terms of the problems and the issues that concern the colleges--particularly on the junior college level. Second, I want to look at the teachers in higher education. And, third, I want to say something about the current mayoral race in terms of education.

I teach at Olive-Harvey, a junior college. As many of you may know, most Blacks who are in college are in junior colleges. In this country almost 65 percent of Black students start out in junior colleges. In fact, there are increasingly more Blacks who are coming into or who want to get into the junior college system. One of the major problems that we find in the junior colleges is that most of the students that go to these schools are locked into certain kinds of jobs mainly service-sector jobs that require limited skills. This sector presently has high employability rates.

I am speaking about jobs in business information processing and the whole computer technical area which is a limited area in terms of jobs. Sometimes some people talk about this in terms of high tech but the whole field is a limited area and will not employ people in the mass sector. It is an area that you have currently many students involved in. Therefore, you see a reduction in the number of people in the liberal arts courses--even the cutting of the liberal arts courses whereas the other areas of business and data processing and so forth are growing. In fact, this semester we had an increase in people in electronics, particularly

minorities. They have come into this area, even though those areas are limited in terms of jobs, looking for career-options in the service sector. In brief, I am indicating that this is a dead-end area in terms of any type of future employment.

The second basic problem which is very serious is the lack of skills. In the City of Chicago many people in the junior colleges come out of the public school system. And therefore, the question of skills--the basic reading and writing skills that are required in college--are extremely important. This affects not only the type of classes that are taught, but also it affects the teaching materials, text books and so on in the classroom. The requirements for competency in basic skills is not being met. Many people that come into the colleges have no idea what they want to do, what courses they want to take. If they have an area of interest, they concentrate in that totally. If someone comes in and is interested in business, they take all accounting courses, for example. This is ridiculous and represents a failure. One's interest in any one area may be passing, they take all those courses in one area and what they really need is the overall development with skills.

The other major problem which has sociological implications is the very high female enrollment. Black female enrollment is phenomenally high especially under 25. Most of these Black women have children and most of them are unemployed. If you look at this in terms of the future, in terms of the family structure, where Black men are not employed and do not have the skills, we are talking about a major change in the structure of the family where the women have more educational skills. We have a problem in terms of some people who do not even want women to go to school. Boyfriends

get upset when "their" women have more education. In the Junior colleges this is a serious problem. I think I have maybe 120 students in my four classes and maybe 15 percent are male.

The other thing which is very serious is the question of money: financial aid. It is an extremely serious question not only under the present administration of Reagan, but it goes back earlier than that. The consequence has been the reduction of people taking courses--not taking the full program, taking part-time programs. And because most people are not working. The financial aid situation does cause some serious problems. The interesting thing is this. For Blacks who have a four-year college education, there is 17.8 percent unemployment. Among whites, for those among them who have never graduated from high school, there is only eight percent unemployment. This is among whites who do not even have a high school diploma. Most of those 17 percent Black unemployed with a four-year college education are in areas that pertain to the service-sector. People went into them for the glamour or because of some bad counseling.

Many students are aware of this high unemployment of people who do have a college education. This feeds the great push in the junior colleges for people to get into the career-oriented subjects or courses that I alluded to at the beginning. The unemployment of people with a college education raises important questions people must consider about the future, especially as it relates to higher education.

There is no question that there is a structural economic change taking place in this country. That did not start with Reagan; it started before. The whole nature of jobs is changing in this country. No longer will you have people in basic industry being the dominant sector of employment, particularly for Blacks. Basic industry is no longer the basic area

of employment. Not only is basic industry changing, but the service-sector is changing as well. Contributing to this change are: (a) the movement of industry completely out of this country; b) the whole movement particularly of the unskilled portion of jobs out of this country, and c) the development in technology and the revolutionizing of the means and process of production.

For example, this year General Motors has just started up 1,500 robots that will complete the welding-painting process and eliminate five people from the line for every robot stationed. There will be one person who will simply look after the machine itself.

We do not need as many educated people in this country. The business industry is very clear about this. Last year the Wall Street Journal had a series of articles that were very clear: if Blacks by the age of 25 do not have a permanent job, they will never get a job the rest of their lives, no matter what happens because the nature of society is changing economically. Therefore, the question becomes: why educate the masses of people like you did before, since you know that they are not going to get a job anyway? You know that many of the people in society will not be used for anything more than remedial jobs, particularly given the influx of immigrants and so-called "illegal aliens," and others that are coming into this society. The business sector is clear on the youth issue--particularly those from inner-city schools. Their view is that it is not necessary to emphasize and to put money into the public educational system, let alone the community.

This is not necessarily true for all colleges. There are some colleges that are not orientated towards a career area, but those colleges

are expensive. The increasing expense of education is a part of the structural change that is going on. You can go to college, yes--if you pay \$700 per credit hour. Where can you get \$700 an hour if there is no financial aid, and no one is working? Therefore, you are talking about educating certain types and only a few people in society that will have a job. The liberal democratic idea or notion that education is for everyone is a notion that is under attack and will not apply to the future because of these current changes.

The other feature that we must look at, aside from the changes in the job market and aside from the technological changes that are taking place in society, is that your job is based upon the strength and development of the overall society. If the society is growing industrially, if the society is growing socially, eventually then you are talking about needing educated people. But it is clear that in the last 20 years the U.S., in terms of its industrial growth rate, in terms of the utilization of productive capacity, is not growing today but declining.

Therefore, you get back to the question of why do you need as many educated people today as you needed before, and it has a great number of ramifications. Why fight for a higher standard of reading and writing when the lower standard will suffice? The standard considered to be good is low from the start, and there is no need to fight for it in the general orientation in society for higher standards. You often hear this particular expression in colleges and in the junior colleges: "Well, people come in at a certain level so do not even worry about it. There is nothing you can do about it."

For example: reading and writing are over with to a great extent, unless you have a very strong remedial program and support services and an alliance between academics and skill development. Those kinds of services are on soft money--funded by federal funds, state funds, and grants, etc. When we talk about the issues of education, therefore, we have to put it in a perspective of developing a broader sense of where the society is going and the issues of how people are needed and what people will be needed for.

Finally, in terms of the mayoral race, I have a bias because I serve on the Educators for Harold Washington Committee of the campaign. I have the role as co-chairman of the education committee. Obviously, I am for Harold Washington. As Washington has said in the article here in Substance, which is a very good article, one thing that has to be done in the City of Chicago is to take politics out of education. The City Colleges are the same way. There is no difference between the public schools and the city colleges. The Board for the City Colleges is appointed by the Mayor. The Chancellors and his Assistants serve as the behest of the Chancellor and the Mayor. All of these represent people who are afraid to do anything on those City College campuses. It is a political system. Chicago is a political city. It is a patronage system. The City Colleges are the same way. There is no difference. And, thus, the first thing is taking the whole political structure and patronage system out of the public school education system and out of the junior colleges.

The second thing is that Harold Washington will focus more on the question of the "new majority." I think that someone who has gone through

the public school system and someone who is very aware of these problems will be more sensitive to these problems, as Harold is. I think Washington would give more support to the whole public school system and educational process in general. We have put out a position paper on the leading issues and Washington has issued a public statement on this. He stated that if he was elected mayor, the whole question of tuition for the city colleges--which is rising all the time--would be a major issue and that he would work with the state legislature to hold down tuition costs. While tuition is relatively low compared to the University of Illinois or to Chicago State--let alone the University of Chicago--it is relatively expensive for poor people and unemployed people. Many students do not even have book money, do not even have car fare to get to the college. And this is a problem you face in the classrooms when people say, "I could not attend because I did not have car fare to get to the school." These are students who really want to learn. Therefore, I think a person like Harold Washington would be more sensitive to these kinds of needs and he has indicated this on many occasions.

EDUCATION

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION

What are the differences in resources going into Black and White schools?

GEORGE SCHMIDT

Contrary to reasonable assumption based on the data of the late 1960s, the difference was not that great by the late 1970s. The differential, though, was important. When I looked into it last, during 1979, the added resources that were given to the Black schools--comparing Black and White schools--came from federal and state--but mainly federal sources. So Reaganomics can have a critical impact on the differential and their resulting social effects and educational effects.

This money came from the federal programs like Title I which has now been cut. Nobody has examined that impact since. By the late 1970s, as a result of all the late initiatives, while you have the Chicago Board of Education still with some gap in that area of what was allocated, you have pretty much equalized it. The last great victory was the one that Rev. Smith referred to regarding the state Title I money. State Title I was basically extra money the state allocated to the city which was to go to poverty schools. And we won that one.

QUESTION

How do we get more money into the schools? What can the City do?

GEORGE SCHMIDT

One of the phenomena of the 1970s was anybody who could write a hotshot proposal could come in with some "hocus-pocus" and claim it was a program. One of the results of the research was to show that this stuff was "pie in the sky."

QUESTION

Are you saying that the women in education problem is unique to Chicago?

HAROLD ROGERS

This is the problem to me. For example: you take someplace like Washington, D.C. or New York. Cities that have a lot of low-paying jobs. Washington is primarily government workers and can more easily absorb a largely female labor pool--in the "traditional" female jobs. What I am saying is we would have today in terms of enrollment a very large amount of females and the social problems that creates in terms of who is employed. When you have a large female population as a potential labor pool, a lot of the men who cannot find jobs do not like this and you have to deal with it. I do not condone the view. I understand the dynamics.

KENNETH SMITH

I have heard historically that Chicago public schools more so than other urban public school systems for which I have worked is always been a naked corpse stretched out for the vultures to pick at no matter who was the majority. You can go back to the 1930s and read the history where two members of the Board of Education owned coal companies and began to

sell their coal to the board and then it was learned that the engineers did not weigh the trucks. Or, when the Board of Education shifted its shorthand program, the monopoly on the text books was held by Al Capone's successor. I think at this point in history we have gotten back to those conditions.

GEORGE SCHMIDT

In terms of corruption, I think we were out of it for awhile. Historically under Mayor Kenelley--Congressman Washington pointed out when I interviewed him--the public schools in this entire city were going to be decertified. At that time they were may be 10 percent Black. These schools were no longer schools--in the eyes of the North Central Association of Colleges--and the National Education Association agreed. But the City Council passed a resolution saying: "we are the best public school system in the nation." But it did not save Kenelley's job. We got Kenelley and from Kenelley, we got Daley. It has always been that way. It has always been said that things "have never been that good." I think the process is in reverse now as a result of the structural changes and the mentality of the current people in power. But I do not think we will look back on this town as having been in a Golden Age when we were at least teaching the basics. We joke that in Chicago, we have got to move forward to basics! The same thing won't apply. There is still no golden age. The difference that Mr. Rogers pointed out is important. Forty years ago my father-in-law could drop out of the Technical High School, found a business and by the mid-1950s be a fairly wealthy businessman. This was in the typography trade because he was literate. That

opportunity is no longer there for the children who drop out today from Marshall High School whether they are literate or not. And the odds are they will not be literate.

QUESTION

May I respond? Martha Herrick wrote the history of this system, a fairly voluminous study. She maintains in that history that one of the things that we did in Chicago was that land which was supposed to be used for the common school system was used to pay off friends. I agree with Mr. Smith. Almost from the inception of the system, the school committee has acted this way. How in the world could there be land leases, some of them up to 99-year leases on Board property where the return for the Board is very small. That has been going on for decades.

KENNETH SMITH

I think a part of the frustration I felt was that I thought that we were concerned about these issues and quality education but then I had to conclude this was not the central concern. That is my frustration.



Closing Plenary: Black People and Mayoral Politics

Ronald Bailey, Northwestern University

Let me welcome you to the final session of what we think has been a successful conference focussed on Black People and Politics in the 1980s: Mayoral Politics in the U.S. and Chicago. My name is Ron Bailey. I'm Executive Director for the Illinois Council for Black Studies, one of the initiating organizations for this conference. In opening this session, I'd like to reiterate remarks I made at the opening session, and say that what this conference is seeking to do is what we think Black Studies should be about. This is what Black Studies was created to do, and this is the mission we think it is going to have to fulfill. That is, Black Studies must bring the resources of higher education to bear with resources from the community to discuss important problems that face Black people and the entire society.

In saying that the conference was a success--it was a success in terms of numbers--we've had over 200 people registered. Many of you have been in sessions and you know the intensity, and interest, and dialogue that it has sparked. We have every intention of turning this discussion into a printed proceedings. And, some time in the next six months or so, and certainly before we convene the October 1983 Conference on "Black People in Politics in the 1980s: Presidential Politics," we intend to have a proceedings of this conference. While our numbers have not been in the thousands, you can rest assured that the discussions here will be on the minds of thousands in the months ahead. I might mention also we can see the importance and the relationship of both mayoral politics and presidential politics if we recall the recent situation of presidential contenders endorsing local mayoral candidates in Chicago and the Black community response

to that. We think that our October 1983 conference will be quite informative and we urge you to get on the mailing list and we will keep you posted.

This evening's session will involve presentations from our key speakers, but we also see it as an important summation session. Many issues have been talked about and discussed in the workshops, and we think that this is the proper setting to have your questions and comments informed by that discussion. The two panelists will make relatively short comments in the interest of provoking questions and responses from you. We want you to use this time not only responding to them, but also trying to put on our collective agenda many of the concerns that have been voiced in the workshops.

Again, I would like to thank you for your participation and introduce our two speakers for this evening.

Our two speakers have very long histories in many struggles in the Black community. First, Phillip Smith, comes to us from Detroit where he is currently Administrative Coordinator in the Human Rights Department in Detroit. He is also the Political Editor of Dollars and Sense magazine. There are copies of Dollars and Sense here and we urge you to look at the article that he has on the current political scene in Chicago. He has a very long history in Chicago politics--in 1971 he ran for alderman of the 25th ward and ended up in a big legal challenge because the race was stolen from him. He's been active in the Stokes campaign, the Gibson campaign, the Hatcher campaign and many other such efforts. He is currently writing a book called A Generation of Black Mayors that will be published very soon by Path Press, Inc. here in Chicago.

Our second speaker is Abdul Alkalimat, who is currently the Chair of

Peoples College and the Vice-chair and Chairperson Elect of the National Council for Black Studies. He has been active in the Black Liberation Movement and a great many struggles and developments including spearheading development of important curriculum work in Black Studies like the text Introduction to Afro-American Studies.

PHIL SMITH, Political Editor, Dollars and Sense

Thank you very much and I do want to say its always a pleasure to come back home. I was born and raised here in the City of Chicago. Due to the fact that I wouldn't yield to the machine out here I was black-balled so I had to go someplace else. I was not interested in food stamps and welfare.

This conference is aimed at the minds of those people who have some interest either in politics or liberation. I want to provoke you so that when the questions and answer period comes up you will be thoroughly enough provoked so that you might want to on the intensity that I heard happened in the workshops.

Black liberation and the relevance of local politics is the theme of this panel. The purpose or objective of Black politics has always been Black liberation. And just as Black slaves politicked to keep the Slave masters off their backs or to gain their freedom, Black people today must politic to rid themselves from the oppressors and repressive acts of a clearly racist and white dominated society. Clearly our history has been shaped decisively by racism. It now threatens to repeat itself. And Black people must stop any further attempt to erode what minimal gains they have made.

Black people cannot seek integration as an answer to their economic, political and social problems without recognizing that integration is the blood-brother to the trickle-down theory that is presently devastating our community. The White society ignores what Black people fully understand-- that the ghetto is a bi-product of covert racism. The White society is so deeply implicated in the ghetto that the control they exercise not only

informs the thinking but the behavior of Black people. The ghetto was created by white institutions, maintained by white institutions and condoned by the white society. Here we have the answer to the question: why Black politics? The answer is as plain as the overall conditions of Black people in America, a condition so bad that the Black patient is hardly cooperating--he is terminal.

Local politics could be an avenue for Black progress. We say could be recognizing that Black liberation must all the time be considered the total transformation. Local politics is an ingredient in the struggle that must never be overlooked. It is local politics that begets national politics. It is the issues on the local level that if properly articulated allows you to organize the people. They might not always show at the meeting or actively participate in any given demonstration but they will be supportive if they understand both sides of any issues.

Local politics is therefore relevant if you are dealing with Black priorities as opposed to White initiated crisis. Local politics could never be relevant if you believe in racist America a White elected official will represent Black people better than a Black elected official. Rarely do Black candidates win elections when White voters are in a majority. White voters did not give any Black mayoral candidate a significant percentage of their vote in cities like Gary, Newark, Detroit and Atlanta the first time around.

But electing Black people to office is only part of the game. Getting people to understand local politics and its impact on them is the bigger picture. Long before Ronald Reagan became president, Black America was confronted with White concepts like the "window of vulnerability," the "safety net," and "supply side economics." For the past 20 years, the

diverse mercantile theory has been zapping Black America. All these tactics are designed to do is to make a shaky White America comfortable at the expense of Black America. The argument therefore is for enlightening the Black constituency and not just electing Black people to office because they might be able to speed up the trickle down process that allows outsiders to control the destiny of Black America.

If we were properly utilizing the ballot, we would also have the bullet. Historically, Black politicians did more for their constituencies in the early 1900s than they are doing now. Probably this is true because it took White politicians so long to figure out that it was necessary for them to buy more than one person in the Black community. (I hasten to add that it is very clear in this mayoral race here in the city of Chicago that you are seeing a whole lot of people bought.) The questions being raised by this conference are critical: We want to know what have Black mayors done? We want to know what the historical perspective of Black politics in Chicago might be. And we certainly need to understand how we want to overcome the Black community disunity. I am not as overwhelmed at building coalitions as other people might be because I think that before you come together certain things must be done--you have to have more than an appetite when you come to the banquet table. By and large, coalitions have really been Black people being used or their votes being utilized but we've gotten very little out of most of the coalitions that I have seen across this country. Certainly, a critical issue is jobs and we have always had problems with housing. There are real questions about what constitutes a trade union these days and who are the workers. I am saying this because it seems to me that the trade unions and the workers

in some instances are as far apart as management and the unions used to be in the years gone by.

Certainly we need to pay more attention to the role of Black Studies because it is very clear that unless we start dealing with from whence we came it would never be dealt with. The education of our children and health care are critical issues. All of these things feed into Black politics and Black liberation. Thank you very much.

The Relevance of Local Politics
by Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College

Delivered at The Closing Plenary Conference on Black People and
Mayoral Politics in the 1980s

January 29, 1982, Chicago, Illinois

It is always interesting to be the last speaker after two days of talk. It is the worst position to be in, or the best. I can select, of course, from what everybody else said, and present the series of one liners that appeared to get over when they were first articulated. But, I'll spare you of that kind of report. What I'd like to do is just put forward a framework around which people have been discussing these matters of mayoral politics.

First of all, let me say that I bring greetings from Peoples College. We are an organization that's been active for over ten years now in various parts of the country. We are not part of the big time "left" that has been mashing its newspapers on you and exerting its self-proclaimed authority. But we are however, an active part of the movement that has had its high points and its low points. And its all a part of our attempt to understand the world so that we can more creatively participate in it and bring about desired ends. That we think you share as well.

As the comrade mentioned earlier, we are active in Black Studies and certainly I am active in a leadership position of the National Council for Black Studies. But it is not in that context that I speak. When we were engaged in the political struggle, an interesting political parallel to the current electoral campaign, the struggle around electing national leadership in Black Studies, one of the questions that came up was whether or not it would be possible to be elected to the national office in the Black

Studies organization and have very definite politics that were not the lowest common denominator, definite politics representing one among several trends inside the Black Studies movement. And doing the election session I tried to indicate that I was not only going to try to represent the interest of Black Studies in general but, that I was going to attempt to articulate my politics as well. And that that was a privilege and a right that we do not relinquish because of an election.

I would hope that as we develop politically, in the electoral sense as well as in its fuller sense, we will have more and more people emerge as spokespersons and leaders in varied roles and capacities who are able to maintain that independence, and their own basis for initiative in action as well.

I want to be very short and brief and to the point. I want to start out with four basic points and I will develop some analysis of how we approach the current electoral campaign and set the stage for some questions.

These four basic points are as follows:

- (1) The centrality of the capitalist system as the main source of all problems;
- (2) In the political realm of the government or the state, the current crisis is characterized by the crisis of accumulation and the crisis of legitimacy;
- (3) Urban areas--the cities--arenas of our current battle; and
- (4) Within these urban areas, there are two main arenas of struggle--the work place and the neighborhood.

Let me develop each of these points briefly.

- (1) The central source of all our problems in this society--and they are related to the main problems in the world, is the capitalist system in

all its forms and manifestations. And, fundamentally, when we say the capitalist system we're not talking about an abstraction; we're not talking about something that has a color. I'm going to speak about what color it is a little bit later. We are talking about the concrete realities that Black people know in relationship to their everyday lives.

In the morning most Black people get up and go to work. And, if they don't, they want to! And the reality they confront when they are going to work and when they are at work begins to get into the reality that I'm talking about. And, when people attempt to mystify the world and to direct our attention away from the system which oppresses us, we want them to describe the daily reality of Black people. And beginning there with the experience of our people, we want them then to explain in conceptual terms what kind of system it is that organizes our every day life in the way that it does. We think that it amounts to the capitalist system and within that, specifically, we're talking about the relations that exists between the people who are in the position of ownership and control of production and distribution of the wealth in this country and in the end appropriate and consume, for their own benefit, all the profits. Those are one class of people, on the one hand. On the other hand, we are talking about the masses of people--White, Black and all colors--who are forced to work, who are forced to slave and labor in order to produce these profits and in the bargain get wages necessary to reproduce their lives, pay rent, and feed their kids so they too can grow up and go to work in those same jobs. The first point then is that the central force of all those problems is the capitalist system. This is my first thesis.

(2) Within this, in relationship to the government, or as we would say, the state in its fullest manifestation, there are two main problems.

(A) Overall, there is a crisis in how the capitalist system is able to reproduce itself and keep going, day to day, week to week, year to year, and on a decade to decade basis. The first problem is an accumulation crisis, the capacity of the capitalist system to continue to generate profits, which after all is the blood that feeds this vampire. There is an insatiable desire to accelerate the acquisition of profits. That is the fundamental and golden rule of this system. And yes, to borrow a phrase from Malcolm, ". . . by any means necessary."

(B) The second aspect of the overall crisis is the crisis of legitimacy. This means that as the capitalists go about this avaricious quest for profits, at the same time in the context of a democratic political system, it has the problem of maintaining consent/agreement by those people who are forced to slave and suffer and produce the profits for the system. In other words, not only do they have the problem of how to acquire more and more profits from you, they have the problem of convincing you that it is good, that you like it. Now that's a hell of a difficult situation to be in. And yet, the capitalists have been somewhat successful. That constitutes a second thesis, these two problems: accumulation and legitimacy.

(3) Urban areas are key arenas of battle. Even in this period of so-called urban crisis, even in this period of a downturn in the economic, social, moral, cultural, political and educational aspects of the city, the urban areas are the arenas of battle. This parallels the two points above. First, there is a concentration of wealth--both of production and of administration. Especially in terms of what's referred as the point of production--factories--are still concentrated in cities. Even with suburbanization, we are talking about simply a metropolitan phenomena, with cities

as the hub. While there is governmental units, there is also an increase in the size of these giant corporate concentrations.

They are randomly distributed things. There are still vast areas of the country, relatively speaking that are sparsely populated, and that do not have wealth concentrated there. But the cities represent the concentration of wealth and of production, distribution, and consumption, on the one hand. On the other hand, the urban areas are where the state is concentrated. The mechanisms of legitimation and social control are there. On the side, I have to refer to Richard Pryor's statement about prisons in Arizona. He went to a prison there that was all black. They are only interested in funny things out there. There are obviously places outside of the city that are very important. But in the main, these mechanisms are concentrated in the city and concentrated in the structures of the government and of the state.

(4) The final point, in terms of my introductory conceptual framework is this. In relationship to these things, and there are two key struggles, two arenas that are battle: the workplace and the neighborhood. The workplace is where the masses of people confront the reality of their enemy in a day to day struggle to raise their standard of living. It is here that people deal with the reality of the benefits that serve as the social insurance for their lives, where people talk about retirement, health, benefits. Its here where we must talk about the condition of their families. What's going to happen to the lives and condition of their children. The quality of their lives? And the negation of this is unemployment, people being forced out of the workplace. Thus, the workplace within the city is the key area.

The other key area, dialectically related, is the neighborhood. It is in the neighborhood that workers live; it is in the neighborhood where neighbors realize the weakness and the insecurity of their lives. Of course, obvious health conditions are important just as health conditions at home and in the neighborhood are important.

But, there are two things in contradiction here--the workplace, on the one hand, and the neighborhood and the home on the other. One of the important realities of the city is that you have different struggles occurring out of the workplace, and different struggles out of the neighborhoods. You often have two different sets of people. You often have ideologies and political styles that differ. And people have different perceptions and think of themselves too often as being in conflict with one another. Those of us in Chicago who have grown up with a political machine know that machine to be deeply rooted in the neighborhoods more than any reform movements, and that is a large part of its success.

On the other hand, one of the great strengths of the coalition effected by the ruling class since the New Deal and lasting through Daley in Chicago was that they were able to effect some kind of coalition between workplace and neighborhood, for their own ends. When we talk about Daley, we have to be very sober. He was not only talking to the State Street Council, a leading organization of Chicago capitalists, he was talking to the unions in this city as well.

Given these four points, I have to remind you that in coming into Chicago Black people have come a long way. We've got to constantly, as one brother said, remember where we come from, how we came, and what the nature of this struggles were in those different stages so we don't think we are in a different stage of the struggle than what we are actually in. For example, we think of our history as occurring in qualitative stages of development. And each stage has a particular character, a particular logic, a particular set of politics because it was those politics of any given stage to help push it forward. You can't go back and repeat, but we have to understand these stages.

Slavery. Black people as slaves were outside of but also within the system; we've always been within the system when it comes to production relations. When somebody put on a cotton shirt during slavery it was the reality of the use value of that shirt that turned them on. And frankly speaking, when they put it on it didn't matter a damned whether it came from a slave or anybody else. And to that extent, today--whether its an automobile, this shirt, these things, whatever--nobody gives a dammed. It is the use value for us. In the end, its the capitalist who doesn't give a damned either. Because in the realization of profits, in the end, although one can manipulate the margins, it doesn't matter who it is that is producing--Black, Japanese, women, young people, old people, whatever, slavery also represented the time when in all other aspects of society--like politics--excluded, Blacks were on the outside, Blacks were on the bottom. We were not even viewed as human beings.

Rural is after the Civil War, after the realization of capitalist democracy in the transformation of the U.S. Constitution, that the fundamental break in this case-exclusionary system was made. Then Blacks began

their long journey toward their full inclusion into all aspects of society.

Urban. First, its only with the migration of Blacks to the cities, into the factories, into the bureaucratic apparatus of the private and public sector, that Blacks moved right into the heart of the capitalist system of production. It is at this point that Black people begin to get situated in a way to make Black people comparable to all other people in this country, in general. Many struggles have continued after being in the city, after being in the plant, moving from one shop to another etc. A fundamental transformation occurred World War I, World War II, into the fifties, the development of the mechanization of agriculture which pushed more people off the land, pushed more people into the cities, and into jobs that are essential to the capitalist process.

Harold Baron made a very important point, (in this morning's plenary). After this inclusion into the capitalist industrial setup, that there was a delayed reaction. There was a second wave and a political and cultural level in the 1960s when Black people became conscious and began to make demands that were comparable to the demands that had been made in different ways perhaps at other times, perhaps by other groups, but essentially for inclusion into the system in their own way. That is what it was all about. As a matter of fact, we wouldn't be here in this discussion at the University of Illinois-Chicago and students would not be enrolled in colleges around the state had it not been for all the ways that we fought to be included. We wouldn't have those things had it not been for the 1960s.

And that struggle did not occur in the abstract. That struggle occurred as a result of an inclusion into the city and into the heart of the objective process that sustains the capitalist system. We fought to

be included in every institutional sector. In point of fact, it is the continuation of that struggle that brings us to this conference today. We're fighting to get into city hall. That's the fight. The fight is to elect a Black mayor. That's what we are talking about. That is what people are talking about that's what we are trying to analyze.

I would like you for a moment to turn to the special conference newspaper and open it up to the inside. I want to review with you three key points. On page two in the third column at the top it reads: How do Black Mayors Get Elected? This newspaper points out five things not as advocating, but rather by way of a review of the scholarly and political literature regarding this question. What has happened? How do people in fact get elected to be a Mayor?

The first is the mobilization of the Black vote based upon a large percentage of Black peoples in the voting age population. That is the mobilization, the voter registration to get out to vote. The second point is the broadening of support. Read that carefully. The broadening of support. We're not only talking about money, but in the end we are talking about how the city views candidacy in terms of legitimacy. Its very important that up to now, while it has been a struggle, to some very real extent the capitalists have acquiesced and agreed that Blacks have the set of resources and that share are realities in the country and the city such that they are willing to have a Black mayor.

As was it mentioned, Bob Kirby who headed CORE shortly before Gibson was elected in Newark reported that Prudential said that "Y'all can have the Mayors Office. It is O.K. with us. And I suggest to you, without talking about any particular candidate, that is a reality of life,

approaching electoral politics the way most people approach it. At least this is what the social sciences are telling us.

Of course there is the question of organization, and the question of viability, a subjective factor which has to do with the credibility of the candidate in the eyes of the masses of people. The last point is this: that, in general, Black mayors have come in times of crisis and the main crisis has something to do with what I said earlier about capital accumulation. How does city hall assist business in being able to acquire profits? As a matter of fact, it doesn't really matter who is in city hall, that is the function of city hall.

On the other hand, there is the legitimacy issue. We know, that that's exactly what a Black mayor does--bring legitimacy in the eyes of the masses of people. That's not necessarily a bad thing. It is a bad thing if its sold to Black people as a panacea to solve our problems and that everything is great. But that legitimacy can lead to greater political efficacy. Because if you have a victory and you are in motion under particular conditions that motion can even continue.

When we talk about Black voters who do not vote--one participant has told us in several sessions that he doesn't vote--the fact is that a lot of people don't vote. A lot of people don't do anything! Do you understand? And if somebody's kicked back watching the Superbowl, drinking a can of beer, thinking about nothing, or being depressed, or being forced and beaten down--that person is not making a statement of protest that's going to lead to change. But if people actually accomplish something without being hood-winked, they might in fact develop a sense that it is possible for us to take history into our own hands, and shape it and make it something that will serve our interest. That is what we are talking about. Obviously,

however, that doesn't have to happen. We can be tricked. But that is the central question. We've been talking about a lot of different cities: New York, Newark, Gary, Atlanta. As a matter of fact, its dangerous to have such a conference. We are being criticized for having such a conference because people view it as being subversive in these times. On the contrary, we think that the conference is exactly what we should be having. Not only at the city wide level, it should be in the neighborhood. It should be in the schools. We should be having teach-ins just like we did during the Viet Nam War, just like we do whenever there is a serious question; business at hand can't go on as usual.

We have got to get to the bottom of the questions. We have got to bring in people from other cities. We have got to talk about these matters and only then can we, in fact, give guidance and leadership. Otherwise it's some game. Unless somebody can tell me what the people are going to get out of some election, I got to think that they are looking for something for themselves, if for no other reason than I grew up in Chicago. I got relatives that work both parties in every election. This is Chicago!

The next section of this newspaper arti l deals with: What difference do Black mayors make? In passing, its clear that these cities have outputs. Everybody ought to ask yourself: what is the result of the existence of Black mayors, and what can we expect? As a matter of fact, what must we demand? This is another way of saying how can assist? I hope you understand my point here. You will be doing the campaign of a Black mayor and at least, the aspiration of the masses of people a disservice unless you demand that city hall constantly be responsive to the

needs of our community and our people.

Moving on to the next section, to the limitations of the system, I hope we speak to these things that are questions and that we sum up the workshops in light of these points. First, the question of racism. The one thing you know about Chicago is that racism is an engrained part of the fabric of this city and of the social relations that exist here between the Black and White section of a neighborhood. Number one, the racial borders in this city stare out at us like they are street signs--like the iron gates, the second point is the recently removed bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is not only a set of rules that you have to learn. And, frankly speaking, if you're not involved in it you don't learn it. Now that we are about to acquire something, we discovered we don't know it. Most people don't know how streets and sanitation and parks and all these different things work. After all these things make up jobs in the city, they make up the city budget. But, this bureaucracy and the people who occupy it constitute the permanent government--the people who don't necessarily change when the mayor changes. These are the people you've got to go to when you are talking about taxes and real estate, different bills, the police, etc. There is a deep bureaucracy and bureaucracy combines with racism to make what amounts to a bastian basis of resistance inside the government that will not change when an election occurs.

The election of a Black mayor is really the beginning of the struggle for power thats a foot in the door. That is not taking power from City Hall. Everybody knows Chicago has a big City Hall. In smaller towns, we might have the illusion that voting in a person might have a significant impact on the percentage of the people in the building. So we might think we have power. In Chicago that is not the case.

Intergovernmental relations is the next area--the relationships between the city and the county, for example. Remember that Chicago has a Cook County Democratic Party. There is also the state and there is the federal level as well.

The last two points are what I want to end up with--this question of class that I will explain a little more and this question of "a theory of change", taking these other things into consideration. Given the problems that Black people have in general, what do we see are the answer to the main points raised in this discussion?

The black masses are saying in Chicago that the answer is Black Power. And it's an answer being given independent of our will, given independent of Harold Washington, given independent of a whole lot of other things. People want power. After all, Black people are Americans and that's what America says you need. You need a piece of the rock, a piece of the action and we want ours. That's what Black people want, some money.

In the 1960s it was a little confusing. What do you want? What did we say to that: "Well, we want to be like ya'll." That was the answer, however it was phrased. But now, people want power. It's clear, and it is righteous. It is, we think, the legitimate democratic aspirations of the masses of people to want power.

However, our answer, you must understand, is that the answer is revolution, the answer is the negation of capitalism--socialism. That is what we think the answer is. There is the problem: we're over here with socialism as the answer. The masses of people are rising up and fighting for Black Power. That's our problem. What do we do about that?

We have made a proposal, and have been putting this forward since 1980, given the notion and the necessity of unity in struggle. We believe

that Revolutionary Black Power in a case like Chicago is precisely the programmatic road that we should travel on. We do not question the struggle for Black Power because of the aspect of democracy and especially this struggle is against white racist, bourgeois--democratic rule, capitalist rule--rule to keep Black peoples from power in the most vicious and ruthless way. But, we uphold revolution and within this fight for Black power we struggle for it and we put socialism on the agenda. We are talking about socialism as some infantile students proclaiming it and thinking that the world is going to transform because of something magical they said or because if they speak in unison, or they bring four people to a meeting and that represents a discernable percentage and they space themselves in different parts of a room and speak about and you announce the significance of yourself and your organization--the world is going to change. No! That is crazy! That is infantile! That is ridiculous. We have had outbursts of that here. We have been taught how ridiculous the left, or people who want to give the left a bad name, can be.

We need socialism cause we think, straight forward, that when people want their problems solved, they don't know that word necessarily, but that is what they want. Everybody wants a job; everybody wants something to eat; everybody wants decent housing and health care, and education. The system of capitalism ain't never going to give it to anybody. Matter of fact, you can't even take it from capitalism and let capitalism stay there. You would be a bapitalist. A whole lot of the older brothers and sisters are--well, I sort of happen to be in that generation, too--have ~~commented~~ commented on how many of them used to be socialists. And there are a whole lot of people who don't want to comment that they used to be socialists.

And their names have been class here in the last couple of days.

The principle contradiction in this election we think right now is the question of color or racism and nationality. That is the unity of the anti racist, anti national oppression struggle that has at its heart the fight of Blacks and Latinos in the neighborhood is the central reality of city politics in Chicago. This is an objective process that we seek to understand that puts us in unity across class lines. And here I'm talking about the working class and the middle class, in particular. But we have as people who believe in socialism an independent role to play and within that process fighting for the interests of the working class. Now, we are not strong enough to just teach that as a subjective reality. Everybody here is fighting for Black power and its the unity of Blacks and Latinos who fight against racism and there are all kinds of tricks being played.

Incidentally, Black people, in the end, better start learning Spanish. That is the real thing. People talking about, 'they won't vote for us.' And you got a translator standing there and you're trying to translate to somebody and you don't know what they are saying. You represent a Gringo, an Anglo, when you go before the Latinos and you cannot speak Spanish. I'm up here saying that and I can't speak it either. We are trying to deal with that.

We don't own the media. We don't have 10 million dollars for the RB and the newspaper. We cannot just convince people that it is a class struggle. We can't just tell people y'all ought to just believe in socialism and then bam! Put so many ads and billboards that people will just say, 'well, I guess that's it.' Like the D.J.'s will not just be able to play records, 'Believe in socialism! Believe in socialism'

top ten tunes. Then everybody says hey that's it! Socialism is what's happening! It is not going to happen that way. The subjective factor divorced from the objective context in struggle won't work! Anybody that thinks that that is the way the linking goes down doesn't understand the relationship between those subjective factors and the objective context within which it occurs. Anybody who doesn't know that in Chicago needs to read a little bit more Chicago history--relationship, what is the guy's name? Cody (John Cardinal) and Catholic Church, or or Reverend J.H. Jackson (former head, National Baptist Convention) or any of the other major religious forces and they are political economic roles they play. We are not strong enough to do that.

What we have to do is to use our ideas as a teaching tool in the context of struggle--the unity of theory and practice. And in that sense, we have to do it as part of the campaigns of the masses of people wherever they are. As long as these campaigns are righteous and a part of the masses of the people, we must be right there with them as part of it. From the inside, from the outside, during and after. And, I want to stress the after part because one of the strengths of the revolutionary movement is that we understand that in the short run our greatest victory is in defeat. Our greatest victory is in defeat because of what we do, we're going to lose. When we have righteous goals and aspirations and it is when people are educated as to why they lose--they had better appreciate the victories--but why they lose, why they lose so that they become wise about the social system that they are a part which is of course not supposed to happen. Then, people are prepared to make the leap to understand the systemic nature of the problem. And that is very important because it is the prerequisite for understanding how to, in fact,

solve the problem.

What is the expression of class rule? You can look at your paper again and see what we've done. Look at, for example, at page 2. Look under "class analysis." Now just check this out. You look under the class analysis, you see under capitalist class, the number of Fortune top 1,000 headquarters located in each of the cities their administrative headquarters. This is a suggestive chart but it begins to show you the dynamic here. And then in the next column you get the number of Fortune top 100 Banks and insurance companies located in these cities. And then there is a calculation--obviously this is an approximation, figures they put out in a popular media--of their total profits and millions. And in the very next column we got the city budgets!

So with a city like Los Angeles \$5½ billion worth of profit is represented by the corporate headquarters in that city while the city budget is only \$1½ billion. And you could go down the list. Of course, the cities are going broke. But these corporations grow fat. On the other hand, turn to page four. Look at the table at the top in the middle. The fourth and third columns from the right. In 1950 there were that many number of manufacturing establishment and that number of manufacturing wage workers--the people who produced. You see that the workers got smaller and smaller and smaller. But what is happening on the profit side in terms of what wealth is created? You see that the parallel is the profits, the basis of the profits, get larger and larger and larger and larger. Fewer and fewer people creating more and more wealth. Fewer and fewer people working to create the wealth and creating more and being ripped off.

If you turn back to page four and look in the lower right hand corner, it is not a mystery who these people are. They got names. Matter of fact,

they got addresses, phone numbers. They got neighborhoods. They go home somewhere at night. And, what is interesting, we are stumbling around trying to find out who they are. You know they read this. They laughed at this. They said things like, you know, 'hey Joe, they missed you.' They didn't even know that the real deal isn't even down here in terms of where we sit and talk. We know that this is nothing but an exercise in helping us understand that we can identify the ruling class. That is what we are trying to accomplish here.

Flip it back over to page four and look at the top right hand corner. You begin to see the corporations that they are connected to. What we have tried to do in this paper is just give glimpses of some data that gets us closer to the real world so that we can understand what the nature of the ballgame is.

For us--the key in the mass movement. In this movement, this electoral campaign, or any other aspect of the mass movement, in addition to other things, it is a must to popularize socialism. It is almost dangerous to say it. It is almost like it is un-American to say it. Frankly speaking, we don't think you can be more American--that is to say, speak in the interest of the masses of American people--when you say that socialism ought to be on the agenda, that socialism is the Black answer, that socialism is the White answer, socialism is the Latino answer--it is the answer of the masses of people.

And if you find somebody who is opposed to socialism always ask why. And you get two kinds of responses. One kind of response is, 'they are going to take my shoes. They are going to take my car.' Or, 'I cant live in but one room.' O.K? Those are educational problems. And, we can work it out. Maybe we will all decide on two pairs of shoes. On the other hand,

maybe it ain't got nothing to do with your shoes.

The other type of response is when people actually express their vested class interest. And there it is simply a matter of the facts. Not a matter of ideology or faith in religion. What we talk about with our students is: You want to be a millionaire, cool. Let us discuss how Blacks can become millionaires because we know they can't be millionaires. And in the process of trying to figure out how they can be like Rockefeller, they can understand why they can't be like Rockefeller. As a matter of fact, they can probably figure out, even on a moral basis, how they really shouldn't want to and they don't want to be like Rockefeller. They really want to be like Malcolm. They really want to be like Harriett Tubman and Sojourner Truth. They really want to be like Heroines and Heroes all over the world who have served the interests of the masses of people. Just like them. That is who they really want to be like. And therefore we have to help them to understand you see.

We think that Watts, (the U.S. Interior Secretary) is out of when he says that the Indians have gotten messed up by socialism. He is referring to the most fascist, racist, and repressive rule where people have been denied dignity and respect. Where all their traditions and customs have been violated; where their children have been abused. And then desperation, after being forced into the firewater situation, desperation--turning to alcohol--turning to all forms of disorganization and incidents of delinquency, family destruction and everything, the brutal and repressive venom comes out of his mouth that they--the victims--are the cause of their own condition. And he didn't talk about the same old gamd of the Indian agent, still ripping off the Indians. He didn't talk about that. He is a fool. He is dangerous, but a fool.

We have put out these comments that I wanted to articulate in relation to this particular question. I want to end it this way: We have two legs to walk on. I think we have got two songs to sing of necessity. We have got to lift every voice and sing till earth and heaven ring. Now don't hear this like I heard that song before. Listen to the words and the aspirations that led James Weldon Johnson and his brother to put this down and led people to take it up as a song for Black people to sing. Lift Every Voice and Sing. Every voice till the earth and the heavens ring. Ring with the harmony of liberty. Let our rejoicing rise high as the listening skies. You can't get higher than that! High as the skies. Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.

Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us. The dark. By that they meant the bad times. Has taught us. Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us. Facing the rising sun of a new day begun. Let us march on till victory is won.

But we got another song. It is the song we want y'all to sing. There will be a lot of people singing it. Listen to these words. Arise ye prisoners of starvation. Now think about that. Does that have anything to do with Black people? No. It doesn't. Right? If you are out at four at 47th and King you would sing. Arise ye wretched of the earth. You heard that before? Wretched of the earth. Who wrote that book? No European wrote that book--Frantz Fanon wrote that book. Arise you prisoners of starvation. Arise you wretched of the earth--for justice, thunders, condemnation. A better world in birth. No more traditions--chains. You know how Reagan said, "I remember when we didn't have a race problem." No more traditions, chains that bind us. Arise ye slaves, no more enthralled. The earth shall rise on new foundations. We have

naught. We ain't been nothing. But we shall be all.

We can make the future and this election can help only if it creates a greater capacity to fight. Only if we understand the need to support Black power and to make this with the desire to transform the system as is the desire of our people as the desire of the masses of people of all nationalities.

As one song says, "We must ourselves decide our duty." And the other one says, "Because the road is stony, that we trod." And back to the other one it says, "We must decide." And we must decide and do it well.

Thank you.

Ronald Bailey (Following ABDUL ALKALIMAT)

We have had two excellent presentations that we think captured themes of the workshops in which participants grapple with the reality that we face as a people in the context of the reality that the country faces. We were also trying to understand the alternatives for solving the problems that we face. It is in that spirit that we will open up the session to questions and discussion trying to draw on the discussion that took place in the workshops. We made a big effort in the conference to try to build into the workshops a lot of different views, different ideas. We wanted to bring all sectors into dialogue. If you study the program carefully, you will see that there were a lot of different views here, people working in a lot of different places, people coming from different cities. We think that this has been useful because that helps us get an insight, not only to problems but also helps us understand how people view the problems so we can grapple with how we might collectively arrive at some clear conceptions of how these problems have to be solved.

We would like to open the floor for questions and discussions.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION:

I would like to address this problem to Abdul. In this discussion you are saying that most Black people at this stage of our struggle and development all want Black power. I basically accept that. But I think that some of us don't really want Black power. I think that maybe we want to be more secure, be comfortable, and be challenged; and we are willing to be a little compliant and a little complacent. Considering that there are some among us that basically feel that way, I think that we have got to consider them in our strategy. I was wondering if you would add that dimension to your analysis in terms of learning how to communicate to them why it's important to support and be involved in all these lands of politics.

ABDUL ALKALIMAT. Briefly, I will give you two aspects of that. The first aspect is, in general, in any society or community it is a minority of people that get involved critically and their activities lead to, change --the majority in general is always in some sense led initially by a minority. And one of the things that was brought out yesterday is that overwhelming consensus develops in the Black community whenever there is a successful mayoral campaign. And it is in that sense that I wanted to reference some actual data, some analysis. We are talking about the highest level of registration and motivation level in each city is at the highest level ever.

But your other point regards the day-to-day consciousness of people-- I think you are absolutely right. That what people want is really a very everyday kind of thing. And part of the problem of the movement is that we get so caught up often with ourselves in the movement that we forget

what the day-to-day struggle is all about. And while the actual politics we want to raise and the language that we speak and the analysis that we have to make isn't a day-to-day thing--you cannot get to it just by sitting around casually watching T.V. It takes effort, it takes work. We have got to figure out how to enter into the day-to-day lives of people. That is the strength of the machine in Chicago. That is one reason why people give up and say, "Well, hey! I don't have to become politically knowledgeable. All I have to know is the name of my precinct captain."

And we have to transform that somehow. But the one thing about Black people that is beautiful and really impresses people--you see it in the moments, the flashes. You see it when Black people unite against racism. One of the things we all know is that something can go down and this whole room will be packed. There would be people standing up speaking bitterness against the situation, against racism, against the exploitation. It happened with the Atlanta children after people got over the mesmerization and the paranoia of what you could do--when people actually had meetings and demonstrations. In Urbana the biggest demonstrations occurred there in years and years were led by the sororities and fraternities around Atlanta. It was Black unity, and it was coming out speaking out bitterness against racism. Of course, right after that, back into the disco. But that moment gave you a flash of what was possible.

It is similar in other contexts: when the contract expires and the strike breaks out, you start seeing leadership emerge from people who used to be inarticulate. You're getting a glimpse of the future. And that is what we have to nurture and develop and we gotta figure out how to bring that out in people. The society betts it back. But Black people and the working class, I think, are like the desert. I feel people this all the time.

Q & A

time. People in Chicago don't know anything about the desert. I didn't until I went there. I thought the desert was dead. You know how people think Black people are dead--"they ain't going to do nothing." Right? But, you know what, it rains in the desert. It really does. It doesn't rain a lot or it wouldn't be a desert. But it rains. And when it rains, little things crawl out of the ground that one didn't know were there. The cactus has stickers. They blossom. We have to figure out how to bring rain to the consciousness of our people. And how to bring irrigation so we don't have to wait for the rain. Some of the methods are outmoded--and leave up hoping that it will rain. We have to bring science to this. We have to irrigate this land. I know you understand what is being said.

QUESTION:

Most of my remarks are directed to Phil Smith. I was a socialist and left that position to renounce citizenship and work for the immediate destruction of the state. I want to note by your statement where you said the purpose of Black politics is Black liberation. Now if Black politics means Black liberation why do Haitians flee Black power from the racist U.S.A. with Idi Amin the liberator. Independence for Equatorial Guinea means Black slavery on coffee plantations. Liberated U.S. slaves went back to Africa and became the ruling class of Liberia, Black natives. A U.S. settler problem--a U.S. Black settler problem in

Q & A

Liberia ain't no better than Zionism. I point to Chicago; Leon De Pres was the only Black man on the city council. I bet you remember that. If you heard the presentation last night, in Washington D.C. is a former chairman of SNCC is the mayor of Washington D.C. today, and is considered a worse possibility for representing anybody in Washington than a White candidate.

My point is that human liberation means liberation from politics therefore Black liberation means liberation from politics as through tax refusal and alternative voluntary organization.

PHIL SMITH. Now I feel that you gave the best definition of white power.

QUESTION:

It's all Black.

PHIL SMITH. No. The International Monetary Fund is not Black at all. So when you start talking about who a particular head of government is, who that person is that the newspapers refer to, who the T.V. cameras refer to--you must also remember whose money is in that country. And, it is on that basis that you must deal with the reality of the true politics of our situation. Thus, you're not talking about Black power. And, I'm simply suggesting bringing it back home, because international politics and domestic politics aren't really the same.

What I'm suggesting is that before Black people in this country can enter into any kind of coalition, they must first understand why they have come together. And they must also understand why they want to develop a coalition. It is very clear that the coalition, for example, that FDR developed only utilized Black votes. The Black people were not truly a part of that coalition. The labor unions were. Business was.

Q & A

And the liberals, and whatever else you want to throw into that coalition. Black people were involved in symbolism, but they were not involved in decision making. I think in order for us to fully understand what must take place--whether you want to call it human liberation which is global, or Black liberation which has to do with how you get downtrodden people involved--you would have to develop the climate of change by getting people to understand what the true issues are. You can't do that unless you begin to educate people, not just when there is an election, but on the day-to-day basis, 365 days a year.

BENNETT JOHNSON, ROTH PRESS, INC.

What is your assessment of Harold Washington's chances for winning the election currently. Secondly, in view of the fact that there have been Black mayors elected in other cities and there have been some problems how do you propose that these mayors can not only be held accountable, but they may begin this process of liberation?

PHIL SMITH. First of all the electoral process is not a revolutionary thrust. That is the first thing. Whether it was Coleman Young, Dick Hatcher, Ken Gibson, Maynard Jackson, or Andy Young or Ernest Morial down in New Orleans--they all got elected just like any White mayor got elected. So that for Black people to sit back and start hero worshiping is very detrimental. You have to impact on that Black mayor just like you did on that White mayor. Unfortunately, and I'm not going to say who it is because I don't want to get involved in that, I only know one Black mayor. And, when I say I only know one Black mayor I have worked with a lot of them when I was there and I spent a lot of time helping to organize their campaigns. When I say I only know one Black mayor, he is Black mayor,

Q & A

I have worked with a lot of them when I was there and I spent a lot of time helping to organize their campaigns. When I say I only know one Black mayor, he is Black first and all things come after that. Mostly the other Black mayors I know are mayors who happen to be Black. And that is a totally different phenomenon.

The other part of that is that clearly Harold Washington has an excellent excellent chance of winning the mayoral race in the city of Chicago provided a lot of things fall in place. The first one of those things is that Byrne and Daley must cancel each other out. Now the consideration from the vantage point that I have right now is that Daley has to start doing better. And in spite of the Tribune--what they did the other day, and I think they did it more because they are a Republican newspaper that doesn't really give a damn about what happens to Democrats anyway. They went for Daley because they saw that he was not doing well and they wanted to create something in this campaign. They don't want to see a Richard M. Daley come in a poor third.

If the Black community and the Hispanic community are able to gel what on paper looks like a decent coalition, then it is very clear that Harold Washington would receive at least 375,000 votes, based on the coalition now. That being the case, the best thing that a Jane Byrne could capture with all of her money and with all of her alleged precinct operations would be roughly around 350,000 votes.

The question then becomes: how much of a turnout would you have? Remember in 1979 less than 50% of the registered vote in the 17 predominantly Black wards went to the polls. But, hopefully the excitement among a lot of you who are here will add the people's turnout. What I have seen on the bus and on the trains in the time that I have been in the city

Q & A

of Chicago is going to generate itself into some decent activity at the polls. But this is a variable, it is not a constant. It really depends on whether or not the campaign keeps moving up and does not peak until February 22nd. If the campaign peaks before February 22nd, then obviously there is going to be some problems. Last, there is an awful lot of interest. And, I'm not saying what I think. I am saying it because of what I have experienced. I happen to have over \$150 that somebody gave me in this campaign. O.K? He called me on the phone and he said, "When are you going to Chicago?" And I said, "It just so happens I am going Saturday morning. I will be by your house." One of the checks is for \$100. They never met Harold Washington. I'm saying this to you because there are some other things that were alluded to.

Back in 1972, at the behest of my sister who had been in Detroit for over 20 years at that time, I went to Detroit to put together the mechanism for, hopefully, the election of Coleman Young as the mayor of the city of Detroit. When I got there I spent most of my time trying to convince Black people that he could win. Now, most of the people in that campaign, most of the so called leaders--and again I'm coming back to your question --most of your so called middle class community was with the Jewish candidate. That was also true in Gary. That same phenomena showed up in Newark. The same phenomena showed up in Atlanta, Georgia. And the only reason that Bradley is the mayor of Los Angeles is not because of any kind of Hispanic/Black coalition in Los Angeles because he was not as dangerous as Sam Yorty so that when they put him in they understood that they had enough votes to take him out so they could manipulate him.

Lastly, I heard Prudential Life Insurance Company mentioned. The

Q & A

tragedy of that is that the only way you can get to see the mayor right through here is to call the President of Prudential. So there are a lot of things that have changed. For example the First Black Power Conference in Washington D.C., which unfortunately caused the demise of Adam Clayton Powell as a congressman, and when we were involved in helping to organize National Association of Black Social Workers which we kind of cringe about now because they have their conferences on the Islands you really have to understand that the American dream means start acting like them. That is what makes it so dangerous when you speak of people wanting security and that sort of thing. The first riots we have this spring won't be in the Black community.

ABDUL. I'd like to just address the second question to Bennett because I think he is at the heart of the other side of the election. In other words, whether Harold Washington is elected or not; the question is what do we do? Since he isolated all the reasons that I mentioned, that we talked about today. Very briefly, it seems that there be three things: 1) No matter what, the people of good will, the people who want to make change, have to assume the responsibility of building an independent organization. In neighborhoods, it means community organizations, in work places, trade unions. These are organizations for everybody. Not six houses on the block, everybody on the block, even though it may only involve six people initially. O.K? The same thing is true as far as the trade union is concerned. It's an organization for all the workers. It represents the interest of all the workers on that front and it is in that context that workers learn whats in that context that people learn in their communities.

The problem is that in Chicago we know that we have trade unions and we know that we have community organizations--it's just that they don't belong to us. Community organizations in this city were bought. They were bought in part because of federal programs so that when organizations today declared for Washington, Jayne Byrne tried to cut the throat of these organizations. Budgets were cut from 100% down to 10% and people lost their jobs, housing programs were threatened and so forth. That's because by this time the price tags were being picked up by people who those organizations now oppose and support is being pulled out from under them. We need a new community organizations movement, first.

Secondly, we need strong rank-and-file struggle. Democratic struggle in the union to make them fighting organizations in the interest in the working class. That's what we need. Independent organizations. Third, we need to create public opinion in the interest of these organizations and the class and the nationality that we represent. By public opinion I mean both first the education of people, which is protracted, long-term struggle. The left movement needs to learn from these people like the Jehovah Witnesses standing at the train stations and knocking on doors. Or the precinct workers day in day out--relentless--and we will win the people.

We also need ritual power based communication and dialogue with these candidates. In other words, you know what happens when Reagan has to say something. He goes to the national meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, or the National Chamber of Commerce meeting. And he enunciates policy. And then there are all kinds of small groups who articulate and explain and rationalize themselves to win approval and support. We know about this in Chicago--we just have to put it back in

Q & A

the peoples' hands. Large scale, regular discussions where we call people to be accountable. That is creating public opinion. That's very important. We have got to do it. The media can't do it for us.

The fourth thing is we got to take struggle directly to the ruling class. We've got to prevent City Hall through any circumstances from being a buffer or being an instrument against us. And, I'm not talking about the mayor. Because if you go to a place like Atlanta, you understand the struggle between people being the police. The mayor wants something to happen and the police says you can't make us do it and put the guns on. You understand what I'm saying? When Frost went to the office to be the mayor there were people standing there with guns on saying no! And what did he say? 'Cool.' He didn't say I'll be back with Afro-Americans Patrollman's League. Or, he didn't whistle or he didn't run around the corner to get the troops. You understand? He said, 'cool.' And they did have guns on. We can't allow that; we have got to neutralize it.

We have to make the corporations, first of all, be less than anonymous and we have got to make them accountable. And then as the struggle develops and sharpens between the masses and the corporations, then the mayor has got to take a stand. Its got to show where the mayor stands and everybody got to show where it stands--the newspapers and everybody else. There's a margin in this city that we have yet to realize. We are the margin of survival for virtually everyghing in this city. How long do you think the Sun Times would last if Black people stopped reading it? You understand what I mean? And its not just the power of the boycott, which is powerful. But there are all kinds of affirmative actions that we can take to bring about change.

The first and most important point is to build independent organizations. When I say independent, I mean independent of the government, I mean independent of somebody's purse string. I mean dependent on us. Secondly, create public opinion. Everybody should know what we want. When Reagan wants something, everybody starts talking about it. He has people create public opinion. We got to create public opinion. We did it before. "Freedom now!" The Panthers. "Right on! Now! Revolution in our lifetime." "One man, one vote." Slogans--that's the way to do it. Where do slogans come from? The everyday language of the people. Not some paid MBA from the University of Chicago or Columbia, or the consultant firm of La Salle Street or Michigan Avenue. The masses of people have got the language. That is why Motown and all the strong songs go. Because somehow the genius of the people speaks through that. Create public opinion.

Third, take the struggle to the rulers. Take it right down front to the rulers. We used to say this all the time. The easiest thing in the world is to jump on somebody who is close at hand against whom you know you can win. But take on the real rulers. Say that to the wrongdoers. It's easy to steal my mama's purse. Right? Steal the purse called First City Corporation, First National Bank. That's the big purse. Try that. Daley was in a gang. Over there in back of the yard. But he didn't set just his sight on stealing from somebody's mama who was in the neighborhood. They stole the city. His gang is in City Hall right now--his partners who used to steal and rob and run the streets and gang up on people. They run the city. Now, I'm not suggesting that we support the El Rukins in the next election. What I'm saying is that we have got to take the struggles to the ruling class.

QUESTION:

You both mentioned the popularity of the blue Washington buttons-- on trains and in Black neighborhoods, but many people are saying, 'Well, O.K. If Harold Washington wins what is he going to do?' People recognize that we have power brokers in this city. I would like to know what would you gentlemen suggest between now and February 22nd in mass voter education with addressing peoples concerns even if the vote for Washington and he is elected it won't matter. I have heard this more than once. What would you do to turn around this negative feeling?

PHIL SMITH. Well the reason that you heard it is that there are some of us in our own community who are whiter than those of us in the White community. The problem that you have with that is it doesn't matter whether it is Harold Washington or you. There are some, alas, Black people in the city of Chicago who don't want to see a Black mayor ever. I would suspect that in the Hispanic community, if there was an Hispanic candidate for mayor, there would be some Hispanics that would not ever want to see a Hispanic mayor. This is a condition and this conditioning has taken place over a long period of time. One of the things that I'm talking about in a column that I write in Dollars and Sense called "Real Politics" is that there are a lot of people who believe that white ice is colder than black ice. It's still ice. But if you put white ice in your glass your water is going to be colder. That is a condition and unfortunately from the 29th of January to February 22nd there is absolutely nothing you can do to deprogram those brainwashed people.

However, there is something that you can do to box them into being relevant. I suggest that that is what we've done. This is certainly what happened during the Civil Rights Movement. Anybody who has read

FINAL PLENARY

It is not a matter, as the capitalists portray it, of the workers opposing progress--not at all. The issue is who does the planning and who orchestrates and who organizes the economy, and toward whose benefit is it organized? Those are the critical questions. Profits came from the exploitation of people, and the transformation of society, the full utilization of all science and technology, can only be a liberating force if we control it. Even Nader told us that. Nader said corporations aren't capable of producing safe things and serving in the public interest. Even Nader said that. And what did they do? They put a contract on him. Now if they'll do that to Nader, you can imagine what they think about when Black people get together and talk business against the system.

If you really want to know something, go to the patent office. Tell them you've interested in technological innovation--that you want to know what we know--if anybody has invented something in particular. Do you know what you'll discover. You'll discover at a certain point capitalism by definition progressed because it maximized the use of innovation. This is no longer true. Do you think that the most effective way we can get around is those cars out there, breathing all that stuff, using up gas? They have patents for cars that can run on all kinds of stuff. I understand they got corn down there in Decatur and they're making gasohol. They have all kinds of things. They are inventing all kinds of things in the laboratory, but the capitalists give the inventors a few dollars and they take it and they store it in a vault. In other words, contrary to the working class is opposing the anarchy of capitalist ripoff, calling for the full utilization of science. It is the capitalist who have used the universities for their own demonic ends and pull and keep all the innovations

FINAL PLENARY

away from us.

My contribution is by way of a comment which I think needs to be made. I think very little can be added to what has been put before us. In my own personal opinion, I consider it to be a great service to the struggle in general and the struggle in Chicago in particular that socialism has been placed on the agenda as a concrete question and not as a theoretical, abstract question. I think the brother here did an excellent job of putting forth socialism within that framework he's given the constraints of time. The only way to do it on something like this is to write it general framework and to confront struggle on which that must precede.

The critical question is that socialism is on the agenda whether you like it or not, whether the capitalists like it or not. There are a couple of points that I think were raised that need further elaboration and certainly cannot be done now and certainly speaks to some concerns people have about leadership and selection, and what's happened to them.

Brother Phil Smith made the observation in his remarks and it's correct, in terms of what we see out there, that the trade unions and the workers are far apart. Brother Abdul pointed out, trade unions are very important to the struggles of the working class in this country as a whole. But it is also true, objectively, that there is some distance between the rank and file and the leadership of trade union organization. Similarly, any of us who might look at the struggle of Black people as a deeper struggle, and the struggle of a national minority, will also see some distance between

FINAL PLENARY

the leadership of certain civil rights of black liberation organizations and the membership. In fact, we will see that throughout the society, in this period of crisis, in general there is a certain separation or certain widening of distance between the traditional or the longstanding leadership of the organizations that we have come to respect as organizational struggle and the people who formerly held allegiance or close allegiance to the organization. I think that question must be looked at for what it is.

I don't know if Brother Smith agrees with me--we go back a long way--but I would submit that what is happening is that for many of these organizations the people are beginning to recognize that the leadership in the organization to which they so faithfully at one time, adhered to, is indeed misleading them. Their role has always been that of a social profit of capitalism, the very thing the workers are fighting against. These kinds of issues become clearer and clearer in crisis when the leadership can no longer produce in relationship to the kinds of demands that their rank and file membership put forward. I would submit, because of the situation in Detroit, for example, that the reason why the UAW is in difficulty with the rank and file, is because certain sections of that leadership, are trying to force concessions down the mouth of those workers that they cannot accept. That explains that difficulty.

And I will submit that if you look at the experience in Miami, when certain leaders of the NAACP and Urban League, who went down to try to quiet the masses during the uprising were stoned, it is because their leadership did not address the kinds of demands and issues put forward by the masses, issues which they did not put forth as abstraction, as indellectual exercises, but as fundamental to their own survival--police brutality,

FINAL PLENARY

joblessness, and so forth. This is very instructive for us to look at in terms of a point that Brother Abdul raises about the question of independent organizations. What is indeed happening is that this situation is thrusting forward new leadership of them movement, many of whom are in this room now getting educated to the tasks that confront them. And one of the tasks in all this is to not only identify why certain leaders who we thought were leaders are in reality misleaders, but also identify what is arising in terms of leadership from the masses.

This is the way the Harold Washington campaign, there are people, unknown little people who are emerging as leaders in the course of that campaign at the lowest level of organization. They are indeed withstanding the opposition of the machine, they are making their contributions, etc. So, while rightly concerned about whether Harold Washington, primarily because of what he stands for, wins or loses, we should also be looking at what this effort is producing in terms of new leadership for our struggle.

I want to close, by simply saying that for me from the National Conference of Black Studies Conference in April 1982 up unto the day, we are participating in what I believe to be historic process. I would like to thank the brothers and sisters around Peoples College and all that it represent for working to make these (applause) opportunities possible.

QUESTION. I wonder if Professor Smith would comment on why there hasn't been endorsements of Harold Washington by Black mayors--in particular Coleman Young from Detroit--or if there has been, why it has not been common knowledge. I consider myself fairly informed and not aware of any. What significance if any does this have?

PHIL SMITH. First of all, as I understand it, some of that is forthcoming. Secondly, I have referred to a couple of things we did that go

FINAL PLENARY

back a long ways, that have important implications and lessons for today. Back in 1964 when Sammy Rayner ran against Bill Dawson we started a process that eventually broke down. We had people coming into Chicago like Fannie Lou Hamer and James Meredith; certainly Dick Gregory was a part of this; and the local civil rights people were a part of it. One of the problems that you have is that a lot of people have their own ideas about how something ought to be run. And prior to getting involved in any campaign, it is my considered judgement that once the strategy has been determined for the campaign, then all other boat-rocking has to stop.

Having been born and raised in the city of Chicago, I am totally familiar with a lot of the players in the drama and there is a lot of ego-tripping going on, because some of these people would like to be as important as the candidate. Only one person is going to get elected mayor and that has to be the person who is running for the office. Some ancillary or auxiliary person might want to be mayor--you know we used to have the mayor of Bronzeville--but it gets in the way. And it gets in the way because sometimes we vote against having other Black elected officials coming into a city, because we want to be able to shine ourselves. Now if you start bringing the Ron Dellums types in here, he can't shine. A good speech by Ron Dellums is going to end up in a corner because the last time I heard him speak I came away understanding the U.S. defense budget better than I ever had in my life. So we have tried all of this before.

In 1970, if you remember, Rayner ran against Metcalfe, We had John Conyers here; Ken Gibson was in here; a lot of people were in here trying to help and we ended up with a problem. The initial thrust was for the independent movement to win the First Congressional District. What we got

FINAL PLENARY

caught up in was a Black running against a White in another district, and anybody who knew anything about math new he couldn't win. But some of the people who came in here White, and White people like to get involved in these campaigns where there is a seemingly strong Black candidate running against a White incumbent. They like that kind of stuff. But it is meaningless in the sense that when you recognize that you've got nine wards in a congressional district and you've only got three Black ward committeemen in that congressional district, you ought to be able to figure out right then that you can't win. That's our problem.

I understand from the conversation I had this afternoon, that on February 6th, there will be a Washington rally at the University of Illinois, and on the 13th there's also a rally, and there will be a lot of people coming in here who for all purposes will be branded as outsiders interfering in the political processes of Chicago. They will be coming in to raise Harold's hand in victory and to say that they support him. I also understand that some overtures have been made to Mayor Young in Detroit, and that might bear some fruit.

But you also have to remember that we have what we call left wingers in the Democratic Party. We have middle of the roaders in the Democratic Party and we have right wingers in the Democratic Party. I would just simply say to you that the best way to figure out whether a person is going to participate in what's going on in Chicago is to pay attention to what he or she has been doing in behalf of Black people all down the line and that will give you your answer about who's going to come in and who is going to stay home.

RON BAILEY. We want to keep this collective as much as possible and

FINAL PLENARY

its approaching adjournment. We want to have people with questions to ask their questions and we will have the panel to take notes and respond. We want to make sure that we get onto the record the full concerns of everybody. We ask you to bear with us.

QUESTION. I have a question for both panelists. Under what conditions do you consider a coalition viable for Black liberation; and secondly what is the difference, or do you see a difference, between building a united front and amongst Black people and building a Black United Front.

QUESTION. There has been a lot of discussion about the need to get out and build independent organizations both in the neighborhood and in the work places. What kind of plans has Peoples College particularly made or are there plans being made in trying to do one or both those things.

QUESTION. It seems to me that President Reagan ran a campaign where he had very specific programs. Whatever you might say about that program he at least spent a good deal of time in his campaign talking about it. Is this an approach that is recommended for Mr. Washington? If so, what are some of the specified positions in terms of his program? Has he laid out some specific points, programatically, as to how he would perform as mayor? In this conference in the last few days many people have spoken as to what they think he might do or what they expect of him but few people seem to be able to articulate what he specifically has said that he would do. And as close as we are to the end of this campaign I thought someone might have some insights or knowledge of it.

QUESTION. There has been a lot of discussion about especially around the question of leadership. People have basically concurred that capitalism has become bankrupt. And I agree. I'm fighting for socialism myself. The problem that I am having here is that no one has to say that capitalism

FINAL PLENARY

is bankrupt. There are two parties in this country, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The unconditionally defend capitalism against the working class. Both of those parties do. There is very little that differentiates in terms of the relationship that exists. That is the antagonism between the workers and the masses oppressed in this country. People who rule and have all wealth. The solution that exists in this country is to build a workers party, an independent working class party against capitalism and against these two parties. It is an illusion to think that the Democratic Party can do anything for the working class that is lasting and permanent, a complete illusion. There is a candidate in Chicago that is not a member of the party that I belong to but he is a member of a working class organization--The Socialist Workers Party. We support that candidate against the capitalist candidates because it represents the hope first of all to construct the party that can respond to the problems. Workers in this country should be against the capitalist parties because I agree with the speaker when he says that capitalism is the root of the problems in the society. It feeds off the working class people. It oppresses them. It's behind both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. You can bet on it. I'm from Detroit. I would assess that form of attack in form of concessions. And, I'm sure that people here from the industrial center in Chicago see that also. Basically, my point is there has to be above all struggles, a struggle to construct a workers party. And I'd like to know where Harold Washington stands on concessions.

COMMENT. I'm an exchange student from Ireland so not being a citizen I can't vote. If this conference has shown anything to me, it's shown the importance of the actual practice of getting out there and working, and working with a fairly clear ideological perspective of knowing what you

FINAL PLENARY

have to do. I've seen the leaflets from the Socialist Workers Party campaign. The problem is that he doesn't stand a snowball in hell's chance of winning. (laughter) If anything is being reiterated in this country time after time after time it is that electoral politics may not be sufficient, but its necessary. I come from a country where we have the same problem with capitalism, with racism and with the inadequacies of bourgeois democratic institutions. But, if anything, the conference has shown me is that you can work with those limitations an essential and important step. You have to do it with an overall strategy and you have got to do it to win. If I could vote I would vote for Harold Washington. What more can I say. (Applause)

QUESTION. What is the relationship of Black liberation to this whole issue of race and class? It seems as though there have been some different points of view.

PHIL SMITH. I'm not sure that if Abdul and I were to sit down we would necessarily be at odds on ideology. I'm hearing a lot of his for the first time after a long time. He is hearing mine maybe for the first time in many years. I'm not sure that our goals are not really the same. I am sure that what this conference has done and I hope it continues to do is to make sure that there is ongoing dialogue so that people can come to some agreements about a sense of direction, strategies and practice. I don't think that we will do that by simply answering a question. I think that there are just based on how I perceive answering the question and how he perceives answering the questions. I think that that might be where the acceptance of the audience feeds in and they start considering that maybe we are not in agreement.

I'm for Black liberation. I have a priority, I think that all else is

FINAL PLENARY

secondary to that primarily because of our specific predicament on this earth. I'm getting tired of seeing some of the shit that I have seen. I don't want to get caught up in diffusing my efforts. In the sixties, all of a sudden we got ethnicity, ecology, and women's lib, and the peace movement and eight cases of oxen out of the Civil Rights Movement. I'm sure that people remember that. And it was by design. If you go back and take a look all of the money that was coming in from the Ford Foundation and some of these other places that was feeding into the Civil Rights Movement, its no surprise that suddenly the movement was splintered and started going into the four areas I listed above. It let me know that some other folks have a design. The design came as a result of two words being placed together--not for the first time but certainly at that point that people didn't like. It was Black Power. And as long as we are talking about Green Power; there was no problem. Whey you start talking about Black power it is obvious that only Black people can control that so that was one of the problems.

In terms of the United Front, you can kind of turn those words around. I'm for not the continual creation of new organizations. I am not the education of the minds of people so that they can do whatever the hell they need to do in order to make it in this society and understand how to react or to withstand things that are being forced upon them. I have the firm belief just based on a lot of things that I have seen that organizations stifle creativity. I do not think organizing does that. And, I think that you can organize. I still recall that the first stage of revolution was supposed to be an organization of your mind. If we start dealing seriously with that, we don't know that another Malcolm X might not spring forward because we helped somebody get their mind together, rather than

FINAL PLENARY

spending all our time trying to get some corporate papers down in Springfield to dictate that we got a new organization floating down here someplace.

In terms of Harold Washington and his platform, I advise a standard that is on paper and available to any one who might want to go and get copies of it or take a look at it can. He has, as I understand it, been talking or speaking to his platform in the debates that have been taking place. But you must sincerely understand that except for a very poorly subscribed to Chicago Defender and other Black weeklys in this city, the Chicago Tribune, Sun Times and the electronic media all of which are not owned by Black people are not going to go flip-flop by giving Harold Washington any clout. And when you understand that and you have to deal with examples like the Chicago Tribune editorial when they said who they were going to endorse. When you read their reasons, they were the most ludicrous I've ever seen. That they were really saying is something that my grandfather taught me. He said, "As you grow up you will recognize that in this country if White people collectively had a choice between being right--and I don't mean being right winged I mean being right--and being White, inevitably they are going to pick being White." That is a basic problem in this country and that is why you have Mondale coming out with Daley and Kennedy coming out for Byrne. The idea is, and this is very clear, an ethnic minority--the Irish--has controlled this city for many, many years. There is no possible way, with all deference to my Irish brothers, for the Irish of Chicago to control anything. They don't have the numbers. The Polish people have the numbers, or had the numbers. It is not based on the numbers but it is based on who has served as a functionary of the hidden power structure. And, certainly since we live in the largest Catholic arch-

FINAL PLENARY

chdiocese in the United States, it is very clear who is trying to be White and who is trying to be right.

I don't remember the other questions so I am going to let Abdul handle all of those.

ABDUL ALKALIMAT. I'd like to answer these questions in the context of reform and revolution, or to put it in other words, strategy and tactics, or the long-run motion to transform society and the social system and the question of what we do as we work toward them. How do we actually build unity with people and how do we actually engage in the day-to-day struggle?

At a strategic level, as I indicated but skipped over some of the things I wanted to say, we are looking at the system as somehow representing a constellation or interaction of forces that have to do with race, nationality, and class. And as I tried to indicate, in this election and in many spontaneous struggles the main question has to do with race and nationality. That is what is uniting people into a force. And that, on the surface, is nothing we should be ashamed of or try to shirk from whatever. That is what is galvanizing people into a force. Not only is it happening in Chicago that is what the researchers say is going on in all these other cities. That is a fact.

And what we are working for is to bring to the front and to bring out the essence of that which ultimately is going to be class reality since we are talking about a working class. We are talking about the allies since most of the Black middle class is buried there. In the end, we think there is going to be more unity as we move through many of these tactical struggles and the people become radicalized. That might be true given some kind of classic static, dogmatic analysis. That's brought down on us as opposed to come down on our situation that we can understand by virtue

FINAL PLENARY

of our practice in the struggle. Given that our orientation, then, is to enter into the context of the Black liberation movement.

That is where we are in Peoples College and that is where many people are who are a part of this campaign and many of the movements. And a lot of people don't understand that. They think that when you discover left ideas you become something abstract as opposed to the abstraction informing the concrete motion; that is what we are talking about. Many of the people in the Black liberation movement who suffered the left self-destructiveness as opposed to becoming sharper and clearer in guiding themselves through the rapids and that is why it is important for us to say, out of self-criticism as much as the recognition of our accomplishments, that we are in our second decade. We didn't come together last week and therefore we have a lot of strength and a great deal of weaknesses and learn a great deal of lessons. Mostly, as I said before, out of our errors we have learned. But the fact that we are here I think should suggest that maybe we are learning them. God knows that we are making them and repeating some too! What we see, therefore, is not the way in which at a political level the Black United Front is being put forward. What we see going into the Black struggle which is our opportunity to raise up on a left pole the red flag of socialist revolution in the Black mainstream of the spontaneous uprising of the masses of people. I know it sounds rather dramatic but these are dramatic times. One thing that is true culturally about Black people is that even in our oppression and exploitation is that our communication requires a certain theory. And we enjoy each other. I mean I want it as a footnote to people who might think I'm extremist theory. Actually this is a cultural thing (laughter).

The fact is that we been engaged in a lot of air how struggle and a

FINAL PLENARY

lot of struggle that has to do with the international situation around Africa, that has to do with supporting struggles of equations and so on. What doesn't matter that we believe that an injury to one is an injury to all. We believe that any spark of struggle can spread rapidly if we can fan the flames, if we can build it. Obviously that is dangerous because we can run around trying to build every little struggle, a thousand committees for a thousand things, and end up trivializing some of these things. The fact is that we've been engaged in some very serious, important work in the 1970s that we characterize as the Black liberation movement's especially the advanced "Search for Vanguard." That is what went on, the search for a vanguard. And we are still in quest of that.

In addition to those things, Peoples College has been engaged in every sort of major organizational effort on a national or local or regional scale that we have known anything about. When the National Black United Front called a meeting in Brooklyn, we were there. When the National Black Independent Party called the conventions, we were there. Every time we know about it, we go. The problem is that the Black United Front, and I am going to be as candid as possible when they called that meeting, the examples they used to build that organization were already dead--they were cadavers. How do we know? I went and visited them before the damn meeting occurred.

Let me be up front about this. For example, the Black United Front of Cairo was one hell of a struggle. By the time I got there, their offices were on the second floor of the Federal Building. They had keys to the post office.

In other words, the fighting United Fronts that once existed was no

FINAL PLENARY

longer there. Thus, when they pulled everything together it was essentially based on the motion that was happening in Brooklyn. When they tried to spread it around the country, it didn't work.

A similar thing happened within the National Black Independent Political Party. When they called their national meeting, 70% of the people there were from Philly, D.C. and New York, I think. And furthermore, the trappings of the narrow neo-nationalism of the past was dominant. What they debated was should we be called Africans with a "K" or "C", that kind of vestigial discussion from the past.

And they didn't know whether they wanted to get involved with the electoral struggle or not, without tiinking about the fact that half the people there were simply posturint to make a deal with the Democrats to deliver up some votes in exchange for their own gain. We have been working in Black Studies up to now. Black Studies is for us propaganda work which means educational work. This is where Black people get together and talk militant and talk bitterness against the system and try to search for ideologies and politics that represent an alternative. This is where we will be working. The key thing to keep in mind here is not the concept coalition as much as the concept United Front. We define the United Front not essentially as an organizational question, but rather essentially as a political question. It has to do with uniting with a common enemy. It's just like in the Washington campaign, as somebody said in the workshop, "Everybody involved in this common struggle doesn't know each other." It is impossible for people to know each other. But what they know is that each other exists. That' important and we all realize when the votes are counted up. There is a common struggle.

Isn't it exciting to be on the bus and see somebody with a blue button

FINAL PLENARY

on? You got one and you sit there and you point and the other person responds and smiles. And then you might walk up and say, "7th ward." See what I mean? This is what it was like in the Civil Rights movement. Campaign come through. People would put buttons on. You saw each other. There was electricity. You were united. It was hair. It was clothes. It was all kinds of stuff. Even Fanon talked about it. It is a universal thing. It is what Peoples College called "a cultur of resistance" in their 1981 Black Liberation Month News. It was this (the Black Power salute with clenched fist)! You know what I mean. And for some people tt was this and this (the "soul" hand shake). These are cultural things that help us resist.

In sum, the United Front is unity of action.

FINAL PLENARY

That was my point. That is a strategic question. And, the unity of action that is most important is the unity of action against the collective rule of the capitalist class against all of us. That is why we have to popularize socialism. A lot of people think that you build revolution in secret and then you spring it out on people. That is not the way it happens. You have to popularize it. That is what happened in the 1970s. Everybody talked about it. Everybody was ready to hear the message. What we've got to do is popularize the word socialism. It is not hard to learn the word--so'-cial-ism--that many syllables. It is not that that level is difficult.

The other thing that is interesting about Black people is a little bit different than the bad rap people tried to give Black people about liking things that come from other places; the reality is that Black people like new words. We like to say words that people don't know and think we're intelligent. But everything else tells us that we're not. If we learn a new language, I bet you that would release a new fury from people. They would be able to say things they only felt but haven't been able to say.

We believe that a party of the working class, the disciplined of the working class, the best among us that we can all respect is necessary. Obviously it's necessary. We are not going to be able to win it by slapping anybody. We got to form fists. We understand something about sectarianism and therefore we are fundamentally taking a position against a sectarian get-rich-quick approach to forming this fist. I must admit in taking that position that there is a risk of belittling the task of building a revolutionary organization. But it's a task we take very seriously and we understand that it is not going to happen like we might have mistakenly thought

FINAL PLENARY

it was going to happen when we were a lot younger--Abra-cadabra, prestozinko. It is not happening that way.

We don't want to become a hard core little sect. We must enter into mass movement. We want to participate in hard study and recruitment of the best among us to go back out there. We want to popularize revolutionary thinking. We want to help guide the masses toward struggle. We are going to be with the masses when the people are wrong. We are going to be with the masses when the people are right. We are going to be with the masses of people so that we can learn from them in order that we may use the experience of the world to guide them toward revolutionary struggle.

In the process we got to figure out how to make that leap to a revolutionary organization. But that cannot become, at this point--at least from our small limited perspective--so overwhelming that we liquidate building a relationship with the masses of people. Because if we go and hide and come out with a plan they might not like it or us. We might be wrong. The logic and the abstract might be right. But, the world doesn't fit the symmetry of somebody's mental exercise.

The last point I want to make is that Peoples College is in a period of transition. Partly this is because we are a part of the movement. This transition is something we think that other revolutionaries ought to learn from. While upholding the necessity to study the international experience, the class experience of workers throughout the world, and oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world, we've got to enter into the concrete struggle of the turf that constitutes the country in which we live. Don't be surprised if you see somebody from Peoples College in a ward dealing concretely with the day to day realities in a way that is going to build some resistance. It is not going to be like SWA (Socialist Workers

FINAL PLENARY

Party). It is not going to be, we hope, a group of people who often fundamentally disrespect the people that they're dealing with by having visions of grandeur about their own roles.

We are going to be entering into these communities in order to unleash the revolutionary potential of the masses of people who are there. This might, in fact, conclude running somebody for office. This might, in fact, conclude trying to build a local community-based organization trying to deal with the question of housing. One of the things we are going to try to always be clear on is this: Black unity must be build, there must be unity between the Black liberation struggle and the trade union movement; there must be a constant attempt to fight sectarianism and dogmatism and elitism among the left.

We've got to fight neo-nationalism and all forms of narrow-minded and subjective and self-serving elitism and opportunism in the Black community, and most of all we've got to teach people in political terms what it is that we know is the way forward. Tell the truth. Be like you want everybody to be. Unite and fight back! Remember!

In the sixties, one of the most dynamic and revolutionary things we did when we were naive was that we told the truth. We just told it. "We don't like y'all!" "Here is what is happening to us!" I remember that a friend of mine, if I can use that expression--Jeff Donaldson from Chicago, who designed the "Protest at the Polls" posters--did a cartoon book once. And there was this old brother named Mose and his plantation owner who was on national radio and he said, "Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to prove to you that the South is alright, that Black people are being well treated. And I got Mose here who is going to speak to the national radio audience. I'm going to have Mose tell you the truth about the southern

FINAL PLENARY

situation. Mose." Mose grabbed the mike and said, "HELP!"

In telling the truth that is going to put us on the road to where we want to go.

Thank you.

BLACK POWER in American Cities

**ATLANTA
BERKELEY
BIRMINGHAM
CAMDEN
CHICAGO**

**DETROIT
GARY
HARTFORD
LITTLE ROCK
LOS ANGELES**

**MACON
NEW ORLEANS
NEWARK
OAKLAND
PASADENA**

**RICHMOND
ROANOKE
SPOKANE
TALLAHASSEE
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Peoples College Press
Post Office Box 7696
Chicago, IL 60680