

Government & Politics

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BLACK CONSERVATIVE Political Elites

Justice Thomas and the 1991 Civil Rights Act

by Alvin Thornton

DECEMBER 2, 1991 — The nomination and confirmation of Justice Clarence Thomas to the United States Supreme Court and the Civil Rights Act of 1991 dominated much of the political landscape during 1991. These issues captured the attention of the nation in part because they helped spotlight ideological splits among blacks and further defined the small number of black political elites who are self-identified or labeled as being

conservative. An examination of the different responses that conservative black political elites gave to the Thomas nomination and confirmation versus the response given to the Civil Rights Act of 1991 might indicate much about the group's strategic place in the larger system of white and black political elites and its prospects for the future.

As used in this essay, a political elite refers to a small group of

contd on pg. 2

Presidential Politics '92

by Ronald Walters

With the withdrawal of both Rev. Jesse Jackson and Governor Douglas Wilder from the presidential election contest of 1992, Black voters will face a situation in which there will be no Black candidate for the first time since 1984. I have argued in my book, *Black Presidential Politics in*

America, that the Jackson campaign was a vehicle for political leverage for Blacks and their white progressive allies. They had the convenience of the sort which made it possible to deposit their votes with the Rainbow Coalition, support a liberal

contd on pg. 5

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Veteran Hill staffer Jackie B. Parker, Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Carl Levin (D-MI), speaks at a Howard University conference on the historical underrepresentation of black staff in the U.S. Congress and the absence of African-American U.S. Senators.

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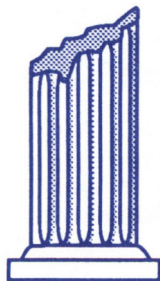
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Justice Thomas – from pg. 1

people with shared characteristics who make or significantly influence important government decisions.¹ White political elites include those who control the nation's key financial, communications, industrial and governmental institutions, while black elites include selected individuals, liberal and conservative, inside these institutions who are able to influence selected decisions which have specific impact on the black community. A political elite must be a well defined group, it must be involved in key political decisions where its preference runs counter to that of any other likely group, and in such decisions the preference of the political elite must prevail.² A political elite also must be consistent in the positions it takes on issues which are fundamental to its ideology.

The black conservative political elite is not a well defined group; rather it is composed of individuals who have achieved individually and gained some national recognition, since 1980, through their endorsement of major aspects of Reagan and Bush foreign and domestic policies and opposition to strategic positions of members of the black liberal elite.

The Thomas nomination presented this group with a unique opportunity to express a counter preference to that of the liberal black political elite and lay the foundation for it to become a legitimate and identifiable elite group. With the support of a then very popular President, the fact that a black was being nominated for the nation's highest court, and the limited knowledge

most blacks had about Thomas, black conservative elites had an audience and a platform of national significance where they could prevail over competing liberal black political elites. The same cannot be said about their response to the Civil Rights Act of 1991. While they organized and defended Thomas, a forceful opponent of government involvement in social and economic affairs, they remained silent or individually supported passage of the Civil Rights legislation. Why the inconsistency?

Black political elites have been described as "two kinds of leaders" with different sources of political power and legitimacy. Lucius Barker has pointed out that the conservative ones "...have separated themselves from baseline politics of the black community and have come to prominence in national politics without the support of black constituents." Robert Smith indicated that "They happen to be black, but their leadership roles are conferred by whites. Most are young and have been socialized outside the black community."³ Barker and Smith agree that black political elites who are considered liberal have emerged from the black community and reflect the views of the vast majority of black people.

Justice Thomas, sworn in on October 23, 1991, is now a sitting member of the high Court. After he graduated from Yale Law School in 1974, he served as an attorney in the Attorney General's office in Missouri, moving in 1977 to work for the Monsanto chemical company before joining the staff of U.S. Senator John Danforth in 1979.

In May of 1981, former President Reagan appointed Justice Thomas to head the Department of Education's civil rights division. Reagan subsequently appointed him to successive terms as chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In 1990, President Bush nominated him to fill the position on the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia vacated by Robert Bork.

With one stroke of a pen, President Bush artificially elevated tensions within the black community concerning the relative merits of political liberalism and conservatism. Thomas' nomination was said to have shattered the black consensus, provided for the further isolation of the liberal establishment,⁴ demonstrated the magnitude of the gulf between black people and leaders of major national black organizations,⁵ and refocused the attention of the black community on principles of inner resources, individual integrity and self-reliance.⁶ Its political elites, both liberals and conservatives, fought over the substance of Thomas' positions which never became known to the general black community. He became a symbol without substance in the service of Bush as Thomas sought to maintain his party's majority among the presidential electorate.

Thomas' ideological orientation was shielded by the public focus on a charge by Professor Anita Hill that he made statements and engaged in behavior of a sexual nature that should cause the Senate to question his fitness for service on the Supreme Court, and the fact that he

reversed or softened positions he had taken on many controversial issues. The judge's conservative political views, which had been presented in prepared speeches, published articles and policy decisions over ten years,⁷ caused most liberal black elites to oppose his confirmation. For those black political elites who opposed Thomas, his conservatism could not be disputed and provided ample justification for their opposition. Their case against him focused on their conclusion that his statements

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and actions prior to becoming an appeals court judge indicated that he opposed affirmative action and other remedies for racial discrimination; would rule in most instances against the accused in criminal cases of alleged police or prosecutorial misconduct; and would permit executive agencies to become barriers to workers trying to realize their rights under the law.⁸ His opponents further indicated that as a member of the Appeals Court for the District of Columbia "his decisions overall do not indicate an overly ideological tilt although they are generally conservative, especially his criminal law and procedure decision."⁹ Thomas' conservatism for black

conservative political elites was seen as being entirely consistent with their belief that he "...is sensitive to the needs of his fellow citizens who are struggling to achieve self-reliance and committed to creating a legal environment of fairness and equality of opportunity."¹⁰

The Thomas nomination became the key national issue about which black conservative elites could differ with black liberal elites with a reasonable possibility that they would win and consolidate their status as a political elite in American politics. The confirmation process forced Thomas to back away from most of the opinions which had defined his and other conservative black elites' claim to a unique ideological position in American politics. In addition, his use of racism as a defense in the sexual harassment segment of the confirmation hearing positioned him not as a conservative black political elite on the cutting edge of a new approach to race relations in America; instead it placed him philosophically comfortably within the ranks of traditional black liberal elites. Therefore, history may reveal that what began as a defining moment for black conservative political elites ended with their being insignificant players in a game dominated by liberal and conservative white political elites and traditional black political elites.

McCormick has indicated that in the Thomas nomination "...we see a unique twist in the use of the race card. Whereas this odious tactic has historically been used by white politicians to gain support among white vot-

ers, with the nomination of Thomas to the High Court we see a calculated attempt by the Bush administration to gain support among African American voters for the Republican Party."¹¹ It was a race card to which selected conservatives attached themselves in an attempt to consolidate their place in American national politics. It is also possible that Bush was primarily attempting to hold on to conservative voters of either party and

Political elites are small groups who influence important government decisions...

race. Most observers of the High Court expected a black to be nominated to replace Thurgood Marshall, the first black to sit on a Court whose slots in recent years have been allocated to representatives of the nation's various ethnic groups. Therefore, Bush would have much more to gain from nominating not simply a black, but one with unusually strident conservative views, especially where racial issues are concerned. Bush would gain more from the cross-party ideological consistency that Thomas would provide than any short term gain in support from black voters. Bush and his party were

more concerned about maintaining support among white conservative Democrats, especially white males, than minor increases in support among blacks or being committed to the consolidation of the conservative black political elite.

Clarence Thomas as the symbol of black conservatism was developed over a comparatively short period of time, and in the end, refined as a media and public relations artifact to propel him through the Senate confirmation process. He did not represent any fundamental shift in the political orientation of the black community or the existence of an organized, independent and ideologically consistent conservative black political elite with a continuing role in American national politics. The general black community mostly attached itself to the symbol of Clarence Thomas, responding to themes which focused on his rise from poverty and the chance for a black man to hold a very high position in the federal government, and never became familiar with or accepted his conservative political ideology.

Conservative black elites responded very differently to the Civil Rights Bill of 1991, either supporting it or taking no organized public position. The legislation, like the Thomas nomination, involved issues concerning the proper role of the federal government in management labor relations, affirmative action, and the rights of women and minorities. It accomplished five basic things. It reversed six Supreme Court decisions that made it more difficult for plaintiffs to win "disparate impact"

suits alleging job discrimination; made it possible for women, religious minorities and the disabled to sue and win compensatory and punitive damages for intentional discrimination; set limits on future punitive and compensatory damages and allowed juries to decide the damages; required that employers' hiring and promotion methods must be job related and consistent with business necessity; prohibited adjustments of test results earned by racial or other groups; and required plaintiffs in cases to specify the hiring and promotion method they consider to have a "disparate impact" on the work force.¹² The Act was a compromise and clearly government's attempt to address social and economic problems. J.A. Parker, representing the sentiment of many conservative black political elites, indicated that "The government solution is not right for blacks. It was the government that put blacks into slavery."¹³ Why then was there no organized attempt by conservative black political elites to defeat the Civil Rights bill? Opposition to the Civil Rights bill could not easily be reduced to a symbol; it involved issues familiar to most black Americans, and the dominant conservative white political elite was not unified in its opposition to the legislation. Because of these factors, there was every indication that conservative political elites would lose if they attempted to help defeat the legislation. Indeed, many of them joined with traditional black liberal elites in supporting legislation which provided for significant government involvement in the social and economic

affairs of the nation. This was a strategic response and an indication that no defined group of conservative black political elites exists, rather there are loosely connected individuals with strategic associations with conservative white dominated institutions who are seeking to replace liberal blacks as diplomats representing the interest of blacks in the American political system.

Black conservative political elites, as a group, lack legitimacy

The Thomas nomination became the key national issue about which black conservative elites could differ with black liberal elites

and do not have an organizational base in the community they claim to represent. Because of this, they are doomed to a short existence and to being directed and sponsored by more dominant white conservative political elites. Although most black conservative political elites argue that race is declining in

significance as a political issue, their existence as national political elites is due almost entirely to their positions on issues related to race in American politics. In these ways, they have assumed characteristics much like the ones they find most objectionable about black political elites.

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Notes

1. See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford Press, 1956) and Thomas R. Dye, *Who's Running America: The Conservative Years* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986).
2. Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," *American Political Science Review*, 52 (June 1958): 466.
3. Perry Lang, "Black Conservatives in the Spotlight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1991, 1.
4. Juan Williams, "Thomas and the Isolation of the Liberal Establishment," *Washington Post*, Sept. 15, 1991, C1, C2, C3.
5. "The Maturing of the Black Community," *In the News*, vol. 7, a publication of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprises, Summer 1991, p. 2.
6. William Raspberry, "Origins of Black Conservatism," *Washington Post*, Sept. 9, 1991, A15.
7. See Clarence Thomas' "Why Black Americans Should Look to Conservative Policies," A speech before the Heritage Foundation, June 18, 1987, for a philosophical defense of his conservative positions.
8. See the Congressional Black Caucus' Statement in Opposition to the [Confirmation] of Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, July 18, 1991 and a press statement by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, July 1991, expressing similar opposition.
9. Alliance for Justice Preliminary Report on the Nomination of Clarence Thomas, July 1, 1991.
10. "The Maturing of the Black Community," p.2.
11. Joseph P. McCormick II, "Playing the Race Card: Symbolic Politics at its Worst," an unpublished manuscript, Fall 1991, p. 3.
12. Helen Dewar, "President Endorses Rights Compromise," *Washington Post*, October 26, 1991, A7.
13. "The Maturing of the Black Community," p. 21.

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set of policy issues, participate—as an organized force—in the major Committees of the Democratic party and in the Convention as delegates in substantial numbers. Now, the politics of most voters in the Black community and white progressives are back to the period before 1984. This essentially was a politics which sought indirect or "dependent-leverage", as I have called it, through one of the existing candidates.

The objectives of Black leaders utilizing the politics of dependent-leverage were defined by two distinct activities. First, some professional politicians committed themselves to support one of the candidates early in the primary election process, seeking personal access in the event that candidate won the Democratic nomination and the general election. Secondly, leaders of the main body of Blacks, however, sought to fashion an agenda of issues, usually through Black conventions, and to determine which of the Democratic presidential candidates would support most of their concerns. The eventual consensus then formed around that candidate.

Previous to the 1984 presidential election, since the field of candidates in the democratic party held roughly similar liberal views, the choice of candidate in the primary was not as critical, and the attempt to influence the political agenda of the party was directed toward the platform and eventually the nominee's issue priorities in the general election campaign. In 1992, however, the issue positions of the candidates are more

diverse and at this writing the leading candidate is Bill Clinton, the most conservative of the lot. This presents a unique dilemma for Black political leaders and voters both in the primaries and in the general election.

The dilemma is two fold: first, there is the strategic dilemma of whether or not to commit to support one candidate or to withhold support in an attempt to influence the issue positions of the front runner. For those who want to commit to a candidate, although Clinton is the best positioned, there would appear to be some choice at the moment between Clinton and Tom Harkin, the liberal Senator from Iowa. It should be clear that premature commitments (before the issue agenda of the candidate has been fully tested in the public arena) by some prominent Black leaders to support one candidate or another have always been perceived by other more progressive Blacks to weaken their ability to have the requisite bargaining leverage upon the candidates which could lead to an exchange of Black votes for commitment to the issue agenda of the Black community.

Second, Wilder's withdrawal constitutes a "two-headed sword": with him out, the Democratic Party leadership will have a greater opportunity to achieve Chairman Ron Brown's stated objective of having a consensus candidate earlier in the race. However, the other side of the coin is the prospect that Blacks will not turn out to vote in the primary elections as vigorously as they have in the past with Rev. Jackson running. With no Black candidate in the race this might

enhance Clinton's success in the Southern primaries. Black turnout in the Northeast ran 30-40% in the primaries and roughly half of that level in the South in 1988, and if it is still lower in 1992, a possible Clinton victory might create the illusion that he is stronger in the South than he actually would be in a two-party contest in the general election.

The Democratic party, there-

Between 1984 and 1988, Black turnout in the general election declined by over four percent

fore, will need to find ways to invigorate the Black vote in the primaries if the candidates are not able to do so. In most elections, once the party nominee has been chosen at the convention, in order to attract Blacks, the party and the nominee's campaign played a role in developing outreach projects for Black voters. Because of the possibility of a disastrous turnout this year, these measures will have to be employed early. The Jackson campaign not only sought to attract voters, but it registered a significant number of new voters, many of whom voted in the general election when he was no longer a candidate.

With both Jackson and Wilder

out of the race, many Black voters may stay at home during the primary elections, and this may threaten their turnout rate in the general election as well. Between 1984 and 1988, Black turnout in the general election declined by over four percent, from 55.8 percent to 51.5 percent. The continuation of this trend would threaten to significantly decrease the Democratic vote, as Blacks comprise at least 25% of the voting base of the party, making it extremely difficult for a Democratic nominee to win. This fact should prompt concern—that is, if the party leaders still want the Black vote as a part of their electoral coalition.

The worst case scenario for Blacks and for the Democratic party is the temptation for the party leaders to pursue a strategy dictated by the logic of the conventional wisdom: that Blacks have become a liability to the Democratic party, and that the party leaders will lose no sleep over a low Black turnout in the primaries, if someone like Bill Clinton can win back a significant number of Southern white Democrats and keep them in the general election. The basis of this logic is that the absence of Black votes in the general election could be tolerated as long as they are replaced by white votes.

It would appear that Blacks are back to the pre-1984 position of having to consider what strategy is powerful enough to make the party or parties pay attention to their interests—without a Black candidacy to organize those interests. In 1984, this concern led to the Black presidential candidacy. What will it lead to in 1992?

Public Administration & Public Policy News

Picturing Policy Analysis

By Norman Beckman

Among the several hallmarks of the complete Political Science major, scholar, or public manager is concern for information sources and facts and the related skill of marketing and selling ideas, proposals, and points of view. These skills are necessary in order to gain understanding and acceptance for recommendations as they move toward implementation. The policy analyst is also responsible for packaging ideas that appeal to the various interests of different groups — both internally and externally-affected by proposed public policy changes. In most cases, given our very appropriate academic orientation at Howard University, and the larger bureaucratic environment outside, the vehicle for selling an idea is the written word, or even more commonly, for any significant policy initiative, the written report.

Clear and unprejudiced graphics are powerful tools for understanding complex quantitative information. The goal is to display complicated data effectively. This visual use of information is, as we now like to say, not only interdisciplinary but global in nature. Statistical

graphics can contribute to communicating issues, concepts, and ideas through the use of words, pictures, numbers, color, and texture. All of the courses in the Political Science Department make use of this invaluable method of envisioning information. Especially useful courses are the "Introduction to Research and Political Science" and the graduate course in "Methods of Political Science" currently given by Dr. Richard Seltzer, the "Introduction to Political Economy" offered by Dr. Hilbourne Watson, and the graduate course in "General Research Methods in Public Administration" given by Dr. Frank Scioli.

Once students leave the groves of academe, they frequently, as public managers, prepare or supervise the compilation of policy information reports and then delegate to statisticians and graphics artists the presentation of complex statistical information. These graphs, charts, tables, illustrations, etc., if understood, can often tell the story best. With a little study, creativity, and effort, both students and public policy as well as statistical specialists can contribute to any given report's graphics — each containing the potential of saving 10,000 words.

A recent book on this subject, Edward Tufte's *Envisioning Information*, presents some useful quotations and illustrations of

what is involved and how to do it:

We thrive in information-thick worlds because of our marvelous and everyday capacities to select, edit, single out, structure, highlight, group, pair, merge, harmonize, synthesize, focus, organize, condense, reduce, boil down, choose, categorize, catalog, classify, refine, abstract, scan, look into, idealize, isolate, discriminate, distinguish, screen, sort, pick over, group, pigeonhole, integrate, blend, average, filter, lump, skip, smooth, chunk, inspect, approximate, cluster, aggregate, outline, summarize, itemize, review, dip into, flip through, browse, glance into, leaf through, skim, list, glean, synopsisize, winnow wheat from chaff, and separate the sheep from the goats.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. achieves its visual and emotional strength by means of micro/macro design. From a distance the entire collection of names of 58,000 dead soldiers arrayed on the black granite yields a visual measure of what 58,000 means, as the letters of each name blur into a gray shape, culminating to the final roll. When a viewer approaches, these shapes resolve into individual names...

Showing complexity is hard work ... to produce, imposing substantial costs for data collection illustration, custom computing, image processing, production, and fine printing — expenses similar to that of first-class cartography (which in the main, can be financed only by governments) ... Still, a single high-density page can replace twenty scattered posterizations,

with a possible savings when total expense are assessed (data collection and analysis, design, paper, production, printing, binding, warehousing, and shipping). And our readers might keep that one really informative piece of paper...

This is all good advice on how to present information. Try to apply it in the preparation of your next assigned research report. Make it a habit and a basic tool in your kit of research methods. Don't be afraid of high-information graphics that have the potential for communicating a spirit of quantitative depth and integrity. Weak, indecisively graphic designs encourage suspicion, and properly so, about the quality of the statistics and analysis. Good information consists of differences that make a difference. Make a difference.

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An Exclusive Interview With Constance Berry Newman Director, United States Office of Personnel Management

By Michael Frazier

On June 12, 1991 Constance Berry Newman, an African-American female and the highest ranking personnel officer in the federal government, was sworn in as Director of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM). During her career, Ms. Newman worked in 12 federal government agencies with four Presidential appointments, three of which were confirmed by the Senate. She began her career as a GS-3 clerk-typist and moved through the ranks until 1969 when she became a political appointee. For more than 20 years she managed both federal government and private organizations. Among her major management positions were: Assistant Secretary of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Director of VISTA, President of Newman & Hermanson Company, Commissioner and Vice Chair of the Consumer Product Safety Commission and a consultant for the Government of Lesotho's Ministry of Interior regarding the establishment of a housing corporation to receive World Bank funding.

Ms. Newman has been a Woodrow Wilson Visiting Fellow from 1977 to 1985 and a member of the Adjunct Faculty at the Kennedy School, Harvard University from 1979 to 1982. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Bates College and Doctor of Law degree from the University of Minnesota Law School. She received Honorary Doctor of Law degrees from her

alma mater and Amherst College. Ms. Newman is a life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and she has served on numerous civic boards and committees.

G&P: Ms. Newman, how did you go from a GS-3 to the Director of OPM?

Newman: The first thing people need to understand, and especially young people is that back in the late 1950s and early 1960s times were different for African-Americans. I did start as a GS-3 clerk-typist, but I had a college and a law degree at that time. I didn't get my education *after* I began working for the federal government. I had those credentials walking in the door, but that was the only job I could get at the time.

What I would like young people to know is that times have changed, but still in order to succeed you have to hang in there and there is no short cut to the top. You have to come to work early and stay late, and most important, do your homework. My credentials helped. Eventually, the fact that I had the B.A. and J.D. degrees did make a difference. Nevertheless, at the time I began my career in public service, I had applied at eight different agencies and a number of other places. I don't expect

young African-Americans to start out that way today, but they do need to know that they cannot expect to come in and go right to the top without paying some dues.

G&P: In your long and distinguished career, what are some of the accomplishments you are most proud of?

Newman: I think having been able to move into a variety of public positions in the political arena and yet not giving up my major commitment to African-Americans. I often say to people, "you don't have to give away your principles in order to be successful but you do have to be competent." You do have to be a hard worker and you must have integrity. If you have these qualities then one can be successful in almost any political environment. So in general I'm most proud of proving that point.

More specific examples of my accomplishments in public service would include the following: When I headed Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA), I was in a position to save the program which was under a great deal of attack by the Nixon Administration; when I was at the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), I organized a system where members of the public had greater access to the policies and some influence in the Department and much of that system is still in place today at HUD; at OPM, I have been able to bring about a greater sensitivity within the Executive Branch of government about "diversity" in the work-

force by example. You see, rhetoric doesn't count that much because people have to see that the picture has changed. At OPM for example, for the first time in the history of the agency there is a regional director who is an African-American. Today, at OPM there are Hispanics, Asians and African-Americans in significant leadership positions and it is important that I do

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have to give away
your principles
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competent.**

that before I go out preaching about diversity to everyone.

Another example of an accomplishment that I feel very proud of is that we were able to get "pay reform" legislation passed in the last session of Congress. Pay reform is important because, independent of the variable of race, we cannot expect young people coming out of colleges and universities to select public service if we cannot give them a sufficient salary to pay back their student loans, buy food and housing. Therefore, it was key to get the legislation through and I am proud of that. Nevertheless, what I feel the best about is that I succeeded in public ser-

vice and life without selling my soul.

G&P: In January 1991, you gave a talk to the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) presidents in Atlanta. In that presentation you said, "It is important that the Federal Government hire more African-American graduates and it is equally crucial that Black graduates start applying for career opportunities in the public sector." Will you please comment on the notion that the federal government has a "glass ceiling" for minorities, particularly at the Senior Executive Service (SES) level.

Newman: There is no ceiling, but the percentage of minorities and women in the SES is not high. There are very subtle reasons why the numbers are not increasing and we are trying to find out what they are and fix them. It is nothing overt, but over the years the people in the pipeline have been white males. As a result, if you have a merit system, which we do have, then you have to promote from the pipeline. So until the pipeline changes or unless you do something which is unorthodox you are not going to change the composition of the top level. Therefore, you do something unorthodox, which is what we are trying to do. We are trying to figure out what are some of the things we can do that will not violate merit principles, which are in the best interest of everybody, while at the same time will impact the composition of the workforce at all levels. One of the ways the Bush Administration is trying to



At a Pennsylvania field office, Ms. Newman briefs employees about policy development at The Office of Personnel Management, 1990.

change the demographics of the workforce at the SES level is by increasing the number of political appointees. Regardless of political affiliation, the Bush Administration has the highest percentage of minority political appointees in non-career senior executive service—about 12 percent compared to approximately 7 percent in the career service.

What I am saying is we are trying to take care of some of the necessary demographic changes by putting minorities and women in non-career SES positions. However, that is not going to be enough because non-career employees will be gone whenever there is a change of Administration.

We have got to figure out ways to break those barriers in the career system. One way to break the barriers is by changing the composition of the selection panels. I believe a lot of times selections are made based on the fact that people will select for top positions those that are similar to themselves. Often these decisions do not have anything

to do with overt discrimination, but rather if you know someone that went to the same university as a member of the selection panel, then the leaning will be toward that person, even if other factors are equal. Therefore, rather than calling people dirty names we need women and minorities sitting on those selection panels, arguing for the people they are comfortable with. If there is no one in the room that understands the HBCUs and everyone is from Harvard or Yale and a HBCU candidate is recommended, they might receive a subtle discount by the selection panel. But, if someone there is from a HBCU and says this person is just as outstanding as the person from Harvard or Yale, and points out what that person has done with their education, it could make a difference. However, if no minority or woman is in that room, then those arguments are not made. So the first thing we need to do is deal with the selection panels.

The second thing is **minorities and women are going to have to**

do something for themselves. In order to get to the top you have to take some risks. There is no way you get to the top without taking some risk. Generally speaking, there are jobs to do that nobody *wants* to do but they have to be done. Often these jobs are high risk because if you fail, you are labeled a failure. But if you win, you win big. Take VISTA, for example. There were people in the Nixon Administration who decided they were going to kill VISTA. They had no money in the federal budget for the program in the next fiscal year. I decided I don't think we are going to do this. I was taking a risk because, if I had failed and I was in charge of that program, I would have been labeled as not being any good or a part of the system that killed the program. Now when people come to see me, they say, "You saved VISTA." What I am suggesting is that being the head of VISTA at that time was risky. In fact, Secretary Elliot Richardson at the old Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) did not want me to leave to take the post at VISTA. I left anyway because VISTA represented both an opportunity and a risk, and because of my success at VISTA, other opportunities followed. Most people have opportunities to take on a task that no one else wants to do.

When I'm hiring or trying to promote people, I look for someone who is flexible in their thinking and actions. I look for people that can manage change, have integrity, are analytical, creative and willing to take a risk. I know if I am the only one taking risks then not much is

going to happen because the place is too big and I do not know all the areas where change can take place.

I also took a risk on pay reform by announcing publicly several months before the legislation was passed that the Congress would approve pay reform. I would have looked like a fool if Congress had adjourned without any action on pay reform. I took a risk because there is a value in talking positively about why we are going to win.

G&P: What is the essence of the "Pay Reform" legislation?

Newman: Prior to the change in legislation, the federal government had a monolithic pay system. All GS levels received the same salary irrespective of geographical location. As a result, the federal government employees living in Montgomery, Alabama received the same salary as those living in New York City, Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, or Washington, D.C. Therefore the federal government has many positions vacant. No other major employer in the U.S. pays like this. To add to this situation we have a budget crisis and have been wasting money by overpaying in some regions.

So we shifted in a way that by 1994 pay rates will be based upon regional locality. We will divide the country up into basic wage areas, survey the positions in those areas and over a period of time pay salaries comparable to the wages in those areas. This will allow the federal government to be able to compete with the private sector, while at the same time to spend our limited



Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and OPM Director, Constance Berry Newman are all smiles as they commemorate the life and legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.

dollars wisely.

Every effective employer has special tools in order to recruit the best and the brightest. Every employer has a right to pay for recruitment, retention and relocation bonuses but the federal government didn't have that authority. We could pay only about 10 percent if we had an outstanding college graduate because we could only hire at the entry level. Today, however, we can hire above the entry level. Managers can control a certain amount of their budget in a way that allows them to recruit and retain the best employees. Each manager can decide what is the best way to spend the agency's money to obtain the kind of people necessary to get the job accomplished. In summary, pay reform focuses on a locality based pay system which has flexibility in order to compete with private industry.

G&P: How important is diversity training for the WORK-FORCE 2000?

Newman: A lot of diversity training is junk. What I think has to happen is people have to learn to manage other people; they need to learn how to respect the abilities of other people. Managers need to be able to "give up turf" to allow people to use their ability to get the job done. If we teach managers that each person has something to offer and it is management's job to pull that out irrespective of their race, then we have taught them what they need to know about diversity.

I am a little concerned about these courses where they bring in a Black gospel choir to sing and suggest this is what African-American people are all about. And some courses have tacos and infer Hispanic people all like this kind of food. I am exaggerating, but I think if you concentrate too much on the differences, you lose sight of the similarities in most people which is they basically want to make a contribution. They want to be recognized for what they have to offer independent of race, creed

or color.

I'm invited to speak at a lot of diversity conferences and I say we do need a diverse workforce, but we are going to have a diverse workforce whether we want to or not given the demographics. Therefore, we are wasting time talking about how nice it will be. What we need to be doing is trying to figure out how to get the best diverse workforce. How to get managers and supervisors to do the best job of supervising their workforce. A lot of managers don't manage anybody well, regardless of race.

I don't go out bashing diversity training per se but I am a little cynical about it. I think we need to train people to respect the competence of the people that they hire, and hopefully they hired the best and if you take care of that you will manage a diverse workforce.

G&P: It seems that somewhere along the line of personnel training, the focus has shifted from sensitivity to diversity. What we hear you saying, Ms. Newman, is, don't just focus on the differences but learn how to supervise, motivate and manage everyone in the workforce.

Newman: The way I think you beat the problem of people not understanding how to deal with a diverse workforce is that you force people into environments where they *have* to deal with diversity. I have heads of departments who are African-Americans or Hispanics, and if you are going to get your job done, you are going to have to deal with them. Therefore, you

create the environment to produce the desired change which can only be done if the workforce is diverse and you make it comfortable for everyone. Have the female or minority person in charge lead a discussion on how the laws are changing that impact your pension. Everyone in the workforce concerned with retirement is interested in the laws that affect their pensions.

In many environments if women and minorities just do their homework, they can wear down with competency the opposition. When I walk into a room, I don't care about attitudes. I have read my material, I am prepared and I have some information that most of the people in the room will want to know.

A story which helps illustrate this point is when I was a Special Assistant to Elliot Richardson at HEW a guy from California came over to me in a staff meeting and said, "I will have a cup of coffee." I said, fine, how do you like it? He said "cream and sugar." I gave it to him. I knew

that one day he would have to come by me. At HEW at that time there was a system which required that all materials going to the Secretary had to be reviewed first by someone on his personal staff. This guy had written a big briefing paper and he wanted the Secretary to see it, but someone told him that Constance Newman had to first sign off on the paper. Thus, when he came into my office I said to him, "I believe it's cream and sugar." That man never made eye contact with me during the remainder of his visit. But I bet he never asked another woman in life to get him a cup of coffee. Now if I had acted like some people and talked loud and said, "I ain't going to get you no coffee," the lesson would have been lost. Unfortunately, many people waste a lot of time and energy in fighting battles they don't have to fight instead of using that energy studying or doing something positive in their lives. After all, "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness."

That is not to say one should



OPM Director, Connie Newman (center left) poses with HHS Secretary, Louis Sullivan, Senator John Glen, Congresswoman Connie Morella and NASA astronauts.

not try to right the wrongs or deal with injustices, but don't spend too much time wallowing in it. Sometimes it is important to confront the problem, but because one raises an issue does not mean that you are always right. Some people think that the world owes them something and even if that's true, it's not going to pay up so you might as well move on.

**If you
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The Editors of the Department of Political Science Newsletter, Government & Politics thanked Ms. Newman for her candor during the interview. She has accepted an invitation to visit Howard University to speak to the faculty and students about "Careers in Public Service."

The interview was conducted by Dr. Michael Frazier, Assistant Professor and Editor, Government & Politics and Dr. Joseph McCormick, 2nd, Associate Professor and Director of the Masters of Arts in Public Administration Program (MAPA), Department of Political Science, Howard University.

Public Affairs Program Encourages Careers in Government Service

A program recently established in the Academic Affairs Division encourages careers in government and public service for Howard University students.

Honoring one of the University's most illustrious graduates, the Patricia Roberts Harris Public Affairs Program selects and places students as interns in government offices and in the offices of private voluntary organizations.

Directed by former Ambassador Horace G. Dawson Jr., the program is housed on the second floor of the C.B. Powell Building and is open to undergraduate, graduate, and professional school students in all disciplines.

A Harris Intern, Oral Pottinger, is spending the present semester (Fall, 1991) in the Executive Office of the President of the United States. He is one of 12 such interns chosen in nationwide competition. Pottinger is a junior majoring in political science.

Other Patricia Roberts Harris Interns have served in such government agencies as the Department of Health and Human Services, the U.S. Product Safety Commission, the Department of Justice, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Endowment for the Arts. Others have served in comparable agencies of D.C. government, one on the staff



Patricia Robert Harris, 1924 -1985

of Governor Douglas Wilder of Virginia, and others in such private agencies as the Save the Children Fund.

A special feature of the Patricia Roberts Harris Program is its identification of students for short-term internships abroad with U.S. government and private agencies. One grant has been received for this purpose.

In cooperation with the Department of Political Science, the Harris Program is sponsoring participation by Howard University students in the prestigious Presidential Management Internships Program of the federal government. It identifies similar internships and employment opportunities throughout federal, state, and local government for students and encourages as well as assists in applications.

In addition, the Harris Program sponsors an annual lecture and conducts a visiting fellows program at Howard. Public figures featured thus far include the Honorable Eleanor Holmes Norton and Dr. Condoleezza Rice, formerly Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

What It Means To Be A Presidential Management Intern

By Gladys G. Lewellen

*"The Presidential Management Intern Program offers many challenging and rewarding opportunities for a career in federal service. The demographics of federal service have been changing for some time now to include more highly-educated, qualified individuals. Therefore, careers in federal service should no longer be perceived as operating in the "dark ages." PMIs will be given the exposure to a system of complex and competing priorities in an ever-changing environment."*¹

With the above idea in mind I was recruited by Dr. Maurice Woodard, Professor of Political Science at Howard University. Considering the fact that Howard University had not nominated a PMI in some time and given my background and credentials, Dr. Woodard felt that this particular program would offer an excellent developmental opportunity upon completion of my M.P.A. However, even after my selection as a finalist for the PMI Class of 1990, I was still unsure whether or not a position in federal service would fit my career goals, work style and expectations. This particular intern program did, however, offer the latitude to choose the position that best suited these three elements as well as any special needs. In the final analysis the

PMI experience could be and should be whatever I decided to make it.

In order to arrive at a good "match" between myself and a position, I considered the following: Where do I want to work and live and why? What type of work do I perform best in and/or enjoy doing the most? Is there anything I want to learn how to do? What are my work habits, styles, and motivators?

In order to select my career path in federal service I consid-

The PMI experience could be whatever I decided to make it

ered the following information. At first, I was an electrical engineering major in undergraduate school. I chose this field because I scored in the top 10 percent of black students the year I took the PSAT. Consequently, my high school counselor encouraged me to major in some field of mathematics and science in order to maximize my analytical capabilities. Unfortunately, I took her advice. It took almost two years for me to realize that I was obviously pursuing the wrong field. It was not until I began working as the receptionist/clerk-typist in the Office of Personnel Services at Arkansas State University that I realized that I am a "people" person. I thoroughly enjoyed conducting preliminary reviews

and interviews for applications and, in essence, helping people to look at the big picture when making employment decisions. I eventually changed my major to business and personnel management. Business management has, in fact, moved from being considered an "art" to a "science" and I was therefore able to maximize my analytical/mathematical capabilities in this field as well.

I selected Howard University for graduate studies for three primary reasons. I had grown up in a predominately white town, less than 5% black at that time, and also attended a predominately white undergraduate institution. I really felt the need for exposure to my heritage and culture. In addition, Howard University's School of Business and Public Administration offered the possibility of completing two Master's Degrees in a three to four year time frame. Both curriculums also afforded my continuing in personnel management/human resources development. Finally, my family in the Washington, D.C. area presented the necessary support system for me, a divorced mother (single-parent) of two beautiful sons—Cameron age 12 and Preston age 8. It could have been emotional, mental, and financial suicide to move to an area where I knew absolutely no one. I completed both the M.P.A. and M.B.A. at Howard University in 1990. The focus of the majority of my research while in graduate school centered around strategic planning and human resources development.

Given the above, I focused on

cont'd on pg. 26

The Presidential Management Intern Program: Meeting the Need for Managerial Excellence



Embark on a Career Where You'll Make a Difference.

The Presidential Management Intern (PMI) Program is an exciting program that attracts to the Federal service outstanding men and women from a variety of academic disciplines who have a clear interest in, and commitment to, a career in the analysis and management of public policies and programs. These individuals must be nominated by their graduate school dean, director or chairperson.

Recent OPM statistics on the PMI Program show a 63% retention rate for the first ten classes of PMIs. In addition, OPM data shows that almost 69% of the eligible PMI graduates are in the GS/GM 13 through 15 levels. The total minority percentage of PMI participants is 14.6%. Since 1984, women have constituted over 54% of the total PMI population.

The PMI Program is the first step toward leadership in the federal government. The program offers challenging and rewarding public sector experiences, rotational assignments, foreign affairs briefings and networking opportunities.

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The starting salary for PMIs is \$26,798 per year (GS-9), and includes eligibility for all Federal government benefits. After successful completion of the first year, PMIs are eligible for promotion to a salary level of \$32,923 (GS-11). Upon completion of the two-year internship, PMIs are eligible for non-competitive conversion to career or career-conditional status and are eligible for promotion to GS-12 (\$38,861).

For more information on the PMI Program, call (202) 606-2700 or 1-900-990-9200.



Gladys G. Lewellen, PM Intern and James Brown, Regional Personnel Manager, Region U1 Regional Personnel Office, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, discuss a recent report.

career opportunities offered to PMI's in personnel management. I will admit that my job experience combined with the two Masters degrees proved to be both an advantage as well as a disadvantage. I believe that I received recruitment information from just about every federal agency in existence. This abundance of information only added to my difficult decision. However, I also received offers for several different positions. The majority of PMI's only receive one to two job offers. I finally narrowed my decision to positions offered to me in four agencies: Health and Human Services (HHS), Internal Revenue Service (IRS), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and Office of Personnel Management (OPM).

In the final analysis, the Regional Personnel Office of HHS in Dallas, Texas offered the *most* as well as the *best* combination of all the factors I had chosen to consider. In addition, James Brown, Regional Personnel Manager, Region VI Personnel Office, Department of Health and Hu-

man Services, presented the type of supervisory and management style conducive to a comfortable work relationship and environment. As Mr. Brown has pointed out on a number of occasions:

"Any minority should seek employment in the government via this program or any program *only* if they are genuinely interested in federal service. Success comes with proven performance. I would like to recommend; however, that Historically Black Colleges and Universities explore additional avenues for getting the word to the students about the PMI Program. The entry level salary is only GS-9 (\$26,798), and successful completion of the program provides promotion potential to GS-12 (\$38,861). Advancement to higher level positions is accomplished through the competitive process."

I completed the first year of my two year intern program on September 9, 1990 and was promoted from GS-9 to GS-11. My Individual Development Plan (IDP) and my Individual Learning Agreement (ILA) are current-

ly under revision for year two of my program. The function of the IDP is to assure development of the *technical expertise* necessary for the type of work selected by a PMI. The function of the ILA is to assure development of the necessary *management competencies* for a future federal executive. The two plans combined should nurture the *knowledge, skills, and abilities* necessary for a successful career in federal service. Please note that the rotational assignments of my IDP have presented excellent networking opportunities as well.

"The government is becoming more and more recognized as the primary change agent in society through its commitment to recognize the qualities and aspirations of all people, not just minorities. This commitment also compels the government to remain superior in all areas."²

In retrospect, the million dollar question is: Did I make the right decision? My answer is a resounding YES! The PMI program offers numerous personal and professional challenges and opportunities that facilitate the development of any career. The experience I have gained is marketable and transferable into the private sector. My best example is the fact that PMI experience has resulted in my being trained as a Quality Improvement Team Facilitator for this agency's Total Quality Management initiatives. The last time I checked, the retention of former PMI's in federal service is only about 60%. Mr. Brown has diligently worked with me to make sure that my PMI experience in the region parallels the Washington, D.C.-PMI experience as much and as

often as possible. A major drawback to my final choice is the fact that I am the first PMI in the ASPER organizational structure to choose a regional office as my home base. In essence, I am an experiment or "guinea pig" so to speak. Consequently, protecting the integrity of the PMI program has been a struggle.

In my opinion, there is no better way to begin a career in public-sector management than as a Presidential Management Intern. In fact, the PMI Program is one of the better avenues to market careers in federal service, as well as to enable the government to compete for the best qualified individuals in the future.

"The PMI Program should be recognized as a 'Peerless' program for getting off to a fair (equitable) start. Minorities might even consider it a 'jump start' for a career in federal service."³

If I were to offer advice to others considering the program, I would suggest first, and foremost, careful thought about any job decision. Also, make sure that you have considered all *personal* and *professional* factors that could impact the decision. Finally, repeat steps one and two.

Gladys G. Lewellen is a 1990 graduate of the Masters of Public Administration Program in the Department of Political Science, Howard University.

Endnotes

1. James Brown, Regional Personnel Manager, Region VI Regional Personnel Office, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).
2. Eugene Kinlow, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration (ASPER, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services).
3. Ibid.

The Master of Arts in Public Administration (MAPA) Program at Howard University

The Department of Political Science offers a Master of Arts in Public Administration (MAPA). The MAPA degree, unlike the "regular" Masters degree in political science, is a forty-eight (48) degree program. Its curriculum consists of

- a thirty (30) credit common core (ten three credit courses)
- a twelve (12) credit concentration (four three credit courses), and a required six (6) credit internship.*
- Three areas of concentration are available under the MAPA program: (a) public administration/public policy; (b) international development; and (c) a self-designed concentration which consists of at least four graduate level courses (generally taken from outside of the Department of Political Science) selected by the MAPA student in conjunction with the MAPA program director.

Requirements: Hold a B.A. or B.S. degree from an accredited college or university. A minimum grade point average of 3.0 (on a four point scale) in both the major area of study as well as overall is required. Applicants with academic averages below 3.0 can be admitted provisionally, though such admissions decisions will be made on a case-by-case basis. Applicants need not have an undergraduate major in political science or public administration, but should have: a minimum of nine (9) hours in either political science or public administration courses and a minimum of nine (9) hours in economics. At least one course in statistics is also recommended.

*Applicants who have had extensive work experience in either positions of administrative or managerial responsibility can substitute two (2) graduate level courses in place of the internship. Such a substitution decision is made by the director of the MAPA program.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



Yugoslav Crisis: Implications for Balkan Security

Nikolaos A. Stavrou

For all intents and purposes the Yugoslav Federation, a product of War I, ceased to exist. Its demise was neither inevitable nor unpredictable. In fact, multiple forces have been hard at work for almost a decade to bring about the disintegration of a state that was from its inception an ethnic mosaic. Croat fascist who from 1941 to 1945 ruled their land under the tutelage of Hitler have been preparing the ground for their return. Most of them, jumped on the bandwagon of anti-communism in the mid forties and landed in the havens of U.S., Canada, South Africa and Australia, waiting for the time to even the scores. Now that the communist system is in shambles they resurfaced as fanatic "democrats" and did what smart people do to change their image and substitute myths for truth: they hired a public relations firm, assumed the role of "victim" and joined the forces of democracy. All along, Croat leaders with support from their spiritual godfathers and successors of the Third Reich, the Germans, (the original inventors of the Big lie) got busy chaperon-

ing western journalists to "witness" staged events in order to prove a dubious point: i.e. the Serbs, who lost approximately two million people at the hands of Hitler and the Croat Ustasis in World War II are "really reactionary" and bent on "dominating" Yugoslavia's ethnic groups.

The leaders of a unified Germany picked up matters where Hitler left them off. Before the world had a chance to examine what was at stake in Yugoslavia, they proceeded to recognize Croatia and Slovenia, pretty much as Hitler did in 1941. Hitler created a Croat puppet state and declared the Slovenes to be "members of the Aryan race." Jean Kirpatrick, the resident scholar of the American Enterprise Institute, who never saw a right-wing dictatorship that she did not like, tells us that Germany has special interests which dictated the recognition of Croatia. Most Germans, she tells us "spend their vacations" in the Adriatic coast. This is indeed progress for some of the Southern Slavs, the Croats. Hitler promised to reduce the other Slavs to the status of serfs of the Third Reich; Helmut Kohl improved upon the original plan: he would make them waiters and maids to tend to the needs of the vacationing German elites.

On the other shores of the Adriatic, the Pope also got busy

with the task of dismantling Yugoslavia. Here was an opportunity for the Vatican to pick up where Pius the XI had left off: i.e. to re-Christianize the Eastern Christians and if not successful, to assist in caricaturing their religion and their culture as was done **religiously** since the 11th century. These forces, determined and well financed, caused a human tragedy in the Balkans in the name of democracy—a system that history shows they never believe in.

Misconceptions, misrepresentations, distorted news and official analyses and a-historical entrepreneurship have pre-empted most claims to dispassionate examination of the causes that have all but terminated the sovereign existence of Yugoslavia. A direct consequence of political and intellectual improvisations, has been the erosion beyond recognition of concepts that traditionally defined democracy and pluralism, which for a while seemed to be the driving force behind the collapse totalitarianism. Let me refer, albeit briefly, to several such concepts that are at the risk of being expropriated by people who until recently mocked them. Among them are: history and culture, domination and its meaning and self-determination and its dimensions.

Yugoslavia presents a paradox in a Europe with a dual personality. While its Western part

inches towards socio political integration, economic interdependence, a common currency and supranational laws, its Southern and Eastern Orthodox components are undergoing internal turmoil coupled with unmistakably external and generally speaking negative redefinition of their culture, history and heritage. One has to ask if all this is a by-product of a collapsing regional system or a reversion to the pre-World War I historical patterns. It appears that in the wake of the demise of the Soviet Empire, an East-West division is emerging that is neither new nor free of stereotypes. The Eastern Orthodox culture is once again defined via classic misconceptions of its value. In this new division whose most regressive manifestations occur in Yugoslavia (though one cannot exclude its repetition in the Ukraine), the concept of democracy has become hostage to ethnic aggregates in their pursuit of sovereign status. Led by authoritarian personalities, these aggregates seem to ignore the linkage between national self-determination and individual rights. Are we now seeing a redefinition of Democracy in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe? Apparently, yes. From the time of Montesquieu, Locke and Rousseau, democracy was viewed as a system which had the defense of the individual as its keystone and the supremacy of law as its anchor. What guarantees do people have in the new entities, like Croatia and Ukraine, whose leaders see ethnic purity as their primary objective? It is a question raised,

not answered by the Yugoslav model. For over two years the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia enacted laws and adopted new constitutions whose distinguishing quality is their aspiration to form de facto monoethnic states. Falling within the cracks in that country are over five million citizens who took seriously the Slovene theoretician Edvard Kardelj, who as a committed Stalinist admonished them to traded regional identity for Yugoslavism. Where is their place in the post-Federation era? Are they supposed to crisscross the country until they regain their pre-1948 identity in order to facilitate mono-ethnicity in Croatia -and Slovenia— a trend that stands out as a major contradiction to European unity? Apparently, no one seems to care.

The Yugoslav case also suggests that, in the ongoing ethnic disassociation, "domination" has also been redefined. Thus we note with justified curiosity that in Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union the economically better-off components opted out of the federation ostensibly to escape domination. Historically, domination has been associated with economic deprivations that its victims suffer. One wonders what kind of domination did the Serbs, for example, exercise over the Croats and Slovenes when the latter's per capita income was approximately two thousand dollars higher than their own?

The Yugoslav model points to another paradox that contradicts the assumptions of develop-

mental theories: i.e. economic prosperity and industrial growth do not reduce the intensity of nationalism or the propensity of its modern advocates to settle scores that World War II left unsettled. Uneven internal economic development is a driving force behind the politics of disassociation in Yugoslavia; the unevenness of economic development of Balkan countries could also be a catalyst for instability, particularly if strife increases the flow of refugees into better off neighboring countries like Greece and Italy. In an atmosphere of national revivalism claims by ethnic leaders about their spiritual conversion to democracy must be tested in practice to ascertain whether they are valid or self-serving. If the latter is the case, policy-makers ought to take into account the implications of reviving, **under the pretext of self-determination, a version of nationalism on European soil that is dangerously close to its pre-war national socialist variant, also known as Fascism/ Nazism.** Questions ought to be raised when leaders of new nations aspiring to self determination, be they in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union or China, make it their priority to rewrite history and pretend that the past never happened. That seems to be a central issue that drives the Yugoslav crisis to its current extreme. In the Balkans layers of history have been created by time and waves of nations in search of land. Their current inhabitants read it and apparently refuse to be guided by its errors; indeed, in many instances, they seem to repeat its worst

version.

Thus, one reads in amazement for example that the President of Croatia, General Franjo Tudjman, now safely listed in the column of "new democrats," invoking the purity of his ancestry as a primary qualification of national leadership. "Thank God," he said during his electoral campaign, "my wife is neither a Serb, nor a Jew." Moreover, when in a more "reflective" mood, the General, even proposed a new theory on the "value" of genocidal violence — a theory that should have sent shivers down official spines, but it did not. "Genocidal violence," he argued, "is a natural phenomenon in keeping with the human-social and mythological divine nature; it is not only allowed, but even recommended." (See David Martin: "Croatia's Borders: Over the Edge" *New York Time*, Op.Ed. 22 November, 1991 p. A 33). Equally disturbing are other versions of history hastily concocted in the Balkans. Recently published "scientific studies" produced by the Medical School of the University of Zagreb set a hierarchical order of Yugoslav nationalities based of their level of civilization and native intelligence. The "us" and "them" syndrome has become a frightening prospect in Yugoslavia today and it could very well become a model for the dissolution of the former Soviet ethnic patchwork.

In reviewing the Yugoslav crisis and its implications for Balkan Security, several questions arise, which in due course must be answered:

First, if self-determination of nations/ethnic groups is a

principle worth pursuing, to what lengths are we prepared to go to maximize its application? Twenty four linguistically different groups and four major religions call Yugoslavia home. Many of them may not be inclined to accept promises of guaranteed rights under new independent states. Certainly the Serbs in Croatia are not prepared to do so, and neither are the Albanians in Serbia.

Second, what are the implications for the stability of the Balkans, Europe and the Soviet

They hired a public relations firm, assumed the role of "victim" and joined the forces of democracy

Union of the apparent ethnic tribalization of the American foreign policy-making process? We all know that two of the growth industries in this town are "ethnic lobbies" and specialized advocacy groups defending the rights of the underdog.

Third, what are the implications of the official U.S. and EC policy concerning the sanctity of internal borders of Federal States? On June 25, 1991, when Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence, the U.S. government articulated a policy, which was also adopted by EC, opposing the use of force to change internal borders. It was a simplistic position which missed half of the problem. No parallel

policy was developed opposing the de facto conversion of existing administrative borders by breakaway republics into rigid and irrevocable "national boundaries." Within these arbitrarily set borders which are now violently opposed, laws were enacted establishing sovereignty and exclusivity, and "foreign nationals" such as Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians were encouraged to leave their ancestral homes, minus their property.

Fourth, what are the future implications of recognition of "independence" of break-away, multi-ethnic republics prior to securing, legally and constitutionally, the rights of minorities living within claimed borders? It is a question that in the case of Yugoslavia, and I am afraid the Soviet Union, does not seem to have been seriously considered. Theoretically, if the current cycle of violence runs its course, Yugoslavia could have over six million internal refugees while the Soviet Union could have in excess of sixty five million. A related question that ought to be asked is the following: is Europe prepared to absorb the waves of refugees from the East and the South, or are we on the verge of witnessing a new version of nationalism whose ideological platform could be shaped by the slogan already heard in parts of Europe "keep the undesirable out?"

It would be a truism to say that the manner in which the Yugoslav crisis is resolved could affect European stability and world peace for decades to come. The Balkans is a region far more complex than the Middle East. More importantly, it has far

more ethnics in this country with agendas that our elected officials, always in pursuit of campaign contributions, can hardly comprehend. To paraphrase Hugh-Seton Watson, politics in the Balkans are played in their "rawest form"; and they are played wherever Balkan nationals reside. But in a typical Oxfordian understatement, Seton Watson, saw something "valuable in the Balkan politics." Its is, he said, "a region where our diplomats gained some helpful experience" to deal with the emerging third world nations. Understatements aside, this time around it would be dangerous if the Balkans are perceived as the training ground for a new generation of diplomats whose task would be to implement a new world order that at least in that region seems like a bad copy of the Concert of Europe. I would conclude by pointing to a disturbing pattern that the Yugoslav crisis highlights: the recycled communists, who now behave as the latest version of Jeffersonian democrats, operate on a map of the region that preexisted the Balkan wars. Those involved in making policy in Washington and European capitals, ought to ask and answer the question: Can Europe and the world afford a repetition of the fallacies of Meternichian politics? Even though this essay is intended to deal with an on-going crisis, we should, nevertheless, be mindful of the errors of history that the Yugoslav crisis brought to the surface once again.

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Africa's Quest For Good Governance

By Mae C. King

Popular demands for political change in Africa intensified as the communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union collapsed. The descent of these regimes signaled to many around the world, the untenability of the socialist alternative to capitalism and its "free market" economies. The dramatic decline in the economic and political power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the model socialist country, made socialism less attractive and promising as a path to development in Africa. Some African countries, e.g. Angola, Benin, Guinea, which had proclaimed socialist ideals and associations, abandoned them. Yet, if African countries are to enjoy good governance, they, must establish solid economic foundations that are informed and nourished by the best of both the capitalist and socialist traditions.

Some African countries that have embraced capitalist ideals, e.g. Zaire and Kenya, are as impoverished and repressive as some of those that have proclaimed socialist ideals. Thus, the failures of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe

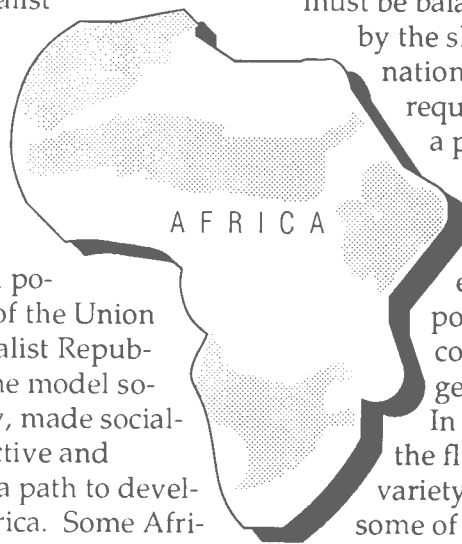
should not be construed as a vindication of the viability of the capitalist alternative for the continent. Also, they should not be viewed as a certification of the bankruptcy of socialist ideals. Rather, an "African Alternative" which provides for the kind of economic arrangements that will simultaneously stimulate and reward individual initiative and promote collective cooperation should be pursued.

The dynamism, creativity, and innovativeness of individualism must be balanced and informed

by the shared interests of the national community. This requires the institution of a political system based on democratic principles of free choice and expression. Such political democracy is conducive to the emergence of alternatives.

In Africa, it will permit the flexibility to adopt a variety of policy measures, some of which may be associated with capitalism and others with socialism. Private ownership, for example, may coexist with public ownership. A policy of "free trade" may accompany fiscal policies which restrict the importation of certain goods in order to develop self-sufficiency in food production. Some private property may be confiscated, as land reforms are inaugurated to allow more individuals access to means of production designed to enhance the productive base of the economy.

The ills associated with either socialism or capitalism should not be confused with the essence of their ideals. The secret police,



forced labor, abuse of human rights, bureaucratic corruption, chronic shortages, and generally poor economic performance associated with regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe are not inevitable consequences of socialism. Likewise, racial slavery, McCarthyism, genocide, apartheid and poverty associated with regimes in the United States, Germany and South Africa, are not inevitable results of capitalism. Political democracy, however, provides a tool for challenging the oppression and poverty that may exist under socialist or capitalist labels. It also allows countries to adopt socialist policies for solving certain problems, like health, and capitalist policies for solving others, like chronic food shortages. The choice of policy should depend on the nature of the problem and the circumstances under which it occurs.

Throughout Africa the demand for political change is occurring within the context of both a protest against the political repression of particular regimes and a demand to alleviate the burdens of poverty. As a result, military rulers like President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, and President Blaise Comport of Burkina Faso are adopting or promising to adopt programs for the transfer of power to civilian democratic governments. The clamor for democratic pluralism or multi-party democracy is reverberating around the continent in Angola, the Cameroon, Niger, Zambia, Zaire and other countries. In Togo, President Gnassingbe

Eyadema accepted the principle of multi-partyism. A national conference on democratization reduced his powers and appointed Prime Minister Kokou Koffigoh to draw up a program for electoral reform. President Joseph Momoh of Sierre Leone responded to pressures for democratization and Sierre Leoneans voted in August 1991 to end one party rule. In Mali, the authoritarian regime of President Moussa Traore, ruler for over two decades, was overthrown in a military coup led by Lt. Col. Amadou Toure who promptly promised multi-party democracy. In the Republic of Benin, democratic pressures overwhelmed President Kerekou and multi-party elections were held in 1991 in which Nicephore Soglo was elected President.

Africans have challenged repressive political regimes with success. However, the manner in which demands for political reforms are articulated (e.g. emphasis on political rights to the neglect of alternative economic policies) tends not to prepare the people for the inevitable time lag between political change and the establishment of a new economic basis for power. In Benin, for example, under the "new democracy", thousands of government workers went on strike in September 1991 demanding money which the new government seems unable to pay. Water, electricity, and other basic services were paralyzed as the economy was thrown in disarray. Hence, the burdens of poverty persist under the new regimes. Political instability, born of poverty, continues to plague the search for good governance.

Hegemonic Crisis, New World Order and the Caribbean

By Hilbourne A. Watson

Introduction

The post war Bretton Woods Model has collapsed: the disintegration of the Soviet Bloc and the collapse of the Soviet model are the final acts in this process. The so-called New World Order is developing on the ruins of the old system. American hegemony was consolidated under the Bretton Woods Model¹ and passed through at least three distinct periods: integral (1945-1960), declining (1960-1971), and minimal hegemony (1971-present (Gramsci 1971; Cafruny 1990). The crisis of minimal hegemony is integral to the collapse of the post war order. The new order is marked by considerable upheaval and institutional instability and tends to be very problematical for the Third World regions like the Caribbean.

Crisis of Hegemony

The United States enjoyed integral hegemony from 1945-1960, when its power was strongest and undisputed in the capitalist world. U.S. Hegemony declined between 1960-1971, due in part to the decline of Bretton Woods and the oil crisis; since 1971, hegemony declined further to "minimal" hegemony and has been characterized by a quest for domination rather than leadership, reflecting a lack of capacity to integrate and satisfy the needs of allies and clients, and a rup-

ture in the institutional and substantive elements of the system (e.g. defeat of the U.S. in Indochina, successes of the national liberation revolution, U.S. trade and budget deficits, world financial disruptions). American postwar hegemony rested on several fortuitous factors such as the strength of the economy — the global reach of the dollar and finance capital via the multinational corporation - undisputed military power, and consent and consensus among allies and client states about U.S. leadership. Hegemony rested on domination, consensus and reciprocity.

In terms of economics and technology, the crisis of minimal hegemony is rooted in the globalization of capital and the restructuring of the world economy. Globalization and restructuring are expressions of the international concentration and centralization of capital and are propelled by three clusters of technologies — microelectronics, new biotechnologies, and new materials technologies — the new technological paradigms. These technologies are linked via computer integrated manufacturing (CIM) and drive the production of goods and services in all areas of economic activity, mainly in the industrialized economies. Globalization of high technology production shifts emphasis away from national economic boundaries, national commodities, and the nation-state: as a result, the nation-state system finds it increasingly difficult to manage the global economy and searches for ways to adjust itself to the new realities. The nature of work and the structure of industry have been

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revolutionized with wrenching consequences for the state, social classes, groups and civil society as a whole.

The problem facing the United States is how to cope with this shifting global political, economic, and ideological terrain. The relative decline of national capitalism and the ascendancy of global capitalism in conjunction with CIM-driven industrial restructuring have ruptured the geo-political status quo. The United States remains militarily dominant — a reality significantly aided by Soviet military-strategic retrenchment — but lacks the economic wherewithal to lead by consensus. Japan and Germany possess vast economic might but lack the military and geopolitical assets for hegemonic leadership. Support for both arguments can be found in Washington's demand for Japan and the EC countries to help finance the war against Iraq and its insistence that these countries begin to assume greater responsibility for their defense.

U. S. industry is still ahead in science and technology, but it lags in the commercialization of these technologies for civilian production. Scientific and technological change in modern weapons systems is extremely expensive and countries and companies are forced to share the cost of developing these modern weapons systems (Watson 1991). The economic burden of global overreach (Kennedy 1987) and military industrial restructuring undermine export competitiveness. The breakdown of consensus and reciprocity around American leadership; the weakening of national capitalism and

the agnostic behavior of global capital weaken the material base on which to exercise hegemony.

Regional blocs like Europe 1992 and the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement reflect strategies by capital to overcome the lethargy and cybernetic process of the state in dealing with global trade matters in institutions like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). These blocs are the vehicle for the new global competition and are likely to create new types of inter-imperialist conflict in the new world order, thereby weakening the economic alliance. There are other liabilities such as chronic economic and ecological upheaval in the LDCs; instability in Central Europe; and the fluid condition in the USSR which give reason for concern. Major demographic shifts, anarchy, neo-fascism and economic disaster could emerge and lead to economic collapse with dire consequences for world resources.

The New World Order

As used here the New World Order refers to certain global trends and tendencies: 1) globalization and restructuring of investment, technology, and labor; 2) transition from an East-West to a North-South global conjuncture with profound implications for the Third World; 3) decline of ideology in global affairs; 4) crisis of the "Communist" model and the debacle of the Third world National Liberation Revolution; 5) U.S. efforts to recast the role of the United Nations within the limits of the political structures of the defunct Bretton Wood model; 6) new character of modern electronic warfare; 7) NATO strategy for dealing with the Third World

"problem" by linking access to advanced technology (chemical, biological and nuclear weapons) to "democracy"; and 8) the threat of recolonization of the Third World. Space does not permit a full elaboration of these trends and tendencies. Suffice it to say that the war against Iraq, Gorbachev's quest for a "common European home", Moscow's abandonment of the national liberation struggle in the Third World, the call for the recolonization of the Third World (*Sunday Telegraph*, September 16, 1990) and several other factors deemed important to the security needs or standard of living in North America and Europe are indicative of the emerging world order.

Implications for the Caribbean

Hegemonic crisis and the new world order have ominous implications for the Caribbean relative to the nation-state and sovereignty, industrial restructuring for export competitiveness, and the standard of living. There are clear signs that the leadership is suffering from a crisis of self confidence and a lack of vision as the space for national action contracts in matters of fiscal, monetary, trade and development policy; this is partly a consequence of globalization of capital and global restructuring process. There is growing popular cynicism about the ability of leaders and established institutions such as parliament, political parties, trade unions, the church, and family, to deal with problems.

Caribbean capitalism is dominated by merchant capital, the limits of which can be seen in the absence of an entrepreneurial class capable of technological

innovation and the lack of modern technological infrastructures for developing skilled labor and promoting export competitiveness. Merchant capital reproduces itself mainly in the sphere of circulation as opposed to the sphere of production. The result is technological underdevelopment or a weak capacity to support modern production facilities, useful/available knowledge, effective organization/management, and technical abilities/skills. Technological underdevelopment means a work force that is poorly prepared to compete in the changing global market. Cheap (unskilled) labor no longer suffices to drive a development strategy.

Economic activity in the Caribbean tends to be dominated by racial and ethnic minorities who are defensive about their privileged economic position in the political economy, and who feel they are the guardians of stability and civilized behavior against the masses who are black. Although blacks hold state power, they do not own any significant amounts of productive capital; their roots are deep in the bureaucracy, professions, trade unions, and other areas. They use the state to siphon surplus for personal accumulation; in this way some of them have joined the ranks of the merchant bourgeoisie. Class assumes greater importance than race or nationality in this context for the black rulers are an integral part of the ruling power bloc.

Structural adjustment policies, including devaluation, to stabilize the economy and increase export (price) competitiveness intensify the economic crisis: domestic prices rise as export

prices fall and the real effective exchange rate deteriorates against the dollar. Neoliberal adjustment strategies administered by the World Bank Group send these economies in a downward spiral with no end in sight. Caribbean governments talk about moving to a single market by 1993, but there is no material and technological base on which to achieve economic integration. Effective economic integration is driven by advanced monopoly concentration of supranational finance capital in conjunction with elements of political integration. This situation does not exist in Caribbean merchant capitalism.

Decolonization and recolonization are a couplet in Caribbean reality today. All of the remaining colonies are grappling with the constitutional question: some or all of them may be forced to seek accommodation along paths that further limit options about sovereignty. The historical record of the U.S. in Latin America and the Caribbean in matters of national security and drug interdiction speak to the tenuousness of the nation-state and sovereignty in the region.

Traditional export industries in the region — sugar, bauxite, oil — have declined only to be replaced by new industries like garments, electronics and data processing, all of which are labor intensive and require low capitalization. These industries also employ large numbers of unskilled, single-parent females who are paid low wages; gender and poverty are linked and the economic burden is shifted to women, as men and women find it increasingly difficult to find

well paying jobs. The global restructuring process intensifies economic and social insecurity among women and puts larger numbers of households at risk. Job insecurity now extends to the state sector and reaches up into the middle strata as many from these ranks are hurled down into the ranks of the working class. Drugs, delinquency, unemployment, low wages, and other social ills take their toll on the working class and envelop the lumpenproletariat.

Cuba offers yet another scenario. The refusal by the United States to give up its occupation of Guantanamo set limits to Cuban sovereignty and territorial integrity throughout the Revolution. The demand that Moscow cut off all assistance to Cuba as a condition for American aid is another signal about Washington's outlook on sovereignty in general.

Prospects for a North American FTA and the Enterprise Initiative for the Americas (EAI) does not guarantee economic progress in the Caribbean. The United States proposed the EAI as a vehicle for strengthening its competitive base in the Western Hemisphere *vis-a-vis* Europe and Japan; the ability of Caribbean countries to exploit its provisions will depend on the complexity of their economic structures. No Caribbean country has economic structures comparable to Canada or Brazil to exploit the EAI. The evolving shape of the New World Order may be at variance with the freedom or sovereignty in the Third World. Caribbean countries are too fragile to survive as viable national states and there are questions about the scope that exists for effective

regional integration under merchant capitalism. This irony transcends anything the United States does but the arrogance of imperial power does not distinguish weak countries at the level of size.

Haiti's case, though somewhat unlike most other Caribbean countries for its chronic economic malaise and the lack of a democratic tradition shows how difficult it can be to set up political democracy as the foundation for economic development. The Caribbean is not positioned to influence the shape of the trajectory of the new world order trajectory; it runs the risk of becoming increasingly marginalized in the age of global capital. Self reliance based on autarchy or other romantic notions of de-linking is a *cul-de-sac*. Conditions in the Caribbean are likely to get worse before they improve.

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Footnotes

1. For convenience, I use the term Bretton Woods Model to cover expansive multinational free enterprise capitalism, Keynesian welfare statism, Fordism, and the geo-political elements of hegemony.

Switzerland's Response To Nazi Germany In The Wilhelm Gustloff Affair

By Babalola Cole

(Abstract of a paper published recently by the University of Barcelona in "Cuadernos Informativos de Derecho Historico Publico, Processal y de la Navegacion")

Wilhelm Gustloff, former head of the Swiss section of the German Nazi Party, was assassinated at Davos, Switzerland on February 4, 1936, by David Frankfurter, a young medical student at the University of Bern.

The news of the assassination caused a great deal of controversy and bad blood between Nazi Germany and Switzerland. The German press was vitriolic. The government was both vituperative and threatening: it, in essence, demanded that the Swiss Government should sentence Frankfurter to death. The assassination, howled the German Government, was another proof of "the Jewish Conspiracy" against the "fatherland." Frankfurter, it declared was an instrument of "World Jewry." The Swiss Government stoically and with ineluctable logic responded: the guilt or innocence of David Frankfurter would be determined by the Swiss court according to law.

The German position, the increasing activities of the Nazis,

as well as other German outbursts had certain repercussions in Switzerland. The dislike and disapproval of German Nazi influences increased; Swiss of all shades of opinion and in all parts of the country became more resentful of what they considered foreign interference in their domestic affairs. In fact, prior to the "Gustloff Affair", the Swiss were already expressing their feelings of disapproval of Nazi activities as seen in their reaction to the kidnapping of Berthold

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Jacob at Basel in 1935. As leader of the German Nazis in Switzerland, Gustloff had been under vigorous attack in a number of quarters and especially in the Socialist press. His activities had been repeatedly asserted to be nefarious ones against which the government should move. Nazi activities were the subject of a number of interpolations in the Federal Assembly. It was even understood that the authorities had contemplated his expulsion. This assassination naturally attracted fresh attentions to the nature of his activities as the

chief Nazi Party representative in the country.

The trial of Frankfurter began on December 9, 1936, before the Cantonal Court of Grisons, at Chur, and ended on Monday, December 14, 1936. In sentencing Frankfurter to eighteen years' imprisonment the Court agreed with the demand of the prosecutor. In the Canton of Grisons the minimum penalty for murder was fifteen years and the maximum penalty inflicted up to the time of Frankfurter's trial, had been twenty-five years.

The Secretary of the American Legation in Bern, Gerald Keith, in his cablegram (December 29, 1936) to the State Department reported that the Swiss press and the Swiss people received the Court's decision with equanimity. The political affairs officer, in Berlin, William Dodd, reported the opposite. His telegram dated December 11, 1936 to the Department of State declared that the Germans had unleashed a particularly violent anti-Semitic press campaign. Handbills carrying Frankfurter's alleged declaration that he shot Gustloff because he was a Jew were distributed throughout Germany. The attack or campaign, Dodd continued, was made less upon Switzerland than upon world Jewry, which was depicted as standing behind Frankfurter.

As a result of the Gustloff affair, the Government of Switzerland banned Nazi organizations throughout the country. It also introduced a number of measures to counteract the activities of all communists and other "radical" movements.

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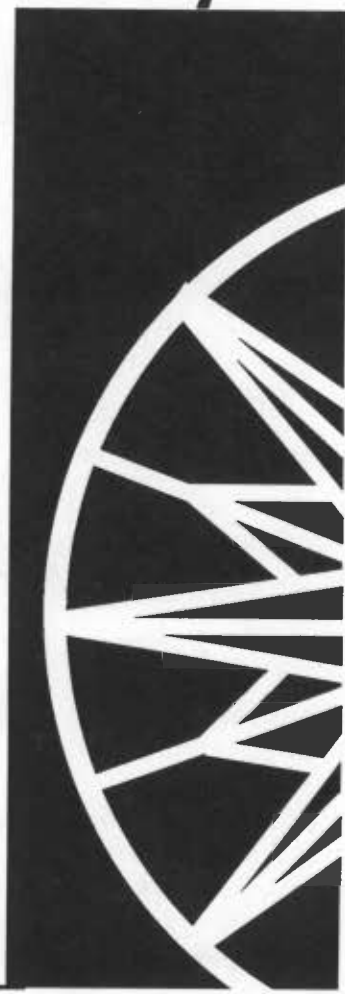
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BLACK POLITICS

The Price of the Status Quo

By James Daniel Steele

With the onset of the Reagan era of conservative dominance, many of the perspectives held by the African-American community concerning race relations and their remedies have been under constant assault, as being either outmoded, discriminatory or simply ineffective. Interpretations on these themes have found support among a growing number of African-American conservatives who argue that the most significant problems of the African-American community are not racial but economic, and that those who would argue otherwise are purporting to offer categories of remedies that white-American society is no longer willing to support and that the African-American community itself will find to be demeaning and an obstacle to its own goals.

For these and other people, one hears that the problems of race, economics and public policy have been resolved and that remedies such as affirmative action, racial quotas and set-aside programs only exacerbate tensions between the races and are patently discriminatory to white-Americans (especially white-American males). The visibility of African-Americans in important positions in government, is cited as evidence to the 'advances' made in U.S. society

when the focus is on individual merit and not group-based public policy. Selective memory and analysis have also been evident by those who claim that the numbers of African-Americans making more than \$50,000 have increased during the years of Republican dominance of the presidency.

What Brazilian writer Gilberto Freyre called a "racial democracy" is only a notion in a person's mind and has no home on earth, except... as entertainment.

Somehow, people forget that brilliant African-Americans have always existed—even before the resurrection of conservative ideology. Somehow, the impact of minority set-aside programs, affirmative action, the rise of African-American elected officials and the public-sector jobs that resulted are ignored. For some reason, people seek to ignore the fact that an even larger pool of available talent exists today—without the benefit

of a Yale education.

At the risk of going against the evangelical politics of the 'Up From Slavery' brigade, one must register some complaints. Perhaps the most salient question for African-Americans today is whether white American society can be trusted to protect the interests of African-Americans, without the benefit of anti-discrimination laws. To the extent that trust is acknowledged and supported by the community, then we have indeed reached that promised day upon which we can now discard the significance of race and move on with our lives as equals before the law and society. To the extent that we cannot trust white-America to protect our interests in this country, reveals a most obvious dilemma. Among the myriad of friends and associates (Republicans and Democrats, wealthy and poor, educated and uneducated) to whom this concern was directed, I am still looking for that person to say that we have arrived at the point whereby we can now trust our lives and well-being to others. Many of those who view themselves as members of the 'new right' in the African-America community is unable to invest white-Americans with such a trust, this demands a recognition of the reality which we face today. Race does indeed matter and it matters significantly.

Race is still a factor in our daily lives, but that racism

inflicts a heavy economic cost upon the African-American community. For those who acknowledge the principles of civil and human rights, *in general*, but somehow cannot find *specific* instances of such violence, the evidence of several studies completed over the past two years, the following may be helpful.

Two of the critical factors associated with the accumulation of wealth in the U.S., employment and home ownership, show significant evidence of disparities born of racial discrimination. In Washington, D.C. and Chicago, evidence was collected by the Urban Institute which found that young white-American males were three times more likely to advance in the hiring process (20% to 7%) and get a job offer (15% to 5%) in entry level positions than their African-American counterpart. This disparity existed despite both African-American and white-American applicants being groomed and/or chosen by the Urban Institute to have identical qualifications, speech, mannerisms and physical appearance (with the exception of race).

The General Accounting Office (GAO) also released its findings of a July, 1991 study that indicated that in the largest employment training program sponsored by the federal government (administered by state and local governments), the Job Training Partnership Act, twenty percent of the programs were found to be discriminatory toward women and African-Americans.

The significance of racial disparities in home ownership is

also revealing. The Federal Reserve Board found that of 5.3 million mortgage applications nationwide, African-Americans were denied approval for home mortgages at a far greater frequency than for white-Americans. Perhaps the most telling finding of the study is that white-Americans from the lowest income groups received a larger approval rate from their loan applications (69%) than for African-Americans in the highest income categories

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(65.7%). Given the fact that 88% of the bank officers were involved in the theft [Why is it when poor people are accused of taking something that does not belong to them, it is called theft? When someone of economic privilege does the same it is called a scandal?] of U.S. Savings and Loan institutions, it is much more obvious that the criteria for the provision of financial loans are more related to phenotypic

standards than professional. Further, if one is unable to get a loan for basic housing, the likelihood of receiving loans for investment and/or business purposes are even more diminished for the African-American community.

An August 1991 study released by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) reveals that since 1979 African-Americans encountered bias 59% of the time when they attempted to purchase a home and 56% of the time when seeking a rental unit, in 25 U.S. metropolitan areas. The likelihood of living closer to areas of employment, proximity to educational facilities, or where housing may be less expensive is therefore lessened and creates further obstacles to the potential of wealth accumulation and life opportunities.

In this context of economic hostility, U.S. Census figures of the divide between the wealth of African-American and white-American households is most revealing. The Census Bureau found that the net median wealth (total assets subtracted from total debt) for white-American households is more than ten times that of African-American households (\$43,280 to \$4,170).

The most revealing statement about this economically divided America can be found in the figures compiled by the Children's Defense Fund which indicate that 35% of the children in the African-American community live below the poverty line, although as a community we are only 13% of the population nationwide. In yet another U.S.

Census study, 32% of African-Americans live below the poverty line as compared to only 12% of white-Americans. If one were to judge from the response of the nation to the current recession, if white-Americans were to be faced with poverty rates similar to that of African-Americans, there would be a revolution.

With the obstacles of racial discrimination affecting all economic strata of the African-American community and its subsequent under-capitalization, the potential impact for the community to lift itself out of its present quagmire by claiming that such disparities are unrelated to race is nothing less than a cruel hoax. In short, it would seem that there is a tax applied to being an African-American.

By saying that programs designed to alleviate the 'Black tax' that African-Americans are burdened with do not serve the interest of the community is to beg the question as to the responsibility of society to create an honest and just social, economic and political order. African-Americans are asked to give up their demands for public policy led racial justice and equality—to rely on our 'bootstraps'. While self-reliance and self-determination are the hallmarks of most of the great efforts and accomplishments of the African-American past, such exhortations were neither expressed foolishly, nor without direction.

Despite the claims of those who say that race-based remedies are the problem, one need only examine this country where seemingly the only sectors where

there are seemingly an overrepresentation of African-Americans are the NBA, the military and the nation's criminal justice system.

Efforts designed to correct the economic, political and social imbalance conceived of racial discrimination, by employing our own devices and based on our own agendas are met with cries of being separatist or dogmatic in nature. It would appear that those whose aim is

Brilliant African-Americans have always existed. . .without benefit of a Yale education

to either ignore and/or subordinate the role of race in U.S. society and its impact on the African-American community, seek merely to embrace the status quo. That is unacceptable.

One may look to those countries which do not have public policy remedies to historic racial discrimination, such as in Brazil and across Europe, to discover that the dream of what Brazilian writer Gilberto Freyre called a 'racial democracy' is only a notion in a person's mind and has no home on this earth, except in those areas where sexual fantasy and entertainment it matters.

As this is the time of year when people seek to give deference to Dr. King and the ongoing effort to narrowly confine his

message to "I Have A Dream" and "Content...and Character", it is important to understand that Dr. King was someone less than naive, as indicated in his final book, *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*:

As Negroes move forward toward a fundamental alteration of their lives, some bitter white opposition is bound to grow, even within groups that were hospitable to earlier superficial amelioration. Conflicts are unavoidable because a stage has been reached in which the reality of equality will require extensive adjustments in the way of life of some of the white majority. Many of our former supporters will fall by the wayside as the movement presses against financial privilege...

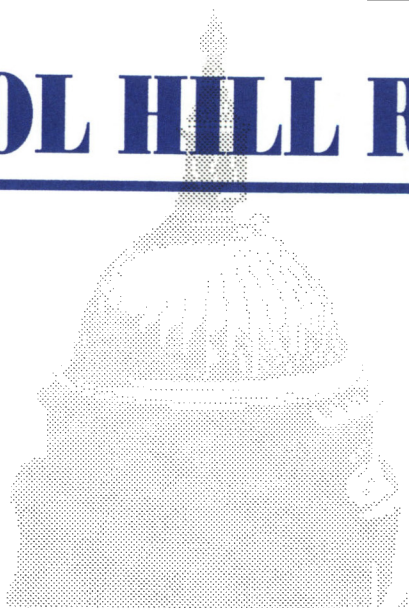
If we are to reach the millennium of racial harmony, it can only be achieved with an honest recognition and willingness to confront the inequalities produced by racial discrimination and brokered by a more self-reliant determination across the spectrum of economic, political and social needs. The proper conjunction is not 'either or', but 'and'. It is time that those who seek to barter the gains of civil and human rights for economic privilege, acknowledge the lessons of the history of African people in the Americas, as embodied in the profound words of Ella Baker: "We who believe in freedom cannot rest."

James Daniel Steele, Ph.D. is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science.

CAPITOL HILL REPORT

"News & Views from Capitol Hill"

By Jackie B. Parker, Senior
Legislative Assistant to Senator
Carl Levin (D-MI)



The 102nd Congress, which convened in January of 1991, revisited some long-standing issues but also faced some new and incomparable challenges. From the very beginning its legislative agenda was dominated by issues dealing with questionable domestic policy, worsening economic conditions, trade imbalances, defense restructuring, reassessing U.S. Foreign Policy; and open partisan warfare between Democrats and Republicans over crime, jobs and taxes.

Debates have ranged from the use of military force to reverse Iraq's takeover of Kuwait to the Senate's confirmation of President Bush's two most controversial nominees, Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme court and Robert Gates as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency to extended unemployment benefits and civil rights legislation.

Before its anticipated October, 1992 adjournment, the 102nd Congress must address a multitude of constituent concerns – focusing on the economy, health care, education, crime and drugs. The following are some observations.

Clarence Thomas Confirmation. On October 15, 1991, President

Bush's nominee to hold the lifetime appointment to the highest court in the land received the closest Supreme Court confirmation in more than a century. By a vote of 52 – 48, Judge Thomas became the second African American ever to sit on the Court. Record numbers of viewers watched the televised sessions of the unprecedented weekend hearings on Professor Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment against Judge Thomas and by the end of the three-day hearings, judgment was being passed not only on Clarence Thomas, but also on members of the Judiciary Committee, the judicial nominating process and the Senate in general. The Senate faced an angry public outcry over its handling of the matter and women's groups have vowed that the aftershocks will be felt well into the November elections because of the treatment of Professor Anita Hill.

Civil Rights. The flawed process on the Thomas nomination and Anita Hill allegations changed the dynamics of the

civil rights legislation considerably. Culminating a legislative struggle that began after Wards/Cove and the Supreme Court's other 1989 rulings, a two-year impasse was broken when the Bush administration, weeks after the Thomas confirmation vote, agreed to a legislative compromise. Not since the turbulent 1960s have civil rights issues so dominated public debate or gained such priority status on the policy-making agenda of Congress and the executive branch. Signed into law by President Bush on November 21, 1991, the measure would counter the effects of nine court decisions since the late 1980s that have made it harder for workers to bring bias lawsuits. It would also, for the first time, allow limited money damages for victims of harassment and other intentional discrimination based on sex, religion or disability. Racial minorities can already win unlimited money damages under the earlier law.

This legislation extended not only Title VII, but also the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act to Senate employees. House employees continue to be covered by internal fair employment practice procedures established by House rules and incorporated by Congress into the 1991 Act.

Health. With mounting momentum fueled by the special-election victory of Senator Harris Wofford (D-Pa.), who made health care a major issue in his campaign, there will be a major push to pass health insurance legislation before the November election. Central to the debate is the issue of how to expand access for America's 37 million uninsured and the millions of underinsured, without fueling inflation in health care costs when significant new Federal or State spending is viewed by many as unlikely. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee reported out "AmeriCare," a comprehensive health insurance bill which attempts to meet this challenge. Under AmeriCare, employers will be required to provide basic health insurance coverage for all employees and their dependents or contribute a percentage of payroll to the new public insurance program. AmeriCare will cover all Americans not insured by employers or Medicare and replace Medicaid. Republicans on the committee criticized the bill for its employer "pay or play" approach and warned that, if unchanged, the bill would be vetoed by President Bush. The Democrats have labeled President Bush's credits, vouchers and tax breaks a "Band-Aid" approach to the problem.

Horn of Africa. The deteriorating humanitarian situation in Africa's war-torn countries resulted in a number of legislative initiatives. The Horn of Africa Recovery Act lays out criteria for U.S. participation in peace-making, relief and devel-

opment linked to grassroots groups. Although the foreign aid bill conference report which included this legislation was voted down by the House, it continues on the agenda for 1992.

Soviet Coup. The failed Soviet coup of August 1991 and the subsequent collapse of Soviet central authority stimulated further debate about defense spending and defense policy. After investing trillions of dollars defending against a possible war with the Soviet Union, Congress responded to the impending collapse of its old enemy with \$500 million to help dismantle its nuclear arsenal and distribute food and other humanitarian aid during a desperate winter.

Haiti. Bills in both the House and Senate have been introduced to address the Bush administration's forced repatriation of Haitian refugees who have fled political repression and persecution following the coup that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Some members of the Congressional Black Caucus charged the Bush administration with racism. "When is our government going to apply a non-racial foreign policy that treats poor people from Black countries in the same way we treat Europeans?", asked Representative Charles Rangel. Representative Major Owens charged, "if these people were rich or if there were oil in Haiti then perhaps the Bush administration would reconsider their position;" and Representative John Conyers

expressed "outrage by the unconscionable approach of the Bush administration toward the crisis of Haitian refugees fleeing their government for the freedom of our shores."

Legislation sponsored by all of the Members of the Congressional Black Caucus would grant Temporary Protective Status to any Haitian in the U.S., in the custody or control of the U.S., or on U.S. vessels or at Guantanamo Bay. Those who qualify would be allowed to stay in the U.S. until the President certifies to the Congress that a democratically elected government has been restored in Haiti.

A bill sponsored by Senators Kennedy, Simon, DeConcini, Levin, Dixon, Mack, Bradley, Moynihan, Jeffords, Hatfield, Adams, Boren, D'Amato, Durenberger, Dodd, Kerry, Wofford, Riegle, Kohl and Pell would temporarily suspend the forced repatriation of Haitians from Guantanamo Bay and would require the President to certify when repatriation is safe and meets a number of conditions.

Ms. Parker has served as policy advisor to Senator Levin since 1979; prior to that time she was chief legislative assistant to former Congressman James A. Burke (D-MA). A long-time advocate for increased minority hiring, Ms. Parker has testified before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs on the underrepresentation of African-American staff in the U.S. Congress and currently maintains a minority job bank, which she created following her first congressional staff appointment, in an effort to help facilitate minority hiring. An historic first, Ms. Parker's tribute to her Black congressional staff colleagues relative to their contributions to U.S. domestic and foreign policy was inserted into the Congressional Record during the 100th Congress. Ms. Parker is editor of "The Capitol Hill Report" which will feature the views of her African American colleagues in future editions of this newsletter.

DEPARTMENTAL BRIEFS

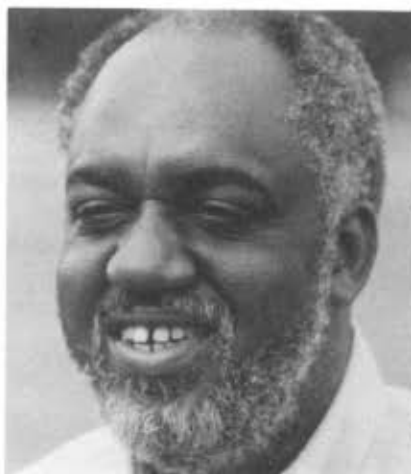
Dr. Hanes Walton, Jr.

Black Scholar Par Excellence

Joseph P. McCormick, 2nd

In August of this year at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, the Department of Political Science here at Howard honored one of its most distinguished and productive graduates, Professor Hanes Walton, Jr. It is no exaggeration to say that without question, Professor Hanes Walton, Jr. is the most prolific scholar alive in the area of Black Politics. This scholar's work has provided us with basic concepts, a solidly grounded sense of the history of African-American political struggle in the United States, and the topical parameters for this expanding field within the discipline of political science.

Born in Augusta, Georgia in September, 1942, Professor Walton completed his elementary and secondary education in Athens, Georgia, graduating from Athens Industrial High School in 1959. In the fall of 1959 he entered Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia completing the B.A. degree in political science in 1963. Professor Walton remained in Atlanta following his stay at Morehouse to attend Atlanta University where he earned the M.A. degree in political science in 1964.



Dr. Hanes Walton, Jr.

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In 1964 he entered what was then called the Department of Government where he completed the Ph.D. degree in 1967. His doctoral dissertation was a then timely analysis entitled, "The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr." Four years later, Greenwood Press published Dr. Walton's dissertation under the same title. This was his second book to be published after completing the doctorate degree.

Three years earlier Dorrance Press published his insightful work *The Negro in Third Party Politics*, which at the time of its publication was one of the most comprehensive treatments of the literature that had been published. Over the next two decades Hanes Walton, Jr. wrote and had published seven additional book length manuscripts: *Black Political Parties* (Free Press,

1972); *Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis* (J. B. Lippincott, 1972); *The Poetry of Black Politics* (Regency Press, 1972); *The Study and Analysis of Black Politics: A Bibliography* (Scarecrow Press, 1973); *Black Republicans: The Politics of the Blacks and Tans* (Scarecrow Press, 1975); *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior* (State University of New York Press, 1985); and *When the Marching Stopped: The Politics of Civil Rights Regulatory Agencies* (State University of New York Press, 1988).

For those of us who have had the experience of his friendship, it can be said that this scholar has not only helped us to better understand and interpret African-American political behavior, but he has shared with us *how it is that he has come to know what he knows*. As those who have called upon Professor Walton for scholarly direction truly know, this fellow's knowledge of the extant literature is encyclopedic. It is no exaggeration to say that any scholar contemplating serious work in the field of Black Politics must familiarize herself/himself with the seminal work of this Howard product.

Professor Hanes Walton, Jr. is our living, user friendly African-American main-man, main frame scholar — a product of the Department of Political Science, Howard University.

Joseph P. McCormick, 2nd, Ph.D. is a Associate Professor in The Department of Political Science.

Honor Society Awards

Onwudiwe and Mitchell Win E. E. Dorsey Scholarship Award

The fourth annual Emmett E. Dorsey Scholarship Awards Banquet was held on April 7, 1991, at the Armour J. Blackburn Ballroom. Mr. Christian C. Onwudiwe was the graduate student recipient, and Mr. Mark D. Mitchell was the undergraduate student winner. Each award was a \$1,000 check and a certificate of honor.

MR. ONWUDIWE was a second year student in the doctoral program. In receiving the award, he pledged to use the money to keep the legacy of Dr. Dorsey alive by creating an opportunity for children to obtain education. He planned on establishing the Dikenafai Sons and Daughters Educational Fund, in Imo State, Nigeria, to provide for tuition and books for school. He estimated that the award might help a dozen children. The fund will be in memory of his late wife, Pamela Bradford Onwudiwe.

MR. MITCHELL, a graduating senior, told the audience about the sacrifices made by his mother to provide for his college education. He planned on using the award to assist his studies in law school.

The awards, generated by fac-

ulty and alumni contributions, are made in honor of Emmett E. Dorsey, faculty member of the Department from 1929 through 1968, and Chairman of the Department between 1953 and 1967.

Mr. Isiah Leggett, President of the Montgomery County (Maryland) Council, and a Departmental alumnus, gave the keynote address about African-American participation on the local political level. The attendees were entertained by Ms. Judy Nicks and Mr. Wendell S. Johnson. Ms. Juanita C. Britton, Special Assistant, D. C. Government Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, served as Mistress of Ceremony. Mr. George B. Dines, Sr., gave the invocation. Dr. George L. Jenkins, Jr., a leading force in establishing the fund, gave the tribute to Dr. Dorsey. Dr. Morris Levitt, Faculty Advisor, Pi Sigma Alpha, introduced Ms. Targi Holmes and Mr. Richard Coaxum, who presented the awards. James M. Christian, Esquire, was the Honorary Chairman.

The recipients of the Emmett E. Dorsey Scholarship Awards must meet rigorous requirements. They must have earned a cumulative average of 3.0 and a 3.2 average in political science as an undergraduate student, or a 3.5 average as a graduate student. Applicants must prepare a biographical sketch describing their service to the Department, College or community, be recommended by three faculty members, and write a 15 page essay in the field of political science.

Diplomat in Residence

During the academic year 1991-92, Ambassador Daniel A. O'Donohue has been appointed to the Department of Political Science as Howard University's Diplomat in Residence.

In his most recent assignment, Ambassador O'Donohue served as the U. S. Ambassador to Thailand from 1988 to August 1991.

Entering the Foreign Service in 1957, Ambassador O'Donohue has spent most of his career in East Asia. His assignment immediately prior to becoming Ambassador to Thailand was as Principal Deputy of the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff. From 1983 to 1987 he served as Ambassador to Burma.

Ambassador O'Donohue has also served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1981 to 1983, with responsibility for Southeast Asia. From 1978 to 1981 he was the Principal Deputy of the Department's Politico-Military Bureau. Prior to that he was Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Bangkok 1977-78.

Ambassador O'Donohue is married and has five children. He graduated from the University of Detroit in 1953 with a BS and received an MPA from Wayne State University in 1958. Ambassador O'Donohue served in the Army from 1953-55.

The Department of Political Science is delighted to have such an outstanding diplomat in our midst who can share with us his experience in international affairs.



IN THIS ISSUE

Haiti: The Failure of Politics, by Brian Weinstein and Aaron Segal. Praeger Publishers, 88 Post Road West, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881. 1992. 205 pages.

Implementing State Government Export Programs, by Michael Frazier. Praeger Publishers, 88 Post Road West, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881. 1992. 220 pages. \$43.00 (cloth bound). Order Code C3850. ISBN 0-275-93850-6.

Haiti: The Failure of Politics

Political systems seek to bring about improvement in people's lives; but politics in Haiti has only made the Haitians' lives worse. The notion that politics has failed the Haitian people is explored in this in-depth and balanced analysis of Haiti covering the government, economics, history, external relations, social structures, and future possibilities. The Haitian people have significant self-respect gained from independence in 1804 and sustained by widespread ownership of the land. While other books portray Haiti as a passive victim of U.S./capitalist manipulations, this book identifies the causes of widespread poverty and political instability as the result of multiple external and internal factors centered in the elite-mass relationship, with the resourcefulness of the people blocked by greedy governments. While the

authors agree that we have made some mistakes in our relationship with Haiti, they do not blame the United States for Haiti's worst political failure, the Duvalierist system. The authors conclude that if the new government of President Aristide keeps its promises, Haiti can improve.

Essential to Haiti's recovery are closer ties to the Caribbean and to the EEC, along with a continuing relationship with the United States.

In showing readers the broad historical and cultural patterns in Haiti, the authors contend that while Haiti may seem to be hopeless, its situation economically and politically can be improved. The portrait of the Haitian people is one of self-reliance and creativity, a people eager for free enterprise. Since 1986, Haiti has encountered a favorable external context with the prospect of help from Europe and North America. The Duvalier regime grew out of Haitian realities, and with the help of external relations, the new government may be able to change those realities that still haunt the nation. Scholars and journalists interested in Latin American and Caribbean development, and students of comparative politics and third world countries, will find this study essential reading.

Contents: Politics in Haiti; From U.S. Occupation to Duvalier Family Rule; Institutions: Government by Franchise; Economic Hopes and Realities; Haiti: The First "Third World" State?; Can Haiti Survive?; Prospects for Democracy; Conclusion: Shaking Off the Past; Bibliography; Index.

Implementing State Government Export Programs

During recent years, American states have launched programs to promote direct foreign investment and product export, but there has

been little self-scrutiny of these efforts. This book presents the findings of Michael Frazier's detailed empirical study of four, state-supported export trade agencies. Using the evaluation techniques of Mazmanian and Sabatier (the M=S Model), Frazier pinpoints the factors that determine how well states develop an international business orientation. He also expands the M=S Model by identifying additional variable that should be considered in future program evaluations.

This book provides a survey of the literature on implementation research, and argues in favor of both theoretical and empirical evaluation. Using the M=S Model for export trade agency evaluation, Frazier examines the public export trade agencies of four states: Arkansas, Indiana, Michigan, and Virginia. He concludes that four factors — geographic location, state politics, economic interdependence and federal government involvement — heavily influence a state's level of success. The political leadership of the agency director and his supervisors, including the governor, is especially crucial. This is a useful handbook for legislators, policymakers, administrators, and students of program evaluation.

Contents: Introduction; State Export Agencies: Implementation Factors and Analytical Concerns; State Export Agencies: Challenging Policy Implementation; New Techniques for Researching State Export Agencies; Comparative State Profiles; Implementing State Government Export Programs: A Comparative Analysis; Conclusion: The Interface Between Theory and Practice; Appendix A: List of Interviewees; Appendix B: Important Factors in the Implementation Literature; Bibliography; Index.

Calendar of Events

March 4 – 7, 1992

13th Annual National Model Organization
of African Unity
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20059
(202) 806-6724

March 11 – 13, 1992

Annual Conference of The National Conference
of Black Political Scientists: "Old Struggles In
The New World Order"
Houston, Texas
(713) 527-7313

March 18 – 22, 1992

National Association For Equal Opportunity In
Higher Education
Washington, D.C.
(202) 543-9111

March 29 – April 1, 1992

AAH Black Caucus: National Conference
On Higher Education
Chicago, IL

June 25 – July 1, 1992

Black Caucus of the American
Library Association
San Francisco, CA
(804) 786-2332

July 11 – 16, 1992

NAACP Annual Conference
Nashville, TN
(410) 358-8900

August 23 – 29, 1992

Blacks in Government Annual Conference
Washington, D.C.
(202) 667-3280

September 23 – 27, 1992

22nd Congressional Black Caucus
Legislative Weekend
Washington, D.C.
(202) 675-6735

GOVERNMENT & POLITICS

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