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Race, Poverty and the Militarized Welfare State

by Bristow Hardin

George Bush expressed the views of many when he gushed in the afterglow of the Gulf War that "the US military is the greatest equal opportunity employer around." And as sociologist Charles Moskos has observed, the armed forces are the only institution in American society where blacks routinely order whites around. But despite the notable benefits African Americans have received from the military services, these are proportionately fewer than those accruing to whites. Beyond that, the various related institutions of the US military apparatus – veterans programs, the Department of Defense (DoD) and related government agencies, and private arms contractors – also have provided far more benefits to whites than blacks since WWII. The sum of these disparate benefits thus has directly fostered and perpetuated racial inequality and poverty. Data from the 1945-85 period, when the impact of military spending on the nation's economic development, class structure and political alliances was at its height, show this clearly.

The "Militarized Welfare State" (MWS)

Major benefits provided by the MWS include:

Veterans Programs. The G.I. Bill for WWII veterans constituted what is probably the largest and most generous social welfare program in the nation's history. Its provisions included up to a year of readjustment (unemployment) benefits; education and training benefits, with college aid sufficient to cover tuition, fees, room and board; guaranteed home, farm or business loans; medical and dental care; pensions and compensation; low-cost life insurance; and vocational rehabilitation.

By 1950 over 12.5 million people had benefited from at least one of these programs. In each immediate post-war year, 1946 and 1947, over 1 million vets used G.I. Bill benefits to attend college, and they comprised seven-tenths of males in higher education institutions. By 1950 nearly 2 million had used a G.I. direct or guaranteed loan to buy a home or farm or to set up a business.

This support enabled millions to join the middle class, and many more to enhance or consolidate their middle-class positions. In terms of wealth creation alone, easy access to homeownership enabled these vets to reap the inflated housing market values of the subsequent years, providing savings and equity that in turn solidified their middle-class position and enabled them to pass these wealth-as-

sociated benefits on to their children and grandchildren.

Until the 1960s veterans programs were the major, the best, and in some case the only federal programs providing welfare state benefits in key areas. Into the 1980s ex-servicepeople and their dependents had access to comprehensive welfare state benefits that were often better than or unavailable to the rest of the population. Even after the significant expansions of Social Security and the establishment of programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, educational aid, etc., analysts noted that veterans programs were a "parallel" social welfare system but with more generous benefits and eli-

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gibility.

Moreover, in contrast to the operations of civilian welfare departments that generally sought to minimize the income and other benefits provided low-income people, analysts noted that the Veterans Administration's (VA) efforts in the means-tested pension program were "directed more toward ensuring veterans maximum benefits." Also in contrast to the often punitive and demeaning practices of civilian welfare departments, veterans programs were "administered with due regard to the dignity of the recipients."

Civilian Employment: DoD, the Armed Services, the Arms Industry. It is a commonplace that military spending constitutes the major federal jobs program. Conservative estimates (including multiplier effects) are that from 1953, when the US's permanent global military apparatus was being established, through the rest of the 1950s, military spending generated 15%-20% of US jobs; in the 1960s the range was between 13% and 17%. In each year during those decades military spending supported at least 9.2 million and as many as 14.3 million jobs. Also, especially after the Korean War through the 1960s, these jobs typically provided security not just to in-

dividual workers, but rather to entire households.

These generally are well-paying jobs with lots of employment-related benefits, e.g., health care, insurance, pension plans, access to quality housing. Such benefits have been significantly better than average.

Disparate Benefits for Different Racial Groups

Available data illustrate clearly that throughout the post-WWII era the benefits provided by each and every component of the MWS disproportionately accrued to whites.

Veterans Programs. Jim Crow and related overt exclusionary policies en-

Veterans benefits enabled millions to join the middle class.

ured that African Americans' proportion of WWII veterans (6.9%) was significantly less than their portion of the total population (about 10%). In the Korean War veterans population they were nearly as underrepresented. This underrepresentation alone caused African Americans to receive far fewer benefits than whites from the first G.I. Bills. African Americans' inability to capitalize on these and subsequent veterans programs was exacerbated by additional factors that were products of current or past discriminatory practices. Thus, not only were far fewer blacks than whites able to participate in these programs, but those blacks who could participate received fewer benefits than their white counterparts.

Studies revealed that whites were far more likely than blacks to obtain college aid, while blacks were more likely to obtain training and vocational rehabilitation services. While this would be expected, given blacks' lower average educational levels, these variances had critical short- and long-term consequences. Not only was aid for higher education more generous than that for training and vocational rehab

services, but higher education obviously generated much higher economic returns.

Similarly, by the early 1960s only 19% of blacks vs. 30% of whites had obtained G.I. life insurance, and only 14% of blacks versus 35% of whites had gotten a VA home, farm or business loan. These variances might be expected, given blacks' lower incomes and hence greater difficulty in making regular payments. Nonetheless, they reveal starkly that blacks were far less able than whites to provide security for the families in the event of their untimely death, and that they were far less able to obtain the loans that could prove instrumental in attaining or enhancing economic success and wealth.

African Americans were twice as likely as whites to take advantage of VA hospitalization services, however. This was a function of the respective groups' alternatives: whites' higher incomes enabled them to use other hospitals, where, with the exception of facilities in the inner cities or extreme rural areas, the quality of care was generally recognized as superior to that provided in veterans hospitals.

Civilian Employment: The federal government has been a major source of jobs for African Americans since WWII, especially since the 1960s. From 1965 to 1980 their portion of the federal civilian workforce increased from 13.5% to 17%. However, their portion of the workforce in the civilian agencies dealing with "current military" (CM) activities — DoD, NASA, and the Atomic Energy Commission/Department of Energy (responsible for nuclear weapons production) — was much lower, going from 11.2% in 1965 to 12.7% in 1980. They comprised a much higher portion of the VA workforce — around 25% in both years.

However, during the 1965-1980 period, African Americans' portion of other civilian agencies' workforces was significantly higher than in the CM departments. In 1980, their proportions of the Postal Service's and the General Services Administration's workforces were about two and three

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Race and Space

by john powell

Race has been a major factor in the spatial configuration of our metropolitan areas. The outer-ring suburbs of metropolitan areas are overwhelmingly White (although recently minorities, and in particular middle-class Blacks, have participated in the move to the suburbs), and the inner cities are populated largely by people of color, especially Blacks. This spatial and racial pattern makes sharing or fairly distributing regional benefits almost impossible. White suburbanites resist regional strategies, reluctant to embrace something that will have negative economic consequences for them — which is rational, albeit short-sighted. Blacks also resist regional solutions because they fear a loss of cultural control or identity and a loss of political power.

Ignoring these claims from the minority community is a serious mistake. Doing so makes a regional solution into just one more solution imposed by Whites on people of color. Given the history of White and non-White relations in this country, particularly around the development of sprawl and metropolitan fragmentation, this is simply untenable. At a more practical level, in regions with a substantial minority population, regional approaches that do not engage the minority community will have difficulty gaining the necessary support. But regional solutions are imperative because a number of important inner-city problems are caused by regional forces, and thus can only be adequately addressed at the regional level. A failure to address central city problems adversely affects the entire region. The failure to adopt regional strategies adversely affects the central cities.

We need a regional approach that gives cities or communities a way to maintain appropriate control of their political and cultural institutions, while sharing in both regional resources and

balancing regional policy-making. We need an approach that avoids the myopia of local, fragmented governance and the blunt regionalism exercised by an overarching unit of government, such as a county or state, that can suffocate local governments.

The Metropolitan Area in Black and White

The economic and political isolation of poor minorities in the inner cities is caused by flight or sprawl, and fragmentation. The movement further away from the central cities to the suburbs is sprawl. The effect of the creation of rigid boundaries, which

A failure to address central city problems adversely affects the entire region.

separate municipalities from each other and more importantly from the central core, is fragmentation. As a result of these forces, minorities find themselves in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, where four out of ten of their neighbors (or they themselves) are poor. Of the more than 8.2 million people who live in these areas, more than half are Black, a quarter are Hispanic.

The residential segregation and concentration of poverty in neighborhoods inhabited by Blacks did not come about accidentally. It was constructed and is perpetuated through governmental housing and transportation policies, institutional practices and private behaviors. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Federal Housing Administration pursued an explicit policy against granting mortgages for homes in minority or integrated neighborhoods, and preferred to back new construction rather

than the purchase of existing units. Essentially, the FHA paid Whites to leave the central cities and confined Blacks to the central cities, which were, in turn, divested by the federal government and private capital. The national highway program facilitated exit from the central city and destabilized many urban neighborhoods. "Urban renewal" efforts destroyed stable Black neighborhoods. Local governments have also contributed to the problems of segregation and concentrated poverty through the ongoing practice of exclusionary zoning (requiring large minimum lot sizes or banning multi-family housing), which makes it nearly impossible for poor families to find affordable housing in White suburban communities. Similar private measures included but are not limited to the practice of block-busting by the real estate profession and the creation of racially restrictive covenants by homeowners.

The concentrated poverty that these kinds of policies create is usually ruinous to people's life chances. High levels of crime, drug use and other social pathologies emerge and become self-perpetuating. In addition to this poor quality of life, residents experience severely limited social and economic opportunities. The quality of schools, housing and municipal services and the availability of transportation and employment are undermined.

When one part of the region becomes dysfunctional, the entire area is compromised. This is what is happening with the inner cities and older suburbs — their difficulties are negatively affecting entire regions. Among other things, a poor and racially segregated urban core harms the reputation of the metropolitan region as a whole and makes it less inviting to international, national and local businesses as well as families looking for homes.

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But White suburbanites have traditionally resisted claims like these that tie them to the inner city. The justification for this resistance changes over time. The current justification is that the "culture of poverty" found in the inner cities will infiltrate protected suburban enclaves — a justification that is simply a new name for a long-standing racism directed toward the central cities.

White segregationism, or resistance to regionalism, manifests itself in support of in-place strategies. Such strategies attempt to move resources and opportunities to low-income central city residents, and to generate improvements in urban neighborhoods of color, as opposed to mobility-oriented schemes, which aim to disperse central city residents to existing opportunities. Whites want to keep minorities "immobile" and out of their suburban neighborhoods.

In-place strategies frequently receive support from minorities as well, though for different reasons. One motivation is the preservation of cultural identity. As Cornel West and others have argued, deconcentration of minorities can result in both assimilation of minorities who are pocketed in more affluent areas and dilution of culture in predominantly Black areas.

Minorities also fear the erosion of political power and the loss of control over the political process if the political base of their communities diminishes or the minority population is dispersed throughout the region. Minorities would often rather retain this control even if opportunity structures are lacking in their communities. Political power is actually a very complex issue. On the one hand, the geographic concentration of minorities does not guarantee their political cohesion, nor, given the challenges to majority-minority legislative districts, does it guarantee the election of minority candidates. Even if minority candidates do win office, they are likely to be isolated in the legislature. But on the other hand, mobility and the resulting dispersion of Blacks

throughout a metropolitan area may generate a backlash in some places, reducing Black political power. There is evidence of a White backlash against Black interests when the Black population rises above 30% of a voting district. While a mobility strategy seems to be a better choice for the creation and maintenance of economic power for communities of color, it is likely to undermine political power.

In fact, both mobility and in-place strategies by themselves are limited, because they address only part of the problem. One proposes political and cultural control of areas isolated and starved of economic resources; the

Both mobility and in-place strategies by themselves are limited.

other, the possibility of access to resources at the cost of a stifled political voice and cultural assimilation or marginalization. These one-sided approaches must be rejected because they fail to address both the economic and concentrated poverty issues of the central core while at the same time respecting the right to effective participation in political and cultural institutions.

Federated Regionalism as a Response to Minority Resistance

Federated regionalism attempts to balance both approaches by allowing entities within a metropolitan region to cooperate on some levels and remain separate on others. It is based on two premises: (1) many important issues within the inner cities and older suburbs can only be adequately addressed at a regional level and (2) some issues are of a local nature and are thus more effectively addressed by a local government.

A federated approach recognizes the regional nature of racial and economic segregation and provides a solution that

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integrates regional policymaking with local governance. An example is tax-base sharing, which, as practiced in Minnesota's Twin Cities, distributes the regional tax base according to regional needs without compromising local interests. Each city is allocated a certain share of the regional tax base but controls the tax rate for its residents, thereby maintaining authority and discretion over local issues. Another example is Portland's regional housing strategy. There, the regional governing body sets requirements for affordable housing, but municipalities maintain responsibility for zoning and how they choose to meet their share of the regional housing need.

While strategies of federated regionalism such as these can provide a balance between local governance and regional concerns, not all federated strategies strike that balance. Those that fail to do so can actually perpetuate regional fragmentation. An example is Indianapolis' Uni-Gov, which made regional many areas of governance but left the schools under existing local segregated boundaries. The ideal balance between "local" and "federated" must be responsive to concerns of communities of color and the problems of concentrated poverty. It is critical that racial minorities participate in the effort to strike that balance.

Minorities have cause to be wary of regional solutions to the problems of segregation and concentrated poverty. What little political power they wield seems at risk of dilution if regionalism further fragments their communities. In searching for regional strategies, we must steer between two extremes. One is to be so jealous of local control as to preserve political and cultural control, but in areas that are isolated and starved of economic resources. The other ex-

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times greater, respectively. And blacks comprised 24.6% of the combined workforces of what might be called the "social democratic" agencies — the Departments of Labor, HUD, HEW/HHS, Education and smaller related agencies (OEO/CSA, EEOC, and Civil Rights Commission).

Data show that there were significant differences in blacks' success in ascending the organizational hierarchies in the various sectors. They had far greater success securing positions in the upper echelons of the "social democratic" hierarchies than in the military departments, where they were relegated to the lower strata of both the white-collar and blue-collar categories. In 1980, for example, blacks' share of jobs in the upper white-collar grades in the "social democratic" sector was more than five times that in the CM sector, and their share of blue-collar supervisors jobs was over four times greater. African Americans' share of the jobs in upper white-collar grades in the "social democratic" sector was over three times that in the VA, while their share of jobs in the blue-collar supervisor category was 25% higher.

To appreciate the full impact of these disparities, note that the DoD and VA civilian workforces together have been larger than all other civilian agencies combined (excluding the Postal Service).

Private Arms Contractors: Past and continuing racism, combined with the location of the "Gunbelt" (the regions where arms production has been concentrated), severely limited African Americans' employment in the federally financed arms industry, the major sectors of which are the aerospace and electronics/communications industries. These relatively meager benefits are illustrated by 1966 and 1985 employment data. In 1966 blacks comprised only 4.5% of the total workforces of these industries. Although this increased to 8.2% by 1985, it was far less than their 12.1% weight in the total US workforce. These limited returns from the nation's major

public works program resulted from three principal factors.

First, the myriad limitations on blacks' educational opportunities constrained their ability to gain the training and credentials essential for the scientific-managerial jobs that are the leading occupational categories in the arms sector. In 1966 officials and managers, professionals and technicians comprised 40% of the workforces in both the aerospace and electronics and communications industries; by 1985 that proportion had risen to at least 45%. Blacks were certain to obtain relatively meager employment benefits from this largesse since

14% of blacks, 35% of whites got a VA home, farm or business loan.

they comprised only 5.7% of these job categories in 1970 and 10.7% in 1985.

Second, educational constraints and the racist practices of craft unions blocked African Americans' entry into the craft and metal trades that are the arms industry's most economically rewarding blue-collar jobs. Most notably, the International Association of Machinists, the leading metals workers union and the union with the most members in the arms industries, was renowned for its discriminatory practices well into the 1970s. As a result of this and related factors, as late as 1970 blacks comprised only 5.6% of those classified as craftworkers.

Finally, as the Gunbelt developed, the African American population increased markedly in the very states whose share of military spending — and the economic stimulus and jobs it provided — was plummeting. Specifically, between 1940 and 1980 the black population increased markedly in the "rust belt" states of New York (+321%), New Jersey (+307%), Pennsylvania (+123%), Ohio (+217%), Michigan (+476%) and Illinois (+609%), states which had contained major centers of armaments production during WWII. As the post-war Gunbelt developed, these states'

share of the DoD's prime contracts and military and civilian payrolls fell sharply. From 1951 to 1983, the share of DOD prime contract awards going to five of these states fell at least 56% and as much as 82%.

The deleterious effects private arms spending has had for African Americans are further highlighted by contrasting workforce data for the major arms industries (aerospace and electronics/communications) and the major rust belt industries (basic steel and autos). In contrast to their limited employment inroads into the arms industry, blacks made significant gains in the auto and steel industries, comprising 13.3% of their total workforces in 1966 and 14.9% in 1985. The returns from these hard-won gains were significantly limited, however, since the total number of jobs in these industries fell from 1.5 million to 1.2 million between 1966 and 1985, while the number of jobs in the arms industries increased from 1.6 million to 2.1 million.

The Armed Services. While the uniformed services are regarded by many as the major institution where blacks have made their greatest advances in American society (perhaps the most compelling indicator of this is that African Americans' rates of enlistment and re-enlistment in the uniformed services consistently have exceeded those of whites'), this opportunity must be assessed in the context of the marked lack of viable employment opportunities available to blacks in civilian life. Because of this, blacks' high rates of entry and retention in the armed forces can be seen as a form of economic conscription. Moreover, the returns from their service seem significantly less than those accruing to whites.

Several points are worth noting. First, the percentage of blacks in the services was not proportional to their numbers in the population until the early seventies. It peaked at 18.6% in 1981, after which the share of white enlistees increased because of the combination of bad economic conditions, improved compensation and recruitment policy changes. Second, the pro-

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portion of blacks in the Army has always been higher than that in the other services, due to lower entrance standards (set to allow for the Army's higher casualty rates). Third, the percentage of black officers has consistently been lower than their numbers in the services would seem to warrant. In 1985, when the percent of black officers was at its highest to that point, 18.9% of total personnel but only 6.4% of officers were black. Fourth, black officers and enlisted personnel alike have consistently been concentrated in the lower echelons. African Americans were 6.4% of all officers but only 2.6% of those in the upper grades in 1985. This portion had been unchanged since the late 1970s. Likewise, blacks comprised 21% of all enlisted personnel in 1985 but only 16.3% of those in upper grades (down from 17.2% in 1983). Studies from the late 1960s to the early 1980s revealed that blacks were not promoted as fast as whites, even controlling for Armed Forces Qualifying Test scores. Finally, black officers and enlisted personnel have been systematically concentrated in the least desirable occupational categories. (Again, this occurred even when controlling for AFQT scores.) This inhibits their opportunities for advancement, equips them with fewer skills that are valuable in the civilian labor market, and increases the likelihood they will be a combat casualty.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis demonstrates that African Americans have obtained far fewer benefits than whites from each and every component of the Militarized Welfare State. Thus, the post-war military apparatus and the MWS it funds have been major mechanisms through which racial inequality and poverty have been perpetuated since WWII.

The answer to the "so what?" question seems clear. That is, as many have long argued, a necessary but not suf-

ficient condition for diminishing racial inequality and poverty is the dismantling of the military state. This is essential not just because military spending diverts resources from human needs, but because it directly reproduces the racial inequalities that are fundamental causes of poverty.

The answer to the "what is to be done?" question seems no less clear. Those working for social and economic justice must re-examine the reasoning and structures that have fragmented progressive forces into a variety of

Unnecessary military spending fueled a racialized military welfare state.

single-issue groups. Part of this re-examination must be a better understanding of how unnecessary military spending is fueled not merely by "national security" concerns (however they are defined) or a "military industrial complex" but rather a *racialized military welfare state* as well. Social and economic justice groups must develop strategies to overcome their compartmentalization so they can fight both single-issue and broad-based battles.

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treme is a regionalism that offers access to resources at the cost of a stifled political voice and cultural assimilation or marginalization. We need a metropolitan approach that addresses both the economic and concentrated poverty issues of the central core while respecting the right to effective participation in political and cultural institutions.

Tensions between local concerns and the needs of the whole metropolitan region are healthy. Structuring these tensions in a way that leads to true democratic cooperation in metropolitan planning - cooperation that transcends racial polarization - is the challenge.

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WAY TO GO, CAROLINA!

We're delighted to note that, among November's election news, the good folks of South Carolina decided to remove a 103-year old ban on interracial marriage from their state constitution. The provision forbade the "marriage of a white person with a Negro or mulatto or a person who shall have one-eighth or more of Negro blood." (The ban was unenforceable in any case under a 1967 Supreme Court decision invalidating a similar element in the Virginia constitution.) Next stop: Alabama, where a similar 1901 constitutional clause exists - currently being challenged by that state's NAACP chapter.

Race Initiative Commentaries

This is Round 2 of the symposium we began in the Nov./Dec. 1998 issue of responses to the Sept. 18 Report to the President by The Advisory Board to the President's Race Initiative, headed by John Hope Franklin. The Halbritter, Anderson and Allen statements first appeared in the December 1998 issue of American Indian Report. Readers who missed the first round – with contributions by S.M. Miller, Clarence Lusane, Bill Ong Hing, Jonathan Kozol, Frances Fox Piven, Carmen Joge/Charles Kamsaki, Lillian Wilmore and Frank Wu – can send for a copy (enclose a SASE). And those who missed our very first treatment of this issue – the 27 "Advice to the Advisory Board" essays we published in two successive issues a year ago – can get those with a large SASE (\$1.47 postage). Look for PRRAC's "counter-report" to the President's own report, both out soon.

Politainment and an Extended Renaissance Weekend

by Marcus Raskin

A year and a half ago our National Seminar Leader, President Clinton, wanted to arrange what we might describe as an extended Renaissance Weekend for all of us. It would be about race and civil rights. It would also have the character of an encounter group where all complaints of the national dysfunctional family are supposedly aired. All members would then feel better, "process their issues," take part in a collective "I hear you" and then go on with their lives. The Extended Weekend would have created a new language of politesse, damned certain words as not appropriate in polite company and end with hugs all the way around by the closing of the event.

The National Seminar Leader would be praised for his openness and his willingness to "hear" all sides while he would be preparing his next "national dialogue" about, say, gutting the Social Security system. On matters of race, the governing process would be reduced to an arm around complainants in which we would hear each other's pain. If we could listen carefully through the static, we might think of government as our personal facilitator, but this conclusion would be

mistaken. Government would not be big brother so much as distant cousin talking to us through a bad connection on a long distance telephone wire. We would find, in fact, that there was no cousin on the other end but the syrupy, mechanical sound of a voice telling us to "hold" because our vote was important to the National Leader.

Nevertheless, as a result of the process, if it would work the way it was intended in the mind of the National Seminar Leader, the public would have internalized the idea that democracy is nothing more than poll data and focus groups punctuated by claims that democracy is chatter which goes nowhere and is meant to go nowhere.

But the seminar was interrupted by another, more powerful mode of social communication. It was the coming of age of politainment. The media were not going to take their cue from the style of national encounter groups, which could only give us pictures of talking heads, screaming anguish and dull words. They were going to take their cues from entertainment. What could be better than turning on the National Seminar Leader? He was morphed into the traveling preacher who was caught with his pants down. The Seminar Leader who had attended many Renaissance Weekends explained himself in linguistic ways which would have filled the hearts of medieval casuists with great pride. For the populace, politainment had a price. It meant that all other concerns had to end as the national dysfunctional fam-

ily yielded to the debate of when, where and who could give or get what kind of sex. What should be said about them to nonparticipants became the new chatter coin of the realm traded in the media, Congress and academe.

The errant National Seminar Leader needed all the friends he could get in the politainment play. So he turned to the very part of the community which he did little for: the African American community. Left behind was our extended Renaissance Weekend on race. It was a vague memory, mush in our minds leading nowhere.

But there is one question left for the rest of us. Do we think we could do better? Let us imagine the following: Suppose all those who claim more wisdom than those who wrote the Franklin report began from the premise that while democracy is a dialogue, it is more than a dialogue. Could we write – and then act on – a national report that would be different, better, more lively and result in practical projects that would indeed lead to a different covenant among the people? I like to think so. But let's see whether anyone among us will respond. And let's see how the President responds to the Franklin report. Will the combination preacherman and seminar leader remember who in the family stood by him?

Marcus Raskin is Distinguished Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies and on the Public Policy Department Faculty at George Washington University. □

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"One America" - To What Ends?

by Sam Hussein

The report is 121 pages. I've delved into it. I could immerse myself in it and write a dissertation, but who would read it? For a short piece, it's enough to just look at the cover — and consider how this administration uses this issue as cover.

"One America in the 21st Century" is the title. Not "Finally Overcoming Racism." Not "Towards an America of Equality." "One America" — is that really the point? Should that be the goal of this race initiative?

National cohesion is the driving concern here. How can we make these differing ethnicities get along well enough to ensure that this stays one nation is a question elites must ask themselves. We are called to "overcome the burden of race." In some respects, the people — their very genetic makeup and heritage — is implicitly viewed as a threat to the great goal: "One America." Is that more important than reaffirming our humanity with regards to ethnicity? Indeed, humanity is viewed at best as a mere lever, a tactic for national unity, just as racial diversity is viewed as a means to economic success.

There is some truth in the notion that governments should not legislate morality. So the issue foremost on this administration's mind should be: "Are we doing anything that is fostering racism? Are we carrying out the laws that are on the books properly? Or are we applying punishments, such as the death penalty, in a manner that is prejudicial? Are police harassing African Americans on the highways? Are security personnel stopping Arab Americans more than others at airports?" Bill Clinton can ask himself: "Did I do virtually nothing to stop the disaster in Rwanda because their skin was darker than mine?" and "Am I keeping the sanctions in place in Iraq because the greatest victims — 4,500 Iraqi children dying every month — belong to a group that has been cast as "the other" — the great non-Ameri-

can ethnicity?"

Can we really talk about "The President's Initiative on Race" with some seriousness? Clinton lied to — and about — Lani Guinier; he signed the crime and the welfare bills. Clinton — when he had a Democratic majority — did not invoke "one person one vote" to rally support for DC statehood. The president did, however, run down to DC from Martha's Vineyard when he ordered the launching of missiles, in total violation of international law, at a pharmaceutical plant in the Sudan, apparently to distract from his sex scandals. Few recall that this same man, when the Jennifer Flowers story was breaking, pulled his first "wag the dog" on the national stage by running down to Arkansas to oversee the frying of a retarded black man.

Of course, "One America in the 21st Century: Forging a New Future" could be used as a title for things other than "The President's Initiative on Race." Say, on economics. What would that title mean in that context? Perhaps on healthcare, where this administration portrayed itself as challenging the health insurance companies while it was actually in cahoots with the insurance giants as they clashed

with the smaller players. The Clinton administration doesn't seem interested in forging "One America" economically, where we "overcome the burden of economics." "One America" was not of a great deal of concern to the 14 billionaires who gave up their US citizenship to avoid paying taxes a few years back.

Bill Clinton's presumed hero, John F. Kennedy, said, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." And here, we are asked to address the "burden of race" — for the good of the country.

We have accepted a Divine Right of Nations. Walter Mondale said that "America is forever." Wouldn't true religious people view that as idolatry? Nations are made to serve humans. It is people who are born with inalienable rights. It is governments that must not trample on those rights. Patriotism has become less an expression of love for those around you, or a devotion to timeless principles, than blind allegiance.

Sam Hussein is former media director for the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. □

The Native American Community Responds

by Ron Allen, Marge Anderson & Ray Halbritter

Allen: I believe that it requires the U.S. to unequivocally recognize the tribal governments' authority as governments and their role to advance the welfare of the Indian Community and the people. So that the tribes have the capacity to advance their economic development ventures, and that would include the recognition that they are governments that are not taxable, that they have the right to engage in any other activity that any other govern-

ment does to provide the services needed by the Indian Community, to assist people in their achievement of professional and vocational aspirations.

Anderson: There are important differences between the struggles of American Indians and the struggles of other racial groups in this country. The obvious one is that we did not immigrate here. We were not forced to

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Slavery/Apologies/Reparations

Periodically, we print a box like this with various items and resources touching on the issues of slavery, apologies and reparations (historically and in the present, US and internationally). Herewith the current batch. (If you'd like a set of past such boxes, send us a SASE — and, for those of you who don't yet have a copy of PRRAC's 1997 book Double Exposure: Poverty & Race in America, there's a really good 10-page symposium on the reparations issue; the 258-page book is available from us for \$25.45)

• Reparations are a major element of the work of South Africa's Truth & Reconciliation Commission — "Without adequate reparation and rehabilitation measures, there can be no healing or reconciliation.... The government should thus accept responsibility for reparation." (One of the Commission's recommendations is for all businesses to pay a "reparations tax" of 1% of their net worth.) The Commission's massive full report can be downloaded (but only until Jan. 29) at www.truth.org.za. Volume V, "Reparations & Rehabilitation Policy," details the legal and moral basis for reparations, the underlying principles, the various forms it might take, who is entitled to reparations, etc. — if you are unable to download, we can mail you a copy of the 15-page Volume V with a SASE — 78¢ postage.

• Germany's new chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, in response to various class action lawsuits, appears willing to compensate people forced into slave labor under Hitler and is bringing together representatives of major corporations (who fear bad publicity and boycotts) to develop a system for carrying this out. Volkswagen has announced it is setting up a \$20 million fund for this purpose.

• Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi formally apologized to China's President Jiang Zemin for Japan's conduct during World War II. (However, the Chinese regard the apology, delivered orally, as inadequate and are demanding a clear-cut written apology, similar to the one Japan gave to South Korea in November.)

• We highly recommend the new 355-page book (with audiotapes), *Remembering Slavery: African Americans Talk About Their Personal Experience of Slavery & Freedom*, edited by Ira Berlin, Marc Favreau & Steven Miller (New Press), which draws on the remastered audio recordings of former slaves interviewed during the late 1930s and early 1940s, as well as written transcripts of interviews carried out by the New Deal's Federal Writers Project.

• Pres. Clinton has signed into law the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Study Site Act of 1998, ex-

huming an 1864 attack by 700 US soldiers on a peaceful Cheyenne village, located in the territory of Colorado in which hundreds of Indians, mainly women and children, were killed. The unwarranted attack was investigated by a military commission and two Congressional committees, and although the US admitted guilt, treaty obligations between the US government and the Cheyenne & Arapaho tribes were never fulfilled. The Act requires the Natl. Park Service to submit a study to Congress and detail proposals to create a Historic Site at Sand Creek. This belated attempt at apology/restitution, coming 134 years after the event, suggests a counterexample to those who take the "it's too late" position regarding reparations for African Americans slavery (Rep. John Conyers, D-MI, has a bill to study this that for many years hasn't ever made it out of committee) and the stalled Resolution sponsored by Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) and 15 other Members of Congress to issue a formal US Government apology for slavery.

• Marge Anderson, chief executive of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe Indians in Onamia, MN, asked in an interview printed in the Dec. 1998 issue of *American Indian Report*, "Do you think there is any point in receiving an apology from the US government?," replied: "I believe a formal apology would make a difference in how the public perceives us. It would be an acknowledgment that wrong was done to us, and that we have suffered because of those wrongs. Of course an apology wouldn't solve the grave problems that American Indians face. But it would be a good start toward healing and reconciliation.

The Canadian government has taken this step. It has formally apologized to its 1.3 million indigenous people for a century and a half of misguided assistance programs and racist schools. The government has promised to establish a \$245 million healing fund for thousands of Canadian Indians who were taken from their homes and sent away to these schools, and it has outlined social and economic development programs.

The American government has not taken similar steps. I hope American officials learn from the example their Canadian counterparts have set, and issue an apology to this country's First People." □

PRRAC Advocacy Updates

Center for Community Change
1055 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 1600
Los Angeles, CA 90017
213/250-4045
Ochsm@commchange.org
Contact: Mary Ochs

There has been a big win in Southern California at the grassroots level. The two-year-old Alameda Corridor Jobs Coalition (ACJC), which grew to more than 36 organizations – community development corporations, religious organizations, block clubs and public housing residents – won recognition from the Alameda Corridor Transportation Authority (ACTA) for an unprecedented work and training set-aside package. ACTA, which once argued that federal Department of Transportation regulations prohibited their committing to local hiring, agreed to ACJC demands for 30% of work hours and funding for 1,000 local residents to receive pre-apprentice construction training (650 slots) and non-construction management training (350 slots).

The \$2 billion Alameda Corridor rail and highway improvement project stretches 20 miles from downtown LA to the Port of Long Beach, passing through eight cities, and near six public housing developments in the City of Los Angeles, three in the San Pedro area, three in South Los Angeles. ACJC received technical assistance from Mary Ochs of the Center for Community Change, who, with Jacqueline Leavitt, a UCLA professor in urban planning, published the PRRAC report, "Failing, But Not Fooling Public Housing Residents." Reviewing overall job intervention strategies, the report came out favoring areawide local hiring preferences, i.e., ordinances or negotiated agreements; and municipal agreements that require and/or promote the hiring of residents in neighborhoods or communities where public dollars are to be spent on contracts, grants or loans.

Other strategies were found lacking, either because people fail to earn a living wage, as in microenterprises or programs such as enterprise zones, which are unable to attract or create significant numbers of jobs. The government's largest job training program, JTPA (Job Training Partnership Act), was also found deficient, frequently leading people into low-wage or no wage jobs.

ACJC developed an inclusive process at each step in its struggle with ACTA. In addition to the Center for Community Change, the Legal Aid Foundation of Long Beach provided technical assistance, and the increasingly strong Coalition secured support from key state and national representatives. Central to the process, ACJC established the Training and Education Corporation (TEC), which will receive just over \$1 million over the project's three-year-life. ACJC forged a partnership with the Carpenters Educational Training Institute and WINTER (Women in Non-Traditional Employment Roles) to provide construction training (a mix of classroom and hands-on training for which enrollees will receive a stipend) and special services such as mentoring for women. ACJC TEC is about to hire a staff to oversee and coordinate outreach, assessment of enrollees and case management, activities to be conducted by many of the ACJC members. The Coalition is also poised to hire a full-time organizer, and future plans include fundraising so that ACJC can put in place an independent monitoring-for-compliance system.

The win is all the sweeter, coming after outgoing Governor Pete Wilson abolished a key state affirmative action program. The PRRAC-sponsored report provided a research base that Ochs was able to draw on, integrating crucial ideas about job training, job opportunities and education into ACJC's mission and position statement. While the report focused on

public housing residents, its recommendations pointed to the need for building broader coalitions that expand place-based issues beyond one housing development. ACJC is an outstanding example that supports such an approach. Most significantly, ACJC reflects the advocacy intent informing the PRRAC research: ACJC really listened to voices in the communities, from people who said they were tired of being unemployed, tired of living in poverty, tired of winding up in dead-end jobs and tired of being failed by publicly-financed programs. ACJC then went further, refusing to be fooled by tired excuses, and winning the work/training package.

"Failing, But Not Fooling, Public Housing Residents: The Impact of Job Interventions" (93 pp., February 1997) is available from Prof. Jacqueline Leavitt, Urban Planning, UCLA, CA 90095-1656; 310/825-4380, jleavitt@pop.ben2.ucla.edu.

Chicago Coalition for the Homeless
1325 S. Wabash
Chicago, IL 60605
312/435-4548
RHeybach@aol.com
Contact: Rene Heybach

Salazar v. Edwards was settled with a comprehensive written agreement in November 1996, with full implementation to occur in March 1997. Its chief accomplishments were to (a) create clear rules to apply re: who is homeless, choice of schools, mode of transportation, records and grievance issues; and (b) close a segregated and inferior school which was steering homeless children out of the regular neighborhood schools. The settlement has greatly expanded access to, and stability in, education for homeless children in Chicago. And, because the Illinois State Board of Education was a defendant, Illinois settled by adopt-

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STUDENTS, FACULTY, ORGANIZATION STAFFERS, EVERYONE!

TAKE PART IN PRRAC'S SUMMER 1999 AMERICAN UNIV. INSTITUTE COMMEMORATING THE 35th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT.

PRRAC IS OFFERING SIX COURSES (for 3 graduate or undergrad credits, or non-credit) OVER TWO SESSIONS AT AMERICAN UNIV. (WASH., DC). SOME EXTEND OVER SIX WEEKS, SOME ARE AS SHORT AS TWO WEEKS. MOST ARE HELD IN THE EVENING. ALL ARE BEING TAUGHT BY GREAT FOLKS. SOME SCHOLARSHIP FUNDS AVAILABLE.

HERE ARE THE OFFERINGS:

• **"GAINS/LOSSES/PROSPECTS OF BLACKS & OTHER RACIAL MINORITIES SINCE 1964,"** coordinated by Chester Hartman, PRRAC Exec. Dir. with Staff. *Mon. & Wed., May 24-July 1, 5:30-8:40 pm*

The course will examine the status of African Americans & other racial minorities with respect to six problem areas, each addressed for a week by specialists: *Housing:* Florence Roisman, Univ. of Indiana Law School, former PRRAC Board member. *Health:* Jane Perkins, Natl. Health Law Program, PRRAC Board member. *Criminal Justice:* Angela Jordan Davis, American Univ. Law School. *Welfare:* Jocelyn Frye, Natl. Partnership for Women & Families. *Employment:* Helen Norton, Civil Rights Div., US Dept. of Justice. *Voting Rights:* Allan Lichtman, American Univ. History Dept.

• **"WOMEN & THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT,"** taught by Elsa Barkley Brown, Univ. of Maryland. *Mon. & Wed., July 6-Aug. 13, 5:30-8:40 pm*

The course examines the Civil Rights Movement from the vantage point of women, in terms of their involvement in the campaigns & protests and the impact the Movement has had on women's condition, status & identity. Principal focus is on the Black Civil Rights Movement, but attention also will be paid to parallels with the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement. Students will consider the ethical & pragmatic issues in the Movement, such as developing & sustaining social commitment, assessing the strengths & weaknesses of formal organizations, raising money, maximizing political influence & securing long-range objectives. The class will evaluate the cultural dynamics of political organizing & social change. Students will look at ways in which contemporary popular culture positions women in their remembrances of the civil rights struggles.

• **"RACISM IN FILM,"** taught by James Loewen, Smithsonian Inst. (& author, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*). *Tues. & Thurs., July 6-Aug. 13, 5:30-8:40 pm*

Students will assess movies that cover a range of topics across ethnic populations: Native Americans, slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Movement, Latinos & Asian Americans in the US. Films include *Mississippi Burning*, *Gone With The Wind*, *Pocahontas*, *White Dawn*, *Birth of a Nation*, *Rosewood*, *Glory*, *Four Little Girls*,

A Time to Kill, *Hoop Dreams*, *Dim Sum*. Students will complete projects that focus on a film or director related to one of the course themes.

• **"ADDRESSING RACISM IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA,"** taught by PRRAC board member John Powell & Gavin Kearney, Univ. of Minn. Inst. on Race & Poverty. *Mon./Tues./Wed./Thurs., July 12-29, 5:30-8:40 pm*

An intensive course on the changing meaning of race & the challenges of addressing racial hierarchy in the post-Civil Rights era. Topics include the limitations of traditional civil rights remedies for the de facto racism that has replaced de jure racism; the effects of globalization on racial dynamics & our understanding of race; the rapid increase in concentrated poverty over the last several decades; the way spatial mechanisms are used to maintain racial & economic segregation & inequality of opportunity in urban areas; the implications of increasing privatization on efforts to eradicate racism. The course also examines the legal & policy responses intended to address these problems.

• **"CIVIL RIGHTS: WRONGS, REMEDIES, PRINCIPLES & PRAGMATISM,"** taught by Frank Wu, Howard Univ. Law School. *Tues./Wed./Thurs., June 8-July 1, 5:30-8:40 pm*

An intensive course that examines the history of legal discrimination on the basis of race, the Constitutional doctrines of equal protection, the political dynamics in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the legal treatment of gender & disability.

• **"PUTTING THE 'MOVEMENT' BACK INTO CIVIL RIGHTS TEACHING,"** taught by Deborah Menkart, National Network of Educators on the America and Staff. *Daily, June 22-July 1, 9am-3pm*

An intensive course, primarily for K-12 educators, including teachers, administrators, school board members, parents. Participants will explore ways to teach about the Civil Rights Movement from a social justice perspective so that students can apply the lessons from the Movement to their work for equity today. Materials & methods of instruction are readily adaptable to K-12 classroom instruction and include video, films, role-playing, literature, field trips & attention to local history.

IN ADDITION TO THESE SIX COURSES, THE PRRAC/A.U. INSTITUTE WILL FEATURE AN ACCOMPANYING LECTURE SERIES BY LEADING CIVIL RIGHTS FIGURES, A WONDERFUL PHOTO EXHIBIT, AND A FILM SERIES.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION OR TO REGISTER, CONTACT PRRAC (see bottom of cover page of this issue of *P&R* for various options) OR THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OFFICE OF SUMMER SESSIONS, 888/765-2571.

ing a far-reaching policy which requires schools throughout the state to make efforts to keep homeless children in the home school (the "school of origin") whenever possible. Other important aspects of the settlement which call for proactive efforts by the Chicago Board of Education to find and serve homeless youth and coordinate community efforts to assist them are not being complied with. Indeed, the Homeless Education Program at the Chicago Public Schools appears resistant to initiating any efforts even remotely designed to enlarge services to these needy children. As the City of Chicago gentrifies, the public schools' commitment to the poorest of youth seems weaker than ever. An article authored by counsel describing the long-term struggle of homeless parents in *Salazar* to force Chicago schools to comply with the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act educational provisions, "Enforcing the Educational Rights of Homeless Children and Youth: Focus on Chicago," appeared in the May-June 1998 issue of *Clearinghouse Review* (Natl. Clearinghouse for Legal Services, 205 W. Monroe St., 2nd Floor, Chicago, IL 60606, 312/263-3830). □

Want to Present Your Work to a Washington Audience?

We'll be glad to host and help you publicize a presentation of your research and/or advocacy work on race and poverty issues. Let us know well in advance when you'll be in Washington, give us guidance on whom or what kinds of people to invite, and we'll send out the notices and sponsor your talk (usually best held during lunchtime).

FREEBIE!

"The Role of Social Science in School Desegregation Efforts: The St. Louis Example" is the just-published issue of *The Journal of Negro Education*, co-edited by PRRAC Board member William L. Taylor, Dianne Piché and William T. Trent.

We're offering a copy of this 160-page issue free, providing you send us a self-addressed label and \$3 in postage (Priority Mail).

Articles, based on expert trial reports, include Trent ("Outcomes of School Desegregation: Findings from Longitudinal Research," "Why

the Gap Between Black and White Performance in School?"); Sam Stringfield & Rebecca Herman ("Research on Effective Instruction for At-Risk Students: Implications for the St. Louis Public Schools"); Dennis Judd ("The Role of Governmental Policies in Promoting Residential Segregation in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area"); Michael Puma ("The Prospects [study] Response"); and trial testimony/deposition excerpts from Gary Orfield, Eric Hanushek, Kern Alexander and David Arnor.

(ALLEN, ANDERSON, HALBRITTER: Continued from page 8)

relocate here as slaves. We are the first Americans.

But in some respects, our story is similar to the stories of other racial groups. While I don't pretend to be an expert on African Americans or Asian Americans or Hispanic Americans, I do know that these people — like my People — have struggled for years to keep from being swallowed up by the dominant culture. American Indians have had to fight off deliberate attacks against our culture, as well as sincere but misguided attempts to help us assimilate. I'm sure these are struggles that sound familiar to other racial groups.

Halbritter: Minority groups in America share a struggle with racism in one form or another. The fundamental difference between sovereignty and equal protection under the law makes our struggle to maintain our identity unlike that of any other ethnic group. Our governments, laws and

cultures existed long before the United States and its laws came into being. Our sovereign rights are recognized in repeated treaties with the federal government. Yet that same federal government continually passes laws that infringe on those sovereign rights. And state and local governments often enact legislation and pursue court actions that completely disregard Indian sovereignty. Only the American Indian in this country is engaged in this never-ending struggle to protect our pre-existing inherent sovereign rights.

Ron Allen is President of the National Congress of American Indians and Chairman of the Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe in Sequim, WA; Marge Anderson is Chief Executive of the Mille Lacs Band of Jibwe Indians in Onamia, MN; Ray Halbritter is Oneida Nation representative and CEO of Oneida Nations Enterprises, Oneida, NY. □

PRRAC Update

• PRRAC Board member William L. Taylor has just been named President of the Leadership Conference Education Fund.

• Our thanks to the following for recent financial contributions: Carol Bernstein Ferry, Patricia Bauman, Bert & Anne Fretz. □

Resources

When ordering items from the Resources Section, please note that most listings direct you to contact an organization other than PRRAC. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (32¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate which issue of P&R you are ordering from.

Race/Racism

- "What Ever Happened to Integration?," a 19-page symposium co-edited by Eric Foner & Randall Kennedy, appeared in the Dec. 14, 1998, issue of *The Nation*. Included are contributions by Robin D.G. Kelley, Douglas Massey/Mary Fisher, Manning Marable et al. We'll send a copy with a SASE (78¢ postage).

- "The Pendulum Swings: Affirmative Action & Recent Supreme Court Decisions," by Ruskin Lewis & Sahadeo Patram, is a 20-page article in the Winter/Spring 1998 issue of *Challenge: A Journal of Research on African American Men*, Morehouse Research Inst., 830 Westview Dr. SW, Atlanta, GA 30314-3773. Subs. to the semi-annual are \$10, \$25 libraries.

- **Latino Studies Videos:** Contact the

Cinema Guild re its collection (including *A Bridge Over the Caribbean*; *Manos a la Obra: The Story of Operation Bootstrap*; *Puerto Rico: Art & Identity*): 1697 Broadway, NYC, 10019-5904, 212/246-5522, E-mail: TheCinemaG@aol.com.

- **A Language Rights Checklist** — revised after passage of California's Prop. 227 — is available (likely free), in Spanish & English, from META (Multicultural Educ., Trng. & Advocacy), 785 Market St., #420, SF, CA 94103, 415/546-6382, E-mail: hn1324@handsnet.org.

- **The State of Black America: 1998**, ed. Lee A. Daniels (320 pp.), is available (\$24.95) from The Natl. Urban League, 120 Wall St., NYC, NY 10005, 212/558-5316. Among the 9 essays (plus a volume overview by Hugh Price, "The Political Economy of Black America" & a 270-page Appendix, "African Americans Then & Now, A Statistical Overview") are: "Closing the Asset Gap," by Melvin Oliver & Thomas Shapiro; "A Common Purpose: Putting It All Together to Transform Neighborhoods," by Lisbeth Schorr; "The Future of Work & Who Will Get It," by Julianne Malveaux; "Jobless Ghettos: The Impact of the Disappearance of Work in Segregated Neighborhoods," by William Julius Wilson; "New Standards, Old Inequalities: The Current Challenge for African-American Education," by Linda Darling-Hammond; "The State of African-

* Please drop us a line letting us know how useful our Resources Section is to you, as both a lister and requester of items. We hear good things, but only sporadically. Having a more complete sense of the effectiveness of this networking function will help us greatly in foundation fundraising work (and is awfully good for our morale). Drop us a short note, letting us know if it has been/is useful to you (how many requests you get when you list an item, how many items you send away for, etc.) Thank you.

American Politics," by Martin Kilson.

- **"And Don't Call Me Racist": A Treasury of Quotes on the past, present & future of the color line in America**, selected/arranged by Ella Mazel (164 pp., 1998), is available, free and in quantities, from Argonaut Press, One Militia Dr., Lexington, MA 02421, 781/674-2056 E-mail: ellam@webtv.net. Mazel is reachable at 781/862-4521 after 11 am.

- **"How Community Efforts to Reduce Substance Abuse Have Influenced Race Relations"** is a 11-page, 1998 (?) conference report, available (free) from Join Together, 441 Stuart St., 6th flr., Boston, MA 02116, 617/437-1500. A complementary report is "How Efforts to Fight Substance Abuse Have Strengthened Civic Infrastructure."

- **The American GI Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream, 1948-1983**, by Henry A.J. Ramos with Foreword by Raul Yzaguirre (185 pp., 1998), is available (\$14.95) from Arta Publico Press, Univ. Houston, Houston, TX 77204-2174. The American GI Forum was "the first Latino civil rights

organization to successfully take cases to the US Supreme Court on behalf of Latino community interests... to lobby for Latino-focused legislation in Congress... to conduct meaningful business with the White House. The Forum developed Latino community organizing models during the 40s and 50s that are the foundation for today's most critical Latino community nonprofits: NCLR, MALDEF, NALEAO." The book is being distributed free to selected high schools, colleges, libraries, community nonprofits. The author can be reached at Mauer Kunst Consulting, 2406 Cedar St., Berkeley, CA 94708, 510/843-3536, E-mail: mkc@flash.net.

- **"California Latino Demographic Databook,"** by Jon Stiles, Jonathan Cohen, Zachary Edlins & Frederic Gey, is a 7-page, Oct. 1998 CPS Brief, available (no price given) from the Calif. Policy Seminar, 1950 Addison St., #202, Berkeley, CA 94704-1182, 510/642-5514. The full 218-page report is available for \$30.

- **Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture & Society** is a new quarterly interdis-

disciplinary journal sponsored by Columbia University's Inst. for Research in African-American Studies. Manning Marable is Editor-in-Chief, and the Editorial Advisory Board and Contributing Editors list comprise a stellar cast — among others: Dennis Brutus, Johnetta Cole, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Cornel West, Angela Davis, (ex-PRRAC Board member) Bill Fletcher, Jr., Berenice Johnson-Reagon, (PRRAC Board member) John Powell, Howard Winant, Eric Foner. The inaugural issue is Winter 1999 ("Home to Harlem"). Subs are \$35 indivs., \$25 students, \$75 insts. from Westview Press, 5500 Central Ave., Boulder, CO 80301, 800/386-5656. Submissions to: 758 Schermerhorn Ext., Mail Code 5512, 1200 Amsterdam Ave., NYC, NY 10027.

• **"Opportunities Lost: The State of Public Sector Affirmative Action in Post Proposition 209 California"** (32 pp. + Apps., Nov. 1998), a joint project of Chinese for Affirmative Action & Equal Rights Advocates, is available (\$10) from ERA, 1663 Mission St., #550, SF, CA 94103, 415/621-0672; it can also be downloaded from www.equalrights.org.

• **"Forging a Korean American Civil Rights Agenda for the New Era,"** the annual celebration of the Natl. Korean American Service & Educ. Consortium (headed by PRRAC Board member Chung-Wah Hong), will be held **May 29** in LA (a change from the original Oct. date). NAKASEC also has a publications list. Contact them at 143-32 Ash Ave.,

#100, Flushing, NY 11355, 718/445-3939, E-mail: nakasec@sprynet.com.

Poverty/ Welfare

• **"Income Support & Social Services for Low-Income People in California,"** by Rob Green, Wendy Zimmerman, Toby Douglas, Sheila Zedlewski & Shelley Waters Boots, is a 7-page, Nov. 1998 report, available, free, from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, E-mail: paffairs@ui.urban.org.

• **"Welfare Reform & Its Impact in the Nation & in NYC,"** by Timothy Casey, is available (no price given) from the author, Advocacy & Research Dept., Fed. of Protestant Welfare Agencies, 281 Park Ave. S., NYC, NY 10019, 212/777-4800, E-mail: HN6281@handsnet.org.

• **"Child Care Assistance under Welfare Reform: Early Responses by the States,"** by Sharon Long, Gretchen Kirby, Robin Kurka & Shelley Waters (21 pp., Sept. 1998), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, E-mail: paffairs@ui.urban.org.

• **"Saving Social Security in 3 Steps,"** by Dean Baker, is a 22-page Briefing Paper (n.d. [1998]), available (no price listed) from the Econ. Policy Inst., 1660 L St. NW, #1200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810.

• **"Welfare Reform: Early Fiscal Effects on the TANF Block Grant,"** a Aug. 1998 GAO report (GAO/AIMD-98-137), is available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

• **"Income Support & Social Services for Low-Income People in Mass.,"** by Gretchen Kirby, LaDonna Pavetti, Karen Maguire & Rebecca Clark, is a 5-page, Sept. 1998, report, available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687.

• **"The Welfare-to-Work Grants Program: A New Link in the Welfare Reform Chain,"** by Demetra Smith Nightingale & Kathleen Brennan, is a 7-page, Sept. 1998 report, available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687.

Community Organizing

• **"Working for Justice: The Campaign for Human Development & Poor Empowerment Groups,"** by John McCarthy & Jim Castelli (86 pp., Nov. 1994), is available (no price given) from the Campaign, 3211 4th Street, NE, Washington, DC 20017, 202/541-3210.

Criminal Justice

• **"Racially Disproportionate Outcomes in Processing Drug Cases,"** by Eric Strerling (7 pp., Nov. 1998), is available, free, from the Criminal

Justice Policy Fdn., 1899 L St. NW, #500, Wash., DC 20036, 202/835-9075. CJPF also supports the Natl. Drug Strategy Network, which publishes the bimonthly *NewsBriefs*, available on a sliding scale from free to \$90/yr., depending on a person's needs. Same address/phone.

Economic/ Community Development

• **"The New Metropolitan Agenda"** is the theme of the Fall 1998 issue of *The Brookings Review*, with articles Bruce Katz & Scott Bernstein, Anthony Downs, David Rusk, Myron Orfield, Michael Cohen et al. (in addition to John Powell's piece which we've reprinted in this issue of *P&R*). Subs. to the quarterly are \$17.95: 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036. Single copies likely are available.

• **"Building Sustainable Communities"** is the 3rd annual conf. of the TX Assn. of Comm. Dev. Corps., Feb. 8-10 in Austin. Inf. from TADC, 610 Brazos St., #100, Austin, TX 78701, 512/457-8232.

• **The 1999 Annual Conf. on Econ. Justice**, sponsored by the Natl. Comm. Reinvestment Coal., will be held **March 17-20** in DC. Inf. from NCRC, 733 15th St. NW, #540, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-8866, E-mail: nrcmemb@gte.net.

• **"Building & Using Power Through Community Building"** is the 1999 Natl. Comm. Building Network conf., **May 13-15** in Brooklyn.

Inf. from the Network, 672 13th St., Oakland, CA 94612, 510/893-2404.

• **"Working for a Decent Living: Bridging the Gap Between Labor & Community"** is a June 17-20 Planners Network conf., in Lowell, MA. Inf. from Chris Tilly, Dept. Reg. Econ. & Soc. Dev., Univ. Mass., Lowell, MA 01854, 978/934-2796, E-mail: chris_tilly@uml.edu.

Education

• **"Recruiting, Preparing & Retaining Teachers for America's Schools"** is a 21-page, Aug. 1997 report available (likely free) from the DeWitt Wallace-Readers Digest Fund, 2 Park Ave., 23rd flr., NYC, NY 10016, 212/251-9700, E-mail: dward@wallacefunds.org. Relatedly, Beatriz Chu Clewell at the Urban Inst. (2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200) has co-edited, with Ana Maria Villegas, a special (Nov. 1998) issue of *Education & Urban Society* on "Diversifying the Teaching Force to Improve Urban Schools: Meeting the Challenge."

• **School Reform & Staff Development** is the theme of the Teachers College Press catalog. Among the new books: *Charter Schools: Another Flawed Educational Reform?*, by Seymour Sarason (128 pp., 1998, \$17.95 + s/h); *Shooting for Excellence: African American & Youth Culture in New Century Schools*, by Jabari Mahiri (352 pp., 1998, \$20.95 + s/h); *Off Track: Classroom Privilege for All*, a 30-min. video by Michelle Fine, Bernadette Anand,

Carlton Jordan & Dana Sherman (\$49.95 + s/h). Contact the Press, 1234 Amsterdam Ave., NYC, NY 10027-6602, 800/575-6566.

• **Place Value: An Educator's Guide to Good Literature on Rural Lifeways, Environments & Purposes of Education**, by Toni Haas & Paul Nachtigal (79 pp., 1998), is available (\$12) from the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Educ. & Small Schools, PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348, 800/624-9120, E-mail: ericrc@ael.org.

• **The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans During the Civil Rights Era**, by Ruben Donato (220 pp., 1997, \$19.95), is available from SUNY Press, State Univ. Plaza, Albany, NY 12246-0001, 800/666-2211.

• **"Equal Opportunity Project Series, Vol. 1"** (264 pp., Dec. 1996); "Equal Education Opportunity & Nondiscrimination for Students with Disabilities: Federal Enforcement of Sec. 504, Vol. 2" (408 pp., Sept. 1997); "Equal Educational Opportunity & Nondiscrimination for Students with Limited English Proficiency: Federal Enforcement of Title VI & *Lau v. Nichols*, Vol. 3" (232 pp., Nov. 1997) are available (free), along with a Jan. 1998 Catalog of (free) Publications, from the US Civil Rights Comm., 624 9th St. NW, Wash., DC 20425, 202/376-8128.

• **"Education Vouchers... Can Public Education Meet the Challenge?"** ed. Roscoe Brown, Jr. (33 pp., 1998), is available (\$15) from the Urban Issues Group,

99 Park Ave., 2nd flr., NYC, NY 10016, 212/973-3602. They also have other research & policy reports, mainly dealing with health issues.

• **"The Essential Profession: Natl. Survey of Public Attitudes Toward Teaching, Educational Opportunity & School Reform"** (46 pp., 1998) is available (possibly free) from Recruiting New Teachers, 385 Concord Ave., Belmont, MA 02478, 617/489-6000.

• **"Average Family Income by Educational Attainment of Householder, 1997"** is a compelling bar chart produced by that good publication, *Post-secondary Education Opportunity*, PO Box 415, Oskaloosa, IA 52577-0415, 515/673-3401.

• **"Latino Education: Status & Prospects"** is an element of the Natl. Council of La Raza's "State of Hispanic America" series. \$30 from NCLR, PO Box 291, Annapolis Jct., MD 20701, 301/604-7983.

• **"Identifying & Assessing Gifted & Talented Bilingual Hispanic Students,"** by Jaime Castellano, is a 2-page, Sept. 1998 literature digest, available (free) from the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Educ. & Small Schools, PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348, 800/624-9120, E-mail: hammerp@ael.org.

• **Educating for Human Dignity: Learning About Rights & Responsibilities — A K-12 Teaching Resource**, by Betty Reardon (238 pp., 1995), was published by (and still may be available

from) Univ. Penn. Press, 423 Guardian Dr., Phila., PA 19104-6097.

• **Who's Invited to Share? Using Literacy to Teach for Equity & Social Justice**, by Roxanne Henkin (170 pp., 1998), is available (\$26) from Heinemann, 88 Post Rd. W., PO Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881, 800/793-2154.

• **"Classroom Crusades"** is an 80-page, Oct. 1998 booklet "summarizing right-wing attacks nationwide on public education, from gay-bashing to creationism curriculum to voucher initiatives." Available (\$8.50) from Rethinking Schools, 800/669-4192. Another freebie from this first-rate group is the Fall 1998 issue of their journal of the same title, focusing on the voucher question.

• **"The Hazards of Changing Schools for California Latino Adolescents,"** by Russell Rumberger, Katherine Larson, Gregory Palardy, Robert Ream & Nina Schleicher, is a 7-page, Oct. 1998 CPS Brief, available (no price given) from the Calif. Policy Seminar, 1950 Addison St., #202, Berkeley, CA 94704-1182, 510/642-5514, E-mail: CA.PolSem@ucop.edu. The complete report is available from the Univ. Calif. Latino Policy Research Program, 2420 Bowditch St., Berkeley, CA 94720-5670, 510/642-6903.

• **"Learning Together: The Developing Field of School-Community Initiatives,"** by Atelia Melaville (115 pp., Sept. 1998), is available, free, from the Charles Stewart Mott Fdn., 1200 Mott.

Fdn. Bldg., Flint, MI
48502-1851, 800/645-
1766, E-mail:
infocenter@mott.org.

• **"Bouncing from School to School: The Housing Crisis Disrupts the Classroom,"** by Ruth Conniff, is a 5-page article from the Nov. 1999 issue of *The Progressive*. We'll send a copy with a SASE.

• **"The High Stakes of Trivial Pursuit in Teacher Training"** is an op-ed by Peter Kiang on his experience taking the Massachusetts Teacher Test. Available from him (likely free) at Grad. College of Educ. & Asian-Amer. Studies, U-Mass., Boston, MA 02125, E-mail: kiang@umbusky.cc.umb.edu.

• **"Public School Standards: Discussing the Case for Community Control"** is a free electronic interactive symposium, Jan. 13, 1-4 pm (EST), put on by The Rural Challenge. To register, E-mail ruraledu@together.net and insert "register please" in the subject line. More inf. from the Annenberg Rural Challenge Prog., PO Box 68, Randolph, VT 05060. Deborah Meier will be the keynote speaker.

Employment/ Jobs Policy

• **"Rising Trends in EEO Complaint Caseloads in Federal Sector"** is a 65-page, July 1998 GAO report (GAO/GGD-98-157BR), available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

• **"Working Hard, Earning Less: A 1998 National Report"** (24 pp., 1998), a National Priorities Project/Jobs with Justice collaborative effort, is available (\$9.20) from NPP, 17 New South St., #301, Northampton, MA 01060, 413/584-9556, E-mail: info@natprior.org or JwJ, 501 3rd St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/434-1106, E-mail: fazcarate@cwa.union.org. The report establishes a state-by-state standard living wage, documents jobs with most growth & projected wages 1994-2005, occupations with most growth that do not pay a living wage. Indiv. state reports are \$4 and also are available on their website: www.natprior.org.

• **"Jobs & Wages: Programs that Promote Retention & Advancement"** is an audio conf., Jan. 15, Feb. 19 & March 19, 12:30-1:30 EST, produced by the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy. To register, contact CLASP, 1616 P St. NW, #150, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6535.

• The 1999 Jobs with Justice Annual Meeting will be held Feb. 26-28 in Louisville. Inf. from JwJ, 501 3rd St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/434-1106.

Families/ Children/ Women

• **"The Children's Budget Report: A Detailed Analysis of Spending on Low-Income Children's Programs in 13 States,"** by Kimura Flores, Toby Douglas & Deborah Ellwood (61 pp., Sept. 1998), is available (possibly free) from The

Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, E-mail: paffairs@ui.urban.org.

• **"Making Ends Meet: A Woman's Guide to Collecting Child Support"** is a 25-page, Oct. 1998 brochure from the Natl. Women's Law Ctr. (whose Co-Director is PRRAC Board member Nancy Duff Campbell), 11 Dupont Circle, #800, Wash., DC 20036, 202/588-5180. It contains a list of the 50 state agencies that help parents collect child support. Quantities up to 250 are free to nonprofits and public agencies. For prices of orders over 250, contact them.

• **"Working with Young Fathers - Building Skills for Practitioners"** is the title of a series of workshops by the Natl. Ctr. for Strategic Non-profit Planning & Comm. Leadership. They're in St. Petersburg (Jan. 11-13), Oakland (Feb. 10-12), San Antonio (March 3-5), Raleigh (March 30-April 1), San Diego (May 5-7), DC (June 14-16), Seattle (July 14-16), Boise (Aug. 18-20), Phila. (Sept. 15-17), Biloxi (Oct. 6-8), New Orleans (Nov. 10-12), & Phoenix (Dec. 8-10). Inf. from NPL, 1133 20th St. NW, #210, Wash., DC 20036, 888/528-NPCL.

• **"Framing the Future through the Eyes of a Child"** is the 18th annual conf. of the Natl. CASA [Court Appointed Special Advocate] Assn., May 15-18 in Kansas City, MO. Inf. from the Assn., 100 W. Harrison St., #500, N. Tower, Seattle, WA 98119-4123, 800/628-3233.

Health

• **"Health Policy for Low-Income People in California,"** by Stephen Zuckerman, Teresa Coughlin, Len Nichols, David Liska, Barbara Ormond, Alicia Berkowitz, Meghan Dunleavy, Jodi Korb & Nelda McCall, is a 5-page, Nov. 1998 report, available, free, from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, E-mail: paffairs@ui.urban.org. Parallel Nov. 1998 reports have been issued for New Mexico, by Susan Wallin & for Colorado, by Susan Wallin, Marilyn Moon, Len Nichols, Stephen Norton, Barbara Ormond, Jean Hanson & Laurie Pounder.

• **"Helping Employers Comply with the ADA"** (312 pp., Sept. 1998) & **"Helping State & Local Governments Comply with the ADA"** (167 pp., Sept. 1998), reports of the US Commn. on Civil Rights, are available, free, from the Conunn., Wash., DC 20425.

• **Perinatal & Women's Health** is the subject of a set of 13 4-page Issue Summaries on selected topics ("The Social Context of Women's Health," "Abuse Against Women by Their Intimate Partners," "Public Health Roles Promoting the Health & Well-Being of Women," etc.) Available (likely free) from the Natl. Maternal & Child Health Clearinghouse, 703/356-1964.

Homelessness

• **"Factors Influencing Community Acceptance: Summary of the Evidence,"** by Michael Dear,

Lois Takahashi & Robert Wilton (77 pp., Jan. 1996) & "Community Relations: A Resource Guide," by Dear & Wilton (66 pp., Jan. 1996), are available (\$10 each) from the Campaign for New Community, 1629 K St. NW, #802, Wash., DC 20006, 202/822-6960. They also have available a publications list with numerous other research reports, handbooks and zoning reform materials on a range of specific topics dealing with how "people of good will can find common ground on which to build healthy, inclusive neighborhoods....reaching out to those among us who are in need."

• "Predictors of Homelessness Among Families in NYC: From Shelter Request to Housing Stability," by Marybeth Shinn, Beth Weitzman, Daniela Stojanovic, James Knickman, Lucila Jimenez, Lisa Duchon, Susan James & David Krantz, appeared in the Nov. 1998 issue of the *Amer. J. of Public Health*. The study emphasizes the importance of available subsidized housing. Reprints of the 8-page article are available (free) from Dr. Weitzman, NYU Wagner Grad. School, 40 W. 4th St., NYC, NY 10003, E-mail: weitzman@is2.nyu.edu.

Housing

• "Giving No Credit Where Credit is Due: An Analysis of Home Purchase Mortgage Lending in 35 Cities, 1995-97" is a 10-page, 1998 report, available (possibly free) from ACORN, 739 8th St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/547-2500.

• *Housing in Rural America: Building Affordable & Inclusive Communities*, eds. Joseph Belden & Robert Wiener (198 pp., 1998, \$26.45), has been published by Sage, 2455 Teller Rd., Thousand Oaks, CA 91320-2218, 805/499-9774.

• "Financial Institutions & Immigrant Homeownership" is the 40-page proceedings of a July 17, 1998 roundtable, available (likely free) from the Fannie Mae Foundation, 4000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20016, 202/274-8085.

• The Research Inst. for Housing America has just been formed by the Mortgage Bankers Assn. of Amer., "dedicated to objective, credible research on how to increase housing opportunity — particularly for underserved populations & communities." For more inf., contact Steven Hornburg at the Inst., 1125 15th St. NW, 5th fl., Wash., DC 20005-2766, 202/861-6521, E-mail: steven_hornburg@mbaa.org.

• "Why an Insurance Regulation to Prohibit Redlining?" by Gregory Squires (23 pp.), appeared in the Winter 1998 issue of *The John Marshall Law Review*. Copies of the issue are available (\$10) from the Review, 315 S. Plymouth Ct., Chicago, IL 60605. Squires can be reached at the Dept. Soc., Univ. Wisc., PO Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201, 414/229-5074.

• "Diminished Choices" is the 4th annual report on landlord acceptance of tenants with Sec. 8 housing vouchers

in suburban Hennepin County, outside the Twin Cities. For a copy, phone Comm. Action for Suburban Hennepin, 612/933-9639, x222.

• *New Directions in Urban Public Housing*, eds. David Varady, Wolfgang Preiser & Francis Russell (304 pp., 1998, \$19.95), has been published by the Rutgers Ctr. for Urban Policy Research, 33 Livingston Ave., #400, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1982, 732/932-3133, x555. Includes contributions by Peter Marcuse, William Peterman, Mary Neno and Irving Welfeld.

• "Application Denied: Do Lending Institutions Overlook Hispanics?" by Ron Nixon, is a 4-page article from the Nov. 1998 issue of *Hispanic* magazine. We'll send a copy with a SASE.

• "Out of Reach," the 1998 edition of housing affordability analysis by metropolitan area, produced by the Natl. Low Income Housing Coalition, now is available online: www.nlihc.org/oor98. The Coalition is reachable at 1012 14th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530.

• "America's Best & Worst Lenders" (130 pp. + App., Nov. 1998) is available (\$28) from the Natl. Comm. Reinvestment Coal., 733 15th St. NW, #540, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-8866.

• "Locked Out: Hispanic Underrepresentation in Federally-Assisted Housing Programs" is a July 1997 publication, available (\$7.50) from the Natl. Council of La Raza, PO

Box 291, Annapolis Junction, MD 20701-0291, 301/604-7983.

• "A Picture of Subsidized Households in 1998" is available (\$5) from HUD USER, PO Box 6091, Rockville, MD 20849, 800/245-2691.

• Insurance Redlining: A Virginia jury recently found that Nationwide Mutual Ins. discriminates against African Americans in selling homeowner insurance and ordered the company to pay \$100 million in punitive damages and \$500,000 in compensatory damages. Further inf. from Constance Chamberlin, Housing Opportunities Made Equal, 804/354-0641 or Shana Smith, Natl. Fair Housing Alliance, 202/898-1661.

• *Rent Control: Regulation & the Rental Housing Market*, eds. W. Dennis Keating, Michael Teitz & Andrejs Skaburskis (259 pp., 1998), is available (\$14.95) from the Rutgers Ctr. for Urban Policy Research, 33 Livingston Ave., #400, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1982, 732/932-3133, x555. In addition to chapters on the court, politics, economics and social dimensions of rent control, the book has case studies of Berkeley, DC, LA, NJ, NYC, Toronto & mobile homes.

• "HOPE VI: Creating Communities of Opportunity" conf. will be held Jan. 12-15 in Baltimore. Contact the Housing Research Fdn., 601 Penn. Ave. NW, #875, Wash., DC 20004-2612, 202/393-0448, E-mail: housresfdn@aol.com.

Immigration

• **Help or Hindrance? The Economic Implications of Immigration for African Americans**, eds. Daniel Hamermesh & Frank Bean (394 pp., 1998), is available (\$48.50) from The Russell Sage Fdn., 112 E. 64 St., NYC, NY 10021, 800/524-6401.

• **"New Federal Food Stamp Restoration for Legal Immigrants: Implications & Implementation Issues,"** by Kelly Carmody & Stacy Dean (48 pp., July 1998), is available from the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities, 820 First St. NE, #510, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, E-mail: center@center.cbpp.org. Contact them for ordering inf.

• **"Remaking the Political Landscape: How Immigration Redistributes Seats in the House of Representatives,"** by Dudley Poston, Jr., Steven Camarota, Leon Bouvier, Godfrey Jin-Kai Li & Hong Dan, is a 9-page, Oct. 1998 Backgrounder, available (\$7) from the Ctr. for Immig. Studies, 1522 K St. NW, #820, Wash., DC 20005-1202, 202/466-8185. They also publish a quarterly journal, *Immigration Review* — \$20/yr.

• **"Portrait of Injustice: The Impact of Immigration Raids on**

Families, Workers & Communities" is a 72-page, Oct. 1998 report, available (\$18) from the Natl. Network for Immigrant & Refugee Rights (headed by PRRAC Board member Cathi Tactaquin), 310 8th St., #307, Oakland, CA 94607, 510/465-1984, E-mail: nnirr@nnirr.org.

Miscellaneous

• **"Making Radio Work for You"** is a 31-page, Oct. 1996 "advocate's guide on how to use radio actualities & talk radio to move your agenda forward," prepared by the Families USA Fdn., with a grant from the Albert A. List Fdn. \$20 from Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/6283030, E-mail: info@familiesusa.org.

• **The Impact Fund Bulletin** is a new newsletter available (likely free) from the Fund, 1604 Solano Ave., Berkeley, CA 94707-2109, 510/528-7344, E-mail: impactfund@impactfund.org. The Fund provides grants (some 200, amounting to nearly \$2 million to date) for public interest litigation on a range of issues.

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

• The Center for Community Change is hiring for a newly created position: Assoc. Exec. Dir. for Operations. Resume/ltr. to Adams & Associates, 2931 Mozart Dr., Silver Spring, MD 20904.

• The Neighborhood Assistance Ctr. in E. St. Louis (IL) is seeking a Project Coordinator (\$36,000) & a Project Assoc./Comm. Planner (\$32,000). Ltr./resume (right away) to Robert Selby, Univ. of IL School of Architecture, 117 Buell Hall, 611 Taft Dr., Champaign, IL 61820-6921, 217/244-6514, E-mail: r-selby@uiuc.ed.

• Americans for Democratic Action is hiring a Communications Director (up to \$25,000). Ltr./writing samples/ resume to ADA, 1625 K St. NW, #210, Wash., DC 20006, 202/785-5980, E-mail: adaction@ix.netcom.com.

• United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO is seeking a Natl. Coalition Coordinator (a DC position, \$18,000) & Public Action/Community Organizers for Chicago, Boston, Toronto, Houston, San Jose and LA offices (\$12-18,000). For the former, sent ltr./resume to Giev Kashkooli, UFW c/o AFL-CIO, 816 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20006, fax: 202/637-5012. For the latter, ltr./resume to Christine Delgado, UFW c/o LA County Fed. of Labor, 2130 W. 9 St., LA, CA 90006, fax: 213/383-0772, phone: 213/381-5611, x17.

• The Chicago Mutual Housing Network is hiring an Exec. Dir. (high \$30s-mid 40s). Full job descrip. avail. from CMHN, 2418 W. Bloomingdale Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, E-mail: cmhn@cmt.org. Apply right away.

• Mankato State Univ. is seeking an Asst./Assoc. Prof. of Ethnic Studies. Statement of interest/

resume/names & #'s of 3 refs/grad. transcripts/teaching evals./examples of published research to Dr. Carol Perkins, Ethnic Studies Dept., MSU 62, PO Box 8400, Mankato, MN 56002-8400. 507/389-2798, E-mail: cynthiaveldhuisen@mankato.msus.edu.

• The Mexican American Legal Defense & Educ. Fund is hiring a State Fiscal Policy Analyst, a Development Writer & an Assoc. of Direct Mail & Individ. Giving. Resume/refs./ writing samples to MALDEF, 634 S. Spring St., LA, CA 90014, 213/629-2512.

• The Natl. Immigration Forum is hiring a Communications Coordinator. Resume/ltr./salary history & reqs. by Jan. 15 to NIF, 220 I St. NE, #220, Wash., DC 20002-4632, fax: 202/544-1905.

• **"Reengineering the Federal Reserve System": The Financial Markets Ctr.** sponsors an annual contest (The Henry B. Gonzalez Award, \$2500) for papers on central bank reform. Submissions must be postmarked by April 9. Inf. from the Ctr., PO Box 334, Philomont, VA 20131, 540/338-5286, E-mail: Finmktctr@aol.com.

• The Advocacy Inst. (co-directed by PRRAC Board member David Cohen) is hiring an Adm. Asst. for their Tobacco Control Project. Ltr./ resume/writing sample to the Inst., 1707 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, fax: 202/659-8484, E-mail: jobs@advocacy.org.

• The Coalition on Human Needs is hiring a Sr. Program Assoc. (mid-

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to send us
items
for our
Resources
Section**

high \$30s). Resume/ writing sample (right away) to CHN, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007.

* **The NYU Public Interest Law Foundation Seed Grants** fund year-long projects, to begin by July 1, "addressing a broad array of issues & applying a variety of approaches [to address] the needs of economically and/or politically disadvantaged communities which are currently underserved in some aspect by the legal system." Past grants ranged from \$1750 to \$22,000, and last year 4 grants of \$10,000 each were made. Proposals must be received by Jan. 22. Inf. from the Fdn., 240 Mercer St., NYC, NY 10012, 212/998-6572.

* **INFACT** (purpose: "To stop life-threatening abuses of transnatl. corps. & increase their accountability to people around the world") is seeking an **Assoc. Campaign Director** (\$26-30,000), a **Natl. Organizer** (\$22-24,000), a **Research Asst.** (\$22-26,000) & an

Administrative Mgr. (\$22-26,000). Send application materials to them at 256 Hanover St., Boston, MA 02113, 617/742-4583.

* **The Natl. Network of Grantmakers' "1998 Grantmakers Directory"** (5th ed), is a 219-page document listing 159 grantmaking institutions & 19 related orgs. NNG is an organization of individuals involved in funding social & econ. justice. It's \$30 from NNG, 1717 Kettner Blvd., #100, San Diego, CA 92101, 619/231-1348, E-mail: nng@nng.org.

* **Trial Lawyers for Public Justice** is seeking a **Managing Director** (must be a lawyer). Resume/writing sample/ refs. to TLPI, 1717 Mass. Ave. NW, #800, Wash., DC 20036.

* **The Africa Fund** is seeking a **Religious Network Coordinator** & a **Director of Administration** (both high \$30s). Ltr./resume/writing sample/names-addresses-phone #s of 3 refs. to the Fund, 50 Broad St.,

#711, NYC, NY 10004-2307, 212/785-1024.

* **The Passaic County Legal Aid Society** is hiring a **Public Interest Supervising Litigator** (\$50-60,000). Ltr./writing sample/resume/name, address & phone of 4 refs. to John Atlas, PCLAS, 175 Market St., Paterson, NJ 07505, 973/345-71717, fax: 973/345-8739, E-mail: JAtlas@lsnj.org.

* **Advocates for Children of NY** is seeking an **Attorney** to be its new **Citywide Least Restrictive Environment Initiative Coordinator**. \$46,000. Resume to APC, 105 Court St., #402, Brooklyn, NY 11201, fax: 718/624-1260, E-mail: jchaifetz@arcus.net.

* **The Community Empowerment Organization of Virginia**, which provides community organizing assistance & training to low-income communities throughout VA, is seeking an **Executive Director** (\$30-35,000). Contact them at 804/371-7141, E-mail: jefmiccha@aol.com.

* **SEIU** is seeking **Communications Staff**. Resume/ltr./writing samples to SEIU Communications Dept., 1313 L St. NW, Wash., DC 20005.

* **Democratic Socialists of America** is seeking a **Natl. Director** ("movement wages"). Ltr./ resume to DSA, 180 Varick St., 12th flr., NYC, NY 10014, fax: 202/727-8616.

* **"Wanted: Solutions for America,"** a Pew Partnership national initiative to document & disseminate what is working to solve problems across America, is seeking government orgs., the private sector, nonprofits to participate in a new program offering research help, visibility, access to national networks. Applications are due by Feb. 19. Contact the Partnership, 145-C Ednam Dr., Charlottesville, VA 22903, 804/971-2073, E-mail: mail@pew-partnership.org.

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