

Black America

1996

A Time for Renewal

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

BLACK AMERICA 1996

A Time for Renewal

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THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

As black conservatives dedicated to rebuilding our neighborhoods and our country, we have come together to call on our government not to do more, but less. While we do not believe the government is an enemy of the citizenry, we know it is not our friend. We do not claim to have some grand new solutions to this nation's problems, but after thirty years of failed social experiments, we know the federal government does not either.

In our endeavors to make this a better country, we have discovered our limits. These limits have been imposed on us by an overreaching government that has refused to recognize that it also has limits. What many of us have echoed in our homes and communities we are now ready to tell the nation: Washington D.C. is not the answer to our problems, it is one of the problems. But we are not taking the path of some of our conservative predecessors by pretending the government does not exist. We will not avoid it any longer.

In the past few years, we have taken measures to help the community service organizations that have strived to offer alternative solutions to government programs. To make these alternatives a reality, black conservatives have been developing ways to restore to Americans the freedom they need to solve their problems. Through political think tanks, political action committees, magazines, and newsletters, we have tried to convince Washington to give the private sector a chance, because that is the best way black Americans will have a chance to prosper spiritually and monetarily. In *Black America 1996: A Time For Renewal*, we offer example after example of different organizations and coalitions that are trying to make a difference without relying on government.

If people and communities are going to start solving their own problems, then government needs to:

✓ **Reduce Taxes on the American Family.** Currently, the average family's expenditures for federal, state, and local taxes now are higher than what it spends for food, clothing, and housing combined. In 1950, the average family with children paid 2% of its annual income to the federal government in taxes. Today, the average family pays 24.5% in federal taxes alone.

These high taxation rates have not only emptied the pockets of many families, but also driven unwilling parents out of the home. A 1988 *USA Today* poll found that 73% of two-income families would prefer to have one of the parents stay home if they could afford it, despite the fact that over 60% of married mothers with children under six years of age work outside the home.

In 1948, the per-child federal tax credit accounted for 42% of an average family's income. Today, it is worth only 12%. We believe a \$500 per-child tax credit is a good first start to providing tax relief, especially to the 4.7 million working families at the lowest income levels that will no longer be required to pay taxes. A reduction in tax rates on personal income should follow. A reevaluation of the estate tax is a must. It is not fair that families who work hard and save money should lose a substantial amount of it when a member of the family dies.

Another consequence of the high taxation rate is the reduction of funds available for charities. Many charities would be able to perform the services government provides less expensively and more efficiently — if they did not have to compete with the government for resources.

✓ **Reduce Taxes on the American Dream.** In addition to reducing personal and inheritance taxes, the government should reduce its taxes on entrepreneurship and the American Dream. This can only be done through greater private sector investment in communities by reducing government's investment and taxation. A reduction in the capital gains tax rate would increase investment, make capital more available and cheaper, and create additional jobs. According to the IRS, working class Americans would benefit from such a reduction, since 77% of tax returns filed in 1993 reporting capital gains were from taxpayers making less than \$75,000. A significant cut in capital gains tax rate will increase investment by \$75 billion, reduce the cost of capital by 12%, and create over 230,000 addition jobs per year.

For economically-depressed areas, there should be no capital gains tax rate. Income tax deductions should be available to those willing to invest in businesses located in economically-depressed areas. We also encourage targeted tax credits for the construction, renovation, and expansion of businesses. Aspiring entrepreneurs should be encouraged by government in their pursuit of the American Dream, not punished by taxation.

✓ **Balance the Budget.** A child born in 1995 will pay nearly \$200,000 in taxes just to pay for their share of interest on the debt throughout their lifetime. Lifetime tax rates surpassing 80% await the children and grandchildren of this generation to pay our bills. Balancing the budget, the Joint Economic Committee estimates, would cause a 2% drop in interest rates. Under such a scenario, the savings would be monumental: the average American family would save \$37,000 on a 30-year mortgage of \$75,000; \$2,160 on a 10-year student loan of \$11,000; and \$900 on a 4-year car loan of \$15,000. Let's balance the budget and stop charging our debts to future generations.

According to a *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News Poll, 57% of welfare recipients believe the welfare system does more harm than good. These opinions are supported by the facts. Since the institution of the "Great Society" programs almost three decades ago, nearly \$5.4 trillion has been spent on welfare. Federal, state, and local governments are now spending \$350 billion a year on 89 different welfare programs — 20% more than the U.S. spends on national defense. If all of those dollars were simply given to the nearly 40 million people living under the poverty line, each poor person would receive \$8,939. Yet, not surprisingly, only 35 cents out of every federal welfare dollar is paid in cash directly to the needy. In comparison, of every dollar spent by the Salvation Army, 89 cents goes to charitable services.

✓ **End Welfare As We Know It.** The consequences of this spending has had a stunning effect on the family unit. In 1994, nearly sixty-five percent of black families included only one parent. The one-parent family is six times more likely to be poor than the two-parent family. Illegitimate children tend to depend on welfare themselves when they reach adulthood, have illegitimate children themselves, commit more crimes, and experience a low level of educational achievement. Furthermore, teenage single-mothering is the greatest contributor to low birth weight babies (in 1989, 90 percent of babies born to black teenagers occurred outside of marriage) which may explain why the infant-mortality rate among blacks was 2.4 times higher than among whites in 1992.

Private charities provided over \$176 billion for health, education and welfare in 1991. But money is not all that was provided. The equivalent of nine million full-time employees volunteered for social services. If government's role in public service work were to be drastically reduced, these charities could use the resources formerly absorbed by the federal government to help the poor more effectively and efficiently.

Welfare programs that remain — and we agree that some government programs are needed — they should whenever possible operate at the state level. A Gallup poll found that 74% of the public believes states are more likely to administer social programs more effectively than the federal government. Requiring welfare recipients to work, placing limits on the length of times someone can be on welfare, and discouraging unwed parenthood by persons on welfare should be part of any package to reform welfare. Also, all government, social services and tax code disincentives for people receiving government aid to marry or work should be eliminated.

✓ **Make Sure the Benefits of Regulations Exceed the Costs.** The estimated compliance cost of regulations range from \$430 billion to \$850 billion per year on state and local governments and the private sector. A U.S. General Accounting Office analysis of existing academic literature surveying regulatory costs estimated \$647 billion in 1994 — larger than the entire economic output of Canada. The Federal Register of regulations in 1994 was the largest in the history of the United States (64,914 pages) except for the last two years of the Carter Administration.

The minimum wage and Davis-Bacon Act are especially costly to African-Americans. A 10-cent increase in the minimum wage has historically resulted in a loss of 30,000 to 50,000 full-time jobs. Black teenagers have suffered severe consequences since the institution of the minimum wage. Forty years ago, during Jim Crow, unemployment for white and black teens was virtually identical. Now, the unemployment rate for blacks in some areas is 67%, dwarfing that of whites.

The Davis-Bacon Act has priced many lower-skilled black construction workers out of jobs since Congress has mandated that inflated wages must be paid to workers on any federal government construction project involving more than \$2,000 in funds. A law passed in 1931 to keep black workers from competing with whites for construction jobs, the Davis-Bacon Act is a relic of a racist past that we should be eradicating, not embracing.

An elimination of the minimum wage and Davis-Bacon Act would not only benefit black Americans looking for jobs, but potential black employers who can't bear the current regulatory costs of starting a new business. Incentives by the federal government to local and state governments to eliminate restrictive licensing laws, paperwork costs, rent control, and other regulatory burdens would be a welcome change from Washington D.C.'s previous encouragement of such burdens.

✓ **Privatize Public Housing.** Since 1980, the number of HUD programs has grown from 54 to over 200, and since its inception, HUD's annual spending has climbed from \$2 billion to \$26 billion. Nearly \$90 billion has been invested by HUD in high-rise complexes. What has been the result? HUD has become the biggest slumlord in America. The housing authorities have been guilty of fraud, mismanagement, misuse of funds, and creating high vacancy rates. The areas themselves are inundated with welfare dependency, drug dealing, and crime.

All public housing should be privatized. One of the beneficial effects would be lower rent since an increase in the available housing in the private sector would increase competition. Additional government involvement in building houses should only be in assisting organizations like Habitat for Humanity with purchasing land and materials. Families who are too poor to pay rent should receive vouchers to live in neighborhoods of their choice, without government forcing landlords to accommodate them any more than other tenants.

✓ **Reduce the Government's Role in Education.** According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, only 12% of African-American seniors were proficient readers in 1994. In 1992, the average black 11th grader scored a 53% on a test given to

test writing achievement. Only 21% of black seniors in 1988 could demonstrate broad knowledge on a variety of historical facts, regions, and ideas and demonstrate some knowledge of content of primary texts in U.S. political history. In math, 17-year old black students averaged a 57% on a mathematic proficiency test meaning that most of them still had problems computing decimals, simple fractions, and percents.

The problem isn't a lack of spending on education by taxpayers. The average public school per pupil expenditure in 1993-94 was \$5,734, surpassing Japan, Germany, Britain, and France. We spend more on education as a percentage of total public spending than every other nation except for Finland and Switzerland. While the federal government only provided about 7% of elementary and secondary school funding, states relied on federal support for about 41% of the staff for their state educational agencies.

In comparison to private schools, the public schools prove to be a complete failure. The student-teacher ratio for public schools is 18:1 compared to 15:1 for private schools. The average salary for public school teachers is \$31,296 compared to \$19,783 for teachers at private schools. The average private school tuition is less than half what the public spends on each student in public school. Public school teachers apparently agree with our assessment: according to a study, public school teachers in urban districts are more likely to send their children to private schools than are other Americans. Overwhelmingly, the general public and parents believe private schools have higher academic standards, better work habits, a safer environment, more discipline of students, and promote more honesty and responsibility than public schools do.

Since the public schools are not doing the job, methods of improvement and alternatives should be considered. Vouchers that would allow students to attend any public or private school their parents choose should be provided. This will give parents the opportunity to pick the best school available for their children while introducing competition into the public education market. Meanwhile, to increase flexibility and decrease overhead and waste, the federal role in education should be scaled back and left to the states. One solution to low test scores we uniformly oppose is to lower the standards school children have to meet to pass. Programs like Outcome Based Education may do a good job at making children feel good about themselves, but they don't deliver a solid education. Introducing technologies such as computers into schools, when done properly, has been successful in some places.

✓ **Teach History Without Rewriting It.** While we embrace standards that seek to correct past inaccuracies of different cultures and historical events, we oppose revisionist history or standards that neglect historical people or events that are an integral part of American history.

✓ **End Forced Busing.** We also oppose attempts by the federal courts and county school boards to use children as pawns in an attempt to ensure that each school has an "acceptable" racial and ethnic mix of children. Good public schools do not depend on the race or ethnicity of the children attending them, they depend on the competency of the people running them.

✓ **Reject Special Privileges for a Select Few.** Whether it is paying for the advertisements of multinational corporations, giving broadcast spectrum potentially worth billions of dollars to a few select broadcasters or giving government contracts to wealthy businesses who don't need them solely based on the race or gender of the majority owner, government should get out of the business of granting giveaways to the elite few at the expense of the multitude.

✓ **Stop Racism in Adoption Practices.** With 40% of children waiting for adoption being black, and only 31% of families waiting to adopt being black, we oppose state agencies who are content with letting black children languish in foster homes before

placing them with the 67% of white families eager to adopt a child.

✓ **Promote Adoption Over Abortion.** With over 30 million abortions being performed since *Roe v. Wade*, we support efforts to emphasize adoption over abortion. Tax incentives for families to adopt, and for people to contribute to community and religious organizations that help single parents cope with the responsibilities of work and parenthood are encouraged.

✓ **Enforce Immigration Laws.** It is unfair to force citizens of the United States, some who are first generation immigrants, to pay tax dollars to a government that uses those dollars to fund the social services of people who have broken the laws of this country by entering it illegally.

✓ **Protect Victims, Not Criminals.** In the U.S. today a murder is committed every 21 minutes, a rape every five minutes, a robbery every 46 seconds, and an aggravated assault every 29 seconds. The rapid increase in juvenile crime indicates things aren't going to improve sufficiently anytime soon: Murder arrests of juveniles increased by 80% from 1988 to 1991. Despite this, violent criminals only serve an average of 5.5 years for murder, 3.0 years for rape, 2.25 years for robbery and 1.28 years for assault.

Understandably, black Americans who have suffered the brunt of these high crime rates are calling for tougher punishment. According to a poll sponsored by the Family Research Council, eight in 10 black Americans favor requiring convicted criminals to work while serving their sentences. The survey also found that three out of four black Americans favor requiring convicted criminals to pay their victims and their victims' families financial compensation. More than three of every four blacks oppose drug legalization, and 85% favor drug testing to insure that a criminal is drug-free prior to release. A *USA Today/CNN* Gallup Poll found that 53% of black Americans strongly favor toughening parole possibilities for violent criminals. In high-crime areas, the same poll found that 54% of black Americans favored police authorities holding suspects without the option for bail.

Nearly 130 years ago, the former slave Frederick Douglass advocated what black conservatives are advocating in this report. When asked what society is to do with black Americans, he responded: "...If the Negro cannot stand on his own, let him fall... All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs. Let him alone." But as I have pointed out here, black Americans have not been left alone by the federal government. We have not been given the chance to stand on our own legs. And that is why *Black America 1996: A Time for Renewal* is necessary: To show that there are already plenty of Americans succeeding in life ready to help others succeed whenever government decides to stop failing us.



Edmund Peterson
Chairman, Project 21
Project 21 Advisory Committee

BLACK CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN WOMEN BECOME POLITICALLY ACTIVE: THE STORY OF THE NETWORK OF POLITICALLY-ACTIVE CHRISTIAN WOMEN

Born out of the belief that the nation's decision-makers are guilty of misusing their power and contributing to the demoralization of society because they refuse to maintain the biblical foundation of the government, The Network of Politically Active Christian Woman (N-PAC) is determined to clear the way for God's long overdue comeback.

In 1990, Eileen Hunt became Vice President of the Network of Christian Women, an organization whose goal is to link Christian women of various denominations and races together across the world. Hunt eventually realized the desperate need for black Christian women to become more active and visible in the political arena. In 1992, Eileen Hunt formed N-PAC which currently has state branches in Virginia, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Florida. N-PAC's vision is to educate the black community on political issues, placing the restoration of the family and the re-establishment of Biblical principles into American society as its primary focus.

Of particular interest to N-PAC is the moral decline within the black community that has caused a widespread breakdown of the family unit. As a result of this breakdown, crime, teen pregnancy, and abortion rates have steadily increased. N-

PAC believes these issues have not been effectively addressed by the nation's current leadership.

The greatest tragedy of all is the divide between black Americans and the

N-PAC has actively fought for educational excellence, welfare reform, parental rights and other issues which promote the restoration of the family and Christian values. N-PAC is strongly committed to training, educating and recruiting Christians to become leaders in their communities. Rather than just complaining about the current leadership, they are determined to challenge it and overcome it by providing alternative leader

leadership that claims to represent them. Members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), for example, have the most liberal voting record in all of Congress. Prior to the 1994 elections, the CBC would submit their annual budget which reflected its liberal agenda for all the world to see. On issue after issue, whether it is opposition to the death penalty or supporting abortion on demand, the CBC votes consistently in opposition to the sentiment of their constitu-

ents. Too many black public officials when caught in flagrant acts of crime will play the race card instead of facing the moral truth of their misdeeds.

Since its inception, N-PAC has actively fought for educational excellence, welfare reform, parental rights and other issues which promote the restoration of the family and Christian values. N-PAC is strongly committed to training, educating and recruiting Christians to become leaders in their communities. Rather than just complaining about the current leadership, they are determined to challenge it and overcome it by providing alternative leadership.

The leadership training seminars run

by N-PAC instruct women on lobbying techniques, developing local and statewide networks, efficient and effective means of interacting with legislators, and how to be effective communicators. These seminars are the training grounds for restoring leaders to government who are under the influence of biblical principles such as integrity, honesty, virtue, and faithfulness.

Inevitably, this gap between the governing and the governed has created a backlash. N-PAC seeks to fill that void. Specific issues aside, God was declared dead by many of the leaders in the past generation. N-PAC is devoted to restoring him to his rightful place as a monumental influence in the lives of this nation's political leaders.

B.O.N.D.: REBUILDING THE BLACK COMMUNITY BY REBUILDING THE BLACK MAN

Born in Midway, Alabama, Jesse Peterson learned first-hand the difficulties of growing up without a strong father figure. Raised by his grandmother, Peterson led a turbulent life in his youth that only resulted in an early adulthood filled with drug dependency and welfare assistance. Ironically, Jesse himself fathered illegitimate children, recycling his misery for others. At the age of 37, Jesse had decided he had enough. And so he found God and changed his life.

Believing self-effort and moral commitment to be the twin keys to the regeneration of the black family — and hence the black community, Jesse founded in 1990 and currently presides over the Brotherhood Organization of a New Destiny (B.O.N.D.). In Jesse's own words, B.O.N.D. is committed to "rebuilding the black community by rebuilding the black man." B.O.N.D. is a non-profit grassroots

organization formed for the purpose of addressing the ever-increasing problems encountered by black families and American communities at-large.

To solve the problems of the family, the problems have to be identified. Jesse does not hesitate in his diagnosis of what is wrong with many families: "We believe this rebuilding process involves helping men to overcome the enslavements of denial and the deterioration that comes from living a non-committed life. We believe most men have failed their families and this is the cause of the breakdown of society. This failure comes out of men lacking character strength, self-control and the moral values common to men of goodwill everywhere."

Instead of simply talking about the problems these families face, Jesse teaches people how to overcome them.

B.O.N.D. holds weekly forum meetings in order to discuss as a group how to overcome problems faced by families. Individual counseling is offered to help people

B.O.N.D. holds weekly forum meetings in order to discuss as a group how to overcome problems faced by families. Individual counseling is offered to help people find solutions to their problems.

find solutions to their problems. Political, social, economic, and spiritual networking is encouraged and opportunities for this type of networking are provided. Seminars are held to teach people business, politics, economics, and education. Literature and audio/video material with information to help people realize about the need to live a responsible and committed life are also offered.

What is B.O.N.D.'s message?

The organization preaches that social and economic improvement comes naturally out of one's desire to improve one's self and one's community. This should be guided by common sense and moral values. Husbands and fathers are taught to be responsible and committed to their wives and children. Wives and mothers are asked to do the same for their husbands and children. Young people are taught to seek the values that

empower them with natural self control, self determination, self reliance and the understanding to see those same values in others. B.O.N.D. also stresses the responsibility of people and institutions in positions of power. Leaders are challenged to speak truthfully and live a credible life that reflects their words and allows their listeners to think and speak freely. Religious and non-religious organizations are asked to accept criticism graciously and conduct their activities with the goodwill and safety of the community in mind.

Most of Peterson's time is now spent running B.O.N.D. and giving speeches. Previously, Jesse hosted a talk show in Oregon, and ran his own custodial business. As President of B.O.N.D., Jesse never took a dime for himself until this past year as his time has been increasingly devoted to fulfilling B.O.N.D.'s goals. Everyone else affiliated with B.O.N.D. from the instructors at the seminars to the secretary who keeps track of membership is strictly volunteer. The funding for B.O.N.D. activities comes from only grassroots donations and people who have become successful through B.O.N.D.'s guidance.

As a former drug addict and welfare dependent, Jesse Peterson's background is one of hopelessness and despair. As President of B.O.N.D., he is forging a new future for himself and many others.

DESTINY MAGAZINE: AN ALTERNATIVE SOURCE FOR INSIGHT AND INFORMATION

Emanuel McLittle is the founder, publisher, and editor-in-chief of *Destiny*, a magazine devoted to inspiring hope rather than anger in its readers. As a child who grew up on Detroit's West Side, Mr. McLittle believes he was one of those angry people. A student with poor reading skills, non-existent study habits, and a lackluster work ethic, McLittle ended up dropping out of high school. Not until Mr. McLittle took

advantage of a free tuition policy for full-time employees of Mercy College in Detroit did he begin to turn his life around. After graduating from high school, he obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology at Mercy with a 3.6 G.P.A. He would go on to get a Master Degree in Sociology from the University of Detroit.

After becoming a parole officer for

the State of Michigan, McLittle's ideas and beliefs became more conservative. Eventually, Mr. McLittle would make it his primary goal to communicate to black men in particular that racism had little to do with the failure of black men to succeed within mainstream America. His vehicle for preaching this message has become *Destiny* magazine. In its seventh year, *Destiny*

“Despite years of evidence that success is linked to the principles of hard work, thrift, and basic moral codes, an entire industry exists and is supported by broad and increasing dependence on government,” McLittle points out. He continues, “Blame, and a fashionable shirking of self-responsibility have become common. Forty years of government policies designed to lift the “poor” out of poverty and inequality has not only backfired, it has produced results that are more appropriately described as catastrophic...”

magazine is now available on newsstands in 45 states.

According to McLittle, the nation's press has concentrated too many of its energies on issues, policies and leaders emanating from the extreme left-of-center where the fixation to race and the promotion of the “politics of victimization” practically dominate the heartbeat of the black community, if not the entire country. A scarce few alternative voices can be heard in the black community and no national, well-positioned or high-profiled medium exists to facilitate the badly needed debate and exchange of ideas necessary for the growth of black society. This painful void exists despite evidence that millions (38 percent by *USA Today* and *The New York Times*) of black Americans consider themselves socially conservative. It is obvious, says McLittle, that the lack of an alternative dialogue with a national presence equal to that of *Ebony*, *Jet*, *Time* or *Newsweek* accounts for the state of confusion and seemingly escalating racial tensions.

McLittle believes that what is being communicated to too many youngsters,

especially black teenagers, is philosophically self-destructive. Because of slavery, ended more than 130 years ago, and a perceived racism that many believe dominate American society, an expectation of “reparations” has become the drumbeat of the left. This drumbeat, despite the number of wealthy and middle-class blacks in America today, emanates from the editors of black publications, but also from educators, entertainers, and black and white church leaders. The language being used is pregnant with the notion that white America owes black America, that every perceived injury results from racism, and that despite so many black success stories, a conspiracy exists to “hold blacks back.” Professors are honored who describe the likes of James Madison as “dead white males who helped steal America from its native owners,” while a contemporary black politician caught in the act of using drugs with a mistress was made a hero and honored by a subsequent political victory to another trusted public office.

Twisted ideas and alien concepts are proposed in the black community with little, if any, rebuttal — a condition that has left black Americans, 12% of American's population, anemic and lagging sorely behind in nearly every area of endeavor with the exception of sports and entertainment. But sports and entertainment stars do not provide sufficient testimonies to balance the history of failure, poverty, neglect and abuse. The bankrupt cadre of solutions coming out of the black leadership only beget more problems. A new language is needed and is quietly emerging, which will point to millions of success stories proving that success is within the reach of dedicated, hard working and focused Americans, regardless of race. This language already graces the pages of *Destiny* magazine which was McLittle's purpose for creating the magazine.

McLittle is unapologetic about the purpose of his magazine and the problems he has with many other media outlets that claim to address contemporary problems in America. “Despite years of evidence that success is linked to the principles of hard work, thrift, and basic moral codes, an entire industry exists and is supported by broad and increasing dependence on

government," McLittle points out. He continues, "Blame, and a fashionable shirking of self-responsibility have become common. Forty years of government policies designed to lift the "poor" out of poverty and inequality has not only backfired, it has produced results that are more appropriately described as catastrophic. Millions of jobs have already left America. A five trillion dollar debt threatens to choke the life out of the economy. An administration hostile to the entrepreneurial spirit opts to sow seeds of envy between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' exacerbating the

problems all while pretending his administration is the best friend blacks ever had. In the midst of this crucial period of history, one monolithic message of blame continues to 'grab' the headlines in more than 354 newspapers, magazines and newsletters aimed at America's spirit. It is a message of 'sponsored rage,' a message of dependence, and a message of government responsibility over self-responsibility. It is the wrong message. It must be challenged and changed and *Destiny* magazine has boldly stepped forward to meet the challenge.

PROVIDING NEW LEADERSHIP FOR A NEW ERA

The origin and cures for the social problems that plague the black community have been debated ever since the reconstruction era. One argument focuses on the problems of black Americans stemming from external factors and white racism in particular. Political protest was adopted by many people as the primary way to confront the external factors. The protest movement was to be led by a "talented tenth," the educated elite who would have the knowledge to guide the black masses to prosperity. The foundation of this model was attaining political rights first. This political protest model was distrustful of free enterprise, and placed its faith in the federal government.

The other argument gave greater emphasis to human capital formation in terms of educational attainment and cultural development. The idea was based on a bottom-up development model in contrast to the top-down model of the political protest movement. The foundation of this model was individual initiative and personal responsibility. This model was indifferent to politics and gave emphasis to economic empowerment.

During the mid-1960s, the political protest model gained a virtual monopoly in defining the problems and providing solu-

tions for black America. For no less than a generation, a vanguard of liberal political leaders became the voice of black America.

Today there is a re-emergence of the bottom-up model in the form of the Center for New Black Leadership. Located in Washington D.C., the Center's work begins from the premise that many of the social and economic problems afflicting elements of the black community in America today — particularly the black, urban poor — are, at root, cultural. This analysis is rooted in the knowledge that the history of black Americans is rich with examples of individuals and communities overcoming oppressive circumstances to build strong civic and economic institutions. The foundation of the successes of black Americans during far more economically-depressed times stems from a cultural commitment to strong families, education, diligence and thrift. In short, no matter the circumstances, black Americans had the resilience to never quit.

The Center seeks to promote an alternative vision to the traditional civil rights leadership, premised on the notion that individuals and community-based institutions are best equipped to change the cultural attitudes that are essential for civic

and economic progress. The Center's function is to compliment the work of the many conservative community-based organizations laboring in the black community. According to its President, Brian Jones, "Our goal is to provide an intellectual framework for the work of these organizations. By providing a thoughtful defense of

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conservative ideas in the black community, we can ensure the long-term viability of the essential grassroots efforts already underway."

The Center serves as a high-profile organization devoted to providing an intellectual defense of market-oriented, community self-reliance programs for the long-term political viability of the grassroots efforts now underway. The Center seeks to reaffirm the central importance of individual and community self-reliance in our collec-

tive effort to achieve civic equality. This endeavor it is hoped will encourage the black community to begin the hard work of developing the cultural institutions and values necessary to economic and civic progress, and to support public policies consistent with that objective.

In order to provide an effective alternative leadership, the Center believes the intellectual foundation upon which the currently prevailing black leadership rests its authority must be challenged. The Center will achieve this by sponsoring debates and symposia, and producing scholarly essays and papers, op-ed pieces, as well as a periodic journal. Other activities include maintaining a high public visibility for its officials through media contacts of a wide variety: television, radio, newspaper, press releases, issue forums, Capitol Hill testimony, etc. The Center will also host "roundtable discussions" with the black and mainstream media on important policy issues affecting black communities.

The Center for New Black Leadership represents a serious challenge to the long tried political protest model for the economic development of black America. It is a challenge that needs to be made.

THE UNTOUCHABLES: MAKING MORALITY COOL FOR YOUNGSTERS

Alexandria, Virginia City Councilman Bill Cleveland is the epitome of a grassroots leader. When he realized his neighborhood in Alexandria had a crime problem, he established Alexandria's first Neighborhood Watch program in 1979. He didn't just talk about the problem, he did something about the problem. After crime started decreasing, people in other neighborhoods followed his example. Bill Cleveland, dyslexic and raised in the poor Hill section of Pittsburgh — "where black men were supposed to die, be drug users, alcoholics, thieves or end up in jail," as he

told the *Washington Post* in 1991 — was not supposed to succeed in life. But Bill Cleveland has succeeded, and now he is committed to making sure others follow in his footsteps.

Mr. Cleveland spends much of his time coordinating activities for The Untouchables, a male youth club which trains young men in using positive peer pressure to resist using drugs and alcohol. All members live by the words of The Untouchables'

Creed: "As a member of the Untouchables, I promise to serve God at all times, respect and defend my family, always remain unified with my brothers and sisters, and serve as a positive role model to my home, community, nation and the world. I hereby commit my life to the betterment of myself and all mankind, and in spite of any obstacles, I will uphold these principles

The purpose of the group is to develop pride and self-esteem in young men by employing a holistic approach to empower the participants with knowledge and skills to increase their physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual level of functioning in order that the members will live, work, play and socialize in a productive and healthy manner. In addition, the group emphasizes good grades and the importance of education.

through the spirit of God until I die."

The purpose of the group is to develop pride and self-esteem in young men by employing a holistic approach to empower the participants with knowledge and skills to increase their physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual level of functioning in order that the members will live, work, play and socialize in a productive and healthy manner. In addition, the group emphasizes good grades and the importance of education.

The group is involved in many ongoing activities such as sponsoring a tutoring, GED and academic lecturing program, hosting informational nutrition programs, developing a Rites of Passage Program for boys, hosting African-American history workshops, and conducting AIDS Awareness workshops. In the past, they have co-sponsored boat building and summer educational enrichment programs.

In what may be the group's finest hour, in response to the "Million Man March," the group reached the conclusion that it was simply not wise to participate in the March on a day when they were supposed to be in school, studying, preparing for adulthood, and working for their long-term goals of being self-sufficient and responsible for their own lives. To this group, it appeared contradictory for them to preach responsibility and then abdicate their own by boycotting school. One perceptive member noted a boycott was unnecessary, "Don't we show our unity and our manhood every day?"

The Untouchables send a very compelling cultural message to young people that hard work, staying drug and alcohol free, and standing morally upright can also be considered cool. Judging by the success of the Untouchables (which has grown from 13 youths to 89), one can only hope that Bill Cleveland's success is the foundation for many others. He certainly does.

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: REBUILDING AMERICA SOUL BY SOUL

President Reagan once said, "We declared war on poverty and poverty won." It is widely accepted that America's experiment with social engineering has been a failure. In almost all of the country's major cities, crime is at crisis levels, teen pregnancy levels are epidemic and homicide rates are dangerously high. It is not an overstatement to describe our inner cities as

being in a state of social disintegration. By almost every quality of life measure, the condition of those receiving help from government programs show an increase in the misery of those supposedly helped by government programs.

However, more and more Christians are discovering the simple truth that people

empowered by God are the most effective solution for the spiritual and economic development of the poor. In the words of FCS Urban Ministries in Atlanta, Georgia and Christian Community Development Association (CCDA) board member Bob Lupton, "We are finally willing to admit that we cannot program poverty away. We must dust off forgotten truth and translate into the high tech age a technology that has the power to bring God's shalom to the city."

The CCDA is an association of Christian churches, ministries, families, and individuals. Through CCDA, committed people of God are no longer working in the trenches among America's poor thinking they are the only ones. Members encourage each other and learn from one another. They engage in a range of community development activities such as community development training, evangelism, housing, job creation and youth counseling.

By working together and consulting one another, members of the CCDA strive to strengthen existing Christian community development organizations and provide encouragement to new Christian community development efforts. CCDA hopes to inspire all those individuals helping develop communities in a Christian way and to help to mobilize the body of Christ at large. CCDA works together with ministries to mobilize spiritual and physical resources in and for communities through the Church.

Christian community development is a biblical approach based on three key principles:

- * When we live among the people we minister to, we become one with them. It is no longer just a matter of merely helping, but rather we become a part of the community working together to solve its problems.

- * Reconciliation with our neighbor is the result of loving God (1 John 4:19-21). Our love for Christ should break down every racial, social, or economic barrier.

- * When the body of Christ is visibly present among the poor, and when we are loving our neighbor the way we love ourselves, the result is redistribution —

sharing our lives and skills and resources in a way that enables people to become all that God intended them to be.

The Christian Community Development Association was born out of a 1989 gathering of Christian leaders spearheaded by Dr. John Perkins in Chicago, Illinois. The gathering was of individuals bonded by a significant commitment to expressing the love of Christ in America's poor communities, not just in words, but by good deeds. From this gathering, the CCDA was formed and in a few short years, CCDA has grown from 37 founding members to over 3,000 individuals and 400 churches and ministries

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in 35 states and more than 100 cities.

Dr. Perkins, the Chairman of CCDA, recently wrote in his *Urban Family* magazine, "As African-American Christians, we must be able to stand unwavering for justice — whether political or individual — and at the same time passionately insist on personal responsibility." Through CCDA, Dr. Perkins is giving many others the chance to live their lives responsibly and teach others to do the same.

BLACK AMERICA'S PAC: RECRUITING TOMORROW'S LEADERS TODAY

The 1994 elections were truly historic. For the first time in forty years, the Republican Party won a majority of seats in the House and Senate. The Republican Party fielded 22 black candidates in the general elections. While many went down in defeat, they made a good enough showing to warrant another try in 1996 with many garnishing as much as 40% of the vote.

Moreover, there were also some victories. The people of the state of Oklahoma elected black Republican Julius Caesar "J.C." Watts as their Congressional Representative, making him the second black Republican in the U.S. House of Representatives. Vikki Buckley is Colorado's new secretary of state. In Ohio, Ken Blackwell won the spot of state treasurer and in North Carolina, Larry Linney became a state representative and is joined by Henry McKoy as a state senator in public service.

Also encouraging was the support among black voters for conservative white candidates. Ohio Governor George Voinovich won 40% of the black vote, California Governor Pete Wilson won 21%, and New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman and Virginia Governor George Allen each won 25% of the black vote in their victories.

It has become increasingly clear that black American voters are restless and disenchanted with the outcomes of past government policies and are in the market for change. What is most interesting is that to seek change today is to seek a move away from the liberal statist secular policies that black voters have lived under for at least a generation. What is needed is a political voice dedicated to challenging the dogmas of the past and filling the void.

Although a great strain of instinctive conservatism has historically and continues to run through much of the black community, no organization within the black community has ever lobbied successfully in espousing these conservative values and attacked the reigning liberal philosophy.

Now there is Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC). BAMPAC is dedicated to changing the dialogue within the black community and providing a truer voice for black Americans — a voice that reaffirms the traditional

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values which have served the black community well in the past and to which a rededication is needed in order to ensure a promising future. BAMPAC's Chairman and Republican presidential candidate Alan L. Keyes said the following about the entrenched leadership: "these people have been following a fad for the last 30 years — this insane belief that somehow or another their godless social scientists would find the answers, and would substitute for thousands of years of human experience their trendy little modes of how families could be, and how society could be reconstructed."

BAMPAC's mission includes electing more Republicans, and most

particularly black Republicans, to local and statewide offices, and to the U.S. House and Senate. The group provides training, support, assistance, voter education and registration seminars to grassroots and community-based organizations. The group also offers candidate, campaign and leadership training, including effective communication technique and media relations. In short, Black America's PAC is developing tomorrow's political leaders today.

Above all, BAMPAC is dedicated to recommitting the nation to the traditional values of a reverence for God and this country; a belief that all human life is sacred; a commitment to strong families and communities; a respect for excellence in education; less government intrusion in our lives and an agenda for economic empowerment.

LARSTELLA (STAR) PARKER: A NEW KIND OF LEADER

In an interview with radio talk-show host Rush Limbaugh, Larstella "Star" Parker did not hesitate to condemn community leaders for their role in inciting their followers to be unlawful: "... I have two girls, and I tell them what it takes to be successful in life. But after the L.A. riot, they had to witness our legislators and some pastors coming out to protect the criminals. They watched me struggle to piece my little business back together. I had employees, young men who go to Bible study Wednesday nights, who had never been in a gang or taken drugs all their lives, and I had to let them go. My daughters watched me have to fire them because I could no longer keep them on, while Congresswoman Maxine Waters is running gangsters out to Washington, patting them on the back, telling them how they're victims of society ... Jesse Jackson is saying 'desperate people do desperate things' after they burned down our neighbors. The Koreans were supplying our communities with goods and services that no one else was. Yet they burned them down, and then justified it. What message does this send to my daughters? What education is my teenager getting from this madness?"

Shortly after these riots, she founded the Coalition on Urban Affairs (CUA) to inform, impact and influence black America

with a political, social and economic agenda rooted in moral absolutes. Prior to becoming active in her community, Parker

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lived more than three years on AFDC as a single mother in Los Angeles, California. Without a dime in her pocket — refusing to take any more income from the local welfare office despite being unemployed for three months — Parker founded N.F.T.A.

Christian Magazine in 1984 after returning to college and receiving a B.S. in Marketing from Woodbury University. N.F.T.A. now works with more than 100 pastors, 30,000 church members, and 500 local business owners in the Los Angeles area.

The 1992 Los Angeles riots marked a watershed in the emergence of new voices in the black community. The evident self-destruction of the riots sparked many people to start to speak out against those who chose to riot and speak to the concerns of small

These new leaders explain that the root causes of many social problems in urban areas is attributable to the absence of moral examples and absolutes, rather than just external factors or material concerns such as racism or poverty. Emerging black leaders point to the sad irony that during past chapters in black American history when racism was more prevalent and black family incomes were much lower than they are now, the current mayhem of pathology was not as serious.

business owners and everyday citizens who seek protection from criminal activity. Moreover, these new voices in the black community put forth a new vision on how the condition of our inner cities have reached such a crises point.

These new leaders explain that the root causes of many social problems in urban areas is attributable to the absence of moral examples and absolutes, rather than just external factors or material concerns such as racism or poverty. Emerging black leaders point to the sad irony that during past chapters in black American history when racism was more prevalent and black family incomes were much lower than they are now, the current mayhem of pathology was not as serious. Specifically, the new leadership points to government policy as a culprit in undermining black American's traditional conservative values of self-sufficiency, self-restraint and marriage.

As spoken by community activist Star Parker, "Conservatism and liberalism

are the two ideologies vying to define the causes and solutions for the devastating pathologies plaguing our communities. Liberals respond with affirmative action quotas and job training programs, while conservatives back changing moral attitudes and radically reforming welfare and the public educational system."

Star continues, "There are two main reasons I reject the liberal argument that stricter affirmative action laws and government-subsidized job training programs will remedy the welfare crisis affecting black Americans. Number one, I believe that affirmative action has significantly hindered the economic potential of black Americans by de-emphasizing entrepreneurial empowerment which prevents black Americans from developing a financial foundation. Without an economic base, blacks have limited business structures through which to employ youth in the local economy. Thus, our youth have no understanding of their purpose and without this vision they are casting off all behavioral restraint. Inevitably, this irresponsibility is reflecting low work morale, racial animus and increased criminal activity. Secondly, I believe that government subsidized job training programs are a distraction from the fact that the public education systems in urban areas have failed. Solutions such as busing only imply to young people that quality belongs to another race."

Rather than just talk about these problems, Star Parker is doing something about them. CUA has been working to establish strong leadership in government, business, education, and most importantly, strong leadership in the family. Her CUA sponsors Urban Issues Conferences, an Urban Business Association, Leadership Training, a Youth Print Training Program, an Association of Urban Schools, and a Welfare Reform Pilot Program to achieve these goals.

From organizing Christian churches and organizations nationally to educating state legislators to meeting with local school board officials in California, Star Parker is on a crusade and she won't be stopped — neither by the problems plaguing communities across the nation, nor by the leaders perpetuating them.

CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT PREPARES YOUTH FOR CAREERS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Research conducted by the National Science Foundation shows that black Americans accounted for a mere 5% of the Bachelor's, 3% of Masters and 3% of doctorates awarded in 1985 in the field of science and technology.

In an effort to address this underrepresentation, Drew University in Los Angeles, California established the Center for Educational Achievement (CEA) in 1985. After the Watts riots in 1966, Drew Univer-

Research conducted by the National Science Foundation shows that black Americans accounted for a mere 5% of the Bachelor's, 3% of Masters and 3% of doctorates awarded in 1985 in the field of science and technology.

sity became the fourth historically black medical school in the country. Since the creation of CEA, Drew has pursued the objective of steering children in the direction of the medical and science fields with unending determination.

Drew University has instituted programs aiding students from preschool to graduate school. Under the auspices of CEA, the Medical College Admissions Test Preparation Program to prepare minority college students for medical school entrance exams was launched. Drew's other programs include Project Head Start encompassing 24 educational sites throughout the community, providing child care and early education to over 1,700 preschool students between the ages of three and five years old. The program's emphasis is on providing the

foundation for developing strong math and science skills.

One of CEA's most successful programs has been the Saturday Science Academy (SSA) for children ages six to fifteen. SSA gives young minority, low-income, and disadvantaged youth the opportunity to realize their dreams of becoming physicians or scientists. SSA combines a rich and rigorous curriculum with career guidance, mentoring programs, and parental advisement sessions. The program is divided in three parts. First, students are exposed to studies regarding animal life, physiology, laboratory research, aerospace technology, and medicine. Second, students are required to utilize lectures and laboratory assignments to enrich their knowledge about the subject in the first part. In addition, students take trips to local and national science research centers to enhance their learning. The final part of the program calls for each student to be paired with a mentor who assists the student in preparing for college, tutoring, and developing and implementing an indepth research project.

In a feature article on SSA in the November 16 issue of *Black Issues in Higher Education*, Mary Blanding, Executive Director and President of the Center for Educational Achievement at Drew University, said the program is "just what the doctor ordered. If they can get this now, they will retain it. This could make the difference between a B and a C in college biology." The ultimate goal of the program is to make a difference in the number of minorities in the medical and technical fields. Currently, only 4% of employed scientists and engineers in the United States

are African-American or Hispanic.

Enrollment in the program is highly competitive, with no more than 15 students accepted in each class. In 1990, the SSA began with a student body of 15. Today, the Academy boasts some 150 students and an ever-expanding waiting list. More than 1,000 students have been accepted in the program since 1990. According to Blanding, approximately 12 Saturday

One of CEA's most successful programs has been the Saturday Science Academy (SSA) for children ages six to fifteen. SSA gives young minority, low-income, and disadvantaged youth the opportunity to realize their dreams of becoming physicians or scientists.

Science Academy students are included among the 200 students who attend the King/Drew Magnet High School. The King/Drew High School is considered one of the top-ranked public schools in the country and serves as a national model for nurturing and promoting the desire of youth to practice medicine.

One of the more important aspects of the SSA is that it is almost totally funded by private donations from such foundations and companies. In the same breath, Director Blanding stresses that what keeps the program going is the host of volunteers — mostly parents. Blanding adds, however, that the volunteers and donations have not quite matched the enthusiasm of participants. One parent expressed the community's excitement over the program like this, "My children benefited so much from the SSA. You need to bottle this. The education they received, the role models they met, and the parent workshops that I attended have been incredibly enlightening. I feel that I am now better equipped to enhance my children's education so that they have a greater chance of academic success and the confidence to believe that they are intelligent, can learn, are special, important, vital, and can do anything. Thank you for making a difference."

The SSA is but one example of a community-based approach to social problems that foster independence through creative initiative. Recognition and national media coverage to efforts such as the SSA is long overdue.

CHOOSING LIFE OVER "CHOICE"

Black Californians for Life (BCL) is an is not a well known organization. The reason for the media silence that surrounds this group may be its pro-life stance, especially since it comes from a group of black Americans who do not fit the stereotype of black leaders as parrots and spin-doctors for the liberal agenda.

BCL, led by Executive Director Janet Hudspeth, is leading the charge in providing pieces of pro-life literature by the tens of thousands along with video footage of abortions, fetal models and speakers in an effort to educate black Americans about the horrific tragedies of abortion, infanticide,

and euthanasia.

Eye opening facts and insights about abortion not reported thoroughly by the mainstream media, but discussed by BCL include:

1) Scientists know a distinct human life begins at conception. From that time onward, the unborn child is a living, developing individual with a uniquely human genetic constitution.

2) In the first month of development the tiny human being develops its own eyes, spinal cord, and nervous system. The

heartbeat begins by the fourth week.

3) At three months, the unborn child can make a tiny fist, wake and sleep, and get hiccups.

4) Approximately one-half of all abortions are performed during the first eight weeks of gestation; fourteen percent of

With over 30 million abortions performed since 1973, and blacks accounting for 33% of all abortions in 1992 (despite being less than 13% of the population), BCL is waging a modern day civil war. Like the war fought in the 1860's, this is a war where lives are at stake. Even as important, like the Civil War, this fight is for a cause larger than the combatants themselves — freedom.

abortions are performed at or before six weeks; fifteen percent at seven weeks, and twenty-one percent at eight weeks gestation. 89% of abortions are performed during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy.

Furthermore, BCL points out that the abortion rate (number of abortions per 1,000 women aged 15-44) for black women is approximately three times that for white women. From this fact, it is easy to extrapolate the incidence of post-abortion syndrome is taking a heavy toll on many black

women. The devastating trauma that comes from a mother killing her child has so affected the black community that one effect is an "increase of drug usage of both men and women," according to literature distributed by BCL.

BCL is unapologetic and uncompromising on its abortion stance: "What has caused black women to massacre their young? How can a people who lived through slavery, second-class citizenship, and more suffering than most people on this earth — and survived — kill their posterity, at a time in history when they have more reason than ever to live? ... Buying into the American ideal of opportunity and advancement, educated women are yielding their privilege to raise children to black teens, who usually have their babies when they become pregnant. Needless to say, the black family itself will suffer the most. The number of single-parent homes has greatly increased. Promiscuity and abortion have torn down the remnants of the traditional family, and only a return to valuing our young will restore it."

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CENTER FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY: FIGHTING THE RACE CARD

"America remains deeply divided by race. Despite sweeping gains over the last 40 years — the end of public school segregation, broadened opportunities in the workplace and voting booth — the rift between blacks and whites has widened rather than narrowed. Self-segregation by

minority students is common in universities throughout the country, employers routinely hire by race and ethnic group to satisfy federal affirmative action requirements, and racially gerrymandered Congressional districts resemble inkblot tests drawn in desperate attempts to guarantee election

outcomes ... public policies now emphasize separate racial and ethnic identity and group rights, making the task of assimilating millions of newcomers into the cultural and social mainstream far more difficult than in the past."

As described by the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), the racial and ethnic divisions in this country are nearly insurmountable. The Center for Equal Opportu-

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nity was founded by Linda Chavez, the former director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, to counter the harmful impact of public policies that divide America by race and ethnicity. Originally a project of the Manhattan Institute, CEO operated under the name of the Center for American Renewal until it became independent in 1995.

CEO focuses on three core issues: racial preferences, immigration and assimilation, and multicultural education. CEO supports race-neutral policies and opposes their use in employment, education, and voting. With high numbers of immigrants admitted into the country each year, CEO believes Americans must find a pro-assimilation middle-ground between nativists who

say that today's immigrants cannot assimilate and multiculturalists who say that they should not. Likewise, a racially and ethnically diverse America will not survive if an "Afrocentric" anti-Western curriculum is offered to American students, and immigrants are taught in their native languages rather than the English language.

CEO serves as a base for intellectuals who oppose the prevailing view in academic circles and the media on the virtue of racially and ethnically divisive government programs. Through high-profile work with scholars, CEO is attempting to educate Congress, the media, and opinion leaders on issues of race, ethnicity, and assimilation.

In the fall of 1995, CEO sponsored a major conference exploring issues of assimilation and national identity. At the conference, CEO brought together educators, policymakers, and parents for a Capitol Hill conference on bilingual education. It exposed the continuing abuses in bilingual education programs, which put 2.3 million immigrants and U.S.-born Hispanic children at risk by delaying teaching them English.

Other events sponsored by CEO have included a public lecture by historian Daniel Boorstin on what Americans share in common during a time of great racial and ethnic diversity, and a discussion on race and jury trials featuring top legal experts.

CEO follows the proud American tradition of striving to overcome the divisions among us, not widening and deepening them.

KID-CARE DOESN'T KID AROUND WHEN IT COMES TO FEEDING CHILDREN

Tired of people always relying on the government, or waiting for "someone else to do it," Carol and Hurt Porter began feeding the poor out of their small Houston, Texas home. Believing that private charity with "everyone doing a little bit" is the best

way to fight hunger and poverty, the Porters opened their kitchen and pantry to the poor children of Houston, and started their remarkable organization, Kid-Care.

Growing from its humble begin-

nings, Kid-Care now routinely prepares and serves 20,000 meals per month. Carol Porter has been hailed as the "Mother Teresa of Houston" for fulfilling her vision of feeding the hungry and providing for the needy without any government money, even though she has met with Presidents Clinton and Bush, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and has appeared before U.S. Senate committees on poverty.

Carol and Hurt Porter view volunteerism as the key to solving America's hunger pains, and they see welfare as a form of slavery that "shackles the wrist and

Carol Porter has been hailed as the "Mother Teresa of Houston" for fulfilling her vision of feeding the hungry and providing for the needy without any government money,

shackles the mind." "A lot of people tell me they can't make any sense of me," says Mrs. Porter, who sports a "Rush is Right" bumper sticker on her car. "Here I am this black conservative with a bleeding heart, a card-carrying Republican." But the Porters' bleeding hearts have helped thousands and gained them national recognition.

Kid-Care has been written up in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Times*, *People* magazine, *Texas Monthly*, *The Ladies Home Journal*, and *Family Circle*. These periodicals have helped to bring attention and charitable contributions to Kid-Care as it tries to expand and meet the needs of more people. But Kid-Care also attracted the attention of the Houston Health Department. Because Kid-Care is technically in the food service industry, the Health Department cited the Porters for the absence of a vented hood over their kitchen stove and a mop sink. Kid-Care attracted more attention when Carol and Hurt Porter fought the citations of the Health Department. In her astonishment at the Health Department's priorities, Carol told *The New York Times*: "Are you going to tell me that it's better for them to eat garbage-can cuisine than out of my kitchen? You've got to be kidding me. They [the Health Department] said there were roaches. This is Houston, Texas. Humidity City, U.S.A.! Everybody has roaches!" The Porters ended up only paying \$50 to the Health Department.

Through generous private donations, Kid-Care has been able to purchase a new facility to better serve the poor. Kid-Care hopes to prepare 4,000 meals per day and provide children with a library, a play room, a computer room, and a dark room, in order to give them more than just sandwiches and vegetables.

In their efforts to feed hungry children, the Porters noticed many families are not headed by strong fathers. Carol's husband Hurt has started "Daddy Has Returned" as part of Kid-Care's functions. Daddy has Returned is an organization that is empowering men to commit to their children, and if possible to the mothers of those children. Daddy Has Returned will accomplish its mission with the help of two intense programs: the New Warrior three-day weekend, and the Landmark Forum.

After the New Warrior weekend, each man signs up for "I Group" meetings. "I Groups" are meetings held by New Warriors once a week for about three months to build up and encourage men who have taken the New Warrior three day weekend. Job skill assessment and substance abuse counseling will also be offered to help men find jobs. After six months,

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men will be given an award based on their progress and willingness to mentor other men.

With 87% of Kid-Care's funds going directly to the poor, Carol and Hurt Porter have dedicated themselves to servicing the short-term, albeit immediate needs of the hungry poor. At the same time, by being so effective, they have chipped away at dependence upon government. No longer can government claim that no one else can do it better. Not with Kid-Care around.

RESTORING FATHERS TO THEIR FAMILIES

Recognizing the critical problem of "fatherlessness" in the nation, the Cleveland-based Institute for Responsible Fatherhood and Family Revitalization has created a remarkably successful approach that brings young black American fathers back to their children and families. Over 2,500 fathers and their families have been served by the Institute.

The Institute is a non-profit organization created in 1982 from the vision of its founder and president, Charles A. Ballard. Mr. Ballard, in explaining why he started the Institute, has spoken eloquently on the devastating effect a father's absence has on his family: "There is something missing in the lives of children who grow up without committed, caring fathers. The potential problems can follow a family for generations. The effects are especially hard on young males. Without that special dimension of guidance a father can give, these young men are at risk of becoming fathers too soon themselves. The pressure of having to act responsibly without the proper understanding can be too much for them to handle. As a male who was separated from his father at three and became a father at seventeen, I can relate to this, intimately."

The Institute has developed a method that literally changes the lives of absent and non-attentive fathers. Its approach is based on modeling and interventions to encourage young fathers to achieve positive self-esteem. The Institute's team interacts with fathers to create environments which allow them to develop thinking that produces an increased sound quality of life for their children.

Fathers being served by the Institute often display high-risk behaviors, whereby under the Institute's counseling and guidance the father pursues a risk-free lifestyle. Each takes on the challenge of living in the

absence of tobacco, alcohol, other drug abusive behavior, sex outside of marriage, obesity or other high risk tendencies that plague black American communities.

Fathers receive intense *non-traditional* one-on-one support, group support, family outreach, fathering skills, health and nutrition information, medical and housing referrals, as well as educational and career guidance. Most services are provided in the home of the father, permitting his issues to be managed at the core, which establishes quality at the source.

Despite its unorthodox approach, a 1993 reactive evaluation of the Cleveland program and services, conducted by Drs. G. Regina Nixon and Anthony E.O. King of Case Western Reserve University, documented the positive impact the Institute has had on its participants.

Findings included:

✓ 97% spend more time with their children and are providing financial support

✓ 96% percent experienced an improved relationship with the child's mother

✓ 92% percent developed positive values and attitudes

✓ 70% percent of fathers completed twelve years of education; nearly 12 percent at least one year of college

✓ 62% percent are employed full time; 11 percent are employed part-time.

Since Institute outreach specialists lead by example, modeling rather than demanding change, they are able to help

bring about a change in the attitude of the father. Moreover, enough cannot be said

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about the fact that the Institute does not undermine the traditional two-parent family as past programs have. In fact, the Institute is helping restore the two-parent family.

During the course of the past two years, letters and calls from more than 60 cities and seven countries, including Japan and some in Africa, have requested that the service be expanded to their locations. Based on a thorough evaluation of the requests, and with encouragement from both local and national opinion leaders, foundations and corporations, the Institute is now beginning national expansion to five additional cities: Atlanta, Milwaukee, Nashville, San Diego, and Yonkers. In the targeted areas for each site, The Institute will go door-to-door to over 15,000 households. During that period of time, 1,000 fathers will establish paternity. 300 will receive intensive services. Door by door, family by family, father by father, The Institute For Responsible Fatherhood and Family Revitalization is paving the way for a better America.

BLACK CONSERVATIVE EXPLORES TELEVISION AS A TOOL FOR HEALING IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Amos Young, C.E.O. and founder of the G.R.A.C.E. Communications Group, observes that black America is in a state of crisis. He contends that if the sociologists are right that "as the black community goes, so goes America," then the crisis must be overcome.

Young offers a laundry list of problems facing the black community: "Common to... scientists' studies is the theme that neither the present nor the future and especially the past offers hope for the black communities of America. Perceptions of dysfunctional families, a disintegrating family structure, the erosion of spiritual values, 400,000 plus black men in prison, underachievement in education, a virtually nonexistent economic base, the drug scourge, crack cocaine babies, work skills deficiencies, unwed mothers (i.e., babies having babies), and gangster fathers all seem to speak ill of America. The black commu-

nity lies broken and wounded and her cupboards are bare."

According to Young, black America must rise to the challenge. He believes that much of the black community lies wounded

Mr. Young believes that with the recent conservative tide sweeping America the time has come for "Left and Right: Politics In Black America."

by forty years of liberal leadership. Black conservatives need a forum by which they can find a listening ear in the black community. Young hopes that forum will be "Left and Right: Politics in Black America." The weekly television series will provide liberal and conservative African-Americans the opportunity to debate the important issues of the day.

Young views the show as a means by which the black community can articulate within the black community to the black community attainable solutions that produce economic empowerment, sustainable social responsibility and measurable educational accountability. He also sees the show as being educational for the black community, beneficial for all minorities, and a service to the greatness of America's tolerance for political discourse. As a conservative, he believes the forum would provide black conservatives with an opportunity to persuade the hearts and minds of black Ameri-

cans.

This forum will help to educate the black community by giving exposure to ideas that are heartfelt, but rarely politically expressed. Mr. Young believes that with the recent conservative tide sweeping America the time has come for "Left and Right: Politics In Black America." The show is expected to begin airing the third week in January on Continental Cable with expectations that it will be broadcast on the Inland Empire Network across 50 cities.

L.E.A.R.N.: STANDING UP FOR WHAT'S RIGHT

"It is bad enough that black children are killed by street thugs wearing hoods, it is disgusting that they are killed on Capitol Hill by thugs wearing ties. Both will answer to the people and Almighty God!" Johnny Hunter, National Director of the Life Education and Resource Network (L.E.A.R.N.), is hardly timid in his opposition to abortion and its advocates. "...a traitor to his race," is how Pastor Hunter described Surgeon General nominee Henry Foster at a press conference.

LEARN is a network of Christian pro-life/pro-family advocates who are dedicated to protecting the pre-born and promoting traditional family values. Established in 1993 at the African-American Pro-Life Planning Conference in Houston, Texas, LEARN welcomes into the network any and all people who support Christian values and wish to ensure the survival of all races of people, and improve the country's quality of life without sacrificing its children.

This national network provides a unique opportunity for pro-life advocates to learn from the experiences and diversity of the various organizations, programs, and regions each member represents.

While opinion polls consistently show that a majority of black Americans are

pro-life, the government has been reluctant to place limitations on the practice. According to a 1990 Gallup Poll, 40% of black respondents believed that abortion is just as bad as killing a person who has already been born. The same poll asked the question, "At what point in the pregnancy do you personally feel that the unborn child's right to be born outweighs the woman's right to choose whether she wants to have a child — at the moment of conception, at the moment she first feels movement inside her, at the moment when the baby

Consistently, members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) have voted contrary to black America's pro-life sentiment.

could survive on its own, outside the womb, or at the moment of birth?" The response was unambiguous: 45.5% answered at the moment of conception, 19% said the moment she first feels movement inside her. Only 7.6% specified the moment of birth.

Consistently, members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) have voted contrary to black America's pro-life sentiment. The voting pattern of the CBC is a prime example of how incumbent politicians have become captured by special interests, or in this case the abortion lobby,

instead of reflecting the values of their constituents.

So, where the politicians have neglected to adequately represent their constituents, LEARN is speaking loud and clear for them. LEARN offers quality peaceful nonviolent leadership training at its conferences. The network also embraces the precept of overcoming evil with ethical alternatives which acknowledge the sanctity of all human life. Volunteer staff help state and local groups identify speakers and design training workshops to ensure successful educational events.

LEARN has built a support library of books, articles and other documentation as an information resource for pro-life

advocates. In addition, a newsletter serves as a vital source of information in educating the black community regarding the holocaust of abortion and the liberal counter-culture attack against the family unit.

Through its grassroots efforts, LEARN is helping build a sustainable network of African-American pro-life/pro-family organizations. And these organizations are working to save future souls from the fate of their predecessors. Between 1973 and 1991, the number of minority babies aborted corresponded to approximately 21% of the total minority population in 1991. The activists of LEARN are dedicated to making sure that everyone is aware of the significance of such a tragedy.

PROJECT 21: NEW LEADERSHIP FOR A NEW CENTURY

Following the acquittal of the four police officers accused of beating Rodney King, three days of rioting, looting, and arson ravaged South-Central Los Angeles. Before it all ended, 52 people had been killed, 2400 injured and over \$2 billion in damage had been inflicted on this Los Angeles community. Surprisingly, some civil rights leaders openly supported the violence while others cynically used it to bolster their calls for federal financing of pet projects.

Unfortunately, the media covered the events surrounding the King controversy almost exclusively through the reactions of liberal civil rights leaders. Curiously the media made little mention of those in the black American community who spoke out in favor of law and order and individual responsibility — and against the rioters. Rather than merely complain about the lack of attention given to moderate and conservative black Americans as typified by the coverage of the riots, The National Center for Public Policy Research convened a

meeting of conservative and moderate black American activists in mid-1992 to determine whether it was feasible to construct a program to bring conservative and moderate voices in the community to the attention of the media. The answer was yes, and Project 21 was born.

Perhaps the greatest casualty of all in the Los Angeles riots was the relationship between white and black Americans. It was in the interest of healing wounds between black and white Americans — many predating the Los Angeles riots — that The National Center initiated Project 21. Project 21 was developed to address two basic problems in American society: One, that when it comes to white and black, America's melting pot ideal remains an unfulfilled aspiration. Two, that the urban blight of crime, welfare dependency and substandard schools remains an intractable and, indeed, steadily growing problem a quarter century after the Great Society.

To begin seriously addressing these

problems, Project 21 set out to:

- * Improve the visibility of African-American community leaders on public platforms such as television news shows, opinion/editorial pages, talk radio and so forth to educate the public about the existence and philosophy of black conservatives and of alternatives to the Great Society approach;

- * Make certain that those within the African-American community who believe that only new government programs can successfully address the problems black America faces

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are no longer considered the "sole voices" of black America in media and policy making circles;

- * Help politicians and policy makers — both black and white — feel more comfortable aggressively and constructively addressing urban and racial problems;

- * Make the economic empowerment vision, which incorporates such innovative ideas as urban enterprise zones, a more popular choice among African-Americans;

- * Help black conservatives increase their influence and contributions on issues affecting the black community and urban America.

Since its inception, Project 21 has enjoyed enormous success. Project 21 participants have been interviewed by

hundreds of newspapers, talk radio shows and television programs throughout the country. Project 21 has been featured on such programs as the *Rush Limbaugh show*, *CNN & Company*, *CNN Morning News*, *The McLaughlin Group*, *C-SPAN's Saturday Roundtable*, *Michael Reagan*, *Larry King*, *G. Gordon Liddy*, *Pat Buchanan & Company* and several hundred more, as well as in newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Times*, *The Detroit News*, *The Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, *USA Today*, and many others. Project 21 released a major report, *The Health Care Ghetto: African-Americans and Health Care Reform*, at a National Press Club press conference in August, 1994, and its first annual report on the state of Black America, *Black America 1994: Changing Direction*, in January 1994. In January 1995, Project 21 released another report of essays from black conservatives entitled *Black America 1995: A New Beginning*.

Simply put, Project 21 has emerged as a leading voice for a new generation of African-American leadership. By sponsoring a press conference in January 1996 to highlight the activities of other African-American leaders, Project 21 is letting the nation know of the growing contributions of black Americans who have a strong entrepreneurial spirit, are devoted to family and community and demonstrate through personal example a dedicated commitment to individual responsibility.