

AFRO AMERICAN STUDIES AND RESEARCH PROGRAM  
SPRING 1984

AFRO 298B  
Chicago Leadership Seminar

I. The subject matter of this course has four major aspects:

1. historical leadership models (biographies of key personalities in various fields or career areas to determine alternative paths to leadership)
2. presidential leadership (electoral politics, campaigning, the presidency with local levels of leadership)
3. community issue leadership (in main issue areas of community struggle with focus upon leadership)
4. Chicago leadership seminar: speakers include Warren Bacon, Charles Hayes and Lu Palmer)

II. Course (regular) meetings:

- 16 regular class meeting dates
- 3 seminar sessions
- 1 field trip to Chicago (tentative)

III. Requisites:

1. Completion of an acceptable research (7-10 pages with appropriate documentation)
2. Lead a discussion on at least one community issue leadership unit or study group project
3. Demonstrate familiarity with background readings and source materials on:
  - a) Harold Washington Mayoral Elections, and
  - b) Black People and Presidential Leadership.
4. Attendance to all Chicago Leadership Lectures and the "Fannie Lou Hamer" Film, April 24, 1984
5. Final Exam

IV. Grades:

Research paper	= 25%
Classroom participation	= 25%
Final Exam	= 50%

V. Chicago Leadership Seminar Basic Readings:

1. Black People and the 1980 Census: Proceedings from Conference on the Population Undercount.
2. Mayoral Conference Proceedings: Black Power in American Cities.
3. Black Power in Chicago (4 volumes) Documentations and Clippings on and About the Harold Washington Campaign for Mayor of Chicago, 1982-1983.
4. \*Subscriptions to: All Chicago City News \$ 3.00  
Chicago Defender 76 issues = 10.00  
(Costs and method of payment to be determine later)
5. Black Power Versus Racism: The Mayoral Election of Harold Washington in Chicago, 1983.
6. "Black People and Presidential Politics," BLM News-84.
7. Background Readings from Black People and Presidential Politics: A Source Book.

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\*Required purchases are the subscriptions, other purchases are optional but strongly suggested.

## VI. Class Schedule;

<u>Session</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Topic or Focus</u>
1	1/16	Introduction
2	1/23	History of Black Politics in Chicago
3	1/30	Harold Washington Mayoral Campaign: Selected Issues
4	2/06	Chicago Leadership Lecture Series: The First Congressional District and Congressman Charles Hayes
5	2/13	Lecture Summation w/Letter Introduction to Presidential Leadership
6	2/20	Presidential Leadership and Black Politics
7	2/27	Blacks in Corporate Positions Chicago Leadership Lecture: Warren Bacon
8	3/05	Lecture Summation w/Letter and Harold Washington Campaign Key Issues
9	3/12	Community Issues Leadership (Housing)
10	3/19	Community Issues Leadership (Health)
11	3/26	Community Issues Leadership (Women)
12	4/02	Blacks in Community Leadership and Electoral Politics Chicago Lecture Series: Lu Palmer
13	4/09	Summation of Lecture w/Letter
14	4/16	Community Issues Leadership (Education)
15	4/23	Community Issues Leadership (Police)
16	4/30	Summary Session Exam Preparational Research Paper
	5/07	Final Exam

## VII. Latino Study Group

"Latinos in Chicago"

Focus: Coalition Building

Key Readings:

1. Census Proceedings Volume. "The Hispanic Undercount," pp. 375-381.
2. Janne Belencha "Latinos and Chicago Politics" in After Daley by Gove and Massotti, pp. 118-145.
3. Latino Institute. "Latinos in Metropolitan Chicago: A Study of Housing and Employment" (1983), 90 pages.
4. Black Power in Chicago: Documentary and Clippings.
5. Chicago Clipping and Issues Files
6. Black Power and American Cities, Section 6, Workshop #2 "Coalitions".
7. Harold Washington Paper "Black Power Versus Racism," Section on the Latino Vote in the 1983 Mayoral Election.

## Chicago Leadership Seminar

## COURSE SYLLABI

Spring Semester 1984

SESSION 1 (1/16)

This session will clarify the course content, objectives, methods and requirements. It will introduce to seminar participants the main source materials and readings relevant to the course and the research effort. Course assignments and study organization will be further identified. The key questions for discussion are:

1. What do we mean by "leadership", what are the key aspects of leadership that we will focus upon and how does it manifest itself socially?
2. What is the past and current social context, in which political leadership has emerged in Chicago(?)
3. How is information in Chicago leadership accessible to us?

Introduction to Readings and Source Material

SESSION 2 (1/23)

This session traces the historical development of Blacks in Chicago, the Black community, its institutions with a focus on the history of Black politics and the factors shaping it. We attempt to locate the particular experiences of Blacks in Chicago and their struggle for power within the context of the broader experiences of Black people as it has developed.

1. Can we identify different stages in the development of Black politics and different leadership styles characteristic of these stages?
2. Identify the main forms of Black political participation?
3. What evidence can be given to support the relative success, limitations or failure, of electoral politics or any other forms or tactics of political action.
4. What is the current status of Black elected officeholding at federal, state and local levels?
5. Identify at least one lesson from your study of the history of Black politics in Chicago that would inform future political activity.

Readings: Black Power in American Cities, Section 4  
Black People and Politics, Vol. 2, "Black Politics in Chicago", Section 2-7

SESSION 3 (1/30)

This session is designed to introduce to the seminar a selection of the main issues emerging from institutional and community struggles that underpinned the Harold Washington mayoral campaign. These divergent issues emerged from mass struggles which were essentially "economic" in nature but were transformed into a united city-wide movement for political change.

Identify at least one issue area and provide an analysis of its development, the impact it had on the mayoral election, what role actors in conflict played and how the issue has or is likely to be resolved.

1. What was the problem? What is the quantitative evidence for the existence of the problem? Who was affected by the problem and how?
2. Identify the main interests in conflict around the issue. Who were the leading actors or representatives in the conflict and what role did they play in the struggle?
3. How did struggle around the issue serve to build Black political unity and support and to mobilize resources for the campaign and the election?
4. What has been the aftermath? In what ways, if any, has change come about? How can we measure the change?
5. What is the next stage? future goals?

Readings: Black Power versus Racism. "The Movement, Ten Key Issues"

Census Conference Proceedings. "The Black Community and the Census", pp. 414-502.

Mayoral Conference Proceedings: Black Power and American Cities.

SESSION 4 (2/06)

This session focuses upon preparation for the Chicago Leadership lecture featuring Congressman Charles Hayes. Hayes, a union organizer and labor leader has been a long time supporter of Harold Washington. He was elected to the congressional seat vacated by Harold Washington. In focusing on the First Congressional District and the Hayes campaign, we want to contrast and to compare the level of unity built among Black leadership in the Washington election with that attained in the Hayes election. Also in this session we

## COURSE SYLLABUS

SESSION 4 (cont'd)

want to prepare specific questions to ask of the Congressman.

1. Where is the First Congressional District located? Who lives within it? What are their social characteristics?
2. What wards are in this district and identify the ward leadership in government and in the Democratic Party?
3. Who are the other Black Congressmen elected from this district? Briefly describe and evaluate their work.
4. Identify the contending candidates in the Congressional election who ran against Hayes. Who were the three most prominent among them? What was the basis of their support? What role did Washington play in influencing the outcome?
5. What is a plausible explanation of what happened in this election and what can we expect to be the long range outcome?

Readings: Black Power in Chicago

Black People and Politics, Vol 2, Section 4, "Personalities"

Chicago Clips and Files,

Black Power in American Cities, Section 9, Workshop 5

Black People and Presidential Politics. Background Readings "Blacks and U.S. Politics"

U.S. Census Current Population Reports "Congressional Districts of the U.S."

SESSION 5 (2/13)

In this unit we have two tasks. First, we want to be able to complete the content of a draft response to Congressman Hayes' presentation. Second, we will introduce the first of three units on Black people and the Presidency. The study group on Charles Hayes will a critique of Hayes and suggested points to be included in the response letter will be added by the class. The unit on Presidential Politics is designed to cover basic facts on the U.S. Presidency, the Presidency in the context of the U.S. Economy and Political System, and the Presidency in the context of the Black Politics and the Black Experience. Key questions:

1. Several presidents have been identified as supportive of Black interests and beneficial to Black interests. Who are the most important of these? Why? Is this view justifiable? Why or why not?

## COURSE SYLLABUS

SESSION 5 (cont'd)

2. Considering the elections of U.S. presidents over the past 50 years, has the pattern of Black voter participation been critical in the electoral outcome?
3. To what extent are their significant differences in the major parties as they affect Blacks, Latinos, women, etc?
4. Does Jesse Jackson's presidential candidacy represent a historical precedent?
5. What has been the Black experience with third parties? Would the trend in Black voting indicate a potential political base for a mass political party?

Readings: Lecture Notes

Black People and Presidential Politics: Background  
Readings, Section 2 and 3

SESSION 6 (2/20)

This year's Black Liberation Month News (February 1984) focuses upon six key aspects of "Black People and Presidential Politics." Students in the seminar will be guided through the analysis in the editorial and critique it based upon the body of source material used to support the analysis.

1. What are the constitutional provisions of the presidency concerning selection, and election duties and powers, tenure of office and appointments?
2. The editors of BLM News make a definite distinction between who owns the country (ruling class) and who runs the government (political elites). Is there evidence to support the view that they are one and the same? Is there counter evidence?
3. What is the status of Blacks within the two main aspects of the "American system?" How would you evaluate their status? that of Latinos?
4. Are wars inherent in the U.S. system? What has been the extent of Black participation in U.S. wars?
5. How have Black people been a central issue in the economy and politics of this country?
6. Under what conditions should a Black presidential candidate be supported?
7. What is the economic and political basis for the "Rainbow Coalition"? What sectors of society constitute it? How is it distinguishable from previous coalitions in U.S. politics?



## COURSE SYLLABUS

SESSION 6 (cont'd)

Readings: Black Liberation Month News, 1984  
Background Readings, Section 6 and 7

SESSION 7 (2/27)

In this session, we will prepare for the second Chicago Leadership lecturer of the semester, Warren Bacon, a Vice President at Inland Steel. In the first half, we will examine the main form of business organization in the U.S. and its relationship to Black people: as producers, consumers, competitors and dealers and policymakers or corporate boards. This provides an excellent context for preparing for Mr. Bacon, an actor within local government and as a leading member of Harold Washington's Steering Committee and Transition Team.

1. What have been the main features in the development of the U.S. economy and how did the corporate form emerge?
2. Provide an economic profile of the current economy and the status of corporations within it?
3. What has been the current (and historical) role of presidential policy in the maintenance of the economy?
4. What is the relationship (connections between government elites and corporate elites) what evidence supports the relationship?
5. What is the extent of Black involvement in the leadership of major corporations?
6. What has been the political impact of Black business actors on Black politics nationally, and in Chicago?
7. What role did Black business play in the Washington Campaign? What of major corporations and white businesses?

Readings: Presidential Politics: Background Readings, Sections 4 and 5  
(Section 5, Readings 3-7)

Black People and Politics, Vol. 2, Section 6, "Black Power Measurement and Trends"

SESSION 8 (3/05)

As with the previous lecturer, we will discuss a draft letter to Mr. Bacon responding to his presentation. The second half of the session will focus upon another set of key issues underlying the Washington campaign. These issues

SESSION 8 (cont'd)

involve Black and Latino interests in Chicago Economic Development. The focus is upon the role of the City government in the provision of and distribution of jobs, contracts and "minority" business development.

1. What are some of the main features in the development of the Chicago economy?
2. In what ways have Blacks and Latinos been impacted by this pattern of economic development?
3. What has been the role of Chicago mayors--particularly Jane Byrne in contributing to this pattern and its impacts upon certain sectors of Chicago (i.e., Blacks, Latinos, the neighborhoods, the build-up and revitalization of the Loop., etc.)?
4. Who were the forces in opposition to the designs and plans of developers and the city? What action did they take in building political unity and support against Byrne? How was it translated into support for Harold Washington? What was the 1982 Chicagofest boycott all about?
5. What has been the aftermath following Washington's election? What was his stated program? Can his performance be evaluated or is it too early?

Readings: Lecture Notes

"Economic Development: Business and Jobs" Chicago Files

Census Volume, Section: "The Black Community", pp. 465-502

SESSION 9 (3/12)

This unit focuses upon Housing as an issue in which community leadership emerged around diverse localized forms of struggle. Again, we see an instance of how essentially "economic demands" upon the local government (but also against Reaganomics) were translated into a united political movement targeting Jane Byrne. The issue of Black, Latino and poor peoples' housing has a long history of struggle in Chicago and reforms have yet to address the growing level of need for decent, affordable housing in Chicago.

1. What is the current status of housing in Chicago? What have been the trends?
2. What have been particular instances of housing struggles among Black people, Latinos and working people in Chicago? How were these struggles resolved?
3. What is "displacement" in Chicago? Why does it occur? Who is mainly affected by it?

SESSION 9 (cont'd)

4. Be able to briefly discuss some aspects of Jane Byrne's housing policy. Was it essentially different than her predecessors, Bilandic and Daley? Were the economic and political coalitions the same? What is the evidence?
5. Who were the main community forces emerging in opposition to City Hall policies? What organizational forms did they use and what was the result of their tactics?
6. How was unity built among these diverse elements? What role did they perform in political movement to elect Washington?
7. What have been the main limitations of the housing movement in Chicago? Why do these limitations persist?
8. What would be a viable alternative approach? How has it been tested?

Readings: Census Volume , "The Black Community" pp. 425-464.  
Black Power and American Cities, Section 8, Workshop 4  
Clipping and Key Issues Files  
Harold Washington Paper Black Power versus Racism

## SESSION 10 (3/19)

The Community issue focuses upon leadership struggle in the arena of health, medical treatment and facilities. Here we identify a major public health institution: Cook County Hospital. The hospital plays a major role in servicing Blacks, some poor whites and Latinos. The political issues involved in the conflict involve both welfare services and representation within the administrative leadership of the hospital. In addition to local public officials, it involves state and federal actors and major corporate suppliers of goods to the hospital who attempt to resolve the financial problems of the hospital by arguing to close it (too expensive to operate) or to place it under a type of corporate management, replacing the Black chief administrator.

1. What is the health status of Blacks, Latinos in Chicago? What factors influence their status?
2. Define Cook County Hospital interns, its facilities, number of beds, staff, patients, health services provided.
3. What is its budget, annually?
4. What does the term "fiscal crisis" mean and how does it apply to Cook County Hospital and health services in Chicago?

SESSION 10 (cont'd)

5. Who were the diverse forces who formed a "health services coalition" in Chicago? What role did these forces play in the Cook County Hospital struggle and in the Harold Washington campaign?
6. What has been the response to Thompson's and Reagan's health and budget cuts and what role have medical professionals played in opposing them?

Readings: Census Volume, "The Black Community," pp. 420-425.  
Black Power and American Cities, Section 12, Workshop 12  
Clippings and Key Issues Files  
Harold Washington Paper: Black Power vs. Racism

SESSION 11 (3/26)

This unit focuses upon the issue of the condition of women--particularly Black and Latino women from poor and working class backgrounds who are confronted with race (nationality), class and sex discrimination and male supremacy (individual acts, institutional practices and societal attitudes). These problems of women fall into several categories (government policymaking, employment and pay, living conditions, health care and violence against women). Jane Byrne was the first woman mayor of Chicago. She drew heavily upon the support of women in pursuit of careers in public service and business and from among working women in the neighborhoods. We want to explore the proposition that the aspirations of women unleashed by her 1979 election exceeded her ability to deliver. Therefore, many of them rejected her by 1983.

1. What is the condition of Black women in Chicago with respect to economics, social conditions and political representation? Compare them with Black males, white males, and white females. What of Latino women?
2. What is the triple oppression of Black women?
3. Can the view that there was no substantial change in the status and conditions of women under Jane Byrne be supported?
4. Identify key women (Black, Latino and White) in the administration of Jane Byrne, the new administration of Washington..
5. What role did women play in Harold Washington's campaign for election:
  - a) formal leadership and staff?
  - b) support organizations?
  - c) informal organizations (i.e. CBUC Auxiliary, Black Task Force, etc)?

## SESSION 11 (cont'd)

6. What has been the role of women--particularly Black women in (giving) leadership (vs. participation) in concrete issues of community struggle (i.e., labor, housing, health care and welfare, etc.)?

Readings: Black Power in American Cities, Workshops 1-8  
Presidential Politics Background Readings, Section  
5 (Economics) and 6 (Politics)  
Clippings and Key Issues Files

SESSION 12 (4/2)

This session is preparatory to the Lu Palmer visit as part of the Chicago Leadership Lecture Series. Lu Palmer, is a political journalist, a noted community activist and is founder of the Chicago Black United Communities. He popularized the slogan: "We Shall See, in 83" in response to Jane Byrne's replacement of two Blacks on the Public School Board in 1981, amidst a train of "attacks" on Black representatives (interpreted as "insults to the Black community" by Lu Palmer and others). Palmer, with no previous electoral experience, ran for the vacated Congressional seat of Harold Washington, polling a distant second. He has been bitter toward "boss" Washington for his endorsement of Charles Hayes. Palmer had popularized the notion of a community "draft" of its candidates, setting a precedent in the Harold Washington selection.

1. Given our increased understanding of the Black political experiences and status within Chicago, under what conditions is Black political unity best achieved?
2. How can this unity be sustained?
3. If the Harold Washington campaign is an expression of that extensive unity of action among the leadership and high level of consensus building within the community, were those conditions present during the First Congressional District race? Why or why not?
4. Lu Palmer noted in the Proceeding from Conference on Black Mayoral Politics (Second Session) that electoral politics was a tactic, not a panacea to replace other forms of political struggle. Would you agree? What evidence would you cite to support or refute this dictum?
5. Lu Palmer has enjoyed some successes in building community-based organizations. In the aftermath of the Congressional Race, he has sought to build a Black Independent Political Organization which would coalesce with other independent organizations. How

SESSION 12 (cont'd)

does his effort compare with other efforts to build "independent" Democratic organizations or an Independent political party among Blacks?

Readings: Black Power and American Cities, Section 2 (Lu Palmer)  
Section 5, Workshop 1  
First Congressional District Files  
Clippings on Lu Palmer/CBUC  
Harold Washington Paper: Black Power vs Racism,  
Section in Movement and Campaign Organization

SESSION 13 (4/9)

As with the two previous lectures in the Chicago Leadership Series, a draft letter will be prepared for comments, modifications and stylistic changes via class participation. With the remaining time, we will attempt to clarify outstanding questions from previous sessions focusing on community issues leadership and set the agenda for the three remaining sessions (a review and preview). Finally, we will provide some guidance for the ongoing research for the final paper.

1. Did we learn anything from Lu Palmer's presentation that would alter our assessment or shed new light on other focus topics we have covered? If so, how?
2. Lu Palmer has been important in building coalition type organizations within the Black community while many of his associates espouse a more stringent nationalism. They view "coalition building" as a tactic of struggle, rather than an essential component of a long range plan for leading mass struggles and building broad unity for social change. What is your view?

Readings: Lecture Notes

SESSION 14 (4/16)

CBUC - Chicago Black United Communities emerged out of the struggle among Blacks to keep Thomas Ayres, a leading corporate elite from assuming the presidency of the Chicago City Schools Board. This session focuses on another institution, the public schools and resulting struggles for quality education, open access, but mainly for Black representation in determining school board policy. Although, a broad coalition around CBUC prevented Jane Byrne from appointing Ayres to the board, it did not prevent from her replacing two Black board members with two whites and establishing a super finance control board (headed by Ayres' associates) who really run the schools.

## COURSE SYLLABI

SESSION 14 (cont'd)

1. What is the educational status of Blacks and Latinos within the public schools? How also do we measure the quality of education?
2. What is the role of the school system in preparing its students for leadership? What is the nature of public education in the U.S., in Chicago?
3. What is the status of Blacks, Latinos in public policymaking positions? How was it under Byrne, Bilandic, and Daley?
4. Outline the key issues in the School Board struggles of and how does these struggles reflect the broader financial and educational crisis in urban school systems like Chicago?
5. Several proposals for changing the Public School board have been proposed including a proposal by CBUC for an elective school board with district level spending authority and city-wide fundraising. What do you think about these proposals?

Readings: Census Volume, pp. 417-420  
Black Power in American Cities, Section 11, Workshop 7  
 Chicago Clippings and Key Issues File

SESSION 15 (4/23)

This session on the Police, Public Safety and Police Administration as an issue of community struggle brings us closer yet to the seat and essence of government control and power. The main aspect of the struggle concerns police maltreatment of Blacks, Latinos, even poor whites. Another aspect involves the distribution of police, public safety services and the control of crime. A third aspect involves struggles among Blacks and Latinos within the Department for better pay, promotions, and equitable assignments free of racist decision-making. A final aspect involves the Chicago Police department practice of "killing crime" by fudging the numbers. All these issues focused upon the relationship between former Chief Brychzek and Mayor Byrne.

1. What is the role of the police?
2. What is the size and characteristics of the Chicago Police Department?
3. How is Police policy determined and what criteria is used to make that determination?
4. Why is it that in every city where Black mayors have come into office they have conflicted with the existing police chief?

SESSION 15 (cont'd)

Is the struggle for Blacks to control the police department merely symbolic? Or are there more tangible benefits?

5. What were the main opposition forces that targeted Brychzek and further undermined the Byrne administration's level of confidence with the electorate?
6. In the mayoral campaign, the issue of the police might have had differential impacts on the mobilization of support for Washington and for Byrne and, later, Epton. What were these impacts?
7. The Chicago police has been referred to as "gangsters in blue" who, like street gangs, effect terror on the community and disrupt the capacity of the community to develop resources to effect meaningful change. What is the evidence?

Readings: Presidential Politics: Background Readings, Section 5, "U.S. Economy", Source (3)  
Chicago Clippings and Key Issues Files  
Harold Washington Paper: Black Power versus Racism, "The Movement"

SESSION 16 (4/30)

This session provides an opportunity to accomplish two main things:

- (1) a review of the main aspects of the course linking propositions about various aspects of leadership covered in the course to the source material
- (2) a preparation for the final examination and any outstanding questions for the research paper. So bring your notebooks and notes.

Overview