

CHICAGO: BLACK POWER POLITICS AND THE CRISIS OF THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

by Abdul Alkalimat

Political events in Chicago continue to command attention at the national and international levels and are likely to do so over the next few years. Progressive people everywhere want to answer an important question: What does black power mean in Chicago?

Harold Washington was elected mayor on February 22, 1983, at the heart of Chicago's first critical moment in black power politics. The second moment was initiated by his death on November 26, 1987.

The movement to elect Washington defeated racist white power and established black power on the basis of a coalition of Latinos and progressive whites.¹ It is on the basis of this struggle (1982-1987) that we can sharpen our focus on the recent months since Washington's death. Specifically, we want to discuss who won and who lost on December 2, 1987, when Eugene Sawyer was elected acting mayor by the city council. Who is in power in Chicago now?

Our focus is on Chicago's black middle class because at this stage of history their leadership is at the heart of the struggle for power in the city.² There are several reasons for this connection. During the 1960s and 1970s the black middle class in the United States was transformed and reproduced as a function of state policy. The public subsidy of the black middle class was the greatest economic achievement of the civil rights movement.

The urban concentration of majority black and Latin inner city populations set a new

stage for black power, the black mayor. Each black mayoral victory has benefitted certain professional administrators, consultants, and businesses but has often meant little other than symbolism for the masses of black people.

BLACK POLITICAL AWARENESS

The emergence of Harold Washington was not an accident but a result of the political socialization of the black middle class. Washington was rooted in the black community, with a father who combined the roles of lawyer, minister and precinct captain. Washington gained experience in mainstream democratic politics, student government in college, law school and the College and Young Democrats.³

Washington was a political synthesis of machine-bred tactics and black political culture. He divided his career between party loyalty and apprenticeship on the southside of Chicago and liberalism and relative independence in the Illinois legislature and Congress.

Washington was a continuation of the differences between the old line machine politics of black Congressman William Dawson and the maverick dissent of black Congressman Ralph Metcalfe Sr. These differences were reflected both in Washington's personal politics as well as a general shift in the character of black politics. The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) is one of the most progressive groups in Congress, and Washington was a solid contributor to the CBC's politics.

THE HAROLD WASHINGTON STORY: A PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY

Background

1922	Born in Chicago
1952	Receives Northwestern University law degree
1953	Succeeds father as precinct captain
1964-76	Serves as state representative
1976-80	Serves as state senator
1977	Runs unsuccessful campaign for mayor of Chicago
1980-83	Serves as representative in Congress

Mayor of Chicago

1982	November Announces candidacy for mayor
1983	February Wins three-way Democratic primary
1983 April	Wins general election
1983 May	City council splits in warring factions
1987 April	Wins second term as mayor Takes charge of advocating federal urban agenda for National Conference of Mayors Announces support for the Presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson
1987 Nov.	Dies of massive heart attack

After turning down an offer by the Committee for a Black Mayor to run in 1974, Washington ran in the 1977 primary following the death of longtime Chicago Mayor Richard Daley in 1976. The 1977 election was the only one that Washington ever lost. He received 11 percent of the overall vote and encouraging results in recruiting a base of loyal black voters for an independent bid for black power.

THE ROAD TO BLACK POWER

Washington's assumption of political power in Chicago was a struggle for black power by a coalition of blacks, Latinos and whites. It is necessary to see this struggle as one for control of the formal political process and the structures of government.

Electoral politics is a complex institution in which there are at least five roles people play to make and implement policies that run the government. These are the voter, chief executive (mayor), bureaucracy (city hall employees), legislative body (city council) and mass organization (political party). The

fight for political power in Chicago took place on every front.

The main social techniques used to fight for change combined mass mobilization and lawsuits. There were lawsuits to change voter registration procedures, eliminate patronage, reapportion ward boundaries, and to move legislation through a hostile city council. Each lawsuit was supported by the general demand of the movement for open and full participation in the system by previously underrepresented groups.

As mayor, Washington was perfect for the neighborhood ethnic style of Chicago politics. He genuinely enjoyed eating different foods and sharing personal interactions with local political leadership. He smiled and laughed, loud and strong, almost in defiance of black middle class restraint. He was a man of the people, a popular figure who enjoyed moving from polysyllabic formalized rhetoric to ghetto rap.

Washington's greatest strength, his charisma, was the movement's greatest weakness. Washington was such a strong personification of new politics in Chicago that people

5 FACES OF STATE POWER: THE CHICAGO ELECTORAL MODEL OF POLITICAL REFORM

<u>Faces of State Power</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Critical Reform Actions</u>
1. The Voter	1982	Community activists file lawsuit and win liberalization of voter registration procedures, so activists can become registrars and undertake registration at locations such as welfare offices, unemployment centers, and in public housing units. As of the 1982 general election, blacks surpassed whites in registration (86.7 to 78.3) and turnout (55.5 to 54.0).
2. The Mayor	April 1983	Harold Washington was elected mayor with 50.06% of the votes against one opponent. He got 98% of the black vote, 74% off the Latino vote and 12% of the white vote. In the primary, he got 36% of the total vote against 2 opponents, 79% of the black vote, 25% of the Latinovote, and 2% of the white vote.
3. The Bureaucracy	June 1983	Political patronage is eliminated by the Shakman decision, so only 400 of 40,000 jobs are directly controlled by Washington on a political basis, but new hiring policy begins to increase % of minority and women city employees.
4. The City Council	April 1986	Reapportionment of political boundaries leads to change and increase in black and Latino city council representation, from an anti-Washington council (29-21) to a pro-Washington council (25-25), with the mayor having the tie breaking vote.
	April 1987	Washington elected to 2nd term
5. The Party	June 1987	After Washington's re-election and consolidation of firm leadership in the council, his arch rival, E. Vrdolyak, is forced to resign as chairperson of the county Democratic Party, and he eventually becomes a Republican.

thought of him in a personal way. It was an endearment to call him "Harold," as if all the people had a personal relationship with him.

However, even though Washington's supporters often placed him above criticism, Washington was not perfect. He was like an African independence leader, a father figure

of immense popularity but who somehow fell short of the aspirations that inspired the movement that elected him. Washington took control of the movement, guided and limited it, but died before firmly consolidating power and carrying out his reforms.

MEDIA ATTENTION

The Washington administration was a magic time for black people in Chicago. There were many moments of national focus on the city that created a certain amount of media excitement, including the 1986 Super Bowl championship for the Chicago Bears. Chicago is the home base of Johnson Publications, publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines and producer of national fashion shows, and radio and television specials; Sengstacke Enterprises, which publishes the *Defender* newspaper chain; and a cable TV station that receives national exposure.

Black media personalities based in Chicago include former Bears football player Walter Payton; Chicago Bulls basketball player Michael Jordan; TV talk show hostess Oprah Winfrey; Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan; reputed organized crime leader Jeff Fort, the former leader of the Blackstone Rangers gang; and Reverend Jesse Jackson.

Washington held complete power for only five months of the five years he was in office. His margins of victory were slim among voters and in the city council. He was outnumbered in the county Democratic organization and hardly made a dent in changing the bureaucracy.

Furthermore, because Washington's movement combined black power and political reform, his allies were split between the old lines of the machine versus a reform camp. All black members of the city council agreed with black power in principle, but only a slim majority were committed to Washington's program of reform. White and Latino members of the Washington coalition accepted black power as the only force to mobilize the powerful new black vote and by so doing, to keep the coalition together.

STRATEGY CONTRADICTIONS

There were built-in contradictions to the electoral strategy in Chicago, and, therefore, Washington faced some fundamental problems. An insurgent voting bloc must maintain consistent, high levels of participation. Because the Washington coalition did

not maintain a strong grassroots organizational base between elections, mainstream media played a leading role in controlling and sidetracking the critical mass.

Elected officials are constantly pressured to do whatever will lead to their re-election, often causing them to replace political idealism with self-serving opportunism as the dominant ethic. Without patronage, the bureaucracy of the permanent government can only be replaced over two or more generations, making political reform take at least 25 years. Washington was fond of saying that he wanted to be mayor for the next 20 years.

WASHINGTON'S THREE POINTS FOR REFORM

It was clear during the 1983 election campaign that Chicago government was not only hostile to black, Latino and poor white communities, but was disorganized and otherwise corrupt to the core. Washington put together one team to win the election and a different team, except for a few close aides, to run the government. His campaign committee was 70 percent black, and his transition team leadership was 70 percent white. The black community supported Washington's election, and the business community was mildly supportive.⁴

Washington's first tasks as mayor were to deal with Chicago's perennial budget deficit and its shrinking industrial base that limited tax revenue and jobs.⁵ The city had a bad image as an old factory town in decline, filled with unemployed blacks and Latinos. At the outset, Washington cut his own salary by 20 percent, fired 1,300 city workers and trimmed operational expenses.

Washington summed up his reform package as having three points of attack: the structure of government, development of the city, and the general mood and direction of government.⁶

The structure of government had to be modernized. Washington initiated computerization and professional management systems to cut through the personalized system in which old-time patronage workers relied on their memories and pieces of papers. He also

began to update and change municipal codes, policies and procedures, including new executive orders on affirmative action, ethics, freedom of information and minority set-asides in city contracts. One result of these actions was that Chicago achieved an "A" level bond rating.

The plan was to revitalize the neighborhoods and keep the city attractive to business investments. In 1985, the city council passed the largest general obligation bond in 25 years, which led to the financing of massive repairs of streets, sidewalks and sewers in every ward. Washington used Community Development Block (CDB) grants to finance local community groups, doubling the number of organizations funded. Emphasis was placed on need as well as political loyalty.

CHICAGO'S RAINBOW COALITION

Passage of the bond measure and use of CDBs were, however, secondary to Washington's main innovation for setting a new direction in city politics. In a town known for racial conflict, national chauvinism and economic polarization, Washington was able to set a new tone. He promoted ethnic diversity and built a rainbow consciousness on the local government level.

Moreover, Washington openly welcomed black Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, the president of that country's African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, and Father Ernesto Cardinal of Nicaragua. Washington resisted red baiting leveled against members of his administration, and set up advocacy commissions for previously excluded groups, including women, Latinos, gays, labor and the elderly.

THE LIMITS OF REFORM

These reforms were dampened by contradictions that surfaced within the Washington administration as well as in the city in general. Washington appointed people to office whom he knew and trusted, most of them from the black middle class. These appointments produced mixed results, for this class was hardly prepared to take control

over the state apparatus.

Eventually, criminal investigations of high-ranking officials (elected and appointed) led to several key resignations and even imprisonment. Black council members were indicted or jailed in seven wards, and several others are waiting for future possible indictments.

The greatest internal problem within the administration was that as a reform mayor committed to a balanced budget, Washington had to reduce expenditures and raise additional revenues by taxing the people. The budget crisis of the state at all levels underpins the social crisis facing a society. This crisis relates to accumulation (corporate profits) as well as legitimation (public belief in government). Washington could not solve the problem of Chicago's economy, but he did temporarily increase the level of trust people have in the government.

There were administrative actions taken that seemed to oppose the mayor's neighborhood democracy reform orientation. One example is the crisis of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). This agency was successively headed by Washington's closest associates and aides (first campaign manager, deputy chief of staff, and minister of his church, among others).

As a result of Reagan Administration cutbacks and local administrative incompetence, Chicago's "projects," which are run by CHA, were in a complete state of disaster. This crisis demonstrates one case of the new black middle class leadership's dilemma on the inside of government. The key bureaucratic players were all black—most of the public housing tenants, the CHA administrators and board chairperson, and the regional administrator and the secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

There were over 5,000 unoccupied CHA apartments and over 30,000 applicants on waiting lists. However, HUD refused to extend funding until a better management system could be implemented, and the city refused to let HUD assume direct control of CHA. The problem was resolved by placing CHA under the administrative control of a

THE WEEK OF POLITICAL SUCCESSION: NOVEMBER 26-DECEMBER 2, 1987

- November 26** Washington dies of massive heart attack. David Orr, white liberal lake front liberal, named interim mayor.
- November 27-29** Washington's body lies in state for 56 hours in city hall. Over one million people view his body.
- November 29** Eugene Sawyer, mayor pro-tem, announces he has enough votes to become acting mayor
- November 30** 10 a.m. funeral attended by national leadership of the black community, Democratic Party, and all aspects of the leadership in Chicago and Illinois
6:00 p.m. spirited rally of reform movement activists to back Tim Evans, Washington's city council floor leader
- December 1** 5:30 p.m. City council meeting scheduled to begin, but thousands of people gather to watch council factions deal for votes
9:20 p.m. Council meeting finally begins
- December 2** 4:01 a.m. Sawyer elected acting mayor over Evans, 29-19.
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white Republican corporate executive from the private sector. Under his control, a homeless movement to seize vacant apartments has met police force. The current situation is heating up for a major confrontation.

DEATH INTERRUPTS REFORM

The Harold Washington reform movement opened up the political system in Chicago externally and waged battle internally. While some things changed, many remained the same although more honest, professional and fairer. Washington was gearing up to become a major political player on the national scene. However, the charismatic leader of the most vital movement for urban political reform in the U.S. and a symbol of middle class enlightenment died from a massive heart attack on November 26, 1987.⁷

The cause of death was given as a large blood clot in the major artery of Washington's heart. Other arteries leading to his heart were 90 to 95 percent blocked by fat, and his heart had to expand three times its normal size to pump an adequate supply of blood. Washington was more than 100 pounds overweight, worked 18-hour days and was under constant stress. He had cancelled his last two medical check-ups.

A controversy emerged as conspiracy theories multiplied, even leading to at least one member of the city council calling for a full investigation of Washington's death and a public disclosure of the official autopsy. After consultation with Washington's family and physician, the county coroner refused to make such a disclosure.⁸

Chicago was in the grips of another major crisis. Mayor Daley had died from a heart attack 11 years before. There was no clear mayoral succession plan then, and none had been put into place when Washington died.

SCRAMBLE FOR POLITICAL POWER

The week following his death was one of the most intense scrambles for power in the city's history. This crisis was of national importance and totally dominated the city, from newspaper pages to corporate boardrooms to camps of the homeless. No one was quite sure what would happen, but everyone, pro- and anti-Washington, began arranging deals to influence who would take power.

A key player in the struggle for Washington's successor was Jesse Jackson. When Washington died, Jackson was in the Persian Gulf to advance his chances as a Presidential

candidate and contribute to the morale of the U.S. troops stationed there. After receiving word of Washington's death from a close aide to the mayor, Jackson cancelled trips to Africa and quickly returned to Chicago.

There were three main issues confronting Jackson: 1. Black power in Chicago had to be maintained. 2. The progressive coalition that put Washington in office had to be maintained as a test of the Rainbow Coalition's strategy. 3. Operation PUSH, which Jackson founded, had to play a prominent role in selecting Washington's successor in order to maintain its virtually unrivaled prominence for militant black middle class leadership in Chicago.

WHO'S WHO IN THE SCRAMBLE

Among the progressive forces, virtually every player considered becoming a candidate for mayor. The most serious considerations were made by four members of the city council.

Danny Davis, 45, from a solid black and poor westside ward, was the council radical who had rhetorical eloquence and reform credentials but lacked a network of mainstream influence and financial support. Larry Bloom, 43, a traditional white liberal from Washington's home base near the University of Chicago, only theoretically appealed to the coalition. The most serious challengers were Eugene Sawyer, 54, the senior black member of the council, and Tim Evans, 44, spokesperson for Washington's political organization.

All four were leaders of important council committees. Davis chaired zoning, Bloom, budget, and Evans, finance. Sawyer was mayor protem and chaired the full council in Washington's absence.

The leaders of the reform movement called for a moratorium on politics in honor of the mayor until the funeral on Monday, November 30. The moratorium was never honored by any of the key players. Jackson returned to Chicago on November 27 and had put in place a dramatic airport welcome by all of the key players in the reform movement coalition. He immediately went into a series of simultaneous meetings with differ-

ent interest groups, all in separate locations at the airport.

Jackson negotiated with each bloc, the pro-Evans forces, the pro-Sawyer forces, the Latinos, and finally Evans and Sawyer together. He announced that a consensus position for the reform movement would be made soon. Meetings continued, as did joint public appearances of the competing candidates, including viewing Washington's body and attending the Saturday morning program of Operations PUSH. These were moves to create the image of unity.

IMAGE OF UNITY A SHAM

This plan failed. Black officials split over whether Jackson was welcomed into "their" selection process. Some agreed with him about supporting Evans, but those who disagreed questioned Jackson's right to influence the decision, especially since he had little to bargain with.

The white politicians were especially upset, from pro-Washington forces like George Dunn, who was chair of the Cook County Democratic Party, to Ed Burke, who led the anti-Washington faction in the city council. While racism was a factor, these politicians were also trying to isolate civil rights leadership from playing the leading role in installing an independent black Democrat. Dunn supported a black mayor from the machine camp, and while Burke would have preferred a white mayor, he would support a black machine-type as long as the overall black-led reform coalition would be weakened.

Jackson's failure to "appoint" the next black Chicago mayor was really internal to the leadership of the family of the black middle class. When Sawyer was deciding on whether to forge ahead with his candidacy and risk the ire of part of the progressive movement, he called for support from his minister, whose wife is a labor leader on the PUSH board.

Jackson has strong ties to virtually every sector of the black middle class, so in this case his failure to choose a new black mayor was short run. So far, it has been possible for

Jackson to have close ties with virtually every serious black mayoral candidate because of their desire to take advantage of the organizational visibility of PUSH.

The transformation of the funeral ritual into high political drama turned Chicago into a microcosm of the entire national political terrain. The funeral was an occasion for massive mourning by poor and working people, mainly black but also a significant, though small, group of Latinos and whites. Washington's body was placed for public viewing for 56 hours in the rotunda of city hall where over one million people filed by. This was "Harold's army," and no one knew whom it would follow next.

POLITICAL INTRIGUE OF THE FUNERAL

Attending the funeral was a convenient symbol of solidarity with blacks for Democrats and Republicans, without having to support Jackson for President as Washington had done. Those who attended came from Congress, the South and public life in general. For the masses, the funeral was a necessary catharsis to purge feelings of alienation and betrayal. Harold's army had to be kept loyal to the electoral system if the Democrats were going to be successful in retaining power in Chicago and more generally, if the social peace was going to be maintained.

The main efforts in this regard were made by the reformers, for their survival within the system depended on the continuing loyalty of Washington's mass supporters. The reformers reintroduced the slogan "Keep the Dream in the Mainstream" and widely distributed a poster with the pictures of Washington and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

When Washington died, a white liberal member of the city council had been selected to act as interim mayor until the council had a chance to elect someone to serve out Washington's term or to hold a special call election. On the day before the funeral, it was announced that Eugene Sawyer had secured enough votes to become acting mayor and that he was going to make his move at a special call city council meeting on Tuesday,

December 1. All deals had to be put together quickly.

On Monday evening, November 30, a memorial service for Washington turned into a mass militant rally for the reform forces. The reformers, about 15,000 strong and provided with buses from activists within city government, came prepared for struggle.

Jackson spoke to the rally, but by now his defeat over making Evans a unanimous and quick choice for acting mayor had forced him to recast his role. Jackson chose not to be the point guard but a cautious cheerleader. He said, "We don't need panic...Don't get rowdy. Don't get...locked up in jail. That's not the way." The locals took over, mainly the community militants in the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment who had to fight mainstream black leadership to launch Washington's candidacy in the first place.

The cutting edge of the struggle at this point was not the division with the coalition but the role of different voting blocs. If the reform forces had worked out a unified plan and went up against the white machine forces, the motion of the Washington administration would have been continued. However, it appeared that an acting black mayor was going to be elected by a white machine bloc uniting with a much smaller black machine-type bloc.

DIVISIVENESS IN REFORM MOVEMENT

A great deal of bitterness was spoken at the Monday rally, both to warn of a re-emergence of the machine and to consolidate community sentiment against Sawyer in favor of Evans. Conrad Worrill, head of the local National Black United Front, set the tone by accusing Sawyer of "selling out our movement."

The main marching orders came from Latino council member Luis Gutierrez. Several times during the evening he repeated the following statement: "We are not giving City Hall back to Burke. Tomorrow we have destiny in our hands. Let's not give up the throne. Let's not give up City Hall." Gutierrez called for mass action. It was obvious that the

entire reform program had to be defended because no one knew what deals were being made and what price would have to be paid.

The struggle over selection of an acting mayor was based on continuing the reform program of Washington but was acted out over a struggle between two black members of the coalition. Both Sawyer and Evans come from the South and were developed as political leaders within the machine. Neither had the liberal reform credentials of Washington. Sawyer had the edge in the politics of power while Evans had the edge in the politics of performance.

Sawyer comes from a solid black middle class ward in Chicago with a strong voter registration and voter turnout rate. His constituents are firmly lodged in the city bureaucracy, and he has lived off patronage for friends and family. He has several family members who work for various public agencies. A quiet man with an impish smile, Sawyer falls short on charisma, especially the required black cultural skill of being a great orator.

Evans is in a ward divided between the affluence of the University of Chicago's Hyde Park and the poorest community areas of the city. He fits the black yuppie image and can "rap" within the rules of the city council as well as a community-based church service or political rally. What Evans lacks is a strong city-wide organization and a track record of making a difference in the community. He is at odds with leaders of key community organizations in his own ward.

ELECTION OF SAWYER AS ACTING MAYOR

The main point of controversy was not that Sawyer was elected, but who elected him and how it was done. Black council members voted 70 percent against Sawyer while whites voted 90 percent for him. Sawyer has been stigmatized as a creation of white power, the beneficiary of support from those who opposed Washington. It was widely rumored that Sawyer wanted to wait until he could develop a black consensus, but the whites threatened him with a "now or never"

mandate.

People loved Washington because he would berate his opposition. Sawyer is opposed because he apparently can be told what to do by the "enemy." The opposition to Sawyer is deeply emotional and symbolic, especially by the masses of working people, who have a slight chance of reaping material benefits either way it goes.

When Sawyer was elected, the middle classes of the black and Latino communities continued to be protected by black power. The main benefits from having a black mayor would still be forthcoming, from hiring top level black and Latino staff and consultants as well as fighting for contracts for minority businesses. As this so-called minority community is actually a majority of Chicago's population, the "fair share" argument to be made in the name of the overall black and Latino communities has a solid basis although it usually plays out on behalf of the middle classes.

Protests about the city's school system continued under a black-led system. The same is true for each significant agency or area of government taken over by the black middle class. So, while it is true that black and Latino professionals and business interests are getting "cut in" on public funds, the situation has not gotten any better for the masses of people in poor and working communities of all nationalities.

WHITE POWER VS. BLACK POWER

Washington gave people hope, but that ended when he died. White power then installed a black mayor and shocked the community into realizing that middle class black power did not have to be based on the will of black people.

The best that the reform movement has come up with is the candidacy of another middle class reformer from the city council. Sawyer's administration is causing deep divisions within the black middle class over their individual, neighborhood and institutional interests. As a group, they will carry the day. But within the group it is likely that Evans will

get support from a different sector than Sawyer, if for no other reason than personal loyalty. What is interesting is that some of these middle class blacks have served every mayor since Daley, including Washington.

The masses of people in Chicago are trapped in a dilemma that is difficult to resolve with the policy options available to the mayor and city council. There are some benefits to be won, if only a better effort to get the most out of less. The main task is to organize the masses of people to become more directly involved in making decisions about their lives. Through this process, development of new leadership can be encouraged, firmly rooted in the struggles for greater economic and social change based on independent forms of community-based organizations.

Washington tied the movement to the electoral process and subordinated the need for new organization and new leadership to the need for new structures within government. Movement activists were encouraged to take positions in city agencies, leading to a movement slowdown. The same tendency wants Evans to become mayor to continue the same process.

THE FUTURE

The basic economic trend of class polarization is likely to continue in Chicago, making it increasingly difficult for the black middle class to call on the masses to keep their dreams in the mainstream with little hope of ever getting there. With government the greatest single source of middle class jobs, the electoral struggle is likely to heat up as blacks continue to seriously campaign for governor and President.

The critical question in Black Chicago politics is whether there is a likelihood of more militant and radical political leadership. It is a critical question because with this leadership can come ideology, organization, and a coherent political line designed to deal with the main problems people face in the city. There are many radicals in the city today who are having second thoughts about how much commitment they have made to electoral pol-

itics. They, too, face the challenge of developing a new leadership with a new game plan.

NOTES

1. See Abdul Alkalimat, "Mayor Washington's Bid for Re-Election—Will the Democratic Party Survive?," *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 17: No. 6 (November-December 1986), pp. 2-13.

2. See Bart Landry, *The New Black Middle Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Reynolds Farley, *Blacks and Whites: Narrowing the Gap?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); and Manning Marable, *Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson* (London: Verso, 1985).

3. See Florence H. Levinson, *Harold Washington: A Political Biography* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1983); and Dempsey Travis, *An Autobiography of Black Politics* (Chicago: Urban Research Press, 1987).

4. See Abdul Alkalimat and Doug Gills, "Black Power vs. Racism: Harold Washington Becomes Mayor," in *The New Black Vote*, edited by Rod Bush (San Francisco: Synthesis Publications, 1984).

5. See Gregory D. Squires, Larry Bennett, Kathleen McCourt, and Philip Nyden, *Chicago: Race, Class, and the Response to Urban Decline* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

6. This summation of Washington's three points of reform is based on speeches and interviews with members of his staff. A full discussion will be available in a book length study being prepared by Alkalimat and Gills.

7. Special publications have been developed on this week giving an hour-by-hour description of events from the *Chicago Defender*, *Chicago Sun Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Dollars and Sense*, and *Jet*. A compilation of these articles is available from Twenty-First Century Books, P.O. Box 803351, Chicago, IL 60680. Write for details and cost.

8. There were many sources of rumor with few solid facts to back up any conspiracy. However, there are unusual aspects of the story. One example: The doctor in the emergency room to treat Washington was the same person there 11 years earlier to treat Mayor Richard Daley for his heart attack. The main aspect we can be sure of is that Washington did not make intelligent decisions about his eating habits and general health.

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