



The College Fund/UNCF

A mind is a terrible thing to waste.

WILLIAM H. GRAY, III

William H. Gray, III has been president and chief executive officer of The College Fund/UNCF since September 11, 1991.

As head of America's oldest and most successful black higher education assistance organization, Mr. Gray has led The College Fund to new fund-raising records while cutting costs and expanding programs and services.

Approximately one-third of the nearly \$1 billion raised in the College Fund's 50-year history has been collected during Mr. Gray's tenure. In fiscal year 1995, The College Fund kept fund-raising receipts at record levels (90.4 million for fiscal year 1995). In October 1995, The College Fund concluded its most ambitious capital drive, **CAMPAIGN 2000: An Investment in America's Future**, which raised \$280 million, exceeding its \$250 million goal by 12%. The College Fund also reduced its total administrative and fund-raising costs from 21.7% in 1992 to 15.8 percent in 1995, a rate competitive with leading American fund-raising organizations.

Among the dramatic initiatives launched under Mr. Gray's leadership are: staff restructuring and relocation of The College Fund's headquarters to the Washington, DC area, to further improve efficiency; development of a new technology center to link UNCF offices and member colleges electronically to facilitate sharing of scholarship and donor information; the development of a Research Institute to compile and analyze data on a host of issues affecting African American students from kindergarten through graduate school.

Prior to his selection as president of UNCF, Mr. Gray served in the U.S. Congress and was a staunch supporter of education. As Chairman of the Democratic Caucus and later as Majority Whip, Mr. Gray was the highest ranking African American ever to serve in Congress. Mr. Gray was a leading advocate for historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) through his support of set-aside programs at the U.S. Agency for International Development. He was also a co-sponsor of the Black College Act, which provides formula-driven federal funds for the enhancement of HBCU programs, faculty and facilities. Also, as the first African American to chair the House Budget Committee, Mr. Gray was a leading advocate for strengthening America's educational systems.

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Biography



Michael H. Jordan

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Westinghouse Electric Corporation



Michael H. Jordan was elected chairman and chief executive officer of Westinghouse Electric Corporation, and a member of the corporation's board of directors, in June 1993.

Since joining Westinghouse, Mr. Jordan has moved quickly to position the corporation for growth in its core businesses. Westinghouse broadened the scope of its Electronic Systems business with the acquisition of Norden Systems, a manufacturer of complementary radar technology, and established a long-term strategic partnership in the broadcasting business with CBS Inc.

Mr. Jordan has also been an active participant in President Clinton's program to promote international trade, having accompanied Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and other CEOs on missions to several foreign countries. In 1994 he was named to the 25-member President's Export Council, which

advises the president on export performance and expansion and provides a forum for resolving trade-related issues.

Before joining Westinghouse, Mr. Jordan had been a partner with Clayton, Dubilier and Rice, Inc., a private investment firm based in New York City. Prior to that he spent 18 years with PepsiCo, Inc.

He joined PepsiCo in 1974 as a financial planner, and moved on to senior management positions in the Frito Lay Division and at corporate headquarters. In 1991 Mr. Jordan was named chairman of the PepsiCo International Foods and Beverages Division.

Mr. Jordan's four-year tour of duty with the U.S. Navy began in 1960, and included a six-month assignment at the Westinghouse Bettis Atomic Power Laboratory near Pittsburgh, where he earned certification as a nuclear engineer. Following his

military service, he was a consultant and principal with McKinsey and Company, a New York-based management consultant, from 1964 to 1974.

Mr. Jordan graduated from Yale University in 1957 with a bachelor's degree in chemical engineering. He earned his master's degree in chemical engineering from Princeton University in 1959.

Mr. Jordan is chairman of the board of directors of the United Negro College Fund, and a board member of the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. He serves on several corporate boards, including Rhone-Poulenc Rorer, Melville Corporation, Dell Computer Corporation and the Aetna Life and Casualty Company.

Mr. Jordan was born in Kansas City, Missouri. He and his wife, Kathryn, have two grown children.

JOHNETTA B. COLE
PRESIDENT, SPELMAN COLLEGE
Biographical Sketch

In 1987, Johnnetta B. Cole assumed the presidency of Spelman College. The first African American woman to head this historically Black college for women, Dr. Cole has helped to lead Spelman into the ranks of America's outstanding colleges.

During Dr. Cole's tenure, several new programs have been initiated including the Spelman Corporate Women's Roundtable, the Spelman College Corporate Partnership Program, a mentorship program in coordination with the Atlanta business community, and an International Affairs Center. Coordinated student volunteer outreach into the Atlanta community has been achieved through the formation of an Office of Community Service. Faculty exchanges have been established with major research institutions such as Princeton, New York University and University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Under Dr. Cole's leadership, Spelman has attracted increasing numbers of outstanding students. Since 1987, the scores of Spelman's freshman classes have been among the highest SAT averages of students at any Historically Black College or University. In 1992, Spelman made history by becoming the first historically black college to receive a number one rating in U.S. News & World Report's annual college issue of "Best College Buys." Spelman was named the number one regional, liberal arts college in the South.

At Dr. Cole's inauguration as Spelman's seventh president, Drs. Bill and Camille Cosby gave a gift of \$20 million to the College. This is the single largest gift from individuals to an Historically Black College or University.

The Road to Spelman

Dr. Cole entered Fisk University in an early admission program at the age of 15, completed her undergraduate degree at Oberlin College and earned an M.A., and Ph.D. in anthropology from Northwestern University.

During her thirty-year career as an anthropologist, professor, administrator, author, researcher and lecturer, Dr. Cole has been an advocate for people of color and women everywhere.

Her two textbooks are used in classrooms throughout the United States and some of her many published articles are reprinted in academic and popular journals. Her most recent book is Conversations, published in 1993. In this work, Dr. Cole speaks directly to African American Women. She sits on diverse boards and belongs to a number of professional and socially active organizations. She has received an honorary degree from 30 institutions of higher education.

Dr. Cole's teaching career has taken her from her first teaching post at Washington State University, where she was named Outstanding Faculty Member of the Year, to the University of

Massachusetts at Amherst. There she became a full professor of Afro-American Studies and Anthropology, and for two years, served as Associate Provost of Undergraduate Education. In 1983, she was appointed Russell Sage Visiting Professor at Hunter College. In 1984, she joined the faculty as a Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program. In 1986, Dr. Cole was appointed to the graduate faculty of the City University of New York. She held both positions until her appointment at Spelman.

Leadership Through Service

In December of 1992, Dr. Cole was appointed as a member of President-Elect Bill Clinton's Transition Team as Cluster Coordinator for Education, Labor and the Arts and Humanities. Currently, she chairs the Board of the Department of Education's Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE). Dr. Cole is in the second of a two year term as the chair of the Presidents of the 41 member institutions of the College Fund/UNCF. She was appointed by President Bush to serve as a Founding Director of the Points of Light Foundation and continues to serve on that Board. She serves as a member of the Georgia Board of Directors for NationsBank, the Board of Directors for the Management & Training Corporation, and the Board of Directors for Merck & Co., Inc and The Home Depot. She is the first woman elected to the Coca-Cola Enterprises Board of Directors. She is a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Her other board services include:

- * Atlanta Women's Network, Inc.
- * Center for Women's Policy Studies
- * Leadership America
- * Sisterhood in Support of Sisters in South Africa (SISA)
- * The Feminist Press
- * The Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Change Advisory Board
- * The Project Interchange Seminars in Israel Advisory Council
- * Wellesley College Board of Trustees

Among the organizations in which Dr. Cole is a member are the following:

- * Atlanta Rotary Club
- * Coalition of 100 Black Women
- * Council On Foreign Relations
- * Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
- * The Links, Inc.
- * The National Council of Negro Women
- * The National Political Congress of Black Women
- * The Utopian Literary Club

- Women's Forum of Georgia, Inc.

Dr. Cole is also:

- A fellow of the American Anthropological Association
- An advisory and contributing editor for The Black Scholar
- On the editorial board of the Journal for Higher Education Management

She is included in:

- Who's Who in Black America 1980, and Who's Who of American Women 1986 and 1992

Honors and Awards

Her numerous awards and honors include:

- American Anthropological Association Distinguished Award 1995
- Sheila Award of the Tubman African American Museum: Macon, GA 1995
- Tree of Life Award of The Jewish National Fund 1994
- Outstanding Contribution to Higher Education Award from National Association of Student Personnel Administrators 1994
- Martin Luther King Distinguished Service Award from the Georgia State Holiday Commission 1994
- The YWCA Woman First Award 1993
- The American Anthropological Association Distinguished Service Award 1993
- Jeannette Rankin Foundation Citation 1993
- Bank Street College of Education President's Medal 1993
- Sara Lee Corporation Frontrunner Award in the Humanities 1992
- Distinguished Public Relations award from the Public Relations Society of America, Georgia Chapter 1992
- Key Honoree, Legal Defense Fund's Black Women of Achievement Awards 1992
- Columbia's Teacher College Medal for Distinguished Service 1992
- General Assembly Leadership Proclamation from the Georgia Legislature 1992
- Glamour magazine's Ten Women of the Year 1991
- Working Women magazine's 10 Women to Watch of University Women 1991
- The Achievement Award from the American Association of University Women 1991
- Northwestern University Alumni Merit Award 1991
- Outstanding Citizen of the State of Georgia Resolution from the Georgia State Senate 1991
- The American Woman Award from the Women's Research and Education Institute 1990
- The Clairol Mentor Award in Education 1990
- The YWCA Atlanta Women In Achievement Award 1990
- The WISE Woman Award from the Center for Women's Policy Studies 1990

- The Essence magazine Award in Education 1989
 - Induction into the Working Woman magazine Hall of Fame 1989
 - The Elizabeth Boyer Award from the Women's Education Action League (WEAL) 1988
 - The Candace Award in Education from the National Coalition of 100 Black Women 1988
 - The Woman of the Decade Award from The Women's Leadership Institute of Avila College 1988
 - Outstanding Faculty member of the year, Washington State University 1969-1970
- She has received honorary degrees from Albion College, Bates College, Berea College, Brown University, Columbia University, Davidson College, Denison University, Fisk University, Grinnell College, Lafayette College, Kalamazoo College, Macalester College, Marygrove College, The College of New Rochelle, New York University, Northwestern University, Notre Dame University, Oberlin College, Princeton University, Queens College (NC), Skidmore College, South Carolina State University, Southeastern Massachusetts University, Southwestern University, St. Mary's College, State University of New York-Binghamton, The College of Wooster, University of the District of Columbia, University of Florida, University of Massachusetts, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Washington College, Wesleyan University, Williams College and Yale University.

Dr. Cole has been included in the acclaimed photography exhibit and book, "I Dream a World: Portraits of Black Women Who Have Changed America," honored as a Woman of Distinction by the National Association for Black Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, and named one of the 100 most influential people in Georgia. She was named one of America's most outstanding African Americans in the 20th anniversary issues of both Essence magazine and Black Enterprise magazine (where she was pictured on the cover).

Her major media appearances include WSB-TV (Atlanta) "Women of Power" Special, "CBS Sunday Morning with Charles Kuralt," "Good Morning America," the premier of "Saturday Night With Connie Chung," "All Things Considered," and "Eyes on the Prize, II."

Dr. Cole is married to Arthur J. Robinson, Jr., the mother of three sons and two stepsons and the surrogate mother of the 1,900 women currently enrolled at Spelman College.

revised 05/22/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

BLACK TIE RECEPTION FOR THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

DATE: January 4, 1995
LOCATION: State Floor
TIME: 7:00 PM
FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

To honor and support the work of the United Negro College Fund as they celebrate 51 years of service to private black colleges.

II. BACKGROUND

The United Negro College Fund is a consortium of 41 private, historically black colleges and universities. Since the organization began 51 years ago, over 300,000 men and women have graduated from its member schools. In addition to financial aid to these institutions, the UNCF has provided scholarships for disadvantaged students and technical assistance to strengthen these schools.

Former Congressman Bill Gray is the current UNCF President. The Chairman of the UNCF Board is Michael H. Jordan, Chairman and CEO of Westinghouse. Johnnetta B. Cole of Spellman College is Chairman of the Presidents of the Member Institutions.

Every American President since Franklin Roosevelt has held an event at the White House to support and recognize the work of the UNCF.

Prominent alumni of UNCF colleges include Olympic track star Edwin Moses, former UN Ambassador Andrew Young, former Virginia Governor Doug Wilder, Spike Lee and Chappie James, the first black four-star general in the U.S. Air force. UNCF graduates serving in your administration include Hazel O'leary, Alexis Herman and Dr. David Satcher, the director of the Center for Disease Control.

The UNCF receives tremendous support from corporate America and many of the corporate guests have contributed over one million dollars each to support the organization. Walter Annenberg, started the celebrated Campaign 2000 (the latest UNCF fund raising project) with a \$50 million challenge grant. The Kresge Foundation contributed another \$15 million. The corporate sponsors raised \$280 million dollars during Campaign 2000.

The audience will include two former UNCF Presidents, Vernon Jordan and Christopher Edley Sr., as well as Jonathan Bush, former President Bush's son, and a former UNCF Chairman. In addition Ret. General Colin Powell will attend. (A full list of participants is attached.)

III. PARTICIPANTS

Members of UNCF Board of Directors
Black College Presidents
Corporate Donors to UNCF
Invited Guests
Members of the Clinton administration

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press

V. SEQUENCE

- o You proceed to the Green Room where you will meet Bill Gray, Michael Jordan and Johnnetta Cole.
- o WHCA will announce Bill Gray, Michael Jordan and Johnnetta Cole.
- o WHCA will announce you and the First Lady.
- o The First Lady will make brief remarks and introduce Bill Gray.
- o Bill Gray will make brief remarks and introduce you.
- o You make remarks.
- o You and the First Lady proceed to the Diplomatic Reception Room for a receiving line.
- o You depart.

VI. REMARKS

Talking Points attached

POTUS

**TALKING POINTS
RECEPTION FOR THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
JANUARY 4, 1996**

Ladies and Gentlemen, Hillary and I take great pleasure in welcoming the UNCF family to the White House in celebration of 51 years of outstanding service to the nation. Chairman Michael Jordan, Members of the Board, and to my good friends Bill Gray and Johnnetta Cole, you are to be commended for providing such outstanding leadership to an organization that is dear to all Americans. We are truly proud of the UNCF...and thanks to the generosity of many of you in this room, over \$280 million has been raised for new scholarships, libraries, dormitories and other essential needs. Special thanks go to Ambassador Walter Annenberg, who started campaign 2000 with a \$50 million UNCF challenge grant, and to the Kresge Foundation for its \$15 million contribution. I also applaud the UNCF corporate sponsors for recently completing the largest fundraising effort in the history of African American colleges.

I am proud to join with every one of my predecessors since Franklin Roosevelt in honoring and supporting the work of the College Fund.... because for 51 years you have symbolized hope and opportunity for millions of Americans....and for this we are truly grateful. I strongly support the UNCF's work, which is why in 1993, I issued the strongest Executive Order that any President has issued in support of these institutions. Through the leadership of Secretary of Education Dick Riley, Catherine LeBlanc, who heads the White House Initiative on Historical Black Colleges, and Vic Hackley, who chairs my board of advisors on black colleges, my administration has made substantial progress in increasing federal funding to black colleges by over one hundred million dollars..

I am proud to note that your hard work over the years has enabled member colleges to graduate nearly 300,000 people to be teachers, doctors, lawyers, military leaders, and public servants. The UNCF colleges have given America its first African American four star General, Chappie James. You gave us Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Spike Lee, Governor Doug Wilder, track star Edwin Moses, former Ambassador Andrew Young and a host of other great Americans....and the good thing about the College Fund is that you continue to produce new leaders for this great country of ours. I am pleased that this administration has benefited directly from the UNCF because member colleges have given us Hazel O'leary, the Secretary of Energy, Alexis Herman, my Assistant and Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison and Dr. David Satcher, director of the Center for Disease Control to name a few.

This type of investment is what this budget fight has been all about. We are seeking to increase the nation's investment in Education at a time when all of us should recognize the crucial role that advanced knowledge and training will play in the continuing vitality of our nation's economy. There are those who would have us roll back America's traditionally strong support of education, but I will not stand for it.

Bill Gray the nation owes you a debt of gratitude for taking time away from this marvelous organization to serve as my special envoy to Haiti. Thanks to your hard work we restored democracy to Haiti. I want to publicly applaud your outstanding service to this nation. We will forever be grateful.

Thank you my friend.

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Contemporary Black Biography

October, 1992; Volume 3

LENGTH: 2934 words

NAME: William H. Gray III

PERSONAL:

Born August 20, 1941, in Baton Rouge, LA; son of William H. (a minister and college president) and Hazel (maiden name, Yates; a high school teacher) Gray, Jr.; married Andrea Dash, April 17, 1971; children: William H. Gray IV, Justin Yates, Andrew Dash.

OCCUPATION: Clergyman, foundation executive, former congressman

ADDRESSES: Office--United Negro College Fund, 500 East 62nd St., New York, NY 10021.

EDUCATION: Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA., B.A., 1963; attended Drew Theological School, University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Oxford University, and Princeton Theological Seminary; earned master of divinity, 1966, and master of theology, 1970.

CAREER:

Union Baptist Church, Montclair, NJ, assistant pastor, 1964-66, senior pastor 1966-72; St. Peter's College, Jersey City, NJ, assistant professor and director, 1970-74; Bright Hope Baptist Church, Philadelphia, PA, pastor, 1972--; U.S. Congressman, 1978-91; vice-chair of Congressional Black Caucus; president of United Negro College Fund (UNCF), 1991--. Lecturer at Jersey City State College, Montclair State College, and Rutgers University.

SIDELITES:

William H. Gray, III, a Baptist minister, was elected to Congress in 1978 and served for 13 years in the U.S. government before leaving to head the United Negro College Fund (UNCF). Despite some speculation in the media about Gray's having been involved in shady financial dealings--speculation that led to no formal charges--Gray's reputation with government figures in both the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as public interest groups and voters, remained very positive. His colleagues praised both his integrity and his cordiality. When he was the majority whip in the U.S. House of Representatives, his ability to forge coalitions and persuade other members to vote for measures he supported made him, according to Ebony's Laura B. Randolph, "the highest-ranking Black in the history of the House of Representatives."

"Gray's dignified, intellectual style is very different from the kind of fiery personality usually associated with someone who is the minister of a large and influential Baptist church," a Black Enterprise correspondent reported in a 1989 profile. But this style has apparently been an important factor in Gray's success; even such House conservatives as Republican Jack Kemp have sung his

praises. "He's got integrity," Kemp told Fortune's Nancy J. Perry. "You can trust him."

As chair of the House Budget Committee, Gray oversaw the first trillion dollar budget in U.S. history, managing to avoid some cuts in social spending sponsored by the administration of President Ronald Reagan. He was also a strong voice in Congress for sanctions against the racially discriminatory apartheid government of South Africa. He worked with the Congressional Black Caucus to fight what he perceived were assaults on civil rights and equal opportunities. As head of the UNCF, he vowed to bring the same resolve to his work on behalf of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

Gray was born in 1941 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His father, Dr. William H. Gray, Jr., was a minister and college president; his mother, Hazel Yates Gray, taught high school. Shortly after William III's birth, the family--which also included William's sister Marion---moved to St. Augustine, Florida, where the elder Dr. Gray took over the presidency of Florida Normal and Industrial College. He later moved on to head Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College in Tallahassee. In 1949, Gray's father became pastor of Philadelphia's Bright Hope Baptist Church. It was here that William Gray III would come to maturity. He graduated from high school in 1959 and attended Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, earning a bachelor's degree in sociology in 1963. During his senior year, Gray served as an intern for Pennsylvania Congressman Robert N. C. Nix, but politics would not, for the moment, be his career.

After graduating from Franklin and Marshall, Gray became assistant pastor of Union Baptist Church in Montclair, New Jersey; he also attended New Jersey's Drew Theological School, earning a master of divinity degree in 1966. That same year civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr., appointed Gray senior minister of Union Baptist. Gray did further graduate study in theology at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Oxford University, and Princeton Theological Seminary. The latter institution conferred on him a master of theology degree in 1970.

As pastor of Union Baptist, Gray was active in working toward civil rights, assisting in the establishment of housing projects for blacks in the community as well as in other struggles. In 1970 he sued a landlord in Montclair who, Gray contended, had denied him an apartment because Gray was black. Eventually winning the case in the New Jersey Superior Court, Gray received financial damages and set an important precedent. Two years later, after his father's death, Gray became pastor at Bright Hope, using his position to advocate improved housing conditions for Philadelphia's poor. During this time he was also a lecturer at Rutgers University and several other academic institutions and served as assistant professor and director of New Jersey's St. Peter's College.

In 1971, Gray married Andrea Dash, a marketing consultant, with whom he would have three sons, William H. IV, Justin Yates, and Andrew Dash. Throughout his career he would always regret not having enough time for his family. When Ebony asked him in 1987 for his most "embarrassing moment," Gray related an anecdote about a disastrous family vacation: he and his wife received nearly identical leg injuries on the same day in separate accidents. "Friends who came to visit teased us about having had a violent confrontation," Gray recalled, adding, "I learned that when you neglect your family because of your busy schedule, getting together can be cataclysmic and injurious to your health. I also learned that I

am to spend more time with my wife so that people will not think that when we do get together the meeting is a violent one."

In 1976 Gray moved into the political arena, challenging Nix for his congressional seat. He lost by a close vote and was encouraged to make a second try. An Ebony profile noted that Gray accused the veteran congressman of "exerting no real leadership" while his district suffered high unemployment and poor housing. In the 1978 primary he unseated Nix--a move that some black political figures saw as damaging to unity--and ran as the second congressional district's Democratic nominee, trouncing Republican Roland Atkins in the November election.

Seated in January of 1979, Gray decided to commute from his district rather than take up residence in Washington, D.C. He was appointed to several committees, including Foreign Affairs and his party's Steering and Policy Committee. He would eventually make headlines for his service on the Budget Committee, but he found his first term there deeply frustrating and often voted against his own committee's recommendations. In 1981, after the political shift brought about by the election of Republican President Ronald Reagan, Gray resigned from the Budget Committee.

Gray also became vice-chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, and during Reagan's two terms he worked to fight the conservative administration's social agenda. He returned to the Budget Committee in 1983 and gained notice for his political acumen and personal integrity. In 1985 he took on the role of committee chair. Republicans and Democrats alike praised Gray for his ability to bring opponents together to achieve consensus. He was particularly careful to court the approval of southern conservatives of both parties, reflecting in the New York Times that his experiences as a youth in Louisiana helped him to do this. Gray attributed his overall committee success to previous experience: "Any time you pastor a Black church," he remarked in Jet, "you learn the ropes--how to persuade, prod, negotiate, keep the peace and lead. This House job is no harder."

Gray felt the same way about the budgetary wisdom pundits predicted he wouldn't have; when a Fortune correspondent inquired about the source of his "financial training," Gray asked rhetorically: "Did you ever try to run a Baptist church?" Scholar Cornel West told Black Enterprise that Gray was "one of the new breed of sophisticated black clergy who can effectively work within the political system without losing their moral direction."

Perhaps Gray's cause celebre --and certainly his greatest foreign policy concern--was fighting the apartheid government of South Africa, which, prior to its dismantlement in the spring of 1992, denied political rights to the country's black majority. "The President of South Africa P. W. Botha said 'Every new investment is a brick in our continued existence,'" Gray declared in Fortune in 1987. "So why should the U.S. be shipping bricks? You don't stop Communism by getting in bed with racism." Gray and Texas Congressman Mickey Leland led the charge in the House for sanctions against Botha's regime. Despite the Reagan administration's stated policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa's white minority government, Gray and his antiapartheid colleagues succeeded in pushing through sanctions in 1985 and 1986.

Also in 1986 Gray spoke out against the repeal of the Clark Amendment, which had banned U.S. covert action in Angola. "I do not want to see communism expand

in southern Africa," he told Congress. "I have been there. I have been to each one of those front-line states. Every time the United States of America is perceived as siding with apartheid, what we do is strengthen the possibility of the expansion of communism." Even so, he continued, Communist expansion "is not the issue." The real matter "is majority rule, and freedom, and independence for people who are enslaved." That year Gray and Leland attacked a remark by Reagan's chief of staff, Donald Regan, who had asked whether American women were "prepared to give up all their jewelry" if U.S. sanctions affected South African diamond exportation. Gray called Regan's question a "new level in sexism," according to the New York Times. "I don't think American women want to enslave 28 million other human beings just to have their diamonds," he added.

In 1987, however, Gray and Leland took opposite sides on a Republican party-sponsored bill to punish the Communist government of Ethiopia economically because of its poor human rights record. While Leland, according to Black Enterprise, found the bill "scurrilous and absurd," Gray supported it, demonstrating to his Republican opponents that his anticommunist remarks would be backed up with action. Leland, on the other hand, suggested that the bill was mere ideological bullying by the United States. Nevertheless, Gray consistently pressed for aid to independent African states and was one of the U.S. representatives at the celebration of Zimbabwean independence in 1980, an event he recalled with exuberance years later.

By 1987 Gray was one of the most visible House Democrats. "As glowing careers of other Democrats explode and fade around him like supernovas," observed Perry in Fortune, "Bill Gray has become one of the party's fastest-rising stars." The article even noted Gray's slightly amused speculations about higher office: "Sure, Bill Gray would not mind being President of the U.S. at all," commented the congressman. "But is that his goal? No." A Business Week correspondent emphasized Gray's "remarkable ability to adjust his style to the situation at hand. He can sound like a technocrat one minute and a Bible-thumping preacher the next." Gray "is described by his colleagues as a superb politician," the New York Times reported, "adept at building coalitions and unafraid to risk rejection." He maintained this reputation throughout the decade--despite some criticism of his "glibness"--and by 1989 Black Enterprise predicted that "William H. Gray III will definitely be a force to be reckoned with in the 1990s."

Perhaps no one reckoned with the possibility that Gray would soon leave politics. In 1989 rumors of financial wrongdoing surfaced, fueled by a report by Rita Braver of CBS that unnamed Justice Department sources had begun a criminal investigation, with which Gray was not cooperating. Terry Eastland noted in American Spectator that the leak--neither confirmed nor denied by Justice Department officials until pressed by Gray into admitting he was not the target of the investigation--might have served the political agenda of President George Bush's administration. Loyalists of Bush's Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, Eastland wrote, "realized that if the talented Gray were Democratic whip, House Republicans would have a more difficult time challenging the Democratic majority."

Though formal charges were never made, Gray's political standing seemed to have been affected. He remained in Congress for some time afterward, pursuing his now-familiar agendas. In February of 1990 he spoke on behalf of the National Voter Registration Act, reminding those in favor of political caution that

"making history is always risky business. But greatness is won in the margin of risk." In the speech Gray also commented that "We hear even in South Africa the first sound, however faint, of the end of apartheid." By 1992 the sound would become clearly audible as a white-only vote continued the reform efforts of South African president F. W. de Klerk.

Gray remained in Congress until June of 1991, when he announced his intention to give up his seat to head the UNCF. *Time* noted the rumors surrounding his resignation--that unspecified "investigations" might reveal wrongdoing--but conjectured that "the more plausible explanation is financial: leaving Congress will enable Gray to become a member of corporate boards and greatly increase his income."

Kitty Dumas of *Black Enterprise* pointed out that Gray's departure "left not only a void in the Democratic party leadership in the House of Representatives, but also in the Congressional Black Caucus." Dumas further commented that Gray might well have been "elected by his peers to serve as speaker by the year 2000. His departure dashed the hopes of many in the black community that one of their own might control the House by the turn of the century." Gray, however, was quoted in *Black Enterprise* as saying that the UNCF post was "a higher calling" and "a step up in public service." In an interview with the magazine a few months later, he said he wanted to make "a more focused contribution to the public policy by helping the education of African-American people at 41 Historically Black Colleges and Universities."

Gray immediately set high goals upon his acceptance of the UNCF position, aiming to "double the organization's annual contributions to the 41 HBCUs," meet donor Walter Annenberg's challenge gift by raising an additional \$ 200 million, and "work with HBCUs to develop special projects that will enrich their curriculum, improve their academic standing and their ability to attract the best students," he told a *Black Enterprise* correspondent.

In addition, Gray stressed the need for the UNCF to function as "an advocacy group for higher education, but also to look at all the educational questions that African-Americans face." Gray emphasized that the UNCF could help respond to the scapegoating of Affirmative Action and other programs by "articulating real solutions to real problems in this society" and by helping to "develop a new generation of leaders out of the underprivileged and the underclass." UNCF board chairman Joseph D. Williams predicted that Gray would "be a major force in furthering the critical role of our traditionally black colleges and universities," as quoted in *Black Enterprise*.

In April of 1992, at a Michigan dinner for the Urban League, Gray reminded the guests that the struggle for equality was not over and that they must not be "lulled to sleep" by the success of some black politicians. "This will be the most pluralistic and diverse society in the westernized world," Gray remarked, according to the *Oakland Press*. "But if we don't get over problems of racism and see the real issues, the U.S. won't have a strong economy in the 21st century." For this minister-educator-politician, the struggles of his lifetime had not changed: religious morality, education and political change remained inseparable strands. And he continued to view his past experience as providing indelible lessons; "Life belongs to those who are always climbing," he told the Urban League, as cited in the *Oakland Press*. He went on to quote his grandmother, who once said, "Life for me ain't been crystal stairs ... and I'm

still climbing."

SOURCES: American Spectator, September 1989.
Black Enterprise, July 1987; January 1989; September 1991;
November 1991; February 1992.
Business Week, September 7, 1987.
Congressional Digest, April 1986; April 1990.
Ebony, March 1979; September 1987; December 1989.
Fortune, November 9, 1987.
Jet, August 11, 1986; July 13, 1987; June 19, 1989.
New York Times, January 5, 1985.
Oakland Press, (Oakland County, MI), April 12, 1992.
Time, July 1, 1991.
--Simon Glickman

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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