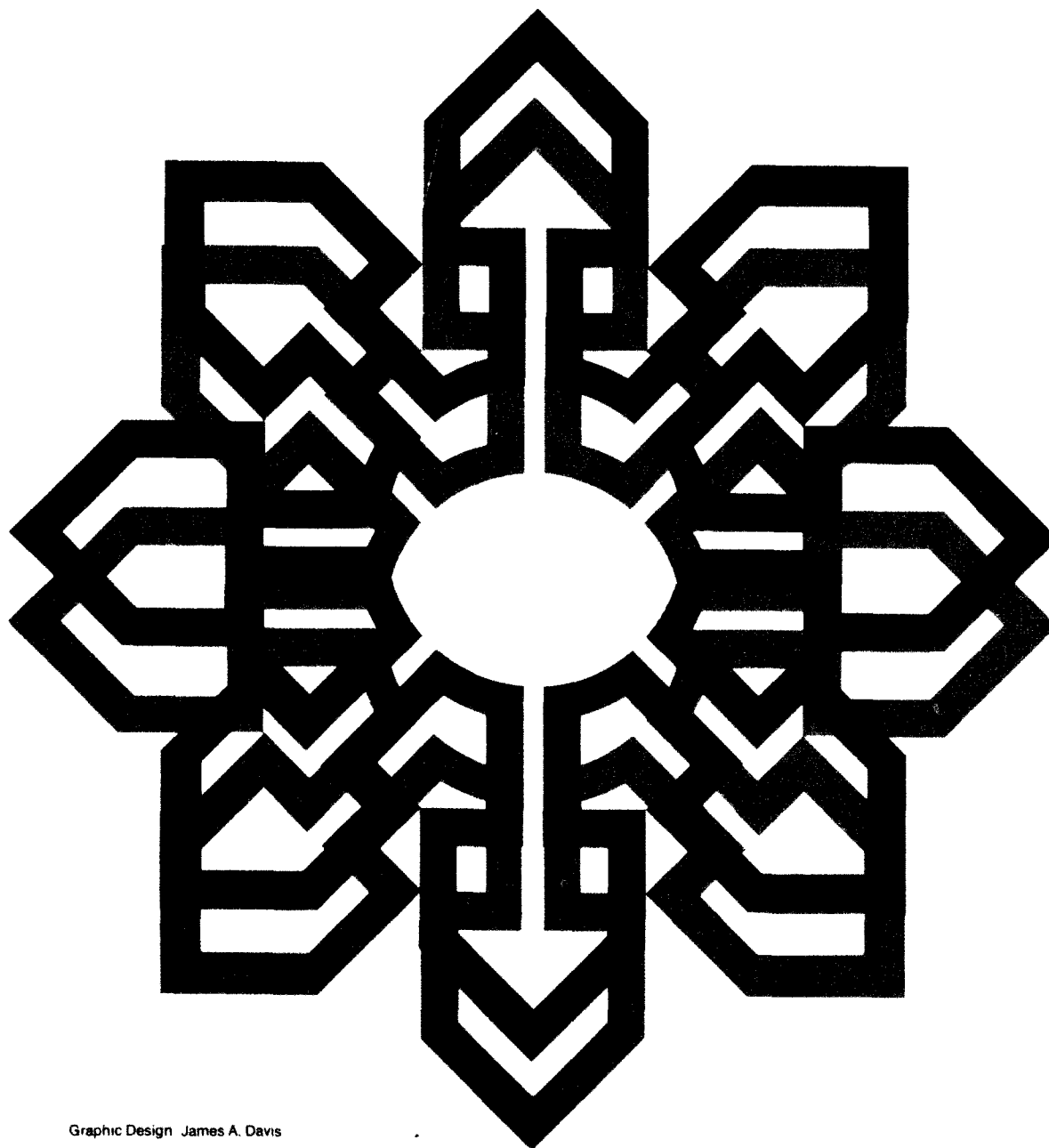


# Housing policy for metropolitan areas

By Robert C. Weaver



Graphic Design James A. Davis

# Perspective

Playing catch-up is too often the vulnerable posture forced upon blacks and other minority groups on national policy matters. When problems have already been diagnosed, programs formulated, and policies outlined, our only remaining option is to react. Seldom do we find the openings to get in on the ground floor of policy-formulation or to make a systematic input before decisions are cast in concrete.

The result, of course, is that public policy debates seldom reflect intelligent minority perspectives (special revenue sharing and housing are good examples), and they often lead to programs which, if not detrimental to minority interests, run the unnecessary risks of alienating minorities, frustrating their will, and provoking their hostility and opposition.

In such circumstances, it is the public interest which suffers in the long run. This is true, notwithstanding the feeble arguments put forth that the minority perspective is taken care of in the broader considerations given public policy issues by the traditional white think tanks, task forces, university centers, and special interest groups. While such arguments beg many questions about the insidiousness of racism and discrimination, they also miss the real point. The point is not whether whites can speak intelligently and fairly about black or minority needs. Rather, it is whether informed minority perspectives, articulated by knowledgeable minority spokesmen, are important and ought to be considered as well.

**The energy crisis**, for example, despite its foreboding implications for the nation as a whole, is but the latest long-range issue which begs for a clear minority group perspective. Are President Nixon, Governor John Love, Melvin Laird, or the white think tanks and special interest groups speaking for blacks and the disadvantaged on such issues as the following?

If a rise in national unemployment results from the energy crisis, blacks no doubt will be disproportionately affected. A gasoline tax would place a relatively greater burden on the poor than would rationing. If the price of fuel increases, would it be feasible to subsidize the poor's use of essential fuel? Is court-ordered busing to

be a casualty of the energy crisis? It is one thing to appeal to Americans, on the basis of patriotism, to turn their thermostats down to 68 degrees, but it is quite another to appeal to those Americans who cannot afford to turn their thermostats up to 68 degrees.

Clearly there are issues inherent in this national problem, as well as others (housing, land use, communications, population redistribution, to name a few), which could be focused more clearly with minority group input. The question is why aren't we making a greater input.

**Because of our lot**, we have been forced to deal more with immediate, survival problems than with long-range issues which will impact down the pike. Another reason for our lack of input is that we seldom have the resources to amass the research and hard data which will arm our spokesmen and attract the attention of national policymakers.

The latter has always been a problem, but it is more crucial today with the impressive increase in the number of black elected officials. These leaders are on the front line of decision-making, and they must be armed with facts and figures which will help shape policies and programs while they are on the drawing boards. They need an early warning system which will alert them to onrushing problems, suggest to them what the basic questions are, from the standpoint of their constituents, and provide an underpinning for their attempts at problem-solving. What this suggests is that we must begin to encourage foundations and other funding sources to make substantial investments in the development of policy analysis programs in our colleges and universities and in our research-oriented centers and organizations.

On our part, the Joint Center plans to initiate a modest policy analysis program in 1974. If we can be successful in harnessing the creative abilities of black scholars and elected officials, we can help establish the basis for more systematic input of minority views during the early stages of policy development. At least we can help cut down our reaction time.

**Eddie N. Williams, President**

## FOCUS

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The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies**, 1426 H Street N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-4477. *JCPS* sponsored by Howard University and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center is a private non-profit and non-partisan organization which provides research, education, technical assistance and information for the nation's minority elected officials. *JCPS* is funded by foundations, other organizations and private gifts. Contributions are tax exempt.

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# Democrat guidelines drop 'quotas'

The Democratic party's Committee on Delegate Selection and Party Structure, the so-called Mikulski Commission, has concluded its work on proposed rules under which it suggests that delegates to the 1976 national convention should be selected. These rules are to be presented to the Democratic National Committee in early spring, 1974.

Much of the political furor that threatened to bog down deliberations was over the so-called "quota" issue, under which the state delegations to the 1972 Democratic National Convention were to have representation of minority groups, women and youth in "reasonable relationship" to their presence in the state's population. "Quotas" were explicitly prohibited by a footnote in the 1972 rules, but many doubted that the prohibition had worked. The ban on "quotas" is now written into the body of the rules.

The Mikulski Commission's proposed rules put emphasis on "affirmative action" by the state and national parties to make sure that minority groups, native Americans, women and youth are included in the delegate selection process and in all party affairs. The increased emphasis on "all party affairs" is significant.

**State and national parties** are required under proposed rules to adopt and implement Affirmative Action Programs (the appendix to the rules includes two model affirmative action programs). Affirmative action must reach all levels of the party structure. It is particularly important to see that affirmative action is applied to the activities of state and county party committees. Both the affirmative action plans and delegate selection rules, for the first time, must be submitted to a 17-member Compliance Review Committee (CRC) of the Democratic National Committee before implementation.

The proposed new rules set a "goal" for representation of minorities, women and youth based on "their presence in the Democratic electorate." "Presence in the Democratic electorate" is difficult to determine precisely since registration and participation figures by race must generally be estimated. However, based on national averages, blacks certainly are a higher proportion of the Democratic party than they are of the population at-large. The commonly accepted estimate is that blacks make up 20 percent of the Democratic party, as against 11 percent of the nation's population. However, in judging whether the "goal" is met, the rules point to both performance under an approved Affirmative Action Plan and the composition of the state delegation. However, composition of the delegation is not to be *prima facie* evidence of non-compliance.

The Affirmative Action Plans are to be submitted to the Compliance Review Committee on or before December 15, 1974. The Committee then has up to 60 days—that is, until February 15, 1975—to act on the plans submitted. Implementation of the approved plans is to begin not later than March 15, 1975.

Then delegate selection plans are to be submitted to the Compliance Review Committee by July 1, 1975, and the CRC has 60 days to review the plan submitted. And

at any time up to 30 days preceding the initiation of a state's delegate selection plan, any group of 15 Democrats in the state can challenge the Affirmative Action Program on the basis of non-implementation.

**Several other changes** were made in the delegate selection rules which guided the 1972 Democratic delegate selection process. Slate-making, whereby any individual or group of delegates sponsors or endorses a slate of candidates for convention delegates, is now permitted. However, no slate is to receive preferential treatment as the result of such endorsement, nor is any slate to be identified as the "official" slate.

Also, in states where no state convention is held to elect delegates, the state committee or the publicly elected national convention delegates can elect not more than 25 percent of national convention delegates. This is an increase from the 10 percent maximum which was allowed under 1972 guidelines.

Another change affects the participation of Democratic senators, congressmen and governors at the national convention. Some party members had argued that those officials should be *ex-officio*, that is, automatic, delegates, while others felt delegates should be elected separately at a time near the convention date. The new rule urges the Democratic National Convention to "extend privileges, except voting rights," to these elected officials and members of the national committee who are not elected voting delegates.

A further change requires that delegates to the 1976 national convention fairly reflect the presidential preferences of those who participate in the presidential nominating process in each state. This rule is an effort to resolve the California dispute that erupted in 1972 with the challenge of the state's winner-take-all primary after that primary election had been held.

**There are a number of** other provisions in the Commission's proposed new rules which existed in the same, or similar, form in 1972. These include the following: state parties must adopt explicit written rules and procedures and publish and make available at no cost their rules, relevant state statutes, and a clear and concise explanation of how Democratic voters can participate in the delegate selection process; all official party meetings and events are to be scheduled at times and places to encourage participation by all groups, and times and dates shall be uniform throughout the state; all official events, rules, etc., are to be publicized widely; no person is to be excluded from any stage of the delegate selection process for failure to pay a cost or fee, no less than 40 percent of any party body above the first level of the delegate selection process shall constitute a quorum; the unit rule shall not be used at any stage of the delegate selection process.

Copies of the rules as reported out of the Mikulski Commission (named for Baltimore Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski) can be obtained by writing the Democratic National Committee, 1625 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

—Kenneth Colburn Deputy Director of Research  
Joint Center for Political Studies

# Housing policy for metropolitan areas

*Editor's note: Dr. Robert C. Weaver, who in 1966 became the first black cabinet member when President Lyndon B. Johnson named him the first secretary of Housing and Urban Development, recently testified before a subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee on the proposed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1973.*

*This bill, introduced by Congressmen William A. Barrett (D-Pa.) and Thomas L. Ashley (D-Ohio), would establish a program of community development and housing block grants by consolidating many of the categorical housing and urban development programs. Unlike President Nixon's special revenue sharing proposal, however, this bill would require localities to apply for funds and require them to meet certain standards. Moreover, it would hold open the possibility that some communities could keep the categorical programs if they find them necessary.*

*In addition to being a member of the faculty of Hunter College in New York City, Dr. Weaver is president of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. Following are his remarks before the House subcommittee:*

## By Robert C. Weaver

... **IN THE FOLLOWING** remarks I am guided, above all, by the national housing goal first enunciated in the landmark Housing Act of 1949: "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." These goals were reaffirmed in 1968 when Congress established a ten-year program to assure its quantitative achievement. I take those words both seriously and literally. I also believe that success in meeting that goal cannot be measured solely by reference to numbers of housing starts and other traditional indices. Housing also is key to determining the quality of life our people lead and is crucial to facilitating full participation of all Americans in the mainstream of the life of the nation.

These are times of a housing crisis. Established housing assistance programs are now suspect. Some have been suspended. The value of the various legislative enactments over the past 40 years is now being called into serious question. The issue of what role the federal government should play in housing and urban development—if, indeed, any role at all—is being re-examined.

I believe that re-examination is a healthy thing. Programs should periodically be put to the test of analysis to determine whether they are worthwhile, and, if not, should be modified and, if necessary, abandoned. The danger, however, is in over-reaction—in abandoning good, workable programs along with those that are not. In this connection, I believe it was most unfortunate to suspend precipitously all four low- and moderate-income housing programs last January, especially without first establishing new and better ones to take their place.

Change is necessary and I am not prepared to say that every program and every piece of housing legislation enacted over the past 40 years has worked as well as we had hoped. Through long experience, however, I have learned that if change is to be effective it must be evolutionary. We must make sure to preserve programs that work and modify those that can be made to work, rather than commit ourselves to wholesale abandonment on grounds that results have not quite been up to expectations.

**I AM GRATIFIED** by the approach taken in H.R. 10036. Through the feature of block grants for community development and housing assistance, the bill would represent a departure from past federal programs in which the federal role was dominant, but it would not represent a sudden abdication of federal responsibility. The bill recognizes the need for balanced programs and recognizes also that housing and urban development are issues of national concern which cannot be met solely through local approaches. As Chairman Barrett has pointed out:

"... the block grant approaches... are evolutionary in nature, moving gradually from a dominant federal role in the carrying out of community development and housing activities to one in which the community is the principal actor, and HUD exercises a more qualitative review and evaluation function."

The bill provides for HUD review of local programs.

There are many admirable features in H.R. 10036. I would like to limit my statement to mentioning some of the provisions I consider of particular importance, as well as some aspects of the bill which I believe are deficient. I would like to spend most of my time discussing what is, without question, the major housing and urban development problem facing metropolitan areas—the need to reverse the trend toward racial and economic stratification and to establish choice as the factor that determines where people will live. This is a problem recognized and addressed by the bill. But, in my view, not adequately.

I have long advocated a mix of production of new and better use of existing housing, and it is gratifying to note that this bill reflects adherence to that principle and policy. I believe it is important, however, either in the language of the bill or in the legislative history, to establish vacancy rate criteria for determining the mix between new and existing housing so as to avoid the inflationary impact of housing allowances in tight housing markets. I also fully support the bill's approach of coordinating housing assistance and community development grants at the local level, where such coordination can be most effectively achieved.

**AT A TIME** when some advocate the demise of the Federal Housing Administration, it is encouraging to find the bill forcefully delineating the role of FHA and modifying the FHA program in ways that will enable that important agency to continue its essential participation in providing a mortgage credit for residential construction. One modification is the establishment of prototype

construction costs which would permit participation in FHA programs of communities which, because of high construction costs, are now effectively excluded. A second, which provides for reduction in interest rates for FHA insured mortgages in periods of tight money, would permit many middle-class households now priced out of the home purchase market to become homeowners.

No feature of the bill inspires greater support on my part than its recognition of the need to continue Sections 235 and 236, both during the period of transition until the housing assistance program commences operation and on a residual basis after the program goes into effect. Despite exaggerated criticisms of Sections 235 and 236 and inflated estimates of their costs, as well as de-emphasis of administrative deficiencies in their operation these subsidy programs do produce housing.

The new program authorizing modernization and renovation of existing public housing units is clearly needed and desirable. I also believe that there is a need for an increased volume of public housing in the years immediately ahead. As I read the bill, new public housing could be built, although the financing vehicle would be different from that provided under the existing public housing law. Local government obligations would be guaranteed by the secretary of Housing and Urban Development and what are now annual contributions could be financed by funds from the housing assistance grants. I believe there is considerable confusion as to whether additional public housing is contemplated by the bill and it would be helpful if this confusion could be cleared up.

I question some other provisions of H.R. 10036. It is proposed, in Section 201 of Chapter 3, that uniform standards be applied to all mortgage insurance transactions. No longer would there be special risk mortgages. I fear that this will have the effect of excluding deteriorated neighborhoods and the families that live in them from significant participation in FHA programs. Moreover, it must be remembered that lack of mortgage credit has been a long-standing cause of deterioration of property values and continuing deterioration of inner-city areas.

There is another major deficiency in this bill. It is the omission of provisions to delineate and help establish an urban land policy. We seem to be about to set up a national land policy, but its basic focus is ecological or physical; and while social consequences are involved, they are not the primary aim. What I am concerned about is orderly urban development. Involved would be an attack upon sprawl, encouragement of the use of mass transportation, and provision of greater opportunities for dispersal of lower-income housing.

Proposals for advanced acquisition of land for urban use were first made as long ago as 1937 and were defeated largely because of political concerns. But the arguments for it, both economic and social, are impressive. There has been some progress towards federal assistance for advanced acquisition of land by

public agencies and it was achieved because proposed housing legislation faced the issue.

We have an open space program, subsidies for loans for advanced acquisition of land for public use, and financial assistance for new communities. If the federal government can encourage state land use plans for ecological goals, it should be able to assure that such activity does not vitiate necessary urban growth and establish a program which would encourage orderly urban development.

**I WOULD NOW** like to turn my attention to the most critical feature of the bill. I am referring to the need to link housing assistance programs and community development programs in ways which not only will facilitate orderly urban growth, but also will facilitate availability of multi-priced shelter throughout the metropolitan regions of the nation for families of all incomes and races.

This, in my view, is the most pressing housing problem facing the country. Indeed, the bill recognizes it as such. Among the eligibility requirements for community development grants is the formulation of a program which includes any activities necessary to provide adequate housing in a suitable living environment for low- and moderate-income persons who are residing in the community or who are employed in or may otherwise reasonably be expected to reside in the community. By the same token, one of the conditions of eligibility for housing assistance grants is "activities designed to promote greater choice of housing opportunities and to avoid undue concentrations of assisted persons in areas containing high proportions of low income persons." These provisions are salutary.

I fear, however, that the bill cannot achieve its express goal of promoting greater choice of housing opportunities for lower income families. There are several inherent weaknesses which, in my view, necessarily would prevent achievement of this essential goal.

First, community development and housing assistance grants would be made for the most part to individual localities in metropolitan areas. But the problems of housing and urban development in metropolitan areas are metropolitan-wide and can be resolved only on that basis. I recognize that in both the community development and housing assistance parts of the bill a priority would be given to two or more units of general local government which combine to conduct single programs. I doubt, however, that this would afford sufficient inducement to encourage metropolitan-wide proposals, particularly with respect to housing assistance programs.

Many suburban communities have exhibited strong aversion to taking the steps necessary to facilitate residence of lower-income families, especially those who are members of minority groups. To be sure, there have been some instances in which a number of jurisdictions in metropolitan areas have agreed to so-

Continued on page 6

Continued from page 5

called "fair share" plans which would permit free access to housing for lower-income families throughout major portions of the metropolitan area. These, however, have been few and far between. Moreover, results have been spotty.

I believe these voluntary "fair share" approaches can achieve results and should be encouraged. As you undoubtedly know, last month Senator (Robert) Taft (R-Ohio) introduced legislation, "The Demonstration Housing Location Housing Act of 1973," that would provide such encouragement in the form of grants to local governments or local public agencies.

I do not believe, however, that sole reliance on voluntary "fair share" plans is the answer. Many suburban jurisdictions have taken extraordinary steps, such as adopting bizarre zoning laws and other land use controls, which necessarily have the effect—and often the purpose—of keeping out the poor. It is extremely doubtful that these communities can be counted on to participate voluntarily in "fair share" plans.

The basic approach of the bill is one of voluntary participation. Housing assistance grants would be made to suburban governments only if they *elect* to apply for them. In light of past experience, it is doubtful that many will so elect unless strong incentives are provided to persuade them to do so.

The only such incentive I can find in the bill is contained in Section 112(a)(3), which requires applicants for community development grants to formulate a program "which includes any activities necessary to provide adequate housing in a suitable living environment for low- and moderate-income persons who are residing in the community or may otherwise reasonably be expected to reside in the community." I believe this provision points in the right direction, but it is not nearly strong enough. Under the bill as it now stands it is likely that affluent suburbs will receive their fair share of community development grants while providing little housing for lower-income people.

**THERE IS ONE** additional provision which, it seems to me, necessarily would have the effect of concentrating most of the lower-income housing in the central city, where the poor already are strictly confined. Under the allocation formula for housing assistance grants set forth in Section 124(6) entitlements are based on three factors: population, extent of poverty (counted twice), and extent of housing overcrowding.

Under this formula and lacking a metropolitan approach, the great bulk of housing assistance funds necessarily would go to central cities. Even those suburbs that have the best of intentions would simply not be entitled to very much in the way of housing assistance grants if their populations are relatively low,

if they are affluent, and if they have little housing overcrowding. This provision, in my view, is seriously flawed. It would have the effect of accepting the status quo of racial and economic stratification in metropolitan areas and assure that this pattern is perpetuated and even intensified.

The basic weakness lies in dealing with the housing problems of metropolitan areas on the basis of the individual jurisdictions that make up these metropolitan areas. The problem is one of people, not local governments, and it cannot be satisfactorily resolved through passive acquiescence to the status quo of the minority, poor central city surrounded by the noose of white, affluent suburbia.

**SOME WAY** must be found to provide housing within the means of lower-income families on the basis of rational, practical considerations—such as the location of jobs—and to afford the poor something resembling freedom of housing choice throughout metropolitan areas. We must do this not merely for the sake of the poor, but in the interests of the well being of our metropolitan areas. They are, in fact, single social and economic units, not unrelated groups of local jurisdictions, and our housing programs must recognize this basic reality.

In 1971, Congressman Ashley introduced what I consider an innovative and creative measure that promised to do just that. Title V of the proposed "Housing and Urban Development Act of 1971" called for the establishment of metropolitan housing agencies which would have had responsibility and authority for developing long-range plans for the location of subsidized housing, based on a number of rational and sensible factors. Unfortunately, this proposal was abandoned before the bill left the committee. I commend it to your attention. I also recommend that to assure cooperation by suburban jurisdictions that otherwise might be reluctant to have lower-income families living within their borders, eligibility for community development grants be tied strongly to full cooperation with the metropolitan housing agency in developing and implementing its plan.

Having made this recommendation I must qualify it by admitting that it is not foolproof. Some suburban communities may have so strong an aversion to the poor that they are willing to forego federal benefits under community development grants so as to continue their exclusionary policies and practices. This will vary from metropolitan area to metropolitan area, and indeed, from suburban jurisdiction to suburban jurisdiction, depending upon their need for community development funds, the mood of the community and the strength of their leadership. In any case, it represents the best chance to reverse the pattern of racial and economic separation which is at the root of so many of the social and economic problems besetting metropolitan areas.

# Telescope

## Southern mayors group gains visibility

**The appearance of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace** at the Southern Black Mayors Conference in Tuskegee, Ala., was reported in newspapers around the country as a "quest for black votes."

But in the view of leaders of the conference, it was also a tribute to the growing importance of southern black officials.

"It was significant that he would come to this meeting and choose this forum," commented Prichard, Ala., Mayor A.J. Cooper, who, along with the seven other Alabama black mayors, organized this session. "It's another reflection of the significance of southern black mayors coming together," he said.

In his talk, at the close of the three-day session, Wallace recited the actions of his administration which he said have benefited blacks. He downplayed his past segregationist stands, saying, "We are all God's children."

The black mayors, who received him politely, seemed willing to maintain a pragmatic relationship with Wallace. Tuskegee Mayor Johnny Ford presented Wallace with the keys to the city, then promptly reminded the governor that the town needs a fire rescue ambulance and asked for state funds to buy one.

Cooper noted that Wallace's visit "speaks loud and clear about the close relation between the state house and the mayor's house. It's a reflection of the new federalism."

Before hearing Wallace, the 18 southern black mayors and the two black mayors from Michigan who attended the meeting participated in workshops designed to "help them serve their constituents," as Cooper put it. These included panels on how to raise municipal funds; how to manage grants; the responsibilities of elected officials and their spouses, and how to attract new industry.

**The mayors tabled** a proposal to organize a national black mayors conference, but moved toward organizing a permanent structure for a southern black mayors' group. They named a steering committee to design a structure. Headed by Cooper, the committee also includes Mayors Howard N. Lee of Chapel Hill, N.C.; Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss.; Clarence Lightner of Raleigh, N.C.; David Humes of Hayti Heights, Mo., and Johnny Ford of Tuskegee.

Cooper said the steering committee will also meet with Stanley Scott, a special assistant to President Nixon, to arrange conferences with several groups of high-level federal officials, including the White House Domestic Council, headed by Melvin Laird; the undersecretaries of federal departments, and the Federal Regional Council, composed of regional directors of major agencies.

These meetings will focus on mayoral requests for improved and expanded federal aid to small towns, especially those with black mayors. "We have

presented a program," said Cooper. "This sets the stage, to which the federal government now has to respond. To this point, the response has been positive. We are waiting to see how it will be implemented."

The participants agreed to hold meetings of southern black mayors twice a year from now on. The next session will be in Santee, S.C., in late April or early May, Cooper said.

## Help wanted

The Joint Center's research department has begun the task of compiling the 1974 edition of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*. To ensure that the *Roster* is complete and accurate, the Joint Center asks your help.

If you know of any black person elected to public office in the last six or seven months, or any previously elected but not listed in the 1973 *Roster*, please let us know. Include their names, the offices to which they were elected, and their full mailing addresses if you know them. We are particularly interested in officials from small towns and rural areas; we already have information on most larger towns and cities. All information will be verified.

A special request to black elected officials already on our mailing list: You will be receiving a brief questionnaire asking you to confirm your present address and title, and to provide additional information about yourselves. Please be sure to complete it and return it immediately. Your answers are vital to a more complete, useful *Roster* which will fully document the growth in the ranks of black elected officials.

## Bay area minorities form coalition

Black, Mexican-American, Chinese-American, Filipinos, American Indians, and Japanese-American public officials in the San Francisco Bay Area have decided to form a coalition designed to ensure that all these minorities will have a voice in decisions by regional councils and other governing bodies in the area.

The coalition was formed after a conference in San Francisco called by the Bay Area Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. About 60 representatives from the minority groups met, most of them elected or appointed public officials from area jurisdictions.

Among the concrete projects they discussed were:

Ensuring that a proposed extension of a cable car line in San Francisco is routed to serve both black and Japanese-American neighborhoods;

Obtaining assurances that minorities will receive a fair share of construction jobs in a major shopping and office development in Oakland, and a fair share of professional and white-collar jobs in the businesses which will occupy the development once it is built;

Providing more minority representation on an advisory committee overseeing projects receiving

Continued on page 8

Continued from page 7

federal funds in the Vallejo area. Few minority group persons hold either elected or appointed positions in the area, despite the fact that minorities comprise about 30 per cent of the population.

**Participants in the conference** also sent a telegram to Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Cal.) opposing an amendment he had introduced to the Community Development Assistance Act which would add counties to the list of recipients of federal funds under the act. The conference said the Cranston proposal would "diminish by as much as \$400 million the amount of money which would otherwise be available to cities, money which is sorely needed for ongoing programs to address the still unmet needs of cities."

Gary, Ind. Mayor Richard Hatcher encouraged the conference to move toward coalitions of minorities, telling about a coalition in his city which supported a liberal lending policy to provide low- and moderate-income housing units.

Hatcher also told the group that regionalism is here to stay. He recalled his initial reaction to a regional transportation and planning agency that was formed for northern Indiana. "At first I took the attitude that it didn't exist, partly because Gary was only allowed two representatives out of 17 commissioners . . . . The commission went right ahead and made decisions, decisions allowed by the federal government, which were affecting Gary adversely. Therefore, I decided to afford the commission formal recognition and send two representatives to participate," Hatcher said.

### Good reading

● The Joint Center has published a handbook on regionalism, designed to help minority officials and others ensure that minorities will be heard when regional bodies are making decisions that affect them.

Titled *Regionalism and Minority Participation*, the booklet explains the development of regionalism, describes the various forms it has taken, and recommends strategy for minority leaders in dealing with regionalism. It also examines in depth one city, Durham, N.C., where leaders of the black community, which is a substantial minority of the population, are battling for written non-discrimination safeguards in a proposed city-county consolidation charter.

Written by JCPS Research Associate Jeanne Fox, the booklet is available from the JCPS Publications Department for \$1.00 a copy. On orders of 10 or more, the price per copy is 70 cents.

● *Search and Destroy* is not a book about the Vietnam war, but about the pre-dawn raid in Chicago by state's attorney's police in 1969 in which two leaders of the Black Panther party were killed. The book is the result of a four-year study of the incident by the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and the Police, chaired by NAACP head Roy Wilkins and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, under a staff led by Howard University law professor Herbert O. Reid. The report suggests that the planners of the raid were guilty of criminal acts in depriving the victims of their rights. Copies are available from Metropolitan Applied Research Center, 60 E. 86th Street, New York, N.Y. 10028, for \$5.95.

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