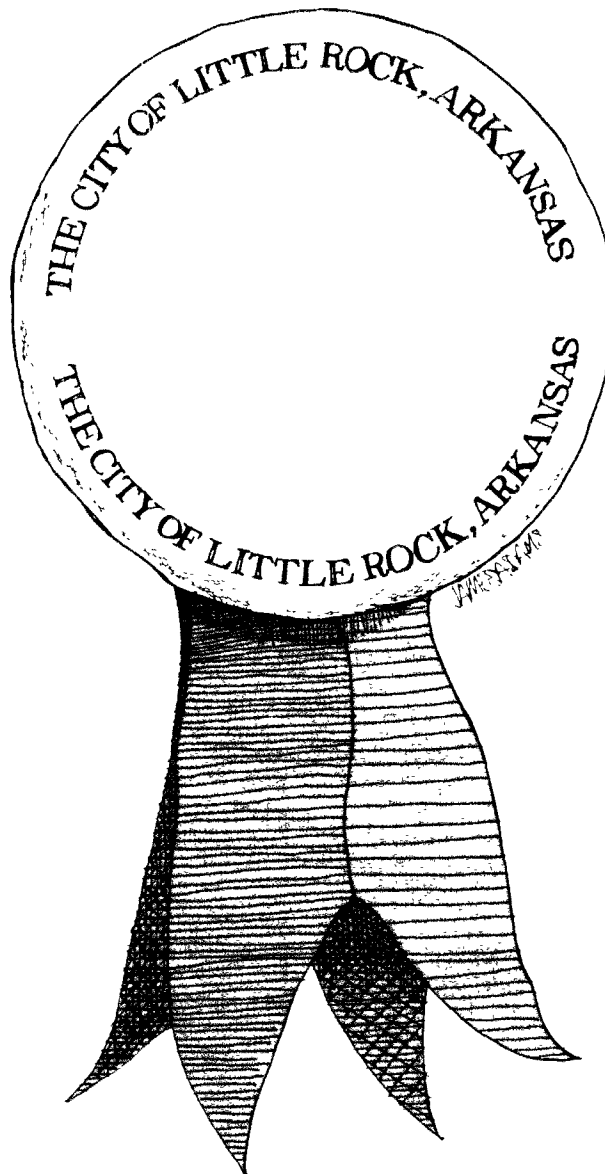


FOCUS

Black convention at Little Rock: Different strokes for different folks

Special supplement:

Congressional votes on important issues for blacks



Perspective

Following are excerpts from the keynote speech to the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock by Atlanta Mayor Maynard H. Jackson.

... **WE MUST BEGIN** to organize seriously our local communities. We must organize our precincts, our wards, our districts, our cities, our counties and our states before we can talk seriously about "delivering" anything on a national scale. You cannot give what you do not have.

At this point, many of our black elected officials are in office *in spite of* their political organizations and not *because of* them. These black officials have been elected on the basis of personal charisma, or a burning local issue, or an overwhelming local black electorate. There is usually no systematic door-to-door, house-to-house, block-to-block effort to organize the black voters of a specific area. So even while the 2,600 black elected officials we now have represent an impressive step forward from where we were, we need to remember that those 2,600 officials represent only one-half of one per cent of the total number of elected officials in this country. And thus the small number of our elected officials makes it even more disturbing that their local organizations are weak and therefore they cannot now form a unified viable national political network.

SO BEFORE we talk about organizing on a national scale, we have to talk about organizing at home. And there is vast potential for local organization. An example of this is the southern region of this country, with its vast black belt running through it. Here is a political field ripe for black cultivation. In some of the counties of this region, black people are the majority of the population but still they have no representation in local

government. We cannot tolerate this; we cannot afford to waste this precious human resource. . .

Some will tell us that economic development and not politics represents the path we must follow. I, however, say that political power will precede economic power for black people. If the power brokers of America have not granted tens of millions of poverty stricken white Americans the benefits of white capitalism, you know what our chances are to have, in meaningful degree, any shade of economic power in the foreseeable future.

SO OUR HOPE for survival in this country lies in our ability to organize for political power. All relationships between groups of people are based on power of one kind or another. . . . If we allow ourselves to remain impotent, disorganized and powerless in the face of the increased conservatism and repression which surrounds us, not only are we abandoning all hope of constructive and non-violent social change; we are also welcoming genocide.

It is not for nothing that you have seen no black faces among the Watergate conspirators. We are not absent because of a higher degree of moral stamina. We are absent because, as black people, we are not included in the high level wheeling and dealing that runs this country. But this exclusion from the national "inner circles" should not surprise us or cause us to give up the fight. This exclusion should serve to point up the urgency of our own work. We can join the chorus yelling for impeachment, but until we can successfully influence the Mississippi state legislature or the Georgia general assembly, our protests will be like spitting into a hurricane. Until we can back up our demands with concrete and organized black political action from the district level to the national level, we will be a joke to the country's real power brokers.

FOCUS

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Mayors lead rise in black officials

THE NUMBER of black elected officials rose in the past year to a level 152 per cent greater than five years ago, led by a sharp increase in the ranks of black mayors.

The latest figures, released by the Joint Center for Political Studies, show that as of April 1 there were 2,991 blacks in elective office in 45 states and the District of Columbia. This compares to 2,621 a year ago, and only 1,185 in 1969.

Black mayors increased faster than any other category of office, from 82 last year to 108 now. This is a 31.7 per cent increase, while the overall figure for black elected officials showed a 14 per cent rise.

Blacks are now mayors of such major cities as Los Angeles, Atlanta, Detroit, Cincinnati, Newark, N.J., Dayton, Ohio and Raleigh, N.C.

The figures are contained in the 1974 edition of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*, published each year by the Joint Center.

Increases for black mayors in particular and black municipal officials in general were especially great in the past year because of the large number of municipal elections. The office held by the largest number of blacks is that of town or city council member, now held by 1,080 blacks. This is an increase of 240 from last year.

THE STATE with the largest number of black elected officials continues to be Michigan, with 194 this year. Mississippi, with 191, has displaced New York for second place. New York, now number three, has 174 blacks in elective office.

North Carolina takes the honors for the greatest increase in the number of black elected officials last year, rising from 112 to 159, an increase of 40.2 per cent. This now puts North Carolina fourth on the list of states.

Other states in the "top ten" are Illinois and New Jersey, both with 152; Arkansas, 150; Alabama and Louisiana, both with 149, and Ohio, with 139.

Five states have no black elected officials — Hawaii, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota and Utah.

Looking at the long-range increase since 1970, the state with the fastest growing list of black elected officials has been Texas, which has shown a four-fold increase. It now has 124 blacks in office, compared to only 29 four years ago, a rise of 327 per cent.

Most of the other states with the fastest growth rates since 1970 are also in the South. They include Georgia, with a boost of 242 per cent; South Carolina, 205 per cent; Arkansas, 172 per cent; North Carolina, 153 per cent, and Mississippi, 135 per cent.

However, two northern states almost match these rates of increase. They are New York, which has shown a 135 per cent increase since 1970, and New Jersey, with a 108 per cent increase.

ALTHOUGH ALABAMA showed no increase in the past year and only a 73 per cent increase since 1970, blacks in that state hold the largest proportion of elective offices available. In that state, some 3.67 per cent of elected officials are black. Alabama's population is 26 per cent black.

The proportion of offices held by blacks rises above

one per cent in only 11 other states. Blacks do, however, hold eight out of the 12 elective offices in the District of Columbia, which only this year is gaining the right to vote for its city council and mayor, provided that voters approve an enabling charter in a May referendum.

Other states with proportions approaching Alabama's are Mississippi, where blacks account for 3.65 per cent of elected officials and 37 per cent of the population; South Carolina, 3.64 per cent of officials and 30.4 per cent of the population, and Maryland, 3.3 per cent of officials and 17.8 per cent of the population.

OVERALL, BLACKS hold only slightly over one-half of one per cent (0.057 per cent) of the more than 521,000 elective offices throughout the nation. This contrasts with the 11.1 per cent of the nation's population comprised by blacks.

Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, said the figures "give us an idea of how far blacks have already travelled on the road to political empowerment, but also how far they have yet to go."

"Nevertheless, the political thrust of the civil rights movement is gaining momentum. We expect to see greater involvement and sophistication in the 1974 and 1976 elections."

MORE THAN HALF of all black elected officials — 53.7 per cent — live in the 16 states of the South from Delaware to Texas and Oklahoma and the District of Columbia. This region contains 47 per cent of all blacks in the nation. The North Central states, from Ohio to North Dakota and Kansas, account for 23 per cent of all black elected officials but only 20.2 per cent of the total black population.

The Northeast, with 19.3 per cent of all blacks, has 16.6 per cent of black officials, while the West, which takes in 13.6 per cent of the black population, holds only 6.5 per cent of black officials.

HERE ARE some of the other highlights of this year's tally of black elected officials:

State with the most black members of Congress: California, with three. They are Reps. Yvonne Burke, Ronald Dellums, and Augustus Hawkins.

Largest number of blacks in a state legislature: 19, in Illinois, which has 14 in the house and five in the state senate.

There are 236 blacks in legislatures of 41 states. One of these, New Jersey, has a black speaker of the assembly. He is S. Howard Woodson of Trenton.

Only four blacks hold offices elected statewide. They are Secretary of State Richard H. Austin of Michigan; Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson C. Riles of California; State Supreme Court Justice Robert N.C. Nix Jr. of Pennsylvania, and Sen. Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts.

The 1974 *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* will be available in early May. It may be ordered for \$6.00 per copy from the Joint Center for Political Studies, 1426 H Street N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Different strokes for different folks

THE FAMOUS OLD SOUTH town that brought us that tense, late 1950s saga, "Orval Faubus and the Beginning of the End of the South's Last Stand," set at Central High School, now offers for our serious contemplation an absorbing 1974 sequel: the continuing drama of the National Black Political Convention. What a difference 17 years makes in the stars and cast of productions made in Little Rock.

Between the time ol' Orval limped off into the sunset and the day the National Black Political Convention strode into the capital of Arkansas at high noon, Little Rock withstood changes that are, if not substantive, at least cosmetic. The old Central High School battleground, for example, still has a majority white (55 per cent) student body, but now the principal at the "Home of the Tigers" is black. Moreover, the city of Little Rock boasts a black vice mayor, Charles Bussey, who blushes only slightly each time he feels a warm Draft-Bussey-for-Mayor movement.

It was Bussey who welcomed the convention to Little Rock. It was he who advised the estimated 1700 delegates, alternates and observers to burn up their energies while there by brainstorming creative strategies for implementing the black agenda through political participation. It was Bussey who urged the convention to remember its adopted slogan, "unity without uniformity," even as delegates sparred over options available to them for building local power bases that command respect.

LITTLE ROCK itself is one of a growing number of southern cities which have found it expedient to accommodate to black demands for a piece of the political action. This decision to include the black perspective in local decision-making results less from altruistic motives than from a recognition that minority voting blocs have grown strong enough to cut off the nose of any politician to spite any official body with lily-white faces.

So, with a finger on the pulse of the local black electorate that it is obliged to placate, Little Rock opened its arms, if not its heart, to the black convention, and played nervous but polite host to supporters of a national effort to build a new kind of political system that would never tolerate the emergence of another Orval Faubus.

The delegates mirrored black America. They were housewives and career women; they were AFDC mothers and social workers; they were street dudes and college professors; they were elected officials and civil rights activists; they were students and octogenarians; they were people you pass on the street every day without guessing that their interest in black politics is so consuming that they would dig deep into grocery money to finance travel to and accommodations in Little Rock.

THEY WENT to judge for themselves how they could best respond wherever they live to theories on proper black political behavior in 1974 as advanced by leaders of the convention.

Author-poet Imamu Amiri Baraka of Newark, N.J.,

pulled them toward a revolutionary stance that rejects much of what is accepted practice in traditional electoral politics. Baraka, the secretary-general whose job it is to implement the policies of the convention, is a magnetic force who draws to his anti-capitalism ideology a sizeable and vocal following.

Then there is Gary (Ind.) Mayor Richard Hatcher, the top man of the National Black Political Council, which is the day-to-day operating arm of the convention. Hatcher is not persuaded that electoral politics is useless in the black struggle for power. Indeed, he has personally fought hard to enter the power councils of the Democratic party and of other organizations, such as the U.S. Conference of Mayors. And from those lofty heights he has challenged the regular political structure to reform itself. He has dragged political leaders kicking and screaming to a position where some are inclined to accept as sound a black perspective on policy issues that touch the lives of black Americans.

Hatcher encouraged delegates to view the machinery that generates political power in America and challenged them to seize a fair share of control over it before writing it off as obsolete and of no redeeming value to black people. Hatcher is also persuasive, and he, too, found a significant following.

Congressman Charles Diggs (D—Mich.) did not attend the Little Rock convention. As president of the Black Political Assembly, the between-conventions policy-making body, Diggs was one of the co-convenors of the meeting, along with Hatcher and Baraka. There were published reports that he had resigned. Diggs replied that such pre-convention assertions were premature. But he conceded that he does find that the pressures of congressional responsibilities compel him to "phase out" his duties as a leader of the black assembly.

GIVEN THE differences in their preferred methods of reaching the same goal — black political empowerment—Baraka and Hatcher were singularly successful in holding the convention together and steering it around the dangerous ego trips from which grow unhealthy cults of personality. Through sheer force of their presence, they nipped in the bud the petty bickering that typically explodes into the open at such meetings when strong leaders with their own camp followings project competing philosophies which vie for dominance over a potentially potent black movement.

The balance was all the more remarkable because the so-called nationalists and Pan-Africanists who tend to identify with Baraka appeared to be an overwhelming majority of the delegates. This is not to say that Mayor Hatcher had not strenuously pleaded with his colleagues in elective office to be present. He did! But his efforts were mostly in vain.

Most black elected officials stayed away, and it was Hatcher in a keynote speech who called some of them by name and demanded to know why they weren't there when they were needed. Yet, some black politicians less well known nationally did make the trip.

Congressional votes on important issues for blacks

Spurlock

FORTY-ONE PER CENT of the members of Congress who represent districts with large proportions of blacks supported the position of the Congressional Black Caucus on fewer than one-third of the votes on issues of importance to blacks in the 1973 session of Congress.

A study by the research department of the Joint Center for Political Studies shows that 24 of the 58 members of Congress from districts in which one-fourth or more of the residents are black supported positions taken by Black Caucus members less than one-third of the time

Roll call votes on 41 issues in the first session of the 93rd Congress (1973) were considered in the study. All of them were domestic issues considered by the Congressional Black Caucus to be of importance to blacks in America and to have presented matters of real controversy. In some cases, the votes on amendments or procedural issues were determined to be more crucial than those on final passage of a bill.

Included are such issues as continuation of legal services for the poor, minimum wage legislation; public service job program extension, and appropriations for such programs as community development and urban mass transit

THE CAUCUS voted uniformly on 38 of those votes, and had only one dissenting member on two votes and two dissents on one vote. There are 15 black members of the House of Representatives who have votes on the floor. A 16th member, District of Columbia Delegate Walter Fauntroy, has no floor vote. One of the 15 voting members, Rep. Cardiss Collins (D—Ill.), was elected in a special election in June, 1973, and was not yet in office for 15 out of the 41 votes considered in the study.

Individual Caucus members dissented from the Caucus majority less than one per cent of the time on these votes.

It should be emphasized that in most cases these votes concerned programs from which whites would benefit in greater numbers than blacks, and that the constituency supporting a position taken by the Black Caucus could be a good deal in excess of the proportion of black residents. Nevertheless, these votes involved programs from which a large proportion of blacks stood to benefit. The uniformity of Congressional Black Caucus support for them suggests strong support by black citizens.

THE LOWEST LEVEL of support for the Black Caucus position came from southern Republicans, followed by southern Democrats. For example, in the Eighth Congressional District in Tennessee, which is 47.5 per cent black, the Republican congressman supported the Caucus position on only a single vote of the 41 votes considered, opposing the Caucus position on 90 per cent of the votes.

Similarly, the Democratic congressman in the Third Congressional District in Virginia, which is 26.2 per cent black, supported the Caucus position on only a single vote. There were seven other members, all but one Republicans, who scored less than 10 per cent support of the CBC.

However, several white southern Democrats did support the Caucus position on close to 50 per cent of the votes, and in three cases on more than 50 per cent. Northern Democrats uniformly supported the Caucus position on most votes. There are no northern Republicans representing districts with over 25 per cent black population.

Because absences are taken into account in computing percentages, the proportions of opposition votes and absences should be read carefully to find the impact of a member's vote.

For example, a member may show less than 100 per cent support of the Caucus, but may never have voted

Continued on page A6

Key to the tables

The letters in the top row on each table indicate the position of the majority of members of the Congressional Black Caucus on each vote. An "N" indicates most Caucus members voted "no", a "Y" indicates they voted "yes."

The symbols next to the name of each member of Congress indicate how he or she voted in comparison to how the Congressional Black Caucus voted.

A **plus (+)** indicates that the member **voted with the Black Caucus** on a vote, or was paired in favor of the Caucus position.

A **minus (-)** indicates the member **voted against the Black Caucus position**, or was paired against it.

A **zero (0)** indicates the member was **absent** for the vote, and did not announce a pairing position.

An asterisk appears next to the names of members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Percentages for support, opposition and absences, which appear next to each member's name, do not necessarily total 100 per cent because of rounding.

The description of each vote, which appears beginning on page 6, is drawn from **Congressional Quarterly**. The code number for each vote is the number assigned by CQ.

Sources: **Congressional Quarterly**, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Research for this study was conducted by Kenneth S. Colburn, JCPS deputy director of research, and Alan E. Warrick, research assistant.

Additional copies are available for 50 cents each. (Bulk rates: 40 cents each on orders of 10 or more, 25 cents each on orders of 100 or more.)

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Votes of members of Congress from districts with more than 25 percent black population on issues important to blacks

93d Congress, Session (1973)

Congressional District Number	Congressional Representative	Percent Support of CBC	Percent Opposition to CBC	Percent Not Voting	Percent Black Population	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41			
Congressional Black Caucus						N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N			N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y			
ALABAMA																																																	
1	Jack Edwards (R)	5	88	7	32.7	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
2	William L. Dickinson (R)	5	93	2	29.8	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
3	Bill Nichols (D)	27	66	7	31.3	+	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	0	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-			
6	John Buchanan (R)	24	73	2	30.0	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	0	-	-	-	+				
7	Walter Flowers (D)	37	51	12	37.9	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-			-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	+	-	0	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+			
ARKANSAS																																																	
4	Ray Thornton (D)	71	30	0	31.3	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+			+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+			
CALIFORNIA																																																	
7	Ronald Dellums (D) *	98	0	2	25.5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+			
21	Augustus Hawkins (D) *	85	0	15	54.2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
37	Yvonne Burke (D) *	83	0	17	50.7	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0			
FLORIDA																																																	
2	Don Fuqua (D)	37	51	12	28.0	+	0	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	+	+	-	0	+	0	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+				
3	Charles E. Bennett (D)	30	71	0	26.0	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-			
GEORGIA																																																	
1	Bo Ginn (D)	49	51	0	33.6	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-			+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-			
2	Dawson Mathis (D)	20	56	24	36.8	+	+	0	+	+	+	-	-	-	-			-	-	+	+	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-			
3	Jack Brinkley (D)	27	73	0	32.0	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+				
5	Andrew Young (D) *	98	0	2	44.2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
8	W. S. Stuckey (D)	44	44	12	31.0	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-			-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	0	+	+	0	-	+	-	0	0	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+			
10	Robert Stephens (D)	51	39	10	32.8	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	0	0	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+			
ILLINOIS																																																	
1	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D) *	76	0	24	88.9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0		
2	Morgan F. Murphy (D)	90	7	2	40.0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
5	John C. Kluczynski (D)	90	2	7	31.1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	-	+	+	0	
7	Cardiss Collins (D) *	85	4	12	54.9																																												
LOUISIANA																																																	
1	F. Edward Hebert (D)	32	39	30	31.2	0	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-			-	+	0	+	-	-	0	0	0	0	+	-	0	0	0	-	-	0	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	-	-	+	0			
2	Lindy Boggs (D)	71	10	7	39.7	NOT IN OFFICE					+	+	0	0	+			+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4	Joe Waggoner, Jr. (D)	17	78	5	31.2	+	0	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
5	Otto E. Passman (D)	39	46	15	34.5	+	+	0	-	+	-	0	0	-	0			+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-			
6	John Rarick (D)	12	66	22	29.7	+	+	-	0	0	+	-	-	-	-			0	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		
8	Gillis W. Long (D)	78	17	5	36.2	-	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
MARYLAND																																																	
7	Parren J. Mitchell (D) *	100	0	0	74.0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
MICHIGAN																																																	
1	John Conyers, Jr. (D) *	73	2	24	70.0	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	
13	Charles C. Diggs (D) *	90	0	10	65.8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+		

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against the Caucus, the difference being made up by absences. "Paired" votes, in which a member announces his position along with an offsetting announcement by another member, were included in either the "support" or "opposition" category. There were very few "pairs" in the votes considered, however.

IT IS ALSO important to look beyond the overall percentages to a congressperson's stand on individual issues which the black community may feel are particularly important. For instance, vote number 25 concerned funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity; votes 19 through 22 concerned various issues in the Legal Services Program; votes 9 and 10 concerned public service employment, and votes 13, 14, 15 and 34 concerned various aspects of the minimum wage. Votes 6, 32 and 34 were unsuccessful attempts to override presidential vetoes. For the most part, where several votes on a single bill are used, they address distinct issues, such as provisions for farmworkers and youth in the minimum wage bill.

Several of the votes dealt directly with civil rights issues. These include number 18, concerning a "quota" system within the Law Enforcement Assistance Program, and number 22, which involved the authority of legal services attorneys to handle school desegregation suits. Vote number 17 involved citizen participation, again in the context of the Law Enforcement Assistance Program.

THE 58 CONGRESSIONAL districts with more than 25 per cent black population were first listed in the March, 1973, Joint Center publication, *Potential Black Voter Influence in Congressional Districts*. These 58 districts contain 50 per cent of the nation's black population, according to the 1970 census. In addition, the Joint Center published in February, 1974, facts about the 93 poorest congressional districts in a study titled *Potential Influence of Low Income Voters in Congressional Districts*. In these and many other districts, the vote of minorities and persons with modest incomes may constitute the margin of victory in close elections.

The present study comparing the votes by members of Congress with positions taken by the Congressional Black Caucus is the first of annual studies of this type to be published by the Joint Center.

Descriptions of the votes

1

8(T). HR 2107. Rural Environmental Assistance Program. Mizell (R N C) amendment to require the agriculture secretary to spend the amount allocated by the secretary for the rural environmental assistance program—\$140-million in fiscal 1973—rather than the total amount Congress had appropriated for the program—\$225-million in fiscal 1973—as provided by the committee bill. Rejected 176-217 R 151-24, D 25-193, Feb. 7, 1973. CBC Position: No.

2

13(T). HR 1975. Emergency Farm Loan Program. Bergland (D Minn.) amendment to allow farmers, eligible as of Dec. 26, 1972, in 555 counties throughout the United States designated by the Secretary of Agriculture, to apply for emergency disaster loans for an 18-day period beginning with the enactment of the bill. Adopted by recorded teller vote 196-160; R 19-139; D 177-21, Feb. 22, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

3

25(T). HR 17. Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Landgrebe (R Ind) amendment in the form of a substitute bill restricting HR 17 to a three-year extension of the existing grants program to the states for vocational rehabilitation services. Rejected by recorded teller vote 165-213 R 126-45, D 39-168, March 8, 1973. CBC Position: No.

4

27(T). HR 71. Older Americans Act. Landgrebe (R Ind) amendment, in the form of a substitute bill, to authorize \$501-million in grants for fiscal 1973-74 for states and regional programs of assistance for senior citizens and to reduce the federal share of grants for certain social services over three years, funding after fiscal 1974 was left open-ended. Rejected by recorded teller vote 168-229 R 130-48, D 38-181, March 13, 1973. CBC Position: No.

5

30. HR 2246. Public Works and Economic Development Act. Passage of the bill extending the public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 for one year, through fiscal 1974, and authorizing a total of \$12-billion, including \$800-million for public works grants, \$170-million for public works and business development loans, \$50-million for growth centers and economic development districts, and \$152.5-million for regional action planning commission programs. Passed 278-108 R 71-97, D 207-11, March 15, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

6

46. HR 3298. Rural Water-Sewer Grants. Attempt to pass over the President's April 5 veto a bill to require the secretary of agriculture to spend the entire amount appropriated by Congress each fiscal year for water and sewer grants to rural communities. Rejected (President's veto sustained) 225-189 R 24-161, D 201-28, April 10, 1973. A two-thirds majority vote (276 in this case) is needed to override a veto. CBC Position: Yes.

7

51. HR 6168. Wage-Price Controls Extension. Bolling (D Mo) motion to order the previous question, thus ending debate and preventing amendments to the resolution (H Res 357) setting rules for floor consideration of the bill (HR 6168) to direct the President to roll back prices to Jan. 10 levels. The resolution made in order the offering of another bill (HR 6879) to roll back prices to March 16 levels as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for HR 6168. Motion to order the previous question rejected 147-258 R 0-182, D 147-76, April 16, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

8

55(T). HR 6168. Wage-Price Controls Extension. Pepper (D Fla) amendment to the Widnall substitute amendment—Direct the President to roll back rents to Jan. 10, 1973, levels and allow to limit rent increases to amount of increases in state and local taxes or necessary capital improvement costs. Rejected by recorded teller vote 173-225 R 22-155, D 151-70, April 16, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

62. HR 4204. Emergency Employment Act. Madden (D Ind.) motion to order the previous question on the rule for the consideration of the bill (H Res 360), thus ending debate and the possibility of amending the rule on the program involving public service jobs. Rejected 193-209: R 15-170; D 178-39, April 18, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

64. HR 4204. Emergency Employment Act. Gross (R Iowa) motion to table the motion to reconsider the rule (H Res 360) for the consideration of the bill to extend the Emergency Employment Act for public service jobs for two years at a cost of \$4.5-billion. Motion to table agreed to 183-173: R 144-18, D 39-155. April 18, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

66(T). S 502. Federal-Aid Highway Program. Anderson amendment (D Calif.) to permit urban areas to use \$700-million in each of fiscal years 1974-76 from the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit projects or roads. Rejected by recorded teller vote 190-215: R 70-114; D 120-101, April 19, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

67. S 502. Federal-Aid Highway Program. Hanley (D N.Y.) amendment to delete a provision in the bill that allowed highway funds to be distributed directly to urban areas with a population of 400,000 or more rather than allocated by state governments. Adopted 292-93: R 161-12; D 131-81, April 19, 1973. CBC Position: No.

119 (T). HR 7935. Minimum Wage. Erlenborn (R Ill.) amendment in the form of a substitute bill to increase the hourly minimum wage for most non-farm workers under the act to \$1.90 upon enactment, then to \$2.10 in 1974 and to \$2.20 in 1975, to increase the minimum wage for farm workers to \$1.50 upon enactment, to \$1.70 in 1974, to \$1.85 in 1975 and to \$2.00 in 1976, and to permit the employment of full-time students and youth under 18 at \$1.60 (\$1.30 if farm labor) or 80 per cent of the applicable minimum wage, whichever is higher, for a 180-day period. Rejected by recorded teller vote 199-218: R 149-37, D 50-181, June 6, 1973. CBC Position: No.

122(T). HR 7935. Minimum Wage. Erlenborn (R Ill.) substitute for Taft (R Calif.) amendment to set hourly minimum wage for farm workers covered under the Fair Labor Standards Act at \$1.50 upon enactment, \$1.70 in the second year, \$1.85 in the third year and \$2.00 in the fourth year. Rejected by recorded teller vote 195-224: R 133-51; D 62-173, June 6, 1973. CBC Position: No.

127(T). HR 7935. Minimum Wage. Anderson (R Ill.) amendment to permit employers to hire youths under 18 or full-time students at \$1.60 an hour (\$1.30 for agricultural labor) or 80 per cent of the applicable adult minimum wage (whichever is higher), for a period not to exceed 20 work weeks. Rejected by recorded teller vote 199-215: R 160-24; D 39-191, June 6, 1973. CBC Position: No.

147. HR 77. Legal Services Trust Funds. Passage of the bill to amend the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds to defray costs of legal services for employees, their families and dependents. Passed 257-149: R 69-110; D 188-39. June 12, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

160(T). HR 8152. Law Enforcement Assistance. Keating (R Ohio) amendment to make optional rather than mandatory the inclusion of representatives of citizen, professional and community organizations in state and regional criminal justice and law enforcement planning units. Adopted by recorded teller vote 227-162: R 164-11; D 63-151, June 18, 1973. CBC Position: No.

161(T). HR 8152. Law Enforcement Assistance. Flowers (D Ala.) amendment to state that no part of the bill should be interpreted to require a grant recipient to adopt a quota or other system to achieve racial balance or to deny or terminate a grant because a recipient refused to adopt a quota or other such system for this purpose. Adopted by recorded teller vote 231-161: R 139-35, D 92-126, June 18, 1972. CBC Position: No.

178(T). HR 7824. Legal Services Corporation. Quie (R Minn.) amendment extending restrictions on lobbying by poverty lawyers working in the legal services program to include efforts to influence administrative decisions by federal, state or local government agencies. Adopted by recorded teller vote 200-181: R 133-37; D 67-144, June 21, 1973. CBC Position: No.

179(T). HR 7824. Legal Services Corporation. Quie (R Minn.) amendment to limit further the partisan and nonpartisan political activities of lawyers receiving more than half of their income from legal assistance activities. Adopted by recorded teller vote 207-171: R 148-18; D 59-153, June 21, 1973. CBC Position: No.

180(T). HR 7824. Legal Services Corporation. Mizell (R N.C.) amendment to prohibit the Legal Services Corporation from participating in any proceeding or litigation relating to the desegregation of schools. Adopted by recorded teller vote 221-150: R 121-43, D 100-107, June 21, 1973. CBC Position: No.

181(T). HR 7824. Legal Services Corporation. Green (D Ore.) amendment to prevent the corporation from funding legal research backup centers that specialized in problems affecting the poor. Adopted by recorded teller vote 233-139: R 138-26, D 95-113, June 21, 1973. CBC Position: No.

189(T). HR 8825. HUD, Space, Veterans Appropriations, Fiscal 1974. Hanna (D Calif.) amendment to increase funds in the bill for community comprehensive planning grants to \$100,000,000 from \$25,000,000. Rejected by recorded teller vote 168-184: R 39-117, D 129-67, June 22, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

190(T). HR 8825. HUD, Space, Veterans Appropriations, Fiscal 1974. Giampo (D Conn.) amendment to increase funds in the bill for urban renewal programs to \$1-billion from \$600-million. Rejected by recorded teller vote 106-241: R 5-149; D 101-92, June 22, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

203(T). HR 8877. Labor, HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1974. Baker (R Tenn.) amendment to the Michel (R Ill.) amendment to reduce appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity by \$192,500,000, to \$141,300,000. Rejected by recorded teller vote 110-288: R 90-90; D 20-198, June 26, 1973. CBC Position: No.

26

204(T). HR 8877. Labor, HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1974. Michel (R Ill.) amendment to reduce appropriations for 26 programs covered by the bill by a total of \$631,624,000. Rejected by recorded teller vote 186-213. R 156-26; D 30-187, June 26, 1973. CBC Position: No

27

205(T). HR 8877. Labor, HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1974. Roybal (D Calif.) amendment to provide an additional \$15-million, to \$60-million, for bilingual education programs. Rejected by recorded teller vote 161-244. R 37-150; D 124-94, June 26, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

28

224(T). HR 8410. Debt Limit Extension. Mills (D Ark.) motion that the House concur with an amendment to a Senate amendment to the bill to extend the temporary \$465-billion federal debt ceiling to Nov. 30, 1973. The motion would have had the effect of accepting Senate amendments to provide a 5.6 per cent Social Security benefit increase in April 1974, to increase federal Supplemental Security Income (SSI) payments starting in January 1974 and to allow states to continue extended federal-state unemployment benefits even though their unemployment rates had not risen by 20 per cent in two years, as required by an existing law. Motion rejected by recorded teller vote 185-190. R 9-161, D 176-29, June 29, 1973. CBC Position: Yes

29

251(T). HR 8860. Farm Program Extension. Dickinson (R Ala.) amendment to Foley (D Wash.) substitute amendment to prohibit the issuance of food stamps to strikers and their families. Adopted by a recorded teller vote 213-203. R 160-25, D 53-178, July 19, 1973. CBC Position: No

30

260(T). HR 8538. Public Broadcasting. Clay (D Mo.) amendment to the committee amendment, to withhold grants for construction of new facilities until the potential recipient is found to be in compliance with laws prohibiting discrimination in employment practices. Rejected by recorded teller vote 189-190. R 63-111, D 126-79, July 20, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

31

315. H J Res 512. Insured Housing Loans. Widnall (R N J.) motion to recommit to conference the bill to extend through June 30, 1974, the authority of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to insure loans and mortgages and to halt the Nixon administration Jan. 8 moratorium on new commitments under federal housing subsidy programs. Agreed to 202-172. R 161-14, D 41-158, Sept. 5, 1973. CBC Position: No

32

328. S 504. Emergency Medical Services. Attempt to pass over President Nixon's Aug. 1 veto a bill to authorize \$185-million in fiscal 1974-76 for federal assistance to area emergency medical care systems and to prohibit the secretary of health, education and welfare from closing eight Public Health Service hospitals without specific authorization from Congress. Veto sustained 273-144. R 46-138; D 227-6, Sept. 12, 1973. A two-thirds majority vote (278 in this case) is needed to override a veto. CBC Position: Yes.

33

333(T). HR 9639. School Lunch. Quire (R Minn.) amendment to retain the basic existing federal payment of eight cents for each meal served under the national school lunch program. Rejected by recorded teller vote 127-272. R 112-65; D 15-207, Sept. 13, 1973. CBC Position: No

34

341. HR 7935. Minimum Wage. Attempt to pass over the President's Sept. 6 veto a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act. Veto sustained 259-164. R 51-135; D 208-29, Sept. 19, 1973. A two-thirds vote majority vote (282 in this case) is required to override a Presidential veto. CBC Position: Yes

35

366. HR 6452. Urban Mass Transit. Second vote on the Wylie (R Ohio) amendment to delete from the bill the provision to authorize \$800-million for fiscal 1974-75 for grants to state and local agencies for urban mass transportation operating subsidies requested by Patman (D Tex.). Rejected 205-210. R 148-35, D 57-175, Oct. 3, 1973. CBC Position: No.

36

367. HR 6452. Urban Mass Transit. Passage of the bill to authorize \$800-million for fiscal 1974-75 grants to state and local agencies for urban mass transit operating subsidies and to increase the federal share of assistance for mass transit capital grant programs. Passed 219-195. R 41-142; D 178-53, Oct. 3, 1973. CBC Position: Yes

37

377(T). HR 9682. D.C. Home Rule. Nelsen (R Minn.) substitute amendment to the committee substitute amendment that would provide for an elected eight-member city council but continue presidential appointment of the mayor instead of a 13-member elected council and an elected mayor. Rejected by recorded teller vote 144-273. R 105-80; D 39-193, Oct. 10, 1973. CBC Position: No

38

441(T). HR 11010. Manpower Development. Hawkins (D Calif.) amendment to increase fiscal 1975 funds earmarked in the bill for the public employment program to \$1-billion from \$500-million. Rejected by recorded teller vote 107-292. R 6-177, D 101-115, Nov. 28, 1973. CBC Position: Yes

39

458. HR 8877. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1974. Flood (D Pa.) motion that the House agree to an amendment reported in technical disagreement that would allow the President to impound up to \$400,000,000 of the total amount provided in the bill. Motion agreed to 263-140. R 162-18, D 101-122, Dec. 5, 1973. CBC Position: No

40

465(T). HR 7130. Budget Reform. Mallary (R Vt.) amendment to make the bill's impoundment control provisions effective on Oct. 1, 1975—the date that the budget control provisions would be implemented—rather than upon enactment. Rejected by recorded teller vote 185-221. R 175-4, D 10-217, Dec. 5, 1973. CBC Position: No

41

497(T). HR 11450. National Energy Emergency Act. Murphy (D N.Y.) amendment to the pending Staggers (D W Va.) substitute amendment to authorize federal incentives to promote the use of public transportation and federal subsidies to maintain or reduce existing fares and additional expenses incurred because of increased service. Adopted by recorded teller vote 197-184. R 40-130; D 157-54, Dec. 14, 1973. CBC Position: Yes.

Other than Hatcher, the nationally known elected officials at the convention included Congressmen Ron Dellums and John Conyers, and Mayors Maynard H. Jackson of Atlanta and A.J. (Jay) Cooper of Prichard, Alabama.

Other elected blacks seen moving among the delegations included Tennessee State Rep. Harper Brewer, Jr.; Wisconsin State Rep. Lloyd Barbee; Oklahoma State Rep. Hannah Atkins; Pennsylvania State Reps. David Richardson and Charles Hammock; Little Rock Vice Mayor Charles Bussey and Mayor Ellen Craig of Urbancrest, Ohio.

THERE WAS the suggestion that the political superstars, most of whom said they were not invited, failed to attend out of fear they would be associated with convention policy statements they could not live with back home. This conjecture, right or wrong, was largely accepted by delegates as fact, though the rationale failed to halt the grumbling among delegates who felt betrayed by the elected leaders' absences.

ALMOST THE total emphasis of the convention was placed on informational workshops that ran concurrently at Central High School. Leaders of the talk sessions held fast to the convention theme of organizing on the local level for political power.

Delegates, some of whom indicated clear displeasure with the time consumed by the few speeches that were offered, generally agreed that the workshops were meaningful, much more so than the rhetoric that stirs men's souls but seldom succeeds at stimulating the will to act. The thrust of the convention, with its accent on workshops, was clearly aimed at charting courses for future action. Thus, its very nature defies immediate efforts to evaluate its success or failure in Little Rock.

WHAT WILL most likely determine the convention's ultimate impact will be the performance of delegates in their respective communities when, and if, they attempt to translate workshop lectures into sustained and effective local political action. The tests will come early. Major primaries, runoffs, referendums and general elections to fill national and state offices are scheduled throughout this year. And in cities and counties across the nation with large black populations, the year 1975 will bring with it a host of municipal elections to fill offices that hit black Americans where they live — mayors, councilpersons, county commissioners, sheriffs, tax assessors, judges, constables, and the like.

It is not clear, however, that the majority of delegates agree on what constitutes good black politics in 1974. A vocal segment, represented by Owusu Sadaukai of North Carolina, insists that direct confrontation, made popular during the civil rights struggles of the 60s, is valid as a grassroots politics. It is politics, they say, for local assemblies to support boycotts, to join picket lines, to help tenants with rent strikes.

Among this group, the black elected official is regarded no less warily than his white counterpart.

Protest gadfly Charles Kenyatta of New York dramatized this suspiciousness at Little Rock when he bolted from his seat and hoisted a sign in the face of Mayor Maynard H. Jackson just as the Atlanta chief executive began his keynote address at the opening session. "Can black mayors stop police brutality?" demanded the sign. "Can black mayors feed the hungry?" it asked.

Not intimidated, Mayor Jackson, representing the belief that regular political systems can be made responsive through an intelligent use of coalitions and of power, moved smoothly into his speech which raised challenges of its own. Jackson urged the formation of local strategies to seize political influence for blacks and other minorities. In his view, grassroots political development must be the prelude to any serious effort to liberate anything or anybody nationally.

Even Congressman Ron Dellums, a clear favorite of the delegates, urged the forging of alliances with others in pursuing the black political agenda. While lashing out vigorously at an American political system that exalts material things over people and over morality, Dellums also recommended that blacks erect dams to slow the flow of business as usual in national politics by using what he calls Operation MOREN — an acronym for "mobilize, organize, re-educate, enlighten, and nationalize" black people.

IT IS DIFFICULT to resist the argument, advanced by some, especially journalists, at the convention, that the presence of the few political pros who did show up influenced the convention to avoid the kinds of actions that, presumably, some black elected officials had feared. The 10 resolutions that came before delegates included little that could be viewed as controversial, much less radical.

Delegates killed outright one resolution calling for the establishment of an independent black political party, on the ground that local organizing would first have to succeed in providing a base upon which a national structure would have to stand. And a resolution condemning congressmen who voted emergency financial aid to Israel during its post-war conflict with the Arab world was considerably more moderate than the one an eastern delegation lobbied for. Other resolutions dealt with such things as home rule for the District of Columbia, a multi-million dollar war chest to develop National Black Political Assembly programs, and the like.

In the months ahead, the National Black Political Assembly will probably face pressure to adopt an ideological stance and a method of operation which will attract broad segments of the black community. For, as Maynard Jackson asserted with characteristic bluntness in response to a question at a news conference following his speech, "Anyone who thinks he can effectively build a black political organization without the active participation and involvement of black elected officials has another think coming."

John H. Britton

Lead poisoning: still a problem

"PLUMBISM" is the word medical people use to describe too much lead in the body. Mothers call it lead paint poisoning. It is an insidious disease that has killed hundreds of children each year and injured thousands more. Since 1971, a federally-supported program authorized by the Lead Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act has begun to combat the hazards and to provide relief for children who are lead sick.

Children suffer from the poisoning caused by lead because they swallow peeling paint chips and pieces of plaster fallen from the walls of homes that are badly in need of repair. Removal of lead in paint is a sure way to prevent the disease.

Dupont Paint Company admitted in 1972 that some household paints are already produced with no lead additives. But other industry spokesmen opposed federal legislation introduced in January, 1972 by Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D—Mass.) to require manufacturers to reduce the content of lead in interior household paint to six-hundredths of one per cent by January, 1975. The industry insists there is no need for such strict measures to protect our children. Paint used in homes built before World War II contained as much as 50 to 60 per cent lead. Those inner-city homes are now mostly dilapidated, with black and Puerto Rican families virtually locked in with no hope for escape. Most paints produced today for homes are required to have no more than one-half of one percent lead. Paint producers claim they don't know of any case where these modern paints have caused children to die. That is their reason for opposing legislation requiring stricter limits on the lead content of paint.

BUT, IF IT IS technically possible to reduce the lead in today's paints even below current industry levels, why shouldn't we market only paint which safeguards our children's health? Who is ready to sacrifice a child to 0.5 percent lead in paint to demonstrate to the industry that even today's products may be hazardous?

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) last January produced a report for Congress on lead based paint poisoning, two years after it was due.

Recommendations proposed in that report call for increased public and private resources to battle the lead poisoning problem. And HUD "... hopes that the need for an independent federal assistance program would diminish in the near future." In other words, HUD wants to kill the fledgling Lead Based Paint Poisoning Program authorized by federal law in 1971. The reasons are not new ones. The existing federal lead poisoning program is a mandate from the Congress for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and HUD to deal with the problem. If this categorical program didn't exist, the administration could ignore the plights of lead poisoned children.

We would all hope, as HUD does, that the need for such a program will soon diminish. But, as long as lead

poisoning causes 400,000 children each year to get sick and to suffer brain damage, cerebral palsy, blindness, behavioral disorders, kidney disease; and as long as lead poisoning kills infants and children, the Lead Based Paint Poisoning Act will be needed.

CONGRESS PASSED the first legislation in this area in 1970. That bill became Public Law 91-695 on January 13, 1971. About 60 cities asked HEW for help. Forty cities received grants from HEW that year to begin searching for lead sick children and to begin referring them for treatment. Doctors found the more they looked, the more children they found. After amendments to that law were introduced in the Senate in 1972 by Senator Kennedy, Congress learned that more money was needed because not only were inner city youngsters suffering from this disease, but lead poisoned victims were found in rural homes, suburban communities and in small towns all across the United States. New legislation signed into law on November 9, 1973, Public Law 93-151, authorizes \$126 million over a two-year period to continue the federal battle against childhood lead poisoning through June, 1975.

AN AUTHORIZATION of \$126 million sounds encouraging until it is realized that HEW is currently using only \$7.5 million to tackle the lead problem, because Congress only appropriated \$12 million for lead programs this year, and the administration impounded \$4.5 million of that.

Of the \$126 million authorized last November, HEW can legally obtain as much as \$63 million for fiscal year 1974, and \$63 million for fiscal year 1975. Parents, teachers, health workers, and even school children have a self-interest in determining if Congress provides all the money the law allows to fight this problem. Witnesses appearing before the Senate Health Subcommittee testified that the federal program has helped to identify children who are lead sick and who may have been undetected otherwise. But, even after treatment, these youngsters are sent home to the same conditions that caused the disease in the first place. A study in Milwaukee has shown that more than a third of the children in an inner-city area had lead poisoning in some degree.

Appropriations committees in both Houses of the Congress are responsible for allotting money to enable HEW to continue with treatment programs and to get HUD started on programs that will remove the lead hazard from the walls of the children's homes. No money has ever been appropriated for elimination of the lead hazards in the homes.

Bob Bates

Mr. Bates is legislative assistant to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D—Mass.).

Telescope

Black mayor wins office, loses job

FOR REGINALD H. MASSEY, the cost of winning election as mayor of East Spencer, N.C., was his job.

Last fall, Massey, who is 27, graduated from Livingston College in nearby Salisbury, N.C., and took a job as a salesman for a Salisbury used car dealer. In the November election, he ousted the long-time incumbent white mayor, and took office on December 1. On December 17, his boss told him he was being terminated because of a drop in sales connected with the energy crisis, Massey told *Focus*.

His boss said they would rehire him when sales went back up, but he still hasn't heard from his employer even though the agency already hired a new salesman and advertised for more, Massey said.

Massey said he "wholeheartedly" believes his dismissal was related to his entry into politics. He alleges that he overheard his former boss telling a customer shortly before his firing, "There's the damn mayor of East Spencer. If he got the hell out of politics and sold more cars he'd be OK."

His job prospects have not been improved as a result of adverse newspaper publicity about some of his actions as mayor, Massey said. Hottest topic of controversy has been the firing of the former chief of police, a white, whom Massey said had refused to cooperate with the black mayor and the three black members of the six-person town council. The local newspaper, he said, tried to characterize the firing as some sort of racial retribution on the part of the blacks.

To help support his wife and two children, Massey is receiving money from other black elected officials in North Carolina through a "Massey fund," organized by Mayor Howard Lee of Chapel Hill, State Rep. Henry L. Frye and others.

Economic intimidation has also affected several blacks to whom he has offered seats on town commissions, Massey said. They have declined, saying they feared the loss of their jobs.

East Spencer's only two large commercial firms, a brick and tile factory and a farm equipment dealer, are white-owned. The town, with a population of about 2300, is more than half black. Massey said he is trying to interest some black investors in setting up black-owned businesses in East Spencer.

THE ISSUE of black economic independence and its connection to black political participation has also been brought up in an article by a Duke University professor who says that fear is the most important reason why blacks in the rural South fail to participate in electoral politics. He says that when blacks are economically dependent on whites, even in largely black counties, the blacks are more likely to shy away from political activity such as voting and running for office.

The professor, Lester M. Salamon and his associate, Stephen Van Evera of the University of California at Berkeley, studied the 29 counties in Mississippi with black population majorities, and attempted to determine why some of the counties showed high rates of black voter participation and others showed low rates.

They reported that the best explanation was a combination of economic dependence and lack of organization among blacks in the counties with low rates of political participation.

Their article appeared in the Dec., 1973 issue of *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 67, No. 4), published by the American Political Science Association.

Black vote decisive in House race

BLACK VOTERS provided an apparently decisive margin of victory to Thomas Luken in a special congressional election in Cincinnati, according to figures prepared by Kenneth Colburn of the research office of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Luken, a Democrat, was elected in the usually heavily Republican First Congressional District by a margin of 4,114 votes. Of the 55,171 votes cast for Luken, roughly 17,000, or 31 per cent, were cast by voters in virtually all-black precincts.

The March 5 special election was heralded as a sample of public opinion on Watergate, because the Democratic victor had made it one of his top issues. The district previously voted Democratic only three times in this century, and is home of Republican Sen. Robert A. Taft, Jr.

About 45 per cent of black registered voters turned out to vote, a little higher than the expected turnout. Black Congressman Andrew Young (D—Ga.) and other black leaders helped campaign for a black turnout. Of the blacks who voted, about 92 per cent cast ballots for Luken. If the black vote had been split evenly between Luken and his Republican opponent, Willis D. Gradison Jr., Luken would have lost by 13,000 votes.

Black women take party posts

Black women have taken high posts in the Democratic party in two states. In California, Mary Widener moved from vice chairperson to chairperson of the party's committee for the northern half of the state when the former chairman resigned to run for Congress. She is director of a housing rehabilitation program in Oakland, and wife of Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener. In Illinois, Anna Wall Scott, a college

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instructor from Urbana, scored an upset victory in popular balloting for the Democratic State Central Committee in the 21st District. She is the first woman elected to the state committee.

End-run by whites leads to oblivion

MOST WHITE INCUMBENTS in Sumter County, Alabama, apparently tried to make an end-run around the chairperson of the county's Democratic party by filing petitions to get on the party primary ballot with the local probate judge, who is white, instead of the party chairperson, a black woman.

As a result, the whites were ruled off the May 7 primary ballot for failure to file properly.

This leaves black candidates unopposed in the primary for two out of the three county commission seats and two out of the five board of education posts. One black is already a member of the board of education, so blacks stand a good chance of forming a majority on both boards.

The incumbent county commission chairman and the incumbent sheriff were the only whites who filed properly.

The county, which lies on the Mississippi border about 120 miles north of Mobile, is about 70 per cent black, but blacks make up only 55 per cent of the registered voters. The county government has

traditionally been mostly white because of low black voter turnout.

Apparently the only hope left for the whites who were left off the Democratic ballot is to qualify as independents in the November general election and hope that blacks stay home on election day.

According to state party chairman Robert Vance, blacks took a majority of the county party committee two years ago, despite a last-ditch effort by whites to re-appoint themselves without holding elections.

Vance said he did not think there would be a serious effort by whites to discourage black voting in November. "There is now enough self-assurance in the black community that they wouldn't tolerate it. Also, there are white politicians in the county who are interested in working out accommodations rather than having confrontations," Vance said.

JCPS to publish budget guide

The Joint Center for Political Studies will soon publish a guide to preparation of municipal budgets, designed to help elected officials with little expertise in this area. The guide is being prepared by Jesse Burkhead, Maxwell professor of economics at Syracuse University, and an associate, Paul A. Bringewatt. It is expected to be available by late April.

FOCUS

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