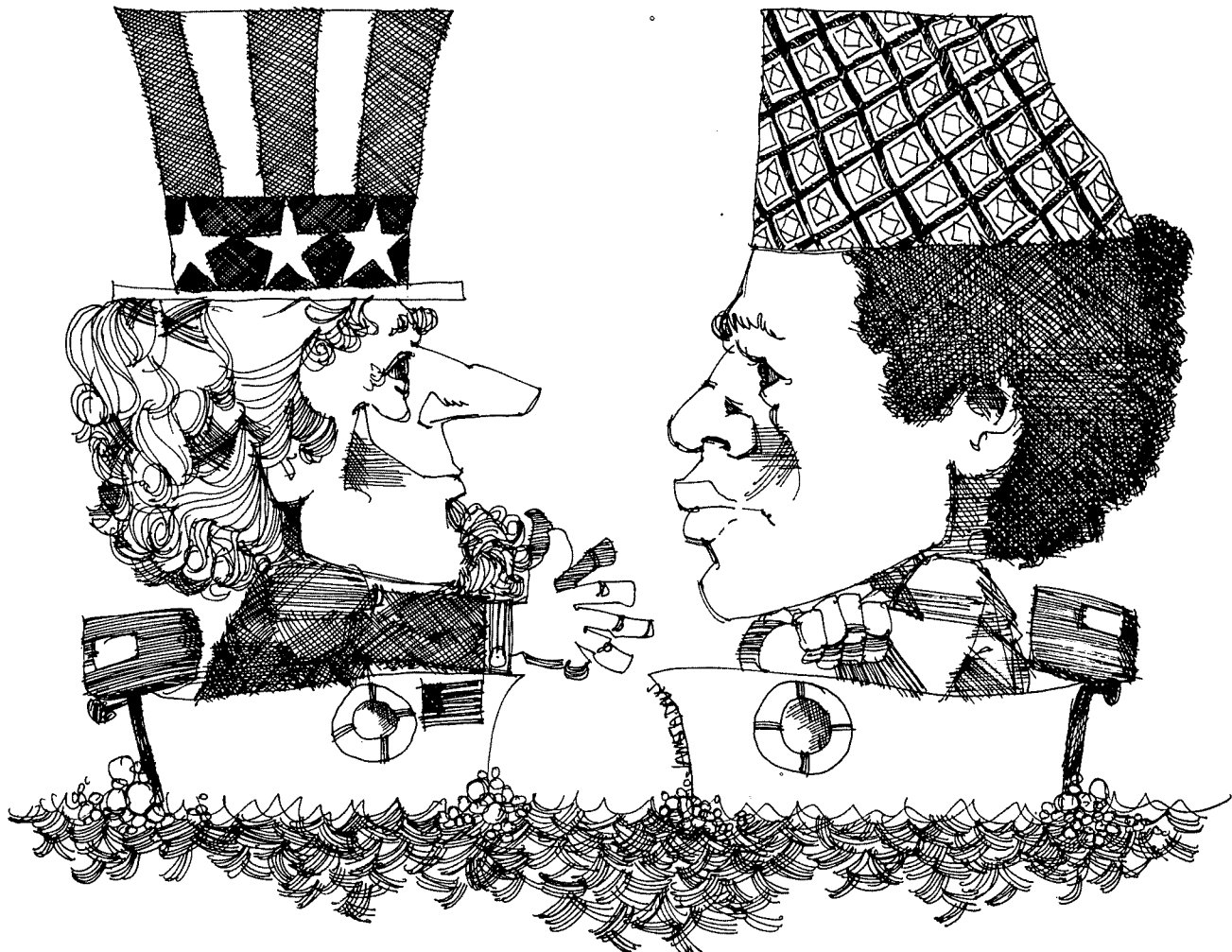


FOCUS

U. S.-THIRD WORLD RELATIONS IN TRANSITION



Perspective

April 1, 1977 was April Fool's Day — hardly the proper day for an historic event. But at the Joint Center for Political Studies, history was being made. For one thing, JCPS began its eighth year of operations as the nation's "expert" or "think-tank" on black political participation. Also on April 1, we began our first year of independence from Howard University as an incorporated, non-profit organization. This new status is the fulfillment of a dream long held by the founders of the Joint Center.

No formal celebrations marked these special moments in the life of the Joint Center, but here and elsewhere there was a quiet reaffirmation of the belief that the Joint Center is an idea whose time is at hand.

The Joint Center was not even a gleam in anyone's eye in the 1960s when the confluence of three important events changed the major thrust of the civil rights movement from protest to politics. In 1965 the passage of the Voting Rights Act opened new vistas for black political participation in the South and spurred use of the political process elsewhere. In 1967 blacks, for the first time in the nation's history, were elected chief executives of major cities: Richard G. Hatcher as mayor of Gary, Indiana, and Carl Stokes as mayor of Cleveland, Ohio. And finally, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 led to the demise of the successful protest movement.

With these three developments, particularly with King's death, the black community inherited a political legacy which was turned into the new cutting edge of the civil rights movement. This new thrust was the logical outgrowth of the period of protest. There were widespread perceptions at the time that many civil rights goals had been achieved, that laws had been dropped, or enacted, or amended, to abolish legalized segregation. It seemed logical that what was needed was not so much new legislation, as the effective implementation of existing laws. And in a democracy politics is the means of implementation.

It was in this context that black politicians (there were less than 300 in 1965 and less than 1,000 in 1968) and scholars, headed by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, then president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC), called for the creation of a non-partisan resource center to

provide research, training, and technical assistance for the growing number of black elected public officials. They also foresaw the need to encourage greater minority interest and participation in all aspects of the political process. In 1969, Clark, assisted by the late Attorney Frank D. Reeves, conceptualized and drew up the blueprint for such a resource center.

With a two-year pilot grant from the Ford Foundation, the Joint Center for Political Studies opened its doors in April 1970, cosponsored by MARC and Howard University. Frank Reeves served as the Center's chief executive officer from its creation until the spring of 1972.

Established as a legal entity of Howard University, the Joint Center embarked on its unique mission. The Joint Center explained its mission in the following terms: "The times dictate that we be a clearinghouse for information on minority involvement in the political process. Our own pride dictates that we be a center of excellence — an organization whose ability is unquestioned and whose credibility is beyond reproach."

And so, after seven years, during which time the number of black elected officials has quadrupled and political participation has become the new password in the black community, the Joint Center begins another year — this time as a completely independent organization.

At the Joint Center we have always had one compelling notion — to use the resources at hand and the leverage of the institution we are building to advance the influence of blacks and other minorities in the political arena.

On April 1, the Joint Center reaffirmed its commitment to play an ever increasing role in this endeavor. The challenge of being on our own offers new opportunities and new challenges. Now, more even than at the beginning, we need the support of our constituents, our financial contributors, and our other friends.

We have come far in the last seven years. None of us can afford to slow down now.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Electoral reform

The following remarks were excerpted from a March 26 speech delivered to the Florida State Action Council by Joint Center President Eddie N. Williams.

"As soon as blacks learn how to play the game, whites change the rules." This widely held belief among blacks provides a significant commentary on justice and equality in America. It is ironic that President Carter, who won the presidency on the strength of black votes, may be giving this belief renewed credence by his proposal to abolish the electoral college and to substitute in its place direct, popular election of the President.

Direct, popular election is consistent with our democratic principles, including the one person - one vote concept. But, from a pragmatic point of view, such a system might alter significantly the political power balance in this country in unintended and undesirable ways. If so, who would be the winners, who the losers?

There is serious concern, among some students of minority voting patterns, that a system of direct, popular election might dilute the black vote. For blacks, this possibility represents a threat to the political leverage they have so recently acquired.

Blacks derive their political leverage from a combination of characteristics: they are ten percent of the electorate; they have historically tended to vote as a bloc; and they are strategically concentrated in the metropolitan areas of key states with large numbers of electoral votes. In the 1976 presidential election this strategic concentration appears to have allowed black voters a certain advantage. And it is this advantage that could be lost under the proposed abolition of the system.

In 1976 the black vote provided Jimmy Carter with the crucial margin of victory in 13 states. The combined electoral vote in those 13 states was 216 — only 54 short of the 270 electoral votes Carter needed to capture the presidency. (See Nov. 1976 FOCUS).

The Present System

Under the electoral college system voters do not vote directly for President, but for electors belonging to the party of the presidential nominee, who in turn cast their vote for President.

Each state has as many electors as it has senators and representatives. The presidential candidate who receives the largest number of popular votes in a state receives all that state's electoral votes and the candidate with a majority of the nationwide electoral vote becomes President.

Efforts to reform or abolish the electoral college came to a head after the 1968 presidential election when third party presidential candidate George Wallace garnered the support of 46 electors who pledged to vote for him or for whomever he directed them to vote for.

Had neither of the two major party candidates received a majority of the electoral vote, Wallace would have been in a position to bargain his electoral votes to either candidate in exchange for certain favors.

Carter's Reform Message

On March 22, 1977, President Carter sent to Congress his "comprehensive election reform message" which included a call for universal voter registration and approval

of a constitutional amendment for direct, popular election of the President and Vice President.

In his message, President Carter said "Adoption of these recommendations would help to curb the influence of special interests in election to federal office."

Philosophically, there is little in that statement to disagree with. But we need to examine the effect of the President's far-reaching proposals, especially since historically the black population and the black vote have been viewed as one of a number of "special interests" in this country. Do we want our influence curbed? Would the President's recommendation curb that influence? These are hard questions. Some people have strong views on both sides.

For example, the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, headed by Senator Birch Bayh, who has perennially proposed legislation to abolish the electoral college system, has produced studies which attempt to show that blacks are not likely to be adversely affected by a system of direct elections. On the other hand, a 1970 Brookings Institution study suggested that blacks, Jews, and other minorities stood to lose substantially if the present system were replaced by direct elections.

Questions to be Answered

On the surface the Carter plan appears to offer three attractions; to simplify the electoral process; to remove the possibility of an inconclusive election or a situation in which the popular vote can be negated by peculiarities of the electoral college; and to give equal weight to all votes.

However, the proposed reform raises several serious questions to which clear answers must be found. Some of these questions, now being examined by the Joint Center for Political Studies, are:

- Is there a role for the state, as an entity, in the presidential election process? Is it desirable to shift entirely to a concern with winning the popular vote nationally rather than with winning majorities within states?
- To what extent will popular presidential elections move us toward a greater degree of regional or big state presidential politics? Would this be a desirable development?
- What kind of impact will the proposed reform have on the future of the two party system? Would it discourage third party bids when there is no longer the possibility of using electoral votes as bargaining chips, and thereby strengthen the two-party system? Or, alternatively, would it invite "spoilers" or non-serious candidates to seek enough regional or national votes to force a run-off election?
- Would direct election encourage or discourage the creation of a black political movement either as a serious third force or as a strategic attempt to make the major parties more responsive?

Clearly, we do not know enough at present about the implication of the reform being proposed. As newcomers on the political block, blacks have too much at stake to gamble on the unknown. Support for such a change should be based on nothing less than conclusive evidence that the advantages of the proposed reform far outweigh its disadvantages.

U.S.-Third World relations in transition

by Francis A. Kornegay, Jr.

Mr. Kornegay is co-editor and producer of the Habari Telephonic Information/News service on African Affairs, part-time staff consultant to Rep. Charles Diggs (D Mich.), and co-author of American-Southern African Relations. Bibliographic Essays.

Contrary to early speculations that President Jimmy Carter would focus attention on internal domestic priorities, the new administration has become rapidly involved in foreign policy on a wide variety of international fronts. This situation undoubtedly reflects the already complex interdependence between American domestic and international concerns, and the pressure of events in the Mideast, southern Africa, in trilateral relations (with Western Europe and Japan), and between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In short, domestic and foreign policies can no longer be neatly divided.

One area in particular that stands to receive greater emphasis under the new administration is the problem of U.S. relations with a diverse Third World of non-aligned developing nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. During the presidential primaries, candidate Carter noted with regard to the developing countries that "we have either ignored them or treated them as pawns in a big power chess game" and that this "attitude of neglect and disrespect toward the developing nations of the world is predicated in part on a sense of superiority towards others — a form of racism." Indeed this attitude, coupled with the runaway zeal of the anti-Communist crusade, resulted in the tragedy of U.S. involvement in Indochina. And this same attitude of neglect and misplaced zeal resulted in discredited actions in Chile and Angola, even as we disengaged from southeast Asia.

The Carter administration promises to reverse this pattern of Third World relations, and in part, the success of its foreign policy will be judged on this basis. In this regard, Africa will play a key role. In fact, the Carter administration has already been faced with difficult choices in Uganda regarding the actions of Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, and in Zaire which continues to have troubled relations with Angola.

By urging Congress to finally repeal the Byrd Amendment on Rhodesian chrome, and by appointing former Rep. Andrew Young as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, President Carter has gotten off to an early good start in relations with Africa. However, for the remainder of this year, the explosive tensions in southern and northeast Africa will demand more substantive policy choices from this administration. A review of the conflicts in these two regions of Africa is necessary to demonstrate the high stakes involved for U.S. policy towards Africa and the Third World.

Southern Africa

The avoidance of superpower — especially Soviet-American — conflict has been a traditional stated objective of U.S.-Africa policy. However, Washington's indifference to black Africa's commitment to end colonialism and white minority-rule in southern Africa has encouraged liberation groups to turn to the Soviet Union, Cuba or Communist China for political and military assistance.

Despite Portugal's rapid disengagement from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, following the military coup of April 25, 1974, in Lisbon, the U.S. failed to judge the extent to which white power in southern Africa had been discredited. That miscalculation helped to produce a massive Soviet-Cuban presence in the region — the very opposite of what the U.S. and its NATO allies desired.

The Angolan episode also severely damaged Western hopes of detente between white-ruled South Africa and much of black-ruled Africa to the north. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's frantic shuttle diplomacy in Africa during 1976 was designed to align Washington actively behind efforts to bring majority-rule to Rhodesia and Namibia through negotiations orchestrated by the frontline Presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique. According to this scenario, neutral black regimes, not too closely aligned with Moscow, would be peacefully installed in Rhodesia and Namibia.

However, the urban black rebellions that wracked South Africa in the summer of 1976, the impasse in Namibia negotiations between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's rejection of Anglo-American settlement proposals for Rhodesia, have largely undone the Kissinger initiatives. The intransigence of Smith and South African Prime Minister Vorster threatens to make the transitions to majority-rule in Rhodesia and Namibia increasingly violent and protracted. This prospect may lead to a greater dependence by African liberation groups on Soviet military aid and increase the likelihood that a regime hostile to the U.S. will eventually come to power. Given this possibility, the Carter administration and its Western allies already show signs of narrowing the focus of their attention on southern Africa to the Republic of South Africa itself, which has always served as the center of white supremacy in the region.

Increased racial unrest in the Republic plus that country's uncertain economic outlook is generating an increasingly visible alliance between international finance capital and South Africa's own white business establishment.

There is pressure being exerted from both sides to force some alteration in the Republic's apartheid system. It is felt by these groups that at least minor alterations in the apartheid system are necessary to promote political stability and economic expansion favorable to Western big business. However blacks — and even some white South Africans — are unimpressed with a widely heralded 6-point plan by American companies to improve black working conditions. And the Carter administration appears similarly unimpressed.

Meanwhile, the politics of black South African liberation groups are undergoing major realignments. The political vacuum left by the bannings of the African National Conference (ANC) and the Pan-Africanists Congress (PAC) is rapidly being filled by Kwa-Zulu Chief, Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement and by a militant but diverse black consciousness movement which includes the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organization.

The administration's move to focus greater attention on South Africa in the hope of bolstering the Western position throughout southern Africa is being augmented by what appears to be a strategy of advance consultation with Africa's more visibly pro-Western heads-of-state. President Carter's meeting at the end of February with El-Hadj Omar Bongo, the conservative President of mineral and oil-rich Gabon is indicative of that strategy. Bongo will become chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) this coming July when the organization holds its annual heads-of-state summit in Libreville, the capitol city of Gabon. In 1978, the OAU chairmanship will pass to staunchly pro-American Liberian President William Tolbert. Such conservative African statesmen holding down the OAU chairmanship for the next two years certainly will not hurt the coordination of U.S. and Western efforts in Africa. This coordination of efforts is spurred by the realization that there is a growing economic stake in black-ruled Africa as the white dominated south of the continent becomes increasingly unstable. In terms of the U.S. stake, a growing number of African economies are offering expanded markets for American firms. American exports to Africa grew from \$1.3 billion in 1966 to \$4 billion in 1975. Despite debt problems, Zambia and Zaire are still regarded as fertile countries for future investments. Other investment opportunities are emerging in Gabon, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Kenya and Sudan as well as in Nigeria — the economic bonanza of black-ruled Africa.

Northeast Africa

Meanwhile, in coordination with U.S. settlement diplomacy in the Middle East, certain Arab countries — particularly Saudi Arabia — are making a strong bid to consolidate Western and conservative Arab influence in northeast Africa, which includes Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, and soon-to-be independent Djibouti. The only catch to this strategy is the existence of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Ethiopia, and a potential explosion between that country and neighboring Somalia over the decolonization of the French Territory of Afars and Issas (Djibouti) which gains its independence in June.

However, if Ethiopia were to become isolated and/or dismembered, the disruptive impact of a revolutionary leftist regime in the Horn of Africa might be neutralized. Ethiopia's hostile neighbor, Sudan, is currently giving active support to a neo-royalist Ethiopian Democratic Union, the Eritrean independence movement, and to a host of other rebel groups in northern Ethiopia.

The Nimayri regime in Sudan is under the heavy economic pull of Saudi Arabia which is also exercising persuasive financial and political power throughout the Arab Middle East. The Saudis, along with other conservative Arab regimes, contributed \$11 million to the OAU Coordinating Committee at the First Afro-Arab Summit held in Cairo in March for distribution to the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the Afars & Issas. The Saudis are also reportedly working on prying Somalia's Islamic-military regime away from its close Soviet ties.

The threat of encirclement by hostile Islamic-military regimes shows signs of encouraging Ethiopia to tighten its

links with Cuba and the Soviet Union. It is just this prospect of external intervention and superpower competition accompanied by an escalating arms race that could confront the Carter administration with a major crisis in northeast Africa.

The challenge in Africa confronting this administration is essentially that of evolving a non-aligned policy towards that continent — a policy that will benefit Africa's broad political and economic aspirations without placing the U.S. at the center of intra-African power-struggles on the pretext of countering a perceived Soviet threat. Opposing coalitions of African states have, for quite some time, been forming around many of the Continent's outstanding problems. In this context, the interests of Africa and the United States are best served by American actions which seek to harmonize rather than exacerbate African divisions such as U.S. encouragement of Nigeria's mediation effort between Angola and Zaire.

Unresolved Issues

The southern and northeast African cauldrons are by no means the only areas of critical import in African and Third World policy facing the new administration. Despite President Carter's gesture to the Third World in his choice of a black Ambassador to the U.N., the African bloc in that world body will also want to see how the U.S. begins to fulfill its financial commitment to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

There is also the question of normalizing relations with Angola, Cuba and Vietnam. Then, there is the fundamental issue of the structure of a new international economic order to enhance the stabilization of fragile Third World economies. African, Asian and Latin American countries are not likely to be overly impressed with increased economic aid from the industrial West without some meaningful restructuring of the terms of trade to make them less vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices. All of these unresolved issues, as remote as they may appear to the average U.S. citizen, nevertheless reflect a shrinking universe of global interdependence that is affecting the lives of each and everyone of us. For African-Americans in particular, this reality will demand a growing political consciousness and participation in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy.

For additional resources on African and Third World Affairs the following selected list of publications should be consulted:

Africa, monthly: African Journal, Ltd., 54 West 82nd Street, New York, New York 10024.

Africa Report, bi-monthly: African-American Institute, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York, 10017.

Current Bibliography on African Affairs, quarterly: African Bibliographic Center, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Suite 901, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Southern Africa, monthly: Southern Africa Committee, 156 5th Avenue, Room 707, New York, New York 10010.

Africa News, weekly: Africa News Service, Inc., P.O. Box 3851 Durham, N.C. 27702.

Education conference

by Dr. Peggy Brown

Dr. Brown, a senior fellow at the Joint Center, works closely with minority educational organizations concerned with various aspects of national educational policies and programs as they impact on minority children.

On March 31, 1977 over five hundred key persons involved in educational policy formation converged on Washington, DC for a "National Conference on Educational Issues that Impact on the Black Community." For three days, legislators, parents, civil rights activists and educators from 34 states shared information, set educational priorities and designed strategies for attaining educational goals of importance to minorities.

Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive director of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, coordinated the conference with 28 co-sponsoring and participating black national organizations.

Workshops in four major areas tried to assess the impact of educational policies and programs on the black community. The following areas were covered: Advocacy and Governance; Research and Development; Achievement, Testing and Curriculum; and Budgeting and Finance.

Conference Speakers

Dr. Mary Berry, assistant secretary for education, opened the conference with the observation that there was no educational issue, policy or program that did not impact upon the black community.

Dr. Bernard C. Watson of Temple University, urged conference participants to "get on with the business of developing strategies, forming coalitions, becoming advocates for enlightened and pragmatic policies, programs and structures which will enable us to determine the future of education in the black community."

Rep. Parren J. Mitchell (D Md.), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus said, "black elected officials stand embattled because of America's policy of containment, which seeks to maintain the *status quo* for blacks.

"Black mayors see their public schools grossly underfunded by state and federal governments, depriving children of the opportunity to learn to the maximum of their capacity," he said.

Dr. Charles Lyons, president of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, stressed the importance of higher education in America being sensitive to its continuing role in training and educating blacks and other minority youth. He stated: "The job is not finished. The institutions that are at present doing this job are the historically black colleges. They are producing the majority of the black recipients of the baccalaureate degree. These institutions must be preserved and enhanced because of what they have done and continue to do in the educational process."

Dr. Ronald R. Edmonds of Harvard University, shared his findings on the "search for effective schools" for poor children. He challenged the widespread myth that family background is the distinctive factor between educational achievement and failure. He noted that effective schools do exist where the students are from lower-income

families and that therefore "schools must be held responsible for teaching basic school skills to all children."

Vernon E. Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, gave the closing address of the three day conference, stressing the message of "self-reliance" while continuing to press the President and the Congress to provide resources for education. He reminded the conference participants that educational issues such as youth-jobs, and school financing are political power issues and such issues are universally resolved by the prudent use of political muscle.

Resolutions

The conference culminated in the endorsement of two resolutions. These resolutions were forwarded to Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) with copies to President Carter, commissioner of education Ernest Boyer and assistant secretary of education, Mary Berry. They urged Califano to: (1) affirm the intention of HEW to preserve and protect the integrity of black institutions of higher education and (2) be firmly guided by his statement of intent (March 18, 1977) to endorse, if necessary, preferential hiring and admission policies for minorities in the nation's colleges.

Concerns Expressed

In addition, the conferees went on record to voice the following concerns:

- That at least one of the National Institute of Education Research and Development Centers be manned by blacks and placed at one of the historically black universities while increasing the number of minorities at all centers;

- That a task force be set up together with HEW to study and monitor testing and its effect on black children;

- That the President send forward legislation to amend the Title III program strengthening developing institutions at an authorization of 300 million dollars;

- That the assistant secretary of education establish a unit within the office to address education issues of particular concern to the black community;

- That the President direct the Federal Interagency Committee on Education to study and investigate the equity of the federally funded programs that impact on the black community;

- That the President direct the National Institute of Education and the National Science Foundation to set aside no less than 10 percent of their research funds for black researchers and black colleges and universities.

The strong commitment of the conferees to stand firm and united on the concerns of the black community was evident throughout. It was this commitment which led to the formation of a group of interested participants that will meet in the near future to continue discussions on educational policy and social change.

Copies of the speeches delivered at the conference can be obtained by writing: Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive director, Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, 1401 - 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

Atlanta Congressional Election

For the first time since the turn of the century, a white candidate won a House seat previously held by a black. In an April 5 run-off election for Georgia's 5th Congressional District House seat, Atlanta City Council President Wyche Fowler, Jr. (D) defeated John Lewis (D), former head of the Voter Education Project. The seat was vacated by the appointment of former Rep. Andrew Young (D) as Ambassador to the United Nations. Complete but unofficial returns showed Fowler with 53,023 votes (62 percent) to Lewis's 32,452 votes (38 percent).

Fowler and Lewis had been the two top vote-getters among 12 candidates in a March 15 special election. Under Georgia election law, a run-off election between the two top finishers in a special election must be held if no candidate receives more than 50 percent of the vote.

First Election — In the March 15 election Fowler received 39.5 percent of the vote, Lewis 28.9 percent and Republican State Sen. Paul D. Coverdell, who is white, finished third with 21.7 percent. Ralph David Abernathy finished a distant fourth with 4.9 percent of the vote. The other eight candidates in the race divided about 5 percent of the vote among them.

Despite the proliferation of black candidates in the first election (seven of the 12 candidates were black), 72 percent of the black vote went to Lewis.

Abernathy's popularity notwithstanding, black Atlantans obviously felt that their best chance to elect a black to Congress rested in Lewis. And Andrew Young's endorsement of Lewis along with endorsements by members of the Martin Luther King family and State Sen. Julian Bond (D) served to reinforce those feelings.

However, Lewis's strong support in the black community was offset by his weak showing among white voters. He received an estimated 6 percent of their vote. The district, which extends north from Atlanta's predominately black inner city to racially mixed and white suburban communities, is 57 percent white and 43 percent black.

The overall voter turnout rate for the first election was 33 percent, with white turnout estimated at 38 percent and black turnout at 28 percent.

Run Off-Election — In the run-off election between Lewis and Fowler, Lewis was the decided underdog. Based on his showing in the first election, it seemed doubtful that Lewis could pick up the necessary white support that he would need to win. The majority of the vote received by third place finisher Coverdell in the first election was predominately white and not expected to swing to Lewis. Andrew Young had won elections in 1972, 1974 and 1976 by combining his large vote totals in the black community with at least 15 to 20 percent of the white vote.

As it turned out, Lewis received 92 percent of the black vote in the run-off but failed to receive any more support from white voters than he did in the first election. He again captured only 6 percent of the white vote.

Overall voter turnout was 38 percent in the run-off election. Black voters turned out at a rate of 35 percent while white voter turnout was estimated at 42 percent.

The membership of the Congressional Black Caucus has, for the first time, been reduced by one as a result of the Atlanta election. There are now 16 blacks serving in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Bradley Wins Re-Election

Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley easily won re-election to a second four-year term by receiving 59 percent of the votes cast in an April 5 mayoral election. Bradley soundly defeated 11 white challengers and thereby avoided having to face a run-off election.

Los Angeles law requires that a mayoral candidate must receive over 50 percent of the vote in order to avoid a second election.

Bradley's closest contender, State Sen. Alan Robbins, received less than 28 percent of the votes cast.

The black population in Los Angeles is estimated at 18 percent, making Bradley the only black mayor to control a major U.S. city with such a small percentage of blacks.

Bradley is considered one of the most popular politicians in the state of California. Political observers expect the mayor to make a bid for the U.S. Senate in 1982.

Planning for White House Conference on Families Attacked

In a biting letter to Joseph Califano, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, nine predominately black organizations castigated Califano for failing to consult with black professional organizations concerning the upcoming White House Conference on Families.

Evelyn K. Moore, executive director of the Black Child Development Institute, pointed out that black professional organizations have urged the federal government to develop and adopt a coherent family policy for many years. However, she explained, now that white academicians and journalists have "discovered" the family, the executive branch of government has undertaken the task of organizing a conference on families.

The black group felt that the real slap in the face was the appointment of Sidney Johnson as conference coordinator. They describe him as inexperienced in working with families in America and particularly with minority families. "The arrogance and insensitivity in this appointment sends a message to us that this administration, like previous administrations, believes that the black community and those who serve children and families with integrity are to be courted prior to an election and ignored thereafter," the letter stated.

The black organizations requested an urgent meeting with Secretary Califano. The organizations are: Children's Foundation, Inc.; Women's Lobby, Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc.; and the National Black Mental Health Consortium, Inc., which includes the Association of Black Psychologists, Association of Black Sociologists, Black Child Development Institute, Inc., Black Psychiatrists of America, Caucus of Black School Guidance Counselors and the National Black Nurses Association.

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JCPS Board of Governors

Attorney Samuel C. Jackson, Eddie N. Williams and Dr. Kenneth B. Clark have been named to the board of governors of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Jackson, a former undersecretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development during the Nixon administration, is currently a partner in the law firm of Stroock, Stroock and Lavan in Washington, D.C. Jackson has long been active in civil and human rights affairs.

Williams, president of the Joint Center for five years, has continued to direct the efforts of the Center in providing research and technical assistance for minority elected officials.

Clark was formerly the president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (MARC) and one of the founders of the Joint Center. He served on the board of governors from 1970 to 1975. At the present time he is president of Clark, Phipps, Clark and Harris, a New York consulting firm.

In another move, Timothy Jenkins, chairman of the Washington, D.C. based Match Institution, resigned from the board. He has served as a board member for two years in an active, productive role.

More White Families Receiving Welfare

A study by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare revealed that for the first time since 1967, more than half of the families receiving welfare assistance under the Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) program were white.

The study released April 16 showed that white families under the AFDC program made up 50.2 percent of participating families (up from 46.9 percent in 1973). Black families made up 44.3 percent (down from 45.8 percent in 1973).

The authoritative source on the black vote in the 1976 elections is now available from the Joint Center for Political Studies. A new book entitled *The Black Vote: Election '76* published by JCPS, examines black voter participation in more than 80 congressional districts, 15 senatorial races and five gubernatorial contests in the 1976 general elections. The new book also documents the impact that the black vote had on the presidential race by surveying election results from over 1,000 heavily black sample areas in 23 states. This survey included the monitoring of over one million black voters.

To obtain your copy of this valuable reference source, send \$5.00 to Publications Department, JCPS, 1426 H Street N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005. All orders for three copies or less must be accompanied by payment. On orders of three copies or more, we will send a bill upon request but postage and handling charges will be added to the bill.

Carter Food Stamp Proposal

The Carter administration has proposed sweeping changes in the nation's food stamp program, including elimination of the requirement that families purchase their stamps.

Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland told the House Agriculture Committee on April 5 that the administration's food stamp plan "is designed to tighten up the program, to eliminate or reduce benefits to households with the highest incomes, to reduce errors, and to curb the possibilities for abuse."

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