CONGRESS VOTES ON 16 ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO BLACKS*

Perspective

On March 9 the Joint Center held its first annual fund-raising dinner in Washington, D.C. The event, celebrating "A Decade of Black Political Progress," was a success both in terms of the number of tickets sold and the broad and diverse support it received. Numerous FOCUS readers were present, and, of course, we appreciate your support.

The dinner captured national attention for a number of reasons. It was timely, coming as it did about a decade after the issuance of the Kerner Commission report which warned of increasing racial polarization. But more important, as was pointed out by Roger Wilkins in the New York Times, the political arena is one of the few major areas of public life in which blacks can truly claim a significant degree of progress over the last ten years.

Speaker after speaker, including Vice President Walter Mondale, Senator Edward Brooke (R Mass.), and Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy, emphasized the importance of this progress and also stressed three other points:

- Black political participation is not only important to blacks but to the nation as a whole, and therefore, it is to be encouraged;
- Since its founding in 1970, the Joint Center for Political Studies has played a major role in helping to increase black political participation and to make the public generally aware of the extent of that participation;
- The Joint Center needs and deserves a broad base of financial support to continue its non-partisan programs in research, training and technical assistance.

As we begin our eighth year of operations, the support and inspiration from the dinner will be of great value to us in developing plans and programs for the future.

The future was very much on my mind when I concluded the dinner program with these remarks:

"The greatest inheritance of mankind is the ability to know, to understand, and to be able to influence our own destinies.

"Nowhere does this maxim have greater relevance than in the political life of a nation. And nowhere is it a greater challenge than in the struggle of blacks, and other minorities, to gain equal access to the political arena and to influence what goes on there.

"Tonight, we celebrate a decade of black political progress, which means we acknowledge that political advances have come relatively recently. We do so knowing full well all that remains to be done. But we do so as an act of faith that there will be even greater political progress and, beyond that, greater improvements in the economic condition of the disadvantaged.

"It is toward this end that the Joint Center for Political Studies was founded and it is this goal which is the motivating force behind everything that we do.

"Whether in its role as 'think tank' or as 'national resource organization', the Joint Center *must* be both a center for solid research and a well spring of practical political knowledge. The times dictate that we be a clearinghouse for information on all aspects of black political participation. Our own pride dictates that we must be a center of excellence.

"This great ecumenical gathering is not only a dramatic and welcome sign of support for the Joint Center; it is a sign that the civil rights movement is not dead. Rather, it has moved indoors into the political chambers where power reaches out to touch all of us.

"From the last century come the prophetic words of Frederick Douglass: 'Power concedes nothing without a struggle. It never has and it never will.'

"And so, for blacks and other minorities, the struggle continues — in a different form. The nation as a whole cannot afford to ignore the fact that it has a vested interest in the outcome; nor can it afford to underestimate the danger that frustration and despair may once again lead blacks and others to desert electoral politics for the streets of our cities.

"The past decade, therefore, must be viewed, only as a prologue to what all must now do — together — as partners in political progress."

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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JCPS voting study

Editor's Note: The following study was conducted by Maybelle Bennett and Ellen Scudder who are members of the JCPS research department.

Thirty-six percent of the members of Congress, who represent districts with a sizeable black population, supported the position of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) on one-fourth or fewer of selected votes on issues of importance to blacks during the first session of the 95th Congress.

A Joint Center study shows that 21 of the 59 members, who represent districts in which the black population is over 25 percent, disagreed more than they agreed with the majority position of the Caucus on 16 roll call votes taken in 1977. The votes used for the JCPS study were taken on issues considered by the Caucus to be of significance to black Americans. In some cases, the votes on amendments or procedural issues were determined to be more crucial than those on final passage of a bill.

The JCPS study included the votes of 14 of the 16 black members of the House of Representatives. There are 15 black representatives who cast votes on the House floor. District of Columbia Delegate Walter Fauntroy has no floor vote. One of the 15 members, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D Calif.) was not included in the study because he represents a district which has a black population of less than 25 percent. However, Dellums supported the majority position of the Caucus on each of the 16 roll call votes.

The Members Involved

The study involved the votes of 20 northern Democrats (including 11 Caucus members), 31 southern Democrats (including 3 Caucus members) and 8 southern Republicans. There are no northern Republicans representing Congressional Districts with over 25 percent black population.

Members of the Caucus voted unanimously on all issues except two. In each case on Caucus member voted against the consensus of the Caucus.

Support for the Caucus position among white northern Democrats ranged from 71 to 100 percent. Among white southern Democrats, support ranged from 0 to 80 percent. The lowest level of support for the Caucus position came from southern Republicans whose support scores ranged from 0 to 50 percent. Of the eight southern Republicans in the study, three did not support the Caucus on any votes and five had support scores of 50 percent or less.

Of the 28 white southern Democrats in the study, five did not support the Caucus position on any votes, 14 had a support score of less than 50 percent and nine had a support score of 50 percent or more.

The Votes Used

Votes on seven social welfare issues, two foreign policy issues and one vote each on budget priorities and tax cuts were included in the study. Other selected votes involved consumer cooperative banks, the assassinations investigation, busing and school integration, deregulation of natural gas prices and Vietnam veterans benefits. (See p. 6)

It should be noted that a majority of the selected votes concerned programs or measures that would serve to benefit whites as well as blacks. The outcome of votes on social welfare and economic issues impact on low-income citizens regardless of race.

It is also important to look beyond the overall percentage to a member's stand on individual issues which the black community may feel are particularly important. For instance, vote No. 5 concerned child nutrition programs; vote No. 8 dealt with the issue of busing and school integration; vote No. 9 concerned the existence of the Legal Services Corporation; and vote No. 10 involved the question of funds to enable inner-city residents to start cooperatives. Votes 11 and 12 had implications for the nation's food stamp program and votes 15 and 16 concerned various aspects of the minimum wage law.

Selected Examples

Several House members who represent districts which have a large black population did not support the Caucus on any of the selected votes. For example, in the Third Congressional District of Mississippi, which is 40 percent black, the Democratic representative did not support the Caucus position on any of the votes considered.

Similarly, the Republican representative in the Second Congressional District of South Carolina, which is 34 percent black, also failed to support the Caucus position.

There were four members of the Virginia Congressional delegation included in the JCPS study. Three out of the four did not support the Caucus position on any of the votes. The fourth member supported the Caucus position on only one vote.

Methodology

Ratings were computed for each member by comparing the number of votes in support or opposition to the Caucus position with the total number of votes cast. "Paired" votes, in which a member announces his position along with an off-setting announcement by another member, were included in either the support or opposition category. There were very few pairs in the votes considered.

One member, Rep. Robert Livingston (R La.) was not in office for most of the votes, so a rating was not computed for him. He was also dropped from percentage calculations, thus, the study is based on 59 members instead of 60.

The Congressional districts with more than 25 percent black population were first listed in the March 1973 Joint Center publication, "Potential Black Voter Influence in Congressional Districts." These districts contain approximately 50 percent of the nation's black population, according to the 1970 Census.

The first JCPS study comparing Congresional votes with positions taken by the Caucus appeared in the April 1974 FOCUS. This is the second such study conducted by the Joint Center.

Votes of members of Congress From Districts with more than 25 percent Black population on issues important to Blacks

95th Congress, first session (1977)

Legend

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 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.

NIO indicates the member was not in office at the time the vote was taken.

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 percent because of rounding.

The description of each vote, 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.

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
	Congressional Black Caucus					N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
	Alabama													
1	Jack Edwards (R)	0	100	0	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	William L. Dickinson (R)	7	93	6	30	-	0	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3	Bill Nichols (D)	13	88	0	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	John Buchanan (R)	50	50	0	30	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
7	Walter Flowers (D)	20	80	6	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	Arkansas													
4	Ray Thornton (D)	53	47	6	31	+	-	-	-	0	+	-	+	-
	California													
28	Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (D)*	100	0	0	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29	Augustus F. Hawkins (D)*	100	0	6	59	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31	Charles H. Wilson (D)	71	29	13	28	+	0	-	0	+	-	-	+	+
	Florida													
2	Don Fuqua (D)	38	63	0	28	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3	Charles E. Bennett (D)	25	75	0	26	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Georgia													
1	Ronald B. Ginn (D)	38	63	0	34	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2	Dawson Mathis (D)	25	75	0	37	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3	Jack Brinkley (D)	25	75	0	32	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
5	Wyche Fowler (D)	69	31	19	44	NIO	NIO	-	+	+	+	-	-	0
8	Billy Lee Evans (D)	31	69	0	31	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
10	Doug Barnard (D)	25	75	0	33	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
	Illinois													
1	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D)*	93	7	6	89	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	Morgan F. Murphy (D)	75	25	0	40	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
5	John G. Fary (D)	81	19	0	31	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
7	Cardiss Collins (D)*	92	8	25	55	+	0	+	-	+	0	0	+	+
	Louisiana													
1	Robert L. Livingston (R)	NA	NA	88	31	NIO	NIO	NIO	NIO	NIO	NIO	NIO	NIO	NI
2	Corinne C. Boggs (D)	75	25	0	40	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
4	Joe D. Waggoner, Jr.(D)	0	100	0	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Jerry Huckaby (D)	13	88	0	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	H. Hanson Moore (R)	13	88	0	30	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
8	Gillis W. Long	63	38	0	36	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	Maryland													
7	Parren Mitchell*(D)	100	0	0	74	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Michigan													
1	John Conyers, Jr. (D)*	100	0	6	70	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0
13	Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D)*	100	0	0	66	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mississippi													
1	Jamie L. Whitten (D)	25	75	0	35	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2	David R. Bowen (D)	40	60	6	46	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	0

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
	Congressional Black Caucus					N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Mississippi (cont.)																				
3	C.V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D)	0	100	0	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Thad Cochran (R)	13	88	0	43	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	Missouri																				
1	William Clay (D)*	100	0	13	54	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	New Jersey																				
10	Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D)	93	7	6	52	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	New York																				
7	Joseph P. Addabbo (D)	100	0	0	37	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12	Shirley Chisholm (D)*	100	0	0	54	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14	Frederick W. Richmond(D)	100	0	6	46	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19	Charles B. Rangel (D)*	100	0	0	59	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	Herman Badillo (D)	100	0	13	42	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+
	North Carolina																				
1	Walter B. Jones (D)	29	72	13	36	-	0	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2	L. H. Fountain (D)	25	75	0	40	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
3	Charles Whitley (D)	50	50	0	27	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
7	Charles G. Rose III (D)	79	21	13	26	0	+	-	0	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	Ohio																				
21	Louis Stokes (D)*	100	0	6	66	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Pennsylvania																				
1	Michael (Ozzie) Myers (D)	80	20	6	39	+	+	+	+	0	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2	Robert N.C. Nix (D)*	100	0	0	65	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3	Raymond F. Lederer (D)	81	19	0	28	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	South Carolina																				
1	Mendel J. Davis (D)	60	40	6	34	0	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2	Floyd Spence (R)	0	100	0	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Kenneth L. Holland (D)	50	50	25	32	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	-	0	0	+	+	+	-	-	-
6	John W. Jenrette, Jr.(D)	80	20	6	42	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	-
	Tennessee																				
8	Harold E. Ford (D)*	100	0	6	47	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Texas																				
18	Barbara C. Jordan (D)*	100	0	6	44	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
24	Dale Milford (D)	0	100	6	26	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Virginia																				
1	Paul S. Trible, Jr., (R)	0	100	0	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	David E. Satterfield III (D)	0	100	0	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Robert W. Daniel, Jr. (R)	6	94	0	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
5	H.C. (Dan) Daniel (D)	0	100	0	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Vote descriptions

Editor's Note: These 16 votes were used in the JCPS voting study. Partisan voting is broken down as follows: R-Republicans; D-Democrats; ND-Northern Democrats; SD-Southern Democrats.

1

45. **HR 3477. Stimulus Tax Cuts.** Conable (R N.Y.) motion to recommit the bill to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report it back with a substitute amendment reducing the tax rates in the lowest seven tax brackets rather than providing a $50 tax rebate and $50 payments to federal assistance recipients. Rejected 194-219: R 140-1; D 54-218 (ND 15-171; SD 39-47), March 8, 1977. CBC position: No

2

58. **HR 1746. Rhodesian Chrome Imports.** Passage of the bill to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome in order to bring the United States economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia in 1966 (the bill partially suspended the 1971 Byrd amendment, which barred the President from applying sanctions to non-Communist countries from whom the United States imported strategic materials). Passed 250-146: R 39-94; D 211-52 (ND 174-8; SD 37-44), March 14, 1977. CBC position: Yes

3

140. **H Con Res 195. Fiscal 1978 Budget Targets.** Mitchell (D Md.) substitute amendments to the Budget Committee amendment to transfer $6.5-billion in budget authority and $3.6-billion in outlays from the national defense function to functions containing domestic programs. Rejected 102-306: R 6-133; D 96-173 (ND 93-92; SD 3-81), April 27, 1977. CBC position: Yes

4

149. **H Res 465. House Select Committee on Assassinations.** Adoption of the resolution, as amended, to provide $2.5-million for the expenses of the investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Adopted 213-192: R 43-92; D 170-100 (ND 137-47; SD 33-53), April 28, 1977. CBC position: Yes

5

233. **HR 1139. Child Nutrition Programs.** Quie (R Minn.) amendment to limit the bill's authorization for any state for the summer food program to the amount needed to support the average daily participation in the program by twice the number of children between ages 5 and 17 from families currently living below the official poverty level. Rejected 180-218: R 113-19; D 67-199 (ND 26-157; SD 41-42), May 18, 1977. CBC position: No

6

255. **HR 6884. Foreign Military Aid** Ichord (D Mo.) amendment to delete a committee provision establishing a $100-million African Special Requirements Fund to aid those countries affected by the civil strife in Rhodesia. Rejected 204-208: R 125-16; D 79-192 (ND 30-157; SD 49-35), May 24, 1977. CBC position: No

7

313. **HR 7554. HUD, Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1978.** Beard (R Tenn.) amendment to withhold veterans benefits from Vietnam-era servicemen who received upgraded discharges under resident Carter's review program. Adopted 273-136: R 130-9; D 143-127 (ND 71-114; SD 71-13), June 15, 1977. CBC position: No

8

324. **HR 755. Labor/HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1978.** Mott (D Ohio) amendment to prohibit the use of federal funds for busing students beyond the schools nearest to their homes and to prevent HEW from requiring local school districts to merge, pair or cluster schools to foster integration. Adopted 225-157: R 103-22; D 122-135 (ND 66-109; SD 56-26), June 16, 1977. CBC position: No

9

355. **HR 6666. Legal Services Corporation.** Ashbrook (R Ohio) amendment to terminate the corporation on Sept. 30, 1979. Rejected 166-214: R 103-27; D 63-187 (ND 21-150; SD 42-37), June 27, 1977. CBC position: No

10

387. **HR 2777. National Consumer Cooperative Bank.** Passage of the bill to authorize $500-million in federal seed money for a bank to make loans to consumer cooperatives and $250-million for Self-Help Development Fund to help inner-city residents start cooperatives. Passed 199-198: R 30-103; D 169-90 (ND 146-32; SD 23-58), July 14, 1977. CBC position: Yes

11

432. **HR 7171. 1977 Farm-Food Bill.** Syms (R Idaho) amendment, to the committee amendment, to require that recipients pay for a portion of their food stamp allotment. Rejected 102-317: R 81-62; D 21-255 (ND 4-184; SD 17-71), July 27, 1977. CBC position: No

12

441. **HR 7171. 1977 Farm-Food Bill.** Findley (R Ill.) amendment, to the committee amendment, to permit the Agriculture Secretary to implement an unlimited number of pilot projects in which work would have to be performed in return for food stamps. Rejected 159-255: R 120-20; D 39-235 (ND 12-176; SD 27-59) July 28, 1977. CBC position: No

13

466. **HR 7555. Labor/HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1978.** Flood (D Pa.) motion to concur in a Senate-passed amendment relating to abortion with an amendment to bar the use of any funds appropriated in the bill for abortions, except where the life of the mother would be endangered by continuing the pregnancy. Motion agreed to 238-182: R 113-30; D 125-152 (ND 81-111; SD 44-41), Aug 2, 1977. CBC position: No

14

468. **HR 8444. National Energy Policy.** Brown (R Ohio) amendment to end federal controls on the price of new onshore natural gas retroactive to April 20, 1977, and on new offshore natural gas beginning April 20, 1982, and to extend the Emergency Natural Gas Act of 1977 for three years. Rejected 199-227: R 127-17; D 72-210 (ND 25-169; SD 47-41), Aug. 3, 1977. CBC position: No

15

507. **HR 3744. Minimum Wage.** Erlenborn (R Ill.) amendment to delete procedures in the bill for automatic adjustment, or "indexing," of the minimum wage and to substitute a three-step increase from the current level of $2.30 an hour to $2.65 on Jan. 1, 1978, to $2.85 on Jan. 1, 1979, and to $3.05 on Jan. 1, 1980. Adopted 223-193; R 126-15; D 97-178 (ND 30-160; SD 67-18), Sept. 15, 1977. CBC position: No

16

512. **HR 3744. Minimum Wage.** Cornell (D Wis.) amendment to permit employers to pay only 85 per cent of the minimum wage to young workers under age 18 during their first six months on a job. Rejected 210-211: R 130-12; D 80-199 (ND 33-156; SD 47-43), Sept. 15, 1977. CBC position: No

JCPS fundraising dinner

An audience of 1,200 looked on as Vice President Walter Mondale delivered the keynote address at the first annual Joint Center fundraising dinner. (See Perspective).

Leading figures in the fields of labor, business and politics paid tribute to Mervyn Dymally, lieutenant governor of California; Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Indiana; Carl Stokes, former mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; and Percy Sutton, former Manhattan borough president, for their efforts to increase the level of black voter participation during the last decade and for their role in the founding of the Joint Center.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and Reginald H. Jones, chairperson of the board of General Electric, served as co-chairpersons of the dinner. Sen. Edward Brooke (R Mass.) was the master of ceremonies.

Other participants in the program included: McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation; Coretta Scott King, president of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change; Ernest N. Morial, mayor-elect of New Orleans; and Eleanor Holmes Norton, chairperson of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

The dais included: Alan Beals, executive director of the National League of Cities; Dr. Andrew Brimmer, economist; Tyrone Brown, FCC Commissioner; William Coleman, former Secretary of Transportation; Earl Graves, editor-publisher of Black Enterprise; Lionel Hampton, musician; Jayne Brumley Ikard, chairperson of the JCPS General Dinner Committee; Rep. Parren Mitchell (D Md.), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus; Carl T. Rowan, columnist-commentator; Coleman Young, mayor of Detroit; and the JCPS board of governors.

Following are excerpts from remarks that were given during the dinner:

Vice President Walter Mondale:

"It is a privilege to join with you tonight for this great event. I can't help thinking in these surroundings of how far we have come in a short time. As Ed (Sen. Brooke) points out, there is so much further that we must go. Yet, one cannot help but be enormously impressed by the profound changes in public life that have come over this nation in the last 10 to 15 years.

"This organization, those of you at this head table and in this room, have been at the forefront of all of those fundamental reforms in American life that have been won at such great cost — sometimes at the loss of life itself — as this nation has begun to rendezvous with its conscience and place its principles and its practices on the same plane . . .

"Everyone has their favorite law, but my favorite one is the Voting Rights Act, for a simple reason. I have met a lot of dumb politicians in my life, but I never met a successful one who couldn't count.

"And people count, all of us count, if we care to, in American life today. And what is special about this Joint Center is that on a wholly bipartisan basis, with a highly skilled staff, modestly — too modestly funded — this Center perceived the enormity and potential of the developments that were underway and urged this process along by helping new political officers . . . by providing technical assistance and qualified help; by contributing in a profound way to not only the momentum but the quality of progress that has been underway. And I am enormously proud to be here tonight with you to help this effort along."

William Pollard, Director for Civil Rights, AFL-CIO:

"The Joint Center's careful monitoring of political development throughout the land and its accurate information about black political participation provides an invaluable service to the nation as a whole. Such information was crucial to millions of Americans in the 1976 election. It enabled black and labor political education committees to deploy their resources and concentrate their efforts far more effectively than would otherwise have been possible. But, as we realize, victory in one election is never enough. All of us must be active, in every election, in order to preserve the social gains we have made through legislation and to pass the additional social legislation America needs. On behalf of the AFL-CIO, I am delighted to congratulate the Joint Center for Political Studies on its past work and to express our sincere best wishes to continued growth and success."

Sen. Edward Brooke (R Mass.):

". . . Ten years ago, President Lyndon Baines Johnson appointed a commission to study the causes of the riots of 1967. And, as a result of that commission's investigations and hearings, . . . a report was rendered to this country and recommendations were made. Last week, the nation observed the tenth anniversary of that report. I had the privilege of serving on that commission.

"Basically, we recommended that we address the problems of the urban cities and adopt a national policy of integrating this country. Sadly, 10 years since, neither of those goals has been realized. There's been some progress, to be sure, but for the masses of blacks who live in this country, there has been not only a lack of progress, but, in far too many instances, we have retrogressed.

"Black unemployment today is higher than it was in 1967. Blacks still own less than 1 percent of the nation's businesses. And though we now have blacks on corporate boards; more visible blacks in business than ever before; more blacks probably living in more expensive housing than ever before; the fact remains that for the masses of black people in this country, we have not made progress in housing, education or employment.

"There has been, however, some progress made in the political participation of black people. In those days, we had about 500 elected black officials and today, we have some 4,000 plus elected black officials. But, the fact remains that this is less than 1 percent of all elected officials in this country.

"And as a result of this, in 1970, Herb Donnelly, Kenneth Clark, Percy Sutton, Frank Reeves and others sat down and formed the Joint Center. That Center has grown and developed over the years and it is that Center that you come out tonight to show your support for. It is a black think tank. It is a black resource for political leaders in the country . . . The job for the Joint Center is immense and your contributions here tonight will enable that Center to grow. . ."

Telescope

Carter Announces Urban Policy Program

President Carter announced a program for a long-range national urban policy March 27 that includes job and public works programs, tax incentives, grants, loan guarantees and a re-evaluation of many federal programs to make them "more sensitive to urban problems and more committed to their solutions."

The program is also designed to: give fiscal relief to the most hard-pressed areas; improve social services in areas that have high concentrations of poor residents; and provide employment opportunities, mostly in the private sector, for long-term unemployed and the disadvantaged in cities.

More cooperation between all levels of government and public and private interests groups to improve urban, suburban and rural communities is also called for in the program.

An in-depth analysis of Carter's urban policy program will appear in the May FOCUS.

Humphrey-Hawkins Bill Passes in House

The Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill was passed in the House of Representatives March 16 by a vote of 257-152.

The bill has a specific five-year unemployment goal of 4 percent among all workers over 16 and 3 percent for adults over 20. It also requires the president to establish yearly economic goals and to coordinate federal policies to meet those goals. He will also report to Congress annually on his immediate and five-year goals for employment, production, real income and productivity.

The bill will now be sent to the Senate.

Black Migration

Blacks are moving out of the Northeast region of the country in increasing numbers, according to a report released March 10 by the Census Bureau. The report shows that blacks are migrating from the Northeast to the South and West. The number of blacks migrating to the north central region was not much different from the number of blacks moving out of that region.

Data released in the report indicated that from March 1975 to March 1977, 147,000 blacks, 2-years-old or older, moved out of the Northeast and 43,000 moved into the region, giving it a net outmigration of 104,000 blacks.

Both the Northeast and the north central region had a net inmigration of blacks from 1960 to 1970. During that same decade the South experienced a net outmigration of blacks. Since 1960 the West has continued to experience a net inmigration of blacks.

The report states that, "A sizable proportion of the black population now lives in states and metropolitan areas of the North where employment opportunities and income levels have generally not been rising as rapidly as in parts of the South and West."

The report, titled, "Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1977," is available for $3.00 from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. (Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 320.)

Support For Head Start

The Black Leadership Forum, which includes representatives from various black organizations, including Joint Center president Eddie N. Williams, sent a telegram March 22 to President Carter and HEW Secretary Joseph Califano urging that the Head Start program not be included in the current reorganization proposed for a separate Department of Education. The telegram said in part: "As leaders of organizations committed to equal opportunity and racial justice, we know what Head Start has meant to poor, black communities throughout the country. The unique involvement of parents, the broad attention to health, nutrition and mental health needs have made it not only an educational success but a model for comprehensive, family-centered programs.

". . . To threaten the integrity of Head Start at this time could only be viewed as a betrayal by many of the poor who have found hope in its reality and faith in the promise of this administration."

Califano, in a March 31 telegram to Williams said: ". . .Please rest assured that in any debate over Head Start's organization placement, I will do my utmost to draw this administration's attention to your concerns."

FOCUS

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