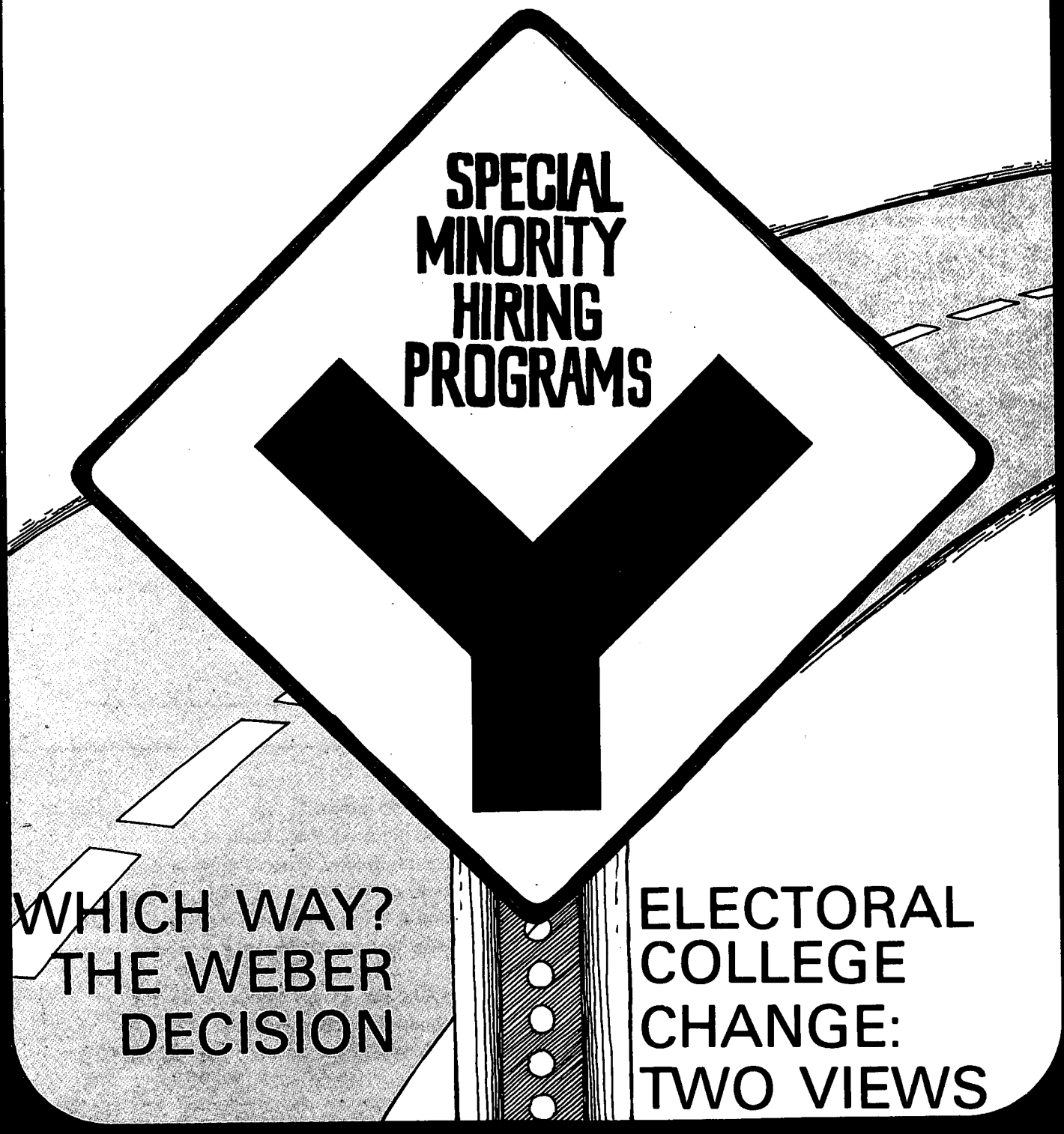
FOCUS



WHICH WAY? THE WEBER DECISION

ELECTORAL COLLEGE CHANGE: TWO VIEWS

Perspective

Statewide coalitions of minority political interests are the wave of the future. If minorities can stake a claim at the state level, they can more easily garner power at the national level.

Statewide coalitions are a conglomerate of local interest groups pulling together to increase their mutual rewards, their bargaining power, and their capacity to act decisively. The development of black political coalitions—sometimes called caucuses—is a phenomenon of the 1970s. There are caucuses of black elected officials at every level of government. In addition, there are partisan or non-partisan statewide political coalitions in Missouri, California, Michigan, Ohio, Mississippi, Georgia, New York, and a few other states.

On March 2, black public officials and civil rights leaders in New Jersey met to form a coalition in their state. Under the aegis of the non-profit, non-partisan, New Jersey Public Policy Institute, these leaders outlined objectives which are similar to those of their counterparts in other states:

1. To bring together minority political leaders at all levels;
2. To increase minority voter education and registration;
3. To provide a forum for the exploration and analysis of issues and perspectives on minority electoral politics;
4. To develop and foster communications among political leaders across the state; and
5. To train minority political activists in the latest techniques of effective community organization and long range political development.

Quite by accident, the New Jersey meeting was convened a few days after a confrontation between President Carter and the Congressional Black Caucus placed the need for expanded black political participation in clear perspective. On February 28, the Caucus warned the President that it intended to try to mobilize public opinion in an all-out effort to increase federal spending for social welfare programs. The White House issued an equally determined challenge: "It is clear this is an area of disagreement. We intend to make every effort to hold the line on the budget. The debate will be settled by the political process."

Mark those words: THE DEBATE WILL BE SETTLED BY THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

Thus, the Carter Administration challenged the Congressional Black Caucus to a game of political decision-making. The stakes in this game are votes and influence at the state level. It is in this context that statewide coalitions take on national significance.

However, before coalitions can exert influence at the national level—or, for that matter, at the state level—they must demonstrate that they have clout, namely, troops of registered voters ready to back them up.

Thus, the first task of statewide coalitions is clear. It is to convince their constituents that the game of decision-making is played on a continuous basis, and that the best bet for minorities is to play the game with great expertise in order to protect their interests and achieve their objectives.

Playing the game means registering and voting. While coalitions are fighting for jobs, they must also fight against political apathy. While they are pushing for paved and safe streets, good housing, equal education, and adequate health care, they must also push more of their constituents onto the voter registration rolls and into the voting booths.

In the final analysis, it is the power of the vote that settles debates in the political process.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Electoral College Change: Two Views

NO

(Editor's Note: The following is extracted from the testimony of Vernon E. Jordan, president of the National Urban League, before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, April 3, 1979. Jordan, chairman of the Black Leadership Forum, spoke in opposition to S.J. Res. 28, a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college and substitute a procedure for the direct election of the President and Vice-President of the United States. His testimony was on behalf of himself and the following Forum members: Julius Chambers, Dorothy Height, Carl Holman, Benjamin Hooks, Joseph Lowery, Bayard Rustin, Eddie N. Williams, Richard Hatcher, and Jesse Jackson.)

After careful examination of S.J. Res. 28, after much soul searching and weighing of available evidence, including our own knowledge and experience, we must voice the strongest opposition to the proposal to abolish the electoral college. Our reasons are as follows:

1. The proposed reform could be far more injurious to the political process of this country than are the problems it seeks to solve.
2. There is no constitutional crisis which necessitates emergency legislation in the face of foreboding uncertainties about the effects of direct elections.
3. The precious, though limited, political influence of black Americans would be curtailed under direct elections.
4. The major flaw in the presidential selection process, namely the possibility of a faithless elector, can be corrected by simply doing away with the electors while maintaining the electoral college.
5. The electoral college represents an essential balancing mechanism in our political system. It prevents the dilution of political representation for minorities and for residents of more populous states. Congress is weighted disproportionately in favor of small states. North Dakota and New York each have two senators. In the House, some small states have representatives with far fewer constituents than those representing large urban areas. The electoral college system thus helps balance the national political process. It has served well over 200 years and there is no need to change it now, especially if that change works against the interests of the cities and minority groups.
6. Retention of the electoral college is essential for the maintenance of the two-party system that has helped ensure the stability of the American political process.

Do away with the indirect election of the President through the electoral college mechanism, and the door to the end of the two-party system is opened. It could also lead to election of a president by a minority of voters unless a run-off election takes place, and a run-off would be in itself an incitement for minor parties which could bargain away their endorsements to the highest bidder.

The bulk of the black population is concentrated in nine states—California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan,

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YES

(Editor's Note: This article is extracted from the testimony of Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, March 29, 1979. Rep. Stokes spoke in support of S.J. Res. 28, a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college and substitute a system of direct popular election of the President and Vice-President.)

This is an amendment which I have supported ever since I first came to Congress. I voted for its passage in the House in 1969, and have co-sponsored the measure since. I have done so fully mindful of the awesome historical ramifications of such a decision. The present method of selecting our chief executive has been an important part of our Constitution for 180 years. Any changes which the Congress and the various state legislatures now choose to make are likely, God willing, to prevail an equal amount of time. The more evidence I have examined, the more my original determination was reinforced—that the present system for changing our Presidents was outdated, unsafe, and undemocratic, and that the only truly just alternative was direct election.

The defects of the electoral college system are numerous and grave. I will not go into those dangers at any length now . . . other than to say that the problems of the faithless elector, the unnatural and unfair disparities in both individual voting power and in the results of elections created by the electoral college, and the contingency procedures in the House of Representatives in the event that no candidate receives a majority in the electoral college, are not to be taken lightly.

The final flaw in the present method is that it continously creates the possibility of a minority President. Three times this has happened—in 1824, 1876, and 1888. There is nothing to prevent it from happening again. The problems which such a result would raise are only too apparent. A President elected by a slight majority is always faced with immense difficulties in harnessing the energies of the Congress and the voters. These would likely be multiplied tenfold. In addition, no one can safely project how our politically active, late 20th-century society would react to such an outcome. At best, it would instill a pernicious mistrust of the democratic system. At worst, it would precipitate a first-rate constitutional crisis.

And there is a final defect in the present system—one which might be of less practical import, but which may, nevertheless, be the most serious of all. The electoral college was based on a premise which has long outlived its validity—that is, that the task of selecting our country's chief executive was too important a matter to be left to "commoners." In no other facet of our democratic voting system does this anachronism remain. We now recognize—at least legally—that the very foundation of our democracy is equal voting rights for all Americans. Exclusive voting by the "landed gentry" is long since gone. Women are now afforded full and equal voting rights. And continued efforts are being made to insure those same rights to the non-white minor-

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The Weber Case

by **Diane Camper**

Ms. Camper is a member of the Washington bureau of Newsweek.

Allan Bakke has quietly settled into the regimen of a first-year medical student, but the issues he raised in his legal challenge to the special admissions program (which reserved 16 out of 100 entering places for disadvantaged minorities) at the University of California at Davis Medical School are still stirring. Now, affirmative action is under attack in the employment area, and the stakes for blacks are even higher than in Bakke's academic challenge. In a lawsuit against Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Brian Weber, Bakke's blue collar counterpart, has sounded the same "reverse discrimination" cry because he failed to get into on-the-job training programs for which half the places were reserved for minorities and women.

The Legal Issue

The legal issue in the Weber case is whether, in the absence of a record of past discrimination, a company and a union can voluntarily set up training programs for which employees are selected on a racial basis as a method of increasing the proportion of blacks in skilled craft jobs. But the more far-reaching ramifications of the case involve the extent to which employers can voluntarily implement affirmative action programs without government intervention or regulation and without legal challenges from traditionally favored white males who must now compete more fully with blacks and women.

Two federal courts have agreed with Weber's claim that Kaiser's race-conscious selection procedures violated Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion or national origin. Soon the Supreme Court will give its first considered opinion in a white male's challenge to an affirmative action plan designed to improve employment opportunities for minorities and women.

The Beginning of the Program

In 1958, Kaiser opened a plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, located on the banks of the Mississippi River, midway between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Ten years after the plant had been in operation, only about 10 percent of the employees were black, although the local labor force was 39 percent black. In 1969, the Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), which ensures equal employment opportunity compliance by approximately 250,000 government contractors, found Kaiser's Gramercy plant less than exemplary. OFCCP recommended that Kaiser hire 50 percent minorities in unskilled jobs, and, by the end of 1974, approximately 15 percent of the plant's employees were black.

Nevertheless, only five out of 273 skilled craft workers were black. The situation was troubling to both Kaiser and the OFCCP. Because of historical discrimination against blacks in various craft trades, as well as in union- and employer-operated craft training and apprentice programs, there were not many black craftsmen who could meet Kaiser's five-year experience requirement. Yet, the OFCCP found that Kaiser had often waived the experience requirement for white applicants, but not for blacks.

Fearing legal action by the government, which might result in the termination of lucrative contracts, Kaiser, together with the steelworkers union, sought to rectify the problem of low minority representation in craft jobs, while, at the same time, offering whitees in unskilled jobs a chance to improve their employment situation by learning a skill. In a February, 1974, collective bargaining agreement with the union, Kaiser agreed that half the employees selected for craft training programs in 15 of its plants should be minorities and women until the proportion of minorities (a five percent goal was designated for women) in craft jobs roughly equaled the proportion of blacks in the general population of the plant area.

In order to achieve that goal, blacks and women were ranked on a separate seniority list from white males, and training program applicants were generally selected on a one-for-one ratio from each list. (Also in 1974, the government entered into an industry-wide consent decree with nine major steel companies and the steelworkers union, setting goals and timetables for the hiring and promotion of blacks and women who had been systematically discriminated against in the steel industry.)

Between April and December, 1974, Weber, a laboratory analyst, applied but was rejected for three training programs (general repairman, instrument repairman and electrician). Of the seven blacks and six whites who were selected, two of the blacks had less overall plant seniority than Weber. Kaiser has admitted that if trainees had been selected strictly on the basis of seniority, no blacks would have been chosen, but, then, neither would Weber, since about 40 other whites bidding for the same three programs had more seniority than he did. In January, 1975, Weber filed a class action suit, on behalf of himself and other disgruntled white workers, against Kaiser and the union. In 1976, after a one-day trial, a federal district court judge held that Kaiser's 50 percent "quota" for blacks in the training programs was unlawful.

In a 2-1 ruling, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals agreed. The majority held that, even though Kaiser felt it was acting in accordance with Executive Order 11246, which requires all federal contractors to take affirmative steps to eliminate discrimination, the training program quotas were in conflict with Title VII, which has been held, by the Supreme Court, to protect whites as well as blacks from employment discrimination. The majority emphasized that the principal purpose of Title VII is to make victims of discrimination "whole," that is, to compensate them for previous discrimination.

But, since, in the record before the court, there had been no previous discrimination by Kaiser, the court ruled that the one-for-one entrance ratio for blacks and whites in the training programs violated Title VII.

(Although it was neither in Kaiser's nor Weber's best interest to develop such evidence at the trial, there was certainly circumstantial evidence that Kaiser had discriminated against blacks in the past. At the same time that Kaiser was defending its Gramercy plant actions against Weber, black em-

ployees at the company's Baton Rouge and Chalmette, Louisiana, plants were also suing the company for discrimination. In one case, Kaiser was found to have discriminated, and, in the other case, the company agreed to pay $255,000 in damages.)

Narrow Interpretation of Affirmative Action

"In the absence of prior discrimination," the majority stated, "a racial quota loses its character as an equitable *remedy* and must be banned as an unlawful racial *preference* prohibited by Title VII . . . (Kaiser and the steelworkers) urge this court to approve the on-the-job training ratio not to correct past employment discrimination by Kaiser at this plant but to correct the lack of training blamed on past societal discrimination.

The majority's narrow interpretation of the permissible limits of affirmative action under Title VII presents Kaiser and other employers with a Catch-22 dilemma: if a company admits past discrimination, it invites lawsuits by minorities and the federal government. If it doesn't admit past discrimination, but sets up an affirmative action plan to increase its hiring and promotion of minorities and women, it invites "reverse discrimination" suits by white males.

Kaiser, the Steelworkers and three government agencies (the departments of Justice and Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) would like the Supreme Court to follow the point of view expressed by Minor Wisdom, the dissenting judge in the Fifth Circuit Court's ruling. "The employer and the union are made to walk a high tightrope without a net beneath them," Wisdom said. "If an affirmative action plan, adopted in a collective bargaining agreement, is a reasonable remedy for an arguable violation of Title VII, it should be upheld. A zone of reasonableness, within which the employer and the union would be sheltered from liability, would encourage private settlements."

Certainly from the government's point of view, giving employers a legal cushion from liability in order to encourage them to voluntarily set up affirmative action plans is preferable to litigation.

Assistant attorney general Drew Days, who is in charge of the civil rights division put it this way, "We operate on a presumption that the preferred means of remedying discrimination is a voluntary remedy, without coercion from government agencies. If courts are going to require an admission that an employer has discriminated, then employers are going to pull back and become very fearful of taking any action that will increase opportunities for minorities and women."

Guidelines

Last December, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued affirmative action guidelines designed to deal with the precise dilemma posed by the Weber case. Under the guidelines, if an employer "conducts a self-analysis" of his employment operation, has "a reasonable basis" for concluding that affirmative action is "appropriate," and "takes voluntary affirmative action that is reasonable" in response to the problems disclosed, then he or she should fall into the "zone of reasonableness" referred to by Judge Wisdom, and be insulated from legal attacks. Although the guidelines have yet to be tested in court, they should carry considerable weight since they have been promulgated in accordance with EEOC's responsibility for enforcing Title VII.

Still, the Brian Webers in the employment arena will probably not be discouraged from filing lawsuits. And not all employers will try to head off equal employment problems with the government in the same way as Kaiser. Earlier this year, in the face of a discrimination suit by the EEOC, the nation's largest retailer, Sears Roebuck & Co., filed its own suit against ten federal agencies. Sears charged that the government's laws, policies, and regulations regarding equal employment opportunities were inconsistent and conflicting, allegedly resulting in an "unbalanced workforce" dominated by white males at the same time that the government is insisting that private employers hire and promote more minorities and women. The government is seeking to have the suit dismissed and the EEOC is pursuing its investigation of discriminatory employment practices by Sears against minorities and women.

The State of Black America

In its report on the State of Black America 1979, the National Urban League found that the income gap between blacks and whites has widened and the black unemployment rate is still intolerably high. Nevertheless, as Weldon Rougeau, director of the OFCCP, noted in a recent speech, there is "a myth circulating around this nation that discrimination is no longer a problem and we [blacks] have survived and arrived . . ."

In oral argument before the Court last month, Kaiser attorney N. Thompson Powers contended that the company's one-for-one entrance ratio for minorities and whites in the training programs was both reasonable and legal. The cost to employers and unions of maintaining the Fifth Circuit court's standard of admitting past discrimination, Powers insisted, "would be prohibitive . . . and will literally end affirmative action." Weber's lawyer, Michael Fontham, countered that, while Kaiser's social goals were "laudable," the costs of implementing its affirmative action program were placed "on the shoulders of non-minority group members in unskilled categories."

Supreme Court Decision

The Supreme Court must now decide whether Kaiser's program was reasonable and legal under Title VII. After the proliferation of opinions in the Bakke case, Court watchers hope for further elaboration and clarification of the permissible limits of affirmative action in the Weber case.

Speculation as to how the justices will rule is tricky at best. If a majority of the justices agree with Kaiser and the steelworkers that would obviously encourage more voluntary affirmative action efforts, and, if a majority agrees with Weber, the resulting chill in voluntary affirmative action efforts could be devastating. And, even if, as happened in the Bakke case, the Supreme Court's decision falls somewhere in between, the Weber case represents the most important legal challenge yet to affirmative action.

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New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 1976 almost 52 percent of the total black voting age population resided in these nine states which have a total of 245 electors—just 25 short of the number needed to elect a President. The Census Bureau also reported that in 1976, 75 percent of the black voting age population lived in metropolitan areas and that 75.5 percent of registered black voters lived in metropolitan areas.

These Census Bureau figures gain additional significance from the fact that in the last two decades, no presidential candidate has been elected without winning at least five of these nine states. In California, Illinois and New Jersey in 1960 and in Ohio in 1976, the margin of victory was one percent or less. Furthermore, in Texas in 1960, in New Jersey, Ohio, and Texas in 1968, and California, Illinois and Ohio in 1976, a shift from one candidate to the other of one percent or less of the total votes cast would have shifted that state's electoral votes from one candidate to another. Therefore, the black vote, given its characteristics, took on even greater significance as a swing vote.

In the final analysis, blacks' success in presidential politics is dependent upon their ability to leverage their minority votes and views into the will of the majority. Thus, the real issue is not only one of how many black voters are located in which states, but where blacks can reasonably expect to build coalitions with other minorities and whites to achieve true justice and equality. History and experience tell us that these expectations are more likely to be realized in the large states, especially the industrial states of the North and West. It is in these states that more white voters can be expected to empathize with issues of major concern to blacks and where black-white coalitions have influenced the outcome of many presidential elections since 1936.

Why, then, one might ask, would not these coalitions exist under direct elections? They would not exist because direct elections would change many of the political parameters which make such coalition-building possible. They would not exist because the two-party system would undergo radical transformation. They would not exist because a proliferation of splinter parties and single issue candidates—black and white—would polarize voters. They would not exist because a long, drawn out election process would discourage low income voters. Direct elections also would dilute the influence of major white groups and organizations which have historically helped to protect black interests.

Yet another crucial factor relates to the necessity of presidential candidates to win the electoral votes of at least five of the most populous states. Not only does this enhance the importance of the minority votes in those states, but it forces candidates to address themselves to issues of importance to minorities.

It is highly probable that under a system of direct

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YES

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ity groups of this nation. Thus, the very existence of this idea in the Constitution is out of step with the trend of our history. For that reason alone, it should be removed.

Once one realizes and accepts the inadequacies of the present way we choose our President, the logical leap to direct election is less difficult to make—for no possible alternative plan eliminates all of the fallacies of the electoral college except direct election.

Direct election would not only eliminate all the problems of the present system, but it also has several redeeming merits in its own right. By insuring that one's vote would never be "wasted," it would encourage full election participation in traditional one-party states. The fear of facing a runoff and the requirement that any candidate must obtain at least 40 percent of the popular vote to be elected, will force the major parties to devote more attention to their non-centrist wings—thereby both making the parties more responsive to their memberships and also giving the voters a more meaningful choice at the polls. Finally, by eliminating the winner-take-all aspects of the present selection method, direct election should remove the permanent temptation of ballot stuffing and other forms of corruption. As the system works now, a few well-placed fraudulent votes can change one-tenth of the vote—a 20 percent shift. Under direct election, however, the same number of "stuffs" would be virtually innocuous.

In calling for passage of this joint resolution, I do not ignore those who oppose direct election on the grounds that the present system favors "big-city" states or minority voting groups. Ten years ago a valid argument could be made that direct election should not become a part of our Constitution until all Americans were granted complete and equal voting rights. After great efforts in passing the Voting Rights Act and its extensions, that time is almost entirely here, and that argument is now out of date.

To those who favor retention of the present system because it is advantageous to urban and minority voters, I would note several points.

First, there is a distinct split of opinion as to whether this is truly the situation. Many liberal politicians and political scientists believe that in any given election the natural, built-in advantages of the electoral college system which accrue to the smaller states far outweigh any theoretical advantages to the larger ones.

Second, that theory assumes that progressive voting blocs, like minority groups and labor unions, are the only such blocs extant in urban areas. My observations of recent presidential and mayoral elections would cast serious doubt on that premise.

Third, the theory assumes that these voting blocs can be used as bargaining tools and political levers, and then herded to the voting booths like great masses of cattle to do their leaders bidding. Do we not wish it were so easy? It would seem to be obvious from the difficulties encountered by the unions

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NO

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election, candidates could ignore matters of deep concern to urban populations and to minorities, confident that they need not win a plurality of big state votes. A respectable showing in the big states, even on the order of only 40 percent of the votes, would be sufficient, given large majorities in smaller and rural areas.

The result would be not only the effective disenfranchisement of minorities, urban dwellers and the poor, but the lack of incentive to address issues of concern to them.

The direct election plan would work against blacks in still another way. It would magnify the political weakness blacks already suffer in terms of their relatively low registration and turnout rates, especially in the South. As Wallace Sayre and Judith Parris point out [in a Brookings Institution study] "groups lower in socio-economic status, who are less likely to vote than are the more affluent, would stand to lose under the direct-vote plan. This is because *voting* would be the basis for representation in the nationwide tally; under the existing system, *population* is the basis of the size of a state's representation in electoral votes."

This prompts me to correct another myth about the black electorate. The myth is that since passage of the Voting Rights Act, blacks have made it in the political system. This simply is not so. Black registration and turnout rates continue to be 10 to 15 percentage points below that of whites. Black registration has declined from 66 percent in 1968 to 58.5 percent in 1976. There is apathy because there is economic deprivation and disillusionment. Where, then, are the black votes to make blacks competitive in direct elections?

I submit they do not exist. That is why we tend to agree with those scholars who argue that "abolition of the electoral college would create the appearance of direct mass election and the reality of indirect elite manipulation."

Still another danger must be addressed. Black political participation and loyalties are predicated upon assumption that the political process can be made to work on behalf of black aspirations. If the compensatory weight of black votes in the electoral college is removed, if blacks became merely a tenth of a vast electorate instead of an influential factor in large states, two things are likely to occur.

First, black participation in the electoral process would weaken, along with the faith and confidence blacks place in the democratic political process.

Second, direct election of the President would inevitably mean formation of black political parties, voting along racial lines and increasingly separated from the major parties, who would themselves be weakened and would be dependent upon coalitions with splinter groups. This would not only weaken the political system, but would be a polarizing factor destructive of racial harmony.

It is likely that other groups, too, would form single-issue, single interest parties to compete in the presidential election. The aim would be to deny leading candidates votes they would otherwise expect under the electoral college system.

In the final analysis—after all the statistics and arguments have been presented—two hard and disturbing facts stare us in the face:

1. We all know how the electoral college system works. There is no clear and present danger here, no emergency, no threat so great as to warrant discarding a system which has served all Americans well for more than 200 years. In the words of President Kennedy, "If it is not necessary to change, it is necessary *not* to change."

2. None of us knows with any degree of certainty what will be the impact of direct elections, but all signs point to a weakened minority role in the electoral process and to a less stable political system. Black Americans, who have only recently begun to use the political process to pursue their interests, cannot afford to gamble on the unknown, especially when the result is likely to have a negative impact on our already weak influence.

Do not strip us of our emerging political influence in your pursuit of a system so shrouded in uncertainty and so lacking in elements that preserve the fragile constitutional balance.

YES

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along these lines during past elections that the day of the "deliverable" votes are numbered.

Similarly, the "advantage" theory seems to assume that black voting strength would not be transferable to a national level. I find this quite difficult to believe. For example, if all eligible black voters in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and so forth, could join hands with those in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and so forth, they would form a solid national phalanx of almost 11 million voters. That number of potential votes—approximately 30 percent of those needed for election—would be extremely dangerous for any candidate to ignore.

Finally, on an issue of such vast political importance and historical magnitude, I simply find it quite difficult to base my opinion on what I perceive as "advantages" or "disadvantages" to a particular philosophy. We are here deciding how several generations of future Americans will go about performing their single most important task—selecting the leader of this country.

As for the argument that black voters need an advantage in the presidential elections, I maintain that with the Voting Rights Act, all citizens are now protected in their right to vote, and there's no excuse for giving a voting advantage to some people and handicapping others. That's what we fought against in the reapportionment battles in the 1960s.

As a legislator I have the responsibility to analyze not only the position of black people in America today—but for generations to come. It seems to me that I will do an injustice to future generations if I do not today provide them with the wherewithal to not only enjoy the incentive to vote—but to give them the satisfaction of knowing that their vote counted.

The test of time has demonstrated to the American people that this constitutional measure is needed in order to respond to change and to bring this nation into the 20th century. As representatives of the people, we have a responsibility to give them nothing less.

Telescope

New JCPS Book Examines Equity in Energy Policy

A new publication by the Joint Center for Political Studies offers valuable new insight into the question of equity in national energy policy. The publication, *Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns,* is unique in its in-depth treatment of the issues.

Solving the nation's energy crisis involves far more than matching supply and demand, according to the study, which examines such diverse topics as the relationship between energy consumption and employment, the effects of rising energy prices on minorities and the poor, the employment record of the energy industries and options available in utility rate reform.

In announcing publication of *Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns,* Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center, said: "Finding a solution to our national energy problem continues to be a critical challenge. Minorities and low income people generally have a special interest in how that challenge is met. They are particularly vulnerable both to the rising cost and the decreasing supply of energy."

Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns is edited by JCPS senior fellow Ellis Cose, author of *Energy and the Urban Crisis,* an earlier JCPS publication on the energy problem. It may be purchased through the Joint Center for Political Studies, 1426 H St., N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005, at $8.50 per copy.

Job Training Program Developed for Spanish-Speaking Residents in New York City

The National Puerto Rican Forum, Inc. has been awarded a $245,000 grant by the Department of Employment in New York City for two demonstration programs for unemployed persons without sufficient skills to participate in regular training programs.

The training/preparatory placement programs, which began March 1, will take a completely new approach to improve the chances for upward mobility for Spanish-speaking residents in New York. The programs are being offered in the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens and will operate in Neighborhood Manpower Centers. Puerto Rican and other Hispanic residents at the poverty level, with 5.0 scores on the California Achievement Test, are expected to attain a 7.0 score level at the end of a five-month training period. They will also be provided with intensive English-language training, world of work orientation and awareness, career counseling and preparation for high school equivalency tests.

Graduates will be placed in skills training programs offered by the Forum or other NYC-CETA subcontractors in the five boroughs.

"The significance of these programs is obvious," Manuel A. Bustelo, executive director of the Forum, said. "If with preparation and training the Spanish-speaking can be moved from public dependency to employment with mobility, they will establish competitive capacities in a free society. Welfare and poverty burdens will be reduced, tax revenues will be increased and the integration of the Hispanics into society will advance."

1979 Roster Forms in Mail

The Joint Center is updating data on black elected officials which will be included in the 1979 edition of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials.* Persons receiving the questionnaire are urged to take a few minutes to complete and return it to the Joint Center promptly.

The 1978 edition of the National Roster of Black Elected Officials is now on sale. To obtain your copy of this valuable reference source, send $17.50 for each copy to Publications Department, JCPS, 1426 H Street, N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005. All orders for a single copy must be accompanied by payment. On orders of two copies or more, we will send a bill if you request, but postage and handling charges will be added to the bill.

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