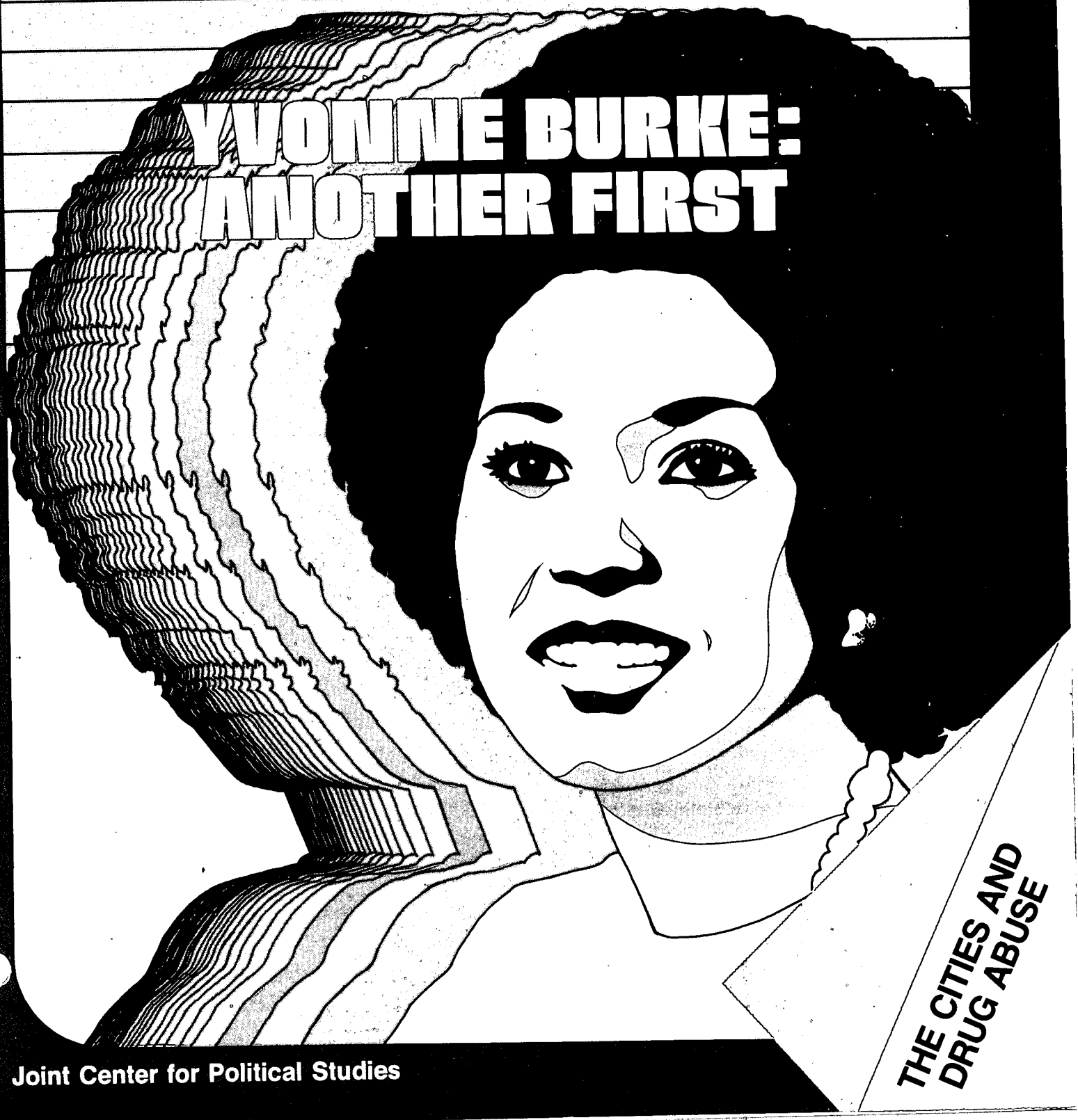
VOL. 7, NO. 8

August 1979

FOCUS



YVONNE BURKE: ANOTHER FIRST

THE CITIES AND DRUG ABUSE

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

A fundamental tradition in American life is that historically various groups have established a beachhead in the political arena and have used it to gain substantial influence in the economic arena.

For the past ten years, blacks have been moving boldly and aggressively in the political arena and showing more and more signs of pressing for an economic break-through, in terms of government contracts and the distribution of other monies and also in terms of entrepreneurship.

Thus, blacks would appear to be following the traditional path to economic empowerment that other groups have used.

For example, there appears to be a clear linkage between the decisive, 90 percent support that blacks gave Jimmy Carter and the President's 1978 urban policy statement which, among other things, recognized the potential of minority business enterprise as "a critical part of the private sector economic base of many cities, communities and neighborhoods" and which ordered Federal departments and agencies to triple their purchases from minority firms. The path to economic development seems to be opening up, but it is littered with all kinds of snares and pitfalls.

We are witnessing a major retreat from affirmative action and a proliferation of legal charges of reverse discrimination.

Many black political officeholders have been harrassed and publicly embarrassed with what have turned out to be groundless charges of malfeasance.

Because of these and other developments there is a growing sense among black leaders that there is a conspiracy to frustrate or derail attempts to follow the traditional path from political to economic power.

Be that as it may, there is a dangerous amount of anxiety and paranoia in black America today. The calm that some see while looking from the outside is deceptive.

A few weeks ago, a black student at American University put his finger on this mood in black America. He was vigorously protesting a decision by white student leaders to make a drastic cut in university funds for the black student newspaper. He said: "They keep chopping blacks back, chopping us back, until the only thing left is for us to be indignant."

He is right. The chopping is all around us. Who suffers the most from budget cutting, anti-inflation policies, from unemployment and rising energy costs and from the Proposition 13 mania?

We should not, however, allow ourselves to get indignant. We should, instead, strategically use our political power to improve our economic condition.

The 15 million blacks of voting age in this country make up 10 percent of the national electorate. They are located in key industrial states with large blocks of electoral votes. In addition: blacks are 10 percent of the voting age population in 18 states; at least 20 percent of the voting age population in 64 congressional districts; at least 20 percent of the voting age population in 89 cities with populations of 50,000 or more; and 50 percent or more of the voting age population in 103 counties, mainly in the South.

You would think that with that kind of potential and distribution, there would be more than 4,500 black elected officials which is less than one percent of all elected officials, and that there would be more white elected officials who are responsive to black needs and aspirations.

It is time to stop *hoping* that things will turn out right and start organizing to *make* things turn out right.

A concerted effort is underway to increase registration, voter turnout, and to stem the tide of apathy among black voters. The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation was formed in 1976 by more than 50 national black organizations. In the fall this group, under the banner of "Operation Big Vote," plans to launch a nationwide voters crusade. The coalition hopes to enlist not only the traditional civil rights organizations, but also professional groups and businesses and churches.

Frederick Douglass gave us the key: power concedes nothing without a demand. *Politics is the bottom line.*

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Yvonne Burke's Challenge

by **Felicia Bragg**

Felicia Bragg is a Washington, D.C. freelance writer.

The surprise action of a Republican politician has ignited a chain of events which have catapulted former Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke back into major public office in California.

It isn't always easy to achieve surprise in the strange world of California politics, but that state's political community was caught off guard this past June as they witnessed a scenario of events whose final scene is yet to be played. James Hayes, conservative member of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, a Republican appointee of former Governor Ronald Reagan in 1972, startled everyone by submitting his sudden and unexplained resignation from one of the most powerful and coveted political posts in the state.

The name of Yvonne Burke surfaced almost immediately on the list of possible candidates for the appointment to fill the abruptly vacated seat. For a person with Burke's political credentials this was not surprising, however, many considered it unlikely that the name would go beyond the also-mentioned status because of the odds against selection of a person whose background suggested incompatibility with the 4th Supervisorial District.

If public imaginings and political speculation were perhaps a little exaggerated as observers waited for a decision to be announced, no one underestimated the possibility of the unusual from the enigmatic young governor to whom fell the task of appointing a successor. Jerry Brown, always considered unorthodox and now with an eye towards building a national constituency to support his 1980 presidential ambitions, appeared in a joint press conference on June 15 to announce the appointment of Yvonne Burke to fill the unexpired term as a County Supervisor.

The 46 year old Mrs. Burke was born in one of those sections of Los Angeles known as poor but respectable in circumstances typical for a black family living on Depression-era blue collar wages. Then Yvonne Watson, she was a bright student, attending Los Angeles area schools and distinguishing herself as one of a small number of black law school graduates from the University of Southern California.

In 1966, she became the first black woman elected to serve in the California Legislature. A successful Congressional campaign in 1972 made her the first black woman ever to serve in the House of Representatives from the State of California. That same year Mrs. Burke achieved a measure of national recognition for her skillful performance as the Vice-chairperson of the Democratic National Convention in Miami, Florida.

More as a result of personality and political style than actual legislative accomplishments, Yvonne Burke quickly became a national figure, a symbol of the times in which women and blacks are assuming more prominent governmental roles.

As a member of the nearly autonomous Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Yvonne Burke has broken a political bastion which, in its 127-year history, has been dominated by white males and which is largely held to be one of the most important positions in the state of California. In their dual roles as both legislators and executives, L.A. County Supervisors command the elements of almost limitless authority over county government and most of the decisions they make on behalf of 7 million residents go unchallenged.

Under the county system of each supervisor being pretty much in charge of developments within his or her district, Yvonne Burke will wield policy-making authority for the 1.4 million residents who are her new constituents. In addition to voting on the total county budget which this past fiscal year exceeded three billion dollars, Supervisor Burke will set policy and make budgetary decisions worth millions for the eleven county departments for which she has assumed chairmanship.

But, if past experience counts, Burke's credentials are impressive and should serve her well as she takes control of her new office. Although she does lack the local government background of at least three of the other Supervisors, her experience with state and national legislatures has made her familiar with the workings of government and, with the recent passage of Proposition 13 which has stymied the Board's traditional source of revenue from the property tax, Burke's knowledge of state and federal funding sources might be a welcome resource. Above all, Burke comes to the Board already skilled in the art of politics and finesse that is so important in a system run on a give-and-take basis—skills that Burke will have to exercise very carefully over the next year in an attempt to position herself for an election victory in the new district.

Next Year's Challenge

Supervisorial elections are usually dull, with interest and participation confined to the electorate of each district. Mrs. Burke's appointment and subsequent announcement that she will run for election next year has changed that. Even at this early stage, local political maneuverings suggest that her race will be hotly contested.

As with her appointment, the challenge facing Supervisor Burke is whether or not a black female liberal, bearing the additional onus of a "carpetbagger" label, can successfully woo her conservative electorate. Setting aside sex and race, Burke will still have to contend with the liberal image that is sure to be underscored by opponents.

In the final analysis, indications are that Burke is up to the challenge of winning over her new district through a combination of personal charisma and political concessions that may lose her a few old friends but is calculated to gain the electoral support she needs.

More importantly to some, Yvonne Burke's most significant contribution, should she succeed in her new role, may be that of destroying the myth that black politicians are unacceptable to white electorates. In this she faces a challenge unique unto any major black elected official in the country. How she fares may well signal a new trend in American politics.

The Cities and Drug Abuse

by **Peter Goldberg**

Mr. Goldberg was formerly Senior Policy Analyst with the Drug Abuse Council. He is presently a consultant with the Joint Center and also serves as Executive Director of the National Association for City Drug Coordination (NACDC).

The social costs of drug abuse in America are estimated to exceed $10 billion annually. The federal government itself spends nearly a billion dollars each year on anti-drug efforts. Yet many knowledgeable observers feel that such efforts are not being fully effective.

The problem is that the nation's cities and particularly their minority communities are the most severely affected by drug addiction problems, but neither city officials nor representatives of minority organizations have an adequate voice in federal drug policy-making decisions.

To understand why, some background is necessary. The federal government in the early 1970s made a major commitment to respond to drugs and drug related problems. It did so, however, not because of the intensity of the problem among minorities but because the use of illicit drugs had become a national phenonomen, almost, indeed, a national scandal. Only when millions of young Americans of every color began to use marijuana in the 1960s, when the use of LSD reached frightening proportions, and when thousands of young men in the armed forces were reported to be using some form of illegal mind or mood altering substance did the federal government become seriously alarmed.

Minorities Bypassed

Writing in the foreword to a 1972 monograph on drug abuse published by the Joint Center for Political Studies, Rep. Charles Rangel (D N.Y.) and Eddie N. Williams, President of the Joint Center, put the situation this way:

"The problem of drug abuse and drug addiction, although only recently recognized as a national problem, has long existed in our minority communities. Long before it became fashionable to speak of the heroin epidemic and to legislate broad new programs to prevent heroin addiction, minority communities knew the ravages of heroin addiction and understood the nature of its menace. In this historical context, it is especially ironic that the recent development of strategies on the federal, state and local governmental levels to prevent and combat drug abuse has taken place largely without significant participation by the minority community."

The situation remains the same today. Two thirds of the clients entering federally funded programs for heroin treatment are either black or Hispanic. Changes and even reductions in federal drug programs, however, are being contemplated with little input from representatives of either group. City governments, too, continue to be bypassed. The reasons for this are political in nature.

The expanded federal involvement of the 1970s came about in part because the scope of drug problems in urban areas far transcended the ability of city governments to cope with it. Moreover, state governments—whose legislatures were frequently dominated by rural and suburban interests—were generally reluctant to become extensively involved in what was essentially a problem of the central cities.

It was ironical, then, that state governments in 1972 were designated by Congress and the administration to play the dominant role in an expanded federal drug program. In return for an annual formula grant from the federal government, each state was required to designate a state drug coordinating agency and to prepare an annual drug plan delineating needs and priorities statewide. The role of local government was ignored. There was no support for city drug coordinating agencies.

Thus, even states with comparatively small urban centers and negligible drug problems were supported to plan a drug abuse response program while cities such as New York, Newark, Detroit, New Orleans and Los Angeles were ignored. The effect of the decision, in a very real sense, was to complicate the efforts to help solve drug related problems among urban minorities. This was so because the drug problems of the central city are often different from the problems of rural and suburban areas. It is understandably difficult for rural state legislators from jurisdictions where heroin or other hard drug problems are minimal to accord a high priority to the heroin addiction problems of the inner city.

The National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials (NBC-LEO) was among the first of national organizations to express concern over the situation. This came in the form of a resolution in June, 1974, which stated in part: "Whereas, unfortunately, the problems of drug abuse have disproportionately affected large numbers of Black and Spanish speaking Americans, these minority populations tend to be most underrepresented at the state level where drug abuse policies are being increasingly formulated, thus creating a large discrepancy between those most affected by the problems and those establishing the policies and procedures to solve the problems."

Other organizations, including the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, have been equally vociferous on the subject.

Drugs and Urban Goals

Today a gulf exists between our federal drug effort and our national ambitions to restore vitality to our nation's cities and people who live in them. The President's 1978 National Urban Policy makes no mention at all of the urban drug abuse problem. Similarly, the federal drug strategy proceeds as if no National Urban Policy existed. This is so despite the indisputable correlation between drug problems and the vast array of social and economic difficulties which beset urban America.

In 1976 the Joint Center undertook a survey of local elected officials to determine their involvement in the development of drug treatment and prevention

policies. The survey concluded: "It is clear from the survey findings that many local elected officials are uninvolved in local drug abuse policy making and possibly are uninformed about community drug abuse problems. Part of the problem is indicated by their widespread unfamiliarity with the Single State Agency responsible for drug abuse programs. The process of drug policy and program formulation has ignored local officials and their potential role in the community as a vital source of information and critical link for successful implementation of drug abuse programs."

It should be noted that nearly half of the officials responding to the JCPS survey did not know of their state drug abuse coordinating agencies. This obviously indicated a breakdown in communications between local officials and state agencies. Part of this may be due to the fact that there are insufficient mechanisms within the state planning process to involve wide participation in formulating those plans. For example, there is no requirement for public hearings.

State Influence

But the federal-state system for drug treatment and prevention is now well entrenched. Both levels of government are strongly committed to the partnership. The major federal drug treatment agency—the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA)—spends about $200 million a year in support of community drug treatment programs. Much of this expenditure is channelled through state governments under statewide service grants or contracts. In addition, state governments also contribute several hundred million dollars of state funds annually to drug treatment and prevention.

The state drug coordinators, collectively, through their own national association have developed a very strong organizational influence over the policies and programs of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. This close relationship has been encouraged and supported over the years by NIDA. Thus it behooves city organizations and groups representing black and Hispanic populations to develop strong cooperation in order to assure a plurality of perspectives in the decision making process and also to monitor the responsiveness of federal and state efforts to their needs.

The importance of such cooperation cannot be overemphasized. Even now federal drug treatment is drifting away from concentration on heroin addiction toward such non-opiate drugs as the amphetamines, hallucinogens and barbiturates. As noted, 65 percent of those seeking heroin treatment are blacks or Hispanics. But 60 percent of those entering federally funded treatment programs for non-opiate drug abuse are white.

City governments are making some strides toward becoming more aggresive in representation of their interests. In 1978, 17 large city governments joined together to create the National Association for City Drug Coordination (NACDC). Member cities include: Albuquerque, Anchorage, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Ind.; Jersey City, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, Newark, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Phoenix, Providence, and St. Louis.

The NACDC's purpose is two-fold: to develop a more sustained and systematic role for large cities in the formulation of federal drug poiicy and to have input into state drug plans. In a broader sense, NACDC hopes to insure that future consideration of the size and direction of federal drug efforts takes the special concerns of cities into account.

The NACDC is convinced that if the ten principles of the President's National Urban Policy were applied to drug treatment and prevention efforts, significant changes would result. The third principle of the President's policy, for instance, states: "The Federal government will encourage and support efforts to improve local planning and management capacity. Federal programs will support local efforts to develop economic, social service, community development policies and environmental quality policies and strategies. Local governments will play a major role in coordinating the use of Federal funds within city borders."

The development of an urban perspective comes not a moment too soon. Cities need to make their views felt on various proposed changes. Congress is considering whether more funds should be spent on drug prevention and less on treatment. It is looking at other related questions. Should even more emphasis be given to non-opiate treatment and less to heroin? Should the annual formula grants to states for drug abuse be combined with formula grants for alcoholism and mental health programs generally? Should these funds be given in one lump sum for the states to divide as they see fit among drug treatment, alcoholism, and mental health? The resolution of these issues will shape the size and thrust of federal drug efforts for years to come.

City and Minority Efforts

One possible change holds considerable interest for the NACDC. This is legislation proposed by Sen. Donald Riegle (D Mich.) and passed by the Senate which would allow cities with populations of 175,000 or more to apply directly to HEW for funds to plan and coordinate the delivery of treatment and prevention programs within their jurisdictions. Many officials agree that a favorable House vote on this bill would go a long way toward ending the imbalances which currently exist between states and cities.

Yet despite the possibility of such changes the entire federal drug effort seems to many knowledgeable observers to be vulnerable. It is difficult to treat drug addicts and difficult to explain to the public and the Congress the problems of implementing successful drug treatment programs. There are many critics and not enough federal support. In an era of tight budgets for social service programs, major components of the federal drug program could well be in jeopardy. Coordinated efforts by urban and minority interests should be directed toward seeing that criticisms result in an improved drug effort.

The Weber Decision

by **Diane Camper**

Diane Camper is a member of the Washington Bureau of Newsweek.

On June 27, affirmative action proponents were cheered by the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. and United Steel Workers of America v. Brian Weber. Unlike the Court's decision in the landmark case of Allan Bakke announced precisely a year earlier, the Weber decision was straightforward and unambiguous: private employers can voluntarily impose racial quotas on themselves in order to alleviate the effects of past discrimination even if they have not been found to have discriminated.

The decision was a boon to civil rights advocates at a time when conservative economic and social pressures are straining the nation's commitment to equal opportunity.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), called the Weber ruling "the most important civil rights decision in recent history. Had we lost this case the cause of affirmative action would have been set back ten years."

Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), stated flatly that "employers and unions no longer need fear that conscientious efforts to open job opportunities will be subjected to legal challenge."

At issue in the case was a voluntary affirmative action program set up by Kaiser and the Steelworkers union in a 1974 collective bargaining agreement. Under the terms of the agreement, skilled craft training programs were established at 15 Kaiser plants across the country and fifty percent of the trainee slots were reserved for minorities.

Brian Weber, a white laboratory analyst at Kaiser's Gramercy La. plant, challenged the legality of the program after two blacks with less overall plant seniority gained admission to training programs for which he had been rejected. Two lower federal courts agreed with Weber that Kaiser's affirmative action program violated Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race.

A majority of the Supreme Court disagreed, although the question resolved was admittedly "narrow." Title VII, the majority held, did not prohibit private employers from taking "race-conscious steps to eliminate manifest racial imbalances in traditionally segregated job categories."

In a lean 13-page opinion, Justice William J. Brennan Jr., writing for himself and Justices Potter Stewart, Byron White, Thurgood Marshall, and Harry Blackmun, said that while Title VII does not *require* employers to adopt affirmative action programs, an interpretation of the law that *forbade* employers from adopting such programs would cause results completely at variance with the purpose of the statute. From the legislative history, the majority concluded that the purpose of the statute was to open up job opportunities for blacks in occupations which had been traditionally closed to them. The legislators who supported Title VII feared that, without its passage, blacks who had been largely relegated to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs would face an irreversible trend of increasing unemployment with the advancement of technology and automation.

Brennan stated: "It would be ironic indeed if a law triggered by a nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice and intended to improve the lot of those who had 'been excluded from the American dream so long,' constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private, race conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy."

Dissenting from the majority's opinion were Chief Justice Warren Burger and Justice William Rehnquist. (Justices Lewis Powell and John Paul Stevens did not participate in the case. Powell was ill during oral arguments and Stevens' former law partner represented Kaiser in the past.) Burger said that if he were a member of Congress, he would be "inclined to vote" to amend Title VII in order to approve Kaiser's plan. But without such approval by Congress, Burger accused the majority of using "judicially authorized" means to achieve what "it regards as a desirable result."

The majority stressed the *spirit* rather than the *letter* of the law and insisted that Congress did not mean to stifle creative efforts of private employers to seek private solutions to public problems such as the lingering effects of racial discrimination. Consistent with this Court's case-by-case resolution of issues, the majority opinion gives no general blueprint as to what kinds of voluntary affirmative action programs are permissable for private employers to adopt. Nevertheless, the fact that Kaiser's plan did not "unnecessarily trammel" the interests of white employees, and the fact that it was intended to remain in effect only until the percentage of blacks in skilled jobs roughly equalled the percentage of blacks in the local labor force, were cited with approval by the majority.

"The plan does not require the discharge of white workers and their replacement with new black hires," Brennan noted. "Nor does the plan create an absolute bar to the advancement of white employees; half of those trained in the program will be white. Moreover, the plan is a temporary measure; it is not intended to maintain racial balance, but simply to eliminate a manifest racial imbalance."

Thus the Weber decision goes a long way toward removing employers from the curious Catch-22 dilemma of admitting to past discrimination and inviting back pay suits from non-whites or proceeding with voluntary race-conscious hiring and training programs and opening themselves to reverse discrimination suits from passed-over whites like Weber.

Like the Bakke case before it, the Weber decision may have left some unanswered questions. But the fact that a majority of the Supreme Court has so clearly spoken in favor of voluntary private affirmative action efforts in the area of employment is a significant victory.

Surveying CETA

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) hasn't been a panacea for all of the nation's unemployment woes, but it has provided jobs, training and hope to millions of Americans who might otherwise have remained on the bottom of the economic ladder, unemployed, unskilled, and unwanted.

It has also given local governments an important labor pool from which to draw to help provide essential services.

The best intentioned of programs, however, do not always reach their fullest potential. To help strengthen CETA programs in smaller cities, the Joint Center for Political Studies last year was granted a contract with the Department of Labor to provide training and technical assistance on CETA to local officials in communities having populations of less than 100,000. (See FOCUS, January, 1979.)

The Joint Center's program has three basic components. It provides not only training and technical assistance to local elected officials but also research and analysis of crucial issues affecting CETA implementation. In addition, it serves as a clearinghouse and information resource on CETA developments.

Survey Results

To gain some insight into how officials view CETA and their role in the decision making process, the Joint Center earlier this year mailed a questionnaire to approximately 330 local elected officials asking their views on CETA's impact in their communities. Of the 105 who returned the questionnaire, 62.9 percent represented municipal government and 37.1 percent represented county government.

Moreover, JCPS was able to get direct input from local officials at a series of three training workshops held in January, February and March in Jackson, Miss., Columbia, S.C., and Los Angeles, California. Seventy-six individuals participated in these seminars, including local and municipal government representatives, county commissioners, school board representatives and also members of community based organizations.

A preliminary analysis of the data collected in the mail survey and at the training sessions reveals some basic concerns of officials about what CETA is supposed to do and how the program can be best utilized to improve employment and training needs.

Overall, it should be noted, that the CETA program itself was well regarded. But the responses of the officials suggest five problem areas which seem to hinder the effectiveness of CETA in leading to meaningful and gainful employment.

These are: information needs, management capability, availability and control of CETA funds, lack of suitable job slots, and restrictions on public service employment.

- *Information needs.* The most widespread problem among the local officials was a lack of concrete knowledge of what CETA is supposed to do and what it can accomplish. Eighty-five percent requested additional information on their communities' local programs and on CETA in general.
- *Management capability.* A majority of the officials felt that the lack of available personnel to coordinate and administer CETA programs hampered the programs' effectiveness. They also thought their own level of involvement in program planning should be increased.
- *Availability and Control of Funds.* In communities where CETA funding and job slots come through a larger unit of government (such as states or counties) a special concern was voiced about the lack of local control over funds.
- *Lack of Suitable Job Slots.* Many officials felt that CETA jobs did not provide useful training or lead to long-term employment. Officials from communities with low levels of industry expressed concern for the lack of cooperation from private industry in hiring CETA enrollees. Approximately one-half of the officials said that communities had unmet employment needs, including direct job placement, followed by employment training. Forty percent said that this was a particularly critical problem among youth.
- *Public Service Employment Restrictions.* Officials were uncertain as to whether communities are required to place a certain percent of public service employees into unsubsidized slots after the CETA program year ends.

During the training institutes many officials from very small towns also raised the fact that their governments rely heavily on the use of CETA employees to provide services ranging from city clerk to sanitation worker. In some communities, in fact, all public workers were funded by CETA. These officials were concerned with the fact that regulations allow CETA workers only 18 months of CETA subsidized employment. The officials pointed out that their governments lacked sufficient resources to put their CETA workers into fulltime unsubsidized employment. They also complained that while they would not lose CETA positions they would have to fill them with untrained employees at the same time they were terminating those whose CETA eligibility had ended.

Summary

In summary, the JCPS survey points to what seems often to be a lack of adequate communication between local officials in small communities and CETA administrators. Small communities rely on CETA public service employees to a far greater degree than do large communities, for, as pointed out earlier, they have less resources to substitute for CETA program funds. These factors, coupled with proportionately higher numbers of unemployed, underemployed and disadvantaged in such areas suggest the need for a national and local re-evaluation of the employment and training efforts for small communities.

(In September FOCUS will carry a guide for local elected officials on how to involve themselves more closely in the CETA program.)

—Ben Ellington and Debbie Henschel

Telescope

Congress Kills Amendments On Electoral Change and on Busing

Congress last month voted down two proposed constitutional amendments which could have had far reaching effects on black Americans.

A proposal led by Sen. Birch Bayh (D Ind.) to abolish the Electoral College and substitute a system of direct popular election of the President and Vice President was rejected by the Senate. It received 51 votes but was 15 short of the two-thirds majority required for passage of a constitutional amendment.

In April Eddie N. Williams, President of the Joint Center for Political Studies, joined other civil rights leaders in opposing passage of the amendment, pointing out that it would have the effect of diluting the strength of black votes.

The House of Representatives rejected a proposed amendment sponsored by Rep. Ronald Mottl (D Ohio) which would have prohibited the use of busing to end racial segregation in the nation's schools. The proposal failed even to gain a simple majority as the House voted 216-209 against it.

Census Bureau Traces Two Centuries of Black Experience

The Bureau of the Census in June published a major statistical document tracing the experience of American blacks from 1790 to 1978.

The report assembles in one volume information about blacks previously published in many different reports. Some of the data are presented for the first time.

The report notes that between 1940 and 1970 the South lost close to 1.5 million blacks through migration. In the 1970s, the migration pattern changed so that from 1975 to 1978 the number of blacks who left the South was not significantly different from the number who moved to the South.

Other highlights from the report show that:

- The proportion of black families maintained by a woman with no husband present has doubled since 1940.
- Black employment grew at a faster rate than white employment from 1954 to 1965—24 percent for blacks and 18 percent for whites. However, since 1965 relative gains in employment for both races were about the same—28 percent.

Copies of the report, entitled *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View, 1790-1978,* are available for $4.50 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, or from Commerce District Offices in the major cities throughout the nation.

Black Women's Group Plans September Meeting

The National Hook-Up of Black Women, Inc., will hold its Fourth Annual Meeting and Awards Program in Washington, D.C. September 21-22. The organization is a non-profit network of black women concerned with the realization of equal opportunity and the contributions that women have made to society.

The theme of its 1979 meeting will be "The Black Family: What Quality of Life for the Children?"

Those interested in further information should contact the National Hook-Up of Black Women, Inc., 2021 K. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

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