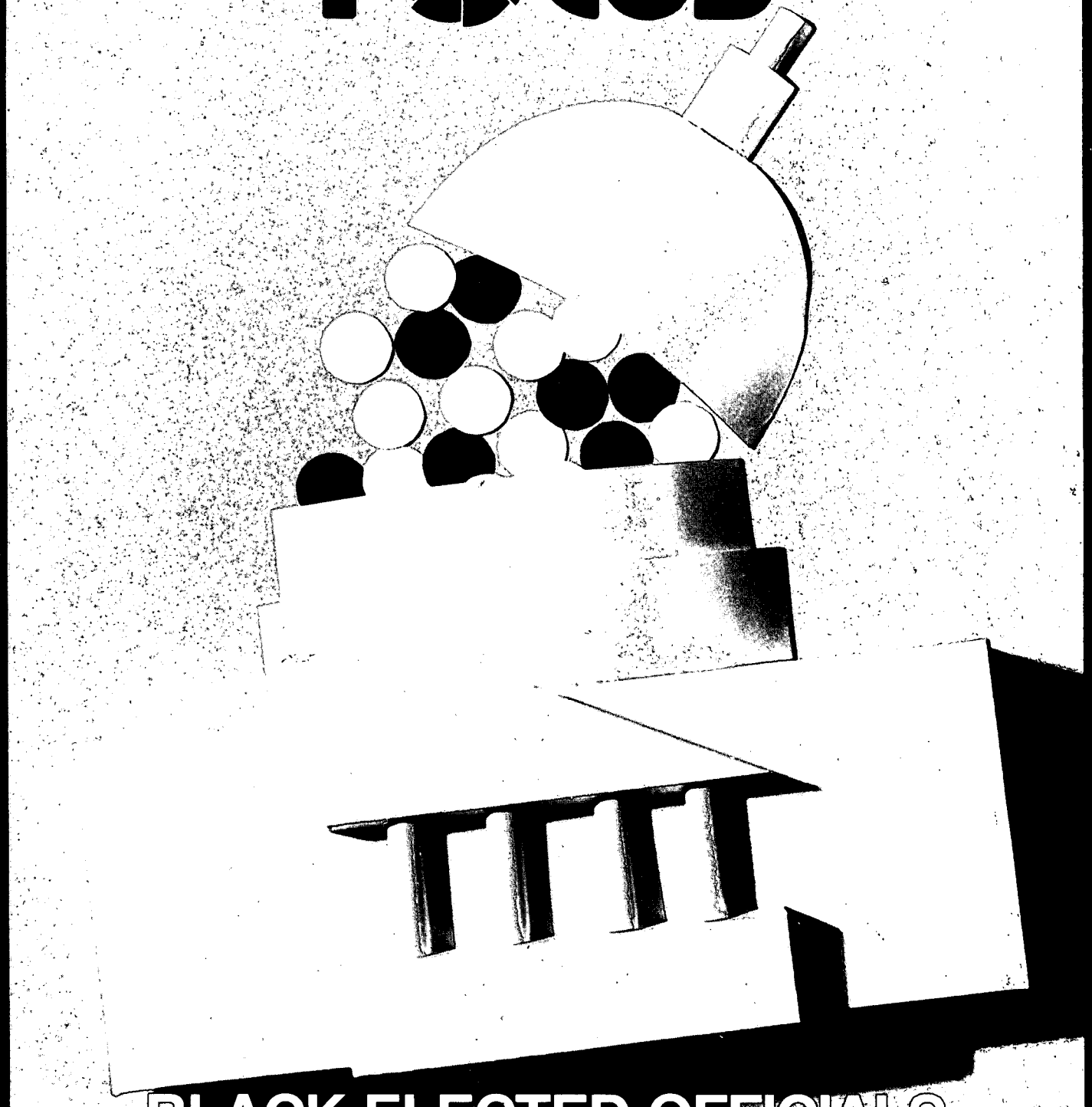
Vol. 8, No. 12 December, 1980

# FOCUS



## BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE 1980's

Joint Center for Political Studies

# Perspective

The start of a new presidential administration is almost always a period of considerable speculation, of high optimism for some and apprehensiveness for others. This year is no exception. There are already many views on the meaning of Governor Reagan's victory and many assertions about the direction his administration will take on a broad range of domestic and international issues.

Such is the nature of presidential transitions. However, a change in presidential leadership often affects more than the nation's policies and programs. It can affect the way some people look at themselves in relation to new realities magnified by the election itself. It is in this context that the election of Mr. Reagan, a conservative who got less than 10 percent of the black vote, may serve as a catalyst for a re-examination of some black perspectives.

The broad outlines of one such re-examination appears to be emerging, propelled, however slowly, by a number of new political realities. It suggests that over the next several years we may see an acceleration in the realignment of blacks within the two major political parties.

Ever since 1936, when blacks in large numbers moved away from the Republican Party to support Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt, blacks have been a vital part of the diverse coalition that is the Democratic Party. In 1980 that coalition was defeated and the party shattered. Thus, most blacks now find themselves outside the new Republican regime while at the same time their old home base, the Democratic Party, faces an uncertain future, at least for the moment.

The Democratic Party's defeat in 1980 is not the only factor which is leading blacks to re-think the nature of their political participation. To some extent this process began long before November 4. Blacks have made no secret of their growing restiveness in the Democratic Party or of their willingness to support Republican candidates who are responsive to their concerns.

There is additional evidence of an erosion in black support for the Democratic Party. Between 1976 and 1979 the number of blacks who identified themselves as Republicans increased from 2 percent to 10 percent while many more claimed independent status. In 1980 President Carter won 90 percent of all black votes, but he was supported by only 55.3 percent of those blacks who considered themselves independent. John Anderson, who got less than 2 percent of the total black vote, won a surprising 37.5 percent of the independent black votes.

Another factor which may affect some people's political alignment is the assumption they make as to which party will win the White Houe in future years. Over the last 28 years the Republicans have more than held their own on the presidential stage. During this period, there were three Democratic administrations and, with the election of Reagan, four Republican administrations. While the past does not necessarily forecast the future, it may say something about the horses one might want to bet on.

Looking beyond 1984, the presidential prospects for the Republican Party appear to be much brighter than they have been in a long time.

Whether or not the 1980 election turns out to be a political realignment of New Deal proportions, the Republican Party and Mr. Reagan have an enormous opportunity to expand their political base. The growing population shifts to the more conservative Sun Belt could enhance future prospects for Republican candidates at all levels of office. We might even see more black Republicans competing for and winning public offices.

Of course this is an incomplete picture of all the factors that generally go into a decision on which party or candidate to support. Moreover, it is unlikely that there will be sudden and dramatic shifts in partisan support. As the process of realignment goes forward, however, it will not be quite so easy to either take the black vote for granted or to ignore it. The result might very well be to make the black vote attractive to both parties and the object of some real party competition.

**Eddie N. Williams**
**President**

**FOCUS**

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# Leadership Forum Meets With Reagan

The Black Leadership Forum, an association of the heads of 16 major black organizations, met with President-elect Ronald Reagan last month to present their views on a number of issues of concern to black Americans, particularly full employment and economic revitalization.

The Forum, headed by NAACP President Benjamin Hooks, presented a formal statement and exchanged views with Mr. Reagan on a wide range of issues. The text of the statement is presented below.

On many of the issues Mr. Reagan said he shared the group's goals but not the means they recommended to accomplish those goals. Forum participants expressed concern about some of the means proposed by the president-elect, including instituting an educational voucher system, establishing urban enterprise zones, and decentralizing more federal programs.

Reagan said he would appoint blacks to high positions, including his cabinet, but he said they would be non-traditional appointments, meaning, presumably, in areas where blacks had not previously served.

The frank exchange between the president-elect and black leaders resulted in an agreement to keep channels of communication open and to resume discussions of matters of mutual interest at the beginning of the Reagan administration.

Following is the text of the formal statement submitted to Mr. Reagan:

"Mr. President-Elect:

We are pleased to have the opportunity to talk with you today about issues of importance to Black Americans and to the nation. You have our sincere best wishes for success as President of all the people, and we pledge our support and cooperation in helping to achieve some of your expressed aims for the country—"full employment without inflation through economic growth," foremost among them.

The Black community is no different from the rest of the country in its desire to see America working again. But we would be hypocritical if we did not insist on the stark reality that Blacks and other minorities encounter special barriers to full participation in the economic mainstream. We began our own agenda for the 1980s with an insistence on job creation which reaches the total Black labor force. Our people are unemployed at a rate twice that of all Americans; our young people at a rate four times as high.

Moreover, while economists predict that unemployment will deepen during the coming year, reaching as high as 16 percent among minorities, they also predict that inflation, aggravated by mounting energy prices, will remain at double-digit levels. Though Blacks at the lower end of the economic scale are hardest hit by unemployment, inflation affects all Blacks, whether working class or middle class. We are concerned that the policies designed to wring inflation out of the economy not add to current job losses, especially in industries already vulnerable to competition from abroad.

We want to see the kind of economic vitality which moves Blacks back into the workplace, and we are interested in working with you to create that kind of business environment. But we urge you not to ignore the most disadvantaged urban and rural communities as you devise policies to assist business. For our low income communities have special problems: not simply the high cost of capital, but—far too often—lack of access to capital at any price; not the lack of bankable ventures, but the high transaction costs associated with them; not the lack of people eager to work, but a deficit of opportunities both in the private and public sectors.

Miami's most serious problem, for example, is not economic growth—the city is booming—but growth that does not reach into the poorest Black neighborhoods; the economy is out of balance in those neighborhoods and no amount of local prosperity seems to filter down. We urge you and your Administration to help correct such imbalances.

Job creation to bring more Blacks and other minorities into the workforce; increases in the number and size of minority-owned businesses; reinvigorated commercial activity in predominantly minority communities—these are objectives we believe we can achieve together with a general policy of economic renewal. That policy would concentrate direct and indirect public subsidies on communities in which private economic activity has all but disappeared—and some of us are looking carefully at the "Enterprise Zone" proposals from this perspective. That policy would especially encourage creation of the small businesses that generate most new private-sector jobs. We believe that major roles should be played by neighborhood and community-based groups capable of helping create jobs, products and services—and of brokering private and public resources from outside the target communities.

Even as we endorse some of the objectives you have espoused, we recognize that we may not always agree on the best means of achieving them. While we support a strong national defense, for example, we feel it would be a bad bargain for Blacks and for the nation if there were to be crippling cuts in critical social and economic programs in order to swell the defense budget.

And while we support the elimination or revision of policies and programs which have not really reached those for whom they were supposedly intended, we would oppose the discarding of programs which have effectively addressed real needs, in the rush to put new bottles on the shelf.

Blacks have a significant stake in virtually all national issues—decent, affordable housing and health care; adequate income maintenance for those unable to work; more effective public education; training or retraining for those ill-equipped to enter the private job market; fiscal relief for cities and depressed rural areas; Social Security benefits for our elderly; the stabilizing of communities weakened by the fear of violence and destructive activity.

We hope it will be remembered that, just as some problems are best handled at the local level, others can clearly only be effectively dealt with at the federal level. For example, we believe that because

*(continued, next page)*

# Reagan Meeting (continued)

the kind of poverty that welfare attempts to address is a national problem, basic welfare solutions should be worked out and funded at the national level in order to provide equitable standards and benefit levels.

Even as many programs may be combined, simplified and administered at the state or local levels, there will be others which may never reach those whose needs are great, but who will lack the required political strength in far too many states and localities. Still other block grant programs would be wastefully spread thin over jurisdictions and people with no real need for them.

We were encouraged by your recent statement pledging to use the moral authority of the presidency to speak out against racial animosity and violence. It is crucially important, we believe, that you and your Administration continue to make clear by words and deeds that the forces of bigotry and hatred will be firmly opposed and that interracial understanding will be encouraged.

We understand that every remedy for constitutional wrongs cannot be expected to be universally popular. It is our belief, however, that this country as a nation of laws is never so fundamentally strong as when the Executive, without regard to personal preferences or prevailing sentiment, faithfully carries out the law of the land.

We would hope that as President you will not countenance the desertion of constitutional principles and the needless domestic tensions risked by some political leaders who are advocating that the clock be turned back on the hard-won Civil Rights gains of the Fifties and Sixties.

We ask that you support these gains, among them: protection of the franchise for Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities through extension of the Voting Rights Act; protection of equal opportunity through the newly streamlined Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It is essential, we think, that there be a clear commitment by the Justice Department to pursuing equal justice under the law, including unequivocal opposition to acts of brutality against Blacks and other minorities wherever they occur; and vigorous enforcement of antibusing orders handed down by the courts. In this connection, we commend to your attention the recent study showing that busing conducted on a metropolitan-wide basis contributes to desegregated housing as well as desegregates schools.

As you review proposals for new federal initiatives to reinvigorate the economy, we ask that you inquire about the impact of these initiatives on those silent people at the bottom of the economic scale—on the $4,000-per-year inner city retiree, for example, who pays 90 percent of her income on rent, who takes her meals at the local, underfunded senior citizens' center, who scrimps to purchase the other bare necessities like medicine, clothes and transportation. We ask that the cost of economic recovery be imposed no more heavily on this pensioner than on the suburbanite.

We are acutely aware of the difficult circumstances, international and domestic, which the nation faces. We look forward to working with you to shape a national future in which poverty and prejudice will play a diminished role. We remain confident that it is possible to create renewed vitality and opportunity by drawing upon the untapped potential which even our most depressed and deteriorated communities possess."

Leadership Forum members who attended the meeting with Reagan were: Benjamin Hooks, NAACP; Rev. Joseph Lowery, SCLC; Carl Holman, National Urban Coalition; Julius Chambers, Legal Defense and Education Fund; Donald Tucker, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; Ted Hagans, National Business League; Richard Hatcher, mayor, Gary, Indiana; Dorothy Height, National Council of Negro Women; Rev. Jesse Jackson, Operation Push; Coretta Scott King, Martin Luther King Center for Social Change; Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Rev. Leon Sullivan, OIC; and Eddie Williams, Joint Center for Political Studies.

Also in attendance were Rev. Ralph Abernathy and Rev. Hosea Williams of Atlanta and Charles Evers, mayor, Fayette, Miss., all of whom endorsed Reagan for President.

## JCPS to Move To New Offices

On January 16, 1981, the Joint Center will move its offices to a new location at 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., a brand new building across from City Hall and next to the National Theater.

For the Joint Center, this move means that for the first time in seven years all facilities and activities of the organization will be housed on a single floor. We are currently located on two floors and in five separate office suites, an arrangement which has become increasingly unsatisfactory.

We expect that the new space will not only be much more efficient but will also make it easier for staff to exchange ideas and to work together as a team. Visitors to the Joint Center should also find it easier to conduct their business and to establish and maintain contacts with the various departments.

One of the reasons why we selected this particular office space is not only its excellent downtown location, but the fact that our landlord will be the National League of Cities which is the primary tenant and future owner of the building. This is an organization with which the Joint Center has long standing and cordial relations. It is also one of the organizations with which the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, for which the Joint Center serves as secretariat, is affiliated. These multiple relationships between us and the League, as well as our common interests in many urban issues, should make our location in the same building mutually beneficial.

We hope that black elected officials and our other *Focus* readers will note our new address and will come and see us when they are in Washington. The address is as follows:

The Joint Center for Political Studies
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# Black Voter Participation Rose by 2% in 1980

by **Gracia Hillman**
Coordinator of Operation Big Vote

While the national rate of voter participation continued to decline in 1980, the rate of black voter participation actually increased over the 1976 rate. One reason for the increase in black voter participation was the success of Operation Big Vote.

Nationwide, voter turnout in the presidential election declined for the fifth time in a row. With only about 52 percent of the voting age population going to the polls on November 4, turnout reached the lowest level since 1828. While turnout among blacks was only 40 percent, 12 points lower than the national rate, black turnout was almost two percentage points higher than in 1976, according to an analysis conducted by the Joint Center for Political Studies.

This modest increase in black turnout was significant in two respects. Pre-election surveys suggested that turnout would be lower, and with the increase in the total black voting age population from 15 million in 1976 to 17 million in 1980, there were about a million more black votes cast in 1980 than in 1976.

The nonpartisan activities of Operation Big Vote are partially responsible for the increased level of black voter turnout. Through voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns, OBV coalitions in 50 target cities not only raised the level of participation in those cities, but helped to raise political consciousness and participation in other areas as well.

The goals of Operation Big Vote, a self-help coalition of 80 national black organizations, several labor unions, and the two major political parties, were to increase black registration in target areas by 20 percent and to achieve a turnout rate of 75 percent of registered black voters in those target areas. While OBV convenors are still sifting through registration and turnout statistics, preliminary estimates suggest that in the 50 target areas voter registration went up between 10 and 60 percent and that turnout among registered black voters ranged from a low of 40 percent to a high of 85 percent.

Nationwide, turnout among registered black voters was about 61 percent, according to the Joint Center's survey. This was about 3 percentage points lower than in 1976. JCPS President Eddie N. Williams said this discrepancy suggested that many registered black voters were neither motivated by President Carter's re-election campaign nor frightened by the prospect of a Reagan victory and so they stayed home.

Although Operation Big Vote was modestly successful in achieving its objectives, its accomplishments were spectacular when measured against some yard sticks. Considering that it was an underfunded activity, its achievements were greater than might have been expected. Moreover, the fact that such a diverse coalition not only stuck together but worked harmoniously is a major accomplishment in and of itself.

These 50 nonpartisan OBV coalitions, functioning in 17 states and the District of Columbia, were the epitome of volunteerism. Representatives of various local organizations, businesses, and affiliates of national labor, civil rights, religious, educational, fraternal and civic groups were able to set aside partisan and programmatic differences in the interest of pooling resources in a concerted effort. The diversity of these OBV coalitions reflected the diversity of black America and the kind of power that comes from unity of purpose.

Similarly, each coalition used a number of integrated strategies to achieve its objectives. Operation Big Vote slogans were adopted and OBV literature was distributed at conferences, meetings and conventions in at least 40 states. CBS and RCA recording artists promoted OBV and the importance of voting through public service announcements that were aired on black radio stations across the country. Big Vote store fronts, staffed by volunteers, popped up on main streets in several major cities. NAACP branches, Urban League and Urban Coalition affiliates, labor union locals, black churches, sororities, fraternities, civic, social and political organizations, and educational institutions sponsored rallies, barbecues, walk-a-thons, motorcades, and concerts-in-the-park to register and educate blacks to vote. Chief executive officers and national presidents of the national coalition's member organizations volunteered their time to participate in a get-out-the-vote caravan that travelled to 15 cities in 10 states. Local groups hosted seminars, press conferences and other public gatherings in efforts to motivate blacks to go to the polls.

The mere existence of these efforts flies in the face of any disparaging remarks about black unity. As was stated in the OBV handbook, *How To Organize and Implement a Successful Nonpartisan Voter Participation Campaign,* that was distributed to the OBV target area convenors: "Coalitions are always formed to address a specific issue, whether it be social, political, economical or some cause celebre and have always been the base success of this country's political system."

Formed in 1976 to address the problem of declining black voter participation, Operation Big Vote has become yet another stepping stone in the path of black progress. Although a part time operation and grossly underfunded, OBV has unearthed the urgent need for an ongoing political arm to the modern day civil rights movement and has established a creditable track record. Many of the local OBV convenors realized the strength and success of the coalition and have stated that they will continue their operations. It is now time to institutionalize this kind of mechanism. This is the next step for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation which sponsors Operation Big Vote.

# Number of Black Elected Officials Up by 6.6%

The number of black elected officials in the United States increased by 6.6 percent between July 1979 and July 1980, according to a survey conducted by the Joint Center for Political Studies.

This is the largest annual percentage increase since 1977 when there was an 8 percent rise in the number of black elected officials. The increase dropped to 4 percent in 1978 and to 2 percent last year.

The 1980 edition of the Joint Center's annual *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* lists 4,912 officials in 44 states, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands. This represents a net increase of 305 officials over the 4,607 officials identified in the 1978-79 *Roster*. Black officials elected after July 1980 are not included in this edition.

The 6.6 percent increase in the number of black elected officials reverses the steady decline, since 1975, in the rate at which blacks were elected to public office. With this increase, blacks, for the first time, now hold one percent of the 490,200 elective offices in the United States. However, blacks remain grossly underrepresented in elective offices throughout the country. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, blacks comprise 11.8 percent of the total U.S. population.

The five states with the largest number of black elected officials are: Mississippi (387), Louisiana (363), Illinois (298), Michigan (284), and the District of Columbia (261). The states with the largest increases in the number of black elected officials are: Mississippi (60), Louisiana (29), and Texas (22).

By category of office held, black officials are still most numerous at the municipal level. There are now 2,356 blacks holding municipal offices, 132 more than in 1979. This represents 48 percent of all black elected officials. Of the total number of municipal officials, 182 are mayors. Last year there were 175.

The second largest number of black elected officials serve in education positions. Last year, 1,144 blacks held elective offices at this level. This year, there are 1,214 blacks in educational positions, representing 25 percent of all black elected office holders.

At the judicial and law enforcement level, there are 526 black officials, 40 more than last year.

At the county level, there are 451 black officials, 53 more than last year.

The number of blacks on regional governing bodies remained the same this year at 25, while at the state legislature level, there was an increase of 16 officials, bringing the total to 323.

In July 1980, there were 17 blacks in the U.S. House of Representatives. However, the number will increase to 18 when the 97th Congress convenes next year. In the November 4th elections blacks gained two new seats with the election of Gus Savage (D-Ill.) and Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.), but lost one seat when Dr. Melvin Evans (R-VI) was defeated. Also, two new black Representatives will fill seats previously held by blacks. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) will replace Bennett Stewart whom he defeated in the democratic primary, and former Judge George Crockett (D-Mich.) will fill the seat vacated by Charles Diggs.

The Joint Center's 1980 *Roster* shows that 976 black women now hold elective office. This is 94 more than in 1979 and represents 20 percent of all black elected officials. Most black female officeholders serve in municipal and educational positions. There are 450 black women in municipal positions and 339 in educational positions.

The five states with the largest numbers of black female elected officials are: the District of Columbia (105), Michigan (88), Mississippi (62), and California and New York (59 each).

In 1970 when the Joint Center first conducted its annual survey, there were 1,469 black elected officials in the U.S., constituting less than one half of one percent of all elected officials in the country. Since then, the annual increase has ranged from a high of 22 percent in 1971 to the 2 percent increase recorded in 1979.

This year's 6.6 percent increase was welcomed by Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, as evidence of increased participation by blacks in the political process. He also suggested that electoral reforms, such as a change from at-large to single-member district elections, may have made it easier for blacks in some jurisdictions to be elected to public office. Improvements in the Joint Center's data gathering techniques may also have played a small role in the reported increase.

"Whatever the reason for the upturn in the rate of increase of black elected officials in 1980," said Williams, "we hope it will continue and will serve to motivate others, particularly some of our young people, to run for public office."

## Joint Center Launches Voting Rights Project

The Joint Center for Political Studies has launched a two-year research and education project which focuses on the Voting Rights Act and other matters pertaining to minority voting rights. The project has received partial funding from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Additional support is being sought at other foundations.

The objectives of the voting rights project are:

1. To increase the information available on the role of the Voting Rights Act in extending and protecting minority political rights in the states covered by the Act and on the likely effects of its termination;

2. To inform appropriate public officials, civil rights leaders and the general public about the importance of the Voting Rights Act;

3. To serve as a clearinghouse and liaison for various organizations likely to participate in the public debate over extension of the Act; and

4. To collaborate with other organizations and public agencies seeking to develop facts pertaining to the implementation of the Voting Rights Act.

The JCPS voting rights project will be under the direction of Attorney Armand Derfner, a prominent civil rights lawyer and specialist on voting rights cases.

# Carter Accomplishments in Civil Rights

When Louis Martin was appointed Special Assistant to President Carter in 1978, one of his first acts was to publish a "Fact Sheet" to highlight the Administration's accomplishments in civil rights and minority affairs. Last month, Martin distributed Fact Sheet 117, his last one. Among other things, it included the following "Minority Record Highlights Update:"

**Employment**

One million more Black Americans are employed now than when President Carter took office. Funding for employment and training programs has increased 230%.

The number of people served by the Comprehensive Employment and Training program has increased 10% to over 4.3 million. Jobs for disadvantaged youth under the Job Corps programs have doubled.

President Carter has encouraged the private sector to employ disadvantaged persons by approving tax credits of up to $4,500 for each disadvantaged person employed.

The President has asked Congress for an additional $2 billion for youth employment programs. This increase will bring the total allocation of funds for youth employment to $5 billion, three times the amount spent when the President took office.

The Administration has developed a program with Reverend Leon Sullivan of Opportunities Industrialization Center, Inc. (OIC), to place an additional 100,000 youth in jobs this year.

**Education**

The Carter Administration has established the new cabinet-level Department of Education. Overall funding for education has increased 73% over the last budget of the previous Administration.

Student aid has more than doubled; funding for handicapped students has been increased by over 193%; and funding for other compensatory programs is up 60%.

In October 1980, the President signed the Education Amendments of 1980 authorizing more than $60 billion for post-secondary education over the next five years.

A new Carter initiative, the Graduate and Professional Opportunities Program, designed to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in the most advanced levels of education, has received funding of $13 million.

Title III, the program for developing institutions, particularly historically Black colleges, has expanded. In addition to the current Title III program, new short-term grants for improving planning, management and fiscal capabilities are available to institutions which serve substantial numbers of Black students. Also Federal Matching Challenge Grants are available to these institutions and those contributing to medical education opportunities for minorities.

The Carter Administration has strengthened the Federal commitment to historically Black colleges. In a January 1979 memorandum, the President directed all departments and agencies to increase their assistance to historically Black Colleges. As a result, these institutions received $394.4 million in contracts, grants, and other financial assistance in Fiscal Year 1979, a $15 million increase over FY 1978. In August 1980, the President put more teeth into the program by issuing Executive Order 12232.

**Federal Judiciary**

President Carter has nominated 40 Blacks to the Federal Judiciary thus far. This is more than double the number nominated by all other Presidents combined. Since Federal judges serve for life, the impact of these nominations will be felt during the rest of the century.

**Minority Business**

This Administration has tripled (to $3 billion) the amount of Federal procurement money spent with minority businesses; doubled (to 124) the number of minority-owned television and radio stations; and doubled (to $200 million) the amount of Federal money deposited in minority banks.

President Carter implemented the Local Public Works Act of 1977 which provided for a 10% minority business set aside. To date, minority businesses have received 19% of the $4 billion spent under the Act.

Federal loans, loan guarantees and grants overall to minority business enterprises have also increased significantly under President Carter's leadership—from $850 million in fiscal 1977 to $1.8 billion in Fiscal Year 1979—an increase of more than 110%. The trend set by the SBA's lending programs is especially significant. In 1979, the SBA provided $163 million in direct loans and $246 million in guaranteed loans to socially and economically disadvantaged individuals. For this year, direct loans will be up 54% and guaranteed loans 41% higher than 1979.

The Administration is implementing Public Law 95-507 which requires all Federal contracts of $500,000 or more ($1 million for construction) to include a plan for subcontracting with small and disadvantaged businesses.

The Office of Minority Business Enterprise in the Department of Commerce has been reorganized to form the Minority Business Development Agency. The Interagency Council for Minority Business Enterprise was reactivated to coordinate and oversee all Federal activities in support of minority business development. The members of the Council are the Undersecretaries and Deputy Administrators of 25 federal agencies and departments.

Karen Hastie Williams has been named head of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy in the Office of Management and Budget. She is responsible for the $100 billion Federal procurement program.

**Housing**

In the President's first four years, more than 7 million units of housing have been built, 1 million more than during the prior four years.

For lower income households, construction has begun on more than 600,000 new subsidized units and commitments have been made for over 1.3 million subsidized units. Overall, there has been a 44% increase in subsidized housing.

The Carter Administration has also used financing mechanisms to make housing more affordable. The Graduated Payment Mortgage is one such program that now accounts for almost 25% of all FHA mortgages.

In addition, the Administration has implemented a revised Section 235 Program, which enables low and moderate-income families to purchase modestly priced new or rehabilitated homes. Through 1980, more than 60,000 commitments will have been made under this program.

On October 8, 1980, President Carter signed the Housing and Community Development Act which will authorize $31.2 billion for the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) low and moderate-income assisted housing programs in 1981. This represents a 30% increase above the 1980 level. In addition, the bill establishes the Public Housing Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program which will restore and modernize the entire 1.2 million unit public housing inventory.

To deal with the Nation's long-range housing problem, the President has created an Administration Housing Task Force and an Advisory Committee on Housing. Robert Weaver, who served as the first Secretary of HUD, will chair the Advisory Committee.

**Civil Rights**

The President asked Congress to amend the Fair Housing Act to give the Department of Housing and Urban Development stronger enforcement power. The proposed amendment will enable Administrative Law Judges to resolve disputes in most cases and eliminate the need for costly judicial litigation. The Amendment has passed the House of Representatives and is pending in the Senate.

President Carter is fighting job discrimination. He sent a directive to the heads of all Federal agencies early in his Administration instructing them to strengthen their affirmative action programs. As of last November, over 15% of all Federal employees were Black.

He has also taken steps to eliminate discrimination in the private sector by reorganizing and strengthening the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) under the leadership of Eleanor Holmes Norton. In September 1980 EEOC attorneys tried and won a class action suit against Motorola, Inc.'s Northern Illinois facility. The 11,000 Black employees won a $10 million back pay award. Job offers and training programs were also included.

*(Continued on next page)*

## Carter Accomplishments . . .

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The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs has also been reorganized and strengthened. For the first time, this office has barred several major corporations—including Firestone, Uniroyal and Prudential—from doing business with the Federal government because they failed to take affirmative action to hire women and minorities.

**Energy**

President Carter is the first President to propose a national energy package. In April 1980, President Carter signed the Crude Oil Windfall Profits Tax Act which will produce $227.3 billion in revenues by the end of 1990. These revenues will be used for assistance to lower income households in the form of direct cash payments and/or fuel bill payments. In addition, the tax revenues will improve public transportation systems and will create alternatives to imported oil.

The Energy Security Act, signed by President Carter on June 20, 1980, establishes a Solar Energy and Energy Conservation Bank within HUD. The Act authorizes $3 billion in subsidies within the first four years, with most of the money going to homeowners and renters with incomes below 80% of the median income in their residential area. The Act also provides for subsidies up to 60% of solar energy costs for persons with incomes below 80% of median income and sliding to 40% subsidies for higher income persons. The Energy Security Act will create about 600 new jobs in its operation.

The cornerstone of the national energy policy is the Synthetic Fuels Corporation. The Board of Directors of the Corporation will be authorized to commit up to $88 billion for synthetic fuel development. Special provisions have been built in to encourage the participation of minority businesses. Frank Savage, Vice President of Equitable Life Insurance, has been appointed to the six-member Board of Directors of the Synthetic Fuels Corporation.

The Office of Minority Economic Impact has been established at the Department of Energy to advise the Secretary on the effects of national energy policies, programs, regulations and other actions on minority business and to recommend policies to assist minority businesses affected by the Department's actions.

**Federal Appointments**

President Carter has appointed more Blacks to senior government positions than any other President. The appointments include three Cabinet positions, over 50 sub-Cabinet positions, 15 Ambassadors, over 25 White House professional staff positions, and over 500 senior-level policymaking positions.

For the first time Blacks have been appointed to all of the most powerful regulatory commissions. President Carter has appointed Blacks to the Civil Aeronautics Board, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Communications Commission, National Transportation Safety Board, Merit Systems Protection Board, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the International Trade Commission, and others.

**Urban Policy**

President Carter has developed the Nation's first comprehensive urban policy which has led to the revitalization of our Nation's urban areas. In Fiscal Year 1980, the President asked Congress for more than $2.4 billion for increasing jobs and investment in urban areas. Included in this request was funding for the Urban Development Action Grant Program (UDAG), the Economic Development Administration (EDA), the Rehabilitation Tax Credit Program, and the placing of Federal buildings in inner cities. Grants-in-aid to States and localities have increased by 35%.

Since its enactment in 1977, the UDAG program has served as a major tool of urban revitalization. The first $1.5 billion of UDAG funds generated $8.5 billion of private investment and over 400,000 jobs in distressed cities.

**Foreign Policy**

President Carter's appointment of Ambassadors Andrew Young and Donald McHenry to the United Nations has greatly improved our relations with Black Africa.

President Carter imposed economic sanctions on the Nation of Rhodesia because of oppression of the Black majority by a white minority government. Those sanctions were instrumental in the liberation of that country (Zimbabwe) and the establishment of majority rule under the leadership of President Mugabe.

Through the efforts of Ambassador Donald McHenry, this Administration is working diligently towards independence for Namibia.

President Carter has hosted state visits with President Moye of Kenya and President Shagari of Nigeria. These meetings have significantly strengthened the ties of friendship between the United States and these major African nations. Nigeria is the second largest supplier of oil to the United States.

The Administration has sponsored several minority business trade delegations to Black Africa.

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