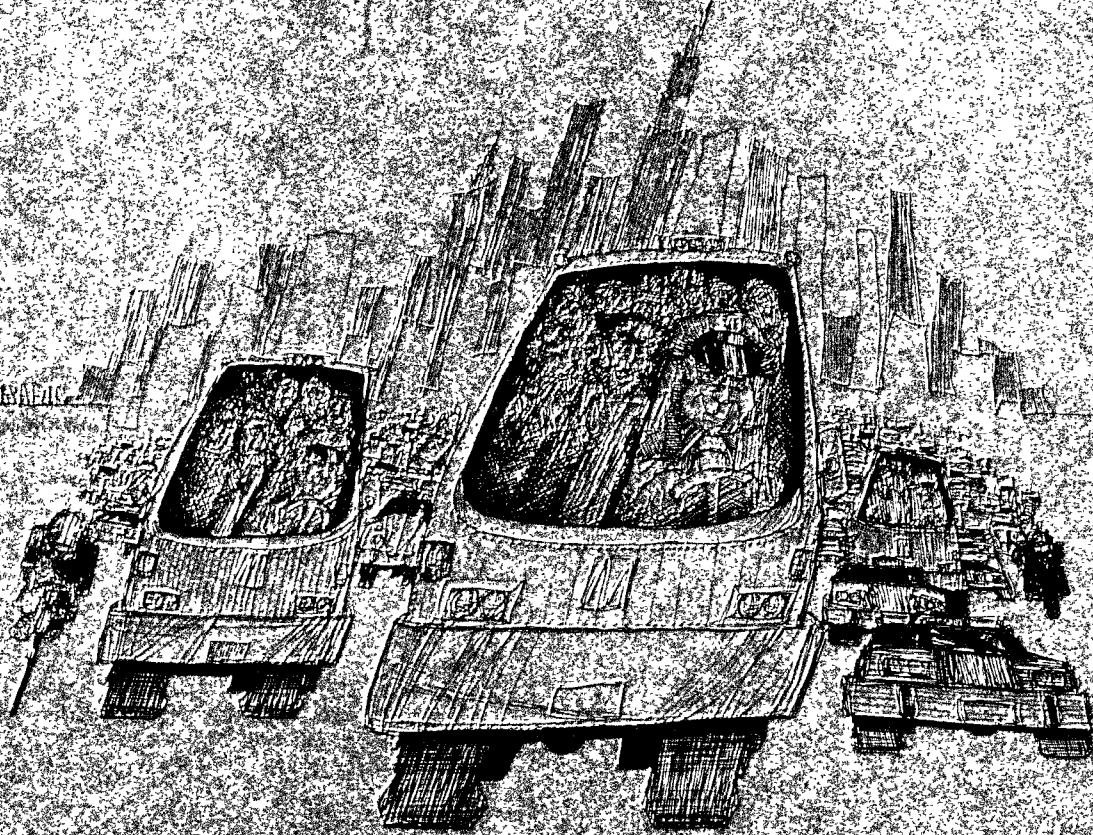


Special supplement:

Potential influence of low income voters in congressional districts

Poor to bear burden of energy crisis

Public transit in the spotlight



Perspective

Because of the current interest in the energy crisis, we present here the text of a letter from Howard N. Lee, mayor of Chapel Hill, N.C., to President Nixon. It is one black elected official's view of the roots of the current crisis.

Dec. 11, 1973

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Some weeks ago I was in receipt of your mail-o-gram pointing out the urgent need for local political leaders to act immediately to develop plans to conserve energy and then to so inform you. Please be informed that we in Chapel Hill are involved in urging citizens to dispense with all unnecessary lightings and are foregoing Christmas street lighting.

We are reducing the size of municipal automobiles and temperatures in municipal buildings. We have called upon and have gotten tremendous cooperation from our Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association, who have urged local business people to take steps to conserve energy in their places of business. Per your call for the closing of service stations, we have had almost 100 per cent compliance in Chapel Hill, although I personally disagree with this action.

We have also established an Energy Conservation Advisory Council, which is made up of representatives from the city of Chapel Hill, the town of Carrboro, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Chapel Hill-Carrboro Public School System. This council will carry on a continuous program of monitoring conservation activities, dispensing public information, as well as providing assistance and making recommendations to local decision makers.

Mr. President, although we are extremely small, I feel these are giant steps, which will aid in the relief of the total problem. Please be informed that we intend to do our part to aid during this difficult period of the energy shortage.

HOWEVER I MUST point out that our success will depend greatly on the degree of confidence that citizens have in us as leaders. Therefore it is imperative

that we not only set good examples of making sacrifices ourselves, but we must also ensure that all our citizens perceive that fairness, justice and equality are built into any plan we put into effect.

Consequently, I must then suggest that you, Mr. President, consider acting aggressively in the following manner:

That Air Force One be grounded, except in cases of essential need for presidential travel; that Secretary of State Kissinger's world travels be cut by a minimum of 60 per cent; that you, Mr. President, close the White Houses in San Clemente and Key Biscayne and cut back the use of space in the present White House by 50 per cent; that all monies for energy research be immediately released from impoundment and channeled to those sources which might provide us with the answers to the causes of our energy problems and the ways to solve them; that major amounts of money be put into public and mass transportation systems such as the one we are starting in Chapel Hill, and that these systems be guaranteed the necessary fuel to operate; that an immediate ceiling be put on the price of home heating oil, gasoline and diesel fuel and that serious consideration be given to rationing rather than increasing prices and regressive taxes which can only discriminate against the poor or middle-income American citizens; that all space flights be discontinued until after we have a better handle on our energy problems.

As I see it, this is the only direction for us to proceed at this time or there is little hope for us to think that we are making progress toward a satisfactory end.

I hope, Mr. President, that you will take these suggestions and give serious consideration to acting in the affirmative. I can assure you that we in Chapel Hill will do our part, but at the same time, we would like to see the executive branch of government taking more aggressive steps to champion this cause on behalf of the masses rather than let it continue to flow loosely in favor of the powerful, the wealthy and corporate few.

Howard N. Lee
Mayor

FOCUS

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The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies**, 1426 H Street NW Suite 926 Washington D.C. 20005 (202) 638-4477 JCPS sponsored by Howard University and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, is a private non-profit and non-partisan organization which provides research, education, technical assistance and information for the nation's minority elected officials. JCPS is funded by foundations, other organizations and private gifts. Contributions are tax exempt.

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Poor to bear burden of energy crisis

The following article is drawn from testimony by Joint Center Research Director Herrington J. Bryce to the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs at hearings January 21 on the effect of the energy crisis on the poor and minorities.

WE ARE IN the midst of an energy crisis, we are told, for many reasons. Whatever the weight of these reasons, there is cynicism and hardship among the poor and among blacks.

Blacks, like most working class people, are likely to pay a disproportionate share of the burden of the energy crisis. The black unemployment rate might initially increase more slowly than the white rate because many of the industries which are most directly affected by the energy crisis, such as airlines and plastics, employ few blacks. But as the energy shortage works its way through the economy, the black unemployment rate will take off rapidly, perhaps reaching 12 or 13 percent. Unemployment of black teenagers, already high, will soar out of sight.

Unfortunately, as unemployment rises inflation will worsen because every good and service we buy will be affected by the shortage. Current price controls will help little because many products are not subject to such controls. Therefore, not only will we earn fewer dollars, but those dollars will be worth less.

INFLATION ALWAYS affects blacks and the lower working class much more than it affects the middle class and the rich. Many blacks who had a foot in the middle class last year may now fall out as they lose jobs or as their incomes become inadequate to maintain a middle-class style of life. Many blacks who had been at the brink of poverty will now go under. Many blacks are not covered by unemployment insurance and inadequately covered by social security. Poverty will increase.

The black and minority business community is also likely to be hurt. Automobile dealers and gasoline filling stations are the number one source of receipts among black businesses, and fourth among businesses owned by Spanish-speaking Americans.

Serious problems will face renters. Landlords might use the energy crisis as an excuse for reducing heat below recommended levels, or to boost rents or cut services. My recommendation is not that landlords be severely fined; the public treasury should not be enlarged at the expense of poor tenants. Instead, rents should be reduced or the tenants otherwise compensated.

Some landlords may simply abandon buildings that cost too much to heat, while others will sell to developers who will remodel the buildings for more affluent middle-class families suddenly interested in moving back to the city because commuting has become too expensive. At the same time, suburban areas are pushing "no-growth" policies, which have the effect of excluding blacks and poor people.

HEATING OIL is too important to be left to the whims of the market. Poor people who use heating oil have only two choices: use a certain amount, or freeze.

We must control both the price and the distribution of heating oil, because poor people cannot afford higher prices and because distributors would prefer to sell to the highest bidder. Moreover, the energy crisis promises to change our way of building homes, because many construction materials are petroleum derivatives or require a high energy input in their production. Homebuilders will try to use inferior substitutes.

The shortage of gasoline, though important, is less critical than the shortage of heating oil. There are a number of ways in which we can function (although with some discomfort) with less gasoline. Let's look at some of the proposed policies for solving the gasoline shortage.

The excess profit tax would permit prices to rise enough to encourage exploration by oil companies, but not give them a rip-off.

It would do little to increase production or reduce prices. To avoid a rip-off, however, an excess profit tax should be enacted, but receipts should not be used to finance further exploration, as the administration has suggested. This would simply provide a subsidy to the oil industry. Instead, receipts should be used to improve much-needed and ecologically sound mass transportation. Receipts will be small, however, because oil companies will disguise their profits.

The administration's rationing scheme would not keep fuel prices down. Prices will rise anyway, because of higher prices posted by foreign producers, the higher cost of producing domestic oil from new sources, and the higher cost of operating retail outlets. Most poor families could not participate in the market for excess coupons. Those who need to buy could not afford it; those families with only one parent present, and with no children over 18, would not stand a chance of obtaining excess coupons to sell.

The free market — It is quite possible that, as prices rise, people will find ways to get along with less gasoline. But this will heap hardship on the poor. They will be priced out of the market. Many budgets will be unduly strained.

In short, none of these major proposals will save the poor and black from being disproportionately injured.

INSTEAD, we need programs to answer the problems of the poor. We need a vigorous public employment program. We need an escalator clause for AFDC payments to compensate welfare recipients for inflation. We must provide subsidies to poor people injured by the energy crisis. We should allocate more funds to help the poor improve their own homes. We must make sure landlords do not victimize the poor. We should form a national commission on the consumption of energy to represent the views of consumers.

Public transit in the spotlight

"Transportation, as we all know, is a link between persons and activities, and trips are usually taken when the benefits from the trip are more than the cost . . . For many of the poor, the benefits of a particular trip outweigh the immediate costs, yet they still do not travel, for to travel on their limited income would mean that transportation would be taking money away from the other vital necessities. So the poor are restricted to a much narrower range of activities than the non-poor and this significantly influences their lives in terms of employment, health opportunities, and educational opportunities."

Jon E. Burkhardt, Transportation expert

PUBLIC TRANSIT has come out of the shadows and into the spotlight. Although neither the idea nor the practice is new, public transit has become more important in the public mind because of the warnings about air pollution and because of the impact of the energy crisis on other forms of transportation. It is disheartening that this new sensitivity has not been caused by the transportation problems of people who must use public transit for survival. But minority groups can use this new awareness to help solve old problems.

Transit needs—City residents, especially low-income and minority groups concentrated in urban areas, are more often expressing their concerns about transit service.

The National League of Cities, in a study of eight central cities, found ". . . transit routes are too often based on the travel patterns of half a century or more ago. Many bus lines still religiously follow the route of the streetcar lines laid out in the late 19th century. There is still a strong emphasis focused on the central business district. Shifts of population and need have not often resulted in a relevant switch in route location. Many poverty areas were completely bypassed . . . and the linkage to places of job opportunity for low-skilled, low-income persons was poor, due mainly to the central business district-oriented radial routing."

In most American cities, it is difficult to travel across town without going into the central business district and transferring to another vehicle.

In addition, most metro systems are designed primarily to bring suburban commuters into the city. Although it is important to improve transit in suburban areas and reduce the number of commuter cars, this should not be emphasized to the exclusion of systems which move city residents efficiently within the city. It is possible to achieve both goals, as exemplified by the older subway systems in cities such as Boston and Chicago which serve their central city residents well.

A striking exception to such over-emphasis on suburbia is the Atlanta plan. The Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) has developed an urban transit plan which is expected to meet the varying needs of residents. The plan was developed as a result of consultation with residents of the central city as well as with other groups. Since one of the political realities in Atlanta is that blacks have the political power to block referendums which are not in their best interests,

leaders consulted them as the plan was being developed.

Captive riders—Of equal concern are the millions of captive riders, those who have no option other than public transit. They tend to be the elderly, the handicapped, the young, and low-income groups. The terms "captive riders" and "transit deprived" (those who have no transportation or insufficient transportation available to them) apply to substantial numbers of Americans. For example, according to the Bureau of Census, approximately 10 per cent of the population is 65 years old or older. Not all people in this age group are without transportation opportunities, but the majority live on fixed incomes, tend to operate fewer automobiles, and have more physical disabilities than younger people.

Responsive public transit has been called "the glue" in services to the needy. Poor people need to be able to get to the clinic, the welfare office, the department of public housing, the manpower training facility, or the new educational program set up to help them overcome their problems.

In the words of one senior citizen, uncovered by a Santa Cruz, California, project designed to find elderly poor who weren't being helped, "Surplus food is available to needy people if you can get to the welfare office to certify your eligibility every month, . . . if you can get a ride to the food depot at the county hospital, if you can remember to bring a box, and if you can carry it down the stairs and keep your balance."

Minority representation—Black elected and appointed officials have a first-hand knowledge of the transportation needs of low-income and other transit deprived groups. But minorities have had difficulty getting representation on transit regulatory bodies and comprehensive planning boards, where they could put their knowledge to use.

Few minority representatives serve on the more than 100,000 boards, authorities, and commissions having policy-making authority. The proliferation of governmental bodies with transit authority is due in part to the federal government's requirement that transportation funds be granted only to transit projects which are in keeping with an area's comprehensive transportation plans. The majority of the positions on the boards of transportation agencies are appointive. Black officials need to bring pressure to bear on the governor of the state, as he usually makes the appointments, subject to confirmation by the state legislature.

Of all of these bodies, the most feasible target may be those that regulate the publicly-owned transit companies which serve the nation. A recent survey of regulatory bodies showed that of a total of 2,262 members of boards for agencies responding to the survey, there were only 167 representatives of minority groups — 136 blacks, 15 Spanish surnamed, 10 orientals, and 6 American Indians. Worse than the underrepresentation of minority groups, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the thousands of handicapped people who are mobile enough to hold jobs has ever

Continued on page 5

Potential influence of low income voters in congressional districts

POVERTY IS A particularly significant factor in one-fifth of the nation's congressional districts, a study of 1970 census data shows.

Analysis by the research department of the Joint Center for Political Studies demonstrates that in 93 of the nation's 435 congressional districts, 15 per cent or more of the families had income below the poverty level.

Even more striking is the number of families whose income, although above the official poverty line, was still well below the level most Americans would consider comfortable. In 63 congressional districts, half of all families had incomes below \$7,500 per year.

THESE FINDINGS suggest that in more than one-fifth of all congressional districts, a significant proportion of all families, both black and white, have a particularly strong common interest in a variety of social and economic policies which affect them.

They also suggest that, to the extent that these families are aware of current policy issues and their common interests, they will take a hard look at what Congress does or fails to do with respect to federal programs for poor and low-income families.

In 22 of the 93 districts with high proportions of poor families, most of those families are believed to be white. Data are not available by congressional district to show the race of families under the poverty level. However, data do show that in 55 districts, half of all white families in the district earned less than \$8,000 a year. In the other districts with high proportions of poor families, the poverty group included various combinations of white, black, Spanish-speaking and Indian families. In 46 of the districts, blacks constituted 25 per cent or more of the total population.

Seventeen of the 93 districts are represented in Congress by Republicans, the remaining 76 by Democrats.

THESE FACTS about poverty, and the potential for helping poor families of all races realize their common interests, were recognized by the late George Wiley, who formed the Movement for Economic Justice to bring together persons of all races in a coalition based on their economic interests. The income figures for congressional districts support that approach.

While hard figures are not available to translate poverty figures into potential votes, few candidates would be able to ignore such sizeable segments of their electorates if those segments were unified.

One important point in assessing these figures: The federal government's official definition of poverty which was in use in 1970, of \$3,745 for a non-farm family of four, is a standardized figure, based on adjustments for family size. However, the median income for each congressional district simply measures the mid-point, below which half of all families fall. It does not measure how large those families are.

Of course, a family of six which earns \$7,500 a year would be in a tighter financial bind than a family of two with exactly the same income, all other things being equal. Also, families in rural areas generally get along

more easily on low incomes than do families in cities.

Thus, not all families below the median in a given district are equally "poor," but the figures do give an indication of the number of families which are well below the level of what is usually considered a comfortable life.

In March, 1973, the Joint Center for Political Studies published a list of 86 congressional districts in which black voters could have considerable potential influence, either because of their absolute numbers or because of their numbers in relation to the margin by which the incumbent was elected in 1972. The present study bases its analysis on income rather than race. It includes 30 districts which did not appear in the earlier study.

THERE ARE growing signs that persons concerned with black politics recognize the potential for joining with people of other races with similar economic interests.

For example, Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), in a speech to the 1973 Congressional Black Caucus dinner, called for "free-floating coalitions" across racial lines to affect political decisions and public policies which have impact on all poor people regardless of race.

Congressional Black Caucus members have been making the same point, and JCPS President Eddie N. Williams has noted that Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's election victory in June, 1973, "put to rest assumptions that black candidates win only in areas with majority or large black populations." Los Angeles has a black population of only 13 per cent. Since then, black mayors have been elected in such cities and towns as Raleigh, N.C., which is 23 per cent black; Grand Rapids, Mich., 12 per cent black, and College Park, Md., only 3.3 per cent black.

SIXTY-FOUR of the 93 poorest congressional districts are in the South. Kentucky, West Virginia and Tennessee, part of the Appalachian area, contain the largest number of these districts with small percentages of black residents. In Kentucky's fifth congressional district, for example, where 36.1 percent of the families are below the poverty level, half of them have incomes below \$4,660 per year, and only three percent of the residents are black.

In 18 of the districts with large proportions of lower income persons, over 10 percent of the families are of Spanish heritage.

The census figures also show that of the 93 districts with more than 15 per cent of families below the poverty level, 50 districts had more than 20 percent of families below the poverty level, and in eight districts more than 30 percent of the families were below that level.

Research for this study was conducted by Kenneth S. Colburn, JCPS deputy director of research, and Alan E. Warrick, research assistant.

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Congressional districts with 10 per cent or more
of families below poverty level
1970 Census figures

State	Congressional District	Percent Families in Poverty (Less than \$3745)	Median Family Income Overall	White	Black	Percent Black Population	Percent Spanish Heritage	Congressman
Alabama		20.7	\$7263	\$8205	\$8047	26.2	-	
	1	21.6	\$7305	\$8581	\$4054	32.7	-	Jack Edwards (R)
	2	23.3	\$6749	\$7975	\$3595	29.8	-	William L. Dickinson (R)
	3	22.2	\$6817	\$7852	\$4082	31.3	-	Bill Nichols (D)
	4	22.7	\$6350	\$6539	\$4020	8.5	-	Tom Beville (D)
	5	16.7	\$8271	\$8761	\$4312	13.3	-	Robert E. Jones (D)
	7	24.8	\$6806	\$8390	\$3601	37.9	-	Walter Flowers (D)
Arkansas		22.9	\$6271	\$6827	\$3453	18.3	-	
	1	30.2	\$5381	\$6121	\$2752	23.1	-	Bill Alexander (D)
	2	17.0	\$7484	\$7999	\$4311	16.3	-	Wilbur D. Mills (D)
	3	20.0	\$6057	\$6120	\$3878	2.6	-	John P. Hammerschmidt (R)
California *	4	24.9	\$6191	\$7272	\$3533	31.3	-	Ray Thornton (D)
		8.4	\$10,729	\$10,966	\$7482	7.0	15.5	
	21	21.5	\$7060	\$8008	\$6174	54.2	21.1	Augustus F. Hawkins (D)**
	30	15.0	\$7768	\$7682	\$6543	3.9	49.5	Edward R. Roybal (D)
Florida		12.7	\$8261	\$8812	\$4981	15.3	6.6	
	1	16.1	\$7621	\$8115	\$4517	14.4	1.6	Robert L. F. Sikes (D)
	2	21.7	\$7071	\$8204	\$3982	28.0	1.2	Don Fuqua (D)
	3	15.4	\$8252	\$9308	\$5149	26.0	1.2	Charles E. Bennett (D)
	5	15.2	\$6910	\$7323	\$4653	16.0	1.3	Bill Gunter (D)
Georgia		16.8	\$8165	\$9176	\$4742	25.8	0.6	
	1	22.0	\$7102	\$8464	\$4010	33.6	0.6	Bo Ginn (D)
	2	26.7	\$6238	\$7718	\$3549	36.8	0.4	Dawson Mathis (D)
	3	19.3	\$7550	\$8658	\$4524	32.0	1.1	Jack Brinkley (D)
	5	15.1	\$9050	\$11,866	\$6083	44.2	1.0	Andrew Young (D)**
	8	23.0	\$6836	\$7981	\$3976	31.0	0.3	Bill Stuckey, Jr. (D)
	9	15.3	\$7657	\$7789	\$5219	6.3	0.2	Phil M. Landrum (D)
	9	19.9	\$7307	\$8567	\$4534	32.8	0.7	Robert G. Stephens, Jr. (D)
	10							
		7.7	\$10,957	\$11,312	\$7797	12.8	3.3	
Illinois		17.3	\$8373	\$12,353	\$7983	88.9	1.2	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D)**
	1	22.4	\$7536	\$9075	\$6247	54.9	16.6	Cardiss Collins (D)
	7	15.4	\$7501	\$7601	\$3986	3.9	0.4	Kenneth J. Gray (D)
	24							
Kentucky		19.3	\$7439	\$7602	\$5128	7.2	-	
	1	19.3	\$6788	\$7052	\$3728	9.0	-	Frank A. Stubblefield (D)
	2	18.4	\$7042	\$7165	\$5173	6.0	-	William H. Natcher (D)
	5	36.1	\$4660	\$4694	\$3734	3.0	-	Tim Lee Carter (R)
	7	30.9	\$5528	\$5549	\$3809	1.5	-	Carl D. Perkins (D)
	4	21.3	\$7302	\$7302	\$3425	31.4	1.2	John R. Rarick (D)
	6	19.4	\$8230	\$6888	\$4325	29.7	1.2	John B. Breaux (D)
	7	22.3	\$7197	\$8083	\$3882	21.1	0.8	Gillis W. Long (D)
	8	29.9	\$6092	\$7491	\$3478	36.2	0.9	
		7.7	\$11,057	\$11,629	\$7696	17.8	1.4	
Maryland		18.3	\$7841	\$9053	\$7408	74.0	0.8	Parren J. Mitchell (D)**
	7							
Michigan		7.3	\$11,029	\$11,301	\$8498	11.2	1.4	
	13	21.2	\$7770	\$8727	\$7259	65.8	2.1	Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D)**
Minnesota		8.3	\$9928	\$9961	\$7672	0.9	-	
	7	16.1	\$7089	\$7120	\$3833	0.1	-	Bob Bergland (D)
Mississippi		29.0	\$6068	\$7577	\$3200	36.8	-	
	1	31.5	\$5577	\$6919	\$2846	35.5	-	Jamie L. Whitten (D)
	2	33.8	\$5446	\$7454	\$2968	45.9	-	David R. Bowen (D)
	3	33.9	\$5320	\$6984	\$2869	40.4	-	G. V. Montgomery (D)
	4	26.1	\$6802	\$9192	\$3652	43.1	-	Thad Cochran (R)
Missouri		20.1	\$7053	\$7622	\$4161	19.4	-	Trent Lott (R)
		11.6	\$8908	\$9138	\$6612	10.3	0.9	
	1	15.1	\$8485	\$10,401	\$6930	54.3	0.7	William (Bill) Clay (D)**
	7	16.5	\$6832	\$6847	\$5450	0.8	0.4	James W. Symington (D)
	10	19.9	\$7048	\$7786	\$6187	5.4	0.3	Bill D. Burlison (D)
New Mexico		18.6	\$7845	\$8114	\$5203	1.9	40.1	
	1	18.1	\$8187	\$8327	\$6443	1.5	48.9	Manuel Lujan, Jr. (R)
New York *	2	19.1	\$7551	\$7924	\$4677	2.3	31.1	Harold Runnels (D)
		8.5	\$10,609	\$11,026	\$7292	11.9	4.8	
	12	25.1	\$6344	\$5889	\$6461	77.1	13.5	Shirley Chisholm (D)**
	14	20.5	\$6959	\$7196	\$6279	23.2	24.6	John J. Rooney (D)
	19	21.0	\$6712	\$7707	\$6296	58.7	17.3	Charles B. Rangel (D)**
North Carolina		29.4	\$5613	\$5480	\$5807	41.7	43.8	Herman Badillo (D)
		16.5	\$7770	\$8504	\$4798	-	-	
	1	24.9	\$6368	\$7700	\$3854	35.8	-	Walter B. Jones (D)
	2	24.2	\$6550	\$8053	\$4048	40.1	-	L. H. Fountain (D)
	3	23.7	\$6193	\$6910	\$4129	26.7	-	David N. Henderson (D)
Ohio		21.0	\$6875	\$7978	\$4459	25.6	-	Charles Rose (D)
	7	18.7	\$6857	\$6972	\$4860	5.7	-	Roy A. Taylor (D)
	11							
Ohio		7.6	\$10,309	\$10,521	\$7763	9.1	0.9	
	21	17.1	\$8573	\$9785	\$7892	66.3	0.8	Louis Stokes (D)

Table continued on next page

Oklahoma	15.1	\$7720	\$7997	\$4529	6.7	1.4	
2	20.2	\$6567	\$9961	\$3401	6.3	0.5	Clem Rogers McSpadden (D)
3	23.3	\$5846	\$6079	\$3135	5.9	0.7	Carl Albert (D)
Pennsylvania	7.9	\$9554	\$9730	\$7162	8.6	0.4	
2	15.7	\$8670	\$11,413	\$7448	65.0	0.3	Robert N. C. Nix (D)**
South Carolina	19.1	\$7620	\$8760	\$4443	30.4	-	
1	22.6	\$7355	\$8849	\$4197	34.0	-	Mendel J. Davis (D)
2	18.8	\$7900	\$9376	\$4579	33.8	-	Floyd Spence (R)
5	18.3	\$7623	\$8682	\$4627	31.6	-	Tom S. Gettys (D)
6	28.6	\$6203	\$7942	\$3574	42.2	-	Edward Young (R)
South Dakota	14.8	\$7490	\$7619	\$5721	0.3	-	
2	16.2	\$7283	\$7518	\$5449	0.4	-	James Abdnor (R)
Tennessee	18.3	\$7447	\$7872	\$4839	15.8	-	
1	19.2	\$6820	\$6866	\$4596	2.4	-	James H. Quillen (R)
2	18.6	\$7285	\$7424	\$5000	5.9	-	John J. Duncan (R)
3	16.2	\$7940	\$8250	\$4994	11.2	-	LaMar Baker (R)
4	21.8	\$6451	\$6576	\$4547	6.3	-	Joe L. Evins (D)
6	20.2	\$7151	\$7603	\$3985	13.7	-	Robin L. Beard (R)
7	20.3	\$7030	\$7741	\$3754	19.3	-	Ed Jones (D)
8	18.6	\$7874	\$9878	\$5166	47.5	-	Dan H. Quaykandall (R)
Texas *	14.7	\$8486	\$8926	\$5330	12.5	18.4	
1	20.8	\$6549	\$7231	\$4042	22.6	0.9	Wright Patman (D)
2	19.9	\$7258	\$8058	\$3866	20.5	2.6	Charles Wilson (D)
10	16.2	\$7839	\$8493	\$4414	14.7	14.8	J. J. (Jake) Pickle (D)
11	16.7	\$6963	\$7306	\$4540	12.2	8.2	W. R. Poage (D)
14	18.6	\$7869	\$8196	\$4246	7.2	36.5	John Young (D)
15	38.7	\$5035	\$3036	\$4667	0.5	75.0	E. (Kika) de la Garza (D)
16	17.0	\$7848	\$918	\$5918	3.3	50.2	Richard C. White (D)
17	16.0	\$7010	\$4387	\$4387	3.7	9.2	Omar Burleson (D)
18	18.0	\$7343	\$8424	\$5873	41.6	18.6	Barbara Jordan (D)**
19	15.0	\$8326	\$8556	\$4591	5.9	19.1	George H. Mahon (D)
20	22.6	\$6567	\$6717	\$3363	10.8	59.7	Henry B. Gonzalez (D)
23	24.9	\$6482	\$6584	\$3962	3.4	47.6	Abraham Kazen, Jr. (D)
Virginia	12.4	\$9045	\$9763	\$5740	18.5	1.0	
4	15.0	\$8294	\$9484	\$5779	37.1	0.7	Robert W. Daniel, Jr. (R)
5	17.3	\$7471	\$8330	\$4942	29.0	0.3	W. C. Dan Daniel (D)
9	20.7	\$6608	\$6639	\$5323	2.4	0.2	William C. Wampler (R)
West Virginia	18.1	\$7414	\$7493	\$4851	3.8	-	
2	21.2	\$6437	\$6511	\$4285	3.5	-	Harley O. Staggers (D)
3	19.2	\$7574	\$7607	\$6229	3.1	-	John Slack (D)
4	20.8	\$7039	\$7196	\$4437	6.9	-	Ken Hechler (D)

SOURCE U S Bureau of the Census, *Congressional District Data Book*, October 1972, 1970 Census

* California and Texas congressional districts have been reapportioned since publication of these figures, and several New York City districts may be reapportioned

Black Congresspersons

been asked to serve on a regulatory body.

Transportation regulatory bodies should be reasonable reflections of the population of the areas they serve in terms of race, income, age, sex, and physical handicaps. Not only would a more equitable representation of various groups provide for attention to divergent needs, but it would also increase public awareness of the issues involved in providing adequate service.

Transit as a public service—The late Whitney Young, head of the National Urban League, once said to a group of transit planners, "The Army isn't expected to make a profit. The moon and space programs aren't expected to balance the books. We don't charge fees for a police patrol or a sanitation pickup; they are considered basic social services that come out of general revenues."

Public transportation is a public service just like fire and police protection and public education. But transit systems are weak economically because people who can afford their own cars prefer to drive them rather than take a bus. Despite the fact that transit systems can not support themselves, current federal policy bars use of federal grant money for subsidizing operations, such as paying the salaries of the drivers.

There are some municipal and other governments which provide money for public transportation, but more commonly transit agencies are required to provide service from fare box revenues. Local jurisdictions, already overburdened with the cost of providing other services, are often unable to make more money available to public transit. However, there is help available.

Federal help—The Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA), one of seven administrations within the Department of Transportation, is responsible for improving public transportation systems. Since UMTA was established in 1968, the original federal Mass Transit Assistance Program has been amended, and additional related legislation has been passed. Under current legislation, any responsible local official or group can apply to UMTA for a capital grant to acquire, construct, reconstruct, or improve equipment or transit facilities. If the project meets UMTA's planning requirements, the government will fund 80 per cent of the cost of the project, leaving the community to raise the additional 20 per cent. The UMTA budget for fiscal year 1974 is \$872 million for capital grants.

Technical studies grants are also made for the development of regional transportation plans. During fiscal year 1974, approximately \$38 million is available for technical studies. Local communities are expected to raise 20 per cent of the cost of technical studies also. Most funds for technical studies are granted to regional planning agencies.

In addition to UMTA funds, some money from the Highway Trust Fund have been made available for mass transit. New legislation provides that highway funds, which are apportioned to each state based on the ratio of the urban population of that state to the

national urban population, can be used for urban systems. Urban areas of 200,000 population or more are eligible for a share of each state's apportionment.

This description of legislation only highlights various types of federal transportation funds and the purposes for which they are available. Additional and complete information and assistance can be obtained from:

The Office of Public Affairs
Urban Mass Transportation Administration
(UPA — I) 400 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20910
(202) 426-4043

From private to public—In the past, most public transit systems were privately owned and operated for profit. Now, the majority are publicly owned and operated as non-profit systems. This change has come about partly because the nation's bus and subway systems ceased to make money for their owners. The public takeover of deteriorated transit systems does represent an acknowledgment that public transit is necessary and desirable.

However, public acknowledgment is not the same as private commitment. With more than 105 million motor vehicles in use today, Americans have demonstrated that "the love affair with the automobile" has not ended. It has been predicted that if the present rate of auto use is continued, by the year 2000 the number of motor vehicles in use will double. Transportation authorities point out that the number of cars in our cities is increasing more rapidly than the urban human population.

It has become clear that federal subsidies are needed to help transit systems lure riders from freeways to buses and subways. The Federal Highway Act of 1973 provides that one-half of one per cent of all apportioned federal highway funds will go to metropolitan areas. This is a beginning; the end result should be a unified transportation fund, fed by Highway Trust Fund money.

These are only a few of the transit issues which have an impact on the lives of minority and low-income groups. Knowing where to begin — where concerns can be directed — may be the greatest obstacle. Find out which planning agency in your area is responsible for urban transportation. Is the transit system in your community publicly owned? Who regulates it? Are there minority representatives? Are any federal grants proposed for your area? Is information about routes, fare, transfer points, times readily available?

Get the names of the people on your local transportation regulatory body so that you can direct your inquiries and concerns to those who have the power to make a change. Many of these officials will be happy to hear from you, because the public commitment to efficient transit systems is new, and you can help by making your concerns known. Your transit representatives are also learning about new options for the first time. Find out what's going on in your community and then help tap federal resources to alleviate the problem.

Jeanne Fox, Research Associate

Blacks vs. environmentalists in Florida

"BLACKS HAVE no permanent enemies and no permanent friends, only permanent interests," according to the current political rule of thumb.

In a striking example of how that can work, blacks in Jacksonville, Fla., have successfully opposed environmentalists in a legal struggle which could be a precedent either to repeated clashes between the two groups or to new cooperation.

The battle arose from plans of Westinghouse Electric Co. and Tenneco, Inc., a giant fuels producer, to jointly build floating nuclear power plants, most of which would be stationed in the Atlantic or the Gulf a few miles offshore. Each plant would cost \$500 million and generate 1,125 megawatts of power.

The plants would be constructed on 950 acres of marshland near Jacksonville, Fla., about seven miles inland from the Atlantic. Offshore Power Systems, a firm created by Westinghouse and Tenneco, quickly purchased the land from Jacksonville Port Authority, and obtained permission from the Army Corps of Engineers to dredge and fill the marshy area around a man-made area called Blounts Island. The Corps is required to approve all dredging that affects waterways. The construction would involve building a bulkhead to block a waterway called Back River.

Last September, the Florida Audubon Society filed suit in federal court seeking to void the dredge and fill permit.

The environmentalist group charged that the project would "transform a stable, productive and dynamic diverse set of riverine and marine ecosystems into a sterile industrial, navigational complex."

As the legal basis for the suit, titled *Florida Audubon Society v. Callaway*, the society charged that the Corps of Engineers had failed to hold required public hearings before issuing a permit; that the Environmental Impact Statement filed by the Corps, as required by law, was inadequate, and that the Corps had failed to consider the project's effect on water quality and on fish and wildlife.

The Audubon Society's officials say the effect on the marshland is serious, but even more serious are potential dangers of having atomic reactors floating in the ocean. If an accident happened, said Audubon society head Hal Scott, radioactive material would quickly float to populated areas on land. The society's suit urges that this should be considered before the construction project is allowed to proceed. The Atomic Energy Commission is not expected to review the plant design before 1975; the first plant would be completed about 1978.

THE BLACK community responded quickly to the Audubon Society suit. In a successful petition to be allowed to enter the case as intervenors, a group of black organizations pointed out that the proposed project would create between 10,000 and 14,000 jobs, and that Offshore Power Systems had signed a commitment to give 23 per cent of those jobs, at all levels, to blacks. That figure equals the proportion of blacks in the Jacksonville area population.

The OPS project was particularly important, the black groups said, because the Jacksonville economy has been relatively stagnant, with many people, especially blacks, unemployed or underemployed. About 14 per cent of the city's population, both black and white, earns less than the federal poverty level.

Entry of OPS into the labor market, and its promise to train many blacks in skilled jobs, has already spurred other building contractors and building trade unions to agree to open up employment to blacks. If OPS had not entered the picture, said Clanzel T. Brown of the Jacksonville Urban League, new job opportunities in the 1970s would drop by 55 per cent, and many of those that would occur would be in skilled trades from which blacks in the past have been excluded.

Justice Department lawyers, defending the Corps of Engineers, said the Corps' statement on the environmental impact of the OPS project was adequate, although they acknowledged that it relied in part on a study commissioned by OPS itself.

The city's businessmen and local officials, anxious to attract new residents and tax money, have strenuously backed the OPS plant.

Thus, the issue was joined: Environmental concerns versus jobs and economic development.

And the sides were drawn: The 25,000 member Audubon Society versus the black coalition, the city establishment, the federal government and two of the nation's largest corporations.

U.S. District Court Judge Charles R. Scott on January 29 threw out the Audubon suit, ruling that the Corps' impact statement was sufficient. He said the court has authority to rule on the "substantive issue" of whether AEC design approval was needed before the Corps issued its permit.

BUT EVEN before the outcome of this case was known, black groups and environmental groups were talking about the need for them to understand each other's concern.

Brown of the Urban League says the Audubon Society should have checked with blacks before it filed suit. Scott of the Audubon Society says he didn't know that blacks had been promised jobs at the project at the time the suit was filed, but that his overriding concerns about nuclear accidents and the need to follow the letter of federal environmental laws would have led him to file the suit anyway.

But both agree that blacks and environmentalists are not natural enemies, and that in the future similar conflicts between the two might be avoided by plenty of communication before positions are solidified.

In Brown's view, "Environmentalists haven't really reached out to say, 'Hey we're part of this,' " and have often lost sight of the need for developing human resources. In Scott's view, environmentalists and blacks should be "careful not to allow the power structure to drive a wedge between us."

One lesson is certain: In the words of Clanzel Brown, "environmental groups and black groups need to touch base more."

Telescope

Manpower compromise in effect

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES in federal manpower programs have been brought about through recent passage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. That legislation is a compromise between the administration's attempt to institute manpower revenue sharing, and the desire of many members of Congress to place closer federal supervision over the program than revenue sharing would provide. It replaces the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. At the same time, it extends the public service job program passed in 1971.

The new manpower law contains four programs. The heart is "comprehensive manpower services," which combines the previous categorical manpower programs into a single block grant.

Block grants will be distributed on a formula basis to "prime sponsors"—states, local jurisdictions with over 100,000 population, and certain combinations of smaller units. They can be used for a wide variety of services aimed at job creation and development and manpower training and education. Smaller jurisdictions obtain manpower funds through the state if they are not part of a group or rural area funded directly. States and localities will be able to choose which particular manpower programs they will operate.

Unlike general revenue sharing, however, applicants are required to submit to the federal agency a "comprehensive manpower plan" which, among other things, a) describes the services to be provided and performance goals; b) provides assurances that, to the maximum extent feasible, services will be provided to those most in need, and c) brings community-based organizations serving the poor and other special target groups into program planning.

While the U.S. Department of Labor is required to review and approve these plans, the input of black elected officials and others will be vital in seeing that effective federal oversight takes place.

THE SECOND program under the new law is a public employment program to allow state and local governments to hire individuals in "transitional" jobs to perform services for the public benefit. This program began under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, and is now continued at a lower funding level. Also, public service jobs are now to go only to areas with over 6.5 percent unemployment, where they previously could reach to all parts of the country.

Expansion of the public employment job program is likely to become a major issue, particularly in the face of a skyrocketing unemployment rate which could result from the energy crisis. The current national unemployment rate is 5.2 per cent.

The third program is a manpower training and job program directed toward "special target groups," namely persons of limited English-speaking ability, youth, offenders, older workers, Indians, migrant workers, and other persons with particular disadvantages in the labor market. This program will provide

services similar to those under the basic program, but the Secretary of Labor has greater discretion in distributing the funds to achieve the special purposes.

Fourth, a separate section of the law continues the Job Corps program under the Department of Labor. The Job Corps was established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Finally, there will be three levels of councils in which minority participation will be vital: a) the National Commission for Manpower Policy; b) state manpower Services Councils; c) prime sponsor's planning councils (for localities operating programs).

Funds under the new manpower program will begin to be distributed shortly. State and local manpower offices or governors' and mayors' offices should be contacted for further information.

Blacks meet Dem, GOP power brokers

BLACK POLITICAL leaders last month expressed their concerns to key people in both major parties.

Vice President Gerald Ford met on January 11 in a get-acquainted luncheon session with a variety of black leaders, including several black elected officials. Participants said they offered proposals and criticisms, and Ford said he and President Nixon will consider them, although no specific commitments were made.

The meeting appeared to hint at an increased administration interest in black affairs, and perhaps an effort by Ford to counter black leaders' charges that he frequently tried to water down civil rights and social welfare legislation while minority leader of the House.

Elected officials at all or part of the session were Mayors Coleman Young of Detroit, Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles, Johnny Ford of Tuskegee, Ala., and Lyman Parks of Grand Rapids, Mich., Ford's home town, as well as Dr. Ethel Allen, member of the Philadelphia city council.

Earlier, Vice President Ford met with top black appointees in the Nixon administration.

STANLEY SCOTT, advisor to the President on black affairs, met in Atlanta on January 5 with 35 black mayors from the South in response to a request for such a meeting from the second annual Southern Black Mayors' Conference, held last November in Tuskegee. Besides Scott, the top administration spokesman present was James Falk, associate director of the President's Domestic Council, the coordinating group for heads of federal agencies involved in domestic programs.

A. J. Cooper, mayor of Prichard, Ala., and chairman of the southern mayors' group, said the session was marked by "measured criticism and a healthy response." The mayors voiced a number of complaints, such as too much red tape for obtaining grants, a need for more help in sewer and water projects, and a need to be informed of what programs are available. Such problems were described in a JCPS publication, **Southern Black Mayors**, which was authored by Joint

Continued on page 8

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Center deputy research director Kenneth Colburn and released last November.

Cooper said administration officials, including regional officials of several federal agencies, admitted some past mistakes and committed themselves to help. "It was the beginning of a new dialog," Cooper said.

ON THE Democratic side, a dozen prominent black party members met January 10 with Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss to push for greater representation of blacks in key party bodies.

Among the prime proposals was one for four black members on the 17-member party commission which has been assigned the job of deciding whether or not delegations to the next national convention are sufficiently representative of all groups. Strauss reportedly promised to appoint three blacks, and asked blacks to "have confidence" in his judgment on whether to appoint a fourth. Blacks contended that black votes accounted for 25 per cent of all votes for the party's presidential candidate in 1972, so blacks should have a similar proportion of seats on the Commission.

Names in the news

MAYNARD H. JACKSON was sworn in as mayor of Atlanta January 7 in a lively televised ceremony in the overflowing 4600-seat civic center auditorium. Meanwhile, the new city council, with nine blacks and nine whites, asserted itself by stripping the new city council president, Wyche Fowler, of the power to dictate the appointment of all committee chairmanships. The council set up a "quota" system, whereby each council member would chair at least one committee.

REV. S. HOWARD WOODSON JR. was elected by colleagues as the first black speaker of the New Jersey Assembly on December 10. A former state NAACP president and Trenton city commissioner, the Baptist minister became minority leader of the Assembly in 1968. Democrats gained control of the Assembly in last

fall's election, and they elevated him to speaker on the basis of his seniority and record. Although Woodson is believed to be the only black currently serving as speaker of a state legislative body, there have been blacks in the post of president pro tem of state senates, including Sen. Cecil Partee of Illinois and Barbara Jordan of Texas, now a member of the U.S. Congress.

ODELL CLARK, former aide to the late Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., has been named campaign coordinator for U.S. Rep. Ogden Reid's bid for the Democratic nomination for governor of New York. Clark is believed to be the first black coordinator for a major white gubernatorial candidate. Clark was chief investigator for Powell's House Education and Labor Committee from 1962 to 1967, and ran Powell's congressional office in 1967 and from 1969 to 1970.

JAMES S. WILSON JR. has moved from a post as program manager with the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors to take up a new job as city manager of Compton, Cal., a largely-black city, under black Mayor Doris A. Davis. Wilson, who will join an estimated four other blacks in the nation who are professional city managers, said he switched from his high-level job in the influential associations to the nitty-gritty manager's job because he feels it is important to convince Compton's black majority that "we are now the power structure and our problems will get solved only if we solve them, then move on to new plateaus."

Calendar note—The U.S. Department of Agriculture will hold a school for community leaders in rural areas of 13 states in the Southeast. Dates: March 3-9. Place: near Ashville, N.C. Minority group elected officials and community organization leaders are invited to apply. For information: Rural Development Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250; phone (202) 447-2573.

Deadline: Application deadline for 1974 National Urban Fellowships (see January **Focus**) is March 1. Write NUF, P.O. Box 1475, New Haven, Conn. 06506.

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