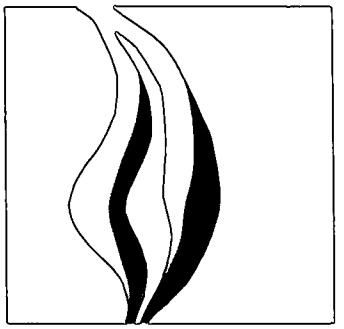
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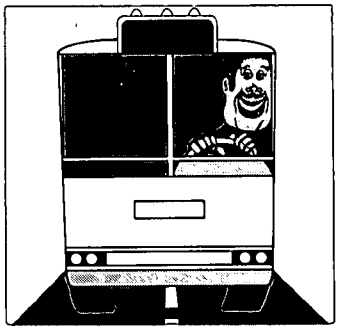
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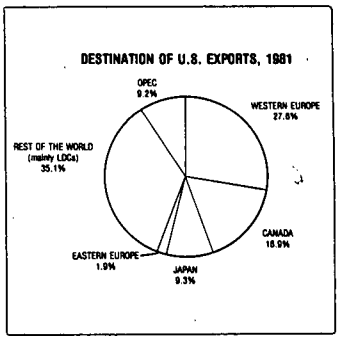
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Includes Index to Focus, Volume 10, 1982

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

For the past two years, blacks have been put on the defensive by Reaganomics and a national conservative mood. There are a few signs, however, that blacks are on the threshold of mounting their own counter-offensive over the next two years. One immediate challenge is to develop a battle plan that harnesses our energies to some common objectives.

Perhaps the most visible indication of the new black counter-offensive was the extraordinary surge of black voters to the polls last November. Developments on other fronts are equally significant, though perhaps smaller in scope.

In Houston, for example, a Black Unity Conference declared, in the words of a spokesman, that "we are organizing for power." The conference is pressing Mayor Kathy Whitmire for commitments on economic development and neighborhood revitalization. It is also demanding that at least 15 percent of all city contracts go to minority businesses.

In New York City, a network of 2,000 black activists has been created "to put pressure on politicians, agencies, and institutions." The city may soon face a budgetary crisis rivaling that of 1975, and blacks want to protect their interests during any new round of cutbacks.

At the national level, black religious leaders, who have been relatively quiet in the public policy arena since the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., are once again flexing their muscle. The seven largest religious denominations have formed a National Congress of Black Churches, a coalition of "65,000 churches and 20 million Christians." The Congress vows to return religious clout to the movement for social justice and economic development.

The emphasis on economic development, coming from the black community's most powerful segment, is both timely and critical to future success. "We are encouraging black churches to bank black," says AME Bishop John Hurst Adams, a founder and chairman of the National Congress. "We have to learn to create jobs for our people, so that our money turns over more than once in our community . . . We have to learn to leverage that money, using it to strengthen black banks which, in turn, could strengthen black businesses."

Ironically, this is precisely the advice that candidate Ronald Reagan gave black Republicans at his party's 1980 convention. It also is consistent with his current appeals for self-help.

Several other developments also may be seen as part of the emerging black counter-offensive. Certainly, the decision by PUSH and the NAACP to boycott businesses that are not supportive of major black interests falls into this category. So, too, do recent closed-door strategy sessions conducted by black scholars and by activists. The results of their deliberations on a black agenda for the eighties are expected to be made public early in the new year. And, finally, the newly created National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary of the Historic March on Washington promises to mobilize a "Coalition of Conscience" behind the continuing search for jobs, peace, and freedom.

These are some of the strategies and related developments emerging at both the national and local levels. They are part of a larger mosaic of activity, and taken together they are at once hopeful and troubling. Hopeful, because they indicate that an independent and creative spirit still prevails in the face of considerable adversity. Troubling, because this energy could easily be dissipated if a common and coherent set of priorities and strategies is not advanced by the black community, particularly the leadership cadre.

Only when we develop those priorities and strategies that make up an effective battle plan will we be able to harness our collective energies and marshal our scattered troops on some crucial fronts. Only then will we be able to recruit others into a truly national "Coalition of Conscience."

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Foreign Trade and Minority Businesses

by Jake M. Dyels, Jr.

(The author is a senior fellow at the Joint Center, on leave from the U.S. Department of State under its Pearson Fellowship program.)

"Twenty-five of the largest exporters in this country account for more than one-third of total U.S. exports. We just do not have enough people involved in foreign trade—and our competitors do," said Malcolm Baldridge, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, in a speech during World Trade Week.

In the face of continuing trade deficits and a dwindling share of the world market, the U.S. government is showing new interest in building foreign trade by small businesses. These businesses, and minority-owned businesses in particular, have done little exporting in the past. But with the domestic economy stagnating, all businesses are looking with growing interest at foreign markets. Hispanics have been somewhat ahead of blacks in this area, because of the geographic proximity of Latin America and recent migration of moneyed and experienced entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, black business men and women have begun to explore the ways in which they can take advantage of overseas markets and government assistance in foreign trade.

Small Businesses and International Trade

The 1981 "Foreign Trade Impact Study" by the Harlem Urban Development Corporation reported the difficulty of measuring small and medium-sized minority-owned firm participation in international trade.

> The smaller firms—particularly the minority enterprises—are just beginning to acquire these [exporting] capabilities. Consequently, they are still insignificant factors in U.S. export activity. Indeed, their export role is so minor that no data on their level of exports appear in any regular, official statistical series. Bits and fragments of information have to be gathered and analyzed in order to arrive at what must be considered preliminary and tentative estimates.

Nevertheless, the study concluded that export opportunities exist for minority-owned firms, and successful export ventures among such firms are increasing. U.S. Commerce Department officials agree. The department estimates that of the 25,000 to 30,000 U.S. manufacturers currently exporting, 10,000 are small firms.

In fact, small businesses are better suited than the larger exporters—by product, volume of sales, and mode of operation—to satisfy the basic commodity needs of some markets, especially the less-developed countries. Importers in these countries are likely to be seeking relatively small quantities of basic commodities such as flashlights or sewing machines, livestock or processed foods, all intended to supply very local needs. Generally, filling such orders is not economically feasible for the large exporter. The flexibility of smaller traders—and even individuals—allows them to tailor a deal to small-scale requirements.

Even in the case of more sophisticated commodities, such as electronics, the flexibility of the small trader can be advantageous. The needs of developing countries often call for systems that are best constructed by combining components from various suppliers. A small firm or individual in the United States can shop around for the most compatible components and put together a suitable package. Normally, the large firms cannot afford to devote this type of personal attention or service to relatively small clients.

Another factor is less tangible but perhaps equally important. Small foreign businesses that fear being outsmarted or overpowered by a large firm may feel more comfortable dealing with "someone their own size."

For U.S. black businesses, the potential for trade with the Caribbean and Africa is particularly high. Such links as family ties and ethnicity can facilitate relationships with foreign trading partners. Some representatives of black African nations, for instance, openly express preference for dealing with black U.S. businesses. At least one African government has an unstated policy: All other things being equal, it chooses to work with the black business representative in the United States.

Much of the recent growth in United States-Latin American trade can be attributed to the cultural ties between the Hispanic population in the United States and the other countries of this hemisphere.

Government Assistance

The federal government has recently been expanding programs to help small businesses determine their exporting capability and to tell them how to establish trade arrangements. Business counseling, marketing information, technical services, and other forms of assistance, including some financial support, are available from a number of government agencies, including:

1. International Trade Administration (ITA) of the Department of Commerce.
2. U.S. Small Business Administration (SBA).
3. Export-Import Bank of the United States (Eximbank).
4. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC).
5. Agency for International Development (AID).*

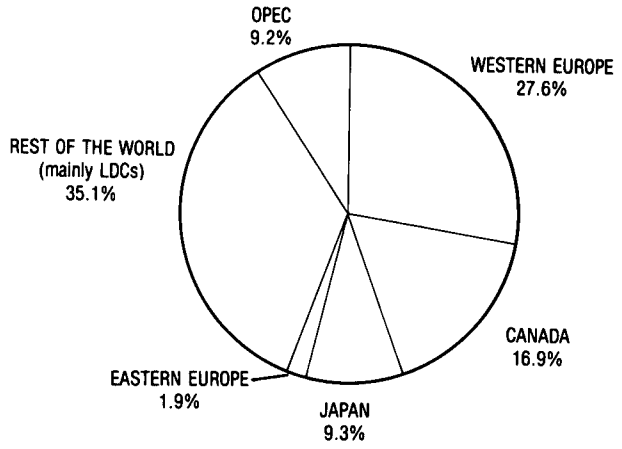
At a recent Washington, D.C. seminar for minority firm owners interested in entering the export arena, representatives of all these agencies participated enthusiastically. "It's as though the government has discovered a new natural resource," commented Errol Gillette, International Program Director for the American Association of MESBICS, the seminar sponsor. "Until recently, it was difficult to depend on the participation of the government offices at a seminar like this one. Not any more. The willingness, even eagerness to participate is encouraging; and I see this change throughout the country."

Why the new interest in foreign trade by small businesses?

Although the United States registered a combined export-import trade total of $473 billion in 1980 (compared to $35 billion in 1960), growth in U.S. manufacturing exports has not kept pace with the

* SBA pamphlet number 7.003 briefly describes the small business services provided by these and other federal agencies.

DESTINATION OF U.S. EXPORTS, 1981



worldwide growth rate. The result is that the U.S. share of the worldwide market has fallen to 12 percent, down from 20 percent in 1960.

Still, approximately 20 percent of the goods produced in the United States today are sold abroad—including 24 percent of our agricultural production, 25 percent of our construction and mining machinery, and 22 percent of our aircraft production. During the last 10 years, exports have doubled as a percentage of our Gross National Product (to 12.5 percent). One in seven manufacturing jobs in the United States depends on exports, up from one in ten in 1977. Foreign trade is thus a vital factor in the economic health of the nation.

As trade patterns have shifted over the past decades, the less developed countries have emerged as important trading partners. The LDCs represent both important markets for U.S. exports and indispensable sources of raw material and other imports. In 1979, LDCs bought 40 percent of all U.S. manufactured exports—$63 billion worth. Of this, members of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) accounted for $15 billion. Several "middle-income," or newly industrialized countries, including Brazil, South Korea, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia, accounted for much of the remaining market. These countries have made impressive strides in recent years, and the World Bank predicts continued growth for them through the 1980s—despite a rather dismal forecast for poorer LDCs, particularly in Africa, and for the world in general.

Between 1973 and 1979, the growth of U.S. goods sold to LDCs averaged 23 percent per year, compared to 16 percent per year for developed countries. We now sell as many manufactured goods to the LDCs as we sell to Europe, Japan, and the communist countries combined.

Nevertheless, the United States has experienced trade deficits over 4 of the last 6 years. The main cause of these deficits has been the dramatic rise in OPEC oil prices. Between 1972 and 1980, U.S. outlays for petroleum and petroleum products rose from about $4 billion to about $80 billion per year. But the slower growth in U.S. manufactured exports mentioned earlier also contributed to the negative trade balance, and it is this factor that the administration is seeking to address.

The Role of Elected Officials

An important source of support for black business development is the black elected official. These officials provide information, stimulate interest, and solve a wide variety of problems that arise during the development of new economic activity. Many black elected officials are in positions to influence the licensing, regulatory, and tax policies that affect the success of business ventures, and can help business owners to negotiate the often complex procedures that embody these policies.

Several black mayors have set up noteworthy programs to stimulate foreign trade in their cities. Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Coleman Young of Detroit, Richard Hatcher in Gary, Kenneth Gibson of Newark, and Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young in Atlanta have all devoted considerable effort to the development of international trade activities to enhance their cities economic base. In some locales, representatives of SBA and ITA work hand-in-hand with local officials. For example, the ITA International Trade Specialist in Los Angeles serves as a member of Mayor Bradley's Task Force for the Development of Trade with Africa.

Some state and local officials have made similar efforts, and the potential economic benefits to an area can lead to unusual coalitions. For example, the Institute for African Affairs at Tennessee State University was established by a state legislature that is less than 10 percent black.

While the Department of Commerce and other government offices have become more active in providing information on foreign trade to small business owners, some officials and entrepreneurs insist that real assistance is as hard to come by as ever. Vince Jacques, president of the Third World Group and former director of the Organization of Third World Traders, says, "Assistance is still very much limited to those with a proven track record and those who know how to weave through the maze of red tape."

Two facts, however, should be cause for optimism in this area. First, increasing exports is of vital interest to the government. U.S. exports will probably total around $250 billion this year, and each $1 billion in exports represents an estimated 31,000 jobs. Since it is strongly in the government's interest to encourage exporting—and exporting by relatively small businesses, for the reasons discussed earlier—we can only hope that increased efforts will be made to provide effective assistance.

Second, many of the small and minority businesses indicating interest in foreign trade are firms that have had some success in domestic markets. The owners may be inexperienced in dealing with foreign markets, but they are not neophytes at coping with regulations, restrictions, and business matters in general. If some government assistance is available, these entrepreneurs will no doubt be capable of establishing productive trading relationships with other countries.

Thus, changing foreign trade patterns and the condition of the U.S. economy as a whole are combining to make this an auspicious time for minority entrepreneurs to explore world markets.

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Using Fuel Company Overcharge Funds

by Philip V. White

(The author, associate director of research at the Joint Center, has just completed a study of low-income energy assistance programs, which will be published by the center later this year.)

As winter cold once again grips much of the nation, millions of low-income families confront the problem of how they will heat their homes. The lame-duck session of the 97th Congress appropriated $1.975 billion for low-income energy assistance for FY 1983, up $100 million from FY 1982 and generous in comparison to the administration's request for only $1.3 billion. Low-income weatherization assistance, funded at $144 million for FY 1982, was maintained at that level by the lame-duck Congress.

Another potentially large source of funds for low-income energy assistance is the rebates from oil refiners charged with violating petroleum price and allocation regulations. About $500 million in escrow funds have been accumulated by the Department of Energy. This represents less than half of all the claims filed so far against the oil companies by DOE.

The chief question is how will these funds be disposed. Will DOE return all or some of the funds to the states in which the oil products were sold? And will DOE issue regulations about the use of those funds returned to the states? The issues are complex, and the actions of DOE to date have been inconsistent.

DOE's Settlements with Chevron and Sohio

The settlements reached by DOE with two major oil companies illustrate the variation in the way the funds have been handled.

In the consent order executed between Chevron and DOE in August 1981, only $25 million out of a total $82.5 million was returned to the states in which Chevron products were sold. Some $47 million of the settlement was paid to the federal government, because, according to DOE, "an appropriate remedy in instances where the impact of upstream cost issues cannot be determined is payment to the United States Treasury." The remaining $10.5 million went toward costs of the DOE action itself.

In disbursing the $25 million, DOE did require the 46 states and other entities receiving the funds to spend them in specified ways. Among those ways were airport maintenance and improvement; energy assistance programs; ride sharing (car- and van-pooling) projects; reducing airport user fees; highway and bridge maintenance or repair; grant or loan programs for weatherization or installation of other energy conservation equipment; highway and bridge maintenance or repair; public transportation projects; and energy planning and management.

Of the $20.6 million of these funds that had been accounted for by late spring 1982, only $1.1 million had been directed to programs aiding the poor, according to the National Consumer Law Center. Massachusetts was responsible for a large portion of that sum; it used its entire $341,000 to weatherize multi-unit dwellings occupied by low-income residents.

Between August 1981—when the Chevron consent order was executed—and August 1982, DOE did not distribute funds from overcharge settlements to states at all. Rather, it generally used the overcharge funds to purchase oil for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, to make deposits in the U.S. Treasury, or to hold pending settlement of claims, with unclaimed funds to go to the Treasury.

Last August, in a $15 million settlement with Sohio, DOE ordered that $10 million be distributed to the 19 states (and the District of Columbia) where Sohio refined products are sold and $5 million be deposited into the Treasury. But the only guideline DOE issued for expenditure of the funds was a statement in the *Federal Register* that DOE "encourages the states to make use of the funds for energy-related projects and to provide restitution for their aggrieved citizens."

Thus, DOE's actions have sent confused signals as to the disposition of oil overcharge refunds. It is up to Congress to take clear legislative action to determine where much of the money from these refunds will end up in the future.

Actions by the 97th Congress

A good first step was taken by the 97th Congress, which acted in its last hours to assert control over how $200 million of the DOE escrow fund would be spent. After Virginia exhausted its funds for basic energy assistance in early December, Senator John Warner introduced legislation authorizing the distribution of the $200 million to the states, based on their respective shares of the total U.S. sales of refined petroleum products between 1973 and 1981.

Under the legislation, which both houses passed on December 20, the governors can spend the money only on five federal programs: the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program; the Low-Income Weatherization Program; the Energy Extension Service; the Schools and Hospitals Weatherization Program; and the State Energy Conservation Program. Funds cannot be used for administrative expenses or to take the place of funds that would be otherwise available. The new funds should provide important assistance to low-income consumers this winter, although it is possible that legal challenges will be mounted by claimants arguing that they bore the brunt of overcharges and should receive direct refunds.

But this last-minute legislation resolves the question of how funds will be used for only a small portion of the potential total overcharge funds. Another $300 million are still in escrow, and many claims remain to be settled. Altogether, as much as $1.5 billion in overcharges could be at issue.

Clearly, guidelines for the disbursement and use of these funds need to be established. The restrictions included in the December legislation are a good model; other worthwhile guidelines might set a percentage of the funds to be used specifically for assisting low-income consumers and guarantee full public participation in decisions on use of the funds. Methods such as these could ensure that overcharge funds are put toward filling a dangerous gap by providing for that part of the population most severely affected by rising energy costs.

Minority Enterprise and Mass Transportation

by Arthur E. Teele, Jr.

(Mr. Teele is administrator of the U.S. Urban Mass Transportation Administration.)

Urban mass transportation policies are of special importance to black Americans. Concentrated in urban areas, and frequently lacking access to private cars, blacks rely heavily on mass transit to get to jobs, health and recreation facilities, shopping centers, and schools.

It is essential, therefore, that the nation's urban mass transit systems continue to operate effectively. But it is also important that blacks be in a position to take advantage of the employment and business opportunities provided by mass transit. During the last two years, the Urban Mass Transportation Administration has sought to address both issues.

As had been widely reported, the infrastructure of mass transportation systems in our nation's urban areas is in desperate need of improvement. Eighteen percent of our nation's bus fleet is more than 15 years old; 20 percent of our subway cars are more than 25 years old; and 67 percent of our fixed-rail track needs to be modernized. An estimated $50 billion will have to be spent renovating these systems over the next 10 years just to maintain existing services.

The Urban Mass Transportation Administration, an autonomous agency of the U.S. Department of Transportation, provides more than $3 billion annually to assist transportation providers in the development of mass transit systems. Research, training, and technical assistance are also supported. Recently, the administration secured passage of a five-cent-a-gallon increase in the federal motor fuel tax. The tax increase is expected to generate $5.5 billion annually, $1.1 billion of which will be used for mass transit.

As one of the groups most dependent on public transportation, blacks must share in both the jobs and the contracts resulting from DOT funds. The challenge in the 1980s is for blacks to move from the workroom to the boardroom in the transportation industry.

Removing the Barriers to Minority Participation

At the Department of Transportation, we have initiated several programs and policies to ensure that minority-owned businesses are aware of and are given the opportunity to compete in the marketplace for a meaningful share of federal transportation funds.

- We have developed Program Management Centers in major cities across the country, which will provide managerial, technical, and financial assistance to minority business enterprises interested in DOT-funded activities. The centers will help DOT grantees identify and match MBEs with available procurement and contract opportunities. They will also assist in MBE certifications, assess contractors' capabilities, and identify policy or procedural barriers to MBE participation.
- A new UMTA Small and Disadvantaged Business Committee reviews all direct procurement contracts and actions to ensure that small businesses owned by minorities, women, and other disadvantaged groups are given meaningful opportunities to participate in every direct procurement emanating from UMTA. In 1982, UMTA exceeded its 20 percent goal for direct minority procurements, with a total of over $5 million going to minority firms. Of UMTA funds disbursed by state and local governments, over $200 million went to minority businesses in 1981, a figure that we will exceed in 1982.
- Through UMTA's University Research and Training Program, we have increased our support to historically black colleges and universities from 7 percent of available funding in 1980 to 40 percent in 1982.

A major problem voiced by academicians at minority institutions has been the "Catch 22 Syndrome": minority institution faculty members with excellent credentials in related disciplines lack direct transportation experience and thus they cannot acquire DOT grant and contract awards. In response to this problem, UMTA has held three summer workshops for faculty of minority institutions. The workshops have provided transportation experience to almost 50 persons, thereby creating a new cadre of trained academicians within the HBCUs.

UMTA has designated two HBCUs, Texas Southern University and Florida A&M University, as university centers for transit research and management development. These centers will conduct training and research to help local public transportation providers disseminate improved transit management techniques and adopt innovative operational practices. The centers will also work to improve relationships between minorities and transit managers and to increase employment opportunities for minority professionals within the transit industry.

- We have implemented the Section 20 Human Resource Program, which, in the last two years, has provided over $4 million to projects such as a minority career development program, a career development program for women, a minority managerial development program, a minority contractor management and technical assistance project, and a minority bonding project.
- Finally, this summer, UMTA brought together union and management representatives from the transportation industry around the country to address issues related to the future of transit productivity and financing. UMTA is developing a policy statement that encourages early involvement of labor in the planning and design of transit industry projects and programs.

The Department of Transportation and the Urban Mass Transportation Administration are making major efforts to expand the role of the minority community in the provision of mass transportation. I believe that combining these efforts with new sources of dedicated funding creates an unlimited potential for black enterprise in the transit industry.

In the past, government often acted, usually inadvertently, to perpetuate rather than ameliorate the impacts of indirect discrimination against minority business development. I believe that, in the future, government should not remain passive but should act as a catalyst to sustain and expand minority enterprise. In the area of transportation, the future is now.

Surface Transportation Assistance Act

by Edwin Dorn

(On November 27, 1982, members of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials participated in a workshop on "Meeting Urban Transportation Needs in the 1980s." The workshop was organized by the Joint Center, with support from the Urban Mass Transportation Administration and the Rockefeller Foundation. At the time of the workshop, details were not available on a bill to fund transportation improvements by increasing the federal motor fuels tax. This article provides some of the details, with emphasis on matters of particular interest to blacks. The author is deputy director of research at the Joint Center.)

The Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982 appears to promise something for everyone. Truckers, manufacturers, the unemployed, cities, and states are all supposed to receive some long-sought benefits. That is why the legislation received strong bipartisan backing in Congress, was endorsed by a diverse coalition of interest groups, and eventually won the support of a president who previously had stated that it would take a "palace coup" to force him to raise taxes in 1983.

The heart of the act is an increase in the federal motor fuels tax from four to nine cents a gallon. This is expected to generate approximately $5.5 billion annually in additional revenues. The funds will be used primarily to complete the interstate highway system and rehabilitate roads and bridges. Approximately $1.1 billion each year from the additional revenues will be dedicated to mass transit.

What's in the Act for Blacks?

Four features of the bill are of special interest to blacks and other minorities.

First, any increase in support for mass transit will benefit blacks, who are three times more likely than whites—16 percent versus 5 percent—to rely on public transportation to commute from home to work. The new law requires that one penny from each gallon of gasoline sold be put in a trust fund dedicated to mass transit.

State and local officials have long recognized that local mass transit systems need a dedicated source of revenue—something the interstate highway system has had for a quarter century under the Highway Act of 1956. During the recent Joint Center workshop on urban transportation needs, Dean Bell, executive director of the Regional Transit Authority in New Orleans, stressed that urban mass transit systems "must secure a permanent funding source so that we will not have to approach local government each year begging funds in competition with other agencies."

Minority Businesses

Second, Representative Parren Mitchell (D-MD), chairman of the House Committee on Small Business, inserted a provision requiring that 10 percent of the funds appropriated under the act "shall be expended with business concerns owned and controlled by socially and economically disadvantaged individuals [Section 105 (f)]. . . ." According to Small Business Committee Staff Director Major Clark III, this provision could set aside up to $7 billion over the life of the legislation. It is unclear, though, how the Reagan administration will interpret and implement Mitchell's provision, especially since the 10 percent set-aside clause begins with the words, "Except to the extent that the Secretary determines otherwise . . ."

It *is* clear that a determined effort to channel contracts to MBEs can be effective. During the Joint Center's transportation workshop, Morris Dillard, assistant general manager for the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority, said that:

> Of the one billion dollars spent by MARTA during the period 1972 to 1982, approximately $141 million in payments have been made to minority-owned firms under contracts, subcontracts, and joint-venture arrangements. Over 600 minority firms . . . have been involved in the MARTA project to date.

Third, to complement Mitchell's set-aside provision, Section 119 of the act allows the Secretary of Transportation to spend up to $10 million annually on training and assistance programs to help minority-owned businesses "achieve proficiency to compete, on an equal basis, for contracts and subcontracts." As with the set-aside provision, the effectiveness of this authorizing language will depend in part on how vigorously minorities press the issue.

The Unemployed

Fourth, the act is supposed to generate jobs, although how many, and for whom, are matters of dispute. Transportation Secretary Lewis estimated that "the stepped-up highway and transit projects will provide 170,000 extra jobs in construction and related industries." Others have projected that more than 300,000 jobs would be created, including the jobs created indirectly as a result of increased spending by construction workers.

But those who are concerned about the nation's double-digit unemployment rate should take to heart Lewis's statement that "this is not a jobs bill." Nothing in the legislation provides any encouragement to the hard-core unemployed. Indeed, the chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisors, Martin Feldstein, warned that the gas tax hike "may actually increase unemployment during the first year or two." This is because a $5.5 billion tax increase means an initial loss in private purchasing power. Thus, the new jobs created in the construction industry may come at the cost of other jobs.

While the Surface Transportation Assistance Act promises benefits for a diverse group of "special interests," the act itself does not ensure that the benefits will be delivered. For example, while more than a billion dollars a year will be pumped into a mass transit trust fund, that does not mean that the annual federal contribution to mass transit will increase by a billion dollars. The new trust fund monies may in fact be used to replace funds that previously had been appropriated from general revenues. Precisely how much more money will be made available for mass transit should become clearer when the president presents his proposed budget for FY 1984.

Telescope

Black Candidates in Spring Mayoral Primaries

Black candidates are major contenders in two important upcoming mayoral contests: the Chicago Democratic primary in February and the Philadelphia Democratic primary in May. In Chicago, Black Congressman Harold Washington is challenging Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard Daley, Jr., son of the late mayor. Private polls show all three candidates enjoy a possibility of victory. Washington's solid support in the black community may enable him to win if the white "machine" vote splits evenly between Byrne and Daley.

Another three-way race is shaping up in Philadelphia, where a black candidate, former city managing director W. Wilson Goode, has taken an early lead over ex-mayor Frank Rizzo and former city controller Thomas Leonard. A Cambridge Survey Research poll commissioned by Goode gives him 44 percent; Rizzo, 30 percent; and Leonard, 12 percent, with the remainder undecided. Leonard is a former Rizzo protegé and is widely expected to drop out of the race. The bulk of his vote will probably shift to Rizzo, so the race should realistically be considered a dead heat.

NBC/LEO's 12th Annual Conference

The National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials held its 12th annual conference in Los Angeles, California, November 27 to December 1, 1982. New officers were elected, and five new board positions were created: second vice-president, assistant secretary, chaplain, historian, and parliamentarian.

The newly elected officers are *President,* Donald Tucker, councilmember of Newark, NJ (reelected to second two-year term); *First Vice-President,* Robert Farrell, councilmember of Los Angeles, CA; *Second Vice-President,* John Barnes, councilmember, Cleveland, OH; *Secretary,* E. B. Turner, councilmember, Lumberton, NC; *Assistant Secretary,* Claudette Black McDaniel, councilmember, Richmond, VA; *Treasurer,* Saundra Graham, councilmember, Cambridge, MA; *Chaplain,* Aaron Johnson, councilmember, Fayetteville, NC; *Historian,* Nadine Winter, councilmember, Washington, D.C.; and *Parliamentarian,* Steven Roberts, alderman, St. Louis, MO. Because Donald Tucker was reelected to serve a second term as president, Woody Etherly, councilmember, Flint, Michigan, remains immediate past president. Newly elected at-large members of the board of directors are Richard Patterson, councilmember, Modesto, CA; Michael Roberts, alderman, St. Louis, MO; and Johnny Ford, mayor, Tuskegee, AL.

NBC/LEO adopted several resolutions at the conference, including a call for a 50 percent reduction in the Reagan administration's third-year tax cut, a call for reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons by both world superpowers, an expression of support for the United Black Fund, and endorsement of Jesse Jackson's boycott of Anheuser-Busch.

The regional divisions of NBC/LEO were redrawn, and the number was increased from 10 to 19 giving the divisions more equal numbers of black elected officials.

Tom Bradley's Defeat and Absentee Voting

Another interesting factor in the California gubernatorial election has emerged since November. The final tally shows that balloting at the polls did not increase, but the number of absentee ballots went up dramatically, from 200,000 in 1978 to 500,000 in 1982. The increase was apparently the result of an ingenious Republican tactic: the party mailed out 2 million absentee ballot applications, with return envelopes, to irregular Republican voters.

The effectiveness of this tactic can be seen in the fact that Bradley actually won by a margin of 200,000 among those votes cast at the polls. But, according to the *Baron Report,* a political newsletter, Bradley lost by a margin of 250,000 in absentee voting and thus Bradley lost the election by a net total of 50,000 votes. (The absentee vote was another reason the election-day exit polls were wrong; see Nov.-Dec. 1982 *Focus.*)

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