FEXUS

New directions for aid to poverty schools



Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

TODAY, IN EVER increasing numbers, black politicians and black businessmen are inheriting the cities and reaping the bitter fruits of social and economic chaos sown by their predecessors. They need each other to lean on now more than ever.

Throughout history and in all parts of the world, minorities have gained access to power and influence and economic benefits by determination and a common purpose. What is new for us today is the opportunity to combine our growing economic and political power in pursuing the aspirations of black Americans and the disadvantaged generally. Groups before us have used this unique key to open the doors of opportunity, and so must we.

Our leaders are beginning to address the central issues which flow from the convergence of economics and politics. They are finding that despite the common heritage of black enterprise and black politics, these two thrusts are often like little boats passing in the night upon the mighty American political and economic sea, each oblivious to the distress signals of the other. One cannot help but think that if the captains of these two vessels would jointly build a bigger and better boat, then the craft and its occupants would be much better served.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS are inseparable. The economic thread runs through our political fabric, determining who runs for public office and who does not; who votes and who does not; which communities are viable and which are not. In turn, the economic structure is affected by numerous political decisions which result in the expenditure of funds for public purposes or which affect the flow and distribution of money in the public and private sectors.

Businessmen and politicians have a common interest in stopping the brutal economic intimidation which keeps blacks from voting. They, of all people, must understand the consequences of forcing black candidates to rely heavily on resources—whether financial, human, or other—from outside the communities they seek to serve. But the connection be-

tween black enterprise and black politics is not only a matter of making campaign contributions. It also is a matter of providing financial, administrative, and managerial leadership to campaigns. Put simply, it is a matter of getting involved politically—for self-interest reasons, to be sure, but also as a means of paying dues to the community.

Black elected officials, especially in underdeveloped small towns and rural areas, need businessmen who will take a broad view of investment possibilities. Officials in communities of all sizes need the help of businessmen who can be bridges between the masses and the money.

In turn, businessmen are affected by decisions made by politicians on land use, transportation, drug abuse, public safety, water and sewer facilities, roads, contracts, and loans.

Politicians working together with businessmen for common goals need not call to mind images of bribery and kickbacks. There is nothing illegal in using friendly relationships to help put through programs that will benefit the entire community. Such relationships are the basis for the kind of informal coalitions whites have used effectively to govern and prosper.

It is unthinkable that our two most important "boats"—economics and politics—should continue to pass in the night. As a first step toward remedying this problem, leaders from business organizations—National.Business League, National Association of Black Manufacturers, Chicago Economic Development Corporation, among others—should sit down to map a common agenda with leaders from political organizations, such as the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the Black Legislative Clearinghouse and the National Black Political Assembly.

The words of Mayor A. J. Cooper of Prichard, Alabama, should ring from one end of the conference table to the other: "Together we stick; divided we're stuck."

Eddie N. Williams President

FOCUS

Copyright 1974 Joint Center for Political Studies
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 fourdations other organizations, and private gifts. Contributions
are tax exempt.

president: Eddie N. Williams vice president: Eleanor Farrar

director of research: Herrington J. Bryce director of administration: Francis Chaney director of public affairs: John H. Britton, Jr.

Focus editor: David L. Aiken

Board of Governors

Louis E. Martin, Chairman — Vice President and Editorial Director, Sengstacke Publications, Chicago Andrew Billingsley — Vice President for Academic Affairs, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Hon. Edward W. Brooke — U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

James E. Cheek — President, Howard University, Washington, D.C

Kenneth B. Clark — President, Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (MARC), New York

Eleanor Farrar, Secretary — Vice President and Washington Office Director, MARC, Washington, D.C. Wendell Freeland, Esq., Pittsburgh

How much black support for Wallace?

By Emory O. Jackson

Mr. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, is a long-time observer of Alabama black politics.

WHAT KIND of support did Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace get from black voters in the state's May 7 Democratic primary? Do the vote returns indicate an increased acceptance by black voters of the Wallace politics, or the Wallace position, or the Wallace personality?

The national press has given considerable attention to the endorsement of Wallace by Johnny Ford, black mayor of Tuskegee, and by some other black officials. But, in my opinion, the bulk of Alabama blacks are still opposed to Wallace.

The expanded Negro vote and the increased number of black office holders, together with emerging new black leaders, are generating change in Alabama politics. Electioneering based on appeals to racism by white candidates is no longer popular on a statewide basis or in the urban centers of Alabama.

In the May 7 primary, newspaper accounts listed Gov. Wallace as spending approximately \$500,000 on his campaign, against \$63,000 reported by his major opponent, State Senator Gene McLain of Huntsville. McLain was making his first statewide campaign. Former Gov. Albert Brewer, who served out the unexpired term of Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, sat out the campaign. At one time he had been expected to seek the governor's office although he lost to the incumbent four years ago. In that campaign, Brewer received the heavy support of black voters. Racist politics surfaced in the run-off between Brewer and Wallace.

This year, Gov. Wallace said he could win re-election without a single black vote, but he wanted some black votes. Apparently he did not see the political necessity to inject the "Black Scare" in order to attract white voters. In fact, Wallace took out advertising in several black newspapers.

THE ALABAMA Democratic Conference, Inc., the all-black statewide political action organization, led the major opposition to the Wallace candidacy. Joe L. Reed, of Montgomery, ADC chairman, openly and vocally opposed the re-election of Gov. Wallace and endorsed McLain. The National Democratic Party of Alabama, of which Dr. John L. Cashin of Huntsville is chairman, held its caucus on May 7, the same day of the Democratic and Republican primaries. Black voters who adhere to NDPA prefer to participate in the NDPA caucus rather than vote in the Democratic or Republi-

can primary elections. Since much of the NDPA strength is in Greene County and a few other Black Belt counties, this could have contributed to Wallace carrying those counties. Macon County, where Johnny Ford is mayor of Tuskegee, is the only county Wallace did not carry. Wallace campaigned in Macon County.

Although initial news reports estimated that Wallace had attracted 20 per cent or more of the black vote, my estimate and that of other black observers is that he actually received between seven and nine per cent of the ballots cast by blacks.

It is true that in certain mostly black towns and county precincts Wallace received a high proportion of the vote. For example, Hobson City, an all-black town of less than 2,000 residents, gave Wallace 76 per cent of the vote; black precincts in Phenix City went 49 per cent for Wallace; Tuskegee, which is 84 per cent black, gave 32 per cent of its vote to Wallace, and black precincts in Mobile County went 23 per cent to Wallace.

BUT, IN MY opinion, these do not represent the picture for the majority of black areas. In Roosevelt City, for example, with an all-black population of 3,600, Wallace received only seven per cent of the total.

Even more important for the overall picture is Jefferson County, including the city of Birmingham, where 28 per cent of all of Alabama's blacks live. Here are some revealing results from nearly all-black precincts:

Box 9-16, 97 per cent black: 7.1 per cent for Wallace Box 8-1, 98 per cent black: 8.5 per cent for Wallace Box 9-14, 99 per cent black: 8.1 per cent for Wallace Box 1-31, 99 per cent black: 5.3 per cent for Wallace.

Only one of the black newspapers in Alabama editorially supported Wallace. Only one of the eight black mayors in Alabama publicly endorsed Wallace. In a speech before the Seventh District Conclave of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, in session in Huntsville, NDPA's Dr. Cashin spoke out in opposition to Wallace. With exception of a Negro sheriff in the Black Belt, and Mayor Ford, most of the black public officeholders opposed Wallace. In Jefferson County, where nine blacks were nominated for the state legislature, the powerful all-black Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council endorsed McLain.

On the other hand, Wallace received endorsements from several labor unions and from some organized teacher groups, and black members of these organizations undoubtedly voted for him.

But in sum, it still appears clear that the widespread announcement in the national press of heavy black support for Wallace was overstated.

New directions for aid to poverty schools

By Patsy Fleming

Ms. Fleming, legislative assistant to Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), formerly assisted Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.) on legislation in the subcommittee on equal opportunity of the House Education and Labor committee.

THE MAJOR SOCIAL reform legislation that emerged from Congress in the early 1960s arose from circumstances of the time. The problems of the poor, the absence of equal rights for all Americans, the large numbers of "disadvantaged" children who were not learning to read, began to capture the attention of legislators and administrators who believed they could solve these problems through social intervention programs and technology.

In this socially responsible atmosphere, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was created, for it was clear to Congress and the administration that there was a high correlation between lack of education and poverty. ESEA was, nevertheless, an impressive political achievement, for there was, even in the liberal climate of the sixties, strong opposition to such federal intervention in what was considered a responsibility of the states and the local school districts.

Of the numerous sections of ESEA, Title I has the most impact on poor children, a large proportion of whom are black. It is also the main federal vehicle for getting aid to disadvantaged children. It is the most controversial, the most complex, the most misunderstood, and in some school districts, the most misdirected of federal education programs.

The purpose of Title I as it appears in the law is "to provide financial assistance to local education agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families." Under the Act, school districts get money to plan and operate special programs for educationally disadvantaged children. The funds are to be used to supplement rather than to replace any currently operating program in those school districts.

PROGRAMS FUNDED under Title I can include remedial instruction in the basic skill areas such as reading and math; hiring of additional teachers and teacher aides to reduce pupil-teacher ratios; inservice training for teachers and aides; educational preschool programs; and nutrition, medical and dental services, when these are not available from other sources.

During the 1972-1973 school year, the Office of Education reported that 16 million children were eligible for Title I services; more than six million were actually served. Title I programs can be found in 14,000 school districts across the country. Of the children in Title I programs, 36 per cent are black.

ESEA, including Title I, was to expire on June 30 of this year, but the House and the Senate have passed different versions of amendments that would extend ESEA programs from three to four years. A House-Senate conference to reconcile the differences has been convened.

The formula that determines how Title I funds are to be distributed was the source of much conflict and controversy. Discussions in both houses focused on the various factors that would comprise such a formula and the level of funding that the states and counties would be entitled to. Underlying the discussions, however, were three important themes.

FIRST, MOST congressmen favored a formula that would shift money away from the larger cities to suburban and rural areas. This indicates a loss of political power of big-city congressmen, at least in dealing with federal aid to education. As the middle-income population shifts more to the suburbs, their representatives are casting the deciding votes—and in this case the votes were with the rural congressmen.

A second undercurrent is typical of the early seventies as opposed to the sixties. Middle-income and working-class groups are now demanding a portion of federal aid to the poor. This was evidenced in Congress in a move to turn Title I into a general aid program—a move which failed this time but will be attempted on the next set of amendments to Title I, as well as with other programs focusing on poor and minority people.

The third element was the fact that there has never been enough money to fund this program adequately. Even with an expected appropriation for fiscal year 1975 of \$1.885 billion (up \$177 million from fiscal year 1974), members of Congress were forced to squabble over an amount of funds too small to have a lasting impact on most of the millions of children deemed eligible no matter what the formula is.

The formula finally adopted by both houses has a definite suburban and rural bias as compared with current funding patterns. A rural bias would be quite acceptable, if it did not result in substantially diminishing the entitlements of most larger cities. Poor people and black people are concentrated in the large cities, and rural areas have their share, too. But robbing Peter to pay Paul is neither an equitable nor a reasonable solution to a problem based on too few dollars.

UNDER CURRENT law, children eligible to be counted for Title I must be from families with incomes below \$2000 per year, or from families that earn above \$2000 but are receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Institutionalized "neglected and dependent" children, and some in foster homes, are also eligible.

The amount of money a school district receives is determined by the number of eligible children it contains. Once the funds get to the local school district, it is up to the school administrators to see that they are distributed to schools in areas with concentrations of children from low-income families. Within a school identified as eligible for a Title I program according to the income criteria mentioned above, achievement test scores sometimes are used to identify children in need of the program. But this is the only level—within the school—where test scores might be used to identify children, according to current law. Down to the level of the individual school, poverty is the determining factor.

During discussions of the extension of Title I by the House Education and Labor Committee, the question of the correlation between poverty and educational disadvantage as measured on achievement tests was raised. There was a move, led by Rep. Albert Quie (R-Minn.), to make students with low test scores eligible for Title I aid, regardless of their families' income. He proposed distribution of funds according to numbers of low scorers in each state. This change from current practice would have increased the number of eligible students significantly, spreading already limited Title I funds even more thinly. However, both the House and the Senate decided to continue to focus Title I funds on poor children for whom equal educational opportunities are more elusive.

AS CONGRESSIONAL committees heard testimony and debated the amendments to extend ESEA, the question at the top of their minds was, "Has Title I been successful?"

In answering that question, it must be kept in mind that Title I contains many provisions, designed to meet many different goals. To ensure the bill's passage in 1965, congressional sponsors inserted sections aimed at many things: remedying the academic problems of disadvantaged students; meeting their health and nutrition needs; training and employing paraprofessional helpers in the schools, establishing a precedent for major federal assistance to education, and equalizing the fiscal burdens of paying for schools between affluent suburban areas and impoverished urban and rural areas.

Title I, alone among federal programs for education, has moved in the direction of equalization by emphasizing money for impoverished central city and rural areas, areas with high proportions of minority students, areas with low income levels, and areas with greater educational needs as measured by average achievement scores. Unfortunately, some large cities will lose money under the shift in distribution formula enacted in the new bill.

Although it has made some progress, however slight, in achieving this goal of equalization, the accomplishments of Title I in the other areas have been criticized. That's a small wonder, because of the many goals which to a certain extent compete with each other.

This last objective is often ignored, but it is one of the most important. A primary motivation of the bill was the intent to assist school districts having trouble supporting adequate education programs because of "concentrations of low-income families."

Those who use standardized test scores as the only means of evaluating the effect of Title I on more than six million children are ignoring the numerous other objectives woven into the law. No one should be surprised that they come up with negative findings. Such scores should not be used to measure the program nationwide. They can, however, properly be used on a project-by-project basis, so that each local program can be improved as necessary, and can be held ac-

countable for meeting whatever objectives and goals it has set.

THERE IS JUSTIFIABLE cause for withholding funds from school districts that either negligently or deliberately violate Title I legislation or regulations. In 1969 the Washington Research Project published its influential report, Title I of ESEA: Is It Helping Poor Children?, which charged flagrant violations of the law. Most illegalities involved violations of the regulation requiring that Title I funds be used to supplement rather than supplant currently operating programs and services, or expenditure of Title I funds for items not allowable under the law, such as the case of two swimming pools in Louisiana built with Title I funds.

As a result of the report, the U.S. Office of Education appointed a high-level Title I Task Force and increased its understaffed Division of Compensatory Education, which administers the program.

More recently, the National Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law of Washington, D.C., brought suit against the use of Title I funds in Philadelphia, Pa. In a landmark decision, a U.S. District Court judge took control from state and local education administrators and appointed an independent three-man panel to monitor and evaluate all the Philadelphia Title I programs. The panel came down hard against programs that "are insufficiently relevant to the specific educational needs of poor children" and ordered the district to eliminate 10 of their 38 programs. Later, an appeal resulted in a reversal of this decision, allowing the programs in question to continue through the end of the school year.

THERE WAS ANOTHER important outcome of the Washington Research Project report's publication, in addition to the identification of problems mentioned above. WRP began to push the Office of Education to come up with strong requirements for local parent advisory councils. After a long struggle between OE, which wanted councils, and the education establishment, which did not, a compromise was reached by OE, requiring "system-wide" parent advisory councils. In the House version of the ESEA extension, system-wide councils are optional, but a parent council is required for every school receiving Title I funds. The Senate bill requires only system-wide councils. This will be resolved in conference.

A look at the past eight years of fully operational Title I programs shows the tremendous impact of the program on the attitudes of teachers, administrators and the general public toward "disadvantaged" children and their struggle to obtain basic skills. A voice for these children has been developed in Washington and the relief of their problems is a national objective.

Their parents, also, have become involved in the educational process and are beginning to develop political skills that can be translated from education to other forums. In many places, Jane and Johnny are learning to read while Mom and Dad learn to influence the political process. This may be the true legacy of Title I.

Telescope

Blacks gain in state, local races

SPRING PRIMARY elections have brought new gains for black candidates. Here are some of the high-lights:

- Kenneth A. Gibson was re-elected mayor of Newark, N.J., with 54.6 per cent of the vote in May 14 balloting. His opponent was State Sen. Anthony Imperiale, one of Gibson's white opponents in his first victory four years ago. In the 1970 race, Imperiale consciously appealed to racial prejudice of whites, and was leader of a group of white "vigilantes" in changing neighborhoods. But racial appeals were largely missing in this year's campaign. Newark is now about 60 per cent black.
- State Sen. Mervyn Dymally won the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor of California in primary balloting June 4. He took 30 per cent of the vote against a large field of opponents. Dymally will face Republican John Harmon in November. A black candidate for the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, James Johnson, was defeated in the primary.
- The Alabama legislature will have 13 blacks in the House and at least one and probably two blacks in the Senate as a result of Democratic primary balloting. At present, there are three blacks in the House, but there has been none in the Senate since Reconstruction. Winning a sure Senate seat was J. Richmond Pearson of Birmingham, U. W. Clemon, a Birmingham attorney, also won the Democratic nomination for a Senate seat, which is usually tantamount to election, but will face a white independent candidate in November. In House seats, two incumbents were re-elected. Chris McNair of Jefferson County and Thomas Reed of Tuskegee. Reed was unsuccessfully opposed by the other black incumbent, Fred Gray, after redistricting threw them into the same district. Newcomers winning Democratic nomination to House seats were Earl F. Hilliard, Ronald Jackson, Rev. John T. Porter, Jerome Tucker and A. L. "Tony" Harrison, all of Jefferson County (Birmingham); Rufus Lewis and Alvin Holmes of Montgomery; Asbury Howard of Bessemer, and Cain Kennedy, John L. LeFlore and Gary Cooper, all of Mobile County. A black Republican, G. Christian, Jr., will be on the November ballot opposing Democrat Porter.
- James H. Meredith, first black student to enroll in the University of Mississippi in 1962, surprised observers by leading the vote in the Democratic nomination for the Mississippi seat in the U.S. House of Representatives now held by Republican Rep. Thad Cochran. Meredith, 41, was to face Kenneth L. Dean, former director of the state Human Relations Council, in a June 25 runoff, but the day after the primary Meredith withdrew from the runoff. He said he will run as an independent in the November general election, explaining that he did not feel the "Mississippi regular Democratic party" would support him if he were the party candidate. The Fourth Congressional District, from which Cochran was elected in 1972, comprises

Jackson, Natchez, Vicksburg and surrounding counties. It is about 43 per cent black.

- City commissioners in Coffeyville, Kansas, paid a unique tribute to Roy Patterson, who had served as the city's first black mayor beginning in 1969, by selecting him mayor for a fourth term while he lay unconscious in a hospital bed. Mr. Patterson, 61, who suffered a heart attack in late March, died April 24, two weeks after the gesture of respect from his four colleagues of the board of commissioners, all of them white. Coffeyville is a city of 17,000 in southeast Kansas, with a population that is 12 per cent black. News reports indicate that the city commissioners plan to appoint a black person, possibly Mr. Patterson's widow, to fill his seat on the commission.
- Sidney J. Barthelemy became the first black state senator in Louisiana since Reconstruction when he won a special April election in New Orleans to replace a senator who had been named judge. Barthelemy, 32, former New Orleans welfare director, won with biracial support in a district that is 51 per cent white. He was endorsed by white Mayor Moon Landrieu, both daily newspapers and the local black paper, and captured about 17 per cent of the white vote in the general election while winning by a 3,000-vote margin out of the 15,000 cast. He will be up for election to a full term in November, 1975.
- The voters of Opa-Locka, Florida, now have not one, but two mayors, one of them black. They won't both serve at the same time, however. Black City Commissioner Albert W. Tresvant received the same number of votes in April balloting as white former Mayor Kenton Wells. Normally, the top vote-getter serves as mayor for two years and then takes a seat on the commission for another two years. Rather than go through another election to break the tie, Wells and Tresvant decided to split the term as mayor. Tresvant will serve his first year as assistant mayor, then take over as mayor for the second year, then complete his four-year term as a commission member. Owner of a Miami upholstery store, Tresvant was elected to a twoyear term on the commission in 1972. He was the first black commissioner in this town of 15,000 residents, of whom between 30 and 35 per cent are black.

Other recently elected black mayors include Elwood Hampton of Paulsboro, N.J., a member of the borough council who was elected by fellow councilmen to fill the vacancy after the former mayor resigned, and Gilbert D. Smith of Carson, California, also a former city councilman elevated by his colleagues.

In Roanoke, Va., councilman Noel C. Taylor was top vote-getter in his re-election bid, thus becoming the city's first black vice mayor.

THERE WERE some defeats for blacks in close races. Two black incumbents on the Petersburg, Va., city

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

council lost to white challengers, shifting the balance on the council from four blacks and three whites to five whites and two blacks. James R. Williams was unsuccessful in an effort to gain the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor in Ohio. And the Rev. McKinley Washington, a black minister and civic activist, lost his bid for a seat in the South Carolina House of Representatives. He was defeated by a white former legislator in a special election in Charleston to fill the seat left vacant by Herbert U. Fielding, a black legislator who resigned after pleading guilty to federal income tax charges.

Farrar becomes JCPS veep

ELEANOR FARRAR, former vice president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., and director of its Washington office, has become vice president of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Dr. Farrar has been closely associated with the Joint Center since its inception, and until her appointment was a member of the Joint Center's board of governors.

In other Joint Center personnel activity, Clarence L Townes resigned his position as director of governmental affairs.

JCPS President Eddie N. Williams, in announcing Dr. Farrar's appointment, said she will assist him with the general administration of the center and will help to coordinate long-range development programs. "The broad interests and professional skills she brings to us will enhance our efforts to expand minority group participation at all levels of government," he said.

As a professional associate of MARC President Kenneth B. Clark, Dr. Farrar gained note for her work as senior associate for a MARC project designed to help the District of Columbia school system revitalize its program. She had previously been an associate of Dr. Clark's on a study, commissioned by the U.S. Department of State, of the Foreign Service Officers examination process. She was involved in several programs to encourage minority employment in the State Department.

Holder of a Ph.D in political science from the London School of Economics, Dr. Farrar has been on the faculties of Howard University, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of the Panjab and the University of Karachi, both in Pakistan.

Southern black mayors group here to stay

THE ONE unmistakable conclusion that can be reached right now about the Southern Conference of Black Mayors is that it is going to be with us for awhile. Considering its infancy and its existence thus far at a subsistence level, the third gathering of conference members in black-governed Santee, South Carolina, in late May was an impressive show of strength.

Prichard (Ala.) Mayor A. J. (Jay) Cooper, chairman of the organization's steering committee, coordinated a meeting heavy on technical assistance that was delivered to the small-town black mayors by national personalities whose participation at any conference would confer upon it a measure of status. And Mayor Cooper was clearly pleased to bring to his colleagues the news that financial support for the organization is on the way.

White House Assistant Stanley Scott moved easily among the black mayors and obviously had a strong hand in rounding up other top officials of federal government to participate in the conference. Also on hand were Office of Economic Opportunity Director Alvin Arnett; ACTION Director Michael Balzono; Environmental Protection Agency Regional Grant Administrator Bernard Porche, and an assortment of middle level federal bureaucrats.

THE BIG HIT of the meeting was the appearance of Congressman Andrew Young (D-Ga.). Young, the keynote speaker, urged the mayors to accept the leadership role that is thrust upon them as the old civil rights movement moves into the political participation phase. He understood, he said, the problems of attracting adequate resources to allow them to create and implement municipal programs. But he advised them to multiply their weight through alliances with those of similar interests, allowing them to help move programs for their long-neglected constituents to the top of the national priority list.

Also attracted to the conference were black scholars and representatives of public interest groups. They included Tobe Johnson, the Morehouse College political scientist: Mack Jones, the Atlanta University political scientist; Eddie N. Williams and Herrington Bryce, president and research director, respectively, of the Joint Center. Williams led a summary panel that wrapped up the conference agenda.

OEO Director Arnett created a considerable stir with his announcement that his agency will soon release funds for programs in the rural communities represented by the dozens of black mayors present. He also indicated that a grant to the Southern Conference of Black Mayors itself is expected to be approved. Cooper said unofficially that the conference has succeeded in negotiating funding for a program of service that will allow the Voter Education Project, Inc., in Atlanta to become the conduit for technical assistance services to the southern black mayors. Moreover, said Cooper, the organization itself is about to open its own offices in Atlanta to be staffed most likely by recruits from Atlanta regional offices of federal agencies.

Mayor Cooper, in an impassioned closing address, urged the mayors to close ranks around one another and to refrain from joining any chorus of condemnation aimed at any one of them for activities dictated by local political circumstances. He urged upon them a literal interpretation of the black elected officials' adopted motto: "No permanent friends, no permanent enemies, only permanent interests."

Continued on page 8

House parcels out OEO programs

THE HOUSE of Representatives has voted to disband the Office of Economic Opportunity, parcelling out its major programs to other federal agencies. The bill, approved May 29 by a 331-53 vote, shifts community action programs to a nearly autonomous unit of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to be called the Community Action Administration.

Although there is some sentiment in the Senate for continuation of an independent OEO, that body is expected to go along with the House plan.

House supporters of anti-poverty programs drew up the plan as a way to attract enough support to override a presidential veto, if necessary. President Nixon's aides have warned of a possible veto if OEO was retained intact, as part of the administration's effort to dismantle the agency. The administration has opposed even the House plan, largely because it would continue community action programs.

To win support for this compromise, House proponents of anti-poverty programs made two concessions:

- 1) There will be increases in the amounts that local governments must put up as matching funds. For the first year, localities will have to put up 20 per cent of the total, as at present, but this will go up to 30 per cent in the second year and 40 per cent in the third year of the bill.
- 2) OEO was killed as a separate agency, in a final, successful effort to win Republican votes.

Support for continuation of community action programs in a new home came from unexpected sources. Many governors and mayors who formerly saw community action as a threat have come to view it as a helpful buffer between low-income constituents and city hall. Many, including Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, sent messages of support.

The Congressional Black Caucus spearheaded an effort to encourage local black officials to express their views on OEO to their own representative in Congress.

D.C. discovers local politics

CANDIDATES FOR LOCAL offices in the District of Columbia have begun to spring up like wildflowers, as residents of the nation's capital prepare to choose their first popularly elected mayor and city council in more than 100 years.

Voters approved a new charter granting the city limited home rule, in a referendum held May 7. Although the charter provides for electing city officials who are now appointed by the President, ultimate power to approve expenditures for the city remains in the hands of Congress.

Both black and white voters showed solid support for the charter, although a JCPS vote analysis showed that predominantly white areas were slightly less heavily in favor of the proposal than black areas. Overall, the charter was favored by 83 per cent of those voting, and about 40 per cent of registered voters turned out.

The city, which is about 73 per cent black, is sure to have a black mayor. The two major contestants are the incumbent mayor, Walter Washington, first appointed by President Johnson in 1967, and Clifford L. Alexander, an attorney and former chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Both are Democrats, and will meet each other in the September 10 party primary. The winner is likely to face little significant opposition in the November 5 general election.

Black planners group issues invitation

THE NATIONAL Association of Planners has issued an invitation for black planning officials and students to become members. The organization aims to increase the number of blacks in planning positions, including consultant firms; extend resources to community-based planners; improve planning departments in black schools, make the planning profession more relevant to black needs, and develop communications among minority planners. For information, contact Mr. Malachi Knowles, national membership chairman, 825 Delaware Ave., S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024.



Joint Center for Political Studies

1426 H Street, N.W., Suite 926 Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-4477

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify Focus of any change of address or title. YOU MUST INCLUDE YOUR OLD ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE along with your new address and zip code. No change can be made without this information.

FIRST-CLASS MAIL US POSTAGE PAID PERMIT No 44958 Washington, D C

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

