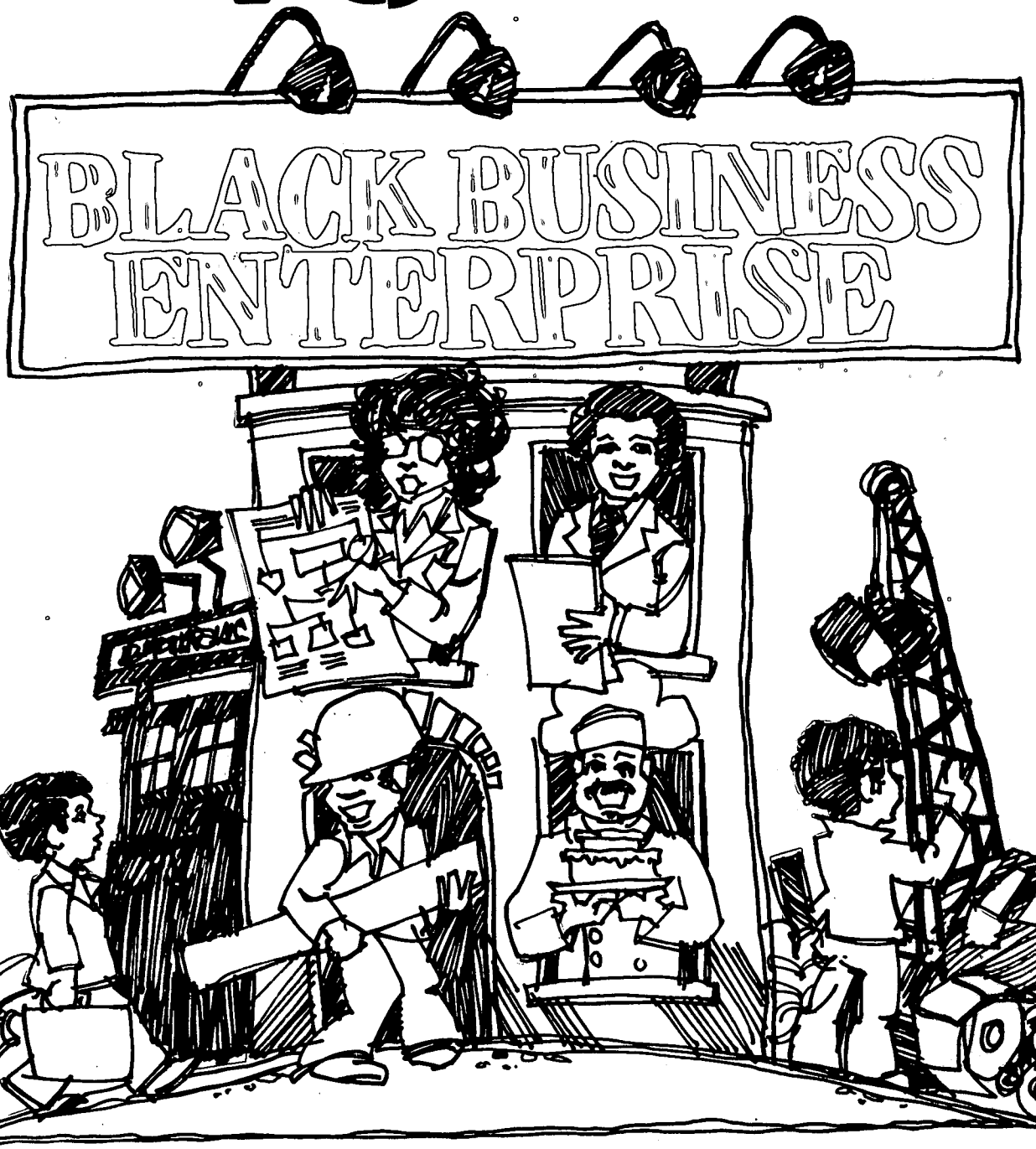
VOL. 8, NO. 3

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FOCUS



INSIDE: THE NATIONAL BLACK AGENDA FOR THE 80'S

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The National Conference on a Black Agenda for the 80's, held in Richmond, Va., from February 28 to March 2, was a success despite efforts by the media and presidential candidates to convert the affair into a theater of the absurd. The Conference succeeded in bringing together over 1,000 leaders of 300 organizations and in developing a Black Agenda.

An unedited, unexpurgated version of the Black Agenda appears as a supplement to this issue of FOCUS. Even in its unrefined state, it reflects the commitment of delegates to reach consensus.

Success, however, was not achieved easily. One obstacle was posed by some journalists who, in their interviews and reports, insisted that the success of the conference should be judged by whether the presidential candidates accepted invitations to participate in a last-day, wrap-up forum. This attitude not only ignored the Conference's highly publicized objective, which was to develop a Black Agenda, but also ignored, in my opinion, some fundamental realities of American politics.

If the media missed the mark in Richmond, so, too, did the candidates who, for whatever reason, did not show up. The diversity of assembled leaders constituted a unique target of opportunity for anyone who had something to say to Black America. But the opportunity was lost by those who rejected the invitation as well as those who accepted but tried to twist the conference planners into knots by their pettifoggery. The height of absurdity came when Republicans complained about being scheduled on Sunday morning "when everybody would be gone to church" and Democrats who complained about being scheduled Sunday afternoon "when everybody would be gone home."

Black people themselves did not lose anything, except maybe a little face. It is an affront to have your invitation rejected or go unanswered, and the natural instinct in political gatherings, as in social gatherings, is to strike back immediately, to respond in kind.

That raises a legitimate question about denying votes to one or all candidates. If one could find a way to punish all candidates who flouted our invitation to Richmond, that might indeed make them more courteous in the future. But that is an impossible mission.

The failure of candidates to show up in Richmond requires more of us than precipitous and futile gestures. What is required is an examination of why the candidates did not show up. The answer, in the final analysis, is probably that they did not believe that a no-show was as risky, either on March 2 or later, as a show. Such a conclusion was no doubt reached by the candidates (and their black strategists) after assessing past black voting rates and weighing what each contender had to gain or lose in relation to other candidates.

While speculation over the whys and wherefores could go on forever, there can be little doubt about one factor: if blacks had been registered in greater numbers and mobilized to exert their maximum political influence, there is no way the candidates would have risked ignoring them. Politicians brave all kinds of adverse elements in search of votes they know exist.

To command the attention of all political candidates, especially those sophisticated enough to reach for the presidential ring, we've got to get our political troops and weapons in place. One crucial starting point would be to make a dramatic increase in our voter registration and turnout rates.

Political candidates and their staffs pay close attention to such rates. Here is what they saw in recent Census Bureau data:

- On a percentage basis, fewer blacks were registered to vote in 1976 than in 1972 or 1968 and fewer voted in 1976 than in any presidential election since 1964 when the Census Bureau started collecting such data by race.
- In 1978 the black voter registration rate was about the same as in 1974, but it was seven percentage points lower than in 1966 and 1970.

These realities probably weighed heavily in the candidates decisions to stay away. One can only hope that these same realities motivated Conference delegates to give strong support to a massive voter education-registration-participation campaign in 1980 and beyond. A viable OPERATION BIG VOTE is one sure way of disciplining political candidates.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Energy Policy: Still a Long Way to Go

by Ellis Cose

(Ellis Cose, a former Senior Fellow at the Joint Center, authored and edited several JCPS publications on energy policy. He is now an editorial associate at the Detroit Free Press.)

In one important respect, at least, 1979 was a watershed year for America's disadvantaged. For the first time since the energy crisis began, Congress seriously attempted to deal with the impact of rising energy costs on the poor. It passed a $1.6 billion program to help low income families pay their utility bills.

The program, however, does not mean that the energy worries of the poor are over. Not all of the poor are included in the program, only those receiving some form of federal assistance. Also, it is not clear how long the program will last. Its future is tied to the windfall profits tax which as of early March, 1980, had not yet become law. If approved, the tax, however, could terminate before the end of the decade, meaning that assistance to the poor could also end at that time unless some other method of funding were adopted.

Another problem, potentially even more bothersome, is that no program has yet been passed that would help most poor Americans cut their consumption of energy permanently without painfully cutting into their lifestyles as well. Without such a program, the nation faces the choice of either giving the poor ever increasing subsidies or watching the energy conundrum push poor families even deeper into poverty.

A recent survey conducted for the state of New York on the impact of rising energy costs on the elderly emphasized the changes that higher prices already have made on the way some of the poor live.

"The elderly poor are experiencing extreme financial hardship as a result of increasing costs," the survey stated. "Moreover, their hardships are causing negative changes in lifestyle, behavior, mood, health, and safety."

The survey included eloquent testimony from the poor themselves.

Said one of those interviewed: "I sit in the dark sometimes so I don't have to use lights. I used to read a lot, but I've cut back on reading. Lights are too expensive."

Another told how he dealt with lower home temperatures. "We sit with blankets rather than turning up the heat."

Still another related how increased energy costs were cutting him off from outside contacts with friends and neighbors. "My friends won't come to visit because there's no heat or light. I'm housebound, but I can't afford a telephone because of higher energy bills."

Overall Policy Development

Concerns for the poor must also be seen in the larger context of America's energy policy development. For if 1979 was a watershed year for the poor, it was no less a watershed year for America's total energy policy community.

A series of events occured that transformed the energy picture both nationally and internationally. The revolution in Iran tightened world supplies of petroleum. An accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant pushed back development of nuclear power. The House and the Senate gave the go-ahead to an ambitious set of energy initiatives, including a huge synthetic fuels program and establishment of an energy mobilization board.

These developments have far-reaching implications for the U.S. energy outlook. The oil cutback in Iran, for instance, allowed the Oil Producing Export Countries (OPEC) to hike prices more so than at any time since the 1973-74 oil embargo. Those price hikes, combined with crude oil deregulation, increased gasoline prices by more than 50 percent between January and December of last year. Heating oil prices in certain areas of the country increased even more.

The effect of the accident at Three Mile Island was not as apparent to most consumers largely because the nation is not nearly so dependent on nuclear power as on petroleum. The accident, however, will inevitably drive up the cost of electricity, as utilities make expensive modifications on nuclear power plants to reduce the likelihood of other nuclear mishaps.

The accident also had another result. By increasing skepticism about nuclear safety, it practically insured that there will be fewer nuclear power plants than were originally planned. The slack in energy production, which a cutback in nuclear power plants will mean, will largely be taken up with energy derived from coal. This means that urban areas can probably look forward to even more pollution in years ahead.

Synthetic Fuels and Conservation

The first phase of the synthetic fuels program passed by Congress will likely cost $20 billion. The total program, however, according to many experts, may well cost as much as $80 billion. By allowing so much for synthetic fuels, Congress will obviously have less to budget for conservation incentives and assistance to the poor.

Moreover, it will be well into the next century before the synthetic fuel program will be able to produce sufficient liquid petroleum to be a viable substitute for imported oil.

Numerous experts think, too, that the synthetic fuel program will be a waste of public money, some of which could be better spent insulating American homes.

In a critique of the Carter administration's approach to energy policy, Harvard University energy experts Robert Stobough and Daniel Yergin wrote: "Many congressmen felt conservation deserved at

(Continued on page 6)

Black Business Enterprise

by Sharon Horton

(Sharon Horton is a research associate in the Joint Center's research department.)

Black business enterprise in America dates back to colonial times. Although its importance to black economic development was widely recognized very early and at times was vigorously emphasized, its development has been stymied by formidable and pervasive racial barriers and by government neglect. Not until the 1960s when the civil rights movement began to press for a larger share in the economic growth of the nation did black business enterprise become a serious public policy concern.

As we begin the decade of the 1980s, blacks appear more determined than ever to push for significant economic advancement. There are, of course, many avenues to this goal, but in American society, where private enterprise is such a tremendous force in economic life, entrepreneurship is one avenue blacks cannot afford to ignore. Black business enterprise must be viewed as one means by which economic advancement is pursued.

Status of Black Business Enterprise

It is readily apparent that blacks have not been a significant part of the private enterprise system in this country. However, aside from the impressionistic evidence that is available, there is little reliable data on which to base evaluations of the characteristics and growth of black businesses.

The most comprehensive source for such data is the quintennial survey of black owned firms conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The 1972 survey, however, was, by the Bureau's own admission, inaccurate. Due to a processing error that year, the scale of black business enterprise was exaggerated.

The recently released 1977 survey corrected earlier inaccuracies. It shows that the number of black firms grew from 187,602 in 1972 to 231,203 in 1977, a 23 percent increase. Part of that gain, however, is attributed to larger survey coverage in 1977 which included health and legal service areas not counted in earlier surveys. The 1977 survey also showed that gross receipts of black owned firms rose from $5.5 billion in 1972 to $8.6 billion in 1977, but, again, the inclusion of different types of firms in 1977 partially accounts for the increase.

The geographic distribution and characteristics of black owned firms changed little over the five year period. Most continue to be located in urban areas of California, New York, Illinois, Ohio and the Middle Atlantic states. The majority of black businesses, both in 1972 and 1977, were concentrated in selected services (such as barber and beauty shops) and retail trade. In 1977 these two categories comprised 68 percent of all black owned firms and accounted for 61 percent of gross receipts. In 1972 they comprised 64 percent of all firms and accounted for 56 percent of gross receipts.

Other business activities accounting for large dollar volume of receipts for black businesses were: automotive dealerships, service stations, eating and drinking establishments, special trade contractors, health services, business services, trucking and warehousing, and wholesale trade.

Although the new census data show some growth over the five year period, the dominant picture they convey is the minuteness of the black presence in American business. For example, the total gross receipts of the top 100 black firms in 1977 was an amount equal only to that of the 281st ranked company on the Fortune 500 list of major corporations in the United States.

Such data, however, do not tell the whole story of black enterprise. They do not measure the potential of black businesses for growth nor tell anything of the barriers to black business expansion.

Barriers to Black Business Growth

Analysts have pointed to a number of factors that tend to inhibit the growth of black business. Some have emphasized the deep ambivalence among blacks about extensive involvement in a private enterprise system that historically has been a source for many of their hardships. Others have noted that the orientation to business often is transmitted from generation to generation and that the experience of blacks has not been conducive to the development of such an orientation. Most analysts, however, have pointed to several concrete, current obstacles that not only discourage greater involvement by blacks but make growth of present businesses extremely difficult.

A recent study conducted for the U.S. Department of Commerce by the James H. Lowry and Associates consulting firm summed up the current plight of black businesses this way:

"Historically black businesses were discriminated against, precluding participation in the higher growth and more profitable industries. As a result, blacks tended to start marginally profitable service and retail businesses in minority neighborhoods. These small scale businesses were unable to attract capital and capable managers. Thus, they were unable to gain large growth markets. As a result, because of their small size and nature of their business, they are now unable to penetrate the mainstream of the U.S. free enterprise system."

Of course, another major contribution to this unfortunate cycle are years of discrimination in education and employment which limited black access to the professional training and experience essential to successful business careers.

Federal Efforts to Enhance Black Enterprise

Over the past decade, the federal government has substantially increased its efforts to encourage the development of black businesses. Its emphasis has been on providing financial and management assistance. Major federal financing programs to aid black businesses are: the Small Business Adminis-

THE NATIONAL BLACK AGENDA FOR THE '80's
Richmond Conference Recommendations

More than 1,000 Black leaders, representing over 300 organizations and millions of constituents across the country, met in Richmond, Va., February 28 to March 2, to adopt a national political, social, economic and international agenda for the decade of the Eighties. The convenors were: National Council of Negro Women, National Conference of Black Mayors, the Black Leadership Forum, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Black Leadership Roundtable, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, and Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Richard G. Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Ind., and president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, served as conference chairman. M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, headed the program committee. Other national leaders who played prominent roles in the convention included: Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.); Gustav Heningburg, president, the Greater Newark Urban Coalition; Benjamin Hooks, director, NAACP, and president, Black Leadership Forum; Dick Gregory; Rev. Jesse Jackson, president, Operation PUSH; Samuel Jackson, Council of 100; Vernon Jordan, president, National Urban League; Coretta Scott King, president, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change; Dr. Joseph Lowery, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Henry Marsh, mayor, Richmond, Va.; Rev. Jerry Moore, councilman, Washington, D.C.; Basil Patterson, secretary of state, New York; Noel Taylor, mayor, Roanoke, Va.; C. Delores Tucker, national president, Federation of Democratic Women; Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, California State Legislature; Eddie N. Williams, president, Joint Center for Political Studies; and Coleman Young, mayor, Detroit, Mich.

The agenda recommendations were developed in 19 workshops comprised of moderators, panelists, and a cross section of the conference delegates. These workshops were coordinated by Maudine Cooper, acting vice president, National Urban League; Randall Robinson, executive director, TransAfrica; Eddie N. Williams, president, Joint Center for Political Studies; Dr. Charles Betsey, director, National Urban Coalition; and Dr. David Swinton, director, Minorities and Social Policy Programs, Urban Institute.

Following is an unedited, unexpurgated version of the conference agenda, adopted in a plenary session on March 1, 1980. A final and official agenda will be published soon by the Conference Secretariat which is presently housed at the National Urban Coalition in Washington, D.C.

I. RECOMMENDATIONS ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Jobs, Inflation and Economic Policy

1. A Comprehensive Economic Policy should emphasize aggressive and full implementation of the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act (Hawkins-Humphrey Bill); Federal policy should abandon the tactic of using unemployment to combat inflation.

2. Budgetary policy should not be formulated in a way that trades off the interests of Blacks and other minorities to increase defense spending. If defense spending is increased, the size of the total budget should be increased accordingly so as not to further worsen the already serious situation of Blacks and other minorities.

3. Recognizing that foreign investment by U.S. multi-national firms can assist economic growth in developing countries, but often creates unemployment at home, U.S. trade adjustment assistance and retraining assistance should be provided those Black communities affected by such investment policy.

4. The basic premise of national energy policy should be to guarantee the availability of adequate energy for all persons at prices they can afford.

5. Blacks should have full and complete participation in all government-sponsored efforts to develop alternative energy supplies.

6. Blacks should have greater participation, at all levels, in the formulation, development, and implementation of national, state, and local economic policies.

Housing, Urban & Rural Development

1. A National Development Policy for Blacks should place greater emphasis on developing and revitalizing existing Black communities. This policy should be carried out with better safeguards against displacement. Less emphasis should be placed on policies which encourage spatial deconcentration.

2. A National Development Policy for urban and rural areas should place greater emphasis on increasing Black ownership of land, housing and other resources. Policies which perpetrate poverty through transfers and subsidies should be de-emphasized.

3. Federal grant and procurement policy should be restructured in the following way:

a. Greater emphasis should be placed on direct funding of Black community-based organizations.

b. A minimum of 15% of Federal procurement and development funds should be set aside for Black institutions.

c. Greater emphasis should be placed on categorical programs and specific targeting at development programs on the most distressed communities. Entitlement programs like general revenue sharing should be de-emphasized.

4. It is recommended that the conference convenors establish a mechanism to implement the conference agenda and establish communication with the grass roots community after the conference is adjourned.

Business and Economic Development

1. Energy, its availability, its production and its use will exert tremendous influences on all aspects of American life. Energy production will present tremendous economic opportunities for Black business during the decade of the 80's. All necessary steps must be taken to ensure minority business participation in the construction of the proposed gas pipelines, and gasohol research and development plus any other energy-related programs which will establish a pattern for minority business participation in energy development during the 80's.

In addition, the Executive branch should be encouraged to report to Congress and the minority community on its progress in implementing the minority business stipulations included in legislation authorizing right-of-way use on federal land in the construction of the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System.

2. International trade is a viable means for developing large scale, high growth industries controlled by Black people. We recommend the following: a. Pinpoint the opportunities for trade with disadvantaged countries; b. Use all resources available to maximize trade with these countries; and c. Encourage Black-owned manufacturing firms to participate in such trade.

3. It is recommended that a national business and economic development network serve as a central body in the dissemination of information to Black people on business and economic development issues, particularly as they relate to how to get access to seed capital, and continuing funds to those already involved in those facets of business. This national organization should work in conjunction with community action agencies.

4. It is recommended that the Community Action Program be used also as a network for access to capital.

5. Seminars on business and economic development should be held every six months to educate black businesses and future investors on economics and economic opportunities, investment, and methods for acquisition of capital and/or grants.

6. We must develop expertise in the writing of grants; develop methods and lobbies to move these "grants" through the political systems; and pursue state and municipal underwriting to provide low-interest loans to minority businesses.

7. We should pursue and encourage personal financing of minority business ventures by minorities themselves.

8. It is recommended that the National Conference on a Black Agenda for the 80's develop a national task force of leaders and community representatives to monitor the developmental processes and operational methods of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank and to promote, encourage, and spearhead cooperative economic development within poor and minority communities.

9. There should be specific minority set-asides in the National Public Works and Economic Development Act. The Congressional Black Caucus and other organizations should lobby for the passage of this Act including specific minority set-aside provisions.

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Labor Market

1. A high level national task force should be convened at once to develop a comprehensive national policy to eradicate the inequalities that Blacks experience in employment, whatever the causes. This task force must be charged with creating the proper mix of economic, manpower, education, equal opportunity and affirmative action policies to achieve measurable results in the 1980's.

In the interim, current efforts to deal with the labor market problems of Blacks should be maintained and increased efforts should be targeted at Black youth.

2. A major effort should be devoted to exploring the potential of Black business development to solve the excessive labor market problems of Blacks. A substantial increase in funding for Black business development, research, demonstration and evaluation efforts is required. A major effort should also be made to increase Black ownership and participation on the boards of directors of publicly held private sector corporations.

3. An effort should be made to make corporations and labor unions more responsive to the needs of Blacks.

4. Blacks should continue their support for a full employment economy. Efforts should be encouraged to find ways compatible to the majority to increase the capacity of the economy to utilize human resources as well as to more adequately compensate low wage workers. Efforts should be encouraged to find institutional mechanisms, such as work sharing, to minimize the impact of cyclical fluctuations.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Education

1. Convene a special Black Conference on Education to more carefully examine a number of complex issues including but not limited to:

a. Effect of teacher unionization on the quality of education for Blacks;

b. More attention to involving Black families, parent and community in education;

c. Adequate and long-term financing of education, including analyzing legislation currently pending in Congress that impacts on education;

d. Realistic examination of testing and its implications for Black youth to involve a collaborative effort between Black educators and black psychologists;

e. Commitment to the existence of Black colleges as viable institutions;

f. Reexamination of the impact of school desegregation on Black students and teachers; and

g. Examination of school financing policies and methods.

2. The existing educational system must include a redefinition of and a recommitment to a goal which confirms the educability of every child and examines and/or incorporates an appropriate alternative educational program which equips the child to perform at maximum capacity in preparation for the real world of work.

3. There must be a realistic examination of education and the civil rights struggle relative to certain critical areas: racism, housing, self-perceptions among students in integrated and/or non-integrated settings.

4. Predominantly Black institutions of higher education are important national resources which must be preserved, expanded, and enhanced with adequate financial, political, legal, and moral support; and programs, policies, and practices deemed detrimental to their continued security must be rejected.

Income Maintenance

1. A universal income maintenance program should include a guaranteed minimum within 25% of a decent standard of living as defined by the BLS.

2. Support a full employment program which provides jobs at decent wages for all who need and want them.

3. Commitments must be made by the convening organizations to mobilize forces, especially those most affected by the outcome of these issues, to implement the Black agenda for the 80's.

4. There should be an assurance that research which is sensitive to the Black phenomena is compiled and used as the basis for testimony, statements, etc., before decision-making bodies.

Health

1. Establish an overall system of national health care services delivery throughout the United States, which provides comprehensive health care services, including curative, prevention, and health education, to all Americans equally, regardless of their economic status. This should be fully in place and operational prior to 1990.

2. Press all levels of government to reverse the trend in closures of inner-city hospitals which serve predominantly Black populations.

3. Reform the current mental health system to provide mental health services to Blacks who have historically been deprived of these services even though the Black population experiences a disproportionate number of the societal pressures which provoke mental health problems.

4. Make a national priority of involving Blacks in every level of health policy decision-making.

5. Guarantee full participation of Black students in all health professional and graduate education programs and include adequate federal financial support for traditionally Black health professional institutions and for increased Black enrollment in all institutions.

6. Support the Child Health Assurance Program which will provide basic medical services to low-income families.

7. Support the development of a comprehensive health training program which will include all segments of the community from all economic levels.

8. Implement Black-oriented programs geared toward education for the prevention of alcoholism.

9. Support prevention of drug abuse and the treatment of victims of drug abuse by increased funding to Black-oriented drug treatment programs.

10. Preventive and community health services should include increased federal and state financial support to train more Black physicians and dentists willing to serve the Black community.

11. Preventive and community health services should include an emphasis on health education, including periodic health assessments, vision, hearing and psychological testing and appropriate corrective action for students with behavioral and learning disabilities, and support for prenatal care for all women, regardless of financial status.

12. Health services should include comprehensive adolescent health programs which address special needs related to alcohol and drug abuse, sexual activity and nutrition. Special attention should be given to the need for high quality ambulatory case services and identification of a primary physician.

13. Increase the representation of Blacks in each of the MOD-VOPP public health, allied health, and bio-medical services in order to directly increase the availability and accessibility of health care services in Black and poor communities.

Criminal Justice

1. Blacks must be employed at every level of the criminal justice system; particularly at the policy-making level, and programs should be established and funded that will achieve this goal.

2. We must demand the establishment of a permanent national commission to review and recommend for approval all research related to Blacks in the criminal justice system and related areas.

3. We are opposed to the death penalty because it is cruel and unusual punishment and is not an effective deterrent to criminal activity, and we demand its abolition in all jurisdictions.

4. We are opposed to certain pending federal legislation dealing with new prison construction and revisions of the federal criminal code. (To be specified in final report.)

5. We demand the immediate cessation of police brutality and the establishment of a national commission to investigate police violence.

6. We are opposed to the current unequal application of the law at all levels within the criminal justice system, including enforcement officials, the judiciary, decision makers, etc.

7. National attention should be focused upon crime prevention and rehabilitation of the criminal offender particularly while the offender is confined within the penal institution.

8. Research must be undertaken to document the incidences of family violence and to develop educational programs to curtail such violence.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy and Consequences for Black Americans

1. The United States must take concerted action to bring about a just and lasting comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, including the resolution of the Palestinian homeland issue.

2. It is our contention that the assumption upon which the extraordinary increases in the military budget are based, which are contemplated over the next five years, are ill conceived, over reactive and a danger to the constructive search for world peace. For these reasons, we oppose these increases in the military budget and call for a significant reduction.

3. The resurgence of neo-militarism and resumption of cold war tension, exacerbated by distorted media coverage, in the aftermath of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan diverts re-

sources and attention away from critical domestic economic and social programs and the need to decrease unemployment at home; and it further prevents a positive U.S. response to the developing countries' legitimate call for a more just and equitable world economic order.

4. The Conference on a Black Agenda for the 80's is opposed to the renewal of selective service registration and the draft.

5. The Congressional Black Caucus and the U.S. Congress should support and seek public funding for international studies programs at historically Black colleges.

U.S./South Africa Relations

1. The United States should take measures to sever all economic, diplomatic, political and cultural relations with South Africa. These measures should include a ban on new investments by United States companies, a program of tax penalties designed to require withdrawal of current investments, a ban on new bank loans to South African borrowers, and termination of all exporation to and importation from South Africa.

2. The United States should submit and/or support a United Nations Chapter VII resolution proposing comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa on the grounds that South Africa's policy of apartheid poses an immediate threat to international peace and security and is in violation of the right of the people of South Africa to self-determination as guaranteed by the United Nations Charter.

3. Black American organizations and individuals should be strongly urged to render material and conceptual support to those African liberation groups and African governments committed to the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

4. The Congressional Black Caucus should introduce legislation which would prevent our national government from providing funding, supplemental or otherwise, to American corporations doing business with the Republic of South Africa.

African and Caribbean Economic Development

With the view that the United States economic assistance to and relations with the African and Caribbean countries should be free of all strings that might compromise the sovereignty and economic freedom of recipients, and in resolute opposition to all forms of colonialism and military intervention in the internal affairs of these states, the Conference on the Black Agenda for the 80's calls for:

1. An increased and more equitable program of economic assistance to and trade and private investment relations with Africa and the Caribbean. Specifically:

A. Regarding economic assistance: The United States should increase its overall level of foreign aid to 7/10ths of one percent of GNP. The African and Caribbean aid share of this should be increased to $5 billion. The allocation of aid to these countries should be according to need and not geopolitical considerations. The Congress should permit greater flexibility to enable the Agency for International Development to use its development assistance funds to help African and Caribbean countries repair their fragile economies through (1) balance of payments support, (2) infrastructure projects such as road, bridge and airport construction and repair, and not only the needed "basic needs" programs, and (3) the buildup of local capital goods industries that can feed an expansion not only in the modern industrial and urban sectors but also in the local agricultural sectors. Also, the U.S. should make substantial contributions to the African Development Bank despite the possible lack of voting representation on its board for non-African states, as well as to the African Development Fund where we are represented. The U.S. Congress should repeal all legislative restrictions on international institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program regarding the permissible recipient countries.

B. Regarding Trade and Private Investment Relations: The United States should support African and Caribbean efforts to achieve fair prices for their raw materials, access to our markets for their processed goods, and a more just international economic order. The U.S. Department of Commerce, the Export-Import Bank and other relevant agencies should help African states promote the sale of their goods in the United States.

Black American businessmen should be assisted by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and other government agencies promoting American investment abroad to bid on projects for which African countries seek foreign investors. Their numbers on U.S. government sponsored trade missions to Africa should be substantially increased. The legislation that provided for a Minority Business Resource Center within the AID should be implemented and similar programs established within all other agencies that pertain to overseas development, investment and trade. The U.S. should also implement a code of conduct for U.S. corporations operating abroad that recognizes the need for host countries to participate in management and capital structures of the companies that play important roles in their economies, and that promotes the training of management, the transfer of technology, and prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of the host country.

C. Regarding refugee assistance and political asylum: The United States should mount a major program to address the grave situation of 4 million African refugees and displaced persons, and modify the eligibility requirements for political asylum so that groups subjected to political and economic oppression from rightist as well as leftist authoritarian regimes are admissible into this country.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Voter Mobilization

1. Strengthen and expand existing voter mobilization programs and networks, including the Action Alert Network, the Black Leadership Forum, the National Black Leadership Roundtable and the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, and encourage the development of statewide voter mobilization coalitions to serve as vehicles for the implementation of voter mobilization strategies.

In pursuit of this objective, there must be a greater expenditure of energy and resources and a stronger commitment by Black leaders to become more directly involved in the efforts of local groups to increase Black voter participation.

These efforts should be undertaken under the umbrella of the national Operation Big Vote crusade which seeks to increase the number of Blacks registered to vote by 20 percent in 1980 and by similar amounts in election years throughout the decade. They should focus particularly on the 18 to 24 year old vote. Voter participation programs should be developed for rural as well as urban areas; for local as well as national elections; and for high school as well as college students and other citizens. Voter participation programs should be oriented toward precinct caucuses as well as state and local primary and general elections. Literature and other appeals should be aimed at all segments of the population, including the poor, the religious, street people, and Black colleges.

2. Blacks must support voter registration reforms which make it easier for citizens to register: post card registration, deputizing high school principals; and support renewal of the Voting Rights Act.

3. The Black electorate should develop systematic means and channels to identify, elect and hold accountable more public officials, especially Black officials.

4. Voter participation programs should emphasize the realities of the two-party political system in this country and the importance of full and active Black participation in both the Democratic and Republican parties and all of the programs, primaries and offices of these parties.

Political Parties and the Black Agenda

1. The major political parties should conduct a specific evaluation of their affirmative action programs and take immediate action to ensure full participation by Blacks in the party structure.

2. The parties also should study and evaluate their reforms and implement additional reforms, where appropriate, to assure broader Black representation and participation.

3. All party officials who presently hold leadership positions, by virtue of Black efforts during the 1960's, should be held accountable for their actions toward the Black community and should be urged to help mobilize the Black electorate to be more effective in the political process.

4. Blacks should acquire a better understanding of the political party process in order to take maximum advantage of opportunities afforded by that process to achieve the goals and aspirations of Black people.

5. Blacks should form local pressure groups to place greater demands on the political system and thereby to enhance the capacity of Black political leaders to effect positive changes in the political system and specifically in the political party structure.

6. The National Conference should establish a task force to study the feasibility of developing a Black political party.

How to Make the Governmental Process Work

1. The Conference should move to develop an institution capable of lobbying and monitoring government actions on behalf of blacks on a continuing basis. In addition, blacks should be encouraged and taught how to lobby on their own behalf at the state and local levels.

2. The Conference should take steps to encourage blacks to organize using where feasible the black churches as a starting point and build on that base. Local leaders and political activists should be encouraged to find ways of organizing the grass roots,

problem-ridden blacks by focusing on specific, concrete issues to which they can relate.

3. The Conference should call on government to make greater efforts to bring more black appointees into the bureaucracy and provide an atmosphere in which those who enter might be able to make progress rather than be forced out by racist environments and lack of opportunity for advancement.

4. The Conference should get involved in the national mobilization of Black voters to increase the number of blacks elected to public office.

Using the Census to Achieve Political and Economic Objectives

1. The Conference should urge all Black Americans to participate fully in the 1980 Census, and should hold the Federal government accountable for maintaining the confidentiality of all Census data.

2. The continued use of an inaccurate population figure results in a fundamental violation of the democratic and equal rights of Black people and other undercounted groups. We therefore demand the mandatory use of an adjusted population figure which includes the estimated undercount in all allocations of public monies and in the apportioning of political districts.

3. We demand that the U.S. government provide at least $5 million to train at least 100 Black demographers and social scientists who can be active in resolving the issue of the Black population undercount and in making the census a more useful and effective tool for solving the problems facing the Black community and the entire society. This training must include on-site internships at the offices of the Bureau of the Census and the use of Black college campuses as training centers where possible.

4. We urge conference participants to cooperate in popularizing the resolutions above.

5. The agricultural census should be improved to cover the special needs of Black farmers in regard to small farm units.

6. President Carter should put adequate funding back into the fiscal year 1981 budget to allow for planning a mid-decade census, and require that minority community-based organizations be involved in this planning process.

7. A task force should be formed, under the sponsorship of an existing coalition of national Black organizations, to follow up and review the status of all recommendations made to the Bureau of the Census that are of importance to Black people.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM SPECIAL WORKSHOPS

Civil Rights Enforcement and Expansion

1. The Black Agenda for the 80's must call on the public and private sectors to live up to and enforce all civil rights laws and regulations, i.e., Equal Employment Opportunity Programs; Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the Fair Housing Laws, and affirmative action programs.

We should advocate the strengthening of the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Resources, including the training and staffing of field offices to insure adequate investigations.

2. In view of the resurgence of the KKK, the Black community must demand that official law enforcement agencies, federal, state, and local, investigate fully every incident of offensive KKK activity.

3. The Black community should be concerned about problems stemming from lack of student discipline and should work to achieve constructive solutions.

4. The Black community should join with persons of goodwill across racial, regional, partisan, political and special interest lines to persuade state legislators to vote "yes" on the ratification of the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment before August 22, 1985.

5. The Conference on a Black Agenda for the 1980's favors the establishment of independent or governmental bodies aimed at exposing FBI participation in the murder of civil rights activists in the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's.

6. We condemn the Greensboro massacre on November 3, 1979.

7. We demand immediate prosecution of the Klan and Nazi members involved in the Greensboro murders.

8. We demand dismissal of all charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators arrested on November 3, 1979, and demand that the full Depaprtment of Justice investigative report, related to the November 3rd, 1979 murders, be released to the widows of the slain demonstrators.

ERA

1. In order to support the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in at least three additional states as required, the facts regarding the ERA must be dissieminated to broaden understanding of its nature, scope, and relevance to the Black Community. This proposed Constitutional amendment reads as follows: "Equality of rights under law shall not be abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

2. In view of the fact that the National Conference on a Black Agenda assembled in an unratified state the conference convenors have sent a letter to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia urging him to use the influence of his office to support ratification of the ERA in the Virginia Legislature.

3. In this same spirit, it is recommended that beginning March, 1980, and through June 30, 1982, wherever feasible Black organizations plan to hold national conventions in ratified states only, and include on their agendas the impact of ERA and its relevance to Black issues.

4. Because of the significant number of Black women who head families in the United States, it is recommended that quality developmental child care be supported by the federal government.

5. Blacks should join in coalitions with their allies who support the Black Agenda to work vigorously and effectively for the elimination of racism and sexism.

6. The Conference should call on all national women's organizations to support the Black agenda.

Black Youth

1. It is recommended that Conference Convenors will recognize that the present conference has failed to adequately provide for the inclusion of youth in the present proceedings. It is therefore recommended that all future national conferences or meetings will actively and systematically involve youth representatives in the planning and implementation of same. This recommendation is made to ensure that Black youth issues become and remain a major priority focus and will not be subsumed to other national issues.

2. It is recommended that Conference Convenors insist that all presidential candidates address the problems of Black Youth, including unemployment, and indicate their proposed strategies for dealing with these problems.

3. It is recommended that Black elected officials publicly commit themselves to increase their efforts to improve the condition of Black youth through a variety of legislative, administrative and political mechanisms and actively encourage Black youth participation in political and civic affairs.

4. It is recommended that a national Black youth network be established. The network will be constituted of local and national organizations interested in youth issues. The network will have a full-time staff.

5. It is recommended that the Conference oppose the present administration's proposal to reinstitute registration for the selective service and possible mandatory conscription at least until a complete assessment has been made and publicy discussed regarding the short and long range impact of such policies on Black youth; it is recommended also that all presidential candidates and elected officials address the issue of registration and the draft as it pertains to Black youth.

Media Ownership and Management

1. Develop a Black venture bank to fund prospective broadcast entrepreneurs.

2. Identify and support financially the best technical assistance agency Blacks can provide, to insure across the board technical assistance to prospective franchises.

3. Pool all communications legal assistance into one central bank to guarantee adequate and comprehensive legal assistance throughout the national Black community.

4. Identify prospective broadcast markets and develop individual feasibility studies to analyze their profitability.

5. Develop a national programming staff to take advantage of constantly changing access opportunities available in many communities.

6. Force the FCC to act responsibly on franchise award oversight and to bring into check the racist policies and procedures being used in local franchise hearings.

7. Provide regionalized broadcast workshops for Black Americans.

8. Develop a cadre of trained and experienced managers and professional technicians for the broadcasting industry through support of institutions which provide training as well as scholarships for persons interested in careers in this area.

9. Provide for access and development of software programming.

10. Develop and support a pool of legal and technical experts to assist in acquisition of broadcast properties.

11. Provide for sustained and systematic use of pressure and leverage to gain access to programming.

12. Develop a "How To" manual on Blacks' rights with respect to the media, programming, responsiveness, etc.

13. Establish a nationwide watchdog committee to monitor programming on all networks, radio stations and in the print media.

14. Recommend that the Black press do a feasibility study to identify areas in the country where there is a need for more independent Black media.

15. Monitor and apply pressure to advertisers who do not support Black newspapers, especially those whose products are largely consumed by the Black community.

tration (SBA) Section 7a program designed to provide credit to small businesses that cannot obtain it at reasonable costs from private sources; SBA's Economic Opportunity Loans which are available to small businesses located in areas with high proportions of unemployment or to businesses owned by low income persons; SBA's Section 301 (d) Small Business Investment Company (MESBIC) program designed to encourage privately owned and managed venture capital corporations to invest in businesses operated by disadvantaged persons.

Financial assistance can also be obtained through the business development program administered by the Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Although this program was not specifically designed to aid minority enterprise, ordinarily 10 percent of its funds are set aside for minority owned businesses.

There are three major federal programs to increase the availability of federal procurement contracts to minority business. These are: SBA's Section 8 (a) program which permits subcontracting on a sole source basis to small businesses owned by economically disadvantaged persons; SBA's "Set Aside" programs through which minority businesses can be identified as prime contractors or subcontractors for the provision of goods and services to the government; and Public Law 95-507 which establishes a new small business and minority subcontracting program whereby prime contractors are required to identify percentage goals for subcontracting to small minority firms.

The federal government has also sought to encourage greater assistance to minority businesses from the established private sector. Toward this end, the National Minority Purchasing Council was established to promote the purchase of goods and services from minority owned firms by major corporations.

Management and technical assistance to minority firms has been offered through a number of programs provided by SBA and the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE). SBA, for instance, offers assistance through volunteer programs involving retired and active business executives. The agency also provides management and consulting services through a program using college business administration students. OMBE assistance essentially has been provided through its contracts and grants programs.

Weaknesses in Federal Programs

The major criticism of existing programs is that, while they have been valuable in many respects, they have reinforced the traditional minority business focus on marginal retail/service businesses which have limited prospects for growth. The Lowry Report specifically pointed out this weakness and noted, too, that federal efforts have been further weakened by lack of focused leadership, lack of consensus on major goals and objectives, inadequate utilization of limited resources, and unrealistic business expectations.

Moreover, minority entrepreneurs have criticized the federal government for not putting stricter enforcement procedures into legis'ation which supports minority business development. Specifically, they have called on the federal government to develop policies which insure closer adherence to P.L. 95-507 minority sub-contracting provisions.

The failure in implementing P.L. 95-507 was emphasized in a January 12, 1980, memorandum by President Carter to department and agency heads. The President reminded these officials of his 1978 Urban Policy pledge to triple by the end of 1979 the amount of business the federal government does with minority firms. That goal, he said, was not met and he asked that increased attention be given to meeting it.

Recently, the federal government has taken other steps toward strengthening its minority business efforts. One such step was the White House Conference on Small Business held in January. The purpose of this conference was to bring national attention to the problems of small and minority businesses and to provide a forum through which solutions to such problems could be identified. Another step was the creation of the Minority Business Development Administration (MBDA) which replaces the OMBE and absorbs the Interagency for Minority Business Enterprise. This reorganization is designed to help minority businesses develop into medium and large size firms in growth industries that produce jobs and stability in communities and improve the overall economy.

The Importance of Stronger Black Businesses

Small businesses have been the backbone of the American economy, helping to create the multitude of opportunities which are the hallmark of the free enterprise system. Today they account for 50 percent of the gross national product, 50 percent of all inventions patented in the United States, and more than 50 percent of private employment.

Black businesses, though by definition small businesses, have not had the opportunity to contribute in the same way to the well being of the nation nor to black economic growth. They have, within the limits imposed by society, contributed to the overall economy by providing employment and generating taxable revenue. They have enabled blacks to have some share in the national wealth and they have helped stimulate the black entrepreneual spirit. But much more is needed and black business leaders today recognize that they must continue efforts to promote wider black business development.

Finally, of course, the ultimate responsibility is on black entrepreneurs themselves to make the kinds of business decisions that will result in greater profitability and business growth. Where they need government assistance in gaining the skills and capital to make such decisions, it should be provided. Until all barriers to the development of b'ack businesses are removed, neither the full potential of black enterprise nor the full promise of the free enterprise system itself will be realized.

Energy Policy: Still a Long Way to Go

(Continued from page 3)

least the same degree of financial support as synthetic fuels, especially since, by the President's own program, a barrel of conservation energy will cost only about a tenth in federal funds of what a barrel of synthetic fuels cost. Moreover, conservation energy would be available almost immediately to help the United States get through the 1980s, whereas the synthetic fuels would not be available until the 1990s. Yet the administration for the most part either opposed or gave only weak. distracted support to the conservation initiative."

What the Harvard experts did not point out is that the conservation measures that were supported will be of only marginal benefit to the poor. For example, the major conservation measure is to provide federal income tax breaks to those who weatherize their homes so that it does not take as much energy to heat them. Most of the poor who actually own their homes lack funds to weatherize in the first place.

Poor Insulation in Poor Homes

The housing conditions of the poor, however, are such that proper weatherization could, indeed, help conserve a great deal of energy. Writing last year in a Joint Center for Political Studies publication, *Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns,* energy expert Eunice Grier noted that poor black Americans live in homes with woefully poor insulation.

Ms. Grier cited figures from a national survey of household energy use conducted by the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies which summed up the heating conditions of low income black households this way:

- 65 percent of the homes occupied by low income black households were uninsulated;
- 69 percent of homes with doors leading directly to the outside were unequipped with storm windows;
- 73 percent had no storm sashes or insulating glass on windows;
- 18 percent reported that supplementary heaters were necessary to keep comfortable;
- 42 percent did not have central heating.

By helping to insulate these homes, the federal government could not only have reduced the current bills of the owners, but also given the poor some protection against energy price hikes in the future. As things now stand, the poor are reduced to dependence on a subsidy to pay bills.

Moreover, as already mentioned, the poor who were not receiving any form of federal aid to begin with did not benefit from the federal government's energy aid program. The reason for this was that the government wanted to get a program operating as soon as possible. The quickest way to do this was to target it exclusively to those already known to be receiving help so that they could be easily identified. One consequence of this is that the working poor, who are not eligible for any form of public assistance except food stamps, were barred from federal energy assistance unless they had, in fact, applied for food stamps.

An even larger omission, however, can be seen in the conservation program. Some 60 percent of the nation's 13 million poorest households are renters. They are untouched by most of the programs formulated to encourage conservation, however, because only those who weatherize their homes are allowed tax breaks. Renters are suffering as a result. Because many of them are paying their own heating bills, their landlords have no real incentive to weatherize their homes. Because the landlord owns the home, the tenant has the choice of either paying increasingly high fuel bills or of making expensive improvements on someone else's property. Neither is a very encouraging alternative.

One way to improve that situation would be to cut back some on the funds slated to go into the synthetic fuels program. Such action, of course, would have to be coupled with the setting of reasonably tight energy-efficiency standards for residential property already in existence.

Some energy analysts have recommended even stronger measures, including a proposal that would have utility companies insulate all homes free of charge and then build the cost of that service into the rate base. Eric Schneidewind, a member of the Michigan Public Service Commission, has noted that because of the energy savings from insulation, most consumers would end up with cheaper bills than they would otherwise pay—even with cost of insulation factored into their bills.

The Future

The unpleasant reality is that high energy prices will continue to burden the American consumer for the foreseeable future. For the poor, the effect may well be crushing. Not only will they have to find funds to pay for more expensive energy, they will have to do so at a time when economic growth is slowing—largely due to the effects of expensive, imported petroleum.

Times of slow economic growth are always difficult for the poor and they tend to be the most difficult for those who are both poor and non-white. In such times blacks will find it very difficult to hold on to many of the economic gains of the past and even more difficult to enlarge upon those gains. Because of such circumstances, Congress has a larger responsibility than ever to make equity considerations part of its national energy policy. The funds allocated for energy assistance represented a beginning.

Congress, however, cannot stop there if the needs of the poor are to be met. The most critical steps remain to be taken. Among these, probably the most important is giving the poor some form of permanent protection from rising costs of utility and fuel bills. A subsidy program alone cannot do that. A good conservation program can.

Telescope

National Parties Are Holding Regional Platform Hearings

As the Democratic and Republican National Conventions draw near, both parties are holding regional platform hearings around the country to get input from every party segment.

In addition, individuals and organizations are encouraged to submit written testimony. Statements to the Democratic Party must be submitted before June 13, 1980 to: Platform Committee, Democratic National Committee, 1625 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Statements to the Republican Party must be sent before June 1, 1980 to: Mr. Roger Semerad, Executive Director, Temporary Committee on Resolutions (Platform), Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Regional hearings have already been held in some cities. The remaining dates and locations are as follows:

Democratic Party

April 9, District of Columbia; April 10, Baltimore, Md.; April 30, Seattle, Wash.; May 15, Columbus, Ohio; and May 29, Houston, Tex. Congressional testimony will be on June 5 in Washington, D.C.; national interest group testimony on June 6-7; and drafting subcommittee hearings also in Washington, D.C. on June 17-20.

Republican Party

March 21, St. Louis, Mo.; April 18, Davenport, Iowa; May 2, Seattle, Washington; May 23, Chicago, Ill.; and June 6, New York, N.Y.

Persons wishing to testify should submit requests to the respective party platform committee, specifying the hearing at which they would like to appear, topics they will address, and the organization, if any, they represent.

Children's Defense Fund Urges Passage of Child Health Law

Marian Wright Edelman, director of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), has called on black elected officials to join the fight for CHAP, the Child Health Assessment Program, which is pending in the U.S. Senate.

The House on December 11, 1979, passed what CDF considered a strong CHAP bill which is estimated to add an additional $2-billion in new funding to help needy women and children.

The bill is designed to strengthen the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment Program (EPSDT), which was enacted into law as part of Medicaid in 1967. This program provides for check-ups and subsequent treatment for poor youth under age 21.

The EPSDT program is administered through state welfare and health agencies, which work with health department clinics, solo physicians, community clinics and a variety of health providers to deliver the services.

The new bill would provide substantially improved health services for 14-18 million needy children and adolescents, as well as provide prenatal care for poor women.

The CHAP legislation will help to reform the administration of the preventive care part of Medicaid for children so that a greater portion of the 13 million now eligible, will get the services they need. It will also enable an additional 5-million poor persons to get Medicaid services.

Finally, the new bill would allow 220,000 additional low-income women to get basic health services, family planning services, prenatal and obstetrical care, and care for their children.

During the House debate of the bill, four amendments were added. Two of the amendments, the Bauman and Volkmer amendments, introduced by Rep. Robert Bauman (R-Md.), and by Rep. Harold Volkmer (D-Mo.), deal with the controversial issue of abortion.

The Bauman amendment would permit states to curtail the use of their own funds for abortions, even if the courts have ordered them to do so.

The Volkmer amendment would prohibit the use of federal funds to end pregnancies, except those which endanger the life of the mother. Present law allows for federal funding of abortions in cases of rape and incest, as well as those to save the life of the mother.

In the past, the Senate has been known to thwart House efforts to turn off federal funds for abortions. Hence, CDF opposes the two amendments that have been tacked on to what is considered a good piece of legislation, because they discrimniate against poor women, and also because they threaten the passage of the entire bill.

Census Bureau Modifies Local Review Program

The U.S. Bureau of the Census has announced modifications in its plans to seek local review of the population and housing field counts obtained from the 1980 census.

The Bureau's local review program is designed to give officials in 39,500 counties, cities and townships a chance to study the accuracy of census totals before the Bureau's temporary offices are closed.

Under the modified program, a single review of the population and household counts will take place in June, 1980. Previously, the program called for a review prior to April 1 and a second review after enumeration has been completed. The pre-census review would have counted addresses on mailing lists used to send out questionnaires. The Bureau said elimination of this step was decided upon when it became clear that the address counts would not include an unanticipated number of addresses to be clerically added just prior to April 1.

The Bureau said a secondary factor in its decision was the need for more time to produce maps needed to check the counts.

New JCPS Publication Describes Convention Delegate Selection Process

A new publication released this month by the Joint Center describes in detail the process of dele-

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

(Continued from page 7)

gate selection to this year's Democratic and Republican national conventions.

Picking a President: A Guide to Delegate Selection in the States points out that traditionally minorities and women were seriously under-represented in the process of choosing delegates to the major parties' national conventions. Widespread discrimination was one reason for this. Another was inadequate public attention to and understanding of how delegates were selected. Moreover, for years a relatively small number of party professionals, overwhelmingly white and male, dominated the process. In recent years, however, both parties have modified their selection procedures to permit greater participation by the voting public and especially by minorities and women.

Picking a President examines the recent procedural reforms in both parties. It describes both the caucus and primary system of selection and offers general guidelines for how to become a delegate. It also provides information for each state on: the method used to select delegates, candidate requirements, numbers of delegates in each state, and state party contacts.

In a preface to the publication, Eddie N. Williams, President of the Joint Center, notes that it does more than explain rules and regulations governing delegate selection. "It documents, once again," Williams writes, "that political participation can and should be everybody's business. The process involves voters who must decide on party affiliation and candidate preference in order to vote in the primaries and political activists who want to attend the local caucuses or conventions and who desire to go on to the national convention. It also involves party officials who can exert influence at every stage of the delegate selection process to ensure that the process is open and equitable."

The publication is the first of a series of four volumes to be published this year by the Joint Center on the selection of the President. It was produced in cooperation with the National Women's Political Caucus.

Picking a President: A Guide to Delegate Selection in the States may be ordered from the Joint Center for Political Studies, 1426 H St., N.W., Suite 539, Washington, D.C. 20005. The price per copy is $5.00.

1979 Roster Now Available

The 1979 edition of the National Roster of Black Elected Officials is now on sale. To obtain your copy of this valuable reference source, send $19.50 for each copy to: Publications Department, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1426 H Street, N.W., Suite 539, Washington, D.C. 20005. All orders for a single copy must be accompanied by payment. On orders of two copies or more, we will send a bill if you request, but postage and handling charges will be added to the bill.

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