Volume 10, No. 5 May, 1982

FOCUS



Tom Bradley: Will He Be the First Black Elected Governor?

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Numerous polls and analyses confirm that blacks are hurt more and helped less by Reaganomics than almost any other group. The first real sign of just how upset black voters are about Reaganomics and other conservative attacks on social and civil rights will come this fall.

The November elections, especially the congressional races, will provide an opportunity for the 16.9 million potential black voters of this country to send the 98th Congress a message that neither it nor the Reagan administration could afford to ignore.

Some might argue that this is an overly optimistic assessment of the political clout of blacks, who sometimes are noted as much for their apathy as for their aggressiveness in politics. Certainly it is a conspicuous assessment in light of the fact that the black electorate represents only 11 percent of the national electorate. Moreover, in only 50 of the 435 congressional districts do blacks make up more than 20 percent of the total population.

Despite these numerical limitations, however, the black vote can have an extraordinary leveraging effect under certain circumstances. Some political observers believe that in the forthcoming elections, the votes of blacks can be a powerful force. Several developments give credence to this belief.

The fortunes of the Reagan administration—and of many of the Republicans and Democrats who back its policies—have been declining in recent months, and some observers believe that in the 1982 elections many of the president's supporters will desert his program and his allies. In this situation, a strong turnout of black voters for the opposition could be devastating.

In addition, black voters feel that they are being deliberately provoked by a president who says he is in their corner but who appears to go out of his way to demonstrate otherwise. Cases in point are the fiasco over tax exemptions for segregated schools; die-hard opposition—at least until May 4—to an effective Voting Rights Act; and the infamous nomination of B. Sam Hart to head the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Blacks are feeling their backs against the wall in the public policy arena, and they are beginning to lay plans to come out voting on November 2—voting *against* politicians who have ignored their concerns and *for* those who make a reasonable commitment to address them. Major voter education campaigns have been announced by the Voter Education Project, the National Urban League, the NAACP, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation will unveil its Operation Big Vote crusade next month.

The fact that blacks could have a substantial influence in a number of elections is clearly troubling conservative politicians, including President Reagan. Perhaps this is why we have recently seen a flurry of presidential activities aimed at impressing the black community; the last-minute decision to support the Voting Rights Act extension bill passed by the Senate Judiciary Committee; the highly publicized presidential visit to the Maryland home of a black family terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan five years ago; and the elevation of presidential assistant Melvin Bradley to represent minority interests in the White House.

Of course, local issues will play an important role in determining which candidates get black support. But on the whole, blacks will be inclined to vote for candidates who are unyielding in their commitment to civil rights and who recognize that the goal of achieving a just society continues to be as important as restoring the country's economic health and national security.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

Copyright © 1982 Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc. The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 626-3500. *The Joint Center for Political Studies is a non-profit and non-partisan organization which helps blacks, other minorities and the disadvantaged in America achieve political, economic and social equity through informed and effective involvement in the governmental process. Toward this end, JCPS conducts research and public policy analysis, provides training, technical assistance and information, and encourages citizen participation. The Joint Center does not fund or participate in voter registration, lobbying or campaigning. JCPS is funded by foundations, other organizations, and private gifts. Contributions are tax exempt. Signed FOCUS articles are presented solely for the information of readers, and they do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. FOCUS is published monthly, $12.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.*

president: Eddie N. Williams
vice president: Eleanor Farrar
director of development: Kathleen Vander Hors:
director of finance: Brenda Watkins Noel
director of information resources: Auriel Pilgrim
director of publications: Catherine Iino
director of research: Milton Morris
coordinator of the voter law policy project: Armand Derfner
editorial assistant: Constance B. Tolliver

Board of Governors
Wendell Freeland, *Chairman,* Attorney at Law
Kenneth B. Clark, Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris
Hortense Williams Dixon
Mervyn Dymally, U.S. House of Representatives
Jayne Brumley Ikard
Samuel Jackson, Attorney at Law
Louis E. Martin, Howard University
Percy E. Sutton, Board of Inner City Broadcasting Corp.
Eddie N. Williams, Joint Center for Political Studies
James D. Wolfensohn, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

Social Responsibilities of Corporate America

by Samuel M. Convissor

(The author is staff vice-president for corporate relations at the RCA Corporation.)

The current issue of *Foundation News* refers to today's climate as both the worst of times and the best of times. The times are terribly tough for the community agencies trying to serve people that need help. For the foundations and those in corporate philanthropy, it is an ideal time to break new ground.

Government Funding Is Essential

Although this administration is quick to point out that many social programs have been failures and a new beginning is needed, many previous programs have in fact worked. I don't believe our best efforts have failed us. Rather, the funds invested in rebuilding our cities and in programs of health, education, and job training have clearly demonstrated that when sufficient funds are spent and when public commitment for the long pull is ensured, then and only then can we honestly measure or expect success. The millions of out-of-work and out-of-school youth and the many neighborhoods in decay are not examples of failures of past programs. Rather, they are early warnings of the real dangers from inadequate funding of education and training programs, the lack of a national housing program, and a lessening commitment to an improved quality of life.

Direct community service grants have enabled thousands of service programs to get started in neighborhoods across this country. Vocational education support has trained thousands, and CETA funds have provided free training for young people now employed in the private sector. Government supported programs such as the Opportunities Industrialization Centers, the National Urban League, and American Women's Economic Development have enabled blacks, other minorities, and women to find better jobs and advance into the middle class. These programs, now being curtailed, are not the cause of our social problems; they were established to assist those most victimized by our economy's failure.

Much of the success we have had in past years in corporate philanthropic and community relations programs was possible because the programs were coupled with public programs. If federal funds are eliminated or substantially reduced, it is highly unlikely that many programs will be able to continue funded only by the private sector. To suggest that the private sector pick up the slack is not only unrealistic, it permits government to avoid its responsibility for improved public welfare. Combined public and private support are critical to the physical and social rebuilding of the nation.

The Challenge to Corporations

If the private sector is not going to be able to solve the social problems of the country by itself, neither can it afford to follow the lead of the government and abandon its social commitments. The challenge, rather, is how, in a period of lowered profits, corporate America can respond to increased demands for social involvement.

At RCA, we initiated a process to identify and measure the effects of federal budget cuts in the general areas of our plants. We invited RCA representatives, social agency executives, the mayor's office, the local newspaper editor, and other community relations representatives to express what they perceive to be the intensity of various community problems. We then organized our philanthropic and community relations program along four lines.

First, we put more money into our budgets to respond to what we know will be growing numbers of important emergency requests. Neighborhood organizations did not anticipate the extent of federal budget cutting and were caught unprepared. We have therefore increased our contingency funding.

Second, we are working to stimulate local programs that are in keeping with the New Federalism. In New York City, for example, we are contributing to a special projects fund along with eight other companies and the New York Community Trust. The group meets regularly to review grant requests for special New York City programs that would ordinarily go unfunded by the private sector. We have made some significant grants through this program and have been able to stimulate important economic development activity throughout the city.

Third, we are strengthening existing programs that have a demonstrated record of success. For the past 20 years, the private sector has sponsored programs and organizations that have provided leadership for low-income people not available elsewhere. In many cases, these programs have served as ladders to involvement and success in politics, business, education, and participation in independent-sector agencies. They have been the bridges that linked economic classes and racial and ethnic groups. They have been the means by which low-income neighborhoods and communities organized, undertook self-help projects, and maintained their hopes and dreams.

Without these programs, low-income communities are likely to become more chaotic, to lose their supply of strong and constructive leadership, to abandon hope and embrace despair. The gulf will widen between the haves and the have-nots, and the potential for permanent alienation and social disorder in the cities will be considerably heightened. This is a time for increased support of programs that have helped to strengthen neighborhood life and civic awareness.

Fourth, we are using service providers within the company—in fields such as purchasing, finance, advertising, consumer affairs, and real estate—in a more creative manner to assist the nonprofit organizations with whom we work. This is an area of great potential. RCA, not unlike other companies, has been providing technical assistance wherever possible to nonprofit organizations. Although this can be costly in both time and money, corporations do have good professional expertise that can often be more helpful to community groups than cash contributions. *(Continued on page 7)*

Bradley Leads In California's Gubernatorial Campaign

by Thomas F. Pettigrew and Denise Alston

(Dr. Pettigrew is professor of Social Psychology at Stevenson College, University of California, Santa Cruz. Ms. Alston is an advanced doctoral student in social psychology at Stevenson. The authors will continue to follow the California gubernatorial election for Focus. *They will also produce a study of this election to be published by the Joint Center.)*

Tom Bradley, the three-time mayor of Los Angeles, is the clear front-runner to become the next governor of California. Should he succeed next November, the 64-year-old son of a Texas sharecropper would be the first elected black governor in the nation's history. (The only black governor was P. B. S. Pinchback, who was lieutenant governor of Louisiana and became governor for a few days when the elected governor was impeached in 1872.)

The first test comes in the June 8th Democratic party primary. As early as last August, Mervin Field's highly regarded California poll showed Bradley with majority support from Democrats. By January, he had 58 percent of the Democratic vote. In March—with Ken Cory, state controller and his most serious primary competitor, out of contention—Bradley received 66 percent support from Democrats (Table 1).

Table 1. Democratic preferences for gubernatorial candidate.

	March 1982	Jan. 1982	Oct. 1981	Aug. 1981
Bradley	66%	58%	61%	51%
Garamendi	11	6	4	*
Obledo	7	5	4	*
Others	2	*	*	24
Cory	*	15	16	12
Undecided	14	16	5	13

*Not measured

SOURCE: Field Institute

Bradley and His Opposition

Bradley's Democratic opposition trails far behind. State Senator John Garamendi received only 11 percent in the March poll. Like Mayor Bradley, he is a handsome, mild liberal, but he is little known throughout the state. Some suspect Garamendi is running largely to increase voter recognition for future races.

Civil rights lawyer and former state secretary of Health and Welfare Mario Obledo hopes that by uniting and increasing the Mexican-American vote he can become the first Mexican-American governor of California. To date, however, he has attracted only 7 percent of party respondents, and his hopes and campaign are floundering. But his entry into this particular race highlights a festering conflict between black and Mexican-American politicians.

To complete the currently rosy picture for Bradley, the two leading Republican candidates for governor are fighting a tight and testy primary battle that is creating party friction. The battle is also burning up an estimated $6 million in campaign funds. State Attorney General George Deukmejian led in January. The 53-year-old lawyer is the "moderate" Republican in a state party split between conservatives and the far right wing; his low-key campaign emphasizes his experience in state government. But the state's less-restrained lieutenant governor, Mike Curb, took the lead, with 40 to 50 percent support among Republican respondents, in Field's March poll. Curb, who at 37 owns a successful recording business, lashes out in many directions and stays in the headlines. The flavor of the race is captured by Curb's branding of Deukmejian as a "liberal" for having voted for the Equal Rights Amendment and bilingual education years ago as a state legislator.

As Curb pulls ahead, Bradley's chances in November improve. As Table 2 shows, the mayor leads both Republican challengers, though these leads have narrowed over the past seven months. But Bradley is especially strong against Curb, with a 17 percent differential in March. This poll result is consistent with a general rule of thumb for liberal black candidates: the more right-wing the white opponent, the easier it is for the black to win white votes.

Table 2. Bradley vs. GOP candidates: voter preferences, March 1982.

	March 1982	Jan. 1982	Oct. 1981	Aug. 1981
Bradley	50%	50%	54%	55%
Deukmejian	40	39	33	31
Undecided	10	11	13	14
Bradley	55%	55%	57%	57%
Curb	38	36	34	31
Undecided	7	9	9	12

SOURCE: Field Institute

Table 3 further documents Bradley's political strength. When 1,217 respondents were asked by Field in March for positive and negative impressions of the leading candidates, two-thirds offered at least one positive comment about Bradley; only a quarter mentioned anything negative. Even Republicans view the seasoned Democrat favorably by a two-to-one ratio. By contrast, Curb draws considerable negative reaction, especially among Democrats. The milder Deukmejian enjoys an overall two-to-one favorability rating, but he suffers from the lack of a definite image among members of both parties—a problem that would probably dissipate in the full campaign should he prevail in the primary.

Barring catastrophe, then, Bradley seems certain to win the Democratic primary. Should Curb secure the Republican nomination, Bradley would be an early favorite in the November election. But he would face a vigorous opponent who is well-financed and atuned to exploiting the populist sentiments that constantly color California's politics. Should Deukmejian win the nomination, Bradley would begin as a narrower favorite and face an opponent whose softer style more resembles his own. Crime prevention, Deukmejian's favorite hard-line topic, would undoubtedly become a major issue. Here the mayor's years of police experience "on the streets of Los Angeles" would become a solid asset.

What Has Bradley Done Right?

Voters in California, like the rest of the country, have been trending toward the right in other races. They provided Ronald Reagan with a big margin in 1980. And the same Field polls that demonstrate voter preferences for Mayor Bradley also show that a majority of voters favor three conservative Republican candidates for the U.S. Senate over Governor Jerry Brown. How, then, has Tom Bradley achieved such an enviable position during this conservative period of American history? At least four interrelated factors have contributed to his success.

The right time. With Cory unwilling to challenge him and Governor Brown in the U.S. Senate race, Bradley has not had to face off other party powers. Moreover, the country's most populous state has had a succession of flamboyant, highly publicized governors—the two Browns and Reagan. There is evidence that many Californian voters (like other American voters) have grown cynical about politics and its ability to deliver. Drawing on his mayoralty record, Bradley delicately plays off this sentiment in his campaign: "He doesn't make a lot of noise," his campaign slogan says, "he just gets things done."

Table 3. Voter perceptions of the candidates.

	All voters	Demo	GOP
BRADLEY			
Favorable	65%	75%	60%
Unfavorable	23	17	31
CURB			
Favorable	44	32	65
Unfavorable	38	46	27
DEUKMEJIAN			
Favorable	35	27	45
Unfavorable	17	21	15

SOURCE: Field Institute

The right style. Bradley's political style reflects his private personality—quiet, cautious, conciliatory, and dignified. He would rather mediate than advocate; and he is often extremely reluctant to take strong positions.

This caution is the basis of the principal criticism leveled against him: that he avoids the hard issues and that, consequently, his accomplishments as mayor have been limited. Bradley counters that he gets results "behind the scenes" without later claiming credit. And he has taken forceful stands on two major questions facing California. He has come out in support of an enormously expensive canal to bring water from northern to southern California, and he favors increasing taxes to prevent further cuts in social programs.

The press finds his style dull. Yet this style seems to reassure much of the voting public during these turbulent times.

Careful planning. There is always an element of luck in politics. But Bradley's cautious style reflects itself in the care with which he and his loyal staff have planned his political career. He built his Los Angeles base brick by brick during a decade as an effective city council member. In 1964, he narrowly lost his first mayoral race—although he had been leading in the polls—to the incumbent, Sam Yorty, following nakedly racist attacks. But he returned to win handsomely in the Los Angeles mayoral races of 1973, 1977, and 1981 and slowly developed his statewide base. He now enjoys ample campaign funding and the support of party regulars.

The racial factor in California. Racism, in forms familiar to black Americans elsewhere, exists, of course, in California. Police-minority tensions and housing segregation are especially intense. Yet "Anglo" Californians repeatedly express less anti-black attitudes to survey interviewers than do other white Americans. In fact, the state's saddest experiences in dealing with minorities have involved other groups—Mexican- and Asian-Americans. And blacks have already held other high state posts: Mervyn Dymally, now a U.S. representative, was lieutenant governor; Willie Brown is currently speaker of the state assembly; and Wilson Riles is in his third term as state superintendent of public instruction.

Sensing the special quality of the racial factor in California, Bradley gently attempts to turn the issue of race in his favor, in a manner similar to that of former U.S. Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts. Without raising the issue directly, Bradley says his election as governor would send a message to the rest of the nation that "the American dream has come true in California" for blacks as well as whites.

Whether the message is sent will depend on events in the next six months.

To all black elected officials:

Each of you should have received at least one questionnaire from the Joint Center asking for current information for the 1981 *Roster of Black Elected Officials.* We thank those of you who have returned the questionnaire and urge the rest of you to do so promptly.

Black Candidates and the 1982 Primaries

by Cathryn Perry

(The author is a research assistant at the Joint Center.)

In this year's primary elections, which began with the Illinois primaries in March and will end with the Hawaii primaries in September, blacks are seeking nomination for a wide variety of offices. In many states, the redistricting process has yet to be completed before the November 1982 elections, and so campaign decisions are still unclear. However, a number of interesting races involving blacks have occurred or are under way, some directly affected by the redistricting decisions based on the 1980 census.

Congressional Offices

Although most of the 17 Congressional districts now represented by blacks lost population during the 1970s, none appears to have undergone such drastic change as to threaten the renomination of the incumbent. Representative Gus Savage (D-IL) survived a strong challenge from former Transit Authority Chairman Eugene Barnes, winning renomination in District 2 by just 2,200 votes. On the other hand, his Congressional Black Caucus colleagues from Illinois, Cardiss Collins and Harold Washington, were unopposed in the March primaries. On June 8, Representative Ronald Dellums (D-CA) faces a challenge to his nomination for a seventh term in his Berkeley, California, district. Other black members of Congress reportedly face little or no primary opposition.

Blacks are seeking nomination in at least four Congressional districts not previously held by blacks. In North Carolina's newly drawn 2nd Congressional district, Mickey Michaux, black former state legislator and U.S. attorney, is competing with James Ramsey, former speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives, for the Democratic party's nomination. The district is about 42 percent black. Reverend Percy Smith abandoned the Democratic party, registered as a Republican, and is seeking the Republican nomination for Maryland's 5th Congressional district seat, now held by Democrat Steny Hoyer. And in San Diego, Shirley Gissendanner and Arthur L. Sanders also switched parties and are seeking the Republican nomination for the 44th and 43rd Congressional district seats respectively. Both seats are being vacated by retirement of the incumbent.

There will be at least one new face among the black members of Congress in January 1983, as a result of Representative Shirley Chisholm's (D-NY) decision to retire at the end of the current term. Representative Chisholm, the first black woman elected to Congress and the first to seek the Democratic party's nomination for president, was initially elected in 1968. She has decided not to seek an 8th term, in order, she says, to pursue a more private life and because of her frustration with the current conservative atmosphere in Congress. State Senator Major Owens, Assemblyman Albert Vann, and Deputy Brooklyn Borough President Edolphus Towns, all black, are competing for Chisholm's 12th district seat.

State Offices

Three of the six blacks who hold statewide elective office are facing reelection this year, and several other blacks are seeking to run for statewide office for the first time. Incumbent Michigan Secretary of State Richard H. Austin is seeking the Democratic nomination at the August state convention. California State Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson C. Riles faces a June 8 primary contest. Illinois Comptroller Roland Burris has already won renomination in the March primary.

Those making new bids for statewide offices include Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, who is seeking the Democratic party's nomination for governor of California (see article on page 4), and Professor Luther Martin Kindall of the University of Tennessee, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for governor of Tennessee. In Indiana, Julia Carson resigned her seat in the state senate after 10 years in office to run for secretary of state in the May 4 primary, and, in Ohio, U.S. Attorney James R. Williams is seeking the Democratic party's nomination for state treasurer.

We were able to identify few primary races for state legislative seats. Blacks seem to have fared badly in the Illinois primaries, partly, it would appear, for reasons having to do with redistricting. Black representative Raymond Ewell's 29th district, for example, was carved up in such a way that Ewell chose to run in the newly drawn, mostly black 26th district, where he was defeated by the white incumbent, Barbara Flynn Currie. In another new, mostly black district, white incumbent state Senator Glen Dawson defeated two black candidates for the Democratic nomination. Altogether, 5 of the 15 black state legislators in Illinois failed in bids for renomination.

Mayoral Offices

District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry is seeking nomination for a second term. He has seven challengers in the September primary. According to early public opinion polls, Patricia Roberts Harris, a Carter administration cabinet member, is Barry's strongest opponent.

Three-term mayor Kenneth Gibson is seeking reelection to an unprecedented fourth term as mayor of Newark, New Jersey's largest city. Gibson is being challenged by three other blacks who have held influential positions in Newark: Brenda Grier, who was appointed to the Newark School Board by Gibson but was ousted last September; Earl Harris, a former ally of Gibson and currently president of the City Council; and attorney Junius Williams, who served in the mayor's first administration before being fired in 1972 and who now serves as executive director of the National Bar Association.

We should not leave our discussion of mayoral races without mentioning that, in an intensely fought March run-off election, Ernest (Dutch) Morial, New Orleans' first black mayor, won a second term of office with 53 percent of the vote. Morial's victory over state Representative Ronald Faucheux was attributed to the heavy turnout of black voters, who gave him 98 percent of their ballots. For the first time since 1970, the percentage of blacks voting was greater than that of whites.

1982 Primary Elections

		House of Representatives			
		Democrats Current	Republicans Seats	New Total	Loss or Gain
March 16	Illinois	10	14	22	−2
May 1	Texas	19	5	27	+3
May 4	Indiana	6	5	10	−1
May 11	Nebraska	0	3	3	—
May 18	Pennsylvania	12	13	23	−2
	Oregon	3	1	5	+1
May 25	Arkansas	2	2	4	—
	Idaho	0	2	2	—
	Kentucky	4	3	7	—
June 1	Mississippi	4	1	5	—
	New Mexico	0	2	3	+1
	North Carolina	7	4	11	—
	South Dakota	1	1	1	−1
	West Virginia	2	2	4	—
June 5	—Texas runoffs—				
June 8	California	22	21	45	+2
	Iowa	3	3	6	—
	Maine	0	2	2	—
	Montana	1	1	2	—
	New Jersey	8	7	14	−1
	North Dakota	1	0	1	—
	Ohio	10	13	21	−2
	South Carolina	2	4	6	—
	Virginia	1	9	10	—
	—Arkansas runoffs—				
June 22	—Mississippi runoffs—				
	—South Carolina runoffs—				
Aug. 3	Kansas	1	4	5	—
	Missouri	6	4	9	−1
	Michigan	12	7	18	−1
Aug. 5	Tennessee	5	3	9	+1
Aug. 10	Georgia	9	1	10	—
Aug. 24	Alaska	0	1	1	—
	Oklahoma	5	1	6	—
Aug. 31	—Georgia runoffs—				
Sept. 7	Alabama	4	3	7	—
	Arizona	2	2	5	+1
	Connecticut	4	2	6	—
	Florida	11	4	19	+4
Sept. 11	Delaware	0	1	1	—
	Louisiana	6	2	8	—
Sept. 14	Colorado	3	2	6	+1
	District of Columbia	1	0	1	—
	Maryland	7	1	8	—
	Massachusetts	10	2	11	−1
	Minnesota	3	5	6	—
	Nevada	1	0	2	+1
	New Hampshire	1	1	2	—
	New York	22	17	34	−5
	Rhode Island	1	1	2	—
	Utah	0	2	3	+1
	Vermont	0	1	1	—
	Washington	5	2	8	+1
	Wisconsin	5	4	9	—
	Wyoming	0	1	1	—
Sept. 18	Hawaii	2	0	2	—
Sept. 21	—Oklahoma runoffs—				
Sept. 28	—Alabama runoffs—				
	—Florida runoffs—				

The Social Responsibilities of Corporate America

(Continued from page 3)

At RCA, we have also tried some things in our community advertising campaigns that have proved successful. We have run series of fund-raising ads on behalf of several national organizations, which have helped to validate the groups, to build a new spirit among their employees and supporters, and to enlist new members. We have also run ads promoting our minority vendor program, encouraging vendors to contact us. Under the heading "You'd be surprised at what we buy," we tried to break down the barrier that exists between new, small businessmen and a large industrial company. This campaign has helped us and the minority vendors. We have increased our business with minority vendors from $1 million to over $26 million in less than five years.

On the whole, we will remain advocates on behalf of the powerless. We have increased our support for a number of programs that provide technical assistance to sometimes unorthodox groups as they wrestle with the new federal budget and a shrinking base of political allies. We feel it important not to divorce ourselves from the hundreds of community-based groups that are assisted by national organizations not always of the same political or social persuasion as business and industry.

It is clear to most people who have studied the 1982 federal budget that the reduction in human service programs will be huge. To think otherwise is truly to indulge in wishful thinking. We in the private sector have to face the hard fact that millions of people will be hurt and thousands of programs and nonprofit organizations will have their operations and stability threatened. These groups are expecting business to do more than it has done before.

This is not the time for business as usual in the philanthropic world. We must fully recognize the public responsibilities of a publicly held company operating under a public charter for a public purpose.

Telescope

The Children's Defense Budget

The Children's Defense Fund has developed several alternatives to the budget cuts in children's programs proposed by the Reagan administration. In FY 1982, critical children's programs were cut by $10 billion, and the Reagan administration has proposed further cuts of $8 billion in FY 1983. Moreover, in addition to cutting critical children's programs—child welfare, child nutrition, youth employment, AFDC, food stamps, Medicaid, etc.—the administration wants to cut many other programs that benefit disadvantaged children.

The CDF "Green Book," *A Children's Defense Budget: An Analysis of the President's Budget and Children,* shows how these budget cuts are "hurting the neediest, increasing taxpayer burden, fostering dependency rather than productivity, and decreasing rather than increasing the likelihood of government efficiency." The book also addresses broader issues that have an impact on the nation's capacity to invest in children, such as the Economic Recovery Act, tax reductions, and military expenditures.

Alternative budget options proposed by CDF and discussed in the Green Book range from operating Secretary Weinberger's private dining hall at the Pentagon on a self-sufficiency basis (savings of $400,000) to converting the current tax break that every corporation gets on its first $100,000 of profit to a credit that would phase out once corporate profits reach $100,000. This, along with an increase in the corporate tax rate of 1 percent, would produce savings of $8.5 billion.

Marian Wright Edelman, president of CDF, states, "it is our strong view . . . based upon the unfair impact of the FY 1982 Budget and the faulty premises undergirding the FY 1983 Budget, that not another dime should be taken from programs for poor, handicapped, and homeless children or their families. Nor should another minute be diverted into a "New Federalism" debate when 9½ million Americans are out of work and millions of others are going without the basic necessities of food, energy, housing, and health care."

Counting Noncash Benefits as Income

On April 14, 1982, the U.S. Bureau of the Census released a report entitled "Alternative Methods for Valuing Selected In-Kind Transfer Benefits and Measuring Their Effect on Poverty." The report contains estimates of the number of people who would officially be counted as poor if noncash benefits such as food stamps, medical assistance, and housing benefits were counted as cash income. Depending on which benefits are counted and how they are valued, the number of people considered to be living in poverty would fall from about 26 million to between 13 and 20 million for 1979.

If the Reagan administration decides to change the official definition of poverty to count in-kind benefits as income, and the number of poor (by official counts) decreases concomitantly, the false perception might be fostered that we were "winning the war on poverty." A redefinition of poverty could also have ramifications for some programs that use the poverty guideline as an eligibility criterion.

The Reagan administration has been considering changing the definition of poverty for some time, as *Focus* discussed in detail in January 1982. The Census Bureau report would seem to be a part of that consideration. JCPS will continue to monitor developments on this issue.

Dr. Wesley Plummer Day

Dr. Wesley Plummer, director of the Office of Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Transportation, was honored at the first Annual Transportation Convention for Minority Businesses, held in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 18. Dr. Plummer was vice-president of the Harrisburg (PA) City Council until he resigned from the position when U.S. Secretary of Transportation Drew Lewis appointed him to head the Civil Rights Office.

Mayor Andrew Young presented a proclamation to Dr. Plummer and designated March 18 as "Dr. Wesley Plummer Day" in Atlanta. "Dr. Plummer's personal commitment has enabled minority businesses to develop and participate in transportation projects throughout the nation," said Mayor Young.

FOCUS

Joint Center for Political Studies

1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED
Postmaster:
Form 3547 requested

PRICE $1.25

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 44958
Washington, D.C.