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FOCUS



CAN AMERICA'S CITIES SURVIVE?

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FOCUS INITIATES SUBSCRIPTION RATE.

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FOCUS Initiates Subscription Rate:

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Last year the Joint Center announced that due to the rising demand for FOCUS and the increasing costs of printing and mailing, this publication would be converted to a subscription basis. Several tests were conducted to determine the feasibility of marketing FOCUS at a nominal fee of $12.00 for 12 issues and quarterly supplements. These tests confirmed our belief that FOCUS is a valuable resource document and that the overwhelming majority of its 15,000 readers would be willing to subscribe. We also learned that with a sustained marketing campaign FOCUS subscriptions could very well exceed the present number of readers.

With the advice of media consultants, we have developed a conversion program which will be implemented between now and next March. During this period, we hope to convert all present readers to subscribers.

Subscribers will continue to receive monthly issues of the nation's most authoritative resource on black political participation. In addition, they will receive substantial discounts on other Joint Center publications, including the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials.*

In implementing this conversion program, JCPS Board Chairman Louis E. Martin and I reiterate the statement we made in the May, 1976 issue of FOCUS:

"We realize that in making this appeal we are placing ourselves in competition with other publications which seek your subscription dollars. However, we are encouraged by the support and commendations we have received from our readers and are confident that you will want to continue to receive FOCUS. We also have confidence in our ability to provide a timely and unique publication."

What makes FOCUS such a unique publication worthy of your subscription?

FOCUS provides information and analyses on issues of crucial importance to decision-makers, especially those who serve minority communities. It reflects minority political thinking and publishes incisive commentaries on public policy proposals and programs. FOCUS is regularly used as a reference document in legislative assemblies and as a source of quotes by the media.

But, FOCUS does more than beat the rest of the media on political news of importance to blacks. It also previews the research, training and technical assistance programs of the Joint Center. As the premier minority political think tank, the Joint Center often provides analyses that no other organization can equal. For example, FOCUS shared with its readers the results of a JCPS study which proved that black voters provided the margin of victory for Jimmy Carter in the 1976 Presidential election.

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Eddie N. Williams
President

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Towards a national urban policy

by Gloria Cousar and Ellis Cose

Ms. Cousar and Mr. Cose are serving as Rockefeller Human Resources Fellows. Ms. Cousar is currently assigned to the Office of the Secretary — Department of Housing and Urban Development.

What is President Carter's national urban policy likely to be? Judging from the ideas floated out by his Urban Regional Policy Group (URPG), the policy is likely to encompass a mixed bag of strategies.

His policy is likely to embrace the concept of an Urban Development Bank to help high risk urban enterprises get started and keep going. It is also likely to call for an overhaul and expansion of many housing programs, for a better targeting of public works and public service employment funds, for the use of tax incentives to lure businesses into the cities, and for a host of other strategies, combined in a fashion to give coherence to the federal government's urban approach.

The president will not publicly announce his policy until January during his State of the Union address. The preview, however, comes from a draft document, "Cities and People in Distress," produced by the Urban Regional Policy Group and made public in December.

The motivation for such a group was contained in Carter's early campaign pledges, in which he promised help to the cities. Last March, the President named HUD Secretary Patricia R. Harris to chair the cabinet-level group that would work out the details of an urban policy.

The Formation of URPG

The group pulled key administrators from several departments and agencies including the Departments of Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education and Welfare; Treasury; and Transportation; as well as from the Environment Protection Agency, the Small Business Administration and the Community Services Administration.

Working largely through the coordination of HUD Assistant Secretary Robert Embry, the group invited and received input from a host of citizens outside of the federal structure, including mayors, governors, labor leaders, corporate heads, neighborhood organizers and civil rights leaders. The group worked very closely with the White House domestic policy staff, headed by Stuart Eisenstadt.

Urban Policy

The circulated URPG report was billed as a "discussion draft" and did not include cost estimates for the report's many recommendations. However, the URPG has developed and submitted to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) estimated costs of several billion dollars for implementing all of its recommendations. The resultant price tag has not engendered much enthusiasm from those OMB officials who take a dim view of expanded government spending.

Recommendations

One of URPG's much discussed proposals is for an Urban Development Bank (Urbank). The idea is not new. At least three separate proposals for such a bank were circulating within the administration as early as last January. The concept finally settled upon by the URPG envisions an Urbank that would "harness private capital" to help the cities rebuild. The private investment funds would be loaned out as long-term, low-cost capital for either existing or new enterprises. The Urbank, however, would not participate as an equity investor in projects, nor would it loan money for land acquisition. The hope is that the enterprises would generate jobs in the city.

The report also calls for an expansion of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) jobs programs, with funds to be specifically targeted to hard-to-employ workers in distressed cities, and with special efforts to be made to place the recipients in private sector jobs eventually.

An expansion of the HUD Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program is also called for — which would give the HUD secretary more funds and more flexibility with which to aid projects aimed at securing private reinvestment in older declining areas — or in capturing new firms as well as retaining old firms.

The report calls as well for the expansion and continuation of counter-cyclical revenue sharing, but questions whether the cities' one-third share is adequate and raises the possibility of more precise targeting of distressed areas.

Other Proposals

Some of the other URPG proposals include:

- stand-by authority for expansion of direct loans from Treasury
- increased federal tax write-offs for urban businesses equal to double or triple the amount paid to the cities on property
- special tax relief for central city industries hard hit by an ailing economy
- tax credits for urban homesteaders who are restoring buildings in deteriorating neighborhoods
- larger tax credits for home installation on older units
- the locating of more federal facilities in urban areas
- encouragement of foreign investments in declining urban areas along with the discouragement of the practice of exporting jobs abroad
- the reduction of urban property taxes in some areas by providing special revenue sharing funds
- tax credits for low and moderate income households equal to their proportion of local property tax payments
- revision and expansion of the Section 8 housing program, as well as the Section 312 rehabilitation program
- expansion of the urban homesteading program
- anti-redlining efforts

FOCUS will take a more in-depth look at the President's urban program once it is officially unveiled in January. What is clear, however, is that some of the URPG proposals will most likely be cut due to budget restraints. And, what is just as clear is that now is the time for minority interest groups to make their concern known — before the scissors begin to snip.

Can America's cities survive?

by Ellis Cose
Mr. Cose, a columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times, is presently serving a one-year fellowship at the Joint Center.

It is painful to watch an aging city. For cities tend to die a section at a time, a year at a time. They tend to hang on desperately, becoming accustomed to the agony, fearful of the night, waiting for the sun to shine again.

Detroit's spanking new Renaissance Center reaches to the sky; yet, one searches in vain for signs of the urban reawakening that was to follow. One travels through the slums of Chicago, or the slums of New York, or the slums of any of our aging, declining cities, and wonders whether one is looking into the face of the future of the city itself.

Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D N.Y.) noted in a speech earlier this year that New York city had lost some 686,200 jobs since 1969 and that housing starts had gone down. A report issued by the Center for Urban Policy Research at Rutgers University noted that 2.5 million less whites lived in central cities in 1974 than did in 1970 — at a time when suburban areas were gaining population.

A background paper prepared earlier this year for the White House Conference on Balanced National Growth and Economic Development opined: "The growth of suburbia and the movement of business to the periphery from the central city are events which were promoted by technological change and human preference. A significant reversal seems unlikely. At best, it would seem that only a fraction of suburban residents and suburban business can be attracted back to the central city."

The cities do not have to scream that they are in trouble. The signs are everywhere. Like an old man who can no longer walk, the cities totter. Certainly that is not true of all cities. Many are thriving, especially in the South and the West, and especially those that are newer and smaller. But the nation's older cities are doing anything but thriving. And, though there are some exceptions, the forecasts are less than promising.

Dismal Forecasts

A study prepared for HUD earlier this year flatly stated: "Housing rehabilitation and return-to-the-city movement(s) (are) symbolically important, but numerically small." Other forecasts for the cities tend to be equally dismal, regardless of whether one talks about jobs, population, income, or whatever. Everything but misery seems to be in decline.

In July of 1963 Edward Hearle of the Rand Corporation issued a paper which asserted: "Cities not only will endure, they will expand, and so will the problems of moving people and goods within and between them."

At least part of his forecast is in doubt; but other parts of it were uncannily accurate. For he also said: "It appears the central city will be left with an increasing proportion of racial minorities . . . Manufacturers will find more and more reasons to locate out of the central city, and commerce will move to serve the customers in the suburban areas where they live and work . . . "

The title of his paper was "Are Cities Here to Stay." At least some people are beginning to wonder, and to question, seriously, whether this nation's large, older, urban centers have much of a future at all.

A recent *New York Times* editorial stated: "It is easier to support a national urban policy than to define it. Two extreme and probably incompatible definitions can be suggested. The nation might try to address the problems of northern cities by giving their present occupants welfare benefits and job-development subsidies generous enough to offset longterm unemployment. This policy would permit the present urban population to stay out."

"The polar alternative would be to acknowledge that these cities are no longer economically capable of sustaining their present population, that their economies can no longer offer permanent jobs to all. . ."

Others have gone so far as to suggest that the northern cities be declared beyond repair, that funds and efforts be expended elsewhere where they can do more good. The pendulum has swung, the reasoning goes, and there is no point in trying to force it back.

The problems are legion. Cleveland shuts down its school system because of money problems. New York lays off much of its staff. People continue to move out. Businesses continue to fail. Black youth unemployment hovers around 40 percent. The city becomes poorer and poorer, blacker and blacker.

Cities vs. Suburbs

A lot has happened in the city in the past few years. A lot has been misunderstood. It is not so much that businesses have picked up wholesale and left the city. It is more that businesses that have closed down have not been replaced by others. (The others have located in the suburbs and in the Sunbelt.)

It is not so much that people have migrated wholesale from northern metropolitan areas to the Sunbelt. It is more that the suburbs (in all areas of the country), are growing much faster than the cities. And, according to a study by Peter A. Morrison and Judith P. Wheeler for the Population Reference Bureau: "For the first time in this century, and probably in the nation's history, more Americans are moving away from metropolitan areas than are moving to them, in an abrupt and baffling reversal of the long established trends to urbanization."

Blacks, in contrast to whites, continue to move to central cities — both northern and southern. But, blacks seem to have only replaced about one-third of the whites who have left.

Some of the studies conflict. Some of them are inconclusive. But, the conclusion is inescapable that the northern central cities are losing population; that the population which remains tends to be largely poor; that jobs and industry are locating elsewhere; and that the federal government, at least to an extent, is to blame.

A number of studies have demonstrated that federal highway programs (that made the suburbs feasible by providing easy access to them) and federal taxing policies (which gave incentives for suburban construction), public works programs (which helped to build the suburbs), and federal citing policies (of placing Defense plants in the

FOCUS INDEX

Volume 5
December 1976 through December 1977

This index is in three main sections:

Subject—
- **Articles related to political participation of minorities.**
- **Articles on public issues of concern to minorities. Articles are listed in order of date of publication within each topic.**

Author—
- **Listed alphabetically for bylined articles.**

Name—
- **Major references to officials and other notable persons, black and nonblack.**

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Subject index: Political participation of minorities

Minority elected officials

[illegible] candidates

Issue date	Page	
12/76	7	Update on black state legislators
1/77	6	John Lewis announces congressional candidacy
1/77	7	Black elected in Plains, Ga.
1/77	6	Black legislator denied seat
2/77	6	Atlanta congressional election set
3/77	7	Historic Richmond election
3/77	8	Stokes named chairman of assassinations committee
4/77	7	Atlanta congressional election
5/77	8	Black judge wins Oakland mayoralty
8/77	12	Eve wins primary
10/77	6	A look is six mayoral contests
10/77	7	Burke announces for California attorney general
10/77	8	Jackson wins re-election
12/77	3	Election results
12/77	7	JCPS publishes new book
12/77	7	BEO's on African tour
12/77	8	Harrassment of Black Elected Officials Cited in Report
12/77	8	Jordan Will Not Seek Re-election

Minority voting strength

[illegible]/77	4	Black voter participation
[illegible]7	5	Chicago politics after Daley
4/77	3	Electoral reform
6/77	2	Perspective
6/77	7	New publication on minorities
12/77	8	Ohio voters repeal election-day registration

Minorities and political parties

2/77	3	Republican reaction to the election

Minorities and the Carter administration

12/76	7	Black transition team members
12/76	7	Blacks excluded from top postal positions in St. Louis
1/77	7	Black secretary of Housing and Urban Development
2/77	2	Perspective (appointment of Andrew Young)
3/77	6	Minorities in the administration
3/77	7	Black Journal opinion poll
4/77	7	Planning for White House conference on families attacked
5/77	7	Young receives support of CBC
5/77	8	Update on minorities in the administration
8/77	2	Perspective
8/77	8	White House fellowship applications available
10/77	7	Two blacks appointed as PROs

Minority organizations and conferences

Congressional Black Caucus

1/77	6	New Congressional Black Caucus head
3/77	3	National black network: a caucus goal
5/77	7	Young receives support of CBC
7/77	7	Rep. Mitchell criticizes House colleagues
8/77	3	A historical look at the CBC
8/77	5	Black caucus to hold annual workshops
8/77	6	The CBC: an unfolding drama

Joint Center for Political Studies

1/77 6 JCPS launches fellowship program on human resources development
2/77 7 JCPS publications list
3/77 7 First group of JCPS human resources fellows chosen
4/77 2 Perspective
4/77 8 JCPS Board of Governors
5/77 7 JCPS receives grant to study blacks in Congress, 1870-1977.
5/77 7 JCPS announces budgeting institute
6/77 7 New members of JCPS staff
6/77 8 JCPS publishes energy book
7/77 7 JCPS selects two new fellows
8/77 5 JCPS selects five new fellows
12/77 2 Perspective
12/77 7 JCPS to end free distribution of FOCUS
12/77 7 JCPS to hold first fundraising dinner

NAACP

7/77 2 Perspective (Roy Wilkins tributes)

National Association of Landowners

2/77 6 Black landowners organize

National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials

12/76 3 NBC/LEO meeting
5/77 7 NBC/LEO board meeting

National Caucus of Black State Legislators

8/77 5 Black state legislators plan caucus
10/77 2 Perspective
12/77 7 NBCSL holds first meeting

National Coalition on Black Voter Participation

12/76 2 Perspective
1/77 6 National Coalition on Black Voter Participation to continue its efforts

National leadership conference

8/77 12 Meeting of national black leaders held in New York City

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Officials

10/77 7 NOBLE marks first anniversary

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

6/77 7 20th annual convention of the SCLC

Subject index: Public policy issues

Census

12/76 7 Mid-decade census law
10/77 8 Hispanic poor decreased while black poor increased

Citizen participation

12/76 7 New task force on citizen participation
2/77 4 Citizen participation

Crime

2/77 6 Black crime: a police view

Discrimination

12/76 8 New regulation strengthens non-discrimination in federal programs
3/77 7 Civil rights report
6/77 7 Hawkins announces hearings on EEO reorganization
7/77 3 The truth about the Bakke case
7/77 4 The reversal of discrimination
10/77 3 A changing mood toward equality

Education

2/77 7 Integrated education seminar
4/77 6 Education conference
6/77 6 The Ford/Carter Budget for 1978
7/77 7 Senate holds hearings on anti-busing bill

Employment

12/76 6 Unfinished legislation awaits Congress
6/77 3 The Ford/Carter budget for 1978
7/77 4 The reversal of discrimination
12/77 7 Humphrey-Hawkins Bill To Go To Congress Next Year

Energy

5/77 2 Perspective
5/77 3 JCPS energy roundtable discussion
5/77 4 Energy policy and the poor
6/77 8 JCPS publishes energy book
7/77 7 FEA approves weatherization program
8/77 10 The new Department of Energy

Environment

5/77 7 Brooke introduces bill for new department
6/77 4 Environment: a major issue for blacks

Families

/7 7 Carnegie book calls for national family policy

Federal Budget

5/77 6 Zero-base budgeting
6/77 3 The Ford-Carter budget for 1978

Food

7/77 6 Inner-city food distribution

Health

12/76 6 Unfinished legislation awaits Congress
12/76 7 International Association for Sickle Cell Disease formed
3/77 4 Health care for blacks
6/77 3 The Ford/Carter budget for 1978
10/77 7 Racial disparities in health documented in paper

Housing, community development

12/76 4 Housing and community development
/77 4 Citizen participation
/7 8 HUD initiative outlined
5/77 8 Community development block grants
6/77 6 The Ford/Carter budget for 1978

International relations

4/77 4 U.S. — Third World relations in transition

Land

2/77 6 Black landowners organize

Media

2/77 7 CTW acquires TV rights to "Simple Justice"
3/77 2 Perspective ("Roots")
8/77 5 Congress urged to require greater minority access to broadcasting outlets

Public works

1/77 7 U.S. Mayor's Conference calls for public works investigation
5/77 7 Carter signs public works jobs bill

Social services, welfare

12/76 6 Unfinished legislation awaits Congress
4/77 8 More white families receiving welfare
4/77 8 Carter food stamp proposal
6/77 3 The Ford/Carter budget for 1978
8/77 12 Carter's welfare reform proposals
10/77 11 Carter's welfare reform proposal
10/77 8 Field hearings on welfare reform measure

Taxes

12/76 7 New tax credit for low-income earners

Urban policy

1/77 3 Forum on problems of small cities
12/77 4 Can America's cities survive?
12/77 6 Towards a national urban policy

Veterans

1/77 7 Notre Dame study
8/77 8 The continuing plight of minority veterans

Author index

Barnett, Marguerite Ross - A historical look at the CBC, 8/77, p. 3.
Brown, Peggy - Education conference, 4/77, p. 6.
Cose, Ellis - JCPS energy roundtable discussion, 5/77, p. 3; A changing mood toward equality, 10/77, p. 3; Can America's cities survive?, 12/77, p. 4; Towards a national urban policy, 12/77, p. 6.
Cousar, Gloria - Towards a national urban policy, 12/77, p. 6.
Henderson, Lenneal - Energy policy and the poor, 5/77, p. 4; The new Department of Energy, 8/77, p. 10.
Howe, Sidney - Environment: A major issue for minorities, 6/77, p. 4.
Hill, Robert L. - The continuing plight of minority veterans, 8/77, p. 8.
Jackson, Adele - The Ford/Carter budget for 1978, 6/77, p. 3.
Kornegay, Francis A., Jr. - U.S. - Third World relations in transition, 4/77, p. 4.
Mitchell, Parren - National black network: a caucus goal, 3/77, p. 3; The CBC: an unfolding drama, 8/77, p. 6.
Morris, Milton D. - Citizen participation, 2/77, p. 4.
Patterson, Basil - Perspective, 3/77, p. 2.
Sarant, Peter - Zero-base budgeting, 5/77, p. 6.
Scudder, Ellen - Inner-city food distribution, 7/77, p. 6.
Smith, Ralph R. - The truth about the Bakke case, 7/77, p. 3.
Stokes, Louis - The reversal of discrimination, 7/77, p. 4.

Name index

Abernathy, Ralph D.: 2/77, p. 6; 4/77, p. 7; 6/77, p. 7.
Brown, Fred: 1/77, p. 8.
Brown, George (Colo.): 12/77, p. 8.
Brown, Les (Ohio): 12/76, p. 7.
Burke, Yvonne B. (Cal.): 10/77, p. 7.
Campbell, Charles (Hawaii): 12/76, p. 7.
Christian, James S. Jr., (Va.): 12/77, p. 3.
Clark, Kenneth B.: 4/77, p. 8.
Clay, William (Mo.): 12/76, p. 7; 1/77, p. 4; 8/77, p. 5; 12/77, p. 8.
Cook, Thomas (N.J.): 10/77, p. 6; 12/77, p. 3.
Cooper, A. J. (Ala.): 1/77, p. 3.
Daley, Richard J.: 1/77, p. 5.
Daniel, Robert: 1/77, p. 4.
Daniels, Ron (Ohio): 10/77, p. 6; 12/77, p. 3.
Davis, Doris (Cal.): 1/77, p. 3.
Dell, Willie (Va.): 12/76, p. 3.
Dymally, Mervyn (Cal.): 2/77, p. 8.
Eve, Arthur O. (N.Y.): 8/77, p. 12; 10/77, p. 6; 2/77, p. 3.
Ford, Harold (Tenn.): 1/77, p. 4.
Ford, John (Tenn.): 12/76, p. 3.
Fowler, Wyche: 4/77, p. 7.
Frost, Wilson (Ill.): 1/77, p. 7.
Gibson, Kenneth A. (N.J.): 1/77, p. 7.
Graham, Saundra (Mass.): 12/76, p. 3.
Harris, Patricia Roberts: 1/77, p. 7; 3/77, p. 8.
Hart, William (N.J.): 10/77, p. 6.
Hatcher, Richard (Ind.): 12/76, p. 3; 4/77, p. 2; 12/77, p. 8.
Hawkins, Augustus F. (Cal.): 12/76, p. 6; 6/77, p. 7; 12/77, p. 7.
Henderson, Erma (Mich.): 12/76, p.6; 6/77, p. 7; 12/77, p. 7.
Hill, Herbert: 7/77, p. 2.
Hines, Carl R. (Ky.): 12/77, p. 3.
Holland, Kenneth: 1/77, p. 4.
Hooks, Benjamin: 12/77, p. 3.
Huckaby, Jerry: 1/77, p. 4.
Hunt, James: 1/77, p. 4.
Jackson, Jesse: 12/76, p. 2.
Jackson, Maynard (Ga.): 12/76, p. 3; 10/77, p. 8; 12/77, p. 8.
Jackson, Samuel C.: 4/77, p. 8.
Jenrette, John, Jr. (S.C.): 1/77, p. 4.
Johnson, Eddie Bernice: 10/77, p. 7.
King, Martin Luther: 1/77, p. 2; 2/77, p. 2; 3/77, p. 4; 4/77, p. 2; 6/77, p. 7.
Lambert, Benjamin J., III (Va.): 12/77, p. 3.
Lamphere, Phyllis: 12/76, p. 3.
Le Fante, Joseph: 1/77, p. 4.
Lewis, John (Ga.): 1/77, p. 6; 4/77, p. 7.
Lukens, Thomas: 1/77, p. 4.
Marsh, Henry T., III (Va.): 3/77, p. 7.
Mattox, Jim: 1/77, p. 4.
McGee, James H. (Ohio): 12/77, p. 3.
McNeely, Matthew (Mich.): 8/77, p. 5.
Metzenbaum, Howard (Ohio): 1/77, p. 4.
Mitchell, Clarence: 12/77, p. 8.
Mitchell, Parren J. (Md.): 1/77, p. 6; 3/77, p. 3; 4/77, p. 6; 7/77, p. 7.
Morial, Ernest N. (La.): 10/77, p. 6; 12/77, p. 3.
Moynihan, Patrick (N.Y.): 1/77, p. 4.
Powell, Adam Clayton (N.Y.): 12/77, p. 8.
Pryor, David: 1/77, p. 4.
Rattley, Jesse M. (Va.): 12/76, p. 3; 1/77, p. 3.
Reece, Avalon (Okla.): 12/76, p. 3.
Riegle, Donald (Mich.): 1/77, p. 4.
Sasser, James (Tenn.): 1/77, p. 4.
Scott, Robert C. (Va.): 12/77, p. 3.
Smith, Sam (Wash.): 12/76, p. 3.
Stokes, Louis B. (Ohio): 3/77, p. 8; 10/77, p. 7.
Teasdale, Joseph (Mo.): 1/77, p. 4.
Tonry, Richard: 1/77, p. 4.
Trible, Paul S. (Va.): 1/77, p. 4.
Trimble, King (Colo.): 10/77, p. 7.
Tucker, C. DeLores (Penn.): 12/77, p. 8.
Tucker, Donald (N.J.): 12/76, p. 3.
Twyman, Luska (Ky.): 12/77, p. 3.
Watkins, Bruce (Mo.): 12/76, p. 3.
Webb, Wellington E.: 10/77, p. 7.
Wiley, Bowman, Jr. (Ga.): 1/77, p. 7.
Wilkins, Roy: 12/76, p. 3; 7/77, p. 2.
Williams, Eddie N.: 4/77, p. 8.
Williams, Murdoch: 12/77, p. 3.
Wilson, James (Cal.): 12/76, p. 3.
Wilson, Lionel (Cal.): 5/77, p. 8.
Wilson, Margaret Bush: 7/77, p. 2.
Young, Andrew: 12/76, p. 8; 2/77, p. 2; 3/77, p. 7; 4/77, p. 4; 5/77, p. 7; 6/77, p. 7.
Young, Coleman (Mich.): 10/77, p. 6; 12/77, p. 4.

South and large numbers of offices in the suburbs), and a host of other federal decisions helped, at least, to bring about the present state of affairs. And yet, there were other factors that had little to do with the federal government. There was an expanding population of young families with children who wanted fresh air and homes. The suburbs seemed safer, and more chic.

Another part of the problem is that jobs tend to follow people; as the white middle class people moved, so did many of the cities' jobs.

There are some hopeful signs. A *New York Times* article commented on that new hope, and isolated three factors that were responsible: "The growing taste of young professionals for urban living, which has resulted in the revival of run-down neighborhoods in some major cities; the sagging birth and marriage rates, which translate into more childless couples, who are less likely to seek suburban living; and the energy shortage, which has put a premium on living in town."

But the analysis is probably overly optimistic. As noted earlier, back-to-the-city movements seem more the exception than the rule. Higher energy prices will probably take a great deal of time to have any significant effect. For middle-class people spend little enough on energy that they can absorb the price increase. Plus the fact that the so-called "oil glut", caused by Alaskan oil, will convince many people that an energy shortage does not even exist. Indeed, one result of the energy shortage may be to drive some manufacturers out of the city and to the Sunbelt to take advantage of more readily available intra-state, unregulated natural gas.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly what percentage of young singles or childless couples will choose to stay in the city. It is also a fact of life that, even though people are marrying later and having fewer children, most people eventually get married. And, most married couples eventually have children. And there is an overwhelming preference among married couples, with children, for life outside the cities.

An Urban Underclass

Another very unpleasant factor contributing to the problems of the city is that of racial discrimination, — discrimination which is more covert than overt. Though more blacks are moving to the suburbs now than at any time in history, most have to remain in the cities. And a large proportion of those moving to the suburbs are moving to poor suburbs, near the city, that have a host of the same problems that the cities have.

The reality is very clear: *the fate of America's cities and the fate of America's blacks* (at least in the short run) *are very strongly linked together.*

There has been much in the popular literature lately about the creation of a so-called black urban "underclass": a group of people who are confined to the city because they have no place else to go; who are locked in permanent joblessness or poverty; who inhabit crumbling buildings; and who have no real part in the American dream. The popular literature may have hit on something. For the future of America's older cities may very well be inhabitation by an underclass, not all black, but significantly black, and elderly, and forlorn.

As noted, there have been any number of suggestions that the nation should abandon its cities, cut its losses, and move on to other things. The reality, however, is that people will remain in the cities even if the federal government chooses to abandon them. It is absurd to talk of moving them all out. It is perhaps almost as absurd to expect the federal government to reverse those policies that led to the decline of the cities.

The federal government cannot rip up the interstate highway system — and probably should not even try. It cannot, in a day, redo its natural gas pricing policies, and probably is not ready for the consequences if it could. But, neither can the federal government ignore the problems of the cities.

An Urban Policy

President Carter has obviously realized that, which explained why he called together a White House level task force to deal with urban policy. There has been much talk of an Urban Development Bank, which, if not carefully designed, could have the effect of helping the businesses in the city without reaching the people who need help most in the city. There has been talk of revamping a housing subsidy program, which has tended, to a large extent, to miss those most in need.

The new urban policy is supposed to be unveiled in January, and one can only hope that it is a policy that makes sense, for the reality is that no urban policy can be workable which does not take account of at least one not so obvious fact: There is no such thing as "the problem of the cities." There are many problems of the cities; and they are all intertwined. There are many causes for the problems; and they too are all intertwined; and there is not even such a thing as a "central city." For there are cities within cities.

The city of New York has its problems. The city of Harlem has more. The city of Chicago has its problems. The city of the Southside has more. "The city" is at least two cities; and any policy which fails to explicitly take account of that is bound to fail. For the theory of trickledown is fine in a textbook but has limited relevance in the real world. To help business in the city is good, but that is not enough.

What is called for is the creation of a new kind of urban policy — one which takes account of the fact that businesses tend to follow people and not vice versa; which remembers the fact that businesses in the city do not necessarily employ those from the city's ghetto; which takes into account the fact that, much as some people would like to leave the cities, they are stuck where they are; and that takes into account the fact that it took a lot to get the cities in such bad condition; and it will probably take even more to get them out of it.

One can formulate an urban policy without taking such realities into account. But, it will be a policy of limited significance and relevance. What it would do would be to allow those who should think about such things as "urban problems" to close their eyes and convince themselves that they are trying, as the knife plunges deeper into the heart of some of America's older and once proud cities.

November election results

Editor's Note: The research for the following article was conducted by Ms. Maybelle Bennett, a member of the JCPS research department.

For the most part, blacks held their own in the scattered 1977 mayoral elections which took place during November. Most black incumbent mayors who ran for re-election were successful. And most black mayoral candidates who challenged white candidates were unsuccessful. The one notable exception was the election of Ernest N. Morial as New Orleans' first black mayor.

Only three states — Kentucky, Virginia and New Jersey — held legislative elections in November 1977. As a result of those elections, blacks increased their number in the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures. In New Jersey the number of black legislators remained unchanged.

New Orleans

New Orleans voters November 12 elected Ernest N. Morial as their first black mayor. Morial, a former Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge, defeated white city councilmember Joseph DiRosa. Complete but unofficial returns showed Morial with 89,823 votes (51.6 percent) to DiRosa's 84,352 votes (48.4 percent).

Morial combined the nearly solid support he received from black voters with about 20 percent of the white vote to make his election victory possible. A Joint Center survey of sample black precincts revealed a black voter turnout of 82 percent. Black voters delivered 96 percent of their vote to Morial, according to the Joint Center findings.

When Morial takes office on May 1, 1978, he will have the largest constituency of any southern black mayor. Morial's term of office will expire on April 30, 1982.

Detroit

Mayor Coleman A. Young easily defeated black city councilmember Ernest C. Browne in his bid for re-election to a second four-year term. Complete but unofficial returns showed Young with 218,826 votes (59.3 percent) to Browne's 150,404 votes (40.7 percent). In the sample precincts monitored by the Joint Center, black voter turnout was approximately 55 percent of those registered to vote. Black voters delivered 88 percent of their vote to Young while Browne received 12 percent of the black vote. Mayor Young's second term will begin in January 1978 and continue through December 1981.

Dayton

Black mayor James H. McGee narrowly defeated his white opponent Gregory Wonka to win re-election to a second four-year term. Complete but unofficial returns showed McGee with 24,116 votes (51.9 percent) to Wonka's 22,355 votes (48.1 percent).

Mayor McGee's new term will begin in January 1978 and continue through December 1981.

East Orange

Thomas Cook, a black educator, had little difficulty defeating his white Republican opponent, Daniel Bell, in this heavily Democratic New Jersey city. The incumbent mayor William Hart, was defeated by Cook in a June 7 Democratic primary election. Complete but unofficial returns showed Cook with 10,948 votes (75.3 percent) to Bell's 3,418 votes (23.5 percent). Two minor candidates each received less than one percent of the total votes cast. The new mayor's term will begin in January 1978 and continue through December 1981.

Buffalo

State Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve (D N.Y.) finished second in a three-way contest for Buffalo's mayoral post. Eve, who pulled an upset by winning the Democratic primary nomination for mayor, lost in the general election to State Sen. James Griffin. Griffin had run in the primary as a Democrat but ran in the general election as a conservative party candidate. Republican John J. Phelan finished third in the November 8 election. Complete but unofficial returns showed: Griffin with 55,752 votes (41.6 percent); Eve with 42,360 votes (31.6 percent); and Phelan with 33,645 votes (25.1 percent). Three minor party candidates together received less than 2 percent of the citywide vote.

While the overall turnout of Buffalo voters was about 77 percent of those registered, turnout in sample black precincts was 82.6 percent, with 92 percent of the black vote supporting Eve's candidacy and 7 percent going to Phelan. Griffin won less than one percent of the black vote, according to the Joint Center's findings.

Other Mayoral Elections

In Bridgeton, New Jersey, Ms. Pauline Boykin narrowly lost her bid for mayor in a special election. Ms. Boykin, a black educator, was defeated by the acting mayor E. Morgan Maxwell, Jr.

In Youngstown, Ohio, Ron Daniels, the black independent candidate for mayor, lost his bid for that office to the Democratic candidate, J. Philip Richley, a white Youngstown engineer. Daniels finished last in a field of three candidates which included Republican Emmanuel Catsoules, president of the city council.

Many small cities in North Carolina including Bolton, Columbia, Mesic, Roper, Gastonia and Parmele re-elected their black mayors. The only black mayor in Kentucky, Luska J. Twyman of Glasgow, was re-elected to a third four-year term without opposition. And, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, incumbent black mayor Murdoch Williams was re-elected to a second two-year term over a white opponent.

State Legislatures

Virginia will have four blacks serving in the House of Delegates as a result of the November 8 legislative elections. Prior to the election, there was only one black serving in the Virginia House of Delegates. The new black Virginia legislators are : Dr. Benjamin J. Lambert III, a 40-year-old Richmond optometrist who will represent the 33rd district; James S. Christian, Jr., a 59-year-old Richmond accountant, who will also represent the multi-member 33rd district; and Robert C. Scott, a 30-year-old Newport News attorney, who will represent the 49th district.

Kentucky will have three blacks serving in its state House of Representatives as a result of the November 8 legislative elections. The Kentucky House had two black members prior to the election. The new black legislator is Carl R. Hines, the director of the Housing Opportunity Center in Louisville and a former Jefferson County school board member. The 46-year-old Hines will represent the 43rd district. Aubrey Williams, a black Louisville attorney, replaced black Rep. Charlotte McGill in the 42nd district.

Telescope

JCPS To End Free Distribution of FOCUS

The Joint Center, with the approval of its board of governors, will end free distribution of FOCUS beginning in March 1978. In order to remain on the FOCUS mailing list, readers must send a nominal subscription fee of $12.00 for 12 issues to Publications Department, JCPS 1426 H Street, N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005. (See Perspective).

JCPS To Hold First Fundraising Dinner

The Joint Center for Political Studies will hold its first annual fundraising dinner Thursday, March 9, 1978, at the Shoreham-Americana Hotel in Washington, D.C. The theme of the dinner is "The State of Black Politics." Tickets for the dinner will be $100, and will be available after January 1. For further information, write or call Kathy Vander Horst, JCPS, (202) 638-4477.

NBCSL Holds First Annual Meeting

The National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCSL) held its first annual meeting in Nashville, Tenn., on November 17-20 to discuss national public policy issues and to elect officers.

Nearly 100 of the nation's 294 black state legislators participated in an executive training seminar, given by The Joint Center for Political Studies.

The Caucus called on President Carter to be more responsive to the need for a full employment policy and the development of an effective urban policy.

The Caucus also became one of the first major black organizations to endorse Carter's Panama Canal Treaty.

Resolutions concerning South Africa that called for military, economic and political sanctions and the voluntary cessation of all economic interaction by the American based multinational corporations were passed unanimously.

The Caucus elected Rep. Matthew McNeely, speaker pro tem of the Michigan House of Representatives, as its first permanent chairperson. Other officers elected were: Rep. Hannah D. Atkins, (Okla.), Vice chairperson; Rep. Philip B. Curls (Mo.), Secretary; and Sen. Clarence M. Mitchell III (Md.), Treasurer.

The Caucus plans on cooperating with other black politicians in achieving policies and programs to benefit low and moderate income Americans.

JCPS Publishes New Directory

The Joint Center for Political Studies announces the publication of *The Directory of Black State Legislators.* The *Directory* provides a listing of all black state legislators in alphabetical order, by state, and by committee assignment.

There are 294 black state legislators in the United States. Each one has some influence on legislation that affect the poor and minorities. Many hold important leadership or committee posts that have some impact on the running of government on the state level.

The *Directory* can be purchased for $2.00 from the Publications Department, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1426 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005.

BEO's on African Tour

The African-American Institute is sponsoring a special African tour for Black Elected Officials (BEO's) from the South. The tour will include stops in Khartoum and Juba, Sudan; Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Nairobi, Kenya; Lusaka, Zambia; Maseru, Lesotho; Francistown, Botswana and Johannesburg, South Africa; and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The tour left November 26 and will return December 23.

The BEO's on the tour include: Dr. Ruth Bradford, Louisiana Board of Education, Grambling, Louisiana; Sheriff Thomas Gilmore, Green County, Eutaw, Alabama; Commissioner Edward M. McIntyre, Richmond County, Augusta, Georgia; Mayor Bennie Thompson, Bolton, Mississippi; State Rep. Dedrick Withers, Memphis, Tennessee; State Rep. Larry Blanding, Sumpter, South Carolina; Mayor Bobbie Brooks, Riviera Beach, Florida; Evan Doss, Jr., Tax Assessor, Claiborne County, Port Gibson, Mississippi; Lillian H. Morris, Justice of the Peace, West Memphis, Arkansas; and City Councilman Theotis Robinson, Jr., Knoxville, Tennessee.

The tour is sponsored by a grant to the Institute from the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs of the United States Department of State.

Humphrey-Hawkins Bill To Go To Congress Next Year

The revised Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which is aimed at attacking hard core unemployment, has President Carter's endorsement and is expected to go before Congress next year.

The revised bill would require that the President establish annual goals on the unemployment rate, production and other economic factors for each of the next five years.

The bill also sets a five year target of 4 percent unemployment overall and 3 percent unemployment for adults aged 20 or older. Currently, the unemployment rate nationally is 7 percent. But for blacks, the jobless rate is twice as high as the national rate.

The new version also aims at guaranteeing employment to every adult who wants a job, using public jobs as a last resort if other methods fail.

Under the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, the President will be able to modify the unemployment goals or timetables if, at least three years after enactment, any of them appears unreasonable. He will also be required to submit a budget compatible with the yearly targets. The Federal Reserve Board will be required to explain how its monetary policy plans can help achieve the goals.

The bill requires the President to give a thorough description of the approaches and specific programs needed to reach the targets. It lists options that may be used by the administration, such as: public works, public service employment, anti-recession aid to states and cities, programs for depressed areas, training, counseling and special youth programs.

The revised bill stipulates that any jobs made available through the program set up by the bill pay at least the minimum wage and no less than the amounts earned by others doing the same work for the same employer.

There is no authorization for spending in the bill.

Continued on page 8

Continued from page 7

Harassment of Black Elected Officials Cited in Report

A report released by the National Association of Human Rights Workers (NAHRW) entitled, *The Dilemma of Black Politics: A Report on Harassment of Black Elected Officials* has found that over 100 black elected officials feel that they have been harassed or wrongfully accused.

The officials cited in the report are from all regions of the country, from rural and urban areas, and serve at all levels of government. The report suggests that "the higher the level of office, or the more outspoken the official, or the greater the influence and power, the higher the incidence of harassment."

Black officials cited in the report include: the late Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D N.Y.); Rep. William Clay (D Mo.); Lieutenant Governor George Brown (D Colo.); Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally (D Calif.); former Secretary of State C. DeLores Tucker (D Penn.); Mayors Maynard Jackson of Atlanta; Richard Hatcher of Gary; Coleman Young of Detroit; State Senators Julian Bond (D Ga.) and Clarence Mitchell III (D Md.).

The report also identifies the "principle perpetrators" of attacks on black elected officials and gives examples of the types of harassment.

The report concludes that the emergence of the black political movement into the mainstream of the political system is the basic motive for the harassment.

The report is the result of a two year study by NAHRW's Committee on the Status of Minority Elected Officials and was directed and prepared by Mary R. Warner, Committee Chairperson.

Ohio Voters Repeal Election-Day Registration Law

On November 8, Ohio voters repealed legislation that had enabled voters to register in their precinct polling locations on the day an election was held, provided they had proper identification or obtained verification by a pre-registered voter. Under the Ohio law, an unlimited number of new registrants could be vouched for by persons already registered.

This was the first test of an election-day registration law by popular vote. The legislation was repealed by a vote of 1,948,680 (61.5 percent) to 1,218,640 (38.5 percent). Proponents for repeal cited the election-day registration law's susceptibility to fraud as a major reason for opposing it; while, advocates stressed that there had been no evidence of fradulent practices in other local elections which were held earlier throughout the state.

Among the proponents for repeal were: the Ohio Teamsters, the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the executive board of the state board of elections officials. Advocates for the bill included: the League of Women Voters, the Ohio Democratic Party, the AFL-CIO and the UAW.

The 1977 edition of the National Roster of Black Elected Officials is now on sale. To obtain your copy of this valuable reference source, send $15 for each copy to Publications Department, JCPS, 1426 H Street, N.W., Suite 926, 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.

Jordan Will Not Seek Re-election

In a December 10 press conference Rep. Barbara Jordan (D Texas) told reporters that she would "not seek elective office in 1978." Jordan, who has represented the 18th Congressional District in Texas (Houston) since 1973, is the second member of the Congressional Black Caucus who has decided not to seek re-election to the U.S. House in 1978. Rep. Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (D Calif.) has announced her intention to run for the office of state attorney general in California.

Rep. Jordan told reporters that she was undecided on her future plans.

FOCUS

Joint Center for Political Studies

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

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