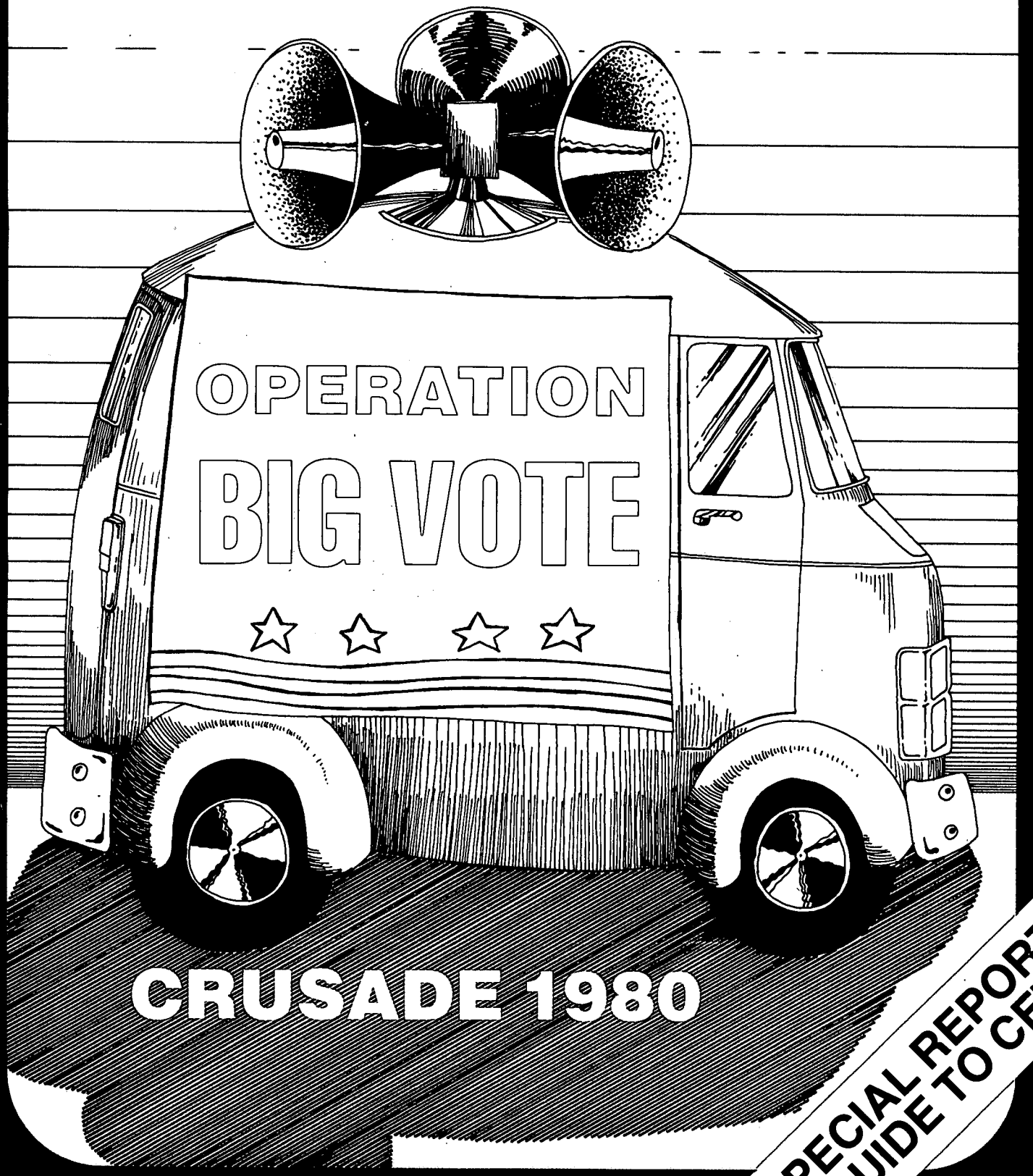
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FOCUS



CRUSADE 1980

SPECIAL REPORT
A GUIDE TO CETA

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The basic black political strategy for 1980 is taking shape now, almost 13 months before the November 4 elections. Early planning is being prompted by a widespread assumption that 1980 will be an extra special year for political decision-making and that the decisions made and the actions taken could influence significantly the nature and extent of black progress in the decade ahead.

1980 will be crucial in two separate but related areas: in the decennial census and in the general elections. There is great concern among black groups about a repeat of the 1970 census undercount.

While almost two-thirds of the 5.3 million persons missed in the 1970 census were white, the rate of undercount was four times as high for blacks (7.7 percent) as for whites (1.9 percent), and the rate for black males was almost 10 percent. The undercount among Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian Americans also was disproportionately high. The tragic result of this under-enumeration is that millions of needy persons and communities are shortchanged each year by federal and state grant-in-aid programs which are based in part on population. They also are shortchanged in terms of political representation.

While the census is of great importance, the outcome of the 1980 elections may prove to have far more immediate and long term consequences for the black community. There is a widespread belief that the 1980 elections will severely test the ability of blacks to exert political influence—in both the domestic and the foreign policy arenas—in proportion to their political potential.

Black concerns are not without justification. In the electoral arena we have witnessed an increase in the number of conservative legislators and an alarming rate of conversions of old allies from the ranks of the committed to the ranks of the uncommitted. The rate at which blacks have been winning public offices is declining, and a conspicuous number of the most formidable black elected officials are leaving office through defeat, harrassment, or frustration.

It is in this context of being under the gun, so to speak, that black leaders perceive the urgent need to do something dramatic in 1980, something to stem the tide of neglect and the undertow of apathy. Hence, the calls for a national black political convention, for a mass march on Washington, and for a national voter crusade.

An attempt was made to achieve a consensus on a 1980 political strategy during the recent Congressional Black Caucus Weekend. However, time did not permit a full examination of issues and different points of view. Nevertheless, there is virtually unanimous agreement on several basic elements for a successful 1980 political strategy:

1. Register as many eligible voters as possible between October 1979 and October 1980 under OPERATION BIG VOTE: Crusade '80;
2. Develop a black agenda on major campaign issues;
3. Run for delegate to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions and exert maximum influence in Presidential primaries;
4. Increase activities and pressures through black caucuses in the Democratic and Republican parties;
5. Participate in and influence national party conventions;
6. Participate in the Presidential campaigns and in the campaigns of favorite candidates at the congressional, state, county and local levels; and
7. Get out the vote on November 4, 1980.

Central to the success of any black political strategy will be: (1) an effective voter education/registration campaign and a massive get-out-the-vote drive; and (2) widespread and influential involvement in the delegate selection process and in the Presidential primaries.

The direction that black efforts should take in these two areas is outlined in this issue of FOCUS. Over the next several months, FOCUS will report on other efforts to implement a successful black political strategy in 1980.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Selecting Convention Delegates

The election of the next President of the United States ENDS with the balloting on November 4, 1980. The presidential election process BEGINS with the selection of delegates to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions.

Thus, if one views the presidential election process as a train going from Walla Walla, Washington on to Washington, D.C., with several stops enroute, delegate selection and the primaries would constitute the point of origin where the major players get on board. While it is possible to board the presidential train at any one of the intermediate stops along the campaign trail, the farther the train moves from its point of origin, the less influence voters have over who the candidates are, what the issues are, and how the candidates and the issues are positioned to meet their individual needs.

Therefore, it is fair to say that while in the final analysis the election of a President will determine the kind of policies and programs that will be pursued during the first four years of the next decade, the selection of a Democratic and a Republican presidential candidate and the platforms on which they run for election is the first crucial step in exercising influence in the presidential selection process.

It is at this first stage that blacks traditionally have been the most impotent. Therefore, in 1980 black leaders are emphasizing the importance of delegate selection and of the primaries. History suggests that this is a wise approach both to the Democratic and the Republican National Conventions.

In 1932, for example, there were no black delegates and only 10 alternates to the Democratic National Convention. During the next 44 years there was an average of about 27 delegates per convention. However, in the 1960s the number increased substantially. From 209 in 1968, the number of black delegates grew to 450 in 1972, representing 15 percent of the total number of delegates. Due to changes in party selection procedures, the number declined to some 325 delegates in 1976, representing almost 11 percent of the 3,048 Democratic delegates. The Caucus of Black Democrats had sought a minimum of 25 percent of all delegates.

In recent years black Republicans have had much less numerical influence in their party conventions than their Democratic counterparts, but they lost less ground between 1972 and 1976.

There were 65 black delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1912. In 1976, there were 76. During this 64-year period, a cumulative total of 1,211 black delegates participated in Republican National Conventions, an average of 18 per year.

Participation by black GOP delegates ranged from a high of 6 percent of all delegates in 1912, to a low of 1 percent in 1964. During the 17 conventions since 1912, the percentage of black delegates dropped from that of the preceding year nine times and increased seven times. The largest percentage gains were made in 1936 and in 1972. In both years, the percentage of black delegates more than doubled over that of the previous convention.

The 76 delegates to the 1976 convention represented the largest number of blacks ever to attend a Republican National Convention. Although there were 20 more black delegates in 1976 than in 1972, there was an overall percentage decrease from 4.2 percent to 3.4 percent. The decrease occurred because the total number of delegates attending the 1976 convention increased by 68 percent.

As the presidential sweepstakes train chugs out of the station in 1979, there is increasing hope and churning anxiety that blacks in 1980 will be able to exert much more influence on their respective parties than in the past. To do so, however, means garnering a larger share of the delegates during the next few months and flexing more political muscle at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. Following is an early prescription for solving the delegate selection problem.

To be a delegate to a national party nominating convention, is to be involved in the making of a President. It also means having a voice in the shaping of party platforms, rules and procedures and in the definition of major issues of national concern. Becoming a delegate or alternate to the Republican or Democratic Convention in 1980 is to become an integral part of the political process.

In spite of the fact that many Americans have become disenchanted with the major political parties, being active in party affairs is still one of the most effective ways to have an impact on politics. This is particularly true in a presidential election year and blacks must make sure that they are included. New party rules, especially those adopted by the Democratic Party, have opened up the selection process and should make it easier for minorities to be selected as delegates or alternates. But this cannot happen unless those persons, and particularly black elected officials, who are interested in going to Detroit, scene of the Republican National Convention, or New York, where the Democrats will meet, *act now.*

Here is an outline of what you need to know and do immediately in order to get a piece of the action and to be in voting position to decide who your party's standard bearer will be and what his platform will be.

Know the Process

The most important thing to remember is that the selection process is essentially determined by state law and by procedures adopted by the parties within each state. Therefore, the process varies widely from one state to another. But whether your state is one of the 36 which will, in all likelihood, choose their delegates and alternates through state primaries, or one of the states which will hold caucuses to select their representatives to the national conventions, there are certain national party rules (and certain federal laws) that apply to all states which will affect the political decisions that you have to make.

I. Apportionment of Delegates

In the *Democratic Party* 75 percent of the delegates and alternates must be selected from units no larger than a congressional district. In most

(Continued on page 6)

Operation Big Vote: Crusade '80

As blacks begin to maneuver to exert significant influence in the 1980 elections, one of the first things they must do is to get their political troops lined up. The troops, of course, are eligible voters, and getting them lined up means getting them registered and motivated to vote on Nov. 4, 1980. Achieving this goal is the aim of OPERATION BIG VOTE: Crusade '80.

The black vote is a significant political force. The 16-million blacks of voting age represent 10 percent of the national electorate. On the whole, they are located in major metropolitan areas in states with large blocks of electoral votes. Blacks are at least 10 percent of the voting age population (VAP) in 18 states; at least 20 percent of the VAP in 64 congressional districts; at least 20 percent of the VAP in 89 cities with a total population of 50,000 or more persons; and 50 percent or more of the VAP in 103 counties, mainly in the South.

These data suggest that in key elections, and especially in close elections, at all levels of government, blacks have the potential to exert enormous ballot box power and as in the 1976 presidential race, to wield the political balance of power. Research further indicates that once blacks are registered to vote, they tend to turn out at a rate almost equal to the white rate. However, research also shows that the black registration rate lags behind the white rate by some 10 to 15 percentage points.

Recognizing this urgent need to increase black voter registration and turnout, 50 national organizations representing a cross section of the black community, joined in an historic non-partisan venture in 1976: The National Coalition of Black Voter Participation. They were motivated by two common concerns: the erosion of black political influence in the past and the need to be politically influential in the future. Through a program dubbed OPERATION BIG VOTE (OBV), the Coalition pledged to substantially reduce what black leaders viewed as a "clear and present danger that blacks will not realize their political potential and will once again be ignored by the politicians at all levels of government."

Emphasizing the need for black voter participation at all levels of government, the Coalition asserted that the black vote was critical not only in the presidential election and in the election of black candidates," but also to the election of whites who represent black public policies and attitudes."

With this philosophy in place, OBV established a national voter education program and 36 local coalitions in 13 states with 290 electoral votes, 20 more than the 270 needed to elect a President. The objective of these local groups was to get blacks registered and to the polls on election day.

By the time of the election, OBV reported that black registration in its target cities had increased by 12 percent between May 1976, when OBV started and October, when the registration rolls closed. A JCPS survey disclosed that 9.5 million blacks were registered to vote in 1976, an increase of one million over 1972. Even so, only 60 percent of all eligible black voters were registered and only about 40 percent of the eligibles went to the polls. However, their massive 90 percent vote for Jimmy Carter provided the margin of victory in his election to the presidency.

While OBV continued in 1978, it was but a shadow of its former self. In certain areas, however, most notably Detroit and Philadelphia, the non-partisan voter participation coalition stayed intact and was effective.

In 1978, the Black Leadership Forum and the Black Leadership Roundtable of the Congressional Black Caucus adopted a plan prepared by the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation to gear up for an even greater Operation Big Vote effort in 1980—this time taking advantage of more sophisticated planning and a 12-month work period instead of the 4 months available in 1976. Dubbed as "OBV: Crusade '80," the new plan called for (1) an increase of black registration by 20 percent in target cities; (2) a turnout rate of 75 percent of all registered voters in target areas on Nov. 4, 1980; and (3) an overall increase in black voter participation throughout the country.

Presenting the Crusade '80 plan on behalf of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, JCPS President Eddie Williams said:

"Various programs have been developed over the years to increase black registration and voting. Some have succeeded; many have failed. None, in recent years, has made a drastic difference in the rate of black voter participation. It is time to try a new tack."

The "new tack" would be a national voters crusade which would draw upon the collective strengths of the black community, upon idealism, race pride, and upon nature's first law of self-preservation. With "Register Now-Vote Later" as its theme, Williams said the Crusade '80 campaign "should be incorporated in our speeches, sermons and rhetoric. It should be heard in our conferences, in the media, in our schools, churches and homes. It should become popular in private clubs as well as in pool halls and on street corners. 'Register Now-Vote Later' should become a theme as powerful, as persuasive, as fashionable, and as symbolic as 'We Shall Overcome' and 'Black is Beautiful.' "

While details of the new OPERATION BIG VOTE: Crusade '80 campaign will emerge over the next several months, the following outline of the proposed activity provided by the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, suggests the intensity of Crusade '80.

The national crusade will be planned and coordinated by the OBV Steering Committee, with the Joint Center for Political Studies serving as convenor and secretariat.

The Steering Committee, representing the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, will seek a coalition approach in all its activities and will seek to accommodate the special strengths of participating organizations.

The voters crusade will be organized into two integrated components: a national OBV component and a local OBV component.

GETTING INVOLVED IN CETA

By Ben Ellington

Ben Ellington is Director of the
Joint Center's CETA Project

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The national unemployment figure is down to 5.8 percent according to latest Department of Labor reports. Black unemployment, however, remains in the double-digit category—12.3 percent—down only 1.7 percent from five years ago when the nation was in the midst of an economic recession. Reducing black joblessness still further is high on the agenda of black leaders throughout the nation.

One of the more effective federal tools in combating unemployment has been the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) program. Among other provisions, CETA offers public service employment to the jobless and also job training and support services to help the economically disadvantaged, the unemployed and the underemployed enter the job market. Not even CETA's strongest supporters, however, contend that it has achieved its fullest potential in reducing black unemployment.

One way for CETA to achieve more in this regard is for minority elected officials to be better informed about the program so that they can help translate program potential into benefits. Recognizing this fact, in 1978 the Joint Center for Political Studies established a CETA project funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, to provide minority local elected and appointed officials in cities under 100,000 population with training and technical assistance in how they might become more effectively involved in the design, implementation and evaluation of CETA programs.

This special report focuses on the problems which local officials have detected in CETA implementation. It offers a general blueprint on how these officials and private citizens can have more impact on CETA decision making.

Local Concerns

Over the past year the Joint Center's CETA project has held training workshops around the country and conducted a national survey among local elected officials to gauge their views of local CETA programs (see FOCUS, August 1979). This past summer the CETA project

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brought local officials into direct contact with top Administration employment policymakers in a joint meeting of Vice President Mondale's Task Force on Youth Employment, the President's Domestic Policy Office, and officials of the Department of Labor and the Community Services Administration. The topic of discussion was youth employment—a major concern to all present since unemployment among black youth between the ages of 16 and 19 stood at 30.7 percent in August, 1979, while the overall youth unemployment rate was 16.5 percent.

The officials, however, voiced concerns over many matters in addition to the statistics. They pointed out that the input of youth into the local decision-making process could be beneficial in drafting programs that provide long range employment opportunity. Moreover, they said, in many instances youth have been put into job slots and situations in which the importance of forming good work habits was not emphasized.

The officials also raised the possibility of expanding CETA's age eligibility requirements to include youth from the ages of 16 down to 13. Presently only those between the ages of 16 and 21 can participate. If lowered age requirements were permitted, they said, there would need to be stronger linkage between local school administrators and CETA policymakers. The officials suggested that the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare work together to develop realistic career/employment projects which could be translated into curricula that schools could use to provide appropriate instruction for students working in CETA programs.

The officials also emphasized the need for more intensive monitoring of programs in order to determine which are working well and which are not. The findings and conclusions of such monitoring, they said, should be used as planning tools in shaping future programs. The officials also expressed some concern over the lack of follow-through by the Department of Labor on reported violations of CETA regulations. The officials said that stronger enforcement of regulations was needed to bolster public support of the CETA program as well as to insure that the programs work effectively.

Throughout the meeting with local officials and administration policymakers, one theme clearly emerged. This was the need for greater community involvement in all employment and training activities and especially those geared toward youth. This has also been a persistent theme voiced to the Joint Center CETA Project staff in its seminars and other meetings around the country. For this reason the Joint Center has developed the following guide to CETA implementation which provides both useful background information on the program and suggestions to help increase community involvement.

A CETA Guide

Though funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, CETA is actually operated by units of state and local government. The operating agencies, which are called "prime sponsors," are normally limited by legislation to:

- units of local government with populations of 100,000 or more;
- a combination of local government units where one or more of the individual governments has a population of at least 100,000;
- entire states and;
- Balance of State (BOS) programs for those communities that do not qualify for direct funding due to their small populations.

All communities, regardless of size, are covered by one of the nation's 460 prime sponsors.

Local Advisory Structures

Each city, county and state that serves as a prime sponsor has a chief elected official with the ultimate responsibility for the development and operation of CETA programs. To increase community involvement and to gain input from a wide array of specialists, these officials must establish various advisory councils.

The major advisory body is the Planning Council. These councils must consist of representatives from: the population served, community-based organizations, organized labor, the business community and some special interest groups such as those concerned with the problems of the handicapped and of veterans. These councils meet at least five times per funding year to help shape the prime sponsor's Comprehensive Employment and Training Plan (CETP). Goals, policies and procedures to guide the prime sponsor's programs are established at these meetings. The councils, which are supported by paid staff, also aid in the coordination of CETA program activities with other employment programs and activities designed to help move the unemployed and underem-

ployed who are eligible for CETA positions into unsupported, private sector employment.

Membership to the planning council is by appointment of the prime sponsor which also selects a chairperson. The chairperson, however, cannot be an elected official nor an employee of the prime sponsor.

Balance of State (BOS) prime sponsors are required to establish Area Planning Bodies (APBs) which are responsible for reviewing and commenting on the services to be provided in their communities under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Plan. These bodies represent a broad cross-section of the community. The Balance of State sponsors are permitted to allocate funds to provide technical and administrative support to the APBs.

Prime sponsors must also establish Youth Planning Councils which help design and develop employment and training programs to serve young people. The councils review all programs affecting youth and make recommendations to the prime sponsor for funding approval or disapproval. The final funding decision, of course, rests with the prime sponsor, but any decision not to fund an applicant recommended for approval by the planning council must be explained in writing by the prime sponsor.

Prime sponsors have the option of making the youth council an entirely separate body or a subcommittee of the full planning council. In some instances the prime sponsor may select existing youth councils such as those established by local Community Action Programs (CAPs). Regardless of how the council is established, however, its members must represent the eligible population, the local education agency (or school board), local vocational advisory councils, post-secondary education institutions, business, labor unions, government and non-government organizations which serve the needs of youth, public employment service officials, and the prime sponsor. Two members must be named from each group. The requirement for representation from "the eligible population" means the inclusion of young people who are participants in or are eligible for services under the youth employment and training programs.

Congressional reorganization of CETA last year brought with it a new program designed to increase the involvement of the business community in the employment and training programs for the economically disadvantaged. This program—the Private Sector Initiative Program (PSIP)—functions through what are known as Private Industry Councils (PICs). These councils are made up of representatives from business and industry, organized labor, community-based organizations, local educational agencies and institutions, the eligible population and others. Their mission is to work with the prime sponsor in providing private sector employment and training opportunities for eligible CETA participants.

The prime sponsor is also responsible for selecting the PIC membership. This can only be done, however, after seeking recommendations from the private sector, organized labor and educational institutions. PIC membership selects its own chairperson. Each member is provided paid staff if there is such a need.

How to Get Involved

The first step in becoming involved in the operations of a local CETA program is to identify the prime sponsor. State employment offices can provide such information. Persons in cities or counties with populations of more than 100,000 should contact their local state employment office or the mayor's office.

The next step should be to become familiar with what CETA offers. Determine the type and quantity of employment services.

This may not seem easy on initial exposure to CETA literature. There are over 460 prime sponsors and thousands of program operators. Prime sponsors operate programs to which they are automatically entitled and some which they can have only if they successfully bid for them. CETA is funded under eight legislative titles. An understanding of what the various titles deal with can help simplify some of the apparent complexities. Following is a brief explanation of each title.

Title I deals strictly with administrative provisions. It sets forth management procedures, general program definitions and non-discrimination features which are applicable to all the remaining titles.

Title II establishes the basic CETA program. Programs provide training, upgrading, re-training, education and transitional employment opportunities for the economically disadvantaged. Title II also provides special fund grants to state governors to allow them to develop programs

that are generally beyond the scope of local prime sponsors.

Training activities may be in the classroom, on the job, or through work experience. Whatever the method, they must be designed to provide work training supportive service that will lead to unsubsidized employment.

Upgrading and re-training activities are designed to reach workers who are locked into low-paying, dead end occupations. Upgrading programs are for those who are in unskilled, or semi-skilled entry level positions with limited advancement opportunities. Re-training programs are for those who have received a bona fide notice of impending layoff and have little opportunity for re-employment in the same or similar occupation within the labor market.

Special grants to governors are for programs to coordinate the employment and training services of all state agencies; to undertake multi-area labor, economic and industrial planning; to set up model training programs; to provide coordination and linkage between prime sponsors and educational agencies; and to provide supplemental vocational education assistance.

Transitional employment opportunities, as the term suggests, provide actual employment for the economically disadvantaged or the unemployed in needed public service jobs.

Title III establishes national programs for groups who have particular disadvantages in the job market. These include Native Americans, migrants (and other seasonal farmworkers), the handicapped, women, displaced homemakers, public assistance recipients, and other special target groups.

Title IV offers employment and training services to youth. Eligibility includes young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who are unemployed, underemployed or in school and whose family income is less than established Department of Labor living standards. For youth experiencing severe difficulty in obtaining employment, the program seeks to provide employment in well supervised work projects that offer tangible benefits to local communities. The program also offers a special summer program in public service employment for youth between the ages of 14 and 21.

Title V of the CETA Act establishes the National Commission for Employment Policy. The Commission assesses broad issues of development, coordination, and administration of employment and training programs and advises the President and the Congress on national employment and training issues. Members are appointed by the President. They include representatives from labor, business, state and local government, veterans groups, community-based organizations and eligible participants.

Title VI sets up public service employment programs during periods when the national unemployment rate exceeds four percent. During such periods, funds are available for 18-month projects to support positions that have a public service objective.

Title VII establishes a program to help increase private sector employment opportunities for the economically disadvantaged. Funds provide for employment, training and related activities.

Title VIII authorizes the Young Adult Conservation Corps. Under this program, centers have been established nationwide where economically disadvantaged youth may receive employment training and other opportunities while working on public parks and public conservation projects. The program is administered by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior.

For more detailed information on the specifics of various local programs, prime sponsor staffs and planning councils can provide materials which give straightforward explanations of what services are being provided and to whom. The prime sponsor's annual plan which outlines all of its programs and projects can also be reviewed by interested persons. The meetings of all the advisory councils are open to the public.

As noted, advisory council membership is controlled by the prime sponsor, but most sponsors are always eager to identify persons who can assist in attaining the aims and goals of their programs. If the councils have no membership vacancies, other community-based organizations which provide contract services to the councils may need and want volunteer assistance. The prime sponsor can provide the names and addresses of such organizations.

CETA programs need the widest range of understanding and support from communities. Active citizen participation and involvement can provide this support and help CETA realize its potential as an instrument for improving the economic conditions of disadvantaged Americans.

The National OBV Component

Through organizing, supporting, coordinating and promoting a national voters crusade, OBV will pursue the following objectives:

A. To reactivate or organize OBV affiliates in target cities and counties and develop programs to provide non-financial support to these affiliates;
B. To identify and develop special programs for non-target areas which have initiated local voter participation activities;
C. To increase the number of organizations participating in the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, including religious, youth and women's organizations;
D. To encourage Coalition members to provide financial and other support for OBV administrative activities;
E. To encourage Coalition members, especially heads of organizations, to use their own resources to initiate and orchestrate a high visibility, multi-media campaign to:
   1. Popularize the voters crusade and its theme;
   2. Make voter participation a top priority of all national organizations, institutions, personalities, and media which are committed to effective minority group political participation;
   3. Increase black political awareness;
   4. Motivate blacks to want to participate in the political process;
   5. Otherwise help create a national climate conducive to the voter participation activities of local OBV affiliates.
F. To enlist other black leaders, superstars, and popular personalities in the voters crusade;
G. To develop and disseminate broadly a "Statement of Principles" which relates political participation to the state of black America, outlines the voters crusade, and provides a rallying point for the diverse supporters of black political participation;
H. To develop and disseminate to local OBV affiliates (and other interested groups and individuals) a handbook on voter participation which will include:
   1. Strategies for organizing local OBV affiliates;
   2. Strategies on coalition-building;
   3. Operating procedures for local OBV affiliates;
   4. Fund raising techniques; and
   5. Suggested voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns, including sample literature and media plans.

The Local OBV Component

The National OBV Steering Committee will target cities and counties where OBV affiliates should be established, identify local leaders to serve as convenors of the OBV affiliates, and provide operating procedures and program plans.

Upon request from non-target areas, the Steering Committee will provide literature, technical assistance, and other liaison services and/or will refer groups in non-target areas to the closest local OBV affiliates.

Local OBV affiliates will be organized as non-partisan, broad-based coalitions which will include major local organizations, including affiliates or local chapters of National Coalition members. They will be autonomous in that they will not be legally or financially accountable to the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. However, all local OBV affiliates must be committed to the broad objectives of the National Coalition, including maintaining a non-partisan posture.

OBV affiliates will be responsible for developing, staffing, and funding local OBV programs and activities. From time to time the Steering Committee will recommend joint or coordinated program activities involving some or all affiliates.

Affiliates will make periodic reports to the OBV Steering Committee for the purpose of sharing information among local coalitions, assessing progress, keeping National Coalition members informed, and developing and implementing joint media campaigns. Affiliates also will be asked to help JCPS conduct voter participation surveys and analyses.

Broadly speaking, the objective of the local OBV affiliates are the same as those pursued by the Steering Committee at the national level.

Program Activities

Since the revitalization of OPERATION BIG VOTE in May of this year, new members have been and are still being added to the National Coalition; original members have been asked to provide financial support for Crusade '80; the OBV Target Committee has identified states and cities in which local coalitions will be organized; a voter education and participation handbook is in preparation and plans are being made for a high visibility, multi-media campaign.

The first major national event of the 1980 OBV campaign took place on October 25th when member organizations assembled in Washington, D.C. to kick off Crusade '80 with a strategy meeting, followed by a press conference. It is expected that this event will focus public attention on the aims and objectives of OPERATION BIG VOTE and will bring increased support to the Coalitions' national and local efforts.

By early 1980 OBV affiliates will have been established in all target cities and will have developed and begun to implement their own black voter participation campaigns. Special projects and occasions to dramatize and intensify the voters crusade and to spur massive voter registration will be scheduled for summer and early fall of 1980. The countdown for the election will begin with Labor Day and will be designed to implement the OPERATION BIG VOTE: Crusade '80 slogan: "Register Now—Vote November 4."

The following is a list of OBV members:

AFL-CIO
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
African Methodist Episcopal Church

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Selecting Convention Delegates

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states, four to six delegates and three to five alternates will be elected from each congressional district. Twenty-five percent must be selected at-large by the state convention, the state committee, or by the convention delegates elected by congressional district. A 10 percent "bonus" is added on to the state's delegation for party leaders and public officials.

In the *Republican Party,* three delegates and three alternates will be elected from each congressional district, with the remainder selected at-large (statewide).

Note to potential delegates and alternates: Whether you are a newcomer to party politics or an old hand, your best chance for election is probably at the congressional district level. In any case, this is where your first effort should be made. If you lose there, you still have an opportunity to try for an at-large position.

II. Choosing a Presidential Candidate

The winner-take-all system is not permitted in the Democratic Party, but it is frequently used in the Republican Party. Under it, the presidential candidate who receives the largest number of votes in the congressional district wins all the national convention delegates from that district. Also, the candidate who receives the most votes state-wide wins *all* the at-large delegates.

Note: If winner-take-all procedures are in effect in your state, it is extremely important that you give careful consideration to the question of which presidential candidate to support. If you are a delegate for a Republican candidate who does not carry your district, you cannot be elected.

The *proportional representation system* is required by the Democratic Party and is used by the Republican Party in some states. Under this system, national convention delegates are awarded to presidential candidates who receive at least a minimum specified percentage of the vote in proportion to the vote each received.

Note: Under this system your choice of a presidential candidate or your decision to run as an "uncommitted" delegate is not an "all or nothing" decision and thus gives you more flexibility in choosing a candidate.

It is clear that choosing the presidential candidate whom you will support is the second most important decision you must make. (The *most* important is your decision to become a candidate for delegate or alternate to one of the other nominating conventions.) In the Democratic Party you must either publicly state your presidential preference or run as an uncommitted delegate. In the Republican Party such a statement is not formally required in every state, but in practice most delegates do indicate which presidential candidate they support.

Choosing early is advocated by many political experts, although the decision to do so may depend on the overall political climate in your district or state and on your ability to "guess right." If you do, the presidential candidate and those who manage his campaign in your state will have a major voice in deciding who the delegates will be. Early commitment could pay off! The experts also advise: be pragmatic in your selection of a presidential candidate or your decision to run uncommitted.

Organize to Run

Once you have decided to try to become a delegate or alternate to the Republican or Democratic Party convention—and even before you have decided which candidate, if any, to support—there are certain steps you MUST take immediately: Enroll in the party of your choice, be sure that you are on the voter registration rolls and then contact your state party headquarters for information on such items as the following:

- State eligibility requirements for convention delegates/alternates;
- State laws, party rules, etc., related to the delegate selection process;
- Names and addresses of your state, congressional district, county and precinct committee members;
- A copy of the state affirmative action plan (required by the Democratic Party) and a list of all affirmative action committee members;
- Requirements for having your name placed on the ballot;
- Timetables of events connected with the selection of candidates for delegates and alternate positions;
- Filing deadlines; and
- Everything else you think you need to know.

The Joint Center and the Delegate Selection Process

Since the Joint Center's primary objective is increased participation by blacks at all levels of government and in every aspect of the political process, we believe that becoming a delegate to one of the party nominating conventions can be of the upmost importance. It means that you not only can make yourself heard in Detroit and New York next summer, but that you intend to have a say in your party's policies and programs at the local, district and state level. Too few blacks hold party offices or participate systematically in party activities. Becoming a candidate for delegate or alternate to the Democratic or Republican convention gives blacks one more opportunity to prove that they are in politics to stay.

We realize that this article provides only a small amount of the information you need. We will try to get additional facts and figures to you during the next few months. What is important now is that you should think about whether you want to use this crucial opportunity to become a delegate—which comes only once every four years—to enter the political arena.

If you do, get in touch with party officials or contact us and we will make sure that you get additional information when it becomes available. At JCPS, contact Dr. Eleanor Farrar, vice-president.

By December 1979, JCPS plans to publish a monograph on delegate selection procedures in the 50 states. For copies or further information contact our publications department.

OBV: Crusade '80

(Continued from page 5)

A. Phillip Randolph Institute
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
American Association of MESBICS
Auxiliary to the National Medical Association
Black Women's Agenda
Chums, Inc.
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
Congressional Black Caucus
Council of 100
Delta Sigma Theta, Inc.
Federation of Masons of the World
Frontiers International Inc.
Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World
International Association of Machinists and and Aerospace Workers
Joint Center for Political Studies
Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc.
Links, Inc.
Martin Luther King Jr., Center for Social Change
Minority CBA
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
National Alliance of Black School Educators
National Association of Black County Officials
National Association of Black Manufacturers
National Association of Black Women Attorneys, Inc.
National Association of Black Women Legislators
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women, Inc.
National Bankers Association
National Bar Association
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials (NBC/LEO)
National Black Legislative Clearinghouse
National Black Political Assembly
National Black Republican Council
National Caucus of Black School Board Members
National Center for the Black Aged
National Council for Black Child Development
National Conference of Black Mayors
National Council of Negro Women
National Hook-up of Black Women
National Medical Association
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Office for Black Catholics
National Opportunities Industrialization Center Clergy Council
National Urban Coalition
National Urban League
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc.
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.
People United to Save Humanity (PUSH)
Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
United Automobile Workers
United Negro College Fund
Voter Education Project
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.

Telescope

Black Caucus Weekend Highlights International Year of the Child

For what is often termed the most important black political event of the year, black political leaders, scholars, and others came to Washington, D.C. September 22-23 to attend the Ninth Annual Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Weekend.

Representatives Shirley Chisholm (D N.Y.) and Augustus Hawkins (D Calif.) chaired the opening plenary session which dealt with the theme of the Legislative Weekend, "Children: Mankind's Greatest Resource." The theme was selected to coincide with the United Nations designation of 1979 as the International Year of the Child. Speakers included Marian Wright Edelman, Director of the Children's Defense Fund; Rev. Jesse Jackson, National President, Operation PUSH; and Clarence Mitchell, Chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Participants in the Legislative Weekend Workshops included Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Stuart Eizenstdat, White House Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy; Donald McHenry, newly appointed Ambassador to the United Nations; Norm Hill of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute; and Eddie N. Williams, President of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young was the keynote speaker at the annual awards dinner this year. Special awards were presented to former middleweight boxing champion Sugar Ray Robinson, former U.S. Senator Edward Brooke, and to Rep. Parren J. Mitchell (D. Md.). The 1979 Humanitarian Award was presented posthumously to the late A. Phillip Randolph who died earlier this year.

Rep. Cardiss Collins (D. Ill.) chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, presented the 1979 Chair Awards to three black businessmen. The recipients were Kent B. Amos, Director, Corporate Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity for the Xerox Corporation; Abraham S. Venable, Director of the Urban Affairs Division of the General Motors Corporation, and LeBarron Taylor, Vice President, Black Music Marketing for CBS Records.

During the Weekend, the Black Caucus outlined major items on its 1980 legislative agenda. These included: 1. economic issues such as full employment and the Federal budget; 2. equal employment and affirmative action; 3. full voting representation for the District of Columbia and; 4. the 1980 census and reapportionment.

Honorary chairpersons for this year's Caucus weekend were Jean Young, Chairperson of the United States National Commission on the International Year of the Child; and Clarence Mitchell, Chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

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Telescope

(Continued from page 7)

Broadcasters Will Promote Census

Some of the nation's leading broadcasting organizations, including representatives of principal minority groups, last month announced the formation of "Broadcasters Census Committee of Eighty" to promote participation in the 1980 census.

Between January and March 1980, the group said, Committee members will hold workshops in every television and radio market area where their organizations are located. The workshops will seek to involve local television and radio stations in the development of programs and public service announcements to support census participation.

Jack Harris, president of television stations in Houston, Tex., and Nashville, Tenn., will chair the organization. Co-chairpersons include: Kathryn F. Broman, president, WWLP-TV, Springfield, Mass.; Reynold V. Anselmo, president, Spanish International Communications Corporation, New York, N.Y.; Rogan A. Henry, president, Broadcast Enterprises Network, Philadelphia, Pa.; and Vincent T. Wasilewski, president, National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

Members of the broadcasting committee represent television and radio stations in 62 cities and 37 states.

NBC/LEO and NBC/SL Plan November Annual Meetings

Both the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials (NBC/LEO) and the National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBC/SL) have announced plans for annual meetings during the month of November.

NBC/LEO will hold its annual conference in Las Vegas, Nevada, November 24-28, at the Hilton Inn.

The NBC/SL annual conference will be held at the Sheraton Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri. The conference will begin on November 30 and conclude on December 2.

Census Boundary Survey Will Be Vital to 1980 Count

The Census Bureau last month announced that it will begin its annual boundary and annexation survey in late December.

Each municipal and county government in the nation will be furnished a map showing the latest legal limits of the governmental jurisdiction as recorded with the Census Bureau. Local officials will be asked to review the map, update the boundaries where necessary, and certify that the boundaries shown reflect their jurisdiction's limits as of January 1, 1980. Maps and certifications must be returned to the Census Bureau by March 1, 1980.

The Census Bureau said that about one-third of the nation's 19,000 municipalities change their boundaries annually.

Jacob Silver, Chief of the Census Bureau's Geography Division, stressed the importance of the survey. "The quality of the 1980 census count is directly related to the quality of the boundary and annexation information we will get back from cities and counties," he said.

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