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FOCUS

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Hope for the Homeless

The Mission of the Late Rep. Mickey Leland, Who Spoke Out Against Hunger and Homelessness, Remains Relevant Today

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Continuing Mickey's Struggle, Sounding the Alarm

Last August, in a storm-darkened sky somewhere over Ethiopia, a light went out, a soul was lost. George "Mickey" Leland—an ebullient optimist, an irrepressible humanitarian, a smiling messenger of hope—will not appear again at our intimate forums or walk within the corridors of power. He will be sorely missed.

Mickey Leland was a leader and a fighter. He was the architect of a congressional committee on hunger that speaks for the millions of malnourished men, women, and children both here and in other countries. He chaired the House Select Committee on Hunger from its founding in 1984 until he died. Mickey used that committee as his fighting platform. From it he reminded us of the needs of those Americans—in New York ghettoes and East Los Angeles barrios, on the Mississippi Delta and the Mexican border, and across the hills of West Virginia—who often go without food, without shelter. He reminded us, too, that hunger and homelessness are not just American tragedies. The hungry and shelterless in need of assistance are also to be found in far-away places like Fugnido, a relief camp in Ethiopia.

In his ten and a half years in Congress, Mickey accomplished much, not the least of which was to push the U.S. government (headed by a president not likely to be remembered for his compassion), to provide more than $800 million in food aid to starving Africans during the merciless drought of 1984. He also introduced the first comprehensive legislation to aid our nation's homeless.

Mickey worked hard to see that no group or class was left to fall between the cracks. He introduced legislation to ensure that 16-to-21-year-old homeless youths, not covered by earlier bills, would qualify for transitional shelters and aid. He called attention to the nutritional and health needs of rural Americans, migrant workers, Native Americans, and others often overlooked. And he worked to revise eligibility requirements so that family farmers in trouble could qualify for federal food assistance without having to sell their farms.

Mickey believed in putting the needs of people before the divisions and jealousies of politics. His proposal two years ago for a joint U.S.-Soviet effort to feed the people of Mozambique was not untypical. Neither was his meeting with Pope John Paul II to ask for the Pontiff's support in African famine relief. He spoke out for Americans trying to ship food and medical supplies to the war-ravaged citizens of Nicaragua, defending the right of U.S. citizens to donate humanitarian aid to suffering civilians anywhere in the world.

Today, with reports of yet another African drought and with the crisis of homelessness growing in our own country, we need more Mickey Lelands—to sound the alarm and push our government to help.

In this issue of *Focus,* we share with you a moment when Mickey was in full fighting form—speaking at a fundraising dinner for the homeless in New York. The speech was made over a year ago, but that same speech could have been made at the "Housing Now" march that filled the Mall in Washington on October 7th. With winter coming, the need to provide shelter, food, and clothing to homeless families is more acute than ever.

Yes, Mickey is gone, but his legacy remains. Let us all join together, in Mickey's memory, and continue the struggle. It is time for others to pick up his mantle; there is much to be done. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS
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Hope for the Homeless

The Mission of the Late Rep. Mickey Leland, Who Spoke Out Against Hunger and Homelessness, Remains Relevant Today

Editor's note: With the massive October 7th "Housing Now" march on Washington signaling an increased grassroots activism on behalf of expanded low-income housing, the following adaptation of a speech delivered over a year ago by the late Rep. Mickey Leland remains timely. Rep. Leland's speech was given in April 1988 at the "Hope for the Homeless" dinner sponsored by the Grace Church Community Center in White Plains, New York. Proceeds from the annual fundraiser go to 10 groups that provide food, shelter, clothing, and transportation to the homeless in Westchester County, New York.

It was only a few months prior to this speech that Congress had passed the Stewart B. McKinney Urgent Relief for the Homeless bill, over the objections of the Reagan administration. But even though the bill was passed, more support was needed. In response, a number of legislators are sponsoring new legislation in support of low-income housing (for example, see Rep. Julian Dixon's [D-Calif.] article, "Housing: Recognizing the Crisis, Taking Action," Focus, *June, 1989). It is doubtful that any of the proposed bills will make it through both houses of Congress this session.*

The talent gathered here tonight is indeed awesome. We have those who can move and shape the material world to bring hope to the homeless—architects, engineers, representatives of major banks and corporations. We have leaders who bring together the legal and political elements to create new housing. We have artists and media people who have helped us understand the inhumanity of homelessness as it exists in our country today. You have mobilized public opinion and you have been an enormous force in bringing about change.

Thousands of Americans need the hope for the homeless you offer.

They live packed like sardines on the floors of the Port Authority Building [in New York City] and other terminals across the country.

They live as families in cars or on the beaches where they sleep in circles like nomads, with the weaker young and old people in the center.

They live as mothers in shelters where their babies die more often than other children.

They live on the streets with only grates for warmth, suffering from frostbite and tuberculosis.

We live in the same world, the world of a housing crisis. It is a double crisis—a crisis of those without a home, unknown and rejected—and the crisis of a stony-hearted society. Every day thousands of people literally step over the bodies of homeless people and go about their business. It is unconscionable to allow either crisis to continue.

Americans say "shelter the homeless" in church and temple on Sunday and the Sabbath, but say "not in my neighborhood" on weekdays.... The homeless have become pariahs.

As chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, I met homeless people who suffered physical and emotional damage. Wherever the committee investigated hunger and emergency feeding programs, we found homeless people, standing in line at soup kitchens and food pantries. This was true across the nation from San Francisco to Brooklyn.

The generosity of churches and voluntary groups in providing food during the past decade has been magnificent. My fellow guest, Governor Cuomo [D-N.Y.], is such an innovator in housing. His program, the Housing Enterprise for the Less Privileged (HELP), is a creative new response to the horror story of homelessness. HELP takes the federal emergency money that would otherwise be poured into welfare hotels and sets up transitional housing for homeless families. The beauty of HELP is that the housing can later be made permanent.

Caring, compassionate people everywhere have taken action. With you, they are in the vanguard. The initiatives launched by people like yourselves at the local level have literally saved lives. You are the leaders we must turn to, to find the sites and to build the housing in order to end this national scandal.

Let me emphasize the word national. National policies created the crisis. A substantive national response is needed to end it.

You may well ask, what is happening in Washington?

Is there a national policy that recognizes the needs of the homeless in Westchester County or Los Angeles or Washington?

I regret that the answer is no. Congressional leadership

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Rep. Leland represented the 18th Congressional District of Texas in Houston from 1978 to August 1989, when he, eight other Americans, and seven Ethiopians were killed in a plane crash in Ethiopia while on a humanitarian mission.

Hope for the Homeless

(Continued from page 3)

has succeeded in forcing progress in the past year, despite administration objections, but we have miles to go before we sleep.

[In 1987] Congress enacted two laws which begin to redress years of ignorance and neglect. The Stewart B. McKinney Urgent Relief for the Homeless bill extended help through emergency and transitional housing, health and mental health care, job training, and other support services. For the first time we looked at the array of human problems which cause, and are caused by, homelessness.

> ***If we determine our priorities properly and we exercise the political will, we can end homelessness in America.***

Public Law 100-242 passed the Senate shortly before three a.m. on December 22, [1987]. It was a difficult birth. This was the first housing legislation enacted since 1980. It authorized $30.3 billion for federal housing programs through fiscal year 1989. In no way does this legislation begin to recover the ground lost by the 80 percent decline in federal money spent for new housing during the 1980s. On the positive side, the bill authorized for the first time, but for a limited time, the Nehemiah program which provides interest-free loans in targeted areas; it sustained the Community Development Block Grants and assured counseling of homeowners about to lose their homes.

As the Reagan administration denied a federal housing responsibility, the homeless population exploded and its nature changed significantly. The growth of the number of families without shelter has been astounding. In December 1987, the U.S. Conference of Mayors reported that 33 percent of homeless persons were in families, a five percent increase from 1986.

More and more children are homeless. These children will grow up to be angry, undereducated, and unemployable. Many will likely find themselves in prison, prisons reminiscent of the Martinique Hotel [a New York City transient facility in which homeless families are housed] and other dehumanizing shelters.

More and more working people are homeless. They work full or part time but cannot earn enough to pay for both rent and food, much less save up for a security deposit. For the working poor, homelessness is caused by the lack of affordable housing and by a minimum wage of $3.35 an hour.

The minimum wage was $3.35 in 1981. It is more than $2,000 below the poverty level for a family of three. While there is a good possibility that an increased minimum wage will pass Congress this year, the homeless still face limited housing and limited access to existing dwellings. [editors's note: Such a bill, the minimum wage restoration Act (H.R. 2), was passed by Congress last March but vetoed by President Bush in June.]

More and more persons will become homeless until there is concerted government action. The severe shortage of low-rent dwellings will not abate without a stronger federal role. A recent study predicts that by the year 2003 the difference between the number of low-rent units and families needing them will be nearly eight million, representing almost 20 million persons.

The housing crunch is not just squeezing out the poor. It is already affecting the middle class. The percentage of citizens owning homes has been declining since 1980. This is the first decade that has seen such a decline since the 1930s. Two million would-be homeowners will never realize the American dream. The first-time home buyer last year was 31 years old, four years older than the average 10 years ago. Exorbitant housing prices in New York and other cities make it difficult for business to recruit mid-level managers, forcing businesses to relocate. *Housing is everyone's problem.*

A genuine national commitment to house all Americans adequately must be reaffirmed and restated. Brookings Institution housing expert Anthony Downs believes 10 to 20 billion dollars a year is needed to meet that commitment. That is far more than the $1.6 billion recommended in the Affordable Permanent Housing for the Homeless Act of 1988 which I introduced this year. This bill is designed to bring 38,000 units on-line in six months to a year from enactment. The units would be specifically for homeless individuals and families, handicapped persons, and those in imminent danger of becoming homeless. [editor's note: The bill, H.R. 4024, never made it out of the Banking Subcommittee on Housing and was not considered by the full House. Rep. Leland did not reintroduce the bill this year.]

Another piece of legislation now pending, of which I am especially proud, is the Transitional Living for Runaway and Homeless Youth bill, which yesterday was added as an amendment to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Until now there has been nothing for the 16-to-21-year-old homeless youths who are not living with their families, although they comprise three to four percent of the homeless population. [editor's note: The bill, H.R. 178, never made it out of the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Human Resources. It has not been reintroduced this year.]

While the federal government ignored the housing crisis, state governments moved ahead. As many of you know, New York is the lead state, proposing to spend $1.5 billion for housing in 1988. Overall, from 1980 to 1987 state governments created 112 housing programs, compared with 44 state-run efforts in all prior years.

The magnitude of homelessness demands a response at every level of government. The housing bureaucracy must become more flexible and be better trained. It must promote rather than impede innovation. The possibility that the housing problem exceeds the capacity of non-profit organizations must be considered.

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October 1989

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- San Francisco case tests the Supreme Court's recent *Martin v. Wilks* anti-affirmative-action ruling.
- Sen. Orrin Hatch apologizes for a letter smearing TransAfrica director Randall Robinson for advocating normalized relations between the U.S. and Angola.
- *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1989* to be released by JCPS in December, shows that new Alabama election laws caused a sharp rise in the rate of increase of black officeholders.
- Across the Nation looks at new opposition in Arizona to a statewide Martin Luther King Jr. holiday; Maynard Jackson is elected mayor again in Atlanta; blacks run for mayor in Cleveland; and former civil rights activist James Meredith joins Sen. Jesse Helms' staff.

White Policemen Test High Court's Discrimination Ruling

On September 25, seven white police officers in San Francisco filed suit in state superior court, in *Ratti v. City and County of San Francisco,* claiming that less-qualified minority officers have been unfairly promoted over whites as the city has carried out its court-ordered affirmative action plan instituted in 1979. The officers cited the Supreme Court's recent *Martin v. Wilks* ruling, which found that individuals not party to original affirmative-action consent decrees may sue a state or local government, or even a private business or institution, for "reverse discrimination" if the plaintiffs believe they have suffered hardships brought about by the resulting affirmative-action plans. The *Martin* ruling, issued in June 1989, allows such relitigation even if the individuals had knowingly bypassed opportunities to intervene in the original litigation and the plans have been in place for years. (See July issue of *Focus*.)

The High Court ruled in *Martin* that white firefighters in Birmingham, Alabama, could challenge that city's 1981 consent decree, which provided for numerical minority hiring goals in Birmingham's fire and police departments, years after the decree had been settled. The decision has since been denounced by civil rights advocates as an assault on past affirmative-action gains.

San Francisco's affirmative action plan, imposes minority hiring formulas on the city to remedy the effects of past discrimination. The plan grew out of a 1973 suit by minority and women officers in the city's police force who charged the city with discriminatory hiring and promotion practices. Although the discrimination issue was presumed settled by the implementation of the plan, the seven white policemen are suing to relitigate it anew. The attorney for the white policemen, ROBERT E. GYEMANT, claims their suit, which calls for back pay and punitive damages, was filed to provide the white officers with a "colorblind and sex-blind opportunity to advance." In response, San Francisco's City Attorney LOUISE RENNE argues that the lawsuit is simply "plowing old ground." Although the white officers filed their suit with the state superior court, the city has succeeded in moving the case to the federal court. The city has petitioned to have the current case presided over by the same federal judge, ROBERT PECKHAM, who ruled on the 1979 consent decree.

Following the High Court's decision last June, some civil rights lawyers expressed fears that the *Martin* decision would open the door to relitigation of long-settled affirmative-action agreements throughout the country. The San Francisco suit may prove that their fears were well founded. Several similar reverse-discrimination cases are also underway to overturn affirmative action plans in Birmingham and Boston. In Birmingham alone, 14 separate cases have been filed against the city's affirmative-action employment policies. The cases in all three cities will be closely watched as they make their way through the courts.

Sen. Hatch Apologizes for Smear Against Randall Robinson

Yielding to strong protests from TransAfrica executive director RANDALL ROBINSON and the Congressional Black Caucus, U.S. Sen. ORRIN G. HATCH (R-Utah) apologized for an October 2 letter bearing his signature that asked the Justice Department to investigate Robinson for his foreign policy stands. In a smear effort reminiscent of those conducted by the late Republican senator JOE MCCARTHY in the early

1950s, Hatch's letter accused Robinson of spreading "Marxist propaganda under the cover of academic independence" and requested Attorney General RICHARD THORNBURGH to investigate Robinson for supporting the government of the People's Republic of Angola in southern Africa. Hatch's accusation, in which he cited the Foreign Agent Registration Act, is based on Robinson's position that the United States should recognize the government of Angola, which is of socialist orientation, and end U.S. support of the Angolan rebel movement, the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), led by JONAS SAVIMBI. Long allied with the racist regime of South Africa, Savimbi's forces have received arms and financial assistance from both the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Demonstrating little familiarity with the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, the Hatch letter attacks Robinson for "actively working to change stated U.S. foreign policy." Robinson, a leading supporter of the successful 1986 campaign for congressional legislation to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, takes issue with being painted as a Communist. "Working for a change in U. S. policy," he points out, "is precisely what the Constitution guarantees every American the right to do."

In his apology, Hatch claimed that the "stupid letter," as he referred to it, was written by an aide and was mailed without his knowledge—and that the aide has since been reprimanded. Robinson, a former congressional aide himself, is skeptical of the explanation, claiming that no staffer would be allowed to remain on a senator's payroll after such a blunder. Speaking for the Congressional Black Caucus, Rep. **ALAN WHEAT** (D-Mo.) says the Caucus will demand that the Justice Department drop the matter and not act on Hatch's request for an investigation.

Some observers view Hatch's letter as reflecting the Senator's desperation—shared by other conservatives—over eroding support for Savimbi on Capitol Hill and perhaps within the Bush administration as well. Lately, Savimbi has even drawn fire from his long-time allies. Recent press accounts in *The Sunday Telegraph* of London and *The New York Times,* for example, have chronicled acts of torture and other human-rights abuses committed by Savimbi's forces in the course of the 13-year Angolan civil war. These reported atrocities, as well as Savimbi's refusal to adhere to a cease-fire agreement with the Angolan government signed last June in Gbadolite, Zaire, may make it difficult for the Bush administration to continue its support of UNITA. To counter what have been numerous official visits to Washington by Savimbi since 1981, including one earlier this month when he met with President Bush, Robinson presented Angolan President JOSE EDUARDO DOS SANTOS with a letter, signed by 36 members of Congress, inviting him to visit the United States. Among those signing the letter are U.S. Sens. PAUL SIMON (D-Ill.), EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.), NANCY KASSEBAUM (R-Kan.), and BILL BRADLEY (D-N.J.), all of whom have agreed to meet with dos Santos if he comes to Washington.

The Number of Black Elected Officials Rose 5.8% During '88

According to the Joint Center's 1989 *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster,* to be released in December, the total number of black elected officials (BEOs) in the United States grew during 1988 to reach a record high of 7,226. This is a significant increase of 397 (or 5.8 percent) over the previous year's total of 6,829. When the Joint Center compiled its first annual count of BEOs in 1970, there were only 1,469. While the number of BEOs has grown steadily over the past 19 years, the *rate* of growth had recently begun to decline—from a 6.1 percent increase in 1985 to 4.0 percent in 1986 and down to 2.2 percent in 1987. The increase during 1988 of 5.8 percent has broken that pattern.

This new increase can largely be attributed to the election last year of 252 black officeholders at all levels in the state of Alabama. The dramatic change there was due to a ruling handed down in June 1988 by Alabama U.S. District Judge MYRON THOMPSON, in the case of *Dillard v. Crenshaw County,* which eliminated at-large systems in over 180 municipal and county jurisdictions after determining that such election systems dilute black voter strength. Alabama now has more BEOs (694) than any other state. It previously ranked fifth in the nation.

The five states with the largest numbers of BEOs today are, in order, Alabama; Mississippi (which ranked first for the past three years) with 646; Louisiana with 521; Georgia with 483; and North Carolina with 449 (see table). While the latest increase of black elected officials is encouraging, black Americans still hold only 1.4 percent of all elective offices in the United States, even though they number 20.4 million or 11.1 percent of the nation's voting-age population. There are presently no black U.S. senators—and there has been no black governor since Reconstruction. However, the fortunes of Virginia Lieutenant Governor **L. DOUGLAS WILDER,** running for governor of his state this year, and of Atlanta Mayor **ANDREW YOUNG,** who may make a 1990 gubernatorial bid in Georgia, could produce a historic change.

Further expansion in the ranks of black elected officials will depend, in part, on a greater number of black candidates running in more jurisdictions where blacks are a numerical minority. Presently, most of the

electoral jurisdictions with black voter majorities are saturated with black incumbents. And continued progress in black electoral politics will require high turnouts of black voters at the polls. In addition, of course, there is the need to assure fairness in the electoral process by challenging and overturning discriminatory practices and procedures, as was done in Alabama last year. Success in these challenges is not automatic. In Virginia, for example, Federal District Judge RICHARD WILLIAMS let stand the state's system of appointed school boards in his 1988 decision in *Irby v. Fitzhugh*. Plaintiffs in that case had charged that by barring popularly elected school boards, the state was in effect preventing blacks from being equitably represented on county and municipal educational policy organs.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1989

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1988	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	694	252					5	18			71		15	30	398				1	13	41	6	6		2		86	2
Alaska	4	0						1							2												1	
Arizona	12	-1					1	2							4											1	4	
Arkansas	318	-8					1	5						24	147			17		2	37					1	84	
California	276	-10		4			2	5	4		8	1	2	10	44	5		4	1	79		1	1			16	89	
Colorado	14	-1					1	3							3					3		1					3	
Connecticut	63	0				1	3	5						2	31	2		2			2						15	
Delaware	23	1					1	2						3	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	242	-2		1										1	10		222										8	
Florida	179	3					2	9			12	2		15	96	2		2	1	20			1				15	2
Georgia	483	25		1			7	23			98		4	15	225	2		3		18	2	1	1				81	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	444	1		3		1	7	14			38	2	1	18	152	45		18		23		1				2	119	
Indiana	68	1					2	6			13			1	28		4	2		3							9	
Iowa	9	0					1				1				3							1					3	
Kansas	23	-5					1	3			2			1	4	1				2							9	
Kentucky	68	-2					1	1			1			2	47					2	2	1	1	1			9	
Louisiana	521	-3					5	15			116	1		19	169			2		8	42	1	15		1		127	
Maine	3	0												1	1												1	
Maryland	118	-2		1			5	22			6			8	56		1		1	11		3					4	
Massachusetts	38	3					1	5			1				13	6					1						11	
Michigan	306	-10		2		1	2	14			24			10	80			17	1	52	4				1	14	84	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	3					4			1				2	
Mississippi	646	68		1		1	2	20			67	52	4	25	282			3	1	1	58	10	6				107	8
Missouri	163	-2		2			3	13			3			16	87			6		10		2	2			2	17	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	0					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	3	2						3																				
New Jersey	199	4		1			2	6			7		1	10	92							1					79	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	252	2		4			5	16			13			2	30	5				48	1	1					127	
North Carolina	449	21					3	12			42	2	1	17	262				1	20		3	4				82	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	218	0		1			2	11			1	1		9	101	3		9		28					1		49	
Oklahoma	115	3					2	3			2			13	47			21		1			1				25	
Oregon	9	-1					2	1			1				2	1				2								
Pennsylvania	139	2		1			3	15						5	42			3	2	34	13	1					20	
Rhode Island	10	0					1	5							3												1	
South Carolina	373	21					5	16			64	2	2	17	131	1				1			5			1	128	
South Dakota	3	1												2	1													
Tennessee	146	1		1			3	10			47		1	2	41					9	6		1				25	
Texas	312	12		1			2	13			16			13	126	1				15	23		1		2	6	93	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	2	1						2																				
Virginia	144	18				1	3	7			36		3	6	73			3		1		8	3					
Virgin Islands	35	-1			1	1	9			14															10			
Washington	20	2					2	1			1			1	5					5							5	
West Virginia	24	1						1							18			1		2	1	1						
Wisconsin	24	1					1	4			3				8					3			1				4	
Wyoming	2	-1					1																				1	
Total	7,226	397	0	24	1	7	101	315	4	14	696	63	34	299	2,882	74	227	113	9	425	231	44	50	1	17	44	1,537	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1989*

Across the Nation

ARIZONA: Last month, Democratic Governor ROSE MOFFORD signed a bill making Arizona the 47th state to establish the birthday of Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., as a statewide holiday. Yet the governor's action has already come under attack by forces in the state who oppose the measure. Less than a week after Mofford signed the bill replacing the state's paid Columbus Day holiday with the King holiday, JULIAN SANDERS, head of the Holiday Referendum Committee, filed a petition with the Secretary of State's Office to force a referendum on the issue. If Sanders' efforts succeed, the legislation establishing the King holiday will be repealed, reinstating Columbus Day as a paid holiday.

The establishment of a King holiday has been a bone of contention for several years. In 1987, then-governor EVAN MECHAM, a conservative Republican, rescinded a King holiday that his predecessor had established the year before by executive order, substituting in its stead a "Civil Rights and Martin Luther King Day" to be observed on the third *Sunday* of January. Mecham's Democratic predecessor in the statehouse, BRUCE BABBITT, had issued the order making King's birthday a paid holiday celebrated on the third Monday of January after the state legislature refused to enact a holiday bill.

Sanders, an architect and contractor from Tempe, bases his opposition to honoring Dr. King on the unproven assertion that the civil rights leader had ties to the Communist party. Denying that his actions are racially motivated, Sanders claims that, "The goals and objectives of King were the same as those of other Marxists and socialists—using government to confiscate unequal taxes to take from the haves and give to the have-nots."

Another group, composed primarily of Italian-Americans, have joined Sanders in the petitioning under the banner of the Committee for the Restoration of Columbus Day. If 43,350 signatures are collected by December 21, the issue will be on the ballot in the state's general election in November 1990. Another petition, filed by the Columbus Recognition Committee, calls for both the King day and the Columbus day to be paid holidays.

Mofford assumed the governorship in 1988, while serving as secretary of state, after Governor Mecham was impeached for his involvement in campaign finance improprieties. Mofford has stated that Arizona's failure to enact a King holiday has cost the state over $257 million because national organizations have boycotted it as a convention site. There was also concern that the controversy around the repeal of the King holiday may have threatened Phoenix's current efforts to host the National Football League Superbowl in 1993.

GEORGIA: By winning 82 percent of the vote in Atlanta's October 3 mayoral election, black Democrat MAYNARD JACKSON has regained the city's top post, which he previously held from 1974 to 1982. (Because of a statutory two-term limit, Jackson had been prevented from running for a third straight term.) Jackson defeated a weak field of five other candidates in the nonpartisan election. His victory was considered inevitable by political pundits after his most serious opponent, Fulton County Commissioner MICHAEL LOMAX, withdrew from the race last August when faced with Jackson's commanding 34-percentage-point lead in the opinion polls.

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, a former associate of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. during the civil rights movement, promptly entered the race upon Lomax's withdrawal, explaining that he did so because "no other qualified candidate would run." Williams, who served in the Georgia General Assembly and has been a member of Atlanta's City Council since 1985, gave up his council seat to run against Jackson. He finished a distant second, receiving only 17 percent of the vote.

Jackson, who showed promise at an early age as a Phi Beta Kappa graduate from Morehouse College at only 18, was vice mayor and president of the City Council from 1970 to 1974. Since last serving as mayor, Jackson has been a municipal bond attorney in the Atlanta office of a Chicago-based law firm and, an officer on the Democratic National Committee and in the Democratic Party of Georgia.

NORTH CAROLINA: In a surprise move, Senator JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.), a long-time opponent of civil rights, has hired former civil rights activist JAMES MEREDITH as a domestic policy adviser. Meredith gained his place in civil rights history in 1962 when at the age of 29 he challenged the University of Mississippi's policy of racial segregation by enrolling for classes at the institution. Four years later, Meredith was shot by a sniper during a 220-mile "March Against Fear" from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. Meredith has since worked as a financial planner and as tree farmer. He was unsuccessful as a candidate for political offices in Mississippi and Ohio (where he alternately ran as a Democrat, Republican, and Independent).

Over the years, the unpredictable Meredith has often found himself at odds with civil rights leaders. He was embittered in 1963 when his proposal for a general strike in Jackson, in response to the assassination of NAACP field secretary MEDGAR EVERS, was rejected. And in recent years, Meredith's conservative—sometimes reactionary—views have drawn opposition.

Since his 1972 election to the Senate, Helms has had a solid voting record *against* civil rights legislation and domestic social spending programs that benefit minorities and the poor. He strenuously opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1982, legislation to establish a national holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1983, and economic sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.

Helms' current term is up in 1990, and political observers view the appointment of Meredith, with his past civil rights record, as a thinly disguised ploy to soften black opposition to his reelection. In his three previous elections, Helms received less than five-percent support from North Carolina's black voters, who make up 23 percent of the voting age population.

OHIO: After all the votes are tallied on November 7, Cleveland is guaranteed to have its second black mayor, since the top two vote-getters in the city's October 3 nonpartisan primary—City Councilman GEORGE L. FORBES and State Senator MICHAEL WHITE—are both black. The primary fielded five candidates in all, but only the top two candidates qualified for the November run-off election. Of the two, Forbes, an attorney who won 38 percent of the primary vote and has served on the City Council for 26 years (including the last 16 years as president) is considered most likely to win in November.

White, a former aide to Forbes and also a Democrat, won 25 percent of the primary vote and has been endorsed by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* newspaper. White served for seven years on the Cleveland City Council before he was appointed to the state senate in 1984 to complete an unexpired term of Sen. MORRIS JACKSON. In 1986 White was elected to a full four-year senate term. White and Forbes are now battling to fill the seat of incumbent Mayor GEORGE V. VOINOVICH, who has served since 1981 and who plans to run for governor of Ohio in 1990. Despite a large 45 percent black population, Cleveland has not had a black mayor since CARL B. STOKES was elected in 1967 and served one four-year term.

City Volunteer Corps: A Model for the Nation

New York City's Voluntary Program Proves That a Service Corps Can Provide Community Benefits While Uplifting Young Volunteers

by Toni D. Schmiegelow

On a rainy afternoon, a truck loaded with hundreds of cartons of new sports shirts arrives at The Clothing Bank in New York City. A flurry of activity begins as a dozen young people from the City Volunteer Corps (CVC) unload the 20,386 shirts into a storage center. The shirts are then counted and inventoried so they can be disseminated to some of the 370 homeless shelters, churches, and community organizations that assist the city's needy. These volunteers are an integral part of the Bank's effort to distribute hundreds of thousands of items of clothing each year. Says Winifred L. Brown, executive director of the Mayor's Voluntary Action Center, "If the CVCs weren't here, the program simply wouldn't go on."

That can also be said of the social outreach ministry at Saint Peter's Lutheran Church, located in midtown Manhattan. Each week Saint Peter's serves meals, with the help of CVC volunteers, to 1,000 homeless families, AIDS victims, and the elderly poor. CVC also provides extra hands to Goldwater Memorial Hospital on Roosevelt Island, where its volunteers repair wheelchairs and guide patients at the rehabilitation center in relearning how to speak, eat, dress themselves, and attain independent living skills.

The policy makers in Washington who are considering proposals for establishing a national service program [see the Special Social Policy Issue of *Focus*, published in September 1989] could learn a great deal from CVC, which New York City has been running successfully for five years. One of the nation's largest urban youth service corps, it combines full-time, team-based community service with continuing education for all participating volunteers, regardless of their prior educational achievement. The service projects these volunteers contribute to are carried out in conjunction with local non-profit and city governmental agencies.

Corps members volunteer for 12 months in exchange for a weekly stipend of $97, but they receive much more. In addition to classroom instruction, each volunteer learns invaluable lessons in responsibility, punctuality, discipline, and teamwork while earning high school or college credit. And each volunteer who completes six months of the program receives either a $5,000 college scholarship or a $2,500 cash award.

The CVC was created and funded by New York City in 1984 as a three-year demonstration project. It was designed to test whether a large-scale service corps of urban youths could deliver social and conservation services. In 1987, it was made a permanent program with an annual budget of $6 million. To date, more than 4,000 volunteers have been part of the CVC program, delivering more than 2.5 million hours of service to 250 community-based organizations and government agencies.

Each year about 600 young adults, ages 17 to 20, perform full-time volunteer work through the Corps, most of them black and Hispanic high school drop-outs from low-income families. CVC has enabled many of them to attain a GED (high school equivalency degree) or college credit. And of all those who enroll in CVC, 30 percent "graduate" from the program by completing 12 months of full-time service. Among nine major service corps examined in a 1986 Ford Foundation study carried out by the national research firm Public/Private Ventures, this graduation rate ranked as the best.

Meaningful Service

The volunteers work in teams of 12 to 15, each headed by a full-time CVC staff member. Team assignments are designed to expose each volunteer to other young people from different cultural backgrounds (about 68 percent of the volunteers are black and 26 percent are Hispanic, with roughly equal numbers of males and females). Teams work exclusively on service projects for government agencies and non-profit organizations such as nursing homes, hospitals, and day-care centers. The services are all tangible ones that address real community needs.

Assignments rotate between physical labor and human service. The physical labor projects, usually three weeks long, include painting playground equipment, marking trails in public parks, planting community gardens, and carrying out neighborhood preservation work. The human service projects average three months in length and include distributing clothing to the homeless, tutoring public

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Ms. Schmiegelow is director of Recruitment for the City Volunteer Corps.

CVC: A Model for the Nation

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school students, and helping the physically and developmentally disabled learn the skills of independent living. The following are samples of a few CVC service activities:

- Each year, the entire City Volunteer Corps participates in at least two citywide food marches (once in the summer and once at Thanksgiving), distributing 25 pounds of food to each of 350,000 homebound elderly individuals.
- At Manhattan's Young Adult Institute, volunteers help 150 mentally retarded and developmentally disabled people by assisting teachers, therapists, and others in nutrition, vocational education, and recreational activities.
- Volunteers at the Queens-Jamaica Recreation & Learning Program serve meals to 100 children living in hotels for the homeless. Volunteers escort the children on field trips to museums and other special events and serve as teaching assistants in dance, cosmetology, arts and crafts, nature study, and physical conditioning classes.

Trained to Serve

The ongoing training and continuing-education components of CVC are as important as the services the volunteers perform. Service training begins before volunteers are placed in the field. Corps applicants are required to complete a seven-day residential training program at a rural retreat in upstate New York where they undergo physical fitness training and learn how to work with the elderly and handicapped. They also receive instruction in interpersonal communications, leadership, and discipline, and lessons in teamwork and building trust—social skills that are often missing from their relationships with peers from their own neighborhoods. Beyond this early instruction, volunteers are trained in new tasks each time they begin a service project and are counseled by the project's sponsors concerning career opportunities in the sponsor's field.

CVC recognizes the importance of formal education by making it a mandatory part of the CVC experience. Each volunteer is tested upon entry into the program, and the CVC then arranges for supplementary formal education—from basic literacy and GED to college-level courses—tailored to the volunteer's needs. Only one-fifth of the volunteers enter the program with high school diplomas, while the majority have a 10th grade education or less. Volunteers without high school diplomas (80 percent of all enrollees) must attend GED or Adult Basic Education classes, and participants with poor English skills are enrolled in English as a Second Language courses. As a result of the CVC education program, 77 percent of the volunteers who take the GED examination pass it, giving CVC the highest success rate among the city's remedial education programs.

High school graduates have the option of taking college preparatory classes, enrolling in free college courses, or receiving tuition reimbursement for one course per semester. All GED and college preparation instruction is conducted on City University of New York campuses. Twenty percent of the CVC graduates elect to take advantage of $5,000 scholarships after completing the program. This financial aid is significant in light of the fact that students in New York in public colleges incur an average debt of $8,700.

To Build a Better Citizen

All volunteers take courses on citizenship—including voter participation, the electoral process, and ethnic/cultural diversity—and on environmental protection. The young people work on teams with others from different boroughs, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, and socioeconomic backgrounds to foster volunteer diversity and social integration among the volunteers. Furthermore, CVC conducts a program in which high school and college students work alongside full-time volunteers, participating full-time during the summer and part-time during the school year. This broadens diversity by attracting more white, Asian, and middle-class youth into the Corps.

In the 1986 Ford Foundation study of the CVC, 92 percent of the project sponsors expressed satisfaction with the work provided by the volunteers. The study concluded that youth corps programs like CVC can be replicated in other cities and have great potential for meeting the service needs of urban centers while also serving as a tool for youth development.

CVC volunteers give much, but each takes a great deal away from the program as well. Cornell Pettaway, who earned his GED as a volunteer and who is now bound for the U.S. Air Force, summarizes the benefits of the program: "I have grown within myself and have learned to accept individuals for who they are. I have learned the true meaning of a team, which is love, trust, and respect." ■

Update on National Service Legislation

The staff of the House Education and Labor Committee is drafting a version of national service legislation that would support volunteer programs across the country. It would include some provisions contained in the National Community Service Act of 1989 (S. 1430) adopted by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee last August 2 (see the Special Social Policy Issue of *Focus* published in September 1989). The House bill would reflect many of the youth development priorities of committee chair Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.).

The measure is expected to revolve around service and conservation corps programs similar to those already operating in more than half the states. Strong emphasis would be placed on in-service training, compensatory education (when appropriate), and helping volunteers to acquire life skills. The goal is to turn high school drop-outs and at-risk youth, through the volunteer experience, into productive members of the labor force.

The volunteer programs envisaged would be designed to augment—not compete with—VISTA, the Peace Corps, and existing state and local programs. So far, however, the issues of whether or how in-service stipends and post-service education benefits would be used remain unresolved. The price tag is estimated at $100 to $150 million, compared with $300 million for the Senate bill.—THE EDITOR

Closed Doors on Capitol Hill

Black Senate Staffers Seek More Minority Representation in Policy-Level Positions

by Jackie Parker

This article is adapted from the September 14, 1989, testimony on the underrepresentation of minorities on congressional staffs given by the author before the U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs chaired by Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio). Her remarks are not intended to exclusively represent the views of the members of the U.S. Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me an opportunity to share some concerns relative to the underrepresentation of African-Americans in policy-level positions in Congress, particularly in the Senate. My participation here today is not only an honor for our organization, it is historic. With no black members in the Senate, our caucus serves in this legislative body as a voice of black America on matters of national importance. We are not here as a result of any popular votes. Instead, we are a policy voice of black America by default. Ours is an awesome task.

Despite the fact that blacks represent more than 12 percent of the population, we have seen only one of our own elected to this prestigious body since the end of Reconstruction. We can find no pride in that historical note.

For many years, we have struggled with our role in the Senate. We have walked a delicate balance. On the one hand, serving as political and policy advisors in a capacity identical to that of our non-black staff colleagues. But on the other hand, having the responsibility to ensure that the Senators we serve are acutely aware of the impact of their decisions on the black community—even in instances where those members are not significantly influenced by a black voting population.

An increased presence of African-Americans in policy-level positions is critical. The unique life experiences that we bring to Congress is what sets us apart from our non-black colleagues, whose often narrower perspectives are those of upper-middle-class white males.

Unfortunately, our ranks are small. We account for only 64, or 2.4 percent, of the approximately 2,700 senior policy employees in the Senate. *There are no black administrative assistants and only two committee staff directors out of a total of 26; one deputy committee staff director, three subcommittee heads out of 95, and one legislative director out of 100. There is only one press secretary, and three deputy press secretaries on the personal staffs of the 100 members of the Senate, and none on the 121 Senate full committees and subcommittees.* It is sad that this is the highest number of black policy advisors in the history of the U.S. Senate.

Although nine percent of the policy positions in the U.S. House of Representatives are held by blacks, that figure drops to only three percent once the staffs of the 24 black members are excluded. In a June 12, 1987, letter to his colleagues in the House, urging that they hire more blacks, Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally, then chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, wrote, in part:

> "There are over 12,290 employees of the House of Representatives, yet fewer than three percent of the black staffers are hired by non-minority members ...while the pool of qualified blacks is significant, the record of hiring is disappointing. We have much to do in both houses to bring aboard competent staff with a wide range of expertise in positions of significant and substantive responsibility."

For the most part, the existing atmosphere does not encourage or promote the hiring of blacks as it does white professionals. Although more blacks have been employed in recent years, the proportion of blacks to whites has changed little even while staffs have mushroomed. The fact that this percentage has remained stagnant during the last 20 years becomes particularly glaring when one considers that the pool of qualified black applicants has expanded. Of the 400 resumes currently placed with our staff caucus, 53 percent have law degrees, 30 percent have graduate degrees, and 10 percent have previous hill experience.

The current system of hiring depends largely on an informal network of contacts. Those who are in the communications loop have an opportunity to vie for vacant positions; those who are not a part of that network rarely know an opening exists. Such informal networks can have the same devastating effects as an explicitly discriminatory system, since blacks are disproportionately out of the loop. It is especially troubling that many of those in Congress who have been unwavering proponents of civil rights legislation choose staff members through this informal network. As a result, they too have few black staffers.

Members of both houses of Congress must make a moral decision and a firm commitment to hire more blacks. Congress must go above and beyond the spirit of the anti-discrimination laws it has enacted for the rest of the country—and from which it has exempted itself. There is currently a closed-door process. This must change. ■

Ms. Parker has served, since 1979, as a legislative assistant to Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.). She previously was chief legislative assistant to the late Rep. James A. Burke (D-Mass.) and is currently chair of the U.S. Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus.

Hope for the Homeless

(Continued from page 4)

Only the drumbeat of public opinion from the grassroots and continuing extensive coverage of homelessness by the media made the McKinney Act and the housing bill possible last year. The impact of a *Life* magazine article on a family living in a car or a TV special such as ABC's recent "God Bless the Child" is felt on Capitol Hill. Nobody at the White House seems to hear. Either the shredders are too loud or the snoring is too loud.

Homelessness is the manifestation of the Darwinian social policies of the present [Reagan] administration and its distorted priorities. These policies and priorities are now entrenched. Make no mistake about it. They will not yield easily.

The structure of the present budget is unacceptable. In 1980 the federal budget provided for $811 per person to national defense and $525 per person for low-income programs. By 1987, military expenditures had risen to $1,158 per person and per capita outlay for low-income programs had shrunk to $492 per person.

What did these defense dollars buy? An allen wrench for $9,606. An antenna motor pin for $7,417. A nut for $2,043. A bolt for $1,075. A flat washer for $387. A home could be provided for the total cost of these items!

The cost of a single trident nuclear submarine—$1.2 billion—would pay for housing for more than 100,000 people.

A land-and-space-based anti-missile defense system—the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—will cost $770 billion, with an additional 10-year operating cost of $271 billion. Compare that with the top dollar figure of 10 to 20 billion dollars annually over the next decade to meet our housing needs. The strength of our country is in its people right here on earth—not in weapons that will spin into outer space at some indefinite date in the future.

The $148 billion interest on the national debt for one year would meet the projected housing needs of the entire nation for the next ten years.

What does it mean for me to say that the cost of ending homelessness is within our reach? It means that if we determine our priorities properly, and we exercise the political will, we can end homelessness in America. The power and strength in the United States can find decent shelter for every homeless man, woman, and child in the country.

These are the bearing walls of a lodging for the homeless, vulnerable people among us. Let us call them in from the cold and the pain and the loneliness.

Let us call the nation in from the cold—from the chill of bottom-line calculation, from greed and philosophies of survival of the fittest.

The struggle is in our history and our hearts. We can no longer allow petty selfishness and fear to confine the immensity of our compassion.

We are at our best
when we no longer endure injustice;
when we take the moral high road;
when we see ourselves as one family.
Then, we move ahead together and we prosper. ■

New JCPS Publication

The Charitable Appeals Fact Book: How Blacks and Whites Respond to Different Types of Fundraising Efforts, by Dr. Emmett D. Carson, 1989. ($8.50 paper, $21.50 cloth)

The first-ever publication to directly compare the giving behavior and attitudes of black and white Americans, this book is expected to be of tremendous value to fundraisers and to scholars in the field of philanthropy. Through 55 tables, the book identifies the fund-raising methods preferred by individual givers, and other data on their giving behavior, grouped by race and by socioeconomic characteristics. The figures show that blacks are more likely than whites to respond to philanthropic appeals by the clergy and that the percentage of the population which actively donates is the same for both races. The data also serve to refute the notion that middle-class blacks today largely ignore the less-fortunate members of their race. (To purchase copies, contact JCPS Press, c/o University Press of America (UPA), 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706, 301-459-3366. Make checks payable to UPA.)

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