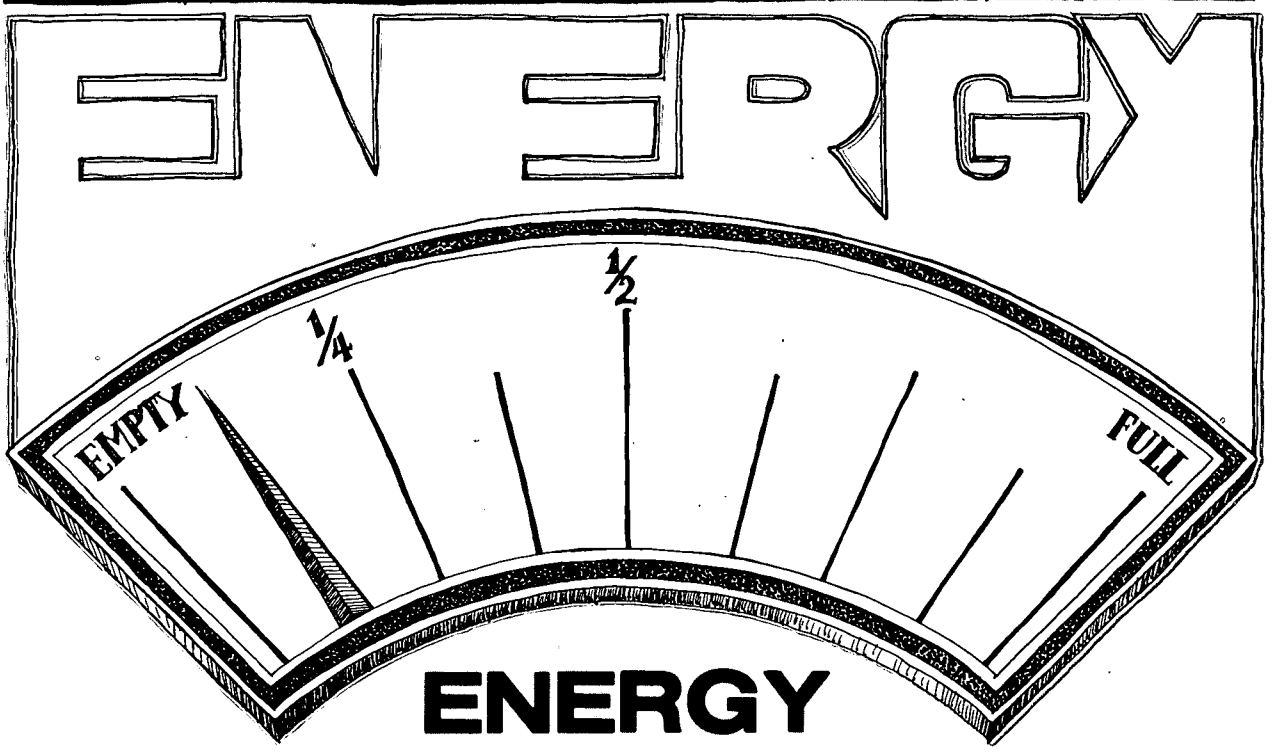
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FOCUS





ENERGY AND THE URBAN CRISIS

Joint Center For Political Studies

Perspective

The political future of Black America is literally in the hands of black youth. It is about time we let this fact sink in and begin to take a critical look at how steady those hands are. This assessment is necessary despite the plight of 18 to 24-year-olds who are plagued by rising unemployment and declining expectations.

What we see is not reassuring. Black youth have the worst voter participation rate of any other age group in the black community and in the nation as a whole. What makes this situation both frightening and challenging today is that black youth have the most to gain from aggressive participation in the political process.

As 23 percent of the total black voting-age population, 18 to 24-year-olds should want to use the political process to reduce their unemployment rate and to help develop policies and programs that will shape their lives and livelihood in the future.

And, too, they should want to help keep black political prospects on the incline in the 1978 elections. These elections are critical for blacks for several reasons:

1. They offer an opportunity for us to prove that the impact of the black vote in 1976 was not an accident;
2. They also provide an opportunity for blacks to take maximum advantage of their considerable political potential in several states, including Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, where close races are expected in the November elections;
3. Aggressive voter participation will help to assure the election of black candidates;
4. The 1978 elections will signal the beginning of the process of gearing up for the Presidential election in 1980.

Clearly, there is an urgent need to increase black voter participation across the board. But there is an even greater need to get our youth on the right political track. What makes the participation of black youth so conspicuous and troubling is that it represents the waste of vast potential — a waste that is often overlooked. In short, the black youth vote is musclebound, and we have failed to do anything about it.

There are 3.4 million black youth between the ages of 18 and 24. In 1976, only 38 percent of them were registered and only 26 percent actually voted. This is significantly lower than the voter participation rate of blacks nationally: 59 percent were registered and 49 percent voted, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. It is lower still than the rate for white youth: 53 percent were registered and 45 percent voted.

Yet another reason for singling out black youth is the fact that among eligible black voters, 25 and above, 54 to 73 percent were registered in 1976 and 44 to 65 percent actually voted. That our youth are not pulling their political weight is the understatement of the year.

An examination of the black youth vote yields some disturbing regional variations. In the South, where 18 to 24-year-olds are more numerous (1.8 million or 53 percent of all blacks in this age group) and where voter participation drives have been more intense, only 37 percent were registered in 1976 and only 26 percent voted. What this means is that for every youth who voted, three did not vote. What a waste!

Voter participation by black youth was highest in the North Central states where there are 672,000 eligible 18 to 24-year-olds. Here, 44 percent were registered and 32 percent voted in 1976.

In the Northeast, 37 percent of black youth were registered and 28 percent went to the polls; and, in the West, where black youth represent only 9 percent of the national total, registration was 40 percent and turnout was 22 percent. The 823,000 eligible youth voters in these two regions contributed only 214,000 votes in 1976.

The point, we hope, is well made and well taken.

We insist that our welfare mothers, our sharecroppers, our two-job holders, our poor, and our infirm find the time to register and to vote. Isn't it about time we insist that our youth pay their dues? This is the least we can do to help assure our political future.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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JCPS energy conference

by Ellis Cose

Ellis Cose, a senior fellow at JCPS, was coordinator of the recent JCPS conference: "Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns."

When President Carter unveiled his National Energy Plan over a year ago, he named "equity" among its 10 guiding principles. A detailed White House fact sheet partially defined that principal as follows: "Our solutions must ask equal sacrifices from every region, every class of people, every interest group."

A consensus energy plan has yet to emerge from Congress. But as that body has acted on President Carter's proposals, some interesting things have happened. A proposal to lessen regional disparities in energy costs has been softened. The original plan's rebate system has been gutted. The provisions for utility rate reform have been weakened.

And the notion has taken root that a plan which was short on equity to begin with has become even shorter.

To help spur discussion on equity considerations in energy policy, the Joint Center recently held an all-day conference entitled, "Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns." The meeting at the Twin Bridges Marriott in Arlington, Virginia, brought together more than a hundred energy specialists from across the country.

Joint Center president Eddie N. Williams reminded the participants that although they represented diverse viewpoints, the business of the day "is the subject of equity in which we feel we share a common interest." Consequently, persons with widely ranging viewpoints found themselves wrestling with a common question: What type of energy policy makes sense for those who are poor or otherwise disadvantaged? Even though participants were in virtual agreement on the nature of the problem, there was no such unanimity on solutions.

Disagreements on Energy Policy

The problem, most agreed, had two facets: the disproportionate effect of energy price increases on the poor, and the difficulty in designing an energy policy that would also attack the problem of unemployment in minority communities.

How could one energy policy protect the disadvantaged from high energy prices while also guaranteeing them employment? Are energy conservation and employment growth incompatible.?

Disagreement surfaced early in the day when Leonard Rodberg, a physicist with the Public Resource Center, attacked the belief that the United States needs ever increasing stores of energy. The largest number of jobs, he pointed out, is in the service sector of the economy — the sector that uses the least amount of energy. Rodberg also suggested that increases in labor productivity are not necessarily beneficial to the disadvantaged. Increased productivity, he said, means only that it takes fewer workers to do a given amount of work, which could lead to higher unemployment.

Rufus McKinney, a vice-president with Southern California Gas, sharply disagreed, commenting, "I think what Mr. Rodberg overlooks is that the production of energy has largely been what distinguished the economies of Western Europe, the United States, Japan, all the advanced countries in the West . . . from places like South America and many of the countries of Southeast Asia, where people are literally starving to death."

Joel Darmstadter, of Resources for the Future, called Rodberg's analysis a "caricature of reality and economic history," and pointed out that productivity increases had led to increased economic growth without loss of jobs.

The sharpest disagreement of the day, however, came during a luncheon debate between environmentalist Barry Commoner and George Patton, director of the policy analysis department of the American Petroleum Institute. Commoner, director of the Center for Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University, argued that the government ought to take over the production of natural gas, stabilize the price, and pump large amounts of gas into inner-city co-generating power plants, allowing poor people to have low-cost heating fuel while generating their own electricity.

Patton argued strongly that the private sector could best determine where and how funds should be spent, while at the same time allowing imports to decrease, and the economy to pick up, increasing employment.

Consensus on Key Issues

Even as they disagreed, however, attendees reached a consensus on several key issues, perhaps the most important one being that blacks and other minorities must get more deeply involved in energy policy. Edgar Twine, associate general counsel of Atlantic Richfield said, "As long as there is black input, I think we have some salvation as black people . . ." He added, "It behooves black organizations . . . to take time to study energy policy."

Black involvement now is horrendously low. Melvin Humphrey, director of research for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, pointed out, "The world of energy development, processing, and distribution is a white male bastion . . . Ninety-five percent of all the managers in the oil and gas extraction industry are white males. Ninety-one percent of all the professionals are white males and 92 percent of the high-paying jobs are held by white males."

Clarke Watson, chairman of the American Association of Blacks in Energy, charged that black participation in the public sector is not much better. The highest positions in the Department of Energy, he noted, were all held by white males.

A larger point also came across, however: the question of equity involves much more than simple words. It entails making some hard economic and technical decisions about the nature of jobs, of energy systems, and of the shape of the nation in years to come.

The conference was made possible by special grants from the Ford Foundation and the Atlantic Richfield Foundation.

Among those speaking at the JCPS meeting were: Commissioner Mathew Holden, of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission; Gar Alperovitz, co-director of the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives; David Behling, senior energy economist with Chase Manhattan Bank; Everson Hull, senior economist with the American Association of Blacks in Energy; Frank Pollara, special assistant to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO; Congressman John Conyers (D Mich.); Eunice Grier, of the Grier Partnership; Herrington J. Bryce, vice president of the Academy for Contemporary Problems; Heather Booth, director of the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition; Denis Hayes, senior researcher at Worldwatch Institute; and numerous others.

Energy and the urban crisis

by Ellis Cose

Ellis Cose is a senior fellow at the Joint Center specializing in energy policy analysis. The following article is based on Energy and the Urban Crisis, *authored by Cose and recently published by the Joint Center.*

Following the 1973-1974 oil embargo, the United States panicked. Out of nowhere, it seemed, an energy crisis had materialized to threaten our way of life. Suddenly the nation had to worry about such prosaic things as gasoline and heating oil. Suddenly the nation could no longer assume that there would always be enough natural gas and oil to serve its needs.

The sense of panic has receded, helped along by the exploitation of Alaskan oil and the current moderation of the OPEC cartel. Major portions of President Carter's National Energy Plan have been gutted, and the parts that remain slowly wend their way through Congress. The questions raised by the 1973-1974 embargo, however, are still with us. The price of oil continues to rise, and the stock of nonrenewable resources continues to be drawn down.

Energy-related questions continue to dominate discussions about the future of industrial society and especially about the future of American cities. Modern cities, perhaps more than any other creation, epitomize industrial society. One need only look at a New York or Chicago skyline for that fact to sink in.

The inevitability of rising energy prices has caused many to wring their hands in frustration. Some city-dwellers, however, have glimpsed a silver lining. Political scientist Alvin Schexnider and others have argued that the result of the energy crisis might be an urban renaissance of sorts — with higher energy prices driving people back to the cities from which they fled.

That notion, it seems, is based more on wishful thinking than on rational analysis. The assumption generally made about the superiority of the nation's cities in conserving energy is based on an energy picture that may no longer be relevant by the time costs rise enough to become a crucial factor in determining where people want to live — if, indeed, such costs ever do.

Contrary to a widespread misconception, most suburbanites don't work in the city, and, therefore, are not likely to save much automobile fuel by moving there. In addition, though homes in the city, (because they are smaller and closer together) tend to consume less energy, most suburbanites could lower their heating bills just as much by improving the insulation in their homes and redesigning their heating systems.

In short, if a true urban renaissance does develop, it will be due much more to other factors than to rising energy costs. And there is no conclusive evidence at present that this nation is on the verge of anything that could truly be called an urban renaissance.

The Problem

According to a 1978 Gallup Poll, 36 percent of city dwellers wished to move elsewhere. Generally since 1948, when Gallup began asking people where they would rather live, the majority have preferred nonurban settings. In recent years, people have been acting on their preferences — and acting in substantial numbers.

The effects have been felt most strongly in cities along the Northeastern and North Central industrial corridor. Between 1970 and 1974, the nation's central cities lost 1.2 million people — some 2 percent of their population — while the suburbs were gaining 6.2 million people, an 8 percent population gain. Nearly 900,000 more persons left the North Central region than came to it between 1970 and 1975.

"For the first time in this century, and probably in the nation's history," pointed out demographer Peter Morrison, "more Americans are moving away from metropolitan areas than are moving to them."

The rate of capital investment is increasing much faster in the small towns and rural areas of the Sun Belt than in the nation's older large cities. The South gained more than 3.3 million jobs between 1970 and 1975, at a time when investment in the Northeast was on a decline.

The loss of jobs has a disproportionate effect on blacks. While only 8.4 percent of poor white families reside in low-income areas of central cities, 40.4 percent of poor black families reside in such areas.

Determining the role that energy plays in urban concerns is difficult, at best. Clearly, cheap energy encouraged the construction of superhighways, which, in turn, encouraged the construction of the suburbs. Some researchers have also suggested that the high cost of energy in the Northeast may have discouraged some industries from locating there.

The reality is that little is known about how important energy prices are in determining where industry goes. In some industries, such as aluminum smelting, energy costs are extremely important. As Rand Corporation researcher Roger J. Vaughan pointed out, however, "For most industries . . . expenditures on energy are less than 1 percent of the value of their shipments."

Jobs, Lifestyles and Travel

In 1970, about 33 percent of those who lived in the suburbs worked in the city, while 60 percent worked in the suburbs. By the same token, some 20 percent of those in the city worked either in the suburbs or outside of the metropolitan area altogether. The percentage of workers in the suburbs is even higher now than in 1970.

So even if suburbanites were to consider moving closer to work, because of rising gasoline prices, they would not necessarily move closer to the city. And, even if some of those suburbanites who worked in the city moved into the city, that movement could be offset by the outward movement of many who live in the city and work in the suburbs.

More importantly, there is nothing inherent in suburban living that makes suburbanites consume tremendously greater quantities of gasoline than people in cities. People in the suburbs do tend to drive more than people in cities, and activities in the suburbs do tend to be further apart than activities in cities. But even so, it is conceivable that a person in a spaced-out city like Los Angeles would require more gasoline than a person in a relatively compact suburb like Evanston, Illinois. A great deal depends on how the city is laid out and where the jobs are. A great deal also depends on what trips are necessary outside of work. If

one works and shops in the suburbs, and merely goes into the city for special occasions, there would be little purpose in moving into the city to save money on gasoline.

Certainly, if prices go up high enough, suburbanites and others will, at some point, be forced to change their lifestyles. The problem is that we do not know with any precision where that point is, nor exactly what the response will be — nor even how high or how fast energy prices will rise.

As energy prices continue to rise, singles, or young childless couples who work in the city, may well find the city more attractive. Indeed, in those urban areas where widespread renovation is taking place, the typical settler tends to be young, childless and relatively affluent. Ironically, the influx of small numbers of such people might result, not in a build-up of the entire city, but only of small parts of the city. The effect of such an infusion would be to drive up property and rental costs in the very areas where lower income people and blacks now tend to live.

It is worth recalling that the high energy needs of homes in the suburbs stem in large part from the size and type of housing generally built in the suburbs. Thus, the effect of higher prices may be simply to accelerate the move to solar energy and to encourage the development of more energy-efficient small apartment buildings and townhouses in the suburbs. Consequently, the longer the current suburbanization trend continues, the less energy sense it will make for individual suburbanites to move to the city.

One movement feeds another. As people move away from cities, industry has less and less reason to locate there. The movement of industry away from cities makes it less and less advantageous for workers to live there. The central cities' high rate of pollution, and the high clean-up costs associated with that pollution, make it less and less desirable for individuals and industry to relocate in urban areas.

Current U.S. energy problems have many facets. There is a problem that much of the energy we use is not used as efficiently as it should be. There is the fear that we are fast approaching absolute limits to our supplies of such substances as coal and oil. There are regional variations in costs. There are problems with pollution. There are differences in incomes of consumers. There are differing levels of energy use for different industries. Exactly how all of these variables and others will affect the nation's urban problems is not at all clear. It is possible that the combination of factors will drive industry and people back to the cities, but other results are also possible.

Looking to the Future

Because there are differences in the energy needs and supplies of various regions and because there are also structural differences between cities and suburbs, it does not take an intellectual leap to conclude that any energy policy will affect different places in different ways.

Decision makers cannot design energy policies without taking into account employment policies, environmental policies, economic policies, urban policies, and a host of concerns that inevitably come together, either implicitly or explicitly.

An energy policy obviously has to do more than simply match up energy demand and energy supply. It should allow those whose incomes would be consumed by ever-rising energy costs to maintain an adequate standard of living. It should make special provisions for those regions and cities which will be severely disadvantaged by the rising costs of energy and pollution control.

Several ways have been proposed to prevent the poor from being crushed under the weight of rising energy costs — such things as energy stamps, energy tax credits, lifeline rates, and cash transfers. There is no real consensus on which is the "best" method.

The urban poor use little energy — and because of poor insulation, they waste much of the energy they do use. There must be a strong conservation policy for renters. For as energy prices rise more and more, landlords will simply pass on the extra costs to renters, thereby making city life even more unbearable. Buildings owners must not be allowed to charge tenants for heat that simply blows through the walls.

In that same vein, there is a need for a renewable energy strategy for renters. A homeowner has some incentive to turn to solar energy. A renter, or the landlord, of a small building, currently has much less. Indeed, most of the concerns of renters, especially those who have little or no control over their home energy consumption, have not been strongly addressed at the federal level.

There needs to be a wedding of transportation and energy policies that leads to the development of efficient and economical public transportation to compete with the private automobile.

More importantly, however, cities need to play a much larger role in shaping the direction of energy policy. Consequently, cities need to increase their analytical capabilities in the energy field.

Local Concerns

The differential local impacts of energy problems cannot all be adequately dealt with at the national level. A well-integrated national policy, however, can make it easier for local areas to deal with their special concerns.

A well integrated national policy, however, can make it easier for local areas to deal with their special concerns.

Obviously, a well-integrated national policy has not yet emerged. Indeed, even as originally proposed by the Administration, the National Energy plan was a plan without a real vision of the future. Though it was very strong on conservation, it gave few hints about the future shape of nuclear energy or solar energy, whether we would be encouraging centralization of energy sources or decentralization.

The hodgepodge of pieces emerging from Congress are even more lacking in coherent vision. And there is no real way of predicting how any plan that emerges at the national level will correspond to the needs of this nation's cities.

The major responsibility for the future of this nation's cities, however, rests with individual cities and states. And it is at the local level that more long range planners need to start thinking through the directions in which their cities are headed, and the effect that this nation's energy problems will have on them.

Minorities and the revised criminal code

by Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (D Mich.)

Editor's note: Although a bill has been sent to the House Judiciary Committee that differs quite a bit from S. 1437 and H.R. 6869, it appears unlikely that it will be enacted into law. The bills discussed in this article, S. 1437 and H.R. 6869, continue to be likely successors to the current criminal code.

Since Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis in April 1968, blacks have been compelled to resist efforts to turn back the clock on advances in such areas as school desegregation, full employment and affirmative action. Now in the area of criminal law, we are again called upon to fight.

In January of this year, the U.S. Senate passed its version of a proposed new criminal code, S. 1437. Soon after, the House began work on its counterpart, H.R. 6869. The proposed code would revise and codify some 3,000 current laws dealing with organized crime, immigration, civil rights, environmental protection, and drugs, among others. Unfortunately, this sizable undertaking would adversely affect many of the civil and political rights minorities have traditionally relied upon to effect positive changes.

Broadly drafted and prosecution oriented, the proposed code threatens not only properly punishable activities, but also activities essential to the exercise of democratic rights. Partly because of political compromise and partly because the attempt to simplify results in overgeneralization, the proposed code is too broad in defining the crimes and too ambitious in its scope.

Inchoate Offenses

The prime examples of the bills' overly broad approach are the provisions concerning "inchoate offenses" and disturbances of the public order.

"Inchoate offenses" include complicity, attempt, conspiracy, and solicitation. These do not deal so much with people who actually commit offenses as with people who are caught preparing for possible offenses, and people who are on the periphery of an offense. These offenses focus on events that occur before a crime is committed, and, therefore, inevitably seek to control areas of speech and assembly rather than action. Instead of restricting such offenses as they affect civil liberties, however, the Senate and House bills would expand them.

One section of the Senate bill would punish a person who "intentionally engages in conduct that, in fact, constitutes a substantial step toward the commission of a crime." This means that a person who plans to picket a courthouse in violation of laws that prohibit such activities might be guilty of an offense at the moment he begins his walk to the court. Conduct so closely related to the exercise of First Amendment rights should not be made illegal so far in advance.

Similarly, the proposed code would hold that it is criminal solicitation if a person "commands, entreats, induces or otherwise endeavors to persuade" someone to engage in conduct constituting a crime. When read in conjunction with other provisions, this language might also be construed to cover a wide variety of activities. According to Thomas I. Emerson, Professor Emeritus of the Yale Law School, this provision could be used in combination with the proposed code's section on evading military service to prosecute a person for signing a protest document such as the "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority," a statement that was signed by 300 leading citizens who opposed the Vietnam war. Legitimate government objectives could be secured through other statutes, and Congress would be better advised to restrict or eliminate these provisions.

Preserving Public Order

A more serious problem from the black perspective, however, is the effect the broad approach would have in those sections that deal with preserving public order. Those sections would govern the use that could be made of streets, parks, and other open places that minorities have traditionally used to register grievances. Assembly, demonstration, picketing and the like constitute significant means of communication for those who do not have access to the mass media to reach their fellow citizens. Therefore, these statutes would have a particular effect on the poor and the disadvantaged.

State and local laws, guided by constitutional restraints, already protect society from possible excesses of protest without suppressing legitimate expressions. Federal intervention through the proposed code would be both superfluous and dangerous.

Scope of the Bills

The overly ambitious scope of the proposed bills cannot be solved by amending them or replacing them with other omnibus legislation. The scope is simply too great; inevitably, adverse effects will become apparent only after the code is applied to specific situations.

Let's look at one example among many. The code would attempt to bring predictability and uniformity to the sentencing of convicted offenders by ending indeterminate sentences (such as 3 to 10 years for robbery) and substantially reducing the role of the parole board. A sentencing commission would set maximum and minimum terms that judges could use in sentencing. The aim is to let a prisoner know when he enters a prison how long he is going to be there, and to encourage judges to impose fair and predictable sentences.

The goal is laudable, although the system may or may not be adequate to achieve the goal. In any case, such a system would have an additional consequence that some members of Congress have not foreseen: a drastic increase in the length of time served by the criminal population.

According to a Congressional Research Service report of June 1, 1978, the Senate and House bills would result in thousands more man years served in the federal prisons. By eliminating parole and reducing statutory good time, the Senate bill might result in an increase between 17,000 and 25,000 man years spent in prison. The House bill's effect would be less severe. In light of the present overcrowding of federal prisons, these developments would be disastrous. More reliance on imprisonment would only increase the tax burden of our citizens and discourage the use of alternative means of punishment.

The evils of S. 1437 and H.R. 6869 are not limited to their ambitious scope and vague terms. These characteristics, however, are central to the threat these bills pose to civil and political liberties. By blurring individual rights in legislation that is too large and complex to be fully understood, these bills would seriously affect rights that have been of particular importance to blacks.

Telescope

Louis Martin Named Special Assistant to Carter

Louis Martin, the well-known writer, publisher, and Democratic party official, has been named Special Assistant to President Carter. His appointment, announced in August, climaxed a year-long search for a senior White House official to deal with minority and urban affairs. Martin begins his duties this month.

Martin launched his career in 1936 as a reporter for the Chicago Defender newspaper and as a founder of the Michigan Chronicle newspaper in Detroit. While in Michigan, he served two terms as a member of the Board of Supervisors of Wayne County.

In 1947, he was named editor-in-chief of the Chicago Defender and was later named vice president and editorial director of Sengstacke Publications. In 1969, he became president. When he retired earlier this year, Martin was appointed as special assistant to Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D Ill.).

Martin has been active in Democratic politics throughout his career. He was deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1961 to 1968. He has also been active in the business world, holding such positions as founder and first vice president of the Superior Life Insurance Society of Michigan, vice president of Guaranty Life Insurance Company of Georgia, and director of the Service Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago.

Martin has served as chairman of the Board of Governors of the Joint Center for Political Studies since its founding in 1970. He is also active in the National Urban League and other philanthropic organizations.

Operation Big Vote Begins

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation has mobilized its successful 1976 Operation Big Vote (OBV) to encourage voter registration and participation this fall. The goals are to: 1) assure that blacks have a substantial impact on congressional, gubernatorial, and state legislature races; 2) prove that the impact on the 1976 Presidential election was not a fluke; and 3) begin a nationwide voter mobilization for the 1980 Presidential election.

The National Coalition is an amalgam of more than 50 civil rights, religious, political, labor, fraternal and service organizations. It was created in 1976 as a national effort to increase black registration and voting. The Coalition functions as a non-partisan complement to local registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. (See FOCUS August 1976).

The continuing strategies of the National Coalition are to: 1) raise the political consciousness of blacks and other minorities through a series of dramatic events which emphasize the importance of massive voter registration and voter turnout; 2) use the program and facilities of Coalition members to supplement the voter education and registration campaigns being conducted in localities throughout the country; 3) maintain an ongoing national voter mobilization program and; 4) work through a coordinating committee, consisting of staff from member organizations, to develop strategies and implement the directives of the Coalition.

This year OBV campaigns are being planned for 50 cities in 22 states, with a special concentration in states with large black populations: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina.

The targeted areas are: Alabama (Birmingham, Montgomery, Mobile and Tuscaloosa); California (Los Angeles and San Francisco); Colorado (Denver); Delaware (Wilmington); Florida (Jacksonville, Gainesville, Tampa, Fort Lauderdale, Miami, and Orlando); Illinois (Chicago, and East St. Louis); Kansas (Kansas City, Wichita and Topeka); Louisiana (New Orleans and Shreveport); Missouri (St. Louis and Kansas City); New Jersey (Trenton, Camden and Newark); New York (New York City and Buffalo); North Carolina (Charlotte, Winston, Salem, Durham, Greensboro, and Raleigh); Ohio (Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, and Columbus); Oklahoma (Tulsa and Oklahoma City); Pennsylvania (Philadelphia and Pittsburgh); South Carolina (Charleston, Columbia, Greenville, Rockhill, and Florence/Darlington); Tennessee (Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga and Knoxville); and Virginia (Richmond, Norfolk, and Portsmouth).

Also, statewide voter registration drives will be held in Arkansas, Georgia, Michigan, and Texas.

For further information about the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, contact: OBV, 733 15th St., N.W., Suite 820, Washington, D.C. 20005, (202) 638-4477.

Group to Monitor Efforts to Trim Affirmative Action

In the wake of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Bakke* case, a coalition of black organizations has announced plans to monitor any attempts to cut back on affirmative action plans.

Nathaniel R. Jones, who is general counsel for the NAACP, said that the organization will join with the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Urban League, and other black organizations in an effort to "prevent the Bakke case from becoming what it could become."

In its June 28 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the University of California at Davis was wrong in establishing quotas for admission to its medical school as a way of increasing minority enrollment. Allan Bakke had sued the school after it denied him admission. The court indicated that affirmative action plans without strict racial quotas would be acceptable, especially when they were designed to overcome the effects of past discrimination. (See August 1978 FOCUS).

Anticipating that the *Bakke* decision might encourage others to file similar suits against affirmative action plans in employment or education, the new coalition will provide legal help to defenders of such plans.

The NAACP's Jones said he thought there would be "intense litigation" over voluntary affirmative action plans, as opposed to plans that are required by federal laws or regulations.

D.C. Voting Rights Amendment Wins in Senate, Goes to States

Black support has helped win Senate approval of a constitutional amendment to grant full voting rights to

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residents of the District of Columbia, and proponents of the amendment hope that black support will help it overcome the next hurdle — ratification by at least 38 state legislatures in the next seven years.

Residents of the nation's capital have lacked representation in Congress since the District of Columbia was carved out of neighboring Maryland and Virginia in 1800. Historians have noted that the founding fathers apparently intended to correct this situation sooner or later, but repeated attempts to win approval for a constitutional amendment have failed until this year.

The House passed a bill for such an amendment last spring; the Senate followed suit on August 22 in a vote of 67 to 32 — just one vote more than the required two-thirds margin.

Political commentators have been nearly unanimous in giving much of the credit for the Senate victory to the effort of Rep. Walter E. Fauntroy, the District's current non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives, and others in organizing support among black leaders around the country.

Helping the effort were such civil rights leaders as NAACP Washington lobbyist Clarence Mitchell and National Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan, along with such political leaders as Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D Mass.), and Vice President Walter Mondale.

Black state legislators in several states have already promised help in the push to win ratification. Blacks in California, the only state whose legislature was in session at the time of the Senate vote, tried to win consent to waive procedural rules so that a ratification vote could be taken immediately; although the measure passed in the California Assembly, the state Senate did not waive its rules so that a ratification vote could be taken. But, prospects for passage in that state still look good. Similarly, the black Speaker of the Pennsylvania House, Rep. K. Leroy Irvis, promised to push for ratification when the legislature reconvenes this fall.

New JCPS Fellows Selected

The Joint Center for Political Studies has selected five fellows for its Human Resources Fellowship Program. Under the program, fellowships will be awarded to minority persons interested in pursuing careers as administrators of human resources programs. The Fellows selected for the 1978-79 year are: Ellis Cose of Chicago, Illinois; Vori Locklear of Baltimore, Maryland; Ernest Parker of Hampton, Virginia; Thyra Riley of Washington, D.C.; and Mary Scott of Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

New Member on JCPS Staff

Lucia Edmonds has been named the new director of training and technical assistance at the Joint Center. She is responsible for developing and conducting institutes for minority elected officials that provide information on such critical municipal responsibilities as budgeting techniques, city planning and administration.

Ms. Edmonds has a B.A. in education from City College in New York City, a M.A. in social work from Columbia University and is currently finishing her work on her doctorate in urban studies and planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

She will be conducting six institutes that are scheduled for 1978-79. Three institutes will be held in conjunction with annual meetings of the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Association of Minority County Officials. Three regional institutes will be held in California, Mississippi and South Carolina, areas that have experienced sharp increases in minority elected officials.

The institutes are funded by a grant to the Joint Center from the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

FOCUS

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