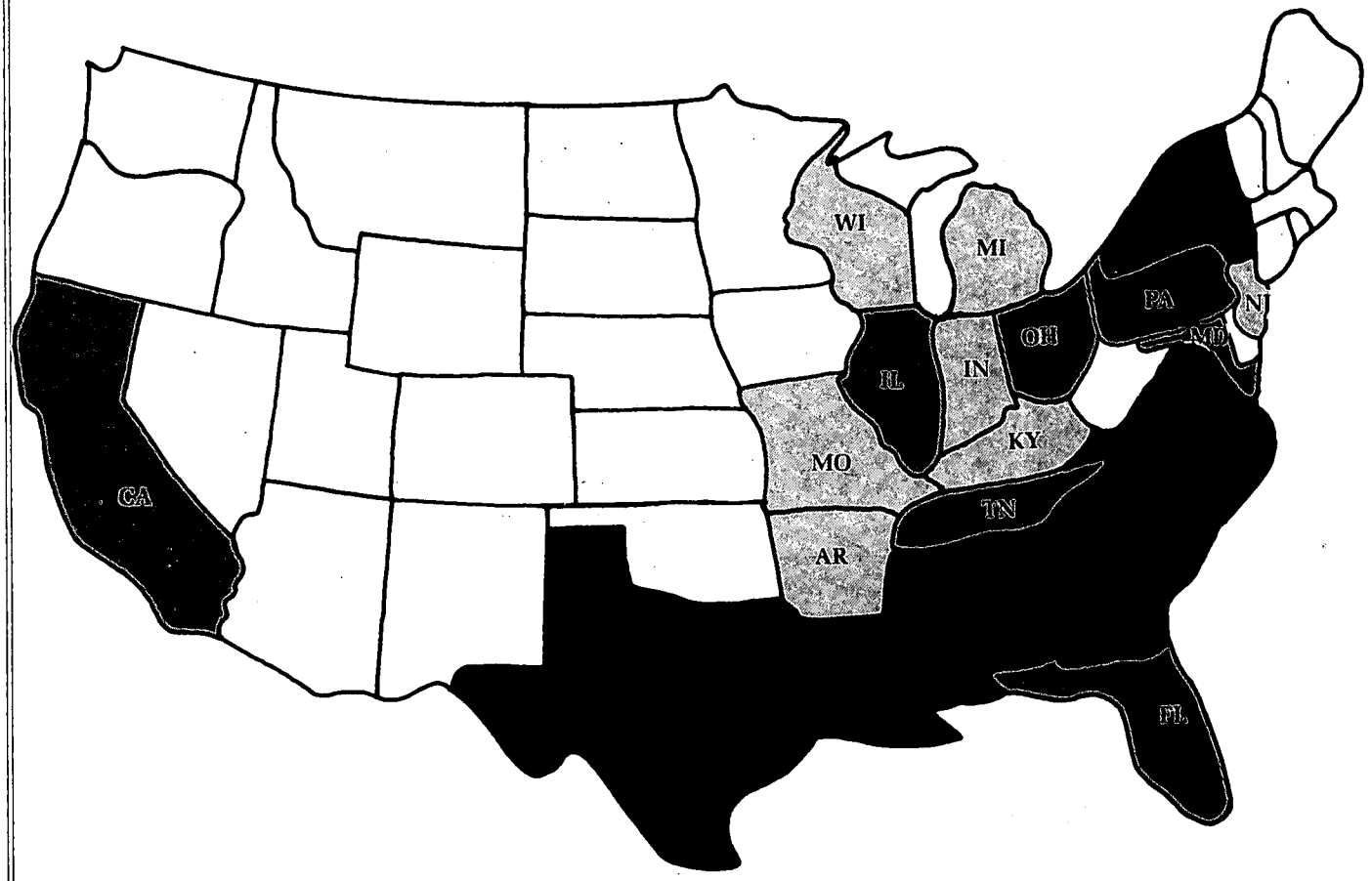
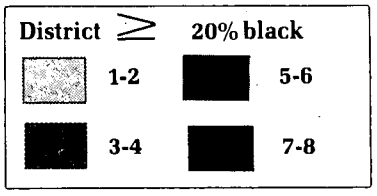
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FOCUS

1982 Congressional Election Roundup



After Redistricting: JCPS Finds 86 House Districts Have 20% or More Black Population



Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

During the past twenty months, circumstances have conspired to endow the black vote with enormous potential in the November elections. Here, in brief, are some of those circumstances.

1) The number of voting-age blacks is up 44 percent, from 12 million in 1970 to 17 million in 1980. Four states have a black electorate of 1 million or more, according to the Census Bureau.

2) The black vote in the 1980 presidential election was 2 percent higher than in the 1976 election. Blacks were the only major demographic group to show an increase. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the black voting rate is 10 percentage points lower than the white rate.

3) For many blacks, there is an unmistakable enemy this fall: conservative social and economic policies. Numerous polls and analyses confirm that blacks are hurt more and helped less by Reaganomics than almost any other group. Kevin Phillips, one of the high priests of neoconservatism, believes that blacks may give conservative candidates a hard time at the polls this fall: "To protect transfer payments and government spending programs, low-income and minority turnout has the potential to surge. These voters could also come to the polls to protest conservative economic policies tailored to redistribute income toward upper rather than lower income groups. Of all the trends that will affect the 1980s, this could be the most important."

4) Because of the impact of conservative policies on blacks and other disadvantaged minorities, many white moderates are threatening to oppose conservative candidates.

5) Following the 1980 Census and redistricting, blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the population in 86 of the nation's 435 congressional districts (see the table on pages 4-5).

6) Blacks are finding an ally in the women's movement, which has become more politicized as a result of the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment. In particular, women and blacks share many of the same opponents and will be working together to defeat them.

7) Many elections this fall are expected to be closely contested, as the electorate sorts out the pluses and minuses of Reaganomics. In many close races, the black vote could be a deciding factor.

8) The black vote is being mobilized. Voter mobilization programs are being conducted by at least six national groups: the National Urban League, NAACP, PUSH, Voter Education Project, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Operation Big Vote, a coalition of over 85 national organizations.

In the face of this political potential, the voice of the late Chicago congressman William L. Dawson cries out over a span of 26 years: "We have the numbers. We are the largest ethnic minority in America today, but we must be made to understand the power of the vote. . . . Quit crying about what some people are doing to you and go out and vote. . . . You're getting powerful; you have something [both political parties] need. If you have the vote, they will make a beaten path to your door."

The challenge of 1982 is to make the politicians—all politicians—beat a path to our door by responding to our calls for equal opportunity, affirmative action, economic empowerment, and social justice. To get this kind of response, we must all exercise our individual right to vote, and we must participate in other political activities as well. We must get more involved in political parties and campaigns. We should make our voices heard in all forms of political debate. Most important, we should convince friends, family, neighbors, and colleagues of the importance of voting.

Despite the cards we have been dealt going into the November elections, we could still lose the deal by succumbing to neglect, apathy, and political stupidity. Both halves of Operation Big Vote's message are important: "Register and Vote—Pass the Word."

Eddie N. Williams
President

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1982 Congressional Election Roundup

by Thomas E. Cavanagh and Arlene Williams

(Mr. Cavanagh is a research associate and Ms. Williams is a research assistant at the Joint Center.)

Few elections in this century have been as laden with significance for black Americans as the 1982 midterm elections. The 1980 Reagan landslide ushered in an administration whose policies have met with widespread dissatisfaction on the part of the minority community. The Reagan-inspired cutbacks in social programs and the initial ambivalence of the White House toward extension of the Voting Rights Act have engendered an impression of indifference to black needs and aspirations. Not surprisingly, blacks have consistently emerged in recent polls as the group most critical of the president's performance. In August, a Harris Poll showed blacks giving the president a negative job rating by an overwhelming margin, 88 to 11 percent. Among the population as a whole, the president has a 61 to 38 percent negative margin.

The black vote could have an important bearing on the future success of Reagan's attempt to change the priorities of American public policy. The Republican capture of the Senate in 1980 ended a quarter century of unbroken Democratic control of both houses of Congress. This fall's congressional elections should indicate whether the events of 1980 were an aberration or an enduring shift in the American political landscape, and black voters could have significant influence on those elections.

If this year's voting follows the pattern of past elections, the sour economy could result in substantial Republican losses in the House. Professor Edward Tufte of Yale has designed a formula to predict election outcomes from presidential approval ratings in the Gallup Poll and from changes in disposable income. As of midsummer, Tufte's equation yielded a Republican loss of 45 seats, although Tufte himself hedges a bit and expects 40 House seats to change hands. Most observers anticipate a more modest loss of 15 to 20 Republican seats, which would be a relatively good showing for the president's party by historical standards.

Several factors should counter the normal tendency for the party in power to lose seats at midterm. President Reagan remains personally popular with much of the electorate, and there is a widespread perception that he inherited a shaky economy from Jimmy Carter and thus should not be blamed for the present state of the economy. Moreover, the euphoria surrounding the passage of the tax increase, the rapid decline of interest rates, and the bull market on Wall Street appear to be easing concern over the highest levels of unemployment since the Great Depression.

The financial clout of conservative contributors is also likely to be a potent factor. The Republican National Congressional Committee will spend close to $70 million before the polls close in November, while its Democratic counterpart will spend only $7 million. The *Washington Post* recently estimated that business political action committees (PACs), will contribute up to $60 million in congressional races this year, roughly triple the amount chipped in by labor PACs. These fund-raising imbalance may be decisive in close House races, where an extra $25,000 for a last-minute television blitz might mean the difference between victory and defeat.

The Senate Contests

The Senate contests do not appear to be as critical a battleground at the moment. The senators up for reelection this year last faced the voters in 1976, when lingering anti-Watergate and anti-recession sentiments helped elect 21 Democrats, 11 Republicans, and Independent Harry F. Byrd, Jr. of Virginia. With so many Democratic seats at risk, the consensus forecast is for the Republicans to maintain their current edge in the Senate, with little net change in either direction.

The most vulnerable incumbent, Republican S. I. Hayakawa of California, retired to avoid certain defeat in the primary. San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, a Republican, is currently leading Governor Jerry Brown in the race to succeed him. Two other Republican incumbents, Lowell Weicker of Connecticut and Orrin Hatch of Utah, are in tight races with Congressman Toby Moffett and Salt Lake City Mayor Ted Wilson, respectively. In a state where the Hispanic vote may be crucial to the outcome, Republican Senator Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico may be in danger of defeat by former state Attorney General Jeff Bingaman.

The Democratic incumbents in the most trouble are George Mitchell of Maine, who was appointed to fill Edmund Muskie's seat and must now beat Republican Congressman David Emery to keep it; Jim Sasser of Tennessee, who is defending his seat against Republican Congressman Robin Beard; and Howard Cannon of Nevada, whose recent brushes with scandal have encouraged a stiff primary challenge from Congressman Jim Santini.

In the most interesting open seats, Republican Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick looks like a shoo-in to fill the New Jersey seat vacated by Harrison Williams, while the Virginia race (for the retiring Byrd's seat) between Republican Congressman Paul Trible and Democratic Lieutenant Governor Richard David is currently rated a tossup. No other seats are given a serious chance of changing party hands, although Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia and 81-year-old John Stennis of Mississippi will have to run harder than perhaps they are accustomed to. Overall, then, the Senate lineup will probably be very close to what it is today, with the result that even more attention than usual is being focused on the House.

The Effects of Redistricting

Another reason for the concentration on the House is the redistricting necessitated by the 1980 census. During the 1970s, many of the older industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest lost population, while the newer cities and suburbs in the South and West, and rural areas in general, enjoyed dramatic growth. Overall, some 17 seats shifted from the Frost Belt to the Sun Belt.

Black incumbents generally fared well in the re-

(Continued on page 6)

1982 Congressional Districts in Which Blacks C

State (number of congressional districts)	District number	Location	Total population 1980	Black percentage of population 1980	Incumbent (party, terms in office)	Percentage received by incumbent 1980	CEA rating 1981
Alabama (7)	1	Mobile	563,905	31	Edwards (R, 9)	94.7	10
	2	Montgomery	549,505	31	Dickinson (R, 9)	70.6	5
	3	Anniston	555,321	28	Nichols (D, 8)	98.6	20
	6	Birmingham	554,156	34	Smith (R, 1)	50.5	5
	7	Tuscaloosa	559,069	33	Shelby (D, 2)	72.5	15
Arkansas (4)	4	Pine Bluff	570,831	28	Anthony (D, 2)	100.0	70
California (45)	8	Oakland	525,907	26	*Dellums (D, 6)	55.5	85
	28	Los Angeles (Inglewood)	525,838	43	*Dixon (D, 2)	79.2	100
	29	Los Angeles (Watts)	525,830	47	*Hawkins (D, 10)	86.1	95
	31	Compton	526,074	36	*Dymally (D, 1)	64.4	85
Florida (19)	2	Tallahassee	513,127	24	Fuqua (D, 10)	70.6	50
	3	Jacksonville	512,692	27	Bennett (D, 17)	77.9	55
	12	Fort Pierce	513,121	20	(open seat)	n.a.	n.a.
	17	Miami (North)	513,048	27	Lehman (D, 5)	74.9	80
Georgia (10)	1	Savannah	541,180	33	Ginn (D, 5)	100.0	65
	2	Albany	550,237	37	Hatcher (D, 1)	73.6	50
	3	Columbus	540,865	34	Brinkley (D, 8)	100.0	40
	5	Atlanta	542,592	65	Fowler (D, 3)	74.0	80
	8	Macon	542,552	35	Evans (D, 3)	74.6	35
	10	Augusta	550,440	25	Barnard (D, 3)	80.2	25
Illinois (22)	1	Chicago (South Side)	519,045	92	*Washington (D, 1)	95.4	90
	2	Chicago (Calumet River)	518,931	70	*Savage (D, 1)	88.1	70
	7	Chicago (West Side)	519,034	67	*Collins (D, 5)	85.1	90
Indiana (10)	1	Gary	547,100	24	Benjamin (D, 3)	72.0	90
	10	Indianapolis	541,811	27	Jacobs (D, 3)	57.0	90
Kentucky (7)	3	Louisville	520,306	20	Mazzoli (D, 6)	63.7	75
Louisiana (8)	1	New Orleans (North)	525,319	30	Livingston (R, 3)	100.0	30
	2	New Orleans (South)	526,605	45	Boggs (D, 5)	100.0	85
	4	Shreveport	525,067	32	Roemer (D, 1)	63.8	50
	5	Monroe	525,668	31	Huckaby (D, 3)	100.0	25
	6	Baton Rouge	524,374	25	Moore (R, 4)	100.0	20
	7	Lake Charles	525,186	20	Breaux (D, 6)	100.0	35
	8	Alexandria	525,389	39	Long (D, 5)	100.0	80
Maryland (8)	4	Annapolis	513,749	21	Holt (R, 5)	71.9	30
	5	Prince George's County	539,173	35	Hoyer (D, 1)	55.8	100
	7	Baltimore	527,485	73	*Mitchell (D, 7)	88.4	100
Michigan (18)	1	Detroit (Northwest)	514,560	71	*Conyers (D, 9)	94.7	90
	13	Detroit (Central)	514,560	71	*Crockett (D, 1)	91.5	90
Mississippi (5)	1	Clarksdale	504,671	26	Whitten (D, 21)	62.9	65
	2	Greenville	504,697	53	Bowen (D, 5)	69.5	60
	3	Meridian	503,760	31	Montgomery (D, 8)	100.0	5
	4	Jackson	503,893	45	Dowdy (D, 1)	50.6†	64
	5	Hattiesburg	503,617	20	Lott (R, 5)	73.9	0
Missouri (9)	1	St. Louis (North)	546,208	52	*Clay (D, 7)	70.2	100
	5	Kansas City	546,882	23	Bolling (D, 17)	70.1	75
New Jersey (14)	10	Newark	525,832	55	Rodino (D, 17)	85.3	100

omprise 20 Percent or More of the Population

State (number of congressional districts)	District number	Location	Total population 1980	Black percentage of population 1980	Incumbent (party, terms in office)	Percentage received by incumbent 1980	CEA rating 1981
New York (34)	6	South Queens (Ozone Park-Jamaica)	516,919	50	Addabbo (D, 11)	95.3	95
	11	North Brooklyn (Bedford-Stuyvesant)	516,606	47	Richmond (D, 4)	76.1	100
	12	Central Brooklyn (Crown Heights)	516,059	80	*Chisholm (D, 7)	87.1	95
	16	Manhattan (Harlem)	518,053	48	*Rangel (D, 5)	96.2	100
	18	South Bronx	517,122	44	Garcia (D, 3)	98.2	90
North Carolina (11)	1	Greenville	536,219	35	Jones (D, 9)	100.0	45
	2	Rocky Mount-Durham	536,210	40	Fountain (D, 15)	73.4	40
	3	Goldsboro	535,906	27	Whitley (D, 3)	68.3	60
	4	Raleigh	533,580	20	Andrews (D, 5)	52.6	55
	6	Greensboro	529,635	21	Johnston (R, 1)	51.0	0
	7	Fayetteville	539,055	27	Rose (D, 5)	68.7	70
	8	Salisbury	535,526	20	Hefner (D, 14)	59.0	20
	9	Charlotte	536,325	23	Martin (R, 5)	58.6	10
Ohio (21)	~~2~~	~~Cincinnati (East)~~	~~514,408~~	~~30~~	~~Gradison (R, 4)~~	~~74.6~~	~~35~~
	~~3~~	~~Dayton~~	~~513,588~~	~~37~~	Hall (D, 2)	57.0	80
	21	Cleveland (East)	514,625	62	*Stokes (D,7)	88.2	100
Pennsylvania (23)	1	Philadelphia (South)	515,145	32	Foglietta (D, 1)	44.5‡	85
	2	Philadelphia (West)	517,215	80	*Gray (D, 2)	96.4	90
	14	Pittsburgh	516,629	22	Coyne (D, 1)	68.5	100
South Carolina (6)	1	Charleston	519,675	33	Hartnett (R, 1)	51.7	15
	2	Columbia	520,776	35	Spence (R, 6)	55.7	15
	3	Anderson	519,280	21	Derrick (D, 4)	59.7	70
	4	Greenville	520,217	20	Campbell (R, 2)	93.0	15
	5	Rock Hill	519,585	32	Holland (D, 4)	87.5	55
	6	Florence	519,675	41	Napier (R, 1)	51.7	20
Tennessee (9)	5	Nashville	514,832	22	Boner (D, 2)	65.4	70
	8	Memphis (North)	504,957	20	Jones (D, 5)	77.0	55
	9	Memphis (West)	505,592	57	*Ford (D, 3)	100.0	85
Texas (27)	1	Texarkana	527,016	20	Hall (D, 4)	100.0	25
	5	Dallas (East)	526,633	20	Mattox (D, 3)	51.0	90
	9	Beaumont-Galveston	526,443	21	Brooks (D, 15)	99.6	50
	18	Houston (Central)	527,393	41	*Leland (D, 2)	79.8	90
	24	Dallas (South)	526,677	32	Frost (D, 2)	61.3	75
	25	Houston (South)	526,801	25	(open seat)	n.a.	n.a.
Virginia (10)	1	Newport News	535,092	31	Trible (R, 3)	90.5	10
	2	Norfolk	529,178	23	Whitehurst (R, 7)	89.8	20
	3	Richmond	533,668	28	Bliley (R, 1)	51.6	5
	4	Portsmouth	535,703	40	Daniel (R, 5)	60.6	0
	5	Danville	531,308	25	Daniel (D, 7)	99.9	0
Wisconsin (9)	5	Milwaukee (North)	522,854	28	Reuss (D, 14)	77.0	95

n.a. not applicable

* Black incumbent

†Dowdy was elected in a 1981 special election after the resignation of Jon C. Hinson (R, 2).

‡Foglietta was elected as an Independent Democrat in a 1980 three-way election.

(This table was compiled by Arlene Williams.)

. . . 1982 Congressional Election Roundup

(Continued from page 3)

districting process. Even though the innner-city areas represented by many black congresspersons lost population, in most cases these urban cores have become so overwhelmingly black that outward expansion of the district boundaries to encompass additional urban or suburban territory did not appreciably harm the reelection chances of the incumbents.

Several other factors worked to the advantage of black incumbents. In some state legislatures (notably Texas), Republicans teamed up with blacks to map out a handful of districts with heavy minority populations, as opposed to distributing these Democratic areas over several districts to aid the chances of white Democrats. States covered by the Voting Rights Act must clear their reapportionment plans with the Justice Department, which has a mandate to prevent the dilution of minority voting strength. In enforcing the act and the Constitution, the courts have also been inclined to accept districting plans favorable to the election of minority representatives. And incumbents can usually count on the support of their party colleagues in the state legislatures to protect their interests. All of these forces converge, to leave most black incumbents with excellent prospects for reelection.

The one conspicuous exception is William Clay of Missouri, whose St. Louis district was redrawn to encompass largely white suburban territory. As a result, the black proportion in his district has been reduced from 65 to 52 percent. Clay has never run well outside his base in the northern part of the city. However, he survived a hard-fought August primary with racial overtones against State Senator Allan Mueller, and thus he will almost certainly win reelection in this heavily Democratic district. His opponent in the general election will be black Republican Bill White, whom Clay has defeated twice before. But the altered demography of this district probably guarantees that Clay will face stiff primary challenges in the future.

The Impact of the Black Vote

Blacks are well situated to have a major impact on congressional races across the country. Under the newly drawn district lines, blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the total population in some 86 of the 435 House districts.

The table on pages 4 and 5 lists these districts, along with the 1980 black proportion of the population within the new district boundaries. The information was taken primarily from Census Bureau tabulations as they have become available and from Justice Department figures for those states covered by the Voting Rights Act. The remainder was gathered from a variety of state government and party sources. Information is also included on the electoral performance of each incumbent in 1980 under the old district lines and the incumbent's rating on 20 roll-call votes of special interest to minorities, as compiled by the Congressional Education Association. Sixty of these 86 districts are in the South. Of the remainder, 13 are in the Midwest, 9 in the Northeast, and 4 in the West (all in California).

Under the 1972 district lines, there were 79 districts with black populations of 20 percent or more nationwide. Interestingly, all of the growth in the number of districts in this category over the past decade occurred in the South, which had 51 such districts a decade ago. The Northeast lost 2 districts in this category; the numbers in the Midwest and West were unchanged. The regional distribution of the black population did not change appreciably during the decade. So the increase in southern districts with a sizable black population is probably due to the diligence of the Justice Department and the courts in preventing the dilution of black voting strength through gerrymandering.

Data on voting-age population have not yet been published by the Census Bureau.

Black Congressional Candidates

The South is emerging as a crucial battleground for blacks in this fall's congressional races. Twenty of the districts in the table are represented by congressmen with a CEA score of 20 or below, indicating agreement with the CEA position on no more than one of every five key votes. All 20 of these members are from the South. Several are freshman Republicans pulled into office on Reagan's coattails by the narrowest of margins, including Albert Lee Smith of Alabama, Eugene Johnston of North Carolina, Thomas Hartnett and John Napier of South Carolina, and Thomas Bliley of Virginia.

There are two southern districts, one in Mississippi and one in Georgia, in which blacks are a majority of the population, and they are providing two of the most closely watched contests in the country. Both districts were created only after lengthy battles in state legislatures and the courts.

In Mississippi, Congressman David Bowen decided to retire after his old 2nd district was redrawn to represent the heavily black Delta region. The Democratic candidate is State Representative Robert Clark, who in 1969 became the first black to serve in the Mississippi House since Reconstruction. Clark sailed to victory in the primary after being endorsed on July 10 at a special convention of black political activists to unite black efforts in the district behind a single candidate. He appears to have the full backing of the state's sometimes fractious Democratic organization in the November contest against retired circuit court Judge Webb Franklin, who converted from Democrat to Republican for this election. The 2nd district is one of the southern areas Jimmy Carter carried in 1980 because of his southern populist roots. Whether the area's white Democrats will bolt from a black candidate to support a Reaganite is the critical question here.

In Georgia, State Senator Julian Bond spearheaded an ultimately successful effort to throw out the state's original reapportionment plan and create a heavily black district in Atlanta. The district is currently represented by a relatively liberal white Democrat, Wyche Fowler, who will have to fend off a challenge from Bond himself to retain the seat. A special Democratic primary election will be held on November 2, with a runoff (if necessary) on November 9. Bond has announced that if he does not win

the primary, he will run as an independent in the November 30 general election.

Another southern race to watch is in South Carolina's 2nd district, where black college professor Ken Mosely won the Democratic nomination to face six term Republican Congressman Floyd Spence. The Columbia-based district is only 35 percent black, and Spence's proven ability to raise funds in past campaigns suggests that Mosely will have an uphill fight. But Mosely's degree of success in attracting votes from white Democrats will be an important gauge of the prospects for black congressional candidates throughout the South.

Black attorney H. M. "Micky" Michaux caused a flurry of excitement in North Carolina's 2nd district when he led the field in the first-round Democratic primary. The incumbent, L. H. Fountain, had decided to retire when his district was redrawn to include the Durham area. Michaux's organization managed to enroll 12,500 black voters during a massive registration drive, but this still left blacks comprising only about one-third of the district's registered voters. A heavy turnout of rural whites in the runoff enabled white attorney Tim Valentine to secure the nomination, and he is the heavy favorite in the November race against Republican Jack Marin.

Outside the South, Kansas City and Milwaukee may soon be gaining black congressmen. Black State Representative Alan Wheat won the Democratic primary to succeed retiring Congressman Richard Bolling, chairman of the House Rules Committee, in Missouri's 5th district. The district is heavily Democratic, but defections by white Democrats might be enough to tip the November election to Republican John Sharp.

The retirement of Henry Reuss, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, similarly opened up an opportunity in Wisconsin's 5th district. Black attorney Orville Pitts is given a good chance of riding the black vote to victory in a wild six-way primary. This is also considered a reasonably safe seat for the Democrats, although here, too, a racially inspired crossover vote could create a Republican upset.

Three New York districts are providing fascinating case studies in political demography. An initial attempt by the state legislature to draw a Hispanic district combining parts of Brooklyn, Spanish Harlem, and the Lower East Side of Manhattan was thrown out by the courts on the grounds that it diluted black voting strength. The resulting confusion left the district lines and candidate pair-offs up in the air until mid-August.

Brooklyn Congressman Fred Richmond further scrambled the picture with his resignation on August 25 after pleading guilty to several charges. The electorate in Richmond's district is overwhelmingly black and Hispanic. With Richmond out of the running, the Democratic primary race is among Deputy Borough President Edolphus Towns, a black, and two Hispanics, former telephone company executive Jack John Olivero and perennial also-ran Louis Hernandez. Towns is the favorite in the primary, and whoever wins the primary is almost certain to win in November.

Two black state senators, Vander Beatty and Major Owens, are slugging it out in the neighboring 12th district Democratic primary for the right to succeed the retiring Shirley Chisholm. In South Queens, Democrat Joseph Addabbo is facing a primary against former Liberal Party official Simeon Golar, a black. Addabbo has enjoyed support from the black community in past races and will probably hold onto his seat, which in the general election is invariably one of the safest in the country. Peter Rodino of Newark, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, is likewise expected to prevail over black Republican Timothy Lee, an aide to the New Jersey secretary of state.

The Republicans have gone to considerable lengths to recruit black candidates in a number of districts with sizable blocs of minority constituents. Most of these candidates are widely regarded as sacrificial lambs—for example, Lee in Newark; black attorney Donald Cheek, who is opposing incumbent Cardiss Collins on Chicago's West Side; and busdriver Shirley Gissendanner, who is a long shot in California's newly created, heavily Democratic 44th district in San Diego.

Two black Republicans running for the House rate closer attention, however. Probably the only one with any real chance of winning is Lucy Patterson, a three-term veteran of the Dallas City Council, who is trying to unseat Democrat Martin Frost in Dallas. Patterson is a former Democrat who left the party after her efforts to create a black congressional district in Dallas were thwarted by Frost and the Democrats in the state legislature The district is only one-third black and does not have a Republican history. Nonethe'ess, it has been greatly altered by redistricting, making Frost unknown to many of his constituents, and the Republicans are pouring money into the campaign.

Another black Republican to watch is the Reverend Perry Smith, running against Congressman Steny Hoyer in Maryland's 5th district. This district, in Prince George's County, may become the nation's most affluent black majority district before the decade is out. Well-known in the county for his chairmanship of the local NAACP and other community work, Smith was one of 13 black ministers who left the Democrats earlier this year in protest over their exclusion from the local party machine. This is another race attracting a major Republican funding effort. Many observers believe that even if Smith does not win, a good showing might hasten Hoyer's retirement and pave the way for a black Democrat to win the seat.

The current total of 18 black members in the House of Representatives is the highest since Reconstruction. With Chisholm's replacement by a black Democrat, and the remainder of the incumbents all but assured of reelection, this number will not drop after the election. Indeed, given such promising candidates as Towns in Brooklyn, Wheat in Kansas City, Clark in the Mississippi Delta, and Pitts in Milwaukee, at least one additional black victory looks like a good bet. Overall, the prospects for the success of black congressional candidates have never been brighter.

Telescope

Rating Members of Congress on Black and Hispanic Issues

The Congressional Education Associates, a private, nonpartisan consulting firm specializing in government relations, has published a ledger rating each U.S. senator and representative by his or her votes on selected issues that have a direct impact on black and Hispanic Americans. The 1981 ledger covers the First Session of the 97th Congress. The votes selected for use in the ledger were roll-call votes on issues such as the Congressional Black Caucus budget, cuts in human needs programs, increases in military spending, tax benefits for the wealthy, the Voting Rights Act, legal services, school desegregation, education, small business, and allowing the South African rugby team to play in the United States.

Copies of the *CEA Congressional Ledger 1981* can be ordered from Congressional Education Associates, 1411 K Street, N.W., Suite 801, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Two Black Women Named White House Fellows

For the 1982-83 program year, President Reagan has chosen two black women as White House Fellows: Paula Cholmondeley, vice-president of strategic planning and programs, Westinghouse Elevator Company; and Sharon Richie, a major in the U.S. Army, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs.

Each year, a Commission on White House Fellows recommends 14 to 19 Americans in the early stages of their careers to serve as special assistants to cabinet officers, the vice-president, or members of the president's principal staff. There are no set educational requirements or special career or professional categories; the commission seeks individuals who have demonstrated excellence in their professional roles and involvement in community service. In the 18 years since its founding, program finalists have included academics, physicians, businessmen and women, engineers, journalists, policemen, lawyers, farmers, former state legislators, an orchestra conductor, and career military officers. Employees of the federal government are not eligible, with the exception of career military personnel of the Armed Services.

The commission conducts special outreach efforts to increase the number of minority and women applicants. Margaret Bush Wilson, chairman of the board of NAACP and a member of the commission, feels that the fellowship program "offers a special opportunity to black Americans" and says that the commission "is proud of its record of achievement in attracting outstanding individuals from the black community." A number of black White House Fellow alumni who want to encourage more blacks to participate in the program have volunteered to answer questions and evaluate their own experiences for those interested in the program.

Further information about the alumni and the program, and applications for the 1983-84 year, are available from the President's Commission on White House Fellows, 712 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20503 (202 395-4522). Applications must be postmarked no later than December 1, 1982.

New Department of Transportation Assistance To Minority Businesses

The Department of Transportation has established ten regional Program Management Centers to assist minorities and women in obtaining contracts from projects funded by the DOT. Thirteen minority consulting and accounting firms have been selected to run the centers, which will help minority business enterprises take advantage of procurement opportunities with airport commissions, transit authorities, highway departments, state departments of transportation, and rail-related projects. Service will include placement of minority businesses on DOT centralized bidders lists; marketing, management, and technical assistance; and financial capability assessments.

The centers are located in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. Further information, including the names and addresses of the centers, can be obtained from the Department of Transportation's Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization, 400 7th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20590.

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