

The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies, 1426 H Street N.W., Suite 926, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-4477.

The Joint Center for Political Studies, sponsored by Howard University and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, is a private, non-profit organization funded by the Ford Foundation to provide research, education, technical assistance and information for the nation's minority elected officials on a non-partisan basis.

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editor/design: Bill Quinn assistant editor: David Aiken editorial assistants: Eunice Meredith

Laurence Covington

research: Ken Colburn Miriam Reid

president: Eddie N. Williams

director of education & special projects: Clarence L. Townes Jr.

director (acting) of research: Ken Colburn director of administration: Francis Chaney director of public affairs: Bill Quinn



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Cover photo. Congressional hopefuls (I to r.) J.O. Patterson, Barbara Jordan, Andrew Young and Yvonne Burke (see page 4).



PERSPECTIVE

As many readers will recall, the Joint Center was founded in 1970 by Howard University and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center to provide research, education, information and assistance to minority elected officials and others who represent minority interests.

As a non-partisan, non-profit organization, whose funds come principally from the Ford Foundation, we have a broad mandate. It is to be supportive of minority group efforts to achieve their goals through the political process. We help elected officials meet the increasing demands upon them for political knowledge and skill and for facts on issues impacting on blacks and other minorities.

Therefore, a large part of our time is spent on research on a variety of subjects and on disseminating that research as broadly as possible. Our aim is to identify public policy issues which have implications for our constituents, to analyze and clarify those issues, to illuminate the minority perspective and to suggest alternative policies or strategies for consideration by political activists and decision-makers.

We are required to be both a center for intellectual discovery and a wellspring of practical political knowledge. The times dictate that we be a clearinghouse for information on minority group involvement in the political process. Our own pride dictates that we be a center of excellence—an organization whose ability is unquestioned and whose credibility is beyond reproach. Foremost in our minds always is the need to be a place where relevant and useful information can be found and where practical assistance can be obtained.

However, we must not lose sight of other important objectives. The Joint Center is a resource to scholars and students; it provides a forum in which scholars and political practitioners of diverse interests and views can exchange ideas, interact on public policy issues and search for alternatives.

The publication of this newsletter and the recent change in leadership at the Joint Center provide an appropriate opportunity to make this brief statement on where we are coming from and where we are going. In the months ahead, the newsletter and other forums will document the programs and other means we employ to achieve our objectives.

Jades Nellam President

- The two newest members of the seven-member Alabama Conference of Black Mayors have been chosen to head the organization. A. J. Cooper, the new 28-year-old mayor of Prichard, was elected chairman, while John Ford, 30, of Tuskegee, was named vice chairman at the Oct. 14 meeting of the group. Both became mayors Sept. 12.
- The Federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has streamlined application and administrative requirements for federal grant programs. Affected by the modernization are some 50,000 state and local governments that received about \$39 billion in federal assistance in fiscal 1972. OMB says that under the revised standards, state and local governments will have to comply with only one set of federal administrative requirements instead of the labyrinthine variety heretofore used in the several hundred federal grant programs.
- Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney announced action to provide relief to assist local housing authorities in meeting rising operating costs. The action will result in an increase of more than \$100 million in federal subsidies to many of the nation's more than 3,000 public housing authorities, and at the same time avoid an openended federal subsidization problem.
- Ballots, not bullets, is the newly declared aim of the Black Panther Party. Although the militant wing of the party, led by Algeria-Based Eldridge Cleaver, still proclaims violent revolution as the only solution to black American problems, the party leadership in California and most of the U.S. has called on its members to "work within the system" for change. Bobby Seale, just 18 months ago on trial for his life in Connecticut, has declared his candidacy for mayor of Oakland, Codefendant Erika Huggins already has been elected to the Berkeley Community Council and Calvin Lockridge, a member of the Chicago chapter, lately ran for alderman in that city. In addition, Panthers recently won six of 18 seats on the citizens board of the Oakland Model Cities program. Explaining the reason for the shift in policy. Panther Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton said that the Panthers of old had "defected from the overwhelming majority of black people."
- The State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972, commonly known as revenue sharing, was signed into law October 20. It provides for a total of \$30.1 billion to be shared with state and local governments for the period 1972-76. This year's total of \$5.3 billion is retroactive to January 1, 1972. Unlike federal aid from categorical grants, this money is virtually unrestricted as to its use. It does, however, require local governments to use their share in several broadly-defined priority areas: Public safety, environmental protection, public

transportation, health, recreation, libraries and social services for the poor and aged.

Although the exact timing of the initial payment has not been determined, the Revenue Sharing Office hopes to have checks in the mail about the first week in December. The formula for allocation takes into account such data as population, tax effort and income. Unfortunately, for many areas with BEOs, the information necessary for computation of payments to be received has not been computerized and thus is not available at this time. There are, however, some approximate figures for large governmental units. Details on revenue sharing will be presented in a JCPS publication in November. Any immediate questions regarding payment should be directed to the following office: Office of Revenue Sharing, Public Affairs, Department of the Treasury. Room 419, 1406 G Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20226, (202) 964-8711.

• About 270 of the 427 delegates to the National Black Assembly convened in Chicago, Oct. 21-22. The assembly, made up of 10 percent of the National Black Political Convention, held in March in Gary, Ind., elected officers and set up a permanent operating structure. In addition, a number of resolutions were accepted for study. Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.), Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher and Imamu A. Baraka, the original Gary conveners, were elected as permanent assembly officers.

Diggs was chosen president of the 427-member assembly; Hatcher will be chairman of the 54-member National Political Council, which is responsible for day-to-day operations of the assembly, and Baraka was elected secretary-general of both the assembly and the council.

A number of committees were established under the council and the three-man executive group was mandated to choose chairmen for each.

The council will meet in December in Atlanta to get action reports on resolutions referred to the various committees. Thereafter, the council will meet regularly every other month beginning in January. The entire assembly will meet every four months.

• The anti-busing issue is not dead; it is merely hibernating between sessions of Congress.

The Oct. 17 "Memo" of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights reports:

"The defeat in the Senate of President Nixon's 'anti-busing' bill—the ironically-named Equal Educational Opportunities Act (H.R. 13915)—is an important victory. At the same time, we must remember that proponents of the bill warned during the debate that the issue wouldn't go away. And President Nixon has served notice that the bill, or something like it, would be a matter of highest priority in the next Congress. So while we have reason to rejoice, we must also be on guard."

CONGRESS TO GAIN BLACK MEMBERS



BURKE JO

JORDAN

PATTERSON

YOUNG

Black representation in the U.S. Congress seems sure to increase as a result of this month's elections. Seventeen of the 44 blacks running for House seats are considered to have good-to-excellent chances of success.

Regardless of the outcome, several facts seem clear: In the foreseeable future there will be everincreasing black political activity throughout the country, especially in some 59 congressional districts, mainly in the South, with 30 percent or more black population; serious efforts to capture congressional and other seats will catapult more blacks into positions of power and influence in their states and localities; and the black politician, whether incumbent or aspirant, is emerging as a new "leader" on the cutting edge of the civil rights movement.

At least one, and possibly three black House members from the South are in prospect, out of the 11 black House and one Senate candidate running in that region. There has been no black congressman from the South since 1901.

As part of a survey of blacks running for office at all levels, the research department of the JCPS identified the black congressional candidates. Forty-four are running for House seats, including the 13 incumbents; two are seeking Senate seats, including incumbent Senator Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.).

The congressional hopefuls are competing in 27 House and two Senate races. There are 11 House races in which more than one black is on the ballot; all but one of these races involves an incumbent.

Ten candidates are Republicans; 18 are Democrats. There are six blacks on the congressional slate of the National Democratic Party of Alabama, while the Socialist Workers Party is running blacks in four congressional districts. The remaining eight House candidates are independents or members of other parties.

Besides the incumbents, the black candidates considered by most observers to have the best chances of victory are:

Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, A Democratic state assemblywomen, in the 37th Congressional District of Los Angeles. Mrs. Burke, 39, who was vice chairman of the Democratic National Convention, is opposed by Republican Gregg Tria, a business administrator. The district, created under recent redistricting, is 41 percent black and 72 percent Democratic.

Mrs. Burke was the first black woman in the California Assembly in 1966, and would be the first woman from California in Congress in 22 years. An attorney, she obtained a law degree from the University of California in 1956.

Barbara Jordan of Texas, Democratic state senator running in Houston's 18th Congressional District. She faces Republican engineering designer Paul M. Merritt, in a heavily Democratic district.

A 36-year-old lawyer, Ms. Jordan ran for state senate in 1962 and 1964 before winning election in 1966, following a federal court decision which threw out the at-large election system and established state senate districts. She was the first black woman in the Texas State Senate, and the first black in the body since 1882. Last spring, she was chosen president protempore of the senate, and in that capacity served as governor for a day when the governor and lieutenant governor were both out of state.

J. O. Patterson, Jr. of Tennessee, Democratic state senate whip and Memphis city councilman, running in the Eighth District. He seeks to unseat three-term incumbent Dan H. Kuykendall, a Republican. Kuykendall took 62 percent of the vote in 1970, but the district has been completely redrawn since. Black areas of Memphis have been added and white suburbs have been dropped.

The district is now heavily Democratic, and 40 percent of its registered voters are black.

Patterson, 37, is now in his third term in the state senate and his second term on the Memphis City Council. The race is expected to be close.

Andrew Young of Georgia, executive vice president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, running in Atlanta's Fifth Congressional District. His opponent, State Rep. Rodney Cook, is a former Atlanta alderman who narrowly missed election as mayor three years ago, and has campaigned in black areas. The district's incumbent congressman, Republican Fletcher Thompson, is running for U.S. Senate this year. In 1970, Thompson beat Young by 20,000 votes, but the district has since been redrawn and is now 38 percent black.

Young, who was an associate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., took 60 percent of the vote in this year's Democratic primary against three opponents, including two whites. His race with Cook is expected to be close.

All 13 black incumbents are favored by most political observers to win re-election.

If all incumbents win re-election and Burke, Jordan, Young and Patterson all win, there would be three black women and 14 black men in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Besides Sen. Brooke, the only black running for the U.S. Senate is John L. LeFlore, candidate of the National Democratic Party of Alabama. LeFlore, 61, a former postal employee who has led civil rights efforts in Alabama since the 'fifties, is assistant editor of the Mobile *Beacon*, a black weekly. He faces Sen. John Sparkman, the Democratic incumbent, and Winton M. ("Red") Blount, former Republican postmaster general.

The NDPA is running candidates in six of the seven congressional districts in Alabama; all but one candidate, Mrs. Shirley Irwin of Huntsville, are black. The NDPA hopeful considered to have the best chance of victory—

although still a shaky one—is Al Thomas, running in the Sixth Congressional District which takes in the Birmingham area. He faces the incumbent Republican, Rep. John H. Buchanan, and Democrat Ben Erdreich.

Here are the other black House candidates (asterisk denotes incumbent): Alabama: Thomas McAboy, Jr., Mobile, District 1; Richard Boone, Montgomery, District 2; John Ford, Jr., Phoenix City, District 3, and Lewis Black, Greensboro, District 7. All are NDPA candidates. California: Edlo Powell, San Francisco, Rep., District 5; Augustus F. Hawkins*, Dem., and Rayfield Lundy, Rep., District 21 in Los Angeles; Vernon Brown, Los Angeles, Rep., District 35. District of Columbia: Walter Fauntroy*, Dem., Charles I. Cassel, D.C. Statehood Party, David H. Dabney, independent, and Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party, for non-voting delegate. Illinois: Ralph H. Metcalfe*, Dem., and Louis H. Coggs, Rep., Chicago's District 1; George W. Collins*, Dem., District 7 of Chicago. Maryland: Parren J. Mitchell*, Dem., and Verdell Adair, Rep., Baltimore's District 7. Michigan: John C. Conyers, Jr.*, Dem., and Maceo Carl Dixon, Socialist Workers, for District 1 in Detroit and suburbs; Charles C. Diggs, Jr.*, Dem., and Leonard T. Edwards, Rep., for Detroit's District 13. Mississippi: Eddie L. McBride, Vicksburg independent, for District 4 in Jackson and Vicksburg areas; Robert J. Coleman, Kosciusko, and Norman Smith, Greenwood, independents, District 2. New York: Shirley Chisholm*, Dem., John H. Coleman, Rep., John Hawkins, Socialist Workers and Martin S. Shepherd, Conservative, for District 12 in Brooklyn; Charles B. Rangel*, Dem.-Rep.-Lib., Jose Stevens, Communist and Bobby R. Washington, Socialist Workers, for Manhattan's District 19. Ohio: Louis Stokes*, Dem., James D. Johnson, Rep., and Cecil Lampkins, independent, in Cleveland's District 21. Pennsylvania: Robert N.C. Nix, Sr.*, Dem., and Frederick H. Bryant, Rep., in Philadelphia's District 2; Earl P. Collins, Dem., in District 9 in Bedford and Chambersburg area.

OFFICIAL WORD

As a result of the recent defeat of U.S. Rep. John L. McMillan (D-S.C.) and the retirement of two other senior congressmen, Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) is expected to become head of the House District of Columbia Committee. When asked by newsmen about the likelihood of District self-government in the next session of Congress, Rep. Diggs' "less than affirmative answer" caused some concern among "home rule" advocates. Focus went to the source for clarification:



Q: Because of your reluctance to endorse the Senate home rule bill for the District of Columbia, some people have doubts about your course as District Committee chairman. Could you clarify your intentions with regard to eventual District self-government?

D: I am no less committed to the whole concept of self-determination than I have ever been. There are many bills pending before the Congress designed to carry this out. The Senate bill is merely one of them. It is not a perfect proposal; it does not provide the kind of revenue resources that are absolutely necessary if we are to be about the very serious business of implementing control of the community by the local populace. In my view, it is one among many measures which would and could, in effect, mean home rule in name only.

Q: Some say that the House District Committee Chairman has more power than the mayor of Washington. As chairman, will you be able to alleviate conditions giving rise to such unfortunate events as the uprising at the District jail, the teacher strike and other such calamities besetting the city lately?

D: I look upon my role as a partnership. I do not look upon it as a substitute for the mayor or for Congressman [Walter] Fauntroy, the District delegate, or for the city council or any other interests that are local in character. I think that we all have different roles to play.

Obviously, being of the Congress, I represent the link between the federal interest and that of the local community; that link is the vehicle for transferring to the local people the required resources for viable self-determination. That transference of power to the majority or to a large minority does not mean a millennium. The most frustrated people in the country are black mayors presiding over problems transferred to them by the white power structure. Washington has the kind of resources—both in the public and private sectors—that can be brought to bear on many of these problems.

This is what I would be devoting myself to. And, I think as evidence of good faith, my intention to establish a new subcommittee on government reorganization should allay anyone's fears that I have retreated from my commitment to self-determination. This subcommittee will not only analyze for implementation purposes the recommendations of the Nelson Commission, but will go a step beyond that. The Nelson Commission was given the responsibility to analyze the efficiency of local government, but it did not specifically embrace the whole question of home rule. Ancher Nelson [R-Minn., chairman of the Commission on the Organization of the D.C. Government] refuses to embrace that responsibility. So this subcommittee will run tests in order to make a judgement as to the effectiveness of the transference of power. It will not be like previous hearings, both before the Congress and out

in the community, where people just engaged in conversation. I don't think that the recipients of testimony on the Hill thus far have really heard the meaning of self-determination as expressed by witnesses from the local community.

People have talked past one another. Members have sat and listened and some have not conceived of what self-determination actually is. Others in the community, and well-meaning people, really don't understand what we mean by the federal interest and the necessity for its preservation.

Q: "The federal interest" in the District--would you elaborate?

D: Well, this needs to be defined. Washington was originally conceived as two cities. One would encompass the investment of the federal government in certain structures and facilities that were here for the conduct of the federal business and to accommodate visitors to the city. Secondly, the local community sort of grew up, I think, despite the plans of some people to keep this as a federal preserve. You cannot separate them. Every time the federal government sneezes, the local government gets economic pneumonia. When there are demonstrations, there are demands upon the local traffic facilities and police and other facilities. This is what I mean by the federal interest, and I do not believe that this Congress or the next Congress, if one can anticipate their character, is going to be willing to give up the entire investment of the federal government in this community.

Q: Does that mean that the federal interest will preclude any motions for statehood in the final analysis?

D: Well, I really don't know. I just make that general statement. The federal interest, for the foreseeable future, with the kind of Congress that's coming in the next year, is going to be preserved. How this is going to be translated into local self-determination remains to be seen. I should hope that we would have some kind of partnership concept evolving out of this question which would also transfer to the people of the District as much determination as possible as it relates to their lives in this community. And that can be considerable. We might end up with an entirely different concept, some kind of hybrid between statehood and the mayor-council form of government. We may end up with some kind of unicameral legislature elected by the people or with an increased representation in the Congress. Who knows? I will say one thing: When we are finished with this examination, what evolves out of it in terms of self-determination will be much improved over what I have seen come out of the Congress so far, and perhaps even come out of the heads of most of the people who have been engaged in this valiant objective over these past years.

WILLIAM LEADS JCPS

Eddie N. Williams, former vice president for Public Affairs of the University of Chicago, has taken over as the new president of the JCPS, succeeding Frank D. Reeves.

Reeves, who was executive director of the ICPS since its establishment two years ago, is now a senior fellow at the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. (See below).

Williams had been at the University of Chicago since 1968, when he was named assistant vice president for development and public affairs. He was the first black named to a high administrative post in the university. He became vice president in April, 1969.

Before going to Chicago, Williams was director of the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity and special assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administra-

tion in the U.S. Department of State.

Earlier, Williams was research editor for the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. He worked for the U.S. Congress from 1958 to 1960, first as a congressional fellow of the American Political Science Association, and then as a staff assistant on the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament.

Williams, 40, has been a reporter for the Atlanta Daily World and from August, 1970, until his departure for Washington wrote a weekly column for the editorial

page of the Chicago Sun-Times.

Born in Memphis, Tenn., Williams received a B.S. degree in journalism from the University of Illinois and did graduate work in political science at Howard and Atlanta Universities.

After two years as ICPS executive director, Reeves resigned in June. In his new post, he will work on projects in the administration of justice, legislative actions affecting education and the implications of current political developments on the civil rights cases handled by the NAACP and the National Conference of Black Lawvers. He was counsel in the case which led to the famous 1954 Supreme Court decision opening the way to public school desegregation, Brown v. Board of Education.

He served on the Democratic Central Committee for the District of Columbia from 1952 to 1964, and from 1960 to 1964 was Democratic National Committeeman for the District, the first black to serve in that post. He has assisted in the presidential campaigns of Gov. Adlai Stevenson, Sen. Estes Kefauver and John F. Kennedy. In 1961, he was a special assistant to President Kennedy.

Currently on sabbatical from the faculty of Howard University Law School, Reeves was appointed last March to a three-year term on the Board of Higher Education of the District of Columbia, and was subsequently chosen chairman. The board governs Federal City College and D.C. Teachers College. He was a trustee of Howard University from 1961 to 1966.

A graduate of Howard, Reeves received an LL.D.

degree from Miles College in Alabama in 1961.

JCPS AIDS BLACKS AT CONVENTIONS

"How do you draw up a recommendation to the Rules Committee?'

"I need some statistics on black voting patterns. Can

When many of the black delegates and alternates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions had questions like these, they often found the answers from a new source of help, especially for black participants: The ICPS staff.

The staff passed out several thousand copies of each of the two volumes of the Center's Guide to Black Politics '72, which outlined convention procedures and listed the black delegates at each convention.

ICPS AIDS BEOs

With the help of ICPS, three small, black towns in Maryland are adding full-time administrators to help

their local governments.

A \$35,000 grant from HUD was announced in September to Glenarden, Fairmount Heights and Seat Pleasant, Md., all in Prince George's County near Washington, D.C. The money will be channeled through the Maryland Community Development Administration, which will also provide staff assistance to the mayors of the three towns. Cash value of this assistance, provided to match the HUD grant, will bring the total project to \$52,500.

All three towns have lacked many services and facilities. Many streets lack sidewalks in some areas, some homes are without sewer facilities and storm sewers are non-existent. All have part-time black mayors.

It is expected that the administrators will be able to devote part of their time to developing proposals with which to obtain federal and state aid.

The Education and Special Projects division is also helping James Lowry, mayor of Lincoln Heights, Ohio, to obtain a town administrator for similar purposes. The Lincoln Heights population of 8,500 makes it the largest all-black town in the country. But the town, adjoining Cinncinnati, has had a minimal tax base, making federal aid necessary.

ICPS WORKSHOPS

The ICPS has completed its series of workshops to acquaint local elected officials with federal housing and urban development programs, and is approaching the half-way point in a series dealing with minority business enterprise.

A three-day workshop in East Orange, N.J., October 12-14, was the last of four sessions held by JCPS and the National Urban Coalition under a contract with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Earlier sessions were held in Highland Park, Mich.; Monterey,

Calif., and Atlanta, Ga.

Of the 10 one-day seminars for elected officials on ways to develop minority-owned business, four have already been held. They were in Richmond, Va.; Atlanta; Jackson, Miss., and Kansas City, Mo. Remaining sessions are in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Detroit in lanuary; Houston and Chicago in February, and New York in March.

These sessions are funded by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in the U.S. Department of Commerce.

WHY VOTER REGISTRATION?

No matter what happens on Nov. 7, there will continue to be great opposition to voter registration laws, which many feel are outmoded, unworkable and discriminatory.

The stated purpose for maintaining such laws, rather than moving toward a universal registration system, is to prevent vote fraud. However, there is growing evidence that this concern might be overstated.

Additional evidence might be produced through a little-noticed section of the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act (PL 92-225), which provides funds for research on the administration of elections. Section 308(c) requires the U.S. Comptroller General to establish a national clearinghouse on election administration information. As part of this requirement, \$500,000 has been appropriated for research by individuals or organizations outside the Comptroller General's office on:

- "(1) The method of selection of, and the type of duties assigned to, officials and personnel working on boards of elections;
- "(2) practices relating to the registration of voters; and
 - "(3) voting and counting methods."

Voter registration laws are relatively recent in origin; most states passed them after 1900. The result, in almost all states, has been decreased voter participation. Limitations such as hours registration offices are open, location of such offices, discrimination or discouragement by elected officials, purging of voting rolls and the formal—some say formidable—act of registration itself, all serve to discourage participation by minorities and the poor even more than for other groups.

On October 23, 1972, the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project (VEP) charged that the system of registration is "unworkable, artiquated and discriminatory against various classes of citizens including minorities and poor people in general."

Said VEP Executive Director John Lewis: "Registration was a device concocted, as a means of keeping immigrants and minorities out of the political process."

Only one state, North Dakota, has no voter registration law. Actual voter participation in North Dakota since 1951 has been substantially higher than for the nation as a whole and election fraud has been virtually non-existent. Twelve other midwestern states require registration in larger cities, where black and minority populations tend to be concentrated, but not in suburban and rural areas.

In his 1971 study on registration laws, Professor Lloyd B. Omdahl of the University of North Dakota suggests that registration could just as well be abolished in large cities. Testifying before a U.S. Senate committee recently, elections expert Richard Scammon and Rep. Abner Mikva (D-III.) also proposed that voter registration requirements could be removed in many or all areas.

While much data already has been amassed to support abolition or modernization of registration laws, the Federal Election Campaign Act opens the door to further documentation. Clearly, research proposals pertaining to election participation by blacks and other minorities fall squarely under the purposes of the act.

Proposals should be sent to the Office of Federal Elections, General Accounting Office, 441 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

Inquiries regarding this subject may be sent to the JCPS research department.

Editor's Note: With this issue, the JCPS newsletter, Focus, inaugurates a new format and a monthly schedule. It will contain news and views of and for black and other minority elected officials and other community leaders, as well as reports on the activities of the JCPS itself. Focus, welcomes reader responses and solicits information on black political participation and especially on newly elected officials.



JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
SUITE 926 • WOODWARD BUILDING • 1426 H STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D C 20005 • (202) 638.4477 • 30 67



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