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FOCUS

OPERATION BIG VOTE

VOTE NOV. 4

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

"Why should I register?" "Why should I vote?" "What difference will it make?"

These questions persist among some of our citizens despite the fact that since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 black political influence has been substantial, sometimes decisive, in many areas of direct concern to blacks. Admittedly, not all our hopes and aspirations have been fulfilled. But this does not negate the fact that blacks have exerted enormous political influence in getting and protecting programs which benefit them and other minorities. Moreover, their clout has helped to minimize the erosion of past civil rights gains in a national climate of economic belt-tightening, neo-conservatism, and balance-the-budget mania.

Yet some citizens remain skeptical about their individual and collective political influence, and they deserve answers to their questions. The problem, of course, is that the answers are not always easy to articulate and make relevant, even when they are crystal clear in our own minds.

At least two kinds of answers may be necessary. One deals with how to recognize a political benefit when we see one, and the other with practical realities in the American political system.

There is a traditional and perhaps uniquely American connection between political participation and the distribution of public benefits. Therefore, given the special attention that blacks have devoted to political empowerment over the past two decades, it is only reasonable that their attention is turning more and more to such economic benefits as jobs, business opportunities, and social programs with dollar pay-outs or direct contributions to an improved quality of life.

When some folks look for these benefits, or political rewards, what they really have in mind is their personal gain. Not only is this fair, but it is clear that a great many blacks do indeed reap personal gains from the political process. However, there is a bigger picture that is relevant here. Quite often the response to political influence comes in program packages which are intended for more than one group although one group may have been more active than others in pushing for these programs. Thus, blacks may see some of their self interests fulfilled in jobs programs, aid to cities, minority business opportunities, affirmative action regulations, etc., although others benefit as well.

Quite often, however, by the time these big packages wind their way through the various federal, state and local bureaucracies, they lose some of their original intent. The competition for federal funds is intense and becomes increasingly so in the face of growing pressures to stabilize or reduce spending. This competition is the essence of American politics and is something with which minorities must cope in order to ensure for themselves an equitable share of public benefits.

This is why it is so important for blacks and other minorities to exert political influence not just at the White House or congressional level, but at the state and local level as well. Only by exerting such influence is there a real chance that what was originally intended for us eventually arrives in a recognizable and acceptable form.

Regardless of how such benefits arrive, the fact that they were packaged at all is, in a sense, at least partial fulfillment of political promise. The effectiveness with which the benefits are delivered is, to a great extent, directly related to blacks' effectiveness as participants in the political process at all levels.

Political effectiveness begins with the understanding of some basic political realities. Let's look at some of them in relation to the November 4 elections:

1. Former U.S. Senator Edward Brooke often emphasized this political fact: "Political power and public office have been the keys which opened the doors of opportunity for various groups in America since the founding of our country. What is new in our day, however, is the use of political power and public office in pursuing the hopes and aspirations of black people."

2. In one way or another, the political process affects our lives from birth to death. Some even say from conception to resurrection!

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Highlights of the Anderson/Lucey Platform

On August 30, John Anderson, the independent candidate for President of the United States and his running mate, Patrick J. Lucey, released their equivalent of the platforms presented by the Democratic and Republican parties. (The latter platforms were reviewed in the August issue of Focus.) The document comes in two parts. A "short" version, entitled "Rebuilding a Society that Works: An Agenda for America," is 49 pages long. The "long" version, called "The Program of the Anderson/Lucey National Unity Campaign," is a 317-page document.

The Anderson Platform differs from those of the two major parties in a number of ways, including the process by which it was developed. Since there was no party apparatus in existence, there were no public hearings or debates on the drafts. Instead, the document was put together over the last four months by a team of more than a dozen Anderson aides and advisors in consultation with academicians, environmentalists, economists, foreign policy specialists, industrialists and other experts. Anderson and Lucey describe their platform as a "personal commitment . . . a contract with the American people."

In their introduction to the document, the independent candidates try to draw another distinction between their platform and those of the Republican and Democratic parties: "Too often party platforms are ignored by the candidates after the election and even during the campaign. . . . There is no ambiguity about our commitment to our platform. It's ours, we mean every word of it and we'll stand by it, during and after the national campaign."

Asserting that a comparison of the independents' platform with those of the major parties "risks over-simplification", the *New York Times* nonetheless describes the Anderson/Lucey document as ". . . somewhat more conservative than the Democratic equivalent on social programs—lower spending and less government involvement—and more liberal than the Republican version—firmer on individual rights, energy, and the environment." Or, as the *Congressional Quarterly* commented, the Anderson platform closely reflects the candidate's political philosophy "of wearing his wallet on the right and his heart on the left."

Following is a summary of some of the specific policies and programs discussed in the platform, which may be of particular interest to blacks.

I. **Economic Vitality**

The emphasis in the area of economic policies is to "resist appeals for either large scale spending increases or massive tax cuts". Among the major planks are those calling for:

Opposition to mandatory wage and price standards and construction of a Wage Price Incentives Program; reaffirmation of the goals of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act; special attention to be devoted to problems of youth (particularly minority youth unemployment, inc'uding enactment of proposed Youth Act of 1980, increased funding for youth career intern programs, and a youth opportunity wage incentive that would exempt eligible youths and employers from Social Security taxes during the first months of employment); opposition to the Kemp-Roth bill and to any tax cuts until the federal budget is balanced; the enactment of a 50 cents a gallon tax on gasoline with revenues to be used to offset social security taxes, and increase social security benefits; an energy program which provides for both conservation and development of alternative fuel resources, and which recognizes the adverse effect of high oil and gas prices on low-income families and which supports "continued federal financial aid" to help the poor.

II. **Meeting Human Needs**

The underlying assumption of this section can be summarized by Anderson's statement: "Let us never again be told that we can govern ourselves without making hard choices." Among the issues covered in this section are the following:

Urban Policies: Support for increased federal involvement to deal with "unmet needs" in the cities; for block grants and general revenue sharing programs; for "enterprise zones"; for enactment of Fair Housing Legislation; and for implementation, where appropriate, of the recommendations of the National Commission on Neighborhoods. Creation of an Urban Reinvestment Trust Fund to assist distressed cities in rehabilitating and replacing their capital stock, to be paid for by increased taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

Health and Welfare: Opposition to comprehensive, national health insurance "at this time." Support for an effort to "rationalize the welfare system" including elimination of discrimination against two-parent families.

Education: Support for the Department of Education; for Title I grants and the Headstart Program; for "intelligently devised busing plans" to achieve integration; and for continued support of black colleges and universities; Opposition to tuition tax credits for private education.

Civil Rights: "A just and progressive civil rights policy must be founded not only upon the enactment and enforcement of civil rights legislation, but must also be founded upon an economic policy that provides opportunities for employment and advancement." In support of this statement this section of the p'atform reiterates the various proposals included in other parts of the document which affect the employment status and welfare of minorities. In addition, the document proposes "a strong initiative in the field of minority business . . . as the best way in which minority groups can gain their deserved share of the American economy." It also includes:

Support for strong enforcement of the equal protection clause through affirmative action programs and for "using threat of terminating federal funds to offending institutions and municipalities." Support for ratification of the D.C. voting rights amendment and of the Equal Rights Amendment. Opposition to a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortions and support for federal funding for abortions.

Police Community Relations: The candidates

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OBV Gears Up for Voter Registration

by Eddie N. Williams

(Mr. Williams is Chairman of the Steering Committee of OBV)

Operation Big Vote is off to a good start and is picking up steam in its 50 target areas (see below). Given its twin goals of stemming the tide of political apathy among blacks and at the same time increasing voter participation, Operation Big Vote is in somewhat the same position as the fabled little red train engine. Confronted by an incline that seemed too steep to climb, the little engine made up its mind to try anyway, and it puffed and chugged away, saying: "I think I can. I think I can." And it did climb the hill.

The problem for Operation Big Vote is neither fable nor fiction. It is real. The election is just a few weeks away. Voter registration ends in most states on or before October 6. Some observers suggest that blacks are especially turned off by the race for the presidency and that their turnout rate on November 4 might be at an all-time low. Therefore, the road ahead of OBV and others involved in voter education, registration, and mobilization is both rocky and steep. However, a spirit of "I think I can" motivates them to operate full throttle in their efforts to increase black voter participation.

These efforts were given a couple of strong boosts in September. National Urban League President Vernon Jordan, upon his release from the hospital, placed voter participation at the top of the list of black priorities for this fall. Jordan, who once headed the Voter Education Project in the South, is one of the founders of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation which sponsors the Operation Big Vote Crusade.

Also in September, many of the nation's most influential black religious leaders threw their support behind OBV. On September 3, the Rev. Ralph W. Canty, newly elected president of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., pledged an all-out mobilization of 1.5 million church members in support of the nonpartisan black voters crusade. Both the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., headed by Dr. J. H. Jackson, and the National Baptist Convention of America, headed by Dr. James C. Sams, also pledged support to Operation Big Vote during their annual meeting in Birmingham and San Francisco, respectively.

Support also came from prominent recording artists, including: Gladys Knight, Rodney Franklin, the Isley Brothers, The Manhattans, Jerry Butler, B. T. Express, Sarah Dash, Marilyn McCoo, Billy Davis, Jr., Cheryl Lynn, and D. J. Rogers, all with CBS Records; and Stephanie Mills, Lakeside, Leon Silvers, Dynasty, and the Whispers, all with RCA.

They have recorded OBV public service announcements which will be broadcast by radio stations throughout the country. This phase of the OBV media campaign is being coordinated by LeBaron Taylor, Vice President of CBS Records and President of the Black Music Association. The Black Music Association is one of the 85 organizations which comprise the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. It also is supported by the Sheridan Broadcasting Network and the National Black Network.

The objective of all of these efforts is to persuade the nation's 17 million eligible black voters to register and to vote as a means of making their voices heard and their influence felt. In the 50 Operation Big Vote target areas, the goal is to increase voter registration by at least 20 percent and to ensure that at least 75 percent of all registered voters go to the polls on election day.

Nationally, black leaders are hoping that at least 10 million black votes will be cast, about three million more than in 1976. To achieve this goal, 66 percent of all eligible black voters would have to register and 58 percent of them would have to vote. These are the same levels of participation achieved by blacks in 1968, when a record number of voters participated in the election. Today there are six million more eligible black voters than there were in 1968 and almost two million more than in 1976.

The goal of a big black vote in 1980 is easier to articulate than to accomplish. That is why Operation Big Vote and numerous organizations, representing a cross-section of black America, are hammering away—through words and programs—at the imperative need for their constituents and friends to register and vote and to believe that "together, we can make a difference."

What is at stake, of course, is more than the presidency. Numerous congressional, state, and local elections also will be decided on November 4. Like the presidency, these offices also have the power to affect the lives and livelihood of American citizens. In many instances their impact is both more immediate and more direct.

Also at stake are the political lives of many black candidates, including quite a few of the 4,800 black elected officials who hold office today.

In all of these races voters will be looking at the quality of the candidates and what they can reasonably be expected to accomplish. Of special importance will be the candidates' stands on issues of special concern to blacks and other historically disadvantaged Americans. (See Perspective).

The nonpartisan Operation Big Vote coalitions and convenors (see below) will help to facilitate this process of voter education, registration, and mobilization. In areas where OBV is not operational, local leaders and organizations are urged to initiate voter participation campaigns. To facilitate such efforts, the Joint Center for Political Studies and the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation have published a handbook on "How to Organize and Implement A Successful Nonpartisan Voter Participation Campaign." (See this issue of FOCUS).

For more information about this publication or Operation Big Vote, contact the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Suite 539, 733 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, or call 202-638-4477.

Following are lists of National Coalition on Black Voter Participation member organizations and OBV convenors.

Operation Big Vote Convenors

ALABAMA
Birmingham:
Louis Spratt, Chairman, Jefferson County Citizens Coalition
Mobile:
Michael Figures, State Senator
Montgomery:
Rev. W. L. Burton, Vice President, NAACP

ARKANSAS
Little Rock:
T. E. Patterson, President, Arkansas Black Caucus
Pine Bluff:
Vanette Johnson, Regional Vice President, Arkansas Black Caucus

CALIFORNIA
Alameda County:
Henry Mozell, Executive Director, Oakland/Alameda County Consumer Council
Compton:
Esther Jackson, Coordinator, Project 31/80
Los Angeles:
William Elkins, Special Assistant to the Mayor
John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., President, The Gathering
San Francisco:
Rev. Cecil Williams, Black Political Association of California

CONNECTICUT
Bridgeport/Stamford:
James L. Griffin, Field Representative, Recruitment & Training Project (Bridgeport)
Gilbert D. Rozier, Executive Director, Urban League of Southwestern Fairfield County (Stamford)
Hartford:
Thomas Wright, President, NAACP
New Haven:
Ed White, President, NAACP

FLORIDA
Jacksonville:
James Genwright, Florida State Voters' League, Inc.
Rev. R. B. Holmes, Jr., President, Operation R.E.S.P.E.C.T.
Miami:
Marcia Saunders, Executive Director, Dade County Office of Black Affairs
Orlando:
John Piner, Florida State Voters' League
St. Petersburg/Tampa:
Sylvia L. Bryant, Florida State Voters' League (St. Petersburg)
Gussie Livingston, Florida State Voters' League (Tampa)
Loretha Gilley, Florida State Voters' League (Tampa)

ILLINOIS
Chicago:
Don Watanabe, Director of Social Services, Urban League of Chicago
Rev. Frank Watkins, Press Secretary, Operation P.U.S.H.

INDIANA
Gary:
Ronald S. Sullivan, Office of the Mayor
Indianapolis:
Homer E. Smith, Chairman, NAACP State Political Action

MICHIGAN
Flint/Saginaw/Wayne County:
Marc Stepp, Vice President, United Auto Workers

MISSISSIPPI
Jackson:
Malcolm Sheppard, Project Director, Jackson Urban League

NEW JERSEY
Camden:
James H. Ricks, Executive Director, Camden Urban League
Trenton:
Ken Faulker, New Jersey Voter Education Corporation

NEW YORK
Albany:
Nebraska Brace, The Black and Hispanic Political Caucus of the Albany Area, Inc.
Buffalo:
Rufus Frazier, NAACP
New York City:
Sydney S. Moshette, Jr., Executive Director, Reality House, Inc.
Rochester:
Beverly Jackson, Division Manager, Rochester Urban League
Syracuse:
Al McGilberry, Chairman, Civic Coordinating Caucus

OHIO
Dayton:
Nan Guch, NAACP

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia:
Hollis T. Miller, Director, Voter Registration/Education Project| Urban Coalition

VIRGINIA
Richmond/Tidewater Area:
Michael Brown, Coordinator, Field/Branch Activities, NAACP State Conference

(Partial listing as of September 12, 1980)

National Coalition on Black Voter Participation

Member Organizations

African Methodist Episcopal Church
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
American Association of MESBICS
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
American Women's Clergy Association
A. Philip Randolph Institute
Auxiliary to the National Medical Association
Black American Law Students Association
Black Leadership Forum
Black Media, Inc.
Black Music Association
Blacks in Government
The Black Women's Agenda
Chi Eta Phi Sorority, Inc.
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
The Chums, Inc.
Church of God in Christ
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
The Congress of National Black Churches
Congressional Black Caucus
Continental Societies, Inc.
Council of 100
Delta Sigma Theta, Inc.
Democratic National Committee
Federation of Masons of the World
Frontiers International, Inc.
Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World

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Mayors Join in Call for Presidential Debate

The U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM) has joined the Joint Center for Political Studies and *Black Enterprise* Magazine in calling for a special presidential debate this fall on issues of concern to minorities and other urban dwellers.

On September 9, USCM President Richard G. Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Indiana, invited Democratic President Jimmy Carter, Republican Ronald Reagan, and Independent John Anderson "to participate in a debate on critical urban issues for the 1980's, with special emphasis on issues that are of vital and direct concern to blacks and other historically disadvantaged minorities."

Hatcher indicated that the U.S. Conference of Mayors not only supported the invitation previously extended by JCPS and *Black Enterprise* Magazine but was joining these groups "as a co-sponsor in a broadened debate format."

On August 1, the Joint Center for Political Studies and *Black Enterprise* Magazine invited President Carter and former Governor Reagan to participate in a special presidential debate on "critical issues that are of direct and vital concern to blacks and other historically disadvantaged minorities."

This invitation received strong support in both the Republican and Democratic camps where, we were told, it was taken under "active consideration." However, at the time the U.S. Conference of Mayors agreed to be a co-sponsor, the invitation had neither been accepted nor rejected.

As the presidential debates themselves became a major debate issue in the 1980 presidential campaigns, some observers noted that the call for a debate on black issues was considered by both Carter and Reagan as too hot to reject and too hot to accept. Thus, they accused the candidates of using a delaying tactic of taking the invitation under "active consideration." Meanwhile, Anderson's staff suggested that if invited, their candidate would accept. He has now been invited.

Also on September 9, Howard University President James E. Cheek invited the major presidential contenders to hold one of their debates on the University campus. "For over 113 years, Howard University has represented the epitome of academic excellence to blacks of every walk of life in America," Dr. Cheek told the candidates. "Black Americans have a greater stake in this election than at any other time in recent history."

"I am certain that the selection of Howard University as the site of a debate between the presidential candidates would engender a great deal of interest within America's black community."

The specific proposal now in the hands of the three major presidential candidates calls for a debate that "would be a one-time event held after the first presidential debate."

Mayor Hatcher, speaking on behalf of the Joint Center, *Black Enterprise* Magazine, and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, stated: "This special debate on urban and minority issues will serve a purpose the general presidential debates cannot. It will give urban residents, 70 percent of the American people —including most minorities, a chance for real exposure to the views of the candidates on issues which most affect their lives. We believe this could be a significant factor in encouraging greater interest in this election and in increasing voter turnout in November."

Black Voter Participation Members

(Continued from page 5)

International Association of Machinists and and Aerospace Workers
Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc.
Joint Center for Political Studies
The Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc.
Las Amigas, Inc.
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
The Links, Inc.
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change
Minority Trucking—Transportation Development Corp.
National Alliance of Black School Educators
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Black County Officials
National Association of Black Manufacturers
National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters
National Association of Black Women Attorneys, Inc.
National Association of Black Women Legislators
National Association of Media Women
National Association of Minority CPA Firms
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women, Inc.
National Bankers Association
National Baptist Convention of America
National Baptist Convention—U.S.A., Inc.
National Bar Association
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
National Black Caucus of State Legislators
National Black Legislative Clearinghouse
National Black Political Assembly
National Black Republican Council
National Caucus of Black School Board Members
National Center for the Black Aged
National Conference of Black Mayors
National Coalition of Black Gays
National Council for Black Child Development
National Council of Negro Women
National Education Association
National Hook-Up of Black Women
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Office for Black Catholics
National Opportunities Industrialization Center Clergy Council
National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives
National Urban Coalition
National Urban League
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc.
Operation P.U.S.H.
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.
Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.
Republican National Committee
Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
United Auto Workers
United Negro College Fund
Voter Education Project
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.

(Current as of September 12, 1980)

Telescope

Alabama Gets One Black Federal Judge and a New Black Candidate for State Senate

U. W. Clemons, a former Alabama state senator from Birmingham, recently became the first black federal judge in Alabama in modern times. His appointment not only represents a victory for civil rights organizations that fought for his confirmation, but it also leaves open his seat on the Alabama Senate to be filled by another black.

Clemons and Tuskegee civil rights lawyer Fred D. Gray were both nominated by President Carter to federal judgeships. But the American Bar Association charged that both men were "unqualified" and testified against them at Senate confirmation hearings last spring. The principle objection to Clemons was that he filed his income tax returns late and was late in paying income taxes. The ABA claimed that Gray provided incompetent legal services and was negligent in two industrial bond issues that turned out to be fradulent. Civil rights organizations came to the defense of both men, testifying that Alabama's white judges were never held to the stringent standards put forward for Clemons and Gray and charging that the ABA objections to both men were based on their history as civil rights lawyers.

Both men played significant roles in desegregating Alabama. Gray was, in fact, the lawyer who represented Rosa L. Parks whose refusal to give up her bus seat sparked the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. He was also a lawyer for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

While the Senate unanimously confirmed Clemon's appointment, Gray's appointment has not been confirmed. U.S. Senator Howell T. Heflin (D-Ala.), who had supported Gray's nomination, has now officially withdrawn his support. Heflin has submitted the names of two other blacks for that judgeship; Myron Thompson, the 33-year-old first black assistant attorney general of Alabama, and 45-year-old Jay Mason Davis, a civil rights lawyer.

Clemons, whose appointment makes him the first black federal judge in Alabama since Reconstruction, enjoyed a reputation as an eloquent and forceful speaker in the Alabama Senate.

His seat will be filled by Earl Hilliard, a 38-year-old Birmingham attorney and state representative who will be unopposed in the November elections. Hilliard won the September 2nd Democratic primary in the 15th senatorial district, defeating two other blacks, A. L. Harrison, a state representative, and Dr. Thomas Alexander, a physician.

JCP Publishes Handbook on Voter Participation

Increasing black voter participation requires more than good intentions. It requires a master plan, good organization, systematic implementation, and lots of hard work. These requirements are spelled out in detail in a new Joint Center publication entitled "How to Organize and Implement a Successful Nonpartisan Voter Participation Campaign."

This handbook was prepared by Joint Center staff for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, sponsor of the nonpartisan Operation Big Vote crusade. This year Operation Big Vote programs are being conducted in 50 target areas in 17 states. (See this issue of Focus.)

The new handbook, designed for use by local groups and organizers, is divided into four sections:

1. How to organize and implement a successful nonpartisan voter participation campaign;
2. Operation Big Vote and How it Works·
3. How to build successful coalitions; and
4. Appendices containing information on the black vote, youth mobilization, absentee voting, Internal Revenue Service regulations, and references to other books on voter education, registration, and mobilization.

"How to Organize and Implement a Successful Nonpartisan Voter Participation Campaign" was designed to meet the needs of nonpartisan organizations. The handbook points out that "Historically, black institutions, notably churches, schools, and national and community organizations, have provided much of the leadership for black causes. These are mainly tax-exempt organizations which are subject to the nonpartisan provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. These organizations . . . can and should be actively involved in citizen education, political consciousness-raising, and citizen participation. This is what a nonpartisan voter campaign is all about, and its success, in large measure, will be determined by a commitment to work year in and year out and not just at election time."

The handbook sells for $5.00 per copy and may be obtained by writing to the Office of Publications, Joint Center for Political Studies.

HELP

The research department of the Joint Center is looking for networkers for the 1980 JCPS Election Study.

The study is a two-phase national probability sample of black voters in 25 states and the District of Columbia. The first phase of the study focuses on voting patterns of blacks who live in precincts that are 90 percent or more black. The second phase is a cross-sectional survey of all blacks who vote on election day.

Networkers are needed to phone in voting totals in sample precincts on election night. A partial listing of sample cities include: New York City, Buffalo, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, Oakland, Chicago, Houston, Dallas, Atlanta, Miami, Charlotte (N.C.), Detroit, Flint, New Orleans, Shreveport, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Richmond, Newark, Baltimore, Birmingham, Montgomery, Columbia (S.C.), Jackson, Memphis, St. Louis, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Little Rock, Louisville, (Ky), Boston, New Haven, Hartford, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and the District of Columbia.

If you are interested in serving as a networker, please contact: the research department of the Joint Center.

Perspective

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3. Under these circumstances, and they can be localized and particularized by every citizen, it makes sense to want to do everything possible to elect officials whose philosophies, programs and personalities are most in harmony with our own. By the same token, it makes sense to defeat those candidates who are out of sync with our hopes and aspirations.

4. Since in every election somebody wins and somebody loses, our self-interests are best served when the candidates we favor win and the ones we oppose lose.

5. The only way to make sure this happens, of course, is to amass as many votes as possible for the candidates, who despite any shortcomings they may have, appear to be the best choices for us at the time. If enough voters feel the same way about a candidate, a winner emerges and the basis is established for making demands on that person. This is why the expression, "together, we can make a difference," is especially relevant.

6. In addition to the presidency, numerous congressional, state, and local offices are at stake this fall, and they, too, have enormous influence over our lives and livelihood. We should examine these candidates in the same way we examine the presidential contenders: of all the choices available in every race, which one, despite any shortcomings, appears to be most in line with our thinking?

7. Even before the votes are cast and counted on November 4, a high level of voter registration will increase the pressure on candidates to try to be responsive to black concerns. Political apathy and low registration virtually guarantee that these concerns will be ignored or finessed.

These are some of the factors which ought to be taken into consideration as we try to satisfy ourselves that massive political participation can make a difference and as we prepare to make important and sometimes difficult choices between candidates.

Yet another political reality must be considered. It is that political participation does not always guarantee that all of our needs will be met immediately or in the future. This is true for everybody. What it does guarantee, however, is that so long as we keep a foot in the door of politics the door will not be slammed shut in our faces. Thus, political participation is every bit as much an investment in the future as it is a means of getting a quick political fix.

Toward this end, there is a role for all 17 million eligible black voters to play this year in the continuing struggle for equal justice and equal opportunity. That role, in 1980 and in years to come, is to add a single voice and a single vote to the chorus which says: "We shall overcome."

Eddie N. Williams
President

Highlights of the Anderson/Lucey Platform

(Continued from Page 3)

would authorize the Attorney General "to take civil action against offending government and police departments so as to eliminate proven patterns and practices of misconduct in those departments."

III. **Security Policy**

The candidates propose to attain and preserve "essential equivalents with the Soviet Union" in military capacity, support international control agreements and call for an immediate ratification of the SALT II treaty. The platform calls South Africa's apartheid policies "an affront to human decency" and pledges an Anderson administration to increasing pressure on South Africa.

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