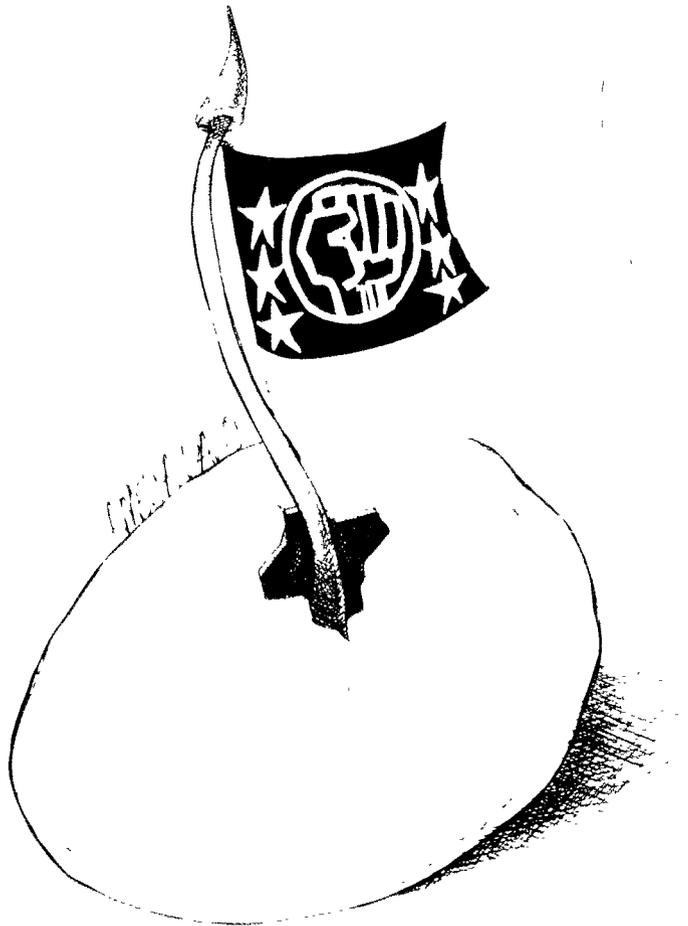


# FOCUS

**The making of more black mayors**

**Black Political Assembly:  
Birth of a new force?**



# Perspective

**ANNIVERSARY DATES** are convenient times for reviewing the past and projecting into the future. So, on this first anniversary of *Focus*, the Joint Center's monthly newsletter, we are in a mood for summing up.

So much has happened during the past 12 months, one hardly knows where to begin. Certainly the constitutional, ethical, and political questions raised by all of the crises that have come to be known as "Watergate" are stinging in our minds.

Watergate is not a problem of blacks' making, but surely it is one which has negative implications for black progress. It is eroding confidence in government and in those who govern at the very time our principal civil rights thrust is toward greater political participation. It is using up valuable time needed to pursue the black agenda, and its ugly headlines constantly move our agenda to the bottom of the nation's priorities. Perhaps its most frightening impact is its paralyzing effect on many federal programs—often programs which would benefit the disadvantaged.

While the shocks of Watergate are unsettling indeed, it is encouraging to note that during the past year there have been impressive gains in black political participation—in winning public office, influencing elections, and shaping policies at the local level. Mayoral victories in Los Angeles, Atlanta, Detroit and Raleigh captured national headlines, but one can also point to black political control of the city council of Petersburg, Virginia, and to the strong bids by blacks to become mayors of such cities as Lansing, Mich., Durham, N.C., and Plainfield, N.J.

Surely the present crisis will pass. It must. However, in Watergate's wake, we are likely to see more federal program decentralization, more powers given to state and local governments, and a continuation of a conservative administration philosophy which impedes the rate of black progress.

**IN SUCH** an atmosphere, a strategy of decentralized politics is indicated. A strategy of coalition-building is imperative. The Congressional Black Caucus, the Black Legislative Clearinghouse, and the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials (NBC/LEO) are among the national organizations which must play a key role in formulating and implementing these strategies.

NBC/LEO, the largest and perhaps youngest of these organizations (see October *Focus*), is a national umbrella for the nation's black mayors and its nearly 1200 other black local elected officials. Its uniqueness lies not only in its large and diverse membership base, but also in its formal and informal links with the Joint Center, the National League of Cities (which Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley takes over next month), and the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

In large part the strength and success of NBC/LEO derives from the increasing number of black mayors (JCPS projects over 100 by 1974) who bring to the organization wisdom, experience, skill and broad perspectives on the needs of the nation's cities. Without them as active participants, the four-year investment of time and energy in NBC/LEO by a great many individuals and organizations will have been lost.

And so the year ahead offers many challenges and many opportunities. The die has been cast; blacks will aspire to public office in increasing numbers; the black electorate will speak out more and more on issues confronting them; the thrust will be toward "free floating coalitions." The greatest threats to these efforts lie within our own ranks: the inclination to splinter our organizations; apathy, and ego-tripping. Eradicate these potential threats, and the black political movement will show itself as a united cause which must be reckoned with.

**Eddie N. Williams**  
President

## FOCUS

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# Ford's civil rights record examined

*Editor's note: The President's nomination of Rep. Gerald R. Ford Jr. (R-Mich.) to succeed Spiro Agnew as vice president of the United States prompted Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington office of the NAACP, to examine Ford's record on civil rights legislation. Following are extracts from Mitchell's report:*

... On civil rights matters the conservative influence [on Ford] has been demonstrated by his consistent support for weakening amendments to civil rights bills. He has also been a supporter of anti-busing legislation. In most instances when the weakening amendments were defeated and the bill was up for final passage he would vote for final passage. This, as we know, is a standard procedure of some legislators on civil rights matters. They do what they can to weaken a bill, but when they are frustrated in these attempts they vote for final passage and assert that they are "for civil rights."

Perhaps the best evidence of Ford's fidelity to the narrow approach on civil rights of the Nixon administration came in 1969. At that time the NAACP and other organizations were waging a major fight to prevent administration emasculatation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Normally the administration would have gotten the ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee to introduce its bill. Rep. William McCulloch (R-Ohio) was the ranking member, but he refused to support the administration. Instead, he joined with Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) and the chairman of the committee in reporting an extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act's key provisions which (1) ban literacy tests in areas with long histories of discrimination in registration and voting and, (2) prevent states and localities from putting restrictive registration and voting legislation into effect without prior clearance with the attorney general of the United States or seeking a declaratory judgment in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Rep. Ford offered the Nixon proposal to emasculate the Voting Rights Act as a substitute on the floor. The Ford substitute won by a Teller vote (non-record at that time), 189 to 165. Later, on a roll call vote, the Ford version again won, 208 to 203. We were able to defeat the administration version in the Senate. Thereafter, the House accepted the Senate bill. The House first voted to accept the Senate bill, 224 to 183. This was the crucial test. Representative Ford voted against acceptance of the Senate bill. The House then passed the bill, 272 to 132. Mr. Ford voted for passage.

With this kind of background, I would assume that Mr. Ford will carry out administration policies in whatever small ways a vice president can do this, and I would also assume that he will maintain a good liaison for the White House with the conservative Republicans and perhaps a few middle-of-the-road Democrats and Republicans. I do not expect that he will have much influence on liberal members of either party in influencing them to take administration positions on civil rights matters . . . .

A summary of his voting record follows. (Ford was first elected to the 81st Congress in 1948 and has been re-elected every term since then.)

**92nd Congress:** On November 4, 1971, Congressman William Broomfield (R-Mich.) offered an amendment to the Education bill (S. 659) to postpone the effective date of any court order requiring busing for school desegregation until all legal appeals are exhausted. This would have permitted school boards to engage in delay indefinitely. This amendment was adopted by a vote of 235 to 125. Mr. Ford voted FOR the amendment.

Another amendment was offered on November 4, 1971, by Congressman John Ashbrook (R-Ohio), which would prohibit the expenditure of federal funds in any program administered by the Commissioner of Education for transportation or the purchase of equipment for transportation in order to overcome racial imbalance or achieve racial desegregation. This was adopted by a vote of 233 to 124. The NAACP was against this amendment. Mr. Ford voted FOR this amendment.

On August 17-18 the House considered H.R. 13915, a so-called Equal Educational Opportunities Act, which is really a vicious piece of legislation designed to halt transportation of children to integrated public schools. By a 245 to 141 teller vote on August 17, the House adopted an amendment offered by Representative Edith Green (D-Ore.), to allow the reopening of cases involving court orders or Department of Health, Education and Welfare plans for busing in order to bring them into compliance with the act. The NAACP was against the amendment. Mr. Ford voted FOR the amendment.

Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to H.R. 13915 which provided that, "Nothing in this Act is intended to be inconsistent with or violative of any provision of the Constitution." This was defeated by a 178 to 197 recorded teller vote on August 17, 1972. The NAACP was for this amendment. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST this amendment.

The House passed H.R. 13915 by a vote of 282 to 102 on August 18, 1972. The NAACP was against the bill. Mr. Ford voted FOR H.R. 13915.

**93rd Congress:** The highlights of congressional action so far during this session include passage of H.R. 7935, increasing the minimum wage and extending coverage to six million additional workers. The additional workers include domestics who do not live in the household in which they work. Workers covered by the minimum wage law prior to 1966 will be paid \$2.00 per hour upon enactment of the law and \$2.20 per hour beginning July 1, 1974. In various stages, workers covered since 1966 will have their wages increased with the figure of \$2.20 being paid in the fourth year after enactment of the law. This bill was passed by the Senate and vetoed by the President. Mr. Ford led the fight to support the veto.

By a vote of 218 to 199 on June 6, 1973, the House defeated a substitute bill (which would have excluded domestic workers, among other things) offered by Representative John Erlenborn (R-Ill.) to the minimum wage bill. Mr. Ford voted FOR the Erlenborn substitute.

On June 26, 1973, by a vote of 347 to 58, the House passed H.R. 8877, the Labor-HEW appropriations bill, which contained funds which would continue Community Action programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity through June 30, 1974. (Under administration plans, this program would have been terminated by June 30, 1973.) Mr. Ford voted AGAINST this bill.

Also on June 26, Congressman Michel (R-Ill.) offered an amendment to H.R. 8877 to cut OEO funds which was rejected by a vote of 213 to 186. Mr. Ford voted FOR cutting OEO funds.

Again, on June 26, an amendment was offered to cut OEO funds from H.R. 8877. This amendment offered by Congressman Baker (R-Tenn.) was defeated by a vote of 288 to 110. Mr. Ford voted FOR cutting OEO funds.

# Black Political Assembly: Birth of a new force

**IN MARCH OF 1972** over 8,000 black people convened in Gary, Indiana, to discuss national black political strategy and to develop a black agenda. The 4,267 official delegates to the National Black Political Convention were hailed as one of the most diverse gatherings of black people in the history of the nation.

The convention created a structure called the National Black Political Assembly which was "to continue permanently after the convention." It was to develop a new black politics and organize the national black community for implementation of Gary's "National Black Political Agenda." The assembly would be composed of 427 delegates, 10 per cent of those at the convention.

The assembly was created to conduct the business of the convention, to endorse and support candidates for elective office, to conduct national voter education and registration programs, to lobby for black interests, to assess black progress and to make recommendations to the convention and the black community at large. It was also to be the primary power broker in dealing with white political institutions and establishing relationships with black people around the world.

The steering committee of the assembly, called the National Black Political Council, is composed of 51 broadly representative delegates selected from among assembly membership. Together with a three-man executive committee and a staff, the council is responsible for implementing assembly policies on a day-to-day basis. The council meets every other month, the assembly four times a year and the convention every two years.

The assembly and council were convened for their first meeting in late 1972. Since that time there have been three assembly and four council meetings. It is appropriate to inquire about the success of these two bodies in carrying out their mandate to expand upon the initiatives begun at Gary. A look at the highlights of their deliberations may provide some answers to this question.

**Chicago, October 1972**—Congressman Charles Diggs, Mayor Richard Hatcher and Newark community leader Imamu Baraka stressed at the first meeting of the assembly that the primary concern of that body was to develop mechanisms and strategies for the future economic and political empowerment of black people.

Congressman Diggs was voted president of the assembly; Hatcher, chairman of the council, and Baraka, secretary general. Functioning with equal status, they make up the executive committee. They were to select and have the assembly ratify ministers to head the 13 committees of the council: Political Empowerment, Economic Empowerment, Human Development, International Policy, Communications, Rural Development, Environmental Protection, Self-Determination for D.C., Permanent Site, Ways and Means, Armed Forces, Law and Justice, and Permanent Charter.

A wide range of resolutions were referred to the appropriate committees for further recommendations

and/or action. The delegates wanted to move quickly to establish some internal organizational momentum.

At the first National Black Political Council meeting the following day, there was further discussion of the council's functions and its committees. The council would serve as the continuous administrative arm of the assembly and convention. It would hire staff, draft agendas for the other two bodies and transmit policy recommendations to them.

**Atlanta, December 1972**—At the second meeting of the council, the list of committee volunteers and candidates for ministers was presented so the delegates could recommend additional names or offer objections.

It was decided that the Political Empowerment Committee would have co-ministers, one of whom would be a black elected official. There was discussion of possible conflicts between some black elected officials' commitment to their political party and to the black political agenda.

The Ways and Means Committee was instructed to explore fund raising ideas. It was reported that no national black organizations had responded to a letter asking whether they wished to associate with the body.

**Detroit, March 1973**—During the third meeting of the council, the roles of executive committee members were changed to permit the secretary general to select the ministers and supervise their activity as well as that of the staff, the council and the assembly.

The assembly met for the second time the next day and discussed the new roles for executive committee members, but assembly action was deferred pending a meeting among the three. Resolutions to endorse black candidates were debated but there was some confusion on exact procedures for taking this action. The Ways and Means Committee was to hold a fund raiser around each subsequent council and assembly meeting in conjunction with the chapter of the state in which the meeting would occur.

**San Diego, June 1973**—The fourth council meeting approved the names of the remaining ministers. The Political Empowerment Committee was instructed to analyze congressional districts to determine where a black candidate might have some success in running or where some influence could be had on the kind of white candidate elected.

As a device to help organize state chapters, seminars were planned for the next assembly meeting to discuss electoral politics and community organizing.

A committee was established to begin planning for the next National Black Political Convention in March of 1974. A preliminary report was to be presented at the next assembly meeting.

**Greenville, Mississippi, July 1973**—The third assembly meeting heard reports from the committees. Of particular note was the report from the Economic Empowerment Committee on plans to set up an African Common Market using state chapters as outlets for local and imported products. A voter registration drive was planned in ten major cities by the Political Empowerment Committee.

The Law and Justice Committee submitted written reports of public hearings held on incidents involving violence against blacks, including the deaths of students at Southern University. The law and justice section of the Gary agenda was also sent to all black elected officials and they were urged to develop local laws which related to those recommendations.

Approval was given to a plan to set up a "Committee to Coordinate the '74 Convention" which would attempt at the national and local levels to involve all significant national black organizations in the convention. The agenda of the 1974 convention will be devoted heavily to seminars and workshops on electoral politics, campaign organization, political party structure, community organization and state chapter organization.

The "Charter of Organization for the National Black Political Convention" which describes the purpose, function, authority and organization of the Convention, Assembly and Council was approved.

**AS THE HIGHLIGHTS INDICATE**, much has occurred in the 18 months since the historic convention in Gary, Indiana. While it is still too early to assess clearly what the future holds, it is possible to examine some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Assembly and Council.

On the positive side, the seriousness of those involved in this effort is reflected in the heavy commitment of time and money, at obvious sacrifice in the difficult job of organizing meetings of the two bodies and keeping the delegates informed.

While the participants in the assembly and council meeting tended increasingly to lose some of the diversity of those who attended the Gary convention, they were still of sufficiently different backgrounds to make the accomplishments of the meetings impressive.

Finally, in Congressman Charles Diggs, Mayor Richard Hatcher and Imam Baraka, the structures have had three accomplished black political leaders to guide them during this period.

**ALONG WITH THE POSITIVE** aspects, there are a number of early problems, which, if not addressed at once, could pose a serious threat to the future of the council, the assembly and ultimately the convention. The first problem concerns the lack of involvement of black elected officials.

In the selection formula for both the 427-member assembly and the 51-member council, specific provisions are made for an equitable number of black elected officials from all states and regions. However, few black elected officials have attended the first several meetings.

This problem is the more critical because many observers feel that the Gary initiative can survive only if black elected officials are deeply and visibly involved in both bodies. Of all of the diverse elements brought together by the convention, elected officials have a proven constituency. By virtue of their offices, elected officials are also most likely to be in positions of power to materially advance the black agenda. They are also in unique positions to render invaluable assistance by

helping with organizational and practical political skills, black advancement in communities other than their own.

Also missing are representatives from the national civil rights and social action black organizations. Mechanisms were created for their inclusion in the assembly and council and they have also been petitioned repeatedly to send delegates. With two or three exceptions, however, they have not been present at the meetings.

The next problem concerns the involvement of black people at the local level with the assembly and the council. There have been repeated calls by delegates of the urgent need for state chapters to begin organizing their communities to expand their base of support. These delegates see the need to use such bases as channels of communication and involvement, bringing the needs of the people to the bodies and informing the people of the actions taken to deal with their needs.

As yet, neither body has really developed a detailed practical strategy of community organization to strengthen the local chapters and to insure the systematic forging of this vital link to the masses of black people.

**ANOTHER EARLY PROBLEM** concerns the need for establishing as quickly as possible more internal action procedures. Specific procedures are needed to determine what conditions must be present before the assembly will act and exactly how it will act in carrying out its mandate.

The key to generating much of this internal organization lies in obtaining the funds necessary to hire staff and set up a headquarters. While volunteers are now performing admirably, with the anticipated volume of work they will not long be able to substitute for a paid full-time staff. Although some fund raising ventures have been held and more are planned, there has been no discussion of actual staffing or headquarters costs.

Finally, the council and the assembly must move soon to develop some qualifications on the kinds of resolutions submitted for action. In the current absence of such standards, some resolutions have been submitted which relate only incidentally to the black agenda. Many, if really acted upon, would alienate many who would be members of the two bodies. Some of the resolutions would also dissipate a large amount of organizational time and energy to no avail because they are too far beyond the present political, economic or social power of the two bodies. With delegates coming from different communities with different perceptions of black needs, the task of determining criteria for the kinds of resolutions submitted will not be a simple one.

Very clearly, the problems discussed above are not insurmountable for an organization that is just beginning. Much will depend on what happens as the assembly and council move toward the next convention. That convention in March of 1974 may well determine the fate of this effort so nobly begun.

John Dean  
Director of Special Projects  
Joint Center for Political Studies

# The watchbirds are watching revenue sharing

**IF THE THOUSANDS** of local governments spending federal revenue sharing money get the feeling they're being watched, there's a reason: they are.

Extensive efforts to monitor general revenue sharing and to enforce the law and regulations have begun, particularly with respect to minority groups and the poor. A recent checklist of national organizations involved in revenue sharing activities prepared by the Center for National Policy Review in Washington lists 38 such organizations.

Most recently, a National Clearinghouse on Revenue Sharing has been established under the joint sponsorship of the National Urban Coalition, the League of Women Voters, the Center for Community Change, and the Center for National Policy Review. At the same time, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law has begun a revenue sharing litigation project to enforce the anti-discrimination requirements of the law and regulations.

The National Clearinghouse on Revenue Sharing, located at 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., is headed by Donald Lief. It has prepared a detailed survey questionnaire and will distribute it to interviewers throughout the country. The objective is to find how revenue sharing funds are being used, how decisions as to that use are being made, and how revenue sharing affects minority groups and the poor. Anyone with facts which would help in this monitoring effort should send them to the Clearinghouse at the above address.

The Lawyers' Committee is concerned with preparing administrative and court actions where discrimination violating the civil rights provisions of the revenue sharing act is claimed. While this covers all types of discrimination where revenue sharing funds are involved, special attention will be given to discrimination in the provision of municipal services, employment and housing site selection. Harold Himmelman of the Lawyers' Committee staff, assisted by private law firms, will handle the legal actions and can be contacted at 733 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

**THE JOINT CENTER** for Political Studies has continued to provide information and technical assistance on revenue sharing. More than 10,000 copies of the booklet *The Minority Community and Revenue Sharing* have been distributed throughout the country, and articles in *Focus* keep track of developments in both general and special revenue sharing. In addition, JCPS President Eddie N. Williams has spoken before a number of groups on revenue sharing and JCPS Deputy Research Director Kenneth S. Colburn has participated in many revenue sharing seminars for black elected officials and other groups.

Other organizations are putting a good deal of time and effort in the area of revenue sharing. The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta has begun a major monitoring project for the southern states. The Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. has undertaken perhaps the largest monitoring effort, with emphasis on the economic impact of revenue sharing.

Among the groups working on revenue sharing which have a particular interest in minorities and the poor are the Movement for Economic Justice, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the Coalition for Human Needs and Budget Priorities, and the NAACP. The House Judiciary Committee's Civil Rights Oversight Subcommittee will hold hearings on civil rights aspects of revenue sharing from time to time. Washington lobbies for elected officials, including the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors, National Association of Counties and the National Governors Conference, organizations which were among the primary supporters of the revenue sharing bill, continue to work on the issue.

**BECAUSE REVENUE** sharing has such profound implications for federal domestic assistance, every group concerned with federal aid and domestic policy has been concerned with revenue sharing in one way or another.

A number of actions have been taken by individuals and groups across the country which are instructive to others. Two of the civil rights complaints filed with the Treasury Department show how complaints regarding the provision of municipal services can be raised. Both allege that the local government intends to use revenue sharing to build or improve streets which are primarily in the white community. One complaint comes from Rankin County, Mississippi, the other from Beaumont, Texas.

Private citizens in both places undertook to review each locality's budget and, when it was found much of the money was to be used for roads, they located those roads in their communities. When it was determined that the planned improvements were largely in the white community, a written complaint showing these facts and the fact that revenue sharing funds were involved was sent to the Treasury Department's Office of Revenue Sharing. Efforts may also be made to find a private attorney to bring a lawsuit.

Another significant case filed with Treasury involves the Chicago Police Department. The federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has adjudged the department to be out of compliance with LEAA's equal employment opportunity requirements. The complaint, filed by a black patrolmen's group, seeks enforcement action by the Treasury department to end discriminatory practices in police employment, including action to stop the flow of revenue sharing money to Chicago.

Several cities have held public hearings on the use of revenue sharing funds. These include Chapel Hill, N.C. (headed by black Mayor Howard N. Lee); Hutchison, Kan., and Fergus Falls, Minn. In Lakeland, Fla., headed by black Mayor John Jackson, the city manager's office prepared a booklet of major areas of concern to be submitted to various public interest groups for comment. Chapel Hill has put much of its revenue sharing money into a housing trust fund, interest from which will be used to reduce the interest cost of housing for lower-income persons.

## New black mayors in Detroit, Atlanta, Raleigh

**DETROIT, ATLANTA,** and Raleigh, N.C., are the latest large cities to elect new black mayors.

State Sen. Coleman A. Young was elected the first black mayor of Detroit Nov. 6 primarily because of heavy black voter turnout, according to news reports. Young received 231,786 votes to 217,479 for former Police Commissioner John Nichols, according to unofficial count.

Voting in the nation's fifth largest city closely followed racial lines, as an estimated 92 per cent of black voters went for Young and 91 per cent of white voters cast ballots for Nichols. Blacks outvoted whites, with an estimated 228,800 blacks going to the polls compared to 220,000 whites.

This was a marked switch from four years ago, when black candidate Richard H. Austin, now Michigan secretary of state, lost by a scant 6,000 votes to outgoing mayor Roman Gribbs, who declined to seek re-election this year. In the 1969 voting, an estimated 308,700 whites cast ballots compared to 209,800 blacks. The total population is now roughly half black, half white.

Despite the apparent racial division in the voting, the election campaign was relatively free of appeals to racial prejudice by either side.

Young, 55, was born in Tuscaloosa, Ala., but has lived in Detroit since age five. He grew up in a working class family—his father was a tailor—and has been close to the labor movement since shortly after he graduated from high school and went to work for Ford Motor Co.

He first won elected office in 1961, when he was chosen a delegate to the state constitutional convention. He became a state senator in 1964.

**IN RALEIGH,** Clarence E. Lightner became the state capital's first black mayor by beating a white candidate, G. Wesley Williams, 17,348 to 15,476.

Lightner is a three-term city councilman and current major pro tem. Williams, a conservative businessman, is executive director of the Raleigh Merchants Bureau.

Williams led Lightner in the Oct. 9 primary, in which a third candidate was eliminated, but Lightner mounted a strong effort to remind voters of his long record. This was apparently sufficient to overcome doubts that Raleigh was ready for a black mayor.

According to the 1970 census, the city had a population of 121,600, of which 23 per cent was black.

**THE ELECTION** of Maynard H. Jackson as mayor of Atlanta has been hailed by most of the major newspapers of the country as "good news for the city, the state of Georgia and the North as well as the South," in the words of the *Minneapolis Star*.

Jackson became the city's first black mayor in the runoff election Oct. 16 by decisively defeating incumbent Mayor Sam Massell, who in the last two weeks of the election had issued dire warnings of a "white flight"

if both Jackson and a black candidate for city council president, Hosea Williams, were elected.

Jackson took almost 60 per cent of the votes for mayor, with 74,404 to Massell's 51,237. Williams, head of the local branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was defeated by white Alderman Wyche Fowler, 44,017 to 78,209.

Most commentators noted approvingly that an estimated 18 per cent of the votes cast by whites went to the black mayoral candidate. Jackson obtained well over 20 per cent of the vote in many white precincts, especially those with mostly middle- and upper-income residents.

Calculations by Atlanta University history professor Clarence A. Bacote showed that black votes accounted for about 86 per cent of Jackson's total, white votes for 14 per cent. Ninety-five per cent of blacks voting in the mayoral race cast ballots for Jackson, Bacote estimated.

**BLACKS TURNED OUT** in much greater numbers than whites, Bacote's calculations showed. An estimated 66.8 per cent of black registered voters, or 67,550 persons, voted in the mayor's race, compared to only 55.2 per cent (58,091 persons) of registered whites. Thus, Jackson could have won even if not a single white had voted for him. About 49 per cent of registered Atlanta voters are black.

But the fact that many white voters did vote for Jackson was taken as reassuring evidence that Massell's last-minute appeal to latent white racism had failed. "Voters may not be free of prejudice, but they know the color of a man's skin is a poor gauge of whether he's qualified to govern a modern American city," commented the *Pittsburgh Press*.

The other fact, that Atlanta is the first major metropolitan city in the South to elect a black mayor, was not lost, either. "Mr. Jackson's triumph could very well have important ramifications in other large southern cities, including New Orleans," observed the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*.

Jackson has been vice mayor of the city for four years. He is a 35-year-old attorney who made his first bid for public office five years ago by running against Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge. He lost, but received more votes than any previous Talmadge opponent and outpolled Talmadge in Atlanta. The son of a minister, Jackson was reportedly moved to enter politics by the activism of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Atlanta also elected five blacks to its nine-member school board, and nine blacks to the 18-member city council. The new mayor, school board and council will take office January 7, when a new city charter also takes effect. It replaces the vice mayor's job with that of council president.

**IN OTHER** races in which blacks ran for mayor, there were these developments:

**Chapel Hill, N.C.**—Incumbent black mayor Howard N. Lee won re-election by a vote of 5,329 to 1,168 for his white opponent.

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**College Park, Md.**—The home of the University of Maryland, with only a 3.3 per cent black population, elected a black mayor, Dervy A. Lomax. He is an electronics specialist with the Navy and has been a city council member for 14 years.

**Dayton, Ohio**—James H. McGee, the black incumbent, was easily elected for a new four-year term. McGee had been appointed three years ago to fill a vacancy when the former mayor resigned.

**East Orange, N.J.**—William S. Hart Sr., chairman of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, won another term by 10,777 votes to 7,040 for his opponent.

**Grand Rapids, Mich.**—In the home community of vice presidential nominee Gerald Ford, black mayor Lyman S. Parks won a new term by defeating his opponent, the white former mayor, Robert Boelens. Boelens had resigned in 1971 because of ill health. The vote was 20,999 to 18,913. The city of 200,000 is 12 per cent black.

**Greenville, Ga.**—Richmond Hill, a black funeral home director and member of the city council, became this town's first black mayor in voting Oct. 10. County seat of Meriwether County in west Georgia, Greenville has a population of 1,200, of whom 45 per cent are black.

The incumbent black mayor of Glasgow, Ky., Luska J. Twyman, was also re-elected without opposition.

Blacks were defeated in some races. These included Durham, N.C., where minister Lorenzo Lynch failed to unseat a white incumbent; Lansing, Mich., where city councilman Joel I. Ferguson lost to the white incumbent, Pulaski, Tenn., where candidate James Brown was unsuccessful, and Plainfield, N.J., where former Democratic councilman Richard Rountree was defeated by his Republican opponent. Blacks were also defeated in multi-candidate mayoral races in Louisville, Ky., Miami, Fla., and Houston, Tex.

#### Black political calendar

The Southern Conference of Black Mayors was scheduled to hold its second meeting Nov. 16-18 in

Tuskegee, Ala. The first meeting was held in Fayette, Miss., last year. Maynard Jackson, newly elected mayor of Atlanta, is honorary chairman. Panel discussions will include grants management under the new federalism and innovative ways to raise municipal revenue.

The second National Black Political Convention will be held March 15-17, 1974, in Little Rock, Ark. The theme will be "Organizing for Political Power." Workshops and seminars will concentrate on teaching delegates practical organizing and political skills. The last meeting of the National Black Political Council and Assembly prior to next year's convention will be Dec. 8 and 9 in Oklahoma City.

#### Briefly noted

● **JESSE BROWN**, formerly special assistant to the president at JCPS, is now president and general manager of WATU Wazuri Communications of Trenton, N.J. The firm has applied for a license for an FM non-commercial, educational radio station. It would feature primarily black-oriented programming.

● **JCPS RESEARCH** Director Herrington J. Bryce has recently published two articles on topics related to the poor and their needs. One, analyzing the housing programs of the Farmers Home Administration, is a chapter in the book, *Housing the Poor*, edited by Donald J. Reeb and James T. Kirk (N.Y.: Praeger Publishers). The other, titled "The Measurement and Interpretation of the Earnings of Migratory Farm Workers," examines "common pitfalls" of measuring migratory wages. It was published in the June, 1973, issue of *Poverty & Human Resources Abstracts*.

● **THE DRUG ABUSE COUNCIL**, a private, independent research organization, is seeking nominations for its 1974 fellowships. The council seeks persons with an interest in understanding drug abuse in society, and with a background in interdisciplinary approaches to problem-solving. Fellows will be supported for one year to conduct research projects. Nominators should send names of nominees, along with a statement of why both the nominee and the drug abuse field would profit from the appointment, to: Jose de la Isla, Fellows Program, Drug Abuse Council, 1828 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

# FOCUS

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