A Salute
To the
Congressional
Black Caucus
1973
WITH THIS SPECIAL ISSUE of Focus, the Joint Center salutes the Congressional Black Caucus on the occasion of its third annual fund raising dinner and joins the Caucus in applauding the nation’s 2,627 black elected officials.

It is appropriate that we honor our public servants because they are, in many ways, new leaders of an ongoing civil rights movement which has shifted its emphasis from protest to politics. This new phase of the movement requires a consummate skill in and a total understanding of the art of politics, the mechanics of government, and the science of acquiring and effectively using power.

While we are pushing civil rights to a new level of involvement, our ultimate goals remain constant: empowerment of the national black community and assuring economic, political and social justice and equality for minority Americans.

New strategies and tactics are required these days, yet our will to overcome must burn just as intensely in our hearts as it did in the sixties. Herein lies a great challenge to elected officials and to the community at large.

The development of strategies, tactics, and programs to deal effectively with today’s issues—whether revenue sharing and regionalism or education, jobs and housing—requirements of a zealously devoted to painstaking homework. Fact must supersede fantasy, positive action must replace willy-nilly rhetoric, and private agendas must bow to the community interest.

OFFICIALS WHO STIMULATE enough of a following to get themselves elected certainly can find ways to create and sustain in their constituents positive attitudes toward political participation that resemble the remarkable religious fervor, dedication, and spirit of self-sacrifice which characterized the movement of the sixties. Politics can indeed be a spiritual experience because, in large measure, it is the process by which we do unto others. It can be addictive, for the taste of victory is ever so sweet.

Stimulating our people to march to the polls in massive numbers, to vote out of office those who treat us with benign neglect, and to break political bread with those who share our goals if not our cause are but a few of the challenges that will test the prowess of the new civil rights leaders.

Elected officials must move swiftly and surely to meet these challenges. Their own wisdom and experience are vital elements of leadership. And, fortunately, they have other resources to draw upon in developing strategy. Their own service organizations—the Congressional Black Caucus, Black Political Assembly, Black Legislative Clearing House, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, among others—must be stimulated to place top priority on a cooperative search for answers. Then, too, black elected officials are encouraged to draw upon the resources of the Voter Education Project, Urban League, NAACP, the Joint Center, and any number of other organizations which provide support services for public officials.

THERE IS AN equally heavy burden on the rest of us. Our commitment must be to a higher purpose than self. We must learn to recognize in every political activity—whether registration, voting, protesting and, yes, wheeling and dealing in the complex political marketplace—just how our self-interest is best served.

We must probe for effective ways to exercise the political muscle we have to consolidate the victories we have won in the Congress and in the courts. If we fail in this, we do ourselves and all freedom fighters since Reconstruction a great disservice. For power is not power if it is not used.

For black elected officials, as it has been for others, the mantle of leadership is heavy. There is much to be done and there are many demands and pressures. In September of 1973 the people pay homage to our elected leaders; tomorrow the people will ask: What have you done for us lately?

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Table of contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perspective ................................................. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The caucus: Progress through legislation ............. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their staff shall comfort them .......................... 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black members of Congress .............................. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping the caucus alert .................................. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State lawmakers join their brothers .................. 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOCUS

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The caucus: Progress through legislation

By Rep. Louis Stokes
Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus

MANY PEOPLE have raised the questions: Why a separate caucus of black Congress persons? Why is this necessary? What is the role of the Congressional Black Caucus? What are its primary objectives? And, since its organization in January, 1969, what has the caucus done?

It is common knowledge that American politics began with coalitions based on common interests involving economic, social, religious, and ethnic groups. Today, on Capitol Hill, there are many caucuses, both formal and informal. Generally, these caucuses are based on partisan politics, political philosophy, geography, social issues, and special interests.

In this context, the Congressional Black Caucus is not a maverick organization. Instead, we are a coalition of Congress persons deeply concerned about the issues, needs, and aspirations of minority Americans. We are, therefore, interested in developing, introducing, and passing progressive legislation which will meet the needs of millions of neglected citizens.

As Congress persons, we realize that power politics is the name of the game. We have studied the rules. We comprehend the game and we are determined to have some meaningful input in the decisions of the legislative branch of the federal government. Furthermore, we have reached a point of political sophistication that provides us not only the knowledge and skill necessary to set our own agenda, but to determine our own frame of reference. In so doing, we move not against the current, but in fact with it, in seeking to make democracy what it ought to be for all Americans.

INITIALLY, THERE WERE a number of misconceptions as to the role and responsibilities of the Congressional Black Caucus. Some felt that the caucus was trying to replace traditional civil rights groups. Still others felt that the caucus was trying to become the national forum of clearinghouse for a host of problems and issues confronting black Americans.

In fact, at first we were unclear about our proper role. Therefore, in the past year, we have had to analyze what our resources are, what we should be doing, and how best to do it. And our conclusion is this: If we are to be effective, if we are going to make a meaningful contribution to minority citizens and this country, then it must be as legislators. This is the area in which we possess expertise—and it is within the halls of Congress that we must make this expertise felt.

This, essentially, is our mandate in the 93rd Congress, and to this end we have solicited and continue to seek financial resources for the maintenance of an excellent staff which provides us with the necessary professional services needed to accomplish these goals.

For over a year we have held hearings and conferences on subjects ranging from health to minority enterprise, from racism in the military to racism in the media. In the course of our investigations, we have assembled data which serve as the basis for a portion of our legislative program.

THUS FAR, THE MEMBERS of the Congressional Black Caucus have, as a body, sponsored or introduced bills in a number of areas which relate to the needs of our communities. Our legislative efforts had positive results in the recent attempt by Congress to rescue the Office of Economic Opportunity from presidential dismemberment, and to increase the minimum wage. We have united behind several pieces of anti-impoundment legislation, hoping to checkmate the administration's callous domestic policies. Our hearings on governmental lawlessness resulted in the Bureaucratic Accountability Act, a bill which would protect individuals' rights in their dealings with the federal government and strengthen the oversight powers of Congress. We have also joined together in support of a bill making Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday.

Moreover, we have introduced legislation in every conceivable area. We are offering legislative alternatives to correct the problems of the elderly; improve and expand federally-assisted child care centers; provide for direct election of the President; create a system of national health insurance; improve pension systems; grant equal representation to the residents of the District of Columbia; create jobs through public service employment; broaden the income tax base; require U.S. companies to abide by fair employment practices in South Africa; compensate innocent victims of violent crime; abolish the death penalty; improve the legal services program; and outlaw the unethical practice of psycho-surgery.

More importantly, the myriad bills that I mention here are only a fraction of our legislative efforts in this 93rd Congress.

AS CONGRESS moves to reannounce its rightful place in our tripartite system of government, you can be assured that the Congressional Black Caucus will move progressively on several fronts. Where we can provide leadership for those colleagues who represent large minority constituencies, we shall. Where our causes can benefit by coalition politics, we shall coalesce. And whenever or wherever we can serve impoverished and minority citizens as legislators, unquestionably we shall.
A CONGRESSMAN WITHOUT STAFF has about as much chance of making an impression on Capitol Hill as a sleek Rolls Royce with no battery. Under such circumstances, both can stimulate a flow of adrenalin in supporters who worship style and tradition more than substance and function. And both possess a limitless potential for matching the power output of better-equipped peers. But neither will ever move forward without a shot of energy that can propel it up steep grades, around dangerous curves and through all of the hostile elements.

Fortunately for the black political agenda, the Congressional Black Caucus is powered by a strong energy source—its staff—that has accelerated it beyond its starting line of several years ago. Black Caucus Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) once publicly characterized the caucus staff as an “excellent” piece of human manpower “which provides us with the necessary professional services needed to accomplish [our] goals”.

The caucus’ original support staff sort of drifted away late in 1972 following the departure of its first director, Howard Robinson. That original group performed admirably, even while it was weighted with extra heavy burdens, one of which involved, as Stokes has candidly admitted, caucus members trying too hard to be all things to all people in all fields.

In late 1972, the caucus limped through a period of introspection, then emerged robust and convinced that if it intended to be an effective force in moving the black political agenda to fulfillment, it had better get on with what its members were elected to do—legislate.

THE CALL WENT OUT for a new staff. Augustus A. (Gus) Adair answered. With no time to waste on offering on-the-job training to a bright, but inexperienced amateur, the caucus chose a man whose background includes political science theory (a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University) and practical political savvy (a two-year stint on the Hill under an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship in 1961-62).

Adair quickly recruited a staff, and together they identified as their single most compelling priorities the development of a system to assist Black Caucus members with legislative analysis and a concentration on providing valuable support services. The latter includes basic research of issues, liaison with the black intellectual community to cull from it a black perspective on public policy issues, and old-fashioned legwork out of which was born caucus alliances with other power blocs in Congress.

This has turned out to be a crucial function. Remembering the caucus’ guiding principle that “black folks have no permanent friends and no permanent enemies, only permanent interests,” the staff identified other congressmen whose home districts include a pivotal 25 percent or more black constituency, sought alliances with them on critical issues and, in some cases, won the support and the issues. The clear message to such potential allies had to do with their vulnerability and with the fact that the caucus knew how to apply sanctions to fence-straddlers. Once the point was made, some of the non-caucus congressmen “got religion”, in the words of caucus member William Clay (D-Mo.).

Adair is exasperated by rumors of splits along ideological lines within the caucus. But he simply considers the source, issues firm denials and moves on to something meaningful. He also provides evidence of caucus effectiveness as a means of squelching idle gossip calculated to harm this black power bloc.

But more than anything else, Gus Adair is irritated by what can be characterized as runaway black expectations. There is constant pressure, rues Adair, to resolve all of the historic problems confronting black Americans overnight. He is touched by the demands for immediate relief, he says, and he understands clearly that such innocence betrays a fundamental lack of understanding among constituents of the congressional system and of the mechanics of legislation.

FAR FROM BEING bitter, Gus is anxious during his dozens of speaking engagements to expose minority Americans to the realities of the legislative process so that unduly harsh judgments about the effectiveness of the Black Caucus will not be based on serious misinformation. Adair asserts: “We must get over that miracles cannot happen on the Hill. White folks represented black folks for years, and there were very few demands put on them. But since 1967 when we got a lot more black representation, blacks suddenly started expecting buildings in their district, jobs, political patronage, etc. The fact is that no congressman begins to even see that kind of power potential until he reaches a tenure in office that qualifies him for the chairmanship of a committee, or at least of an important subcommittee.”

To assist him in this education effort and in the care and feeding of Black Caucus objectives, Adair has surrounded himself with a bright, vigorous staff, and hopes to add more persons until full-time staff size reaches eight persons. Currently his staff includes:

Mitch Dasher, a lawyer, chief of the legislative section, who, with two years experience, is the senior professional on the staff; Kenneth Lewis, a part-time legislative assistant, who is a student in the law school at Catholic University; Carmen Dupree, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Chicago, legislative clerk; Sheila Cox, an administrative secretary, and Bernice Evans, research assistant, who is a Ph.D. candidate in economics at the University of Maryland.

In addition to continuing its cooperation with other existing resource individuals and organization, the caucus staff is committed to a timetable of services that, in the future, will arm caucus members for almost any eventuality. If successful, the staff will deserve ranking among the premiere monitors of public policy matters affecting blacks in America.

John H. Britton
Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.)—A lawyer and a native of Washington, D.C., Brooke began public life in Boston with appointment as chairman of the city's finance commission in 1961. He served two terms as attorney general of Massachusetts, winning elections in 1962 and 1964, before winning his first term in the U.S. Senate in 1966. He is a member of the Board of Governors of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Yvonne Brathwaltte Burke (37th Dist., Cal.)—A former practicing attorney and six-year veteran of the California General Assembly. Mrs. Burke was elected from her Los Angeles district in 1972. She serves on the Public Works Committee and the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Shirley Chisholm (12th Dist., N.Y.)—First elected from the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto of Brooklyn in 1968, the former presidential primary candidate first won note by challenging her assignment to the Agriculture Committee. She is now on the Veterans Affairs Committee and the Education and Labor Committee.

William L. Clay (1st Dist., Mo.)—First elected to Congress in 1968. Clay began his political career as a St. Louis alderman in 1959, and gained note for work in opening job opportunities to blacks. He sits on the House Education and Labor Committee, the House Democratic Steering Committee on Interest Rates, and the Ad Hoc Task Force on Poverty. He is treasurer and dinner committee chairman for the Congressional Black Caucus.

Cardiss Collins (7th Dist., III.)—Mrs. Collins won a special election in June for the Chicago seat left vacant last December when her husband, George, was killed in an airplane crash. She had been a committeewoman in Chicago's 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization, and an auditor in the state government. She is on the House Committee on Government Operations.


Ronald V. Dellums (7th Dist., Cal.)—First elected to Congress in 1970, Dellums is a former social worker and manpower development consultant. He served a term on the Berkeley City Council before going to Washington. Besides serving the House District of Columbia Committee, Dellums is the only black on the Armed Services Committee.

Charles C. Diggs (13th Dist., Mich.)—Now in his tenth term from his Detroit district. Diggs is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, and also heads the House District of Columbia Committee.

Walter E. Fauntroy (Dist. of Columbia)—A practicing Baptist minister, Fauntroy coordinated several civil rights drives during the sixties, including the Selma-to-Montgomery March in 1965 and the Poor Peoples' Campaign in 1969. As delegate from D.C., he has no vote on the House floor, but does have a vote in his committees, the District of Columbia Committee and the Banking and Currency Committee.

Augustus F. Hawkins (21st Dist., Cal.)—Hawkins served in the California State Assembly from 1934 until his election to Congress from his Los Angeles district in 1962. He serves on the Education and Labor Committee and the Committee on Housing and Urban Development.

Barbara Jordan (18th Dist., Tex.)—A lawyer from Houston, she became in 1967 the first black elected to the Texas Senate since 1883. When she was unanimously elected President pro tempore of that body in 1972, she was the first black woman in the country to preside over a legislative body. She serves on the House Judiciary Committee.

Ralph H. Metcalf (1st Dist., III.)—A former Olympic track star, Metcalf was a Democratic ward committeeman and later alderman in Chicago before going to Congress in 1970. While on the Council, he served as president pro tempore in 1969. He serves on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Parren J. Mitchell (7th Dist., Mary.)—A former sociology professor, Mitchell headed the Community Action Agency of Baltimore and the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations before his election to Congress in 1970. He serves on the Banking and Currency Committee and the Permanent Select Committee on Small Business, and is a member of the Democratic Policy and Steering Committee.

Robert N.C. Nix (2d Dist., Penn.)—A lawyer who has been 44th Ward executive committeeman in Philadelphia since 1932, Nix was first elected to Congress in 1958. He is on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Charles B. Rangel (18th Dist., N.Y.)—A former assistant U.S. attorney in New York before serving two years in the New York General Assembly, Rangel was elected to Congress from his central Harlem district in 1970. He serves on the Public Works and Science Committees and the Select Committee on Crime, with emphasis on work in drug abuse.

Louis Stokes (21st Dist., Ohio)—Rep. Stokes was elected Ohio's first black congressman in 1968, the year after his brother, Carl, became Cleveland's first black mayor. Rep. Stokes had practiced law for 14 years before making the race, his first for public office. Besides serving as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, he is a member of the House Appropriations Committee.

Andrew Young (5th Dist., Ga.)—Young, an associate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was executive vice president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference during the sixties. He was chairman of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission at the time he was elected to Congress in 1972. He serves on the House Banking and Currency Committee, with subcommittee duties in mass transit, consumer affairs, international trade, and international finance.
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS members have pledged themselves to "developing, introducing, and passing progressive legislation designed to meet the needs of millions of neglected citizens." They felt that if they were to succeed in the effort to "promote the public welfare," as opposed to promoting the riches of the corporate elite, then it must be as legislators.

But this much-needed legislative undertaking requires that the four women and 12 men who comprise the Congressional Black Caucus not only be aware of the substantive objectives of proposed legislation, but also know the context of the bill. They have to know: (1) the sponsors; (2) the probable House and Senate supporters; (3) positions of major unions and industries; (4) the need for the legislation; (5) the administration's position; (6) the minority or opposing views; (7) the approximate cost if enacted; (8) the probable amendments or other floor strategies designed to kill, weaken, or enhance its passage; and scores of other variables.

The successful passage or prevention of passage of a substantive piece of legislation is a complicated and delicate process. A vital part of any rational strategy is a probing and informed source, succinctly analyzing the proposal and its probable impact.

The caucus staff felt that it could best aid the caucus members by providing them with weekly "legislative alerts" on key bills coming up for floor consideration. This, the staff felt, would provide the necessary uniformity in direction and information.

EACH THURSDAY, the staff meets informally to assess the probable activities of Congress for the coming week. A staffer obtains from the Whip's office the weekly calendar and other documents designed to inform Congress on probable weekly activity.

After a discussion of the legislative items, the staff decides which issues are of major import and who will analyze them. Within a given deadline, the written material is presented to the entire caucus staff. This is usually done to eliminate major flaws and to broaden the insight of the presentation.

Once the staff has read it and put it in final form, the alert is forwarded to each Congressional Black Caucus member. After this point, any number of things can happen. Usually key staff members from the caucus members' offices will call to discuss portions of the alert, looking forward to developing a floor strategy. Sometimes they wish to have a position distinguished or clarified. Still on other occasions, they may wish to know how many caucus members are supporting the position as written, or what members will offer amendments or make floor speeches.

At any rate, once an alert is issued there is invariably a great deal of discussion on the most effective strategy for the Congressional Black Caucus to take.

The alert is, essentially, an in-house document and as a rule is distributed only to offices of members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

NO ARBITRARY GUIDELINES are established to limit or increase the number of issues analyzed. Instead, the caucus staff, in its professional operation, decides the number of issues which will be reported. However, on occasion a caucus member will request legislative information or offer a suggestion of an important legislative item which deserves staff attention.

Among the main sources that the caucus staff utilizes are materials from the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, committee and subcommittee reports, federal government documents, and information provided by various research groups. Although the alert is an independent staff product, caucus staffers make every effort to consult with caucus members (and their staffs) who have jurisdictional responsibilities to maximize the depth and assessment of the legislation

Each alert contains the name and number of the bill; the recommendation of the staff; background or history of the bill; pros and cons, and an analysis.

The alert operation is still evolving so it is too early to judge its success. However, the consistently favorable responses that the caucus staff receives from Caucus members and their staffs suggest it is off to a good start.

The high quality of the alert operation is undoubtedly the product of a skilled professional staff which is working to achieve the same goals for which the Congressional Black Caucus members are striving.
By Richard Newhouse
Illinois State Senator and
Director, Black Legislative Clearinghouse

OVER THE PAST six years, the number of black state legislators has increased from roughly 150 to 250, an increase that parallels the upsurge of black public officials in other categories but far outstrips other categories in its impact upon lawmaking bodies.

Moreover, this number will continue to rise, as the impact of one man—one vote rulings is felt. Mississippi, for example, could expand its black representation from one to more than 15, and Alabama from two to more than 20.

With this new upsurge, black legislators began to organize caucuses to make their presence felt and their constituents’ voices heard in legislative councils. It quickly became apparent that all would benefit by an exchange of information among legislators from different states who shared a common interest: black constituents. It was clear that the problems of blacks in Michigan differ little from those of blacks in Illinois, or for that matter those in Alabama or Mississippi.

TO FILL THIS NEED, black legislators began a round robin of correspondence which developed into a central “clearinghouse” of information. Correspondence was too cumbersome, however, so in 1969 a conference was called to explore the desirability of a formal organization. About 40 black legislators from seven states met. They created two organizations—the Black Legislative Clearinghouse, a research and educational resource, and the Black Legislators Association, a general-purpose organization to be served by the Clearinghouse.

The black state legislators saw both organizations as vehicles through which they could temporarily isolate themselves to thoroughly prepare themselves to function in their individual deliberative bodies. The organizations were to be low-profile, training institutions. It was obvious, however, that tie-ins would be necessary with blacks at other governmental levels.

As it turned out, events jolted the legislators into an unplanned, unpredicted cooperative effort with other black officials. Illinois legislators held a series of community hearings on problems with the police, at which one of the witnesses was the chairman of the local Black Panther Party, a brilliant local youngster named Fred Hampton. Those hearings had hardly ended when Hampton and a companion, Mark Clark, were killed in a predawn raid in December, 1969.

OUT OF THE HORROR of that disaster, the black legislators invited the members of the Congressional Black Caucus to convene hearings in Chicago on that slaying, to focus attention on a universal community problem and to present a united front with political leaders at state and local levels. On December 20, Congressmen Charles Diggs, Adam Clayton Powell, Louis Stokes, John Conyers and William Clay, in cooperation with black state legislators, convened a hearing. This unparalleled cooperation gave heart to a troubled community.

At the 1970 legislators’ conference, participants agreed a speed-up in the timetable for contacts with officials at other levels of government was needed. They set “Toward Intergovernmental Cooperation” as the theme of the 1971 conference.

Again, events conspired to break the timetable. Through interchange of correspondence in early 1971, legislators learned that a shocking number of returning veterans were coming home with less than honorable discharges, and that most of these were black.

In May, 1971, more than 40 black legislators from around the country convened in the Illinois Supreme Court chambers to gather testimony on this phenomenon. It became clear that many vulnerable urban youth had responded to the siren song of recruiters who had promised them pie in the sky. When these young men instead found an institution that was Southern-oriented, hostile and unbending, their superiors “suggested” a way out, which was in reality a way out for the service. The recruits were induced to accept “less than honorable” discharges with the assurance that they would be changed to honorable after discharge—a promise as false as those of the recruiters.

Rep. John Conyers joined us for these hearings, assembling information for the use of the Congressional Black Caucus. Our findings were relayed to the White House, which replied that the testimony was not true and that in any case they were handling the problem. But just this summer, a House Armed Services Committee audit showed that at least $75 million was wasted last year by faulty recruiting practices which necessitated large numbers of discharges.

In 1972, the shock of Attica and reverberations in prison systems in every state led to action by black legislators. Rep. Dorothy Taylor, in a lonely battle as the only black legislator in Louisiana, convened a group of black legislators in New Orleans in February to explore prison problems. Again we were joined by a caucus member who reported back to our congressional counterparts. As a result of those hearings, improved state penal legislation was passed, including at least one comprehensive code which shifted the emphasis from punishment to rehabilitation.

IN THE FUTURE, the bond will grow ever closer. The historical growth rate of state legislators must result in greater black input into decision-making at that level. The renewed thrust toward states assuming a major role in distribution of federal funds has positive implications for black legislators. Black politicians are aware of the possibility that moves toward regional government and regional planning could lessen their impact in cities.

All these shifts in governmental emphasis dictate that the Congressional Black Caucus and black state legislators continue to cooperate for the health of the black community. As the motto of the Afro-American Patrolmen’s League puts it: “I am my brother’s keeper; be my brother.”
Bolton mayor finally takes office

Although Bennie G. Thompson was elected mayor of Bolton, Miss., on June 5, along with other blacks who made a clean sweep of all other elective positions, he and the others did not take office until Sept. 1. They first had to defeat their white opponents again, this time in court.

The defeated whites filed an injunction after the May 8 primary to keep the winning blacks from taking office, then filed suit to void the election, then filed another suit against the election commission for holding the June 5 general election. The charges were that black voters had not paid their municipal taxes and thus could not vote; that blacks from outside the corporate limits had voted, and that ballots had been initialed on the wrong side.

Last month, however, a federal judge in Jackson threw out the suits and ruled that the blacks were to take office. Observers noted that the judge is one of the most conservative in the nation.

A parade and ceremonies featuring many black dignitaries and officials highlighted the long-awaited inauguration day, as the 25-year-old mayor and his council, average age 34, took office to become probably the youngest town government in the state. Bolton, population 1100, is about 15 miles west of Jackson, in Hinds County. It is a little more than half black.

Mayor Thompson holds a B.A. in education from Tougaloo College and a master's degree from Jackson State College. He is director of the Tri-County Community Center, offering tutoring and job services for youth in Hinds, Rankin and Madison counties.

Black wins runoff spot in Detroit race

Black State Sen. Coleman Young survived the Sept. 11 mayoral primary in Detroit and will face a Nov. 6 runoff with the frontrunner, Detroit Police Commissioner John Nichols.

Young received 68,075 in the non-partisan primary, for 24 per cent of the vote. Nichols, who was generally conceded the lead, took 96,655, or 34.7 per cent. A second black candidate, former Wayne County Judge Edward Bell, trailed far behind with nine per cent of the vote. There were five major candidates, of whom Bell was the only Republican. Bell said he supports Young in the runoff.

Bailey recall succeeds in Berkeley

William Rumford Jr. was chosen to succeed D'Army Bailey on the Berkeley, Cal., city council on August 21, as voters sided with efforts to recall the controversial Bailey. Both Rumford and Bailey are black.

The vote on the recall issue was 18,569 in favor of recalling him, 11,548 opposed, a margin of about 61 to 39 per cent. Once the recall question was settled, ballots were counted for Bailey's successor, and Rumford won with 17,102 votes to 6,344 for a minor opponent. Rumford was sworn in Aug. 28.

Jobs open, blacks sought

A large southern city with a sizeable black electorate has notified the Joint Center that it is seeking to fill two major municipal jobs, and that it welcomes and encourages black applicants to submit resumes. Both jobs have a salary range of between $24,000 and $31,000, depending on background, experience and other qualifying credentials.

The city, which prefers to remain anonymous for the moment, is seeking a director of welfare and a director of recreation. The talent search is slated to continue at least through the end of this year, city officials said.

For additional information about the positions and instructions on how to pursue the opportunities, qualified and interested persons should contact the Joint Center for Political Studies' director of governmental affairs, who has been asked to assist the city's talent hunt.