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ily of American universities but still an adolescent among biracial institutions. The UNC law school admitted five Negroes by court order in 1951. Five years ago, less than 100 of the university's 13,000 students were black; this year, there are about 500 blacks in the enrollment of 18,000. Neither the number nor the percentage is anywhere near representative in a national university such as UNC thinks of itself as being. But it is enough to make possible a movie like "In Light of Darkness," and it is enough to make virtually certain that both the number and the percentage of blacks will continue to increase.

*Bently Renwick is one reason they will increase. He is a black man on the staff of the dean of admissions, and his principal job is seeing that more blacks get into and through UNC. It is the sort of job that arouses some suspicion among prospective students, some animosity among educators at black colleges, some fear among white alumni, and some misgivings among white trustees, administrators and faculty. The more successful Renwick is, the stronger these diverse feelings are likely to be.*

Earlier this fall, Renwick and about 15 of his counterparts at a dozen once-white colleges and universities in the South got together in Atlanta to formalize the creation of a new organization: the Southern Association of Black Administrative Personnel. They are trying to deal with the whole welter of paradoxes inherent in the positions they hold, and in coming together, these black administrators underscored, both how satisfying and how frustrating those jobs are.

The satisfactions are measured by the increasing black presence on the campuses. The 12 institutions the young administrators represent had fewer than 500 black students five years ago. Last year they reached the 2,400

mark, and this fall they have more than 3,800 black students.

Proportionately, the numbers don't amount to anything spectacular—four of every 1,000 students were black in 1965, and this year 22 of every 1,000 are black—but if the colleges had tokenism or gradualism in mind when they hired the black recruiters, they got more than they bargained for. The administrators are searching for black prospects as assiduously as coaches in the athletic departments hunt for 250-pound tackles and seven-foot basketball centers.

Another encouraging sign to them is the increase in black academicians and administrators. Most of those who came to the Atlanta meeting have been in their present jobs for two years or less, and several of them were the first black professionals to be hired by their respective institutions. But others are now coming in, and almost all of the schools now have more than one. The University of South Florida, one of the institutions, has about 20 blacks on its teaching and administrative staffs.

The frustrations of the black admissions officers are less measurable but no less real. However much they may want to change the racial complexion of their colleges, the overwhelming preponderance of students and faculty at those institutions is white, and serious efforts to alter that fact encounter opposition from both whites and blacks.

*The white opposition is difficult to characterize. It ranges from familiarly overt resistance against black gains—simply because they are black—to intricately subtle protestations against "declining quality," or "separatism," or "black militancy." Black objections, on the other hand, are more direct. They tend to center around what is commonly called "the black brain drain," which results when black colleges lose some of their best students and faculty to self-consciously white institutions eager to change their image—and able to offer more money and better working conditions in the process.*

The black administrators on the formerly all-white campuses also must maintain rapport, both among their white colleagues and among the black students (several of them double as advisers to the campus black student organizations). And inevitably, they must contend with the "black Everyman" syndrome, a phenomenon marked by endless rounds of faculty teas and cocktail parties, too many expectations and responsibilities, and not enough time or authority.

But in spite of the frustrations, and in spite of the long hours on the road in search of more black students, the administrators view their jobs as stimulating and rewarding. Most of them say they intend to stay at it—at least for a couple more years—and all of them are confident that the influx of blacks will continue to accelerate at their schools.

Their new organization, the Southern Association of Black Administrative Personnel, is led by Tommy C. Nelson Jr., a black executive on the staff of the College Entrance Examination Board's regional office in Atlanta. Nelson is a bear of a man, a strapping young Texan who twice was a small-college all-American football player at Sul Ross State College and now is turned on to the needs and imperatives of black college students in the South. He was elected chairman of the new organization by accla-

#### BLACK ENROLLMENTS AT 12 SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WITH BLACK ADMISSIONS OFFICERS ON THEIR STAFFS

Institution (Black administrators in parentheses)	1965-66		1969-70		1970-71	
	Total Black	Total Black	Total Black	Total Black	Total Black	Total Black
Univ. South Florida (Thelma Benton)	7,800	30	15,600	200	16,600	300
Duke University (Brenda Becton)	8,000	20	8,000	90	8,000	140
Univ. Georgia (Ben Colbert)	12,000	25	18,000	150	18,800	400
Florida St. Univ. (Earl Gordon)	16,000	40	18,000	400	18,900	800
St. Petersburg J.C. (Don Gaskin, Calvin Harris)	6,000	3	10,000	110	10,000	180
Univ. Virginia (Elizabeth Johnson)	7,500	10	10,000	80	15,000	120
Univ. Florida (Roy Mitchell)	17,500	5	21,000	150	22,500	300
Vanderbilt Univ. (Walter Murray)	5,000	20	5,500	100	6,000	150
Fla. Presbyterian Coll. (James Myles)	800	8	960	20	1,030	30
Univ. Tennessee (Knoxville) (Robert Netherland)	19,000	150	24,000	500	24,000	600
U. N. Carolina (Chapel Hill) (Bently Renwick)	13,000	80	16,500	400	18,000	500
University of Miami (Nancy Wilson)	16,000	80	18,000	200	18,500	350
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>128,600</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>165,560</b>	<b>2,400</b>	<b>177,330</b>	<b>3,870</b>

Most figures in the chart are based on unofficial estimates, and many are rounded off to the nearest zero.

Race Relations Information Center

# About 110 Blacks Win Public Office

BY MARVIN WALL

Among the encouraging political developments in the South during 1970—a year in which such developments were not overabundant—was the fact that it's getting harder and harder to keep track of black candidates and officeholders in the South. Just a few short years ago, when black candidates were emerging in large numbers on the Southern political scene, the candidacy of one black man or woman, even for a minor office, made front-page news across the state.

Nowadays, however, black candidates are a standard part of the region's politics. Blacks can and do run for local offices and get elected with little being said about it beyond the candidate's immediate community. Consequently, it's getting more and more difficult to locate and identify black candidates—a fact that has to mean the South's political health, thanks to black voters, is improving.

Today, therefore, one can only estimate the number of black candidates. The days of the precise tabulation are gone. On the basis of the best information available to the Voter Education Project, there were approximately 370 black candidates running in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy on Nov. 3. This includes incumbents, party nominees without opposition, write-in candidates, blacks running against other blacks—in short, any black running for a public office in a contest decided by vote of the people. The total does not include candidates for political party offices, such as the various Democratic and Republican city, county, district and state executive committees.

*Of these 370, the VEP staff has been able to identify about 110 winners. Again, this includes incumbents, those running without opposition and blacks who defeated blacks. In the 1968 general elections, for the sake of comparison, there were 280 black candidates in the region, of whom more than 100 were elected.*

Southern blacks continued to capture some significant offices in 1970, although they failed to raise the level of office-holding to the congressional and state level. George Wallace's Alabama, ironically the only state in the nation with a black sheriff, now will have four. Elected to join Macon County's Lucius D. Amerson were black sheriffs in Greene, Bullock and Lowndes counties. In Greene County, William McKinley Branch was elected probate judge, becoming the first of his race in Alabama to win this locally important post. Other blacks, some of them Democrats and some running on the National Democratic Party of Alabama ticket headed by Dr. John Cashin, were elected to such positions as coroner, circuit court clerk, and board of revenue member. (See the following analysis of the Alabama election.)

Eight black county school board members were elected in Mississippi. In Hancock County, Ga., a black majority was elected to the school board, giving blacks

control of that county in the same way that blacks previously had gained control of the county government machinery in Greene County, Ala. Arkansas supplied two additional mayors of a biracial town, those victories coming in the tiny municipalities of Cotton Plant and Madison.

Two more Southern legislatures were desegregated by the voting public on Nov. 3. Two Macon Countians won seats, giving Alabama its first black legislators since Reconstruction. They will represent, incidentally, Gov. Wallace's home district in east central Alabama. South Carolina elected three black legislators, the first in the state since 1901. Georgia, North Carolina and Florida each elected one additional black legislator to join incumbents returned to their seats. Arkansas, where six black legislative candidates all lost, becomes the last of the 11 Old Confederacy states maintaining an all-white legislature.

*But while the Nov. 3 elections boosted the black officeholders in the South well above the 600 mark (as compared with fewer than 80 when the Voting Rights Act went into effect in 1965), the level of importance of office won by blacks in the region was not elevated in the 1970 general elections. The highest level, in terms of power and authority, remains the state legislators, the sheriffs, and the various local judges. The big prizes—the congressional seats and statewide offices—continue to elude Dixie's black politicians.*

Atlanta's Andrew Young became the first black to win a major party's nomination for Congress in the South

**As research director of the Voter Education Project, Marvin Wall has an authoritative view of the role of the black voter in this month's elections in the South. Wall, a former Georgia newspaperman, was the acting executive director of Southern Education Reporting Service in 1959-60. RRIC asked Wall to analyze the election results and the future of the black voter. A pre-election analysis of this subject—"Black Voters Abandoned by Whites"—was reported by Paul Delaney in the New York Times on Nov. 1.**

in modern times, but he lost to the Republican incumbent in the general election. Dr. Cashin, NDPA candidate for governor, had to settle for 14 per cent of the Alabama vote. Thomas Broadwater, write-in candidate for governor in South Carolina, and William Richard Thompson, independent opponent of Mississippi Sen. John Stennis, got only a small share of the votes.

The basic problem, of course, is that there simply isn't sufficient black registration at the state and district level to provide a solid base for black candidates running in the Southern context. Most of the black victories—the Greene Counties, the Tuskegees, the Hancocks—have been coming in localities with heavy black registration. Thanks to skillfully placed lines in some instances, there is no congressional district in the South with a black voting majority. And contrary to some common misimpres-

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH  
Spring-Summer, 1970

STATE	WHITE VAP*	BLACK VAP*	WHITES REGISTERED	BLACKS REGISTERED	PERCENT WHITE VAP* REGISTERED	PERCENT BLACK VAP* REGISTERED
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,300,000	308,000	96.1	64.0
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	683,000	138,000	80.3	71.6
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,465,000	315,000	94.2	67.0
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,610,000	390,000	89.6	63.6
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,137,000	318,000	88.2	61.8
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	650,000	285,000	86.9	67.5
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,598,000	302,000	79.6	54.8
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,873	656,000	213,000	73.3	57.3
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,570,000	240,000	88.3	76.5
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,599,000	550,000	73.7	84.7
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,472,000	265,000	78.4	60.7
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	16,740,000	3,324,000	83.3	66.3

\*VAP—Voting Age Population, 1960 Census.

Voter Education Project, Inc.  
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

sions, there is no state in which blacks have more than a third of the voting strength.

One-third is the approximate black strength in the Georgia Fifth District, where the Rev. Mr. Young ran. His hope-buoyed campaign foundered when the black turnout fell below expectations (less than 55 per cent) and he got fewer than one of every five white votes cast. (It should be explained that the Georgia Fifth District does not coincide with the city of Atlanta, which last year elected a black vice-mayor. The Fifth District takes in surrounding Fulton County and many of Atlanta's predominantly white suburbs.) Young lost by 20,000 votes.

So black registration and turnouts both will have to be increased if blacks are to win significantly higher political positions in the South in the near future. Yet, at this point, it so happens that black registration is beginning to taper off. Last summer, for the first time in this decade, black registration failed to gain in relation to white registration in the South.

Black registration—while continuing to increase numerically—dropped from 16.7 per cent of the regional total to 16.6 per cent. (Worth noting here is the fact that the Voter Education Project, the nation's largest voter-registration organization, was inactive during the first five months of this year because of the Tax Reform Law of 1969. (See *Race Relations Reporter*, No. 9: June 1.) The vast and dramatic registration leaps of the middle Sixties are becoming a thing of the past. Two million eligible blacks remain unregistered in the South, but in many communities these are the hard-core "hold-outs"—those to whom the importance of registration must be patiently and tediously explained before they will agree to make the trip to the historically forbidding courthouse.

And, as the Young campaign illustrates, black turnouts are beginning to diminish as more and more blacks lose their enthusiasm for the political process. Four years ago, when thousands of blacks were voting for the first time, many hopes—perhaps too many—were pinned to the political process. At first, there were some heavy turnouts and few heady victories. But now some blacks have become cynical about the political process.

The victories haven't come as easily as some thought

they would. And the more than 600 victories that have occurred have not altered life in the South to the extent that some hoped they would. A growing number, especially among young blacks, have lost faith in the political road to change and progress. Such events as the Young defeat are bound to increase the ranks of Southern blacks who have given up on the political approach.

Reapportionment resulting from the 1970 census, along with the 18-year-old vote, could give black politics a much-needed lift. But even with these developments must come renewed interest in voter registration. Drives similar to the energetic programs of the early and middle Sixties are needed to push black registration high enough for blacks to have a reasonably good chance of winning congressional and statewide posts in the South. Black candidates, who almost never have the sort of financial resources available to white campaigners, will have to find new means to get their supporters to the polls.

## Ala. Elects First Black Legislators

BY BERNARD E. GARNETT

The predominantly black National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) enjoyed a bittersweet victory at the polls on Nov. 3. NDPA candidates gained control of Greene County and won major seats in Lowndes County. The state's first black probate judge and one of its first black state legislators since reconstruction were elected on the NDPA ticket.

But 162 party candidates—most of them black—had run for Congress and various state and local positions. Party officials had hoped that at least half of them would be elected, which would have meant an unprecedented sweep to office by blacks. They also had hoped that the NDPA founder and president, Dr. John L. Cashin, as the first black to run for governor of Alabama, would attract a massive black bloc vote and deprive George C. Wallace of the overwhelming majority he desired.

The Huntsville dentist ran a distant second, in a field

**The predominantly black National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) and its leader, Dr. John Cashin, left their impression on the state's politics, although they failed to elect as many of their black candidates as they had hoped (*Race Relations Reporter*, No. 18: Oct. 16). RRIC Staff Writer Bernard Garnett summarizes the election results and reports what political observers and NDPA leaders say about the black losses.**

of five. Alabama's official tabulations still were being compiled, but the gubernatorial results for the three leading candidates, based on a report from 86 per cent of the state's precincts, were:

<i>Wallace, Democrat—</i>	<i>578,199, or 74.4%</i>
<i>Cashin, NDPA—</i>	<i>114,811, or 14.8%</i>
<i>A. C. Shelton, Independent—</i>	<i>68,029, or 8.7%</i>

With 81 per cent of the precincts reporting, Wallace's running mate, Jere Beasley, had attracted 70.5 per cent of the vote for lieutenant-governor, with 469,770. Republican Bob French was second with 107,550 (16.14%), and NDPA hopeful Isaiah Hayes was third.

The NDPA won most impressively in Greene County, a Black Belt county near the Mississippi state line, where only 20 per cent of the residents are white. The Rev. William M. Branch was elected probate judge, and the Rev. Thomas Earl Gilmore was elected sheriff. Wadine Williams was named circuit court clerk by the voters, while Abner Milton was voted to the coroner's post. Ersie Chambers and John Head were elected to the five-member county Board of Education, completing the NDPA school panel sweep begun last year.

A total of four black sheriff candidates won in Alabama. The other three were: Lucius Amerson, of Macon County, the state's first black sheriff, who was re-elected; Red Williams, of Bullock County; and John Hulett, an NDPA candidate from Lowndes County.

*Thomas Reed and Fred Gray became the first two black state lawmakers from Alabama, since the Reconstruction. Reed ran on the NDPA ticket, and Gray, a 39-year old Tuskegee attorney (*Race Relations Reporter*, No. 11: July 1), was a Democratic Party candidate. Both will represent the 31st District, which encompasses Wallace's home county (Barbour) as well as Macon and Bullock Counties.*

The other NDPA victories:

Lowndes Co.—Alma Miller, circuit court clerk; Willie Ed McGhee, coroner.

Bullock Co.—Raymond Allen, coroner; Clinton Thornton, school board.

These few victories by black candidates—added to previous triumphs since the Voting Rights Acts of 1965—brought to 105 the number of black elected officials in Alabama. Only Michigan, with 110, boasts more.

Though NDPA leaders were pleased by their gains, they also suspected "old-fashioned Southern hanky-panky at the polls." Cashin remarked, "Sure, we won Greene County, but there could and should have been four more Greene Counties." Sumter, Hale, Perry and Marengo counties were other areas where the NDPA had hoped to win big.

Party leaders claimed evidence of vote thefts, box

"stuffing" with absentee ballots of suspect origin, and ballot machine jamming. They said many blacks were threatened with bodily harm or economic reprisal if they voted. Possible legal action was hinted, but NDPA leaders would not elaborate. But Cashin also admitted he did not have the money to run a more effective campaign.

Other political observers offer other possible reasons for the party's relative failure. A number of black regular Democrats were reported to have felt they would stand to gain more by supporting A. C. Shelton, a 75-year-old independent often described as a "moderate," and otherwise remaining loyal to their party, than by casting their lots with what often has been called "a splinter group."

Another suggestion was that Cashin and his NDPA leaders miscalculated their true strength, especially in the larger cities. Another theory—based on evidence that fewer than half of Alabama's 320,000 registered black voters went to the polls—is that the NDPA got out the vote where its campaign efforts were greatest (especially the Black Belt) and where it presented full slates. But the black reform party failed elsewhere.

## Black Admissions Officers Organize

BY JOHN EGERTON\*

The movie opens with an aerial view of the verdant campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The title—"In Light of Darkness," by Bib Bloodworth—appears over the campus scene and then the soulful baritone voice of Prince Taylor sings what it's all about:

*Baby, baby come and take my hand now,*

*We gotta learn how to deal with the man now.*

It is a 26-minute movie—filmed, appropriately, in black and white—and it was produced as a class project by black students at Chapel Hill. It cost a mere \$2,000 (thanks to a lot of donated time), and it was paid for by funds from the student government and the chancellor's office.

"In Light of Darkness" is being used to recruit more black students to the university. It pulls no punches. At one point in it, a student says: "One thing this school has taught me—you may be rich or smart or big, but you are a nigger. We're gonna force the man to treat us like men, and we're gonna walk out of here as black men and black women." Another student, declaring that the university belongs to him as much as to any white man, says 30 per cent of the student body should be black, and he adds, "We won't leave here until it is." And a third student asserts, "We're not trying to destroy anybody. We just want to make America and the words it declares a truth instead of a lie."

All of that represents something very new for the University of North Carolina, which is a patriarch in the fam-

*\*During the years, John Egerton has reported extensively for Southern Education Reporting Service and RRIC on the problems of blacks in formerly white colleges and universities. He was the author of the 1969 report on "State Universities and Black Americans" (Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St. N.E., Atlanta 30308, \$1).*

### PUBLICATIONS OF RACE RELATIONS INFORMATION CENTER

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Egerton, John.	"Racial Protest in the South—1969 Style." Case studies of Forrest City, Ark, and Somerville, Tenn. Oct. 1969. 33 pp. (Out of print. Xerox Copies available at \$5.00)		
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