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# White Backlash Sways Voting

By JOHN HERBERS

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NEW YORK — The white backlash, a phenomenon which had been confined largely to the South in previous elections, was an important factor across the nation in Tuesday's voting.

White resistance to civil rights gains sought by Negroes and fear of Negro uprisings became an issue in a number of races for governor, Congress and local office. In others, the backlash simmered below the surface and frequently was exploited indirectly by candidates or their supporters.

In many areas, however, the race issue was not related in any way to the campaigns.

But even if the issue had not altered the outcome of any contest, it had a profound effect on the national posture of civil rights and race relations, as well as to related matters such as public welfare and law enforcement.

In some southern and border states such as Georgia and Maryland, where segregationists had won the Democratic nomination for governor, the effect was to move the entire campaign further to the right because of the elimination of moderates or liberals.

In many areas outside the South, even where the race issue was not discussed, the effect was to slow or stop the promises and attention given to Negroes by candidates. In Pennsylvania, for example, where both candidates for governor took strong stands for civil rights, the Democrats declined to have a Negro appear on Television endorsing their nominee, for fear of the backlash.

The Negro vote which has been called the frontlash, was potentially greater than it has ever been, North and South, and in some areas offset the backlash. But everywhere except in

a few scattered counties, Negro voters were in the minority. Generally, they favored the Democratic candidates as a carryover from the 1964 presidential election but in some instances supported the Republicans or split their vote.

The backlash first became a threat in the 1964 presidential campaign when Alabama Gov. George Wallace sought to arouse national opposition to the 1964 civil rights bill, which was later enacted. But it took hold only in the South where five southern states defected from the Democratic party and supported the Republican presidential ticket on the race issue.

Since then, however, several developments have increased the backlash in both the North and South. During the past summer the civil rights movement shifted more to the North. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who had worked almost exclusively in the South, led street demonstrations for open housing in Chicago.

The concept of Black Power emerged from what had been non-violent elements of the Negro movement. Riots, which occurred in many cities during the summer, aroused the fears of many whites. Further white opposition arose from the Johnson administration's attempt to enact a bill banning discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

Polls taken throughout the nation showed there was widespread concern among voters over the race issue. In many areas it was the chief domestic concern among voters.

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