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In Selma, Atlanta and Elsewhere, Former Racial Coalitions Are Considered Ineffective

More Blacks Are Turning To the Politics Of Frustration

By JOHN HERBERS

SELMA, Ala. — In this former stronghold of segregation where the limits of black power are still clearly delineated, it is easier to see why so many black leaders are attempting to elect blacks to public office over white moderates who have worked with them in the past. The controversial movement away from coalition politics has taken hold from the largest cities to the rural areas of the South. And it is related to the exacerbation of the conflict between blacks and Jews, as well as to some of the controversy surrounding the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Its depth was shown a few days ago, when Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta unexpectedly endorsed Hosea Williams, his onetime colleague in the civil rights movement, for the Congressional seat held by Representative Wyche Fowler, a young, white liberal whom Mr. Young and many other black leaders supported in the past. Mr. Young insisted his decision was not based on race. But his endorsement statement said the election of Mr. Williams from the predominantly black Atlanta district "would give us the only black Congressman from the Deep South." Both Mr. Young and Mr. Williams were aides to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and advocates of the King doctrine of "black and white together" long after black separatism became popular in the late 1960's.

The phenomenon was demonstrated in Selma last week, when blacks attempted but failed to take control of City Hall. Demonstrations for the right to vote here, which whites put down with violence, inspired enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Armed with the ballot, blacks won seats on the City Council, integrated the public schools, found employment denied to them in the past and increased their share of professional jobs. In that sense, the little city of 27,000 has been transformed.

Frederick D. Reese, one of the black leaders, was elected to the City Council in 1972. Year after year, he



Classroom integration: a typing class at George Wallace Community College in Selma.

The New York Times/Carl Bergquist

supported Joseph T. Smitherman, the white mayor, in return for concessions for the black community, including city jobs. But, Mr. Reese said, progress for blacks reached its limits, even though they constitute a slim majority. Whites still controlled the economy, the city council and the Dallas County courthouse. Much of the black community remained in poverty, and according to Mr. Reese, racism persisted. Inspired by Mr. Jackson's showing in the Presidential primaries, he decided to challenge Mr. Smitherman in his run for a sixth term.

Partly because of his support of blacks, Mr. Smitherman had, by his own admission, many enemies among

whites. It seemed doubtful when the campaign began that he could win another term. But last week Mr. Smitherman won by a wide margin through the help of one-fifth of the blacks, many of whom he had befriended, and his former white enemies who feared black control of city hall more than another Smitherman term. The kind of white support Mr. Reese had sought through trying to play down race as an issue failed to materialize. Before the election the white community seethed with rumors of what might happen if he was elected, even though he was known to be a moderate.

J. L. Chestnut, Jr., a black lawyer here, said Mr.

Reese's biggest mistake was in seeking white votes rather than galvanizing the black community on a racial basis. Wherever blacks are in a majority, blacks like Mr. Chestnut maintain, whites rarely vote for a black candidate, no matter how able. This is particularly true in the South. Black leaders are also attempting to justify intellectually their position that black candidates make superior officials, not only for blacks but for whites as well.

Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who came here in support of Mr. Reese's candidacy, gave several reasons. The first, he said, was that blacks are less provincial than whites because they are in touch with and understand the struggles of other oppressed people around the world.

Ever since the Selma marches two decades ago, southern black leaders associated with Dr. King have been attempting to connect the American civil rights movement to the cause of other oppressed minorities abroad, to make civil rights a worldwide movement. Their support of the Palestinians and some Arab nations and opposition to Israel's ties with South Africa are at the heart of Mr. Jackson's conflict with Jews throughout his Presidential campaign.

Jackson and Jews

That tension reached a peak last week when, before Walter F. Mondale's choice of Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of Queens as his running mate, Mr. Jackson accused Jewish leaders of threatening Mr. Mondale to keep his distance from Mr. Jackson and ignore him as a possibility for the Vice Presidential spot and white women of failing to give him enough credit of advocating that a woman be chosen for the ticket. After Mr. Mondale picked Mrs. Ferraro, Mr. Jackson praised the move as in keeping with his own "rainbow coalition."

Mr. Lowery also said blacks make better public officials than whites because they are more sensitive to the needs of the poor and are more just to whites than whites are to blacks. On this point, many people argue that race does not determine sensitivity to the needs of poor people. In Selma, for example, Mayor Smitherman has argued persuasively that one of the reasons he defended the cause of poor blacks was that although he is white he is the son of a sharecropper and grew up on welfare in rural Dallas County and was frequently in need of both food and clothing. "I know what it's like to be poor," he said.

All this is seen by some as the politics of frustration. Barry Commoner, for example, a vice chairman of the Jackson campaign, says Mr. Jackson is the "invisible man" of the campaign, who no matter what he accomplishes cannot be considered seriously because the white majority would not tolerate a black candidate.

Blacks down to the grass roots have the same feelings. To some Democratic officials, it is an indication of the state of black-white relations in the United States today and cause to worry whether they will reap the black support they need this fall against Ronald Reagan.

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ATLANTA DEBATES AN ENDORSEMENT

Mayor Young Backs Old Ally
in Congressional Bid and
Is Accused of Racism

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, July 15 — They were both allies of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and they share many common memories from the 1960's, when they campaigned together across the South in behalf of civil rights.

Even so, the decision of Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta earlier this month to publicly endorse the candidacy of the Rev. Hosea Williams for the United States House of Representatives, not only came as a surprise here but also has touched off a noisy political debate in Atlanta.

Critics of Mr. Young's actions in behalf of Mr. Williams have in recent days accused the Mayor of anything from racism to "male chauvinism." For his part, the Mayor says he is backing Mr. Williams out of friendship.

Letters Sent Out

Mr. Young's photograph and signature appeared last week on letters soliciting contributions in behalf of Mr. Williams, a longtime civil rights activist whose outspoken and sometimes controversial style included his endorsement in 1980 of Ronald Reagan for President.

Mr. Williams is among four black challengers in the Democratic primary next month who are hoping to unseat Representative Wyche Fowler Jr., a white liberal who has served the Fifth Congressional District since 1977. There are no Republicans running. The other Democratic challengers are Alveda King Beal, Dr. King's niece, who is a former State Representative; Bob Waymer, a member of the Atlanta school board, and Henrietta Canty, a former State Representative.

Despite the controversy over the endorsement, people who follow politics here say Representative Fowler remains the popular favorite to retain the seat, which once belonged to Mr. Young. Mr. Fowler succeeded Mr. Young when he became chief United States delegate to the United Nations in the Carter Administration.

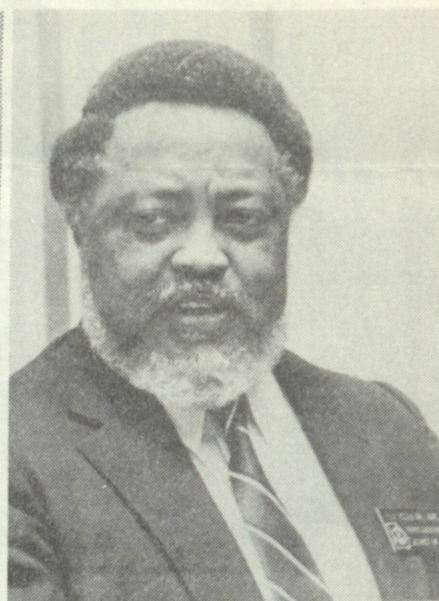
Representative Fowler has held his seat easily, relying on strong support from black voters and the black political leadership in Atlanta. As a result of redistricting in 1980, blacks now constitute 58 percent of the district's 260,000 registered voters.

But there has been growing pressure to elect a black to represent the district. And Mr. Fowler and some black political figures have had private discussions about the Congressman's



The New York Times

Mayor Andrew Young



The New York Times

The Rev. Hosea Williams

stepping down in 1986, perhaps to run for the Senate seat held by Mack Mattingly, a Republican, to enable a black to be elected.

Several have been mentioned as possible successors, including John Lewis, an Atlanta City Councilman who formerly headed the Voter Education Project, and Michael Lomax, chairman of the Fulton County Commission.

The sharpest allegations over Mayor Young's endorsement are charges that he was playing racial politics by endorsing Mr. Williams. The letter signed by Mayor Young notes that black voters outnumber whites in the district and pleads that Mr. Williams's election would make him the "only black Congressman from the Deep South."

The letter was sent to some 10,000 homes and businesses in the Atlanta area.

'Blatant Appeal to Blacks'

"It is a blatant appeal to black voters to vote strictly on a racial basis to take advantage of their numbers, and it is appalling," the Atlanta Journal wrote in an editorial last Monday. It said the endorsement reflected "a racist way of thinking."

Mr. Young disagrees, saying that race had nothing to do with the endorsement. He says his support of Mr. Williams merely reflected his friendship and admiration for a colleague whom he recruited as a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1961.

Supporters of Mr. Young say he has taken pains to cultivate a biracial political coalition both during and since his successful campaign for mayor in 1981.

The allegations of sexism spun out of a meeting between Mr. Young and Mrs. Beal.

'Male Chauvinist Pigs, Too'

Mrs. Beal said Mr. Young suggested she ought to drop out of race to better take care of her family. When she protested the remark as an example of male chauvinism, Mrs. Beal said Mr. Young told her that both her uncle, Dr. King, and her father, the Rev. Alfred

King, deceased, were "male chauvinist pigs, too."

Last Tuesday, Mayor Young said he had apologized to Mrs. Beal for his remarks and noted that his description of the King brothers "was said in jest." But, the Mayor added, "maybe we shouldn't joke about those things."

Many political figures doubt that Mr. Young's endorsement will play a major role in the primary on Aug. 14. And Tom Offenburger, Mr. Young's press secretary, said that at this time the Mayor had no plans to campaign on Mr. Williams's behalf.

That has led to speculation among some politicians, who asked not to be identified, that there is more smoke than fire in Mr. Young's endorsement, because it allows him to pay a political favor to an old colleague without risking permanent political damage to himself. This is because most observers believe it is very unlikely that Representative Fowler can be defeated.

Possible Benefits for Young

Meanwhile, the endorsement is not without some political benefits for Mr. Young. It may serve to help reassure those rank-and-file black voters wary of his close ties to the city's white business community, as well as his rejection last spring of the Presidential candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson in favor of Walter F. Mondale.

Mr. Williams directed Mr. Jackson's statewide campaign in the Georgia Presidential primary last March.

In the 1960's, Mr. Williams was one of the most visible and most aggressive of Dr. King's lieutenants. According to the fund-raising letter sent out by Mr. Young, Mr. Williams has been in jail 113 times as a result of his civil rights activity.

For the last 10 years, he has been a state legislator from Atlanta and head of the Atlanta chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He has frequently clashed with other black leaders in the South, particularly after his decision in 1980 to endorse Mr. Reagan. He now says he opposes Mr. Reagan's re-election.

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STATE BRIEFING

From staff and wire services

U.S. files motion in voting-rights case

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department yesterday moved to defend the constitutionality of a new section of the Voting Rights Act being used to challenge at-large elections in Georgia. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, head of the department's civil rights division, said notices or motions to intervene were filed in U.S. District Court in Brunswick, Ga.

In the case, *Baker vs. Gay*, the at-large election of the Camden County, Ga., Board of Commissioners and Board of Education is being challenged as discriminatory against blacks, who make up 32 percent of the population. Under the at-large system, voters from throughout the county elect officeholders, rather than having them elected from separate districts or wards. The department filed similar motions in cases in New Mexico and North Carolina.

tion, which began with the comm for the class of 1984 Saturday.

"The medallions will help us all tennial celebration," Georgia sp said. "They are permanent, once of this great occasion."

Restaurant industry

ATLANTA — The restaurant health department officials for inspecting restaurants would be passed on to com

"We will continue to do whatever it takes," said the director of the Georgia Health

The state Supreme Court but the General Assembly ernments the authority boards of health in commended the federal ment approval their own fees

Federal workers await voter registration rule

United Press International

WASHINGTON — Federal workers whose unions have endorsed Walter Mondale for president are being blocked by the government, under penalty of being fired or suspended, from helping in union-sponsored voter registration drives.

Union activists consider a large turnout among rank-and-file workers essential to the effort to oust President Reagan from the White House.

The action by the special counsel of the Merit Systems Protection Board is being challenged in U.S. District Court by two unions — the 250,000-member American Federation of Government Employees and the 53,000-member National Treasury Employees Union.

U.S. District Judge Thomas Jackson has scheduled a hearing for April 25 on the suit.

The two unions represent 810,000 federal workers, and the court decision could have an impact on hundreds of thousands other federal employees.

The unions say registration drives at the Defense Mapping Agency in Brookmont, Md.; the Veterans Administration Medical Center in San Antonio, Texas; and

a VA regional center in Baltimore; and drives planned for California and New Jersey have been halted as a result of the government action.

Ironically, the dispute was started by a third union, the 60,000-member National Federation of Federal Employees, which planned to endorse a candidate but first

asked the board for an advisory opinion about continuing voter registration.

"We were right on the brink of endorsing," said spokeswoman Sandra Arnold, who said the plans were scuttled when a board attorney said it would be illegal thereafter for federal employees to work in the registration drives.



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Rev. Jesse Jackson and His 'Tribal' Politics

Washington

Watching my journalistic brethren of the liberal persuasion anguishing all over their editorial pages over the refusal of Rev. Jesse Jackson to disavow Muslim Minister Louis Farrakhan, it is hard to suppress a chuckle.

Here, for example, is Sydney Schanberg's terminal angst in the *New York Times*: "This reporter has listened and listened and struggled for some time against writing this column because the issues raised by Mr. Jackson are fundamental and humane and because describing him as a polarizer could damage those issues."

What these gentlemen, in their nostalgic reveries, obviously hoped for from Jackson's candidacy was a

return to the days of arm-in-arm marching, singing "We Shall Overcome," to integrate the local lunch counter over the objections of the canine corps of Bull Connor.

EXCUSE ME, FELLAS, but Jesse ain't into integration — and hasn't been for a long, long time. He's into power.

What his liberal acolytes fail, nay, refuse defiantly, to accept is that Jesse Jackson is not, first and foremost, a liberal, a democrat, a Christian minister or even an American. He is, first and foremost, black. Race is the touchstone of Jackson's politics. Liberal belief in equality of opportunity for every individual is not what Jesse is about; he demands equality of reward for racial groups. His politics are tribal.

Rev. Jackson did not come down hard on Louis Farrakhan for threatening American Jews with repris-

als, if one among their number did "harm" to this brother, because, to Rev. Jackson, Louis Farrakhan is one of us. Racial solidarity is more important than pats on the head from the liberal press.

The Jackson political style, his M.O. if you will, is predictable and recurrent. It is, first, to cast himself as voice of the "oppressed;" second, to make "demands" grounded in alleged past injustices by the "white power structure;" third, to intimidate that guilt-ridden establishment — through bullying and threat — to accede to those "just demands."

Jackson's "black boycotts" of companies like Country Delight, Wonder Bread, A&P, and Canada Dry are shake-down operations — as American as Al Capone. Nor is one terribly surprised to read in *Review of the News* magazine that one

of the beneficiaries — he reportedly got a franchise from both Coca Cola and Kentucky Fried Chicken — is Jackson's half-brother.

IN SAN FRANCISCO, Jackson will go into his patented routine — with Fritz Mondale cast in the role of "white power structure." The demand will be for an end to run-off primaries in the South, thereby enabling black candidates to win nominations with little more than a third of the vote. When Jesse Jackson talks about the spirit of the Voting Rights Act, he means proportional representation by race. If blacks are 12 percent of the nation, black strength in the House should be 12 percent. If blacks form a majority in a city, the mayor should be black.

Liberal Democrats who have assisted mightily his campaign to make Jesse Jackson the Broker for Black America are going to be

somewhat aghast when they finally get a look at Reverend Jackson's decidedly liberal demands.

The transference of Jackson's style and approach from national to global politics is already under way.

The "oppressed" in whose name Jackson claims to speak are the black and brown peoples of the Third world. "I'm a Third World person," he declares, "I grew up in an occupied zone . . . and had to negotiate with the superpower, really the colonial power."

WHO ARE THE occupiers, the oppressors? They are, in the descending order of Third World demonology, South Africa, Israel and the United States.

The revolutionary struggles of the Third World peoples — against the West — lend morality, even dignity, to their deeds. Thus, Jackson can embrace Arafat, denounce

the "poisonous weed" of Zionism, demand that a total breach with South Africa be written into the Democratic Platform, announce a trip to Nicaragua to identify with his beleaguered Marxist brothers, and say of Lt. Goodman, who, after all, was flying for the United States, "The Syrians had a right to kill" him.

To the extent that Mr. Mondale accedes to Rev. Jackson's demands, he will alienate the working and middle class Democrats who, like Mr. Reagan, do not in the least feel guilty or apologetic about America's wealth, power, position, history or stance in the world. Who, indeed, think that the best thing done for the oppressed of the Third World in recent years was the 82nd Airborne's rescue of the people of Grenada from the revolutionary thugs who ruled over them.

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