

(NEGROES, from page 1)

pages' and plan the strategy which will put black power really into operation in this country; for with power in the way of seats in Congress and the Senate, state legislatures, city councils, Mayors' and Governors' offices...come all of the good things which Negroes are so bitter about not having, equal education, equal citizenship, protection of the laws, jobs, dignity--and Congress doesn't have to pass an act to get them; the Negro is by way of being 'in on the act'."

The election of "proportional representation in governing bodies of the country" might be the key to ending riots, the magazine article hazarded, and "might be...essential to the Negro's sense of 'racial purpose', as similar evidences of self-respect, self-sufficiency, self-government...are...to the nation's sense of 'national purpose'."

"It is perhaps the meaning of Congressman Adam Powell's distracted cry before the television cameras last Spring when he foretold future riots unless some 25 congressional seats were forthcoming to Negroes," the article went on, adding: "It should be noted that the racial disturbances of the past three years have taken place in cities where Negroes are pulsing with a sense of unused power...New York, Los Angeles, Newark, Detroit, Omaha, Toledo, Milwaukee...Milwaukee where even as of 1960, the Negro population increase was 184.08 percent, up from 22,129 to 66,777 in 10 years. What must it be now?"

CAN ELECT FIVE TO U.S. SENATE

By the use of what Congressman Powell has called "audacious power, better known as black power," the magazine said, "Negroes can elect, besides the 61 new Negro congressmen, five Negroes to the United States Senate, and of course hundreds of lesser officers, state legislators, county sheriffs, councilmen, mayors..."

The article asserted that a Negro has a better chance of being elected Governor of Alabama today than former Governor George Wallace has of being elected President, "the white backlash notwithstanding, for the smallest minority in the country is the naked, aggressive racist."

A Negro can be elected Governor of Mississippi in 1971; "a Negro can govern Georgia within 10 years. Negro Governors are in the offing for Louisiana and South Carolina...A Negro could put the Senatorial seat of Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat, turned Republican, back into the Democratic column. A Negro could successfully challenge John C. Stennis, of Mississippi, in 1969, or Senators Lister Hill, of Alabama, or Herman Talmadge, of Georgia, when both come up for re-election" this year, the magazine stated.

Taking the 1960 Census figures as a basis, the article said the potential Negro vote in the country is 11,800,000, about twice that cast in the 1964 Presidential election. Of this number, 5,860,000 are in the North and West, and 5,900,000 in the 11 states of the old South.

The states in which the 61 Negroes could be elected to Congress, according to the Lomax article, are: Alabama, four seats; Georgia, four; Mississippi, four; South Carolina, three; Louisiana, four; North Carolina, two; Virginia, three; Texas, two; Tennessee, one; Florida, one; Arkansas, one; California, six; Illinois, four; Indiana, two; Maryland, one; Michigan, three; Missouri, one; New Jersey, one; New York, 8; Ohio and Pennsylvania, three each.

URGE NEGROES BE ELECTED TO CITY AND COUNTY POSTS

Four of Alabama's 8 congressional districts are close to 50 percent Negro, 39, 48.5, 48.8, and 49.5, respectively, even by the regional custom of "counting white people twice and Negroes ever so often," the article said. Counties range as high in Negro percentage of the population as Lowndes' 80.7, and Macon's 86 percent, and Negroes should be encouraged with the new access to the vote provided by the 1965 Voting Rights Law, to elect Negroes to city and county posts to help boost the Race into proportional representation in the power echelon of the country, the Lomax piece asserted.

Georgia has an even bigger Black Belt, in terms of Negro concentration, than Alabama and has one congressional district "which it was impossible for the state legislature to gerrymander so that Negroes would not be in

the majority." This, the Tribune said, is the Third district, formerly held by Howard "Bo" Calloway, the unsuccessful foe of Governor Lester Maddox. The 19 counties of the Third include 13 with Negro populations ranging from Dooley's 52.5 to Stewart's 70.5, and average out 52 percent Negro.

The Fifth district covers most of Atlanta, which according to a special Labor and Commerce Dept. report to President Johnson last year, was 44 percent Negro as of 1965, and could also be won by a Negro, the magazine stated. Others which the Lomax article calculated a Negro could win are Georgia's Second district, 46.5 Negro as of 1960, and the 10th 47.1.

Even Mississippi admits to Negroes being close to half the state's population, 43.2 as of the 1960 Census, the Tribune article said. It is believed by the magazine that Negroes could win the Third congressional seat where they are 52.1 percent of the population, the Fourth, 49.4, the First, 41.6, and should give the Second, 26.7 percent Negro, a try.

COULD OUST MENDEL RIVERS

Little attention, the Tribune said, is paid the large Negro population of South Carolina which was 39.9 percent of the whole as of 1960. Negroes are in the majority in 15 of the state's 46 counties and are in the majority in the district of one of the Negro's "arch enemies", Congressman Mendel Rivers, one of the leaders in the ouster of Congressman Powell.

Negroes are 52.3 percent of Rivers' First district, the Tribune said; they are 49.7 of the Sixth, and 43.5 of the Second, and the magazine article expressed the opinion an effort should be made to win the three.

A Negro community which was 33.3 percent of the population of Louisiana in 1960 has suffered no great population loss by migration while, on the contrary, gaining from its neighboring states, the Tribune stated. Losses in 15 out of Louisiana's 64 parishes (counties) were chiefly of rural areas of less than 5000 Negro population and were offset by rises as high as 96 percent in such population centers as East Baton Rouge where 72,993 Negroes in 1960 made up 31.7 percent of the population, and Orleans parish (New Orleans) where Negro population had risen in 1960 by 28.5 percent to 233,514, or 37.2 percent of the whole, and which in the November report to the President by the Labor and Commerce Departments showed an increase as of 1965 to 41 percent. The Tribune said the Negro had "excellent" chances of winning in the First, Fifth, and Sixth districts where, as of 1960, Negroes were 45.0, 42.9, and 43.1 percent of the population, and fair chances in the Second.

"A stable Negro population, moving mainly from the country into the city, was 24.4 percent of the population (of North Carolina), as of the 1960 Census," the magazine article went on. Making up 45.3 and 46.1 percent of North Carolina's First and Second districts, Negroes should make a unified effort to win both, the article recommended.

Virginia Negroes, 20.2 percent of the population as of 1960, were given "one good and two fair" chances of winning three seats in Congress, from the Fourth, 46.8 percent Negro, the First and 8th, 37.6 and 37.5 percent Negro, respectively. "Virginia's Negro population is stable, too, with...moves mainly to the larger population concentrations within the state," the Tribune continued. High percentage losses for 1950-60 of 84.8, 81.1, etc., were from counties having "less than 1000 Negroes" and were "more than offset by rises in such cities as Richmond...increased 26.0 in Negro population in 1960 to 92,331, or 41.8 percent of the whole, or Norfolk, 25.4 rise to 80,621, or Newport News, 26.5 rise to 39,061."

NEGROES BIG IN TEXAS

Negroes were not in the majority in any of Texas's 23 congressional districts as of 1960, "but like everything in Texas, they were big," the magazine article said. The census for 1960 placed the state's Negro population at 1,187,125, or 12.4 percent of the country's sixth largest state, an increase of 21.5 percent over 1950.

Despite the omnipresent feeling that "everybody is from Texas," the state experienced relatively little out-migration of Negroes, as of 1960, with only 99 of the 254 counties showing percentage minuses. That migration, in the more favorable southern climate of the past six

years would reasonably be expected to have slowed considerably, according to the Lomax piece. At any rate, the article continued, the losses, "ranging from 1.8 to 37.5...are minus-scale when compared to gains such as Swisher county's 316.3 percent, or Ector's 206.4, or Coryell's 205. Eighty-three counties gained Negro population from 1950-60, 25 of them by 50 percent or more.

"Largest Negro concentrations are Houston, Dallas, and Galveston, all approaching a third, Fort Worth, San Antonio, El Paso, Marshall, Waco, Tyler, and Austin...Negroes range from 20 to 53.6 percent of the populations of 20 counties of Texas." With reapportionment as ordered by the Supreme Court, the Tribune estimates that Negroes "are in a position to elect a congressman from Dallas or Houston, or will be."

Negro chances in Tennessee hinge also on reapportionment, "especially of the 9th district (Memphis)." As of 1960, there were 227,445 Negroes in Memphis, a 10 percent gain over 1950, and they were 36.3 percent of the city's population. By 1965 and the special report to the President, this percentage figure had risen to 40, auguring well for Negro chances in a reapportioned 9th which with 627,019 population is twice the size it ought to be.

NEGRO POPULATION BOOM IN FLORIDA

Few people realize that Negroes are participating in the population boom in Florida as well as whites, the Tribune article pointed out. As of 1960, Negroes were 17.8 percent of Florida's 4,951,560, or 880,186, an increase of 45.9 percent over 1950. Florida Negroes have a chance of electing a Negro from the Second district which is 32.1 Negro, the Tribune said.

Arkansas' Fourth district seems to have been drawn with "Negro representation in mind, although not likely," says the magazine. Its 20 counties include 17 in which the Negro is 25 percent of the population, or better, and average out 33.5 Negro, "a fighting chance."

Turning to the North and looking Westward, California is a case of "You can run, but you can't hide" from the Negro hordes for congressmen who have been "squatting" in Negro districts, says the Tribune. The magazine estimates that there are four districts in Los Angeles besides the one already held by a Negro which Negroes could win, the 30th, 17th, 31st, and 23rd, and in Northern California, the 7th of Alameda County and the 5th of San Francisco.

It cited four, "and possibly five" districts adjoining the First, long occupied by a Negro, which Chicago's million and a half Negroes could win, "districts with large numbers of Southside and Westside wards, the Second, the Third, the Fifth, the 7th, possibly the 8th or 9th." "It said two Negroes could be elected from Indiana, from the First district, which is Lake County where Negro Richard G. Hatcher was elected Mayor of Gary, and the 11th which is mainly Indianapolis which experienced a 53.7 Negro population increase, as of 1960 and where Negro growth since then has been accelerated at more than twice that rate.

Negroes are nearing 50 percent of the population of Baltimore, which is served by two congressmen, and could elect one of them, the magazine article asserted. As of 1960, Baltimore's 325,489 Negroes were 34.7 percent of the city and had a 44.7 percent population rise over 1950.

Michigan, which already has more Negro congressmen than any other state, two, is said to have more than a million Negroes, mainly in Wayne County (Detroit), where there were 529,582 in 1960, a 57.9 increase over the decade before. Negro Detroiters are said to feel they can increase their representation by three seats, the 14th, 16th, and 17th.

Missouri Negroes can send a Negro to Congress from one of the two districts representing St. Louis where they are more than 35 percent of the population. Ohio Negroes can send two from Cleveland and one from Cincinnati; Philadelphians, who already have one, an additional one, "and possibly two, from the First and Third districts," and Pittsburgh one, from the 14th district.

"How not to have had a Newark riot," says (See NEGROES, page 13)

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