

MS450_025

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Interview date: 1986-02-11

Transcription date: 2014

**Georgia Institute of Technology Archives, Ron Bayor Papers
(MS450)**

MALCOLM JONES: -- rapid transit.

RONALD BAYOR: And in the speech in 1971, you said that there was opposition to MARTA from whites.

(break in audio)

BAYOR: One, two, three, four, five, six. All right. OK, what I guess I was curious about there is whether there was any racial aspect to the white opposition to the rapid transit, and why? Was it because like it was becoming a black city, and there was a lack of desire to put improvements into the city on that basis?

JONES: Well, you know, to be very honest with you, the atmosphere at that time, I would not rule that out, not at all. The fact that you had a city that was rapidly becoming predominantly black, in terms of population and in terms of political [01:00] control, all of course in my judgment played a role in it. Because as a technical matter, a (inaudible) rapid transit's [what you're doing?]. But, you know, so if we removed the possibility of the fact that there was some racial situation involved, then of

course rapid transit would be built (inaudible). So that had to play (inaudible). I was very strongly vocally for it; the black leadership was very strongly vocally for it.

BAYOR: There was really no black opposition then to the rapid transit, I suppose?

JONES: Not anything substantial. You'll always have some, but black leadership -- Jesse Hills at that time, and Sam Williams, and Q.V. Williams, and all those people (inaudible).

BAYOR: I was just struck by the fact that you mentioned Maddox as a leader (inaudible). Maddox was [02:00] involved in some racial (inaudible). And that's why I was curious about that.

JONES: I think the first rapid transit has gone well.

BAYOR: What was that? What was the reason for that? (inaudible).

JONES: Two reasons that I think. We were very well trying to extract some agreement for MARTA, and then (inaudible). The length of the line, where the line would go, and black participation, you know, that kind of thing. Originally, at first, they thought that this was [their thing?]. A "white [line?]," quote-unquote. And they thought to get it [finished?]. And without significant involvement from some of us who were, at that time, you know, had some clout,

(inaudible) [03:00] turning out votes. They just went ahead and kind of rough-rodged -- ramrodded, rather -- the notion to put it on the ballot and get it through. And so when it first came up, there was not this kind of enthusiasm among those of us who were there to support it.

BAYOR: In other words, they didn't ask for any input from the black community?

JONES: Very little confrontation -- consultation.

BAYOR: So the black community kind of (inaudible). What was done after that?

JONES: After that, then we had meetings. Then the (inaudible) council. They had to have our support there to pass it. (inaudible) took care of the line, took care of -- without any question, that was the agreement. The agreement was the 15-cent fare. The agreement was for black participation.

BAYOR: (inaudible)

JONES: In terms of lawyers involved, and counting the transactions, [04:00] and in terms of employment, in the MARTA structure and the MARTA system itself. And we struck those agreements, but we didn't do it as Peter (inaudible) would have done. And that is, (inaudible). Or you would say, I want you to swear in blood that you will not recede from the [Senate?] position. You go into a conference

committee. Well, we didn't make them swear in blood. The result is that there's no documentation as to what they agreed and what the black leadership agreed, in terms of securing our support for the passage of that funding.

BAYOR: (inaudible)?

JONES: Not as it related to (inaudible). And then they finally -- we made several tries on the 15 cents before it actually was worked out that it would move from 15 cents. And we helped pass that, and (inaudible) for as long as we did. [05:00]

BAYOR: OK. Black lawyers didn't put on as a (inaudible)?

JONES: I don't think so. Or they did some of that, but not to the extent they (inaudible). For instance, even after the bond issue was passed, we had to then go back to the [paper?] and begin to fight for black participation. That was (inaudible) lawyers, fund lawyers. [Stel Huey?] and his (inaudible) had the whole legal proposition (inaudible) what MARTA also had. And we had to kind of penetrate that.

BAYOR: So it was like a lot of other deals they made. They promised things, they got black support, [then they'd do whatever they do?]? I've seen that, a few of the (inaudible). So the white opposition then is coming from not people like Ivan Allen (inaudible) coming from Maddox

and I guess [rural?] legislators who didn't care much about [the city?]?

JONES: [06:00] That's basically it. Yeah.

BAYOR: Going back to one of your other speeches, 1963, you said that "There are 28,000 Negroes voting in Atlanta. And this is why we have a good atmosphere in Atlanta." I have always heard so much about tradition of racial cooperation. Is that based on black (inaudible).

JONES: It did not exist before [to the same as today?]. The only thing that I think that distinguishes Atlanta from other cities has been probably the atmosphere of willingness to relate and to [conserve?] with black leadership. Over against the (inaudible) in Birmingham, [and in Selma?] and others. The fact that we had (inaudible) created an atmosphere [07:00] through this [paper?]. And the fact that you had -- and Ivan Allen, or Hartsfield, who may not love -- who did not love black people, and -- but who had a keen sense of political reality, and because of that sense of political reality, was prepared and willing to work with them, to cooperate with them.

BAYOR: Was it --

JONES: To give something --

BAYOR: Was it (inaudible) 1948? Not (inaudible) 1938?

JONES: No, no, (inaudible) only after black [folks?] obtained the right to vote. For instance, that has increased their voting spirit. For instance, (inaudible) I recall (inaudible) [K.C. Baldwin?] had related the story to us, how they went to Huntsville and asked for a certain (inaudible) for blacks. And he was immediately told, "If you want me to do this, then you have to put more black [08:00] people on the voting rolls." If you add a few black policemen or for some other issue that (inaudible).

BAYOR: He said, come back when you have 10,000 votes?

JONES: Come back when you have 10,000 votes. And we created a voter registration drive at that time. So my reference to that was a --

(break in audio)

JONES: -- (inaudible) because number one, we had that 48,000 black (inaudible) voters. It [appears?] political reality, in terms of our ability to aid, you could either help somebody get in office, or to prevent somebody to get in office. Not that we could put anybody into office on our own, but we could either (inaudible) or we could [get?] somebody else.

BAYOR: In other words, (inaudible).

JONES: (inaudible).

BAYOR: Would you accept this bunch of white men [09:00] to run the city, and you would say what, (inaudible)?

JONES: Well if we did, it (inaudible) we had what was called the United Negro Voters League. And what we would [require?] all the candidates (inaudible). We were an executive section, (inaudible) A, B, C, D, and E (inaudible). Once we made that determination, then we then would put out a slate.

(break in audio)

JONES: See, the other good thing is, is that black people at that time, followed the slate of the Atlanta Negro Voters League 98%. Ninety-eight percent. If we endorsed a candidate, that candidate got 98% of the black votes. And that was a significant amount.

BAYOR: But then the white business group came to you with a list of white men?

JONES: (inaudible).

BAYOR: Say yes or no [10:00] (inaudible). Or suggested (inaudible).

JONES: Well, I think it -- without any question there was some cooperation with the white power structure. It was the white power structure at that time, we were (inaudible) in Buckhead. It was the Atlanta newspaper, Buckhead, and

the black leadership that kind of held this city together, in terms of it's (inaudible) racial relations.

BAYOR: (inaudible) that was great, but what would you suggest was, the whites you would support, or whether they came (inaudible).

JONES: No, they did not come with (inaudible). It was done in the back rooms. The whites (inaudible). You know, we then would make a judgment, but we would make that determination, because obviously, [11:00] they all say (inaudible) for half an hour. (inaudible). But the procedure was, generally, was we would get together and make the decision. Now we were (inaudible). But they never came up with a list and said, "These are our candidates. You folks either take them or leave them."

BAYOR: Do you think that type of situation produced a city in which nonviolent civil rights protest was more effective? And obviously things were much worse in Selma or Birmingham. So here you had a situation in which nonviolent protest really was able to reach I guess the ears of the white [12:00] leaders much more so than other cities, which had a little bit of (inaudible). How about [Orlando?] (inaudible) -- as we said, the civil rights movement (inaudible) relations.

JONES: I think they played a role in it. I think Atlanta had been -- had had the same political [aspects?] to it, and social (inaudible) relationship between blacks and whites as in Selma and Birmingham, that you had to [move the money?] (inaudible). But the significant thing about Atlanta has always, in my judgment, that though we disagreed violently, we had sense enough to say (inaudible). Now that (inaudible) distinguishing feature between (inaudible). [13:00] Let me give you a perfect example. When [Reb Brown?] came to Atlanta and went out with Jesse Hill and created a big (inaudible) ready to turn this city upside down. (inaudible) trying to keep some peace. The problem you had with that (inaudible) is that you run the risk of (inaudible); you run the risk of them saying that you are anti-black (inaudible). But in order for us to (inaudible) what have you, and he was right, we didn't have it. So, the question is, who are they going to look to? (inaudible) we don't have the (inaudible) we won't be able to use it, that is coming. So I go down and get (inaudible). I cannot (inaudible) [14:00] unless the people see some [changeable?] proof, the fact that we wanted to do something about (inaudible). I need some bulldozers. (inaudible) and say look, here's what I say we're going to do, here's what we're doing. (inaudible).

And he had the sense enough to understand the bind that we were in. So what he did was to order the people to do it, and the next day we had bulldozers leveling off areas out there where black children could come and play and all, [which tend to put?] the credibility up to, you know, and they had (inaudible) vis-à-vis Reb Brown.

BAYOR: Of course, on the other point, you didn't have [enough sense?] to do it beforehand.

JONES: That's right.

BAYOR: Before Reb Brown came along.

JONES: There's no question, there's no question about it.

BAYOR: But they had to be pushed a little bit.

JONES: They had to be pushed.

BAYOR: Yeah.

JONES: And I don't -- I want to make clear that we -- what advantages did we obtain -- "we" being black people -- obtain [in Atlanta?]? Did not come automatically. [15:00] Never came because of the white power structure, business, or political, felt that it was time to do it, and was right to do it, and therefore we want to do it. Never. Right, no matter how good the city is today, vis-à-vis other cities, it's that way because there's always been pressing black demand that these things (inaudible).

BAYOR: Sure. They need to deal with you to be able to
(inaudible). Sure.

JONES: (inaudible).

BAYOR: I think that's true of most places. That's what I've
heard from a lot of people. (inaudible) a great guy
(inaudible). [He didn't come from that background?].
(inaudible).

JONES: Well one good example of that, he put a barricade up,
the Peyton Wall (inaudible), you know. And -- when black
people began to move in that area, they wanted to stop
them. And Allen, who is now a symbol of [16:00] progress
and everything else, he put a barricade up to keep black
folks from moving to that area. [And they'd get killed?].
And one thing that hospitals (inaudible) you know what I
mean? Because I made a lot of mistakes in my life, but I
never made one you can photograph. (laughter) Because
when he put that barricade up, the newspapers carried it
all over the world.

BAYOR: I spoke to [Allen?]. He's still embarrassed about
that. (laughter)

JONES: (inaudible).

BAYOR: I want to get over to the Maynard Jackson election in
[1972?]. I'm curious, what all changed in the black
community (inaudible) a black mayor?

JONES: Well I think two things. I think there were several changes. Number one, I think it suggested to black people was that the [alliance?], the political [alliance?], voting (inaudible). I think we had [17:00] a general effect on black people, (inaudible) '62. But here, we're talking about people bringing it close to home, because you're talking about a (inaudible) there. And I think it has value for that. (inaudible), that you can go.

(break in audio)

JONES: And (inaudible). I think Maynard (inaudible) probably did more to fortify [than to provide guidance?] for black people (inaudible). [Why you'd stand for me?], the way he stood up to the white community, the white business community. He would say no, I'm not, [and he would mean?] no. He was articulate, (inaudible), and the [18:00] -- the perception of blacks was that he was a warrior, and that it provided for them, I believe, a kind of fortification. And that was extremely important. And I think they got (inaudible). And the third that Maynard did is that he, for the first time, provided black people with the opportunity to get a piece of the economic pie. (inaudible). And one of the hallmarks of his administration (inaudible) that he [consistently?] advocated to his (inaudible) and perfected a significant

joint venture here that black people (inaudible). There's no question (inaudible).

BAYOR: I guess this was the basis [19:00] for (inaudible) anti-riot (inaudible)? This was probably (inaudible). Unfortunately, you know, Maynard Jackson is the only who hasn't wanted to give me an interview so far. (inaudible). I'm surprised he (inaudible). How about your election in '62, and the (inaudible) election in '72? Tell me, what changed (inaudible)?

JONES: Well, going back to '62, I think emotionally, (inaudible). And my elected (inaudible) on blacks, for the simple reason they tried to [20:00] (inaudible). I went into the Senate (inaudible) all-white legislators there. So, the emotional feeling among the black (inaudible) we have achieved, we have come so far, that we can do thus-and-so, [we'll get it, tremendous?]. For such an experience (inaudible). Black children in south Georgia (inaudible).

BAYOR: So the psychological --

JONES: There was a psychological effect to a certain extent, that (inaudible) not yet (inaudible). So it had that kind of emotional effect on black people, want to achieve, want to (inaudible) [21:00] opportunity (inaudible). But then of course, when Andy (inaudible) -- I mean it's (inaudible)

-- But then it -- again, I mean the representative of blacks, (inaudible). Here was a man going to (inaudible). The first black in X number of years. And then, all of that [from my district?] (inaudible). What I think has now become almost (inaudible) black people take the blame. And that is the political level of achievement (inaudible) that they (inaudible) [in my?] election, [from Andy's?] election, Maynard's election.

BAYOR: That blacks can get elected.

JONES: That blacks can get elected. And if they think they're not who they elected, (inaudible).

BAYOR: Yeah. (inaudible) thinking that you're going into an all-white legislature (inaudible). [22:00] (inaudible).

JONES: I think --

BAYOR: Or getting their people in the door.

JONES: Two things that you've got to recognize. Number one is, you've got to (inaudible). You've got to make a judgment. The judgment's got to be, you have a choice. You can go over there and (inaudible) by [learning?] the rules better than those who make the rules and (inaudible) and seek to be more efficient than (inaudible). And that (inaudible). Or you can (inaudible). And I get nothing. I decide to do the first. I decide to (inaudible) in a more efficient manner, (inaudible) within a system

(inaudible). However now, to the black community,
(inaudible). Number one, (inaudible) articulate that
(inaudible) and that it's always (inaudible). But then,
[23:00] you also try to provide a kind of (inaudible).
(inaudible) certain things done. For instance, people
would come to me who had problems with the Department of
Labor, who needed a job. Well, I created a situation where
I had to call the Department of Labor, and say look, these
people (inaudible). So you create some situation where 15
jobs will go to (inaudible), 20 jobs will go here, 10 jobs
will go there. You know, but nothing having to reform.
And I made whatever relationship that I could develop over
there, I did so in the sense that at that time, we had what
was called a Democratic -- Georgia Democratic Organization.
That is, an organization among black people. (inaudible)
[24:00] black folks [couldn't be in white folks'?)
(inaudible). So you had your black (inaudible), and that
organization was in all of these states -- I mean in
(inaudible) 50 or 60 (inaudible). And [Rawlins was just
visiting?]. And of course, in a statewide election, you
know, (inaudible) he'd network. And he'd always turn out X
number of black votes. So when he died, I became chairman,
(inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible) '60 -- '65?

JONES: Yeah, because see, I went in in '62, and I became chairman (inaudible) in '64, '65. I became chairman in '64. But the result of it is, is that I had (inaudible) [25:00] that he had. And to pick up the phone, call the black leadership and (inaudible) get results.

BAYOR: Get results in terms of putting pressure on white senators to (inaudible)?

JONES: On the white Senate. A specific example, (inaudible).
(break in audio)

BAYOR: So you were able to put pressure on white senators down in [26:00] the southern areas?

JONES: Right.

BAYOR: Did you have any impact at all on elections, or government, or anything?

JONES: Yes we did. Let me just give you an example. I had to do some bill (inaudible) in the Senate that had to do, I think, with people (inaudible). And at that time, when nobody was (inaudible). Black people did fine in south Georgia. (inaudible) [if they liked?]. I don't know what the -- they didn't like the way you fixed your hair (inaudible) let you know. But that had come to my attention from (inaudible). And that's probably -- anyway, the bill went into committee, came out of committee, came on the floor. And so they called for the bill, and we lost

it by two votes. So I immediately moved for reconsideration. And then, at the end of that session, I went to the [27:00] (inaudible) and called our leadership in [Dustin?], Savannah, Macon, Brunswick, and all over the state. I said look, (inaudible). He voted against me, now I need him to vote with me tomorrow [for the consideration?]. So the next day, the bill came up. Before the bill came up, all (inaudible) came to me, he goes, "I don't like pressure." And he had voted against it the day before. And he said, "Ray [Ware?] and two or three other people called me from Macon, and they called me from Athens, and asked me to vote for it." He said, "You put pressure on me." He goes, "I don't like that." He said, "I just wanted you to know that." I said, "I understand your concern." But as they called the (inaudible) question on that bill, the first hand that went up the next day was Paul Brown. (laughter) And the bill passed by two votes the following day and went to the House. Well, [28:00] the perception was, is that I had a lot of power because of my ability to communicate with black people around the state. What they didn't understand was that there was kind of a network [in the black community?]. And unlike, what they had been (inaudible), we called each other, we'd get together, and (inaudible) the lists that we used, and if

they wasn't going to do it, and we'd follow that. And during the '60s, we had that kind of allegiance and loyalty. On another occasion, [Ross Bodeen?] had voted against me almost on every bill that I had put up. So when he ran for election, I went to Jessup. I went to (inaudible) [in?] Jessup, and I went to his county, and I campaigned actively against him. And he came very close to losing that. He won it, but he -- after the fact, we developed a very good relationship, and I could always depend on his vote.

BAYOR: So they didn't like the pressure but they understood it.

JONES: They understood it, they didn't like it, but they understood it. (phone rings) My theory has always been that they don't have to like it, they have to understand it. (inaudible) respect you if you have the vote or they think you can get the vote. But the perception is, whether it's true or untrue, if you can get (inaudible) of the vote, they'll respect you.

BAYOR: So you were really the first voice in the Georgia State Senate (inaudible). Nobody else -- you ran against four whites (inaudible). And your (inaudible) is based on (inaudible). You made a statement in 1972, I think, that blacks cannot be planned for, but must be planned with. I

think that's probably (inaudible). [30:00] (inaudible) the black community. (inaudible). Are those (inaudible) feelings, I think (inaudible). I was a little curious -- you know, and I (inaudible) [youth?] director for the Atlanta Negro Voters League, and I was curious whether that (inaudible)? Well that's definitely -- I mean I don't want to say (inaudible) but what was the basis of that?

JONES: Well, I was very close to (inaudible) was kind of like my mentor. I worked with an (inaudible). I was with Atlanta Negro Voter League, who was overseeing youth, (inaudible). And also was working what we call being on the (inaudible) registration. (inaudible). And I was one of the first deans of that, what we was doing, (inaudible) teaching them [31:00] how to use the voting machines. (inaudible) voting machines, and everybody in the room, (inaudible). So I was very active with the voting machines. I wanted (inaudible). But in the process of my being active with the League, Paul Webb ran for solicitor general and ran against, I believe, [Rueben Garland, Rue Garland. And [Wall?] extracted an agreement from Paul Webb that if he wins, I mean if he won, [Wall?] supported him, if he won, he would put a black person (inaudible). The voters (inaudible) and supported Webb (inaudible). And people here [would come in and?] (inaudible). [32:00] I

came right out of law school, and was going to Tuskegee.
(inaudible) because that (inaudible) 1% black, you know.
(laughter) And that part of it. I was in [custody?]. He
called me (inaudible) that negotiated (inaudible). And
they were filled with (inaudible). Agreement with where
(inaudible). So I came back to talk to him. (inaudible).
And that's how it came about, and he appointed me as the
first [employment investigator?].

BAYOR: But obviously, without black folks (overlapping
dialogue; inaudible).

JONES: Oh, no question about it. No question.

BAYOR: OK. That's what I see more [33:00] and more, is --
and I don't get any indication that (inaudible) [choice?]
today (inaudible) black community set on the progress
(inaudible). I was hoping to get back to the [model?]
thing, that after the whites (inaudible) [home?] and [make
up?] some other things, what does the black community do?
What was their comeback? What was --

JONES: At that point, all you could do was look (inaudible).
At that point, the referendum (inaudible). And all we
could do then was to say, "Look, you promised this; you
ought to do it." But that was really (inaudible). [34:00]
(inaudible) whites [for?] this, [do?] whites [for?] that.
The one thing they say is that you can -- first of all, you

try to expect the pound of flesh when you have the leverage to do that. But once you accept that pound of flesh, you've got to have some guarantee that it can be [executed?], that they're going to do what they say. You know, and that's what we've always said, that's what we've always said. All of our negotiations [with the plant?], from the '60s on down. We can get a commitment, but we failed to get mechanism by which we can make sure that (inaudible), you know, once that is going to happen.

BAYOR: I guess the only way to do that it is to come back with voters next time (inaudible). [35:00] Yeah.

JONES: What I did in one instance in the Senate with another -- a question of who should control the city. The question came up as to whether we should take the power from the lieutenant governor and give it to a committee, appoint a committee chairman. Maddox wanted the committee to stay at the (inaudible) because he wanted to name the chair (inaudible). Carter and his group wanted the reverse. And heading the group was Senator Wells, who was later (inaudible), and Bob [Smalley?], (inaudible). And the die had been cast. The vote was called. And I was there and made no commitment. The Carter people came to me and said "Look, if you vote with us, we'll make you chairman (inaudible)." I thought [36:00] (inaudible). He said, "We

can't do that, we promised that to Wells." I said, "Well, that's what I want." The Maddox people came to me, and said, "Look, if you vote, we'll [make you chairman?] (inaudible)." And I said, "What do you want? I said, I want (inaudible). Let me go back, and (inaudible) judiciary." Well I called Carter, I said, "Look, (inaudible) I said I want to be chairman of the judiciary committee. Chairman of the judiciary committee (inaudible). You had an office, [a name a?] administrative assistant, a secretary. I said, "This is what I want." So Carter said, "Look, you can't vote with him, because that's [Maddox?]. There's no way that you can go with him." And I said, "Well, I'm going to tell you this," I said, [37:00] "The question is not whether I can go with him," I said, "the question is whether I can better represent my people in terms of being able to do more for them, by being chairman of the judiciary committee or being chairman of the (inaudible) committee. Now I said, that's the real question. So they (inaudible). So I told Maddox, look, I said, "OK," I says, "I'll go with you." But incidentally, they needed one vote. They needed one vote to swing it. One (inaudible). So I said, "I'll go with you provided I get chairman of the judiciary committee and I have a right to (inaudible). I have a right to name two persons to the

committee." Otherwise, if I'd be chairman of that committee and they name the people, you know, I have them, and I can't have no control over the committee, it's like come on.

BAYOR: But they came through for you though.

JONES: But they came through, they said OK. So they made me chairman, I named the two people, with myself we had a majority [38:00] vote on the committee. And when I voted with them, the vote came up, they won it, the bill passed by one vote. The bill passed by one vote. And Maddox maintained his position to appoint chairmen; I became chairman of the judiciary committee. It was a [soft stand?]; it was one of the first blacks (inaudible) in the city. One of the first (inaudible). The (inaudible). The only problem is, (inaudible). But that's the way -- we have to get some kind of (inaudible).

BAYOR: The white state senator, (inaudible) for you. I guess (inaudible). There was some white senator there, right? He was doing nothing for the black community (inaudible) didn't care about that vote. (inaudible) [39:00]

JONES: Well you know, every four years, or every two years, at the convention time, [it comes?] (inaudible). But they're young then, so.

BAYOR: And then they became (inaudible).

JONES: (inaudible) no black folks had ever be appointed to any position in the Senate ever would do what I do. (inaudible).

BAYOR: So I guess the white state senator then, I mean he could make his promises, he wouldn't come through, and (inaudible) nobody else would vote for anyway.

JONES: Nobody else could vote for him. He came once a year, and (inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible) register people?

JONES: That did.

BAYOR: Yeah. You were also involved, I think, on the Atlantic Committee for Cooperative Action? I was just curious what role you played there? [40:00] What did you (inaudible)?

JONES: That was a group of blacks (inaudible) that sought to make change. When that group (inaudible) Washington (inaudible) [urgency?].

BAYOR: [Did you go to?] Washington?

JONES: [He lives?] in Washington, (inaudible). It was [gaining?] (inaudible). And he was not (inaudible) Whitney Young, who was dean of the school of social work; Jackson [Helot?]; Q.V. Williams. Oh, it was [41:00] about 12 of the
15 --

BAYOR: It was top leadership?

JONES: Top leadership, and then (inaudible). We came together and did what we called the (inaudible). And it was looking at Atlanta (inaudible) a blueprint for improvement. Improvement for tomorrow. And it was a very effective group, and it was from that group that we began to (inaudible).

BAYOR: Talk about the [Action Forum?]. (inaudible) about that at all? I've heard that a few times, I wasn't quite sure what --

JONES: That came later, and that came as a result of a desire to (inaudible). Now that came much later, and that was [42:00] (inaudible) some blacks (inaudible) with some whites). They would be monthly, or weekly, or bi-weekly, or what have you. (inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible)?

JONES: Yeah.

BAYOR: OK, well I also wanted to -- curious about the (inaudible) [convention?]. The *Atlanta Inquirer* reported that (inaudible). And I think some of the (inaudible), why (inaudible).

JONES: Well, probably two reasons. And this is hindsight. We might have made a mistake in judgment.

BAYOR: (inaudible)?

JONES: Yeah, in not supporting [43:00] [Tate?] at that time. At that time, the deal was, in '69, that it would be difficult to [pay?] to be black. Rodney Cook was a fair-minded young councilman, aldermen I think they called them then. Massell had been vice mayor and (inaudible). Roger was a Republican, Massell a Democrat, (inaudible) staunch black Republican. The feeling was that Tate couldn't get - - and the feeling was that if all black people had voted for Tate, Tate could not have [gotten?] (inaudible). He did not have the votes from the [44:00] (inaudible) at that time. You had to have all of the black votes, plus X number of white votes, for a normal election. So the theory was if that be the case, then we need to decide on these two people, in terms of what we can extract from them for the black community. We decided to go to Massell. When I say we might have been mistaken, we might have been able to -- we possibly could have (inaudible) protests. And just gone ahead and said boom, you know, and let the chips fall where [may?] (inaudible) said he'd deal with that later. But we will operate at what we thought was the best posture to take for advancing our cause, the cause of black people at that time. Massell reached all us (inaudible). And he was. [45:00] Because a lot of black folks (inaudible) city hall, (inaudible) the first time

there was a black man chairing this [commission?]

(inaudible)

BAYOR: So he came through.

JONES: He came through.

BAYOR: So I guess it was a question of wait another four years.

JONES: (inaudible). But Massell came through. (inaudible) [sensible?] for blacks. And that's where we got into the ring, (inaudible). And then we would have had difficulty had he not been in favor of the idea. (inaudible) a lot of whites came around and said (inaudible). [46:00]

BAYOR: So no matter -- you know, no matter what Massell did, (inaudible) [objections?] from the black community.

JONES: Oh, no.

BAYOR: [Something?] special about having a black mayor, right?

JONES: (inaudible).

BAYOR: Just a final point, I was curious about the annexation issue which you were involved in at that time, [immigration?] aspect (inaudible). Is that basically a racial (inaudible)?

JONES: No question. I firmly believe that consolidation was (inaudible) at that time. I believe that very firmly. And to my surprise --

(break in audio)

JONES: I firmly believe that consolidation would dilute the black vote. To my surprise, Andy and others [47:00] were not talking about they're for consolidation. And that seems to me, it's -- who's (inaudible) for them to take, you know? You don't give away power, you know? But anyway, so I've always fought consolidation. Now the theory was that they wanted -- "they" being certain white legislators -- wanted to annex Sandy Springs. And -- which you might say would have diluted the black vote. So Rodney Cook was in the legislature at that time, and others, and they put in the bill to annex Sandy Springs. I fought it. I got them to agree that if they put the bill in, that they also put a bill in to annex -- you know, what do you call it? [48:00] Fairburn Road and that area. What's the right word? It's West Atlanta, and it's called [Stanford Road, Stanford Road?]. There's a name for it, and I'll think of it in a minute. Like Sandy Springs (inaudible) has a name.

BAYOR: The thing I remember is -- I don't have a name, I remember what (inaudible). But it's the Fairburn Road [in?].

JONES: Yeah. So I think if you put (inaudible) that you would annex the Fairburn Road area, and others too. So they put the bill in that would annex Sandy Springs and

would annex the Fairburn Road area. And it required that each area to vote to come in in order to be in. So the bill passed, so I got [49:00] our folks together, the black people together, and we went out to the Fairburn Road area and talked to those folks and told them (inaudible); they told them to vote to come in. Cook and his crew go out to the Sandy Springs area to get those folks. But we sent a delegation out to the Sandy Springs area, told them to vote to come in. (laughter) Told them to vote to come in. But right away, they saw red or black, they saw both and said wait a minute, what are we doing here? We don't want an annex to Atlanta, and those black folks are there, you know? So the result being, is that the Fairburn Road area voted to come in; the Sandy Springs area voted to stay out. So we've annexed, in effect, we enlarged the boundaries in the area that brought more black folks in, to (inaudible) areas, to get the benefits of [50:00] city government and whatever, and the Sandy Springs people never came in.

BAYOR: I just -- I've read some of the Hartsfield's speeches from that period. He was out there in Sandy Springs saying "Please come in. We want to..." It was obviously anti-black.

JONES: Sure, that's (inaudible).

BAYOR: Do you know anything about a two-city plan (inaudible) at one time? Splitting Atlanta to [North and South Fulton Cities?]? I came across that (inaudible) and I haven't been able to find it (inaudible). So the annexation issue really then was really not about city services or (inaudible).

JONES: Purely, it was a (inaudible). The circuit is (inaudible). [Harold Flan?], who was a lawyer from I believe (inaudible), down in that area; he's now on the Supreme Court or the court of appeals, one. He was in the legislature at that time, [51:00] and he put it (inaudible) to annex Atlanta (inaudible). And everybody thought it was a joke. And you know that bill passed the House and came to the Senate. And when it got to the Senate, I put a bill in -- in the meantime, I put a bill in to annex the area where he lives. [Now?] was another area, and just kind of a trade-off. But anyway, this bill passed the House and came to the Senate. And the question, the bill that passed the Senate (inaudible). It was there that (inaudible). And [Hugh Billings?]. [He?] wanted the assembly to [see it done?]. (inaudible). You have to get Hugh Billings (inaudible). [52:00] Hugh Billings, [Cover Kitt?], and I believe it was Jackson from Augusta. You get about five of us to go with you and you (inaudible) prevented the bill

[from passing?]. And at that point, I was able then to get (inaudible) and two or three others to vote with me to kill that bill. And the way I did it was that Hugh Billings (inaudible) that followed, he was head of (inaudible).

Wanted to pave some roads down there in this area. And obviously, that is -- he had a personal [53:00] reason for wanting to pave it, you know. But the point is, is that on that particular piece of it, he came over (inaudible). And the vote was real (inaudible). So I think he -- and I knew that this bill had (inaudible). When the bill came up, [then Hartsfield?] (inaudible). I called [Hugh?], I said, "Hugh, you owe me one (inaudible) on this bill."

(inaudible). But the annexation bill was a racial -- it had nothing to do with the question of saving the city money, city services, [and?] the question of (inaudible).

BAYOR: [It was hard?] for the white power structure [54:00] (inaudible). Well, it still is. When I hear Dan [Switzer?] (inaudible) to this area, to the white power structure, they still want to bring in the rest of Fulton County, for obvious reasons.

END OF AUDIO FILE