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Interviewee: Young, Andrew

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BAYOR: -- five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, one, two. Oh
OK. OK, the -- we're doing a study of -- on race relations
(inaudible) and I wanted to get (inaudible) with the SCLC
(inaudible). The image of Atlanta has always seemed to be
a city with a long tradition of compromise, population
(inaudible). I'm curious why the SCLC and other civil
rights organizations put their headquarters here.

YOUNG: Well, I think the civil rights movement in a real
sense was born here with Martin Luther King. And Whitney
Young (inaudible) anniversary of -- (inaudible) [01:00] the
Urban League, Vernon Jordan [who followed him?] was from
Atlanta. Walter White, longtime president of the NAACP,
was from Atlanta. W.E.B. Du Bois was based in Atlanta for
long periods of time. So Atlanta just seemed to be the
natural place for the movement headquarters and it was
really brought here largely because Martin's [the?] pastor.
I mean he was called to be the assistant pastor of Ebenezer
Baptist Church with his father.

BAYOR: (inaudible) the spirit of cooperation was not in any way encouraged Dr. King or yourself (inaudible)? And by that I mean the fact that nonviolence seemed to be working here very slowly. There had been --

YOUNG: Well, you see, it didn't -- I mean Georgia was really one of the more violent states in the union. And when I left college in '51 I was scared to death of Georgia. [02:00] I wouldn't even stop in Georgia. And Georgia didn't have a tradition of compromise and [conciliation?]. That didn't come until the 1960s.

BAYOR: How about Atlanta itself?

YOUNG: Atlanta itself -- I guess there was a pretty good relationship. But when I came here, for instance in high school for a YMCA conference, the Klan paraded down Carter Street. And I didn't think (inaudible) even Atlanta as a place that was particularly moderate, compared to New Orleans where I grew up. And -- but the difference was in the '60s. And I think the difference really came around Ivan Allen and (inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible)?

YOUNG: No. [03:00] Woodruff [supported it?], but the president of Coca-Cola (inaudible). And I -- one of my theories, which you can play with if you want to. Paul Austin came here from South Africa. He'd been in South

Africa for 14 years. He had been struggling with the race question. He was in South Africa when apartheid was born, when the Dutch and Afrikaners took over from the British. And he saw a society deteriorating into racial segregation. And when he came to Atlanta he, I would say, as much as any single person -- and the Coca-Cola company -- just couldn't afford to be in a town with bad race relations.

BAYOR: So he was making a business (inaudible).

YOUNG: [04:00] Yeah and -- but it was an enlightened self-interest that I think in Ivan Allen and others that also had a sound moral base in their personal life.

BAYOR: I was just thinking in terms of that because blacks when they began to vote more friendly (inaudible) more friendly would begin to (inaudible).

YOUNG: See, there was almost a six-month boycott in 1960 of downtown. So just over the desegregation of lunch counters at Rich's. And it took a while to -- and Martin basically came and started the nonviolent movement actively in '55. In '55 I don't know whether Atlanta would have been considered particularly -- well, we didn't think of it as particularly moderate or enlightened.

BAYOR: Well, (inaudible) [some of the older ones do?].
(inaudible).

YOUNG: [05:00] Well, we --

BAYOR: It's relatively [enlightened?].

YOUNG: Yeah. And it wasn't Mississippi.

BAYOR: (inaudible). Early 1960s after school desegregation and lunch counter desegregation agreement was negotiated regarding that. And Dr. King had said (inaudible) "I am optimistic (inaudible) Atlanta itself. Here we have all the forces on both sides but the forces of defiance are not as strong as those who realize it is futile to stand on the beaches of history and try to halt the tide." That's what gave me that sense that maybe Atlanta wasn't (inaudible).

YOUNG: Well, yes, you have to say that it -- I mean, in the sense that already, by that time, Dr. Benjamin Mays had a pretty good relationship with a lot of the business community, that Grace Hamilton's involvement as secretary of the Urban League had involved a number of [06:00] whites in the business community. And Hartsfield was probably a moderate to liberal mayor for his time.

BAYOR: I was also curious why Dr. King -- why the SCLC never really (inaudible) campaign.

YOUNG: Well, two reasons. One, it was home, and we needed someplace to come back to. The other thing was that in every place we took on a campaign, we had to take on the black establishment too. In Birmingham, the black

establishment worked against us constantly, most of them.

They were afraid.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: Yeah. And we were upsetting the applecart and they --
I mean when Martin was bonded out of jail by a black
undertaker and urged to call off the movement (inaudible),
the majority of the black churches took a position opposing
the movement and asked him not to do it.

BAYOR: This is (inaudible).

YOUNG: [07:00]And we would have had some of that in Atlanta,
but it would have been against his own family.

BAYOR: I heard there was some sort of agreement where Dr.
King could stay out of city affairs (inaudible) his
national (inaudible).

YOUNG: I don't think -- I mean it was something that he
decided. I don't think he made an agreement with anybody.
Because, for instance, when [Marietta?] opened up and when
Ford opened up we didn't hesitate to move in on them about
employment. But they responded [and there was no need for
a movement?].

BAYOR: But the other black leadership then did not
particularly -- here didn't particularly welcome Dr. King
to city affairs or (inaudible) doing here.

YOUNG: [08:00] Well, I don't know. I mean --

BAYOR: (inaudible) that a lot of the older leaders
(inaudible) thought that they were working along very
slowly, they were getting things done slowly, they had a
working relationship with the white community here and
didn't want anybody to really come in and move things too
fast.

YOUNG: I don't -- I mean I think that it was more the fact
that when we came back (inaudible) we also -- I mean we
also characteristically took places that were tough, that
were not moving on their own.

BAYOR: And Atlanta was?

YOUNG: And Atlanta was moving in its own way.

BAYOR: What was the reaction of the other black leadership to
(inaudible)?

YOUNG: Well, some of them did. And, for instance, the
newspaper, (inaudible) newspaper --

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: -- the *Daily World*, because he didn't support [09:00]
me for Congress.

BAYOR: (inaudible). (laughter)

YOUNG: And that was -- I mean there's a large conservative
black population here.

BAYOR: So they really wanted to slow it down (inaudible).

YOUNG: Well, they were doing all right.

BAYOR: They thought they were doing all right.

YOUNG: Yeah.

BAYOR: The relationship between the SCLC and the city government. Was there any spirit of cooperation (inaudible) did you have much relationship with (inaudible).

YOUNG: We had -- we supported Ivan Allen in his campaign quietly. We didn't endorse him, but we got out the vote. But we never bothered him. I mean, we just [left that alone?].

BAYOR: (inaudible) [Voter's League here?]

YOUNG: Yes we financed it. I mean we raised (inaudible). And we put the money that came to us [10:00] for voter registration from various foundations, we put through the [Voter's League?].

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: Jesse Hill was chairman of the All-Citizens Registration Committee and I was in the citizenship school (inaudible) and operating a Field Foundation grant, and I trained most of the voter registration workers (inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible). How about did the movement here (inaudible)? Was there -- I guess --

YOUNG: We had a good relationship with the police. I mean Daddy King and Chief Jenkins were personal friends. So --

and so normally where you have hostility from the police, Daddy King would pick up the phone and talk to Chief Jenkins. And when people decided to demonstrate, instead of being attacked, demonstrations [11:00] -- by the police -- demonstrations were protected by the police.

BAYOR: What was the basis of that relationship? I mean, Jenkins himself said that he (inaudible).

YOUNG: I don't know. It just -- it was just a personal relationship (inaudible).

BAYOR: So in other words you didn't really have to engage in the type of things (inaudible).

YOUNG: Yeah and see, even in Selma I had a very good relationship with Wilson Baker. It was Jim Clark, the sheriff, that we had the confrontations with. And anybody who would talk and be reasonable and discuss the issues, even when they differed, we dealt with them different than with somebody who was going to throw you in jail just to come down -- when you'd come down to talk about voter registration. You'd get beat up by Jim Clark.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: (inaudible).

BAYOR: At least (inaudible).

YOUNG: [12:00] And there were black voters. That made a big difference.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: The mayor got elected. I don't think Ivan Allen ever got the majority -- well, in his first term I don't think he got the majority of the white vote. It was a coalition of the black vote and the business community that moved him forward.

BAYOR: (inaudible). So basically then the voting (inaudible) really what created --

YOUNG: What (inaudible).

BAYOR: -- a sense of cooperation, because I don't see any of this back in the '30s or '20s. Your election in 1972 to Congress, first of all how well was your election received by whites?

YOUNG: Fairly well. It really was. I mean, I beat a very good white Republican, the best of the white Republicans, in fact. And nobody expected me to beat him, and I wouldn't have beat him -- beaten him -- without -- I guess I got [13:00] close to 20% of the white vote.

BAYOR: What did you see as the basis for that, getting that (inaudible)?

YOUNG: I don't know. I think that -- see, that was the time after Martin Luther King's death, and the whole country was aware of the polarization that was occurring. And I think that there were enlightened white people who saw my

election as one way of avoiding the polarization in Atlanta. That they would rather participate in the election of a black candidate that they could maintain a relationship with than to have a black candidate forced on them later on in a polarized environment.

BAYOR: But you weren't getting (inaudible) some of the cities (inaudible) you're essentially saying (inaudible) whites that were --

YOUNG: It was a combination of the kind of enlightened business community and the new neighborhood movement [14:00] that I helped to stop that [presidential?] parkway. I mean that -- I mean it was 485 in those days. And so I picked up a lot of votes over there as an advocate of neighborhood issues and protecting neighborhoods against the expressway.

BAYOR: OK. What changed for the black community (inaudible) black community (inaudible) here you were the first black congressman.

YOUNG: Well, the biggest change came when a black congressmen that was able to help a Georgian get elected president. Now there were other things. For instance I formed a mass transit committee. There was no mass transit committee in Congress at all. And because of MARTA I went on the banking committee and got the congressmen from Washington,

Boston, San Francisco, from Atlanta, and Ed Koch from New York, [15:00] and we went to the chairman and formed the mass -- a committee on mass transportation. And we got the first mass transit bill passed that has brought over \$1 billion -- close to \$2 billion into the city. When we got ready to build the airport [we?] were able to get the highway moved. I got a federal bill -- didn't do it alone, but it -- the highway stuff and airport I did pretty much alone, and it was a one-on-one relationship with the secretary of transportation.

BAYOR: In other words you were able to I guess represent the city's interest (inaudible). In what sense would you...?

YOUNG: In the sense that I was a national black leader of sorts. I had the power to get other congressmen elected. [16:00] There are about 188 districts where the difference between winning and losing is dependent on the black turnout, where a 40% black turnout the Democrat loses, a 50 to 60% black turnout, the Democrat wins. So I did a lot of campaigning across the country.

BAYOR: How about the black community (inaudible) other than the psychological respect, now there's a (inaudible).

YOUNG: Well, we got more blacks into the military academies than any other district. We -- I mean, you really don't

represent blacks in Congress. There was no vote that was a black vote.

BAYOR: I understand that.

YOUNG: But for instance in the Georgia vote, the peanut subsidies, and things like that. I was able to deliver big city votes [17:00] to put together a team of -- with the rural votes, and in return I got a lot of rural voters to vote with me on the minimum wage for domestic workers. So getting a minimum wage for -- applied to domestic workers really was a direct dollar-and-cents payoff to the domestic workers that I had campaigned [through?].

BAYOR: How about in terms of Maynard Jackson being elected mayor in 1973? He was after Massell -- Ivan Allen, Massell, Jackson. What did it mean for Atlanta? What did it mean for the black community in terms of having a black mayor?

YOUNG: It meant basically implementation of affirmative action. The blacks were getting less than 1% of the city contracts.

BAYOR: Even under Massell.

YOUNG: Yeah. They just started getting 1% under Massell. By the time -- it may have been -- they -- Massell was aware [18:00] of the problem, and Massell made the agreement that blacks should get 20% of the contracts on the MARTA.

Massell and Jesse Hill. And that was the formula that got MARTA passed. But Maynard pressed that for every city contract (inaudible), and he got it up to about 20% citywide.

BAYOR: (inaudible) even with Allen and particularly Massell who was elected with a great deal of black votes, there wasn't that type of response (inaudible).

YOUNG: I mean, it was a new issue. And it took, I think, a black mayor to understand the importance of that issue. I think that's the most significant thing about the city right now, is [19:00] that one of the reasons for good race relations is that blacks at every level share in the benefits of the political system. We -- the black middle class got 20% of the contracts. But the black poor who ride the buses got a bus fare lowered to 15 cents.

BAYOR: That was part of the original deal.

YOUNG: Yeah it was part of the original deal. And every -- I mean every deal that we put together was put together so that everybody shared in the blessings of it.

BAYOR: Maynard Jackson was criticized quite often in his early -- in the very early period as being (inaudible).

YOUNG: Yeah. Well no, I think that the basis for that really was Maynard's style. And Maynard comes from one of the old-line black aristocracies. I mean, in Maynard's family,

they sit down, have dinner and recite poetry; they don't say grace. I mean, it was -- and they put classical music on. And I mean, it's just a very formal family. He wouldn't [20:00] come to dinner without a shirt and tie. And that was his background. And whites resented that. I mean, because he was -- he thought of himself as as much of an aristocrat as they thought of themselves. I mean, he is.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: Yes he was.

BAYOR: I mean his grandfather (inaudible).

YOUNG: And so it was -- and the other thing I think was that Maynard, because he was younger, had not been active in the civil rights movement. So he had a need to do things in a way that proved to blacks that he was doing something. So he had to play to the black community in a way that I don't feel I have to.

BAYOR: Well, he (inaudible).

YOUNG: It was just the way he did it.

BAYOR: [21:00] You mean that he [snubbed?] his nose at the white business (inaudible).

YOUNG: I mean he would announce at a press conference, "We're going to -- not going to build this airport unless black contractors get 25%." And he held it up for a year. I

would go to him and meet with him in private and sit down and have an understanding of why we needed to do it, get the agreement on it. And then we'd sit down together (inaudible), and it was just a matter of style.

BAYOR: But other than joint ventures (inaudible), was there anything done with the intent of (inaudible).

YOUNG: He did. In terms of the community development money almost all of the community development money under the Jackson administration went into [22:00] poor neighborhoods. These neighborhood facilities. The comprehensive whatever. Just every neighborhood has a good neighborhood center. And he built up -- I mean, he used the money in those neighborhoods. He put -- I guess we still do -- almost 30% of our community development money is consistently going to renovating housing for poor people. And programs that -- for instance, free weatherization. We would do \$1,500 worth of free weatherization for senior citizens. I mean, that was basically what we did with the community development --

BAYOR: It had not been done before at all.

YOUNG: Well, there was no community development money before.

BAYOR: But before (inaudible) park money. My impression before was that if there was any money to spend on [23:00] parks it was spent on the white areas.

YOUNG: Yeah. And there wasn't much to spend because see, the deal with the stadium used up all the park money. And it wasn't until the Braves started winning that we started getting some park improvement funds. So Maynard took the community development money and put it into parks.

BAYOR: (inaudible) Leroy Johnson made said that prior to 1970, black (inaudible) or actually (inaudible).

YOUNG: Well, I think it started in the '60s. And it started with -- there again, Paul Austin and Bill Calloway and John Portman formed the Atlanta Action Forum. And that's another -- I think if there is a single key to good race relations in Atlanta it's the Action Forum.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: [24:00] That's the -- it started out with the bankers and Portman and Paul Austin and Dave -- well, it wasn't Dave Garrett, but Tom Beebe at Delta Air Lines. There were about 10 other big bald white folks that got together with Herman Russell and Jesse Hill and Bill Calloway, and the big blacks in the business world and the black community and the big power structure white folk started meeting one Saturday a month. It started in the '60s, early '60s, '61, '62. And they still meet once a month.

BAYOR: And what's the motivation for that?

YOUNG: Motivation is communication.

BAYOR: (inaudible) economic (inaudible).

YOUNG: For everything. I mean it was a tradeoff. The whites were interested in maintaining good race relations. The blacks were interested in sharing power and money. And so the meeting breaks down into what should we be doing for each other.

BAYOR: (inaudible) other cities (inaudible) come back and...

YOUNG: Don't get that in a single city [25:00] in the world to my knowledge.

BAYOR: And that's why I should come back to that.

YOUNG: You ought to talk to Bill Calloway. He's important to all this. He's 75ish and he knows all the background about Action Forum.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: (inaudible). And Mike Trotter now serves as sort of a secretary for the Action Forum.

BAYOR: But basically then in terms of what's happening in Atlanta this is (inaudible) go back to the 1940s when the (inaudible) got organized back in the '40s. (phone rings)
Hello?

(pause in recording)

BAYOR: (inaudible) I seem to be getting back to more and more [26:00] that at least beginning with the (inaudible) [Voters' League?], the fact that they had some voting power

that the whites seemed to be more willing to cooperate here on a slow basis. They didn't call the shots but --

YOUNG: There was always more -- for one there was always an educated black community that was almost financially secure.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: Yeah. I mean there was an established black middle class. I mean, the black bank is at least 80 years old, 90, I mean it was back when I was in Congress that they celebrated their 75th anniversary. The colleges are over 100 years old. And that's just a big difference.

BAYOR: In terms of what? In terms of (inaudible).

YOUNG: In terms of for instance in most communities blacks move into slums as whites move out. In Atlanta you had a black bank and a black insurance company that loaned money to black real estate developers and they'd build the black suburbs from scratch (inaudible).

BAYOR: [27:00] OK. So they weren't dependent on the whites, or at least -- I guess at least the black banks were able to show the white bankers that blacks were a good mortgage risk.

YOUNG: Yeah. And for instance I worked in New York in 1957, and I was on the staff of the National Council of Churches, and the Council of Churches was willing to guarantee a

mortgage, and it took me about three and a half months to get a mortgage in New York in Queens. And then the executive from the National Council, who was a white preacher from North Carolina, had to come out with me to (inaudible) for me to get a mortgage. I moved to Atlanta in 1961, and I went, found a house, and in literally three days I had signed the papers and had a mortgage. And so the whole climate of business relationships was different.

BAYOR: [28:00] Do you think it was also partially because the whites had [comparable?] blacks to talk to, businessmen (inaudible)?

YOUNG: It was there, but they had no relationship. I mean, still, if you go to a Cancer Society banquet or something like that in Atlanta, it's integrated. You go in New York, and there'll be nobody black there. And we have -- I mean we've sort of worked -- at an NAACP dinner it's about 30%, 40% white. At American Jewish Committee dinner, it's 20% to 30% black. I mean, people work at race relations in Atlanta, they really do.

BAYOR: (inaudible). Just two other things.

YOUNG: Ironically in my election I imagine I got 90% of the Jewish vote, on the basis of a statement [29:00] which really recognized the PLO and called for a Palestinian state. And everything that was -- in fact, Stu Eizenstat

and Ron Cohn of the American Jewish Congress helped me prepare it. (inaudible) my position is even more conservative than that now on the Middle East. But it's still not -- I mean, it's not good enough, though in 1972 I got total support of the Jewish community based on that. I mean they thought it was such a good statement, they paid to have it mailed to all of the voters in the city, Jewish voters in the city.

BAYOR: What I gathered, the Jewish community here [is?] pretty supportive of black candidates (inaudible).

YOUNG: Well, also [30:00] you have to remember the synagogue was bombed or something in the late '50s.

BAYOR: When Rabbi Rothschild was there.

YOUNG: Yeah, (inaudible). And his mother-in-law worked in my campaign.

BAYOR: (inaudible) Richard Rich's (inaudible), he seemed to be the one that kept his department store or at least his restaurant very segregated.

YOUNG: Well, he -- but he was -- it was segregated as a matter of tradition, but he also was one of the leaders in the negotiations to desegregate all of them.

BAYOR: So he really was interested in moving that direction? I guess he was afraid of losing business.

YOUNG: Yeah. I mean, he couldn't move by himself.

BAYOR: Two other things. I was curious in terms (inaudible) city government efforts today to reach out to (inaudible) is there anything being done to [earn support of?] (inaudible).

YOUNG: Well, I was chairman of the community relations commission when the first Hispanic group came up in 1970. [31:00] And we immediately translated driver's license applications, all the city documents were translated into Spanish. And now we've had an aggressive hiring policy to hire Hispanic policemen, to hire Hispanics in positions, to see that Hispanics get a fair share of the contracts.

BAYOR: And it's part of the -- I mean, it's [nothing?] political. I mean, you want them brought into the mainstream (inaudible).

YOUNG: It's -- yeah they can't -- most of them can't vote. I mean it's that -- but it's that you don't want anybody to get alienated. And the Asian community is even less political, but we've been trying, and I've been pressuring could the chief to go ahead find some Asian police officers, because you don't want any group of people to come in and be separate.

BAYOR: And so in a sense (inaudible) [32:00] I guess that you should be thought of as a black rights city (inaudible).

YOUNG: We have about -- I guess the Asian community is about (inaudible) 3,000 Indian families. There are about 20,000 to 25,000 Koreans and maybe 10,000 Vietnamese, 10,000 Chinese. And we've probably got a couple hundred thousand Asians in the metropolitan area.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: And about 150,000 Hispanics, 170,000.

BAYOR: But there is a definite effort to reach out to bring them in. Community relations commission, how effective is that? I know you said (inaudible) chair, but...

YOUNG: Yeah well I was chair during the time that the labor civil rights movement got together. [33:00] And so most of the problems I had to deal with were big strikes. We had three big strikes: Scripto, Sears, and Mead Packing House. Each one was several thousand workers walking off the job. And so I got a reputa-- that's where I got the reputation as a negotiator because I knew all the folk in the labor movement and in the civil rights movement. And I could get folk in a room and just wouldn't let them out until they came to some conclusion.

BAYOR: How about things like (inaudible) [hiring by the?] police department (inaudible)?

YOUNG: We had moved past that by the time I was (inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible).

YOUNG: We didn't have (inaudible) problems. What we did, we had neighborhood hearings once a month in a different neighborhood, and whatever the people wanted us to do -- I mean we saw ourselves as an agency for helping [34:00] city government to respond to the neighborhood needs.

BAYOR: (inaudible) I guess the idea is to keep the lines open.

YOUNG: Yeah.

BAYOR: (inaudible) communication. So in a sense I guess it was on a neighborhood basis, it was sort of like the Action Forum except it was for regular citizens.

YOUNG: And mostly the poor. We'd never had much in the way of -- we never had any real (inaudible).

BAYOR: That's fine. That's a lot of what I wanted to know. The only other thing: I've been trying to get Maynard Jackson for an interview, and he has so far refused. Do you have any [pull?] with him at all?

YOUNG: I don't know. I can tell him --

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