

The original documents are located in Box 23, folder “Voting Rights Act Extension, 1974-1975” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

**SPECIAL
SERVICE**

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BUCHEN
✓MR. STAN SCOTT 179
MR. THEIS
MR. O'NEILL
MR. WALTER SCOTT
MR. PURCELL
MR. KALLEN

Subject: Voting Rights Act Amendments

The attached just came in from Justice.

We need advice on the following in order to develop the final package to send to Congress.

- (1) Is the draft legislation satisfactory?
- (2) Is the Speaker letter satisfactory?
Should paragraph 5 of the Speaker letter be deleted?
- (3) Is there to be a Presidential statement?
When will it be given?
- (4) Should the Attorney General transmit the draft and the letter to Congress at the same time that statement is given?



I will be glad to coordinate your responses and to communicate them to Justice.

I assume someone in the White House will see to it that appropriate clearances are obtained there--I have communicated only with those listed on this memo.

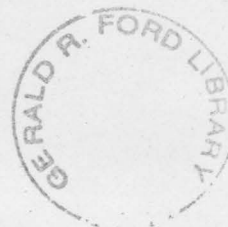
W. Skidmore
(395-4870)

Attachment



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C. 20530

The Speaker
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



Dear Mr. Speaker:

Enclosed for your consideration and appropriate reference is proposed legislation entitled the "Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975."

This proposal would extend for an additional five years the basic provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These provisions, including the requirement that certain States and political subdivisions submit to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia or the Attorney General any changes in voting laws, will be subject to expiration after August 6, 1975.

The proposal would also extend for an additional five years the provision which suspends the use of literacy tests and other similar prerequisites for voting in all states and subdivisions not subject to such suspension under section 4(a) of the 1965 Act.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has proved to be an extremely effective statute. Since its enactment, substantial progress has been made in safeguarding and furthering the right to vote. Nonetheless, our experience indicates the need to extend once more the key sections of the Act.

We recognize that there may be substantial problems of discriminatory denial of the right to vote which are not fully addressed by the Voting Rights Act. We are examining such matters, and it may be that additional federal legislation will be necessary. Still, I respectfully urge that, in order to avoid the possibility of expiration of provisions of the Voting Rights Act, the present proposal be enacted as promptly as possible.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised that enactment of this legislation is in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely,

Attorney General



CONGRESS

SESSION

H. R.

(NOTE.—Fill in all blank lines except those provided for the date and number of bill.)

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. _____ introduced the following bill; which was referred to
the Committee on _____

A BILL

To extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and for
other purposes.

(Insert title of bill here)



- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the*
- 2 *United States of America in Congress assembled, that this Act may*
be cited as the "Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975."

Sec. 2. Section 4(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 438; 42 U.S.C. 1973b(a)), as amended by the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 (84 Stat. 315), is further amended by striking the words "ten years" wherever they appear in the first and third paragraphs and by substituting the words "fifteen years."

Sec. 3. Section 201(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa(a)), as added by the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 (84 Stat. 315), is amended by striking "August 6, 1975" and substituting "August 6, 1980."

Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

September 24, 1974

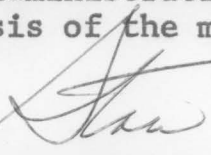
MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable Stanley S. Scott
Special Assistant to the President
The White House

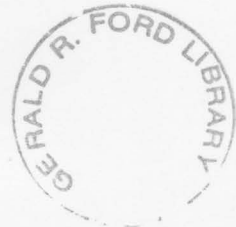
Subject: Voting Rights Act Extension

Attached is a rough draft of my proposed speech
to the Black Caucus meeting on Friday.

As I mentioned, this speech does not commit the
Administration for or against extension, but
sticks to a discussion of the history of the
Justice Department's administration of the Act
and our current analysis of the merits of extension.


J. Stanley Pottinger
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Attachment



DRAFT

I very much appreciate the opportunity to contribute to your deliberations on Black Legislative Priorities for '75. It is an honor to share the platform with John Lewis and Clarence Mitchell, and, Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity to commend you as Chairman of the Joint Center for Political Studies, as well as the Voter Education Project and the Lawyers

Committee for Civil Rights Under Law on the outstanding contribution made in the recent publication of the handbook on "How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act." This is a very valuable research tool, and I recommend it to everyone here as an indispensable guide for understanding and using the pre-clearance provisions of the Voting Rights Act.

In connection with your consideration of legislative priorities, I have been asked to discuss the Department of Justice's experience in enforcing the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended and extended in 1970, and to say what I can about the Administration's position on extending the Act next year.

Before doing so, permit me to say that it is entirely appropriate for voting to be the first item on a black legislative agenda. It always has been. Almost



75 years ago -- during the meetings and soul-searching that preceded the formation in 1910 of the NAACP, a group of black educators and doctors met at Harper's Ferry at the site from which John Brown's abortive raid to free the slaves began. Barefooted at dawn, they issued what was probably one of the first listings of black legislative priorities. And the first item on that first list concerned the same subject we discuss today. Of course, there was no Voting Rights Act then -- in most places there wasn't any black voting at all, and the thrust of their entire agenda was toward the establishment and recognition of basic rights for Negro citizens. But the simplicity and force of that declaration still has meaning for us today as we consider voting:

"We want full mankind suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever."

As all of us know, this goal proved much easier to state than to achieve. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was the last of a long series of acts passed in that tradition. Beginning in 1957, when the Department of Justice had established a Civil Rights Division, the primary federal enforcement effort had been to enforce the laws relating to the right to vote. Until 1965, those efforts, although massive at times, had not made much of a dent in the



problem. But what they did do was to focus on a frustrating record of systematic official policies of disfranchisement of blacks in southern states.

The Voting Rights Act was tailored specifically to the various devices that had been so carefully documented in elaborate Congressional hearings.

First, literacy and other tests which blacks -- but not whites -- had to pass was one of the ways the polls were kept white. The Act relied on the statistical relation between low registration and voting and racial discrimination and suspended for at least five years all literacy tests and devices in states which had less than 50 per cent registration or voting in the 1964 Presidential election.

Another documented problem was the refusal of some registrars to act fairly. The Act dealt with this problem by authorizing the Attorney General to send federal examiners to individual counties to do the registrar's job for him.

Another problem was the refusal to permit those blacks who registered to take part freely in elections. Under the Act, the Attorney General could send federal



observers right into the polling place to gather evidence of violations so that prompt judicial relief could be obtained with the best possible evidence.

Finally, a major problem had been that state and local laws and procedures had been shown to be shifting sands which moved and changed to preserve white political control. Whenever one device was discovered and cured in court, another would spring up to take its place. -- from grandfather clause, to literacy test, to white primary, to poll tax, and so on. The Act, in Section 5, required all changes in voting in the covered states to be submitted for review before implementation -- either to the District Court for the District of Columbia, or to the Attorney General, who could approve the law only if the state could show it had no discriminatory purpose and would have no discriminatory effect.



DRAFT

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The Act did provide for a way for covered states and counties to exempt themselves from coverage by providing in court that no test or device had been used discriminatorily for five years. Significantly, no jurisdiction except Alaska and a few counties in Arizona have been able to make such a showing. You may have read about Virginia's unsuccessful attempt to obtain such a judgment in the last few weeks.

During the first five years of the Act, the Department of Justice concentrated its efforts on law suits to end the forbidden use of literacy tests and devices, on ending the poll tax and, principally on a county-by-county enforcement program of federal examiners and observers wherever voluntary compliance could not be obtained. In this period examiners were sent to 64 counties in 5 southern states. The impact on black registration was significant: Directly, federal examiners listed 160,000 persons. However, the indirect effect of at last having an effective federal law was even more striking, and voluntary compliance increased dramatically. Black registration increased in all eleven southern states from 2.2 million to 3.4 million. The most striking



improvement was in Alabama (from 20.3 per cent registration to 59.3 per cent) and Mississippi (from 6.7 per cent to 63.3 per cent).

Registration is only the threshold to political participation and the other focus of federal enforcement in the first five years of the Act was on the election process itself. In 34 different elections the Attorney General committed a total of 4,500 federal observers to gather evidence in the polling place and the federal government sought relief from denial of voting rights in 21 lawsuits. Through these efforts, in combination with the direct efforts of black candidates and organizations, the number of black elected officials in the southern states increased from 14 to almost 400. Although it is hard to measure, there can be little doubt that the increase in black voting also had an effect on the caliber and racial responsiveness of white elected officials.

Because the federal resources were largely used for registration and voting enforcement, the massive job of inspecting every change in voting laws and procedures was only partly done during those first five years. Only



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some 300 changes were submitted for review, and one-third of those were submitted during 1969 after the courts ruled that the pre-clearance requirements applied to such things as reapportionment of legislative bodies and annexations to cities. Only 24 objections to voting changes had been interposed by the Attorney General during this first five years of the Act.

When Congress took up the question of whether to extend portions of the Act in 1970, the Administration proposed that the suspension of literacy tests and the observer provisions be expanded nationwide, but that the pre-clearance requirement should be abolished. Congress accepted the Administration argument that the disadvantaged education of southern blacks, coupled with the extensive migration of blacks to the North, justified a nationwide suspension of literacy tests and devices. Congress disagreed, however, that pre-clearance of voting changes was no longer needed and extended those provisions for another five years.

Thus, the second period of federal enforcement of the voting rights Act -- from 1970 to the present time -- began. Since the massive resistance to black registration



and voting had significantly dissipated, the federal effort during this second phase has focused on the submission and approval of voting changes. The 1970 census required many states to change district lines -- for Congress, state legislatures, school boards, county commissioners, and city councils. Since 1970 over 4,000 changes have been submitted to the Attorney General, and he has ordered objections to 174.

Some submissions present clear and simple issues. For example, in the proposed Fifth Congressional District in Georgia, the district lines divided a major black neighborhood and excluded the three potential black candidates on its way to include a virtually all-white suburban neighborhood. It was an obvious and typical racial gerrymander. After the Attorney General objected to that district line, the state corrected it, and Congressman Andy Young was elected.

Some of the submissions are much more complex, especially since the law requires the changes to be examined for racial effect as well as any underlying discriminatory intent. Petersburg, Virginia, proposed



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a large annexation of territory. Both blacks and whites supported the idea of city growth, but the effect -- which would have changed the population from majority black to majority white -- combined with the City's system of electing all officers by an at-large vote plainly projected a racial effect for the city's emerging black electorate. The Attorney General's objection included an opinion that if the racial effect was improved by electing officials from fairly drawn single-member councilmanic districts, the objection would be withdrawn. This was done, and *four* black councilmen were elected.

Careful examination of devices such as numbered posts, multi-member districts, staggered terms, majority run-offs, residency requirements, which sometimes appear singly but are often in various combinations, have gradually resulted in a new body of law dealing with racial discrimination in electoral systems.

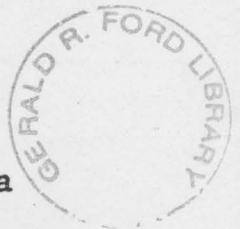
While the priority emphasis has been on the pre-clearance of election law changes since 1970, this Department has used the other provisions of the Act as needed. Two counties in Georgia, three in Mississippi, and one Louisiana have been designated for federal examiners since 1970. Over 2,100 Federal observers have been sent



to cover 32 elections in covered states. Nineteen more lawsuits have been initiated during the period to enforce the Voting Rights Act.

One other area of expansion is noteworthy. Under the 1970 Amendments, the coverage formula which was updated to the 1968 Presidential election picked up three counties in New York -- Bronx, New York, and Kings. Incidentally, there are more black persons in those three counties than in any southern state covered by the Act. Moreover, the courts have held that Spanish-surnamed persons are also entitled to the protection of the Act. Our recent objection to New York's reapportionment plan for these counties resulted in the redrawing of lines to assure minority voters a fair opportunity to elect representatives to Congress and the legislature.

This brings us to the present day. In less than a year, some of the provisions of the Voting Rights Act will expire unless Congress votes another extension. As you know, the Congressional Black Caucus in meeting with President Ford, indicated that extension of this Act is a high priority matter, and the President agreed to consider the Administration's position. Even before that,

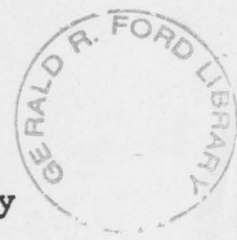


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Clarence Mitchell met with Attorney General Saxbe and made a similar request.

At the present time, at the direction of the Attorney General, the Civil Rights Division is preparing a recommendation, and I would like to catalogue for you some of the contentions and views we must consider.

First, are the arguments for not extending the expiring portions of the Act. A basic issue -- now as it was in 1970 -- is whether the immense success of the Act means that the essential needs it was designed to meet no longer exist. The Act was passed to deal with the systematic exclusion of blacks from the voting process in the South. Now black registration has almost doubled^{in the covered states} -- from 1.2 million in 1965 to over 2.1 million now. Mississippi now has more black elected officials -- 191 -- than the State of New York, and it ranks second in the nation in the number of blacks holding elective office. To comply with the Voting Rights guarantees, the state legislative redistricting plans in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia have been redone to insure fairness to blacks. In short, black citizens in the south are voting in unprecedented numbers. Also, the nationwide



suspension of literacy tests has demonstrated that elections may be conducted fairly and properly without such requirements. In fact, 16 of the 30 states which imposed such tests in 1970 have dropped them.

On the other side, however, is the work yet to be done and the ever present danger that absent the guarantees of federal legislation, a reversion to past practices could occur. Moreover, some of the gains are more apparent than real. The 191 black Mississippi officeholders are principally located in heavily majority black counties or districts. Only one black person serves in the Mississippi legislature even though 36 per cent of the people are black. Not one Mississippi county -- even the majority black ones -- has a black sheriff. One can also infer a continuing need for Section 5 from the number of voting changes to which objection has been entered in the recent past. So far this year we have objected to 35 voting changes out of 1000 submissions as having the potential for discriminating against minority voters.

Should we recommend in favor of continuing the protections of the Act, there are some subsidiary issues.



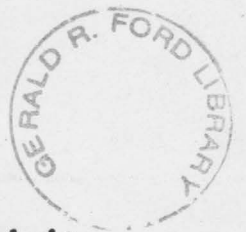
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First, when Congress addressed the literacy issue in 1970, it chose to suspend the use of literacy tests nationwide for a period of five years. If the ban is continued, should it be permanent or merely another temporary suspension of five or ten years?

Secondly, if the provisions relating to federal examiners, observers, and pre-clearance of changes are extended, is there any need to reconsider or supplement the coverage formula. The existing coverage formula is based on the existence of literacy tests and devices and less than 50 per cent registration or voting. Since literacy tests have been suspended everywhere for five and years, /in most of the south for 10 years, perhaps that criterion should be eliminated or replaced.

Finally, there is the question of whether the implicit protection of national origin minorities which the courts and the Attorney General have read into the Act should be expressly added to the law. And is there any need to add sex and religion to the protected classifications.

We are hard at work at the present time in evaluating these issues. We would appreciate receiving from any of you expressions of opinion on whether the Act should be extended and if so, in what form. We expect to make a



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recommendation to the Attorney General in the next few weeks.



DRAFT

While I cannot announce what that recommendation will be at this time, I do want to give you two personal commitments: First, our recommendation will be an honest one, based as nearly as we can make it on the facts we have outlined to you and without any consideration of partisan political issues. I know that some of you believe that the former Administration's approach in 1970 was a political, "Southern strategy" approach to the right to vote. We simply cannot afford to have that perception of the government; and I want to take this occasion to promise you that politics will not be a part of the Civil Rights Division's evaluation. In this post-Watergate time of suspicion and distrust of government officials I can only give you my word that we will try our best to follow Thomas Jefferson's admonition that

"The whole art of government consists of being honest. Only aim to do your duty and mankind will give you credit where you fail."

The second commitment I want to make to you is that in our consideration of this matter, we will not lose sight of the great symbolic meaning of the Voting Rights Act.



This Act was passed after the 1965 Selma-Montgomery march as an expression of the national conscience.

It has been the centerpiece of all the Civil Rights Acts and the issues of extension deserve our most serious and careful evaluation with full recognition of the value of the Voting Rights Act as a basic protection of the American promise.



Voting Rights Act Extension

[Jan. 1975?]

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was an extraordinary Congressional remedy for a serious infringement of minority voting rights. The Act provides unprecedented "strong medicine" in certain areas of the country by authorizing the Attorney General to send federal voting registrars and observers to elections, and by requiring state laws affecting voting to be changed only with advance federal court or Justice Department approval.

The Act was extended and expanded in 1970 and presently expires in 1975. There has already been Congressional interest in another extension of it next year, and this subject is likely to arise with the Black Caucus.^{4/}

The President might take the following approach:

- 1 a) State his belief that there is no right more important than the vote, and state his commitment to enforcing all laws that guarantee that this right will not be abridged by reason of race or color.
- 2 b) Note that when the Act was passed in 1965 and extended in 1970, he voted for such actions on both occasions, and therefore approaches the extension issue with an affirmative attitude.
- 3 c) Note that the question now is whether all the extraordinary remedial measures found in the present Act are still needed, or at least in precisely the same form. When the Congress acted on this matter before, it did so on the basis of a carefully documented factual record which established beyond a doubt the need for this kind of strong legislation. Note that he believes that a similar record ought to be established again.

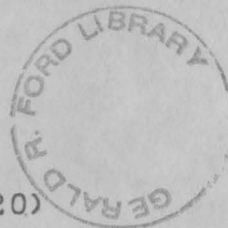


~~The President might note that he is advised that the Department of Justice and the civil rights community are actively engaged in updating and gathering relevant information about the Act, and the possible need for an extension.~~

(Signal for next session of conf.)

When this study is completed, the Administration will formulate a position and take appropriate action on the Hill. The most important point to be made, in whatever way appropriate, is that the President does not have a private political agenda to torpedo the Voting Rights Act, particularly if compelling arguments for extension are made.

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The White House
Washington

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8 HONORABLE GERALD R FORD

9
10 PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

11 THE WHITE HOUSE

12
13 WASH-DC

14 ATTENTION: MR STANLEY SCOTT

15
16 WE ARE GREATLY PLEASED THAT YOU HAVE PUBLICLY STATED YOUR SUPPORT
17 FOR EXTENSION OF THE VITAL SECTIONS OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF
18 1965. ALSO YOURM MENTION OF THIS LEGISLATION IN THE STATE OF THE
19 UNION MESSAGE WAS HEARTENING. THIS REFERENCE IS A REMINDER TO THE
20 NATION THAT IN THE MIDST OF OUR PROBLEMS WITH THE ECONOMY WE MUST
21 ALSO PRESERVE THE BASIC RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY
22 AND FREELY IN THE ELECTION PROCESS. PLEASE ACCEPT OURSINCERE
23
24
25
26



BEST WISHES FOR A MOST PRODUCTIVE YEAR IN 1975. YOUR SPIRIT AND
CONTINUING WHOLESOME MANNER ARE VERY REASSURING. PLEASE BE SURE
THAT WHEREVER IT IS POSSIBLE FOR ME TO HELP PERSONALLY IN YOUR
TASK OF SOLVING THE NATION'S PROBLEMS I WILL DO MY BEST TO
COOPERATE.

CLARENCE MITCHELL, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON BUREAU, NAACP

NAACPWABUR WSH

January 31, 1975

Dear ~~Arnold~~ ²

On behalf of the President, I would like to express our deep appreciation for the opportunity to initiate meaningful dialogue with ~~you and other representatives of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights~~ ^{the Commission on Civil Rights}.

The President asked me to assure you that your concerns in the area of civil rights and social welfare are his concerns, and he looks forward to working with ~~your coalition~~ ^{the Commission} in finding solutions to our domestic problems.

^{Enclous}
At the President's request, I am attaching a copy of the proposed legislation to extend the Voting Rights Act, which you will recall came up for discussion during your meeting with President Ford.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Stanley S. Scott
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. Arnold Arnson
Secretary
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Attachments

SScott:ph

Attachment S



NNPA NEWS RELEASE

770 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20045
Telephone: (202) 638-4473

February 3, 1975

FVI
President Ford Tells Black Press
Voting Rights Act Must Not Die



WASHINGTON (NNPA) _____ Declaring, "this law must not be allowed to die," President Gerald R. Ford assured some 200 delegates to the Mid-Winter Workshop of the National Newspaper Publishers Association last week that he is working to extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

His assurance came in an address before the group last Thursday afternoon during a White House briefing in which two cabinet officers and other top officials took part.

Prior to Ford's talk, Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, president of NNPA and editor-publisher of the San Francisco Sun-Reporter and Metro-Reporter, praised the President for his nomination of William T. Coleman as Secretary of Transportation and for his previous statement in support of the Voting Rights Act.

Goodlett also expressed the concerns of the Black Press regarding U. S. foreign policy in Southern Africa and unemployment here at home.

Beginning with the voting rights issue, President Ford said: "As Dr. Goodlett indicated, I told Congress last week that I plan to ask for another five year extension of the Voting Rights Act first passed in 1965, renewed in 1970 and up for renewal at this time.

"This law must not be allowed to expire in August of 1975. The Voting Rights law helped open the way for the election of blacks in all parts of the nation, and that movement must be continued," the President added.

"As I look back over the past 25 years, I am reminded of how far America actually has come, of how many barriers have fallen, and the number of prejudices that has been laid to rest.

"But more importantly, as I look ahead I know how much work remains before every child born in America has the same opportunities for long life, economic security, and educational achievement. Much has been done. Much remains. But together we can make that necessary progress," Ford told the publishers.

(The President's bill to extend the Voting Rights Act was sent to Congress on January 27.)

President Ford also pledged that his administration will not slice off a small portion of the pie and say, "this is enough for the 25 million Americans who are black."

The President's address highlighted three hours of White House briefing. Others who briefed the group were: James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Peter J. Brennan, Secretary of Labor; Donald Rumsfeld, assistant to the President; Frank G. Zarb, Federal Energy Administrator; Alex Armendaris, director of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise; and Irving Kator, assistant executive director, Civil Service Commission. Stanley S. Scott, special assistant to the President, presided.

Other features of the three day meeting were addresses by Rep. Charles B. Rangel, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus; Rep. Phillip Burton, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus; and Dr. Goodlett.

Greetings were extended to the group by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey; Mayor Walter Washington; Berkeley G. Burrell, president of the National Business League; Basil Paterson, vice chairman, Democratic National Committee; Calvin Rolark, president, Capital Press Club and editor-publisher, Washington Informer;

Dr. Lovinger Bowden, acting dean, school of communications, Howard University; Eddie N. Williams, president, Joint Center for Political Studies; Stanley S. Scott, special assistant to President Ford; Theodore A. Serrill, executive vice president, National Newspaper Association; Ms. Lois Alexander, president National Association of Media Women.

Among the panelists were -- advertising: Ms. Barbara Proctor, president, Proctor and Gardner Advertising Agency; Kenneth O. Wilson, vice president, Afro-American Newspapers; John L. Procope, editor-publisher, New York Amsterdam News; Mrs. Inez Kaiser, president, Inez Kaiser & Associates; Mrs. Mildred Brown, editor-publisher, Omaha Star; Kelvin Wall, president, Black Creative Group; and Ms. Ophelia DeVore Mitchell, publisher, Columbus Daily Times.

Circulation building: Howard W. Kutz, vice president, Audit Bureau of Circulations; Longworth M. Quinn, editor-publisher, Michigan Chronicle; Robert H. Fentress, vice president, Johnson Publications; Peter F. Sprague, circulation and sales manager, Wall Street Journal; Earl Davis, Jr., editor-publisher, San Diego Voice News and View-

(more)

point; John H. Murphy, chairman of the board, Afro-American Newspapers.

Frederick Sengstacke, president, Chicago Daily Defender; Garth C. Reeves, editor-publisher, Miami Times; Mrs. Marjorie B. Parham, editor-publisher, Cincinnati Herald; N. A. Sweets, managing editor, St. Louis American; Charles 67X Moreland, editor, Muhammad Speaks; Hillard Hamm, publisher, Compton Metropolitan Gazette; Clarence G. Klopp, managing director, Certified Audit of Circulations.

Special problems of publishers: William O. Walker, editor-publisher, Cleveland Call and Post; John A. Saunders, president and editor, Philadelphia Tribune; John B. Smith, executive vice president, Atlanta Inquirer; C. A. Scott, editor-general manager, Atlanta Daily World; Emory O. Jackson, managing editor, Birmingham World.

Others on the workshop program were: Howard B. Woods, vice president of NNPA and editor-publisher, St. Louis Sentinel; Mrs. Dorothy Leavell, publisher, Chicago New Crusader & Gary Crusader; Dr. Milton A. Reid, publisher, Norfolk Journal & Guide; Ms. Ethel Payne, Chicago Defender; Benjamin Wright, Clairol; Gene Mosley, national classified ad specialist and Ms. Brenda Joyce, public relations representative of Gulf Oil, sang two beautiful solos.

Ms. Yvonne Price, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Moses N. Newson, executive editor, Afro-American Newspapers; and John W. Lewis, Jr., director, NNPA Washington Bureau. Rev. Jerry A. Moore, pastor of 19th Street Baptist Church and a member of the D. C. City Council; and Rev. A. Knighton Stanley, pastor of Peoples Congregational Church.

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(Camera-ready pictorial layout is enclosed)

NNPA MID-WINTER WORKSHOP SCORES IN WASHINGTON _____ Top left, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, former Vice President, brings greetings to the group at the Mayflower hotel. John H. Sengstacke, editor-publisher, Sengstacke chain, is presiding; Top center, President Gerald R. Ford welcomes Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, president of NNPA and editor-publisher of the San Francisco Sun-Reporter/Metro-Reporter to the White House briefing. Top right, Goodlett makes a statement to the President and his officers. Left to right are briefers: Irving Kator, assistant executive director, Civil Service Commission; Stanley S. Scott, special assistant to the President; President Ford; James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Peter J. Brennan, Secretary of Labor; and Alex Armendaris, director, Office of Minority Business Enterprise. Middle left, Mr. Scott greets Mrs. Alice Dunnigan, former White House correspondent and author of a new book, "From the School House to the White House." Center, Ms. Brenda Joyce, public relations representative of Gulf Oil, sings a solo; middle right, Representative Charles B. Rangel, 3rd from right, chats with Frank L. Stanley, Jr., co-publisher, Louisville Defender; Mrs. Mildred Brown, editor-publisher, Omaha Star; Ms. Ophelia DeVore Mitchell, publisher, Columbus Daily Times; Howard W. Kutz, vice president, Audit Bureau of Circulations; and John H. Murphy III, chairman of the board, Afro-American Newspapers. Bottom left, Chairman John H. Powell, Jr., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is addressing workshop; William O. Walker, editor-publisher, Cleveland Call & Post, is presiding; bottom center, Ms. Barbara Proctor, president of Proctor & Gardner Advertising Agency, discusses the ad sales presentation; John L. Procope, editor-publisher, New York Amsterdam News, is presiding; Mayor and Mrs. Walter Washington visiting with publishers; John H. Sengstacke and Dr. Goodlett are with them; bottom right, Rep. Phillip Burton, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, is shown addressing workshop.

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