

Interview with Dr. Claud Anderson, aide to Gov. Reubin Askew, Tallahassee, Florida, May 16, 1974, conducted by Jack Bass and Walter de Vries, transcribed by Linda Killen.

Anderson: -- politically expedient or politically advantageous and that's what he's always done. It's very easy to work with him because he's never going to play games with you.

Jack Bass: You say he asks basically what's right and he does it?

Anderson: Yeah. *With Gov. Askew* - You know, two and two is really four. But you know, on one side it's best to say three because Republicans are going to want you to say three. And the Democrats are going to try to set their buddies and they want to get an extra point. So they're going to want you to say five. But in the real sense, based on the best information that's available to me, is four. He's always going to go that way. It's made it easy also for his opponents in one sense of the word because they always expect him to come right down the center road on every issue. And they set on the banks and take pot shoots at him. But somehow, for whatever reason. Maybe providence has watched over him. I've always tried to encourage him to get a little more machievellian, which he won't do. ~~signs I've got up there now.~~ I've given him books on The Prince. That's our philosophy. Always stand up for what you think is right regardless of what the consequences are. He's always done that. And for that reason, particularly like on the busing issue, he asked what I thought

about the busing issue. I said to me it's just a code word for anti-black. He said "Okay, let's go." He became the only politician in this country, black or white, who openly campaigned for busing for three solid months. Until he had to be put to bed by medical order. That's the only thing it will get you. Politically, in the long run, it will kill you. I said at least you'll sleep late and one day history will vindicate you.

Walter de Vries: How does he defy the conventional wisdom and still come out on top?

Anderson: I don't know. I don't know how he does it. But every time an issue comes up. . . . Maybe it's an ingredient. He tends to be a very strongly religious man and he tries to practice his religion. Particularly in that area of social contact and social endeavors and human contact. So I guess that makes him, politically, in a real sense, a liberal. In a sense that he is extremely concerned about human beings. So they tag him with a label of being a liberal governor in the furthest state in the South. On the other hand, though, you talk about money matters. He came from a very poor white rural family out here. And he's an ultra-conservative on money. And he inherited his administration from the Republicans. He was \$300 million in the red. Within one year there was \$300 million surplus.

W.D.V.: Have you been with him since he took office?

Anderson: Just about. A few months after.

J.B.: You grew up in Detroit, right?

Anderson: From sixteen upward I did. Prior to that, I spent my

first sixteen years in the South. North Carolina. Foothills. Piedmont country. So I guess I'm an odd mixture on both sides. Winston-Salem. Half my life in the South and half in the North. Right now I'm a northern boy in a southern system.

J.B.: You went to graduate school where?

Anderson: A variety. But my latter programs were at Wayne State University.

J.B.: And you came back south, to Florida, when?

Anderson: In 1970. In June of '70.

W.D.V.: When did you join Askew?

Anderson: About four years. I didn't come on until '71. He took office in January of '71. I took office about six months after his initiation into office.

J.B.: And you'd only been in Florida about a year. How did you come to his attention?

Anderson: I was involved in a lot of local problems in Tallahassee. Again, being a student of social science, I was particularly curious at the fact that there was a political gap that existed between the North and the South so far as handling problems and the way they dealt with problems. I felt that the South was much more parochial in that they still pretty much hung out--the best way I can express it--the old barber shop signs. Whenever an issue came up they didn't

come out and tell you what they were going to do. The North has always been much more glib and much more sophisticated in what

they did. Much more polished in that sense. The South right now is going through sort of a withdrawal. Take racial issues, for instance. They're going through withdrawal pains. They haven't quite yet recuperated from the shock of desegregation and integration. They're beginning to pick up momentum again. They're beginning to pick up some of the sophistication of the North. Now they're not very good at that. In most confrontations you can just about catch them with their pants down.

J.B.: You've got a doctorate in psychology?

Anderson: . . . in sociology.

J.B.: How did you first meet Askew?

Anderson: He invited me up to join his administration after the final little episode I had with one of the local school superintendents. I wrote a grant for a Floridian university, for a black institution, which amounted to something about \$1.5 million. And there was a very strong opposition to that because they wanted it to go predominantly white institutions at that time. The local people did. At least from the local school administrators. So we got involved in a long confrontation over that. It went on over a two or three month period. I guess in the end, in the final analysis, I came out victorious in the sense that he was proven to be a liar. And subsequent to that enough people entered the race to run against him for election that he lost. And some other things. After that the governor asked me to come down and to join his administration because the previous person was ~ Republican . This office has only been in existence for

a very short period of time. I guess maybe about four or five years old. Not really an old job. And this position is the only one of its kind in the country. We are about the only state that has what you call a cabinet system. Are you familiar with that? Which means that the governor is basically on his own. He has very little statutory or regulatory control over those other areas. Particularly, for instance, education. The commissioner of education, regulation wise, is the chief school officer. He doesn't have to exhibit any identification or commitment to the governor if he doesn't wish to because he runs statewide with his own political constituency. So between him and the commissioner there has to be an individual to keep the governor properly informed of the educational directions and programs. That becomes my responsibility. In Michigan you would have ~~something like John~~

~~as~~ the superintendent of education and you have your governor. Here, this position is somewhere between. It's not like most of the other executive aides to the governor who I know. Their function is still different because they can depend on the agencies. Here we can't. Those are political adversaries. So we not only have to watch the program programatically but politically, too. We have to be tuned into every issue that takes place.

J.B.: One thing I'm not clear on yet. Did you just suddenly get a call out of the blue saying "This is Reuben Askew and I want you to join my administration"? You'd never met. He'd never talked to you.

Anderson: No, the person who had the position then. . . there were a group of them. They were concerned about getting a replacement

for him. At that time, one of Reuben's philosophies was that he wanted, for instance, to make sure, in every position possible board-wise, commission-wise and even staff-wise, that a black be on the board or be identified. He wanted to put a black in his administration someplace and that was a position that came open at that time. Bill Malloy, Dr. Malloy, was leaving and going to the education commission, to the citizens committee for education. Malloy was white. I was the first black, I guess, to come into this position.

W.D.V.: Are you the first black to be in the executive office?

Anderson: Yeah. Since Reconstruction at least.

J.B.: So you, in effect, wear two hats. The governor's primary adviser on education matters and primary adviser on matters dealing with blacks?

Anderson: Yes. . . . The first one by professional commitment and obligation. The second one much more by cosmetic commitment and interest. There are other people who he could probably get that input from. If those were in reverse order, I wouldn't take the job. I would not come aboard for him to make me a special adviser on minority affairs. I would find that insulting, first of all. Professionally and intellectually. But now he tells me he's bringing me on in a mainline responsibility which is to be his adviser and coordinator for education throughout the state of Florida and to be immediately concerned with those areas. ~~In addition, you know, if I want to assume any responsibility about~~ get a call from Ft. Lauderdale just now. They've got a racial problem down there in the high school. Said

if I also wished to have some carry over responsibilities there. . . . That's different. But now if I look at the joint center reports, for instance, of all the black executives on all the executive staffs in the United States, all of them sitting there in those kinds of positions that I personally consider to be rather perfunctory. For a black to be special assistant to the governor on audio-vision aids or special assistant on minority affairs. I wouldn't want that. I don't think it's very challenging.

J.B.: What sort of role do you take in this Ft. Lauderdale thing?

Anderson: Two things. First of all I think. . . my own personal commitment because my father's side of the family is white and my mother's side is black. I think I can understand at least what both sides are really talking about. Being above and beyond any professional feelings about it. So what I do then is true to get both sides of the local issue, too. I would immediately get on the phone, for instance, and request reports from the established agencies there, such as the law enforcement agencies that were involved. Official reports from them. Official reports from the school personnel. Sometimes I call them on the phone, sometimes I make it written. If they don't send it then I threaten to subpoena it. If necessary I make them work overnight or weekends just as long as I get it. Let them know that someone else is involved. What I'm saying--before I get into the actual mechanics of what I would do--is that my philosophy is that I don't permit vacuums to be created in those situations. If you let a vacuum exist, you get a demagogue to fill it one way or the other real quick.

So I try as much as possible to get everybody actively involved in trying to solve the issue and let them know at the local level that there are some people up here that are concerned about the issue being solved. Get reports from all the established agencies. On the other hand, if it's a minority group, Mexican-Americans, Cubans, migrants or the blacks, on their side you have to try to get other agencies to do it for you. See, we have what is known as a human relations commission. And I'll call them on the phone and tell them to get a couple of field workers down there as soon as possible to try to get me an objective report from the minority group side. Because they have very poor communications. And that's usually the problem. Usually, if I wait too long we got a few demigogues or some black militants who will fill it just like that. Once that happens, then the sore festers and we've really got problems. We have a task force team over in the department of education. Usually I will ask that they contact the local school that's involved and sort of suggest that they officially request that they come in and assist them in solving the problems.

J.B.: Is this a task force dealing specifically with these kind of problems?

Anderson: Yes. They deal specifically with those kind of problems, racial problems or human relations type problems. But the only draw back is that they have to be requested to come in and that makes it rather difficult. By the local school board. And that's the problem. Because you see that's almost asking the same people involved probably to invite you back in. See, what we ideally need is someone

you can send in there right off the bat. But you can't do that.

J.B.: Do *you* have any hesitation about taking initiative on that?

Anderson: No. Because the governor ain't going to ask. . . he isn't going to tell you nothing. You're on your own. First day he hired me. I told him I'd had absolutely no experience in state government at all. He said "I didn't ask you for any. Do the same thing I do. Make your mistakes like I do. First time I'm being governor. You're on your own. See you."

J.B.: How often do you see him?

Anderson: On the average, under normal circumstances, about three times a week.

J.B.: Is this usually in a one to one situation or staff meeting?

Anderson: A combination. I have to see him for press briefings. I have to see him for cabinet briefings. Have to give him sort of a script. What he's to do in a cabinet session, for each issue that comes up. How he's to vote and why he's to vote that way. Explain the issue to him. Also the same thing is true with the cabinet briefings. In addition to that there are a lot of personal crises that are going on all the time that I have to report to him on. Whether it's political in nature or straight across the board. And I have a lot of little information sources that feed me information. I keep him briefed on that. I send him little monthly reports. Itemized points on what all the minority groups and what all the blacks are up to. What

all the organizations are doing. How you can deal with them. If some one comes out in the paper saying he's not doing a damn thing for blacks, why doesn't he appoint a black judge. I write a response to that, how he can respond to it. Or whether he should respond at all. Like this week he's speaking before the Florida Voters League, which is a black state Florida voters league, a black organization of about 400 people will be here. Write his speech. I know what they're after so I try to make sure they get it in the speech. Because what they want afterwards, to have a question and answer session. I try as much as possible to make sure that doesn't occur. And yet satisfy both the people who are going to be there and protect him.

J.B.: When do they meet?

Anderson: Saturday morning. They're going to be at the Holiday Inn.

J.B.: Is that the most effective state-wide black political organizations?

Anderson: That's a good question. I don't really know. One of my first comments to you, in the form of an observation, was that I felt the political situation was a little archaic here, pretty parochial. It's even more parochial with the blacks here. The blacks in Florida, I think, are probably the most disorganized blacks in the country. If you impose Florida over the United States--superimpose Florida on the country and probably find it pretty well matches. Almost identical to the various status of attitudes in this country. Northern Florida, for instance, is pretty much like southern United

States. Middle Florida is pretty much like mid United States. And lower Florida is pretty much like northern United States. Blacks tend to flow attitudinally along the same lines. Up along the panhandle, in the northern part, blacks in this area are extremely, extremely backwards in every sense of the word. They are pretty much like a picture out of the old Sevannee days. Very little has changed. Time has almost bypassed them. They are pretty much dependent on the independent farms and plantations up there. They're still pretty much following guidelines and dictates. Lower part of Florida. Blacks down there aren't too active. For the simple fact they tend very much to believe what a lot of the more progressive liberals out of the North tell them that there are no problems. Those who make contact with the big money people down there. They tell them "Look, we're all equal. No problems. So you shouldn't even be involved in those issues." So they're not very active. So we don't have that many active blacks in the state of Florida. There's a leadership vacuum for blacks in Florida. For that reason the NAACP cut Florida off. Florida is sort of disaffiliated with the national NAACP. And that's about the biggest organization. NAACP. But they have no national connections. The Urban League is not very strong either. They are active but they don't get into politics anyway, so you can't count them. You've got the African Socialist Party down in *southern part of the* state. They get active once in a while. What you have in Florida is a few people. . . six people to be exact. . . blacks from the lower part up, that tend to be self-engrandised spokesmen. There are two or three of them that I know. They'll pick up a

paper every day and circle a few issues. Then they'll go to the press and get a little press coverage out of it. They never follow up on it.

J.B.: How about the Voters League?

Anderson: The Voters League are people, I think, who are genuinely interested but they are handicapped for two reasons. They are handicapped and therefore not too effective because they don't have proper information upon which to make decisions about any issue. Secondly, their deficit of information is based on the fact that they don't know how to play politics. They don't know how to make contacts and get information. For instance, I guess I'm about the highest black in state government and they've never called me once. Most of the blacks in the state don't call me. They won't call me for information. So they never know what's going on. And the last part of the difficulty comes from the fact that you've got a lot of old line blacks that belong to both parties who are ultra-conservative. Because they still pretty much function with a plantation mentality in this area which says that only one black shall be commissioned to make contact with the white power structure. The rest of you all stay out in the field and keep busy. ~~And that's the problem with~~ university, for instance, ~~plantation right on the campus and he's~~ not going to let ~~come downtown and get involved in the issues~~ or what's going on. ~~He'll come down town and he'll go right to those~~ sources ~~above him.~~ Once they do him in, he wouldn't dare come check and ask elsewhere for a diversity of information. Therefore, you find, for instance in an election, you're going to

find your old line conservative black talk about the plantation, . They're going to be representing all the ultra-conservatives and some of the more radical racists in the states. The easiest thing. . . . George Wallace could come down here and pick up three or four blacks like that. To represent him any place he wants to. As a matter of fact, during the Democratic convention he picked up Jones to be responsible for the fifteen black delegates he had. You know Julian Bond don't you? Julian Bond came over just to talk to the black delegates to convince them to switch and vote the other way. Jones jumped on Julian Bond's back.

J.B.: Who is Jones?

Anderson: He's a little local politician down around the Tampa area. The Florida black delegates. They weren't black in the sense, you know, that they were a set aside group. But you know, they had the quota system. We could have so many of all minorities involved and we had some blacks in the group. Julian Bond went to approach them and Jones jumped on his back and started wrestling at the Democratic convention. About don't touch these blacks. These blacks belong to me.

J.B.: Were they bound to Wallace because of the primary vote?

Anderson: Yeah, I think on the first couple ballots they are. Jones didn't want them to get free one way or the other. He wanted to keep them bound to Wallace. And right now, see, there are a couple of blacks already out campaigning for Adams and that group. People opposed to the governor. Their platform is ultra-conservative. These guys

are going to profit. They just want to make a profit for themselves. The rest of their people, they can shoot them down the tube.

J.B.: How many black legislators are there now?

Anderson: Three. That's why we only have three and that's why if you go up in Georgia you might find about twenty-three or Alabama about twenty-three.

J.B.: But you don't have single member districts here.

Anderson: That's correct. See that chart behind you? That's the suit that I served in the Supreme Court against the reapportionment. That's the way the reapportionment broken up right there. Every black district in this state was gerrymandered. Lost in the Supreme Court four to three. The marks don't really mean anything. It is just indicative of where there is a heavy concentration of blacks. Blacks just about have a whole band all the way across here. From here all the way across here.

[Interruption.]

--to justify a district of 29,000 people.

J.B.: And you carried that, you say, into the courts. State or US supreme court?

Anderson: State supreme court. I asked some black lawyers to take it into federal court, but they weren't too enthused over it and I told them "What the hell, I'm not going to worry about everybody's problems."

J.B.: When was that suit?

Anderson: Back during the time of the reapportionment. I'm not sure when that was. Must have been about two years ago.

J.B.: While you were in the governor's office.

Anderson: Yes. He ain't going to say anything. His whole philosophy is do what you think is right for your people. But that's why right now that's still 1840 up there. A year ago the governor had to go up there and make them take the law books out. See where that 10 is right there? Coming down through Quincy. Quincy, that area is 71 or 72 percent black. They wouldn't permit blacks not only to register up there or to vote. . . they won't even permit them to register. There is a suit right now to make them let blacks just sit on juries. Don't let them hold public office or nothing else. Won't let them even work anywhere around state government. As a matter of fact they've been hiding the registration books in the back of the newspaper office and locking them up and bring them out the day before election. If you haven't registered that day before, you can't vote.

J.B.: Is this a one county problem so to speak?

Anderson: The counties get different schemes. That's a study right there I had conducted to find out how to get more blacks on to various school boards. There are 67 school districts in the state of Florida and we've had three blacks elected. Sixty-seven counties. We have got six school board members all together and the governor has appointed three of those. So half of them are appointed by the governor.

J.B.: You're saying then that there are places in Florida where

it is still difficult for blacks to register to vote?

Anderson: Well, yeah. Because of the schemes they go on. They are very crude schemes, they're not polished schemes, but they make up for the crudeness with outright oppression. I can take you up in those area and most of the blacks that do vote, legitimately show up on the registrar as being legitimate voters and they do vote. But most of them, see for instance, are household servants. They're driven down there and they're told, you know, "If you vote the wrong way, you won't have a job tomorrow." Or "We've got all kinds of ways to determine how you vote." And how they count the votes. That's why I can go up there right now and the blacks will vote almost solidly for Wallace and for the biggest racist in the country. A black just ran up there for mayor. Blacks outnumber the whites up there four to one, the black-white issue. The election in the balance of the county. . . the white got twice as many votes as the black did. So they can put them back where they were in the beginning. And little schemes show up like right here in this district. The better way according to the computer was to go to single man districts. According to a mathematical projection based on a computer scheme, I can almost assure six or seven blacks being elected in the state of Florida to school boards. If we went to single man districts. But see, they're not going to let you go to single man districts. The politicians who want to play king of the mountain know that. Same ones who *plan* these other little schemes. So what happens is that the politics is run by those crooks in office, or people who are the schemers. What I'm saying to you is

we live in a very homicidal system. And yet the former governor, in his own non-wise ways, asked the local governments to do their own apportionments. And they're homicidal, not suicidal. They're not going to cut their own throats. They'll cut the throat of the most common victim. And that's what happens so it keeps going on and on and on. With single man districts we'd get some of them elected.

J.B.: Was the human relations commission in operations before Askew became governor? Was that a Kirk creation?

Anderson: I don't really know. I'm not going to answer that. I may give you some misleading information. When I first got here we were trying to get it started, so it couldn't have been too old. But I was about six months coming on board and I came on right after the legislative session. It could have been enacted through that legislative session.

W.D.V.: Do you know the blacks who have been appointed in the other executive offices in the eleven southern states?

Anderson: I have the names of them.

W.D.V.: Do you know them by position? Is your position relatively higher than theirs? Function. I'm not talking about human relations or community affairs.

Anderson: Yes. In that regard, yes. Because theirs are mostly non-line job. See, for instance, in the state of Florida our line-- our largest budget, 70 percent of the budget is education. This is the largest single segment of state government, right here.

J.B.: How much input do you have in writing the budget?

Anderson: Very little, by and large. Again, we don't have expertise. That's done by the department of administration.

J.B.: How about this proposed two mill tax decrease on education?

Anderson: Yes, he signed that. Roll the cap back from ten to eight mill. Which means that's the highest that the local states could charge for on tax. Various counties around the state. What that's trying to do. . . it's probably Marshall. I have an assistant, Marshall. Marshall works with finance, that's his primary thing. Marshall could probably explain that to you much better than I could. I took the class at Wayne, but I never really understand it. It's trying to give some relief to the local levels. In a sense, it's going to mean a reduction for the local property tax owner. But they caught again, because we also are trying to standardize assessments all over the state. The property is being assessed in Tallahassee now at about 64 percent of its value when in Miami it's being assessed at about 95 percent of its value. Which meant in a sense that people in Miami were putting more money into the pot than people in Tallahassee were putting. So, based on the Rodrigues decision, we're going to say equal educational opportunities should go across the board all the way. They want everybody to assess straight out on a standardized basis.

J.B.: Would it be 100 percent of valuation or a lower percentage?

Anderson: It will be less than 100. I think it will be about ninety something. I'm not sure what it's going to be exactly. All this is being debated now.

J.B.: State wide property tax?

Anderson: No, what we're talking about is local ad valorem tax. But local ad valorem taxes have been differing to the point that. . . let me show you. Up in Gaston I told you about where you have this heavy concentration of poor blacks. Up there they come out allotting to the school district almost \$200 per child because of the poor tax base up there. Where down in Glades county they come out with \$1,100 per child. So what we're trying to do is figure out how we can balance that thing where it comes out all over the state at about \$800 per child.

W.D.V.: The only way you can do that is to increase the state's share.

Anderson: That's right. So we're going to increase the state's share.

J.B.: Is it going to be a state ad valorem tax?

Anderson: No. We're going to take the money out of our coffers up here and we're going to *make up* the difference. We're just going to make the difference up from state monies. Again, that's Reuben's kind of attitude. He wants everything to be equal and fair. And he's trying to make sure that everybody gets as much for their dollar in one place as they do in another and every child has an equal opportunity across the board. If it means setting up standardization at the county level, fine. Some counties say we can't make it. Okay, we'll put money in the pot. So we're going to pour in the rest of the money to make up the difference once we cap them off.

J.B.: Does the state set school teachers' salaries?

Anderson: No, not really. Each county has that prerogative, to set its own salaries.

J.B.: Is there a state supplement?

Anderson: Yes. They get monies, but the state doesn't exercise any authority on telling them how those monies are to be spent. Like we were on a unit system back a few years ago. We were putting in maybe \$1,100 a unit, classroom unit. Maybe out of that unit there was \$400 for teachers salaries, let's say. Now some of the districts gave teachers the whole \$400 and some of them only gave them \$200 of it. That's why in Miami, for a five year teacher, salary might be \$11,500. For a five year teacher in Gaston county might be about \$8,700 or \$8,800. So, when we start talking about the formula again, then we start saying, well, we'll try to fill in cost differentials. Okay, fine. We'll level off this whole process of education. Who is going to get what money. Try to make sure everybody gets an equal amount of money. Then somebody will say "Well, what about the difference between Gaston and Miami? Costs more to live in Miami." Then we have to start talking about cost differentials. The additional cost that it takes to live in that area.

J.B.: You were talking before about one role you played in just giving the governor input and information, a lot of it political. Is that more or less a self-defined role? Something you decided you just wanted to do in this job?

Anderson: Yes. As I said, the governor and our staff is pretty free. He has permitted just about everybody to be on their own. He's not going to tell you what to do, when to do it, or anything.

W.D.V.: There's no chief of staff?

Anderson: Yes, but he's not going to do it either. I might see the chief of staff less than I see the governor.

J.B.: Are there regular staff meetings?

Anderson: Yes, on a Monday morning. But all we do there is just everybody goes around and just regurgitate or share whatever problems they might have that they want other staff to sit in on. Other than that you're on your own. Nobody's going to come here and tell me "Say, we know what problems you're having." I've got my own bills going through the legislature. I'm fighting for those. I'm *going to* solve racial problems. I wrote the program for the affirmative action plan for the state. Minority groups. Keep that going, take calls on that, try to help out in that. Stay on the backs of all the various division heads, secretaries, make sure that they carry out the mandates. Nobody else is going to come and help me do those things. Nobody's going to come see whether I'm doing it right or not.

W.D.V.: How many senior staff are there?

Anderson: Just one. *They* busy doing their own thing. I guess the only freedom that I have that doesn't *extend to the other*, just like the whole press conference. Most of the others have to go through the press section for a press release. I usually have pretty much of a free hand to do that. If there's something

I don't like I just chew out a person that I don't like. And then it goes on television. And the governor tells you, sometimes he might come down and say "I sure wish you hadn't said that at that time" or "I wish you had waited to a later period." But he's never going to tell you that you're wrong.

W.D.V.: Do other staff members come to you about minority problems?

Anderson: Yeah, usually they'll come to you about that or tell you about it.

W.D.V.: Is the role you are playing, both professionally and as a black, what you expected when you took the job?

Anderson: You want me to be honest with you? Not really, because I didn't think I would be able to do the job, to be honest with you. From the job description, I didn't think I would last two minutes. I didn't have the least notion, you know, that I could serve in that function. To pick up the telephone and call Gov. ^{Dunn} ~~Dodd~~ in Tennessee and talk with him and carry on a program and turn around and call HEW and tell them our positions on various issues. Or talk with Carter and his staff. Stuff like that. Or go out and. . . because of the governor or something. Meet in conference and deal with them. I used to get up tight. But now it doesn't bother me. I get along well. And I guess you become acclimated to something. And now I enjoy it real well. It's no problem.

J.B.: You were saying you have your own bills in the legislature. What would be an example of that?

[Interruption.]

J.B.: So this is a report on the governor's task force on disruptive youth.

Anderson: Okay, I see. Back I guess about a year or so ago now I was concerned first of all that in this state there were a heck of a lot of black kids, for instance, being thrown in the street along with a lot of kids period. I've always been a person who loved to identify with the underdog. And being at that time one of the few people in state government--and at one time the only black in state government--I found that nobody really looked out for the underdogs. You asked me earlier was that a professional responsibility. It's because nobody else was doing it. And the easiest thing in the world to do is to pretend that certain people don't exist. So I got concerned about what was happening among those kids. Naturally there was a racial feeling. But above and beyond that I was saying that you're really throwing the wrong people in the streets. You're throwing the people in the streets who can ill afford to be in the streets. And blacks kids, by god, can't afford one day out of school. So I asked the state department of education again. Said why don't you start looking into what's happening to those children. I cannot believe that throwing the children into the streets will solve the problems. What you're doing is compounding their problems or postponing their problems or relieving yourself of their problems. And that you need to start doing something about the suspension-expulsion rate in this state. So they said, well, we don't have no problem. That's no problem. But I can sneak around and find

places. In Brevard county. In one month they put out 4,400 children. That concerns me. And I found that three-quarters of those are black and that concerned me even more. Then I look at the allegations and I even get more concerned. I found out that they are being put out for stuff like 300 being put out for vulgarity, 400 being put out for smoking. The leading cause of expulsion and suspension in this state was truancy. There's no way that you can educationally justify to me why you are throwing kids out in the street for truancy. And that's the leading cause in the state. So after asking, they said "No, we don't even have a problem, that's not a problem in the state of Florida" I said "Okay, fine, then I'll make it a problem." I called the criminal justice council and told them to give me \$60,000 and I assigned some people from the university to go out and conduct a study. I said "Go find whether or not this problem exists." They came back with that. And what they said was almost what I suspected in the beginning. The only difference was that the climax there they found 50,000 kids thrown out in the streets. On a projected basis, 50,000. I checked with HEW in Washington and it came out to be exactly 87,000 and something that were put out in one state. In five southern states over 200,000 were put out last year. So then I set about the business of saying, first of all, I question whether or not you are violating those kids' rights to due process by putting them out. At least based on the Tinker ~~and~~ ~~the~~ decision which says you cannot justifiably throw a kid out of school unless you have explored all the other alternatives

and substantially proved that he behaved or disrupted the school day or school activities. So this year one of the bills, for example, is called the Disruptive School Act of 1974. What the disruptive school act of 1974 is saying is that first of all you've got to define all the terms--define suspension and expulsions and all the other associated terms that you use. You have to define how long a kid can be out of school and this business of whether or not you can actually do it. It says in the bill that every kid entering a school must be provided with a bill of rights. He must be given a handbook telling him what his rights are. Because again I was concerned that teachers and administrators can pull a kid off to the side and five adults could railroad a kid out of school. And nobody can convince me that a kid has had due process when you've got five adults in the same building running him out of school. When you throw a kid out of school and deprive him of an educational opportunity then you've deprived him of life. You can't survive very well without it. And in this state they were expelling kids like crazy. And when they expell you that means you don't come back for the rest of your life.

W.D.V.: So you have a bill in the legislature. Is that identified as a governor's bill? Identified as your bill?

Anderson: No. What I do in that case. . . . For two reasons. Politically you don't do that for two reasons. To keep down the backlash. You get your workhorse legislators to do that for you. Like in this case. See Senator Graham is carrying that for me in the senate and senator Nelson is carrying it in the house under Conway. And then

let them carry it.

J.B.: Is Graham the governor's floor leader?

Anderson: Well, he's one of the strong ones. Those individuals are very strongly identified with the office. We give them most of the pet bills.

[End of side of tape.]

--you write stuff in. . . a message like that. Might make two or three sentences.

J.B.: But you mean the first he may know about the bill is when he hears that it is being debated in the legislature?

Anderson: Sometimes that happens.

J.B.: That doesn't bother him?

Anderson: No. Because again, he's going to tell you that if he doesn't have any confidence in you he's going to get rid of you.

W.D.V.: Isn't that putting an extraordinary amount of confidence in his staff? Don't they screw him?

Anderson: Yes. No. He has his own bills. We have group bills. Is that what you're talking about? Group bills? His bills? Yeah, we have those, which all of us fight for, if that's what you're talking about. Basic bills. Like his basic bill might be an environmental bill or ethics bill or a financial disclosure bill.

J.B.: How many people are there on the staff who have the authority to have legislation introduced coming out of the governor's office?

Anderson: Right now I'm about the only one that does that. See,

most of the others work much more closely with the governor. Because they are considered to be aides, and I am not.

W.D.V.: When I asked you about senior staff you said there was just one.

Anderson: I'm a coordinator. We don't define it that way. Just by title. There's a difference in title more so than anything else. See, there an aide is called an executive aide to the governor and I am a coordinator.

J.B.: You're the education coordinator. Are there any other coordinators?

Anderson: No. I'm the only one.

J.B.: Is there a table of organization in this office?

Anderson: Within the office itself? Yeah, in a sense that. . . here again. . . governor, the executive staff member--which is Jim ~~Ap-~~thorp--and the rest of the staff members, they are classified as aides and advisers. I'm a coordinator and adviser. We are basically on the same level but we have different titles and different responsibility level. Responsibility load more so than a hierarchy.

W.D.V.: I've organized a governor's office about four different ways. They don't have any line responsibilities. So some of the other aides have responsibilities with other cabinet departments?

Anderson: Yes they do. See every one of them has a responsibility of another cabinet member. Okay? But we do have a few who are aides that don't. Like the appointment secretary, for instance. Press secretary.

atthorp
J.B.: ~~Apthorp~~ is basically chief of staff?

Anderson: Right. He's the chief of staff. So, we come down, governor, chief of staff, and the rest of us, which are collectively called staff members. Okay? Now they are called aides and advisers and here where you get to the last book, where I am, it's called adviser and coordinator. Still just a block on the same plain, on the same staff level. I'm the only Ph.d. on the staff and the only black on the staff and the only one who has a large budgetary area. I have a few more freedoms than the rest of them do, which is much more of a governor's decision. An actual line kind of description.

W.D.V.: Did that emerge or were you told that that was the case?

Anderson: I think it was much more of a combination of both of them. The governor gives you a lot of freedom and latitude to do the things you want to do. But in addition to that you sort of develop your own feel for things. When you get to know him, you pretty much understand the way he is. The kind of guy whose whole thing is being honest and straightforward and being truthful with people.

And the staff he choses just about the same route.

W.D.V.: Are a lot of his problems because he is so honest and straightforward he doesn't perceive the evil in anybody else? When he makes an appointment and something goes wrong it's difficult to reconcile it.

Anderson: Yes. That's why I said luckily he has been very blessed. With his appointments. That's what I indicated to you earlier.

That's that he's been pretty much blessed. You asked me earlier why and I said at that time I don't know why. Probably he's got three or four angels in his pocket.

J.B.: Has he fired any staff people?

Anderson: No.

J.B.: Do you think he would just fire somebody outright if he thought they were violating--

Anderson: Most definitely.

W.D.V.: How does he rationalize Tom Adams?

Anderson: He's just a kind of person who doesn't play his kind of politics. That's not the way he lives. Not the way he deals with people. Tom Adams said the governor cut him off after he got elected. That's not necessarily true. The governor just didn't want to play that kind of politics. And secondly, Adams spent most of his time taking cruises and farming and running back and forth to Latin America. The governor just doesn't do that. Adams will play much more of this business about patronage, paying off your buddies and getting stuff under the table. Reuben ain't going to do that.

~~tell you I don't have to do it?~~ If his mother or anybody else calls him and says "Reuben if you put a black ^{on} ~~and~~ the _____ county school board you'll never be re-election^{ed}." *Will say* _____ then let them elect who they want to elect. "Reuben, I tell you one thing, if you don't approve the environmental act, making possible for some of us to buy lands over here and make our fortune, a killing on the panhandle, you're going to lose all the kind of political

friends in this state." "Fine, I'll lose them. I wasn't born governor." They said "Reuben, if you don't start campaigning early, you know, Tom Adams is going to kill you." He said "When is the election?" "July." "I'll start in July. In the meantime I'm going to try to run a good, clean, decent administration."

W.D.V.: Doesn't he sound just a little too good to be true?

Anderson: [Laughter.] Yeah, he does. But he gets by. I've always wanted to be able to some people about things they try to do to him. He doesn't do that.

W.D.V.: So where's he going?

Anderson: He always said "Claude, I think I can catch more flies with sugar than I can with vinegar. They get a little heavy, but I get them. I've got more faith in the people."

Lik Abe Lincoln. I don't think you can fool all the people all the time. Someday they'll catch up with you. Right now every cabinet member in the state is under investigation but him. See what they're saying now? That he's the one turned them in. See, everybody else on the block is stealing. So if you're not getting caught then you must be turning everybody else in. That's good thinking. What you're saying is the fact that we're stealing is not the issue. The fact that somebody is reporting those crimes. And that's who we need to be persecuting. The guy who's reporting them. That's what they call a good southern politician, who can do that. Who can tell you "Look now, let's not be concerned about who's stealing. Let's be concerned about who's reporting it." First of all, Reuben wouldn't even stoop that low to even

think about reporting them. And secondly, I was sort of insulted that he would do it and to say that it's not even important that you're stealing.

W.D.V.: Aren't you saying that the voters in this state are a long ways ahead of the politicians?

Anderson: I think they are to some degree. I hope they are. I don't know. I've got a very strong belief, though, that voters are really sort of masochistic. I think they love for people to do them in. The Adams and the Nixons. They keep getting re-elected.

J.B.: Could Reuben Askew get elected governor of Michigan?

Anderson: I would probably say no. Because he's not slick enough. Reuben ain't going to play the slick politics. He can make out well in Florida because down here the people will say--like I told you before--they want you to hang out that shingle, which is an important factor. They'll say--I've heard them say this--"Reuben, I'll tell you what. Now he's a good old boy, you know. Now I disagree with the way he's giving all those blacks a decent job and letting them go to school *and* stuff like that. The way he's sort of saying that everybody should have a decent opportunity to live in society. Now he's wrong about that, but since he's a nice guy I'm going to forgive him." I can't explain it, but that's. . . . And the farmers around here, they understand that.

J.B.: Are you saying that they like him because, in effect, they disagree with his progressive programs and "liberal" attitudes, but they like him because he'll stand up even when he's wrong? For

what he believes in even when he's wrong?

Anderson: That's right. You said it better than I did.

J.B.: I once had a textile worker explain to me why he supported Strom Thurman.

W.D.V.: I heard that for the five years I worked for The same thing. We don't like his stand on the income tax, but by god he's honest.

Anderson: Sometimes people will vote for you on that. I don't know why, but they do. To me, that would frighten me--

W.D.V.: Maybe because it is perceived as atypical.

Anderson: I think that's what it is. Because see most of these guys around here lie to you. And ~~as a guy said~~ recently up here rain.

I've heard all the lines around here. I've heard lies. But Reuben ain't ever going to tell you them.

W.D.V.: So why do you stay?

Anderson: Just because of him. He's a rather unique person. Of all the men I've met all over the country, Reuben is totally different from all of them.

J.B.: Is he motivated primarily by religious attitudes?

Anderson: I think so.

J.B.: Do you find that frightening in any way?

Anderson: No, but I think it frightens other people. It frightens a lot of his adversaries. It increases their hatred for him. Because it reflects back on them. It mirrors what they are doing. It

sort of hangs a crucifixion in front of their faces. Who wants to be working when all the time they're going to be looking at the shadow of a crucifix, a cross in your eye? And you're busy trying to stuff your pockets. Would you enjoy that? That's my own personal feelings.

W.D.V.: But is he that different from everybody else before and everybody else around him in the cabinet?

Anderson: Yeah. He's that different.

J.B.: I'm asking this question playing devil's advocate. But is the potential of fanaticism there?

Anderson: No, because he never asks anyone else to accept his beliefs and philosophies. He never imposes them on you.

J.B.: But if you wanted to play traditional pork chop politics out of this office, you suggested that you wouldn't last very long if he found out about it.

W.D.V.: So in a sense he does impose that on you.

Anderson: No, I mean. . . in that regard yes. In the regard that he has a commitment to the people to make sure he runs a good administration. But that's above and beyond his own personal philosophy about things. But what it is. . . Reuben tends to cut a fine line between that which he believes and that which he practices. The blend comes out to be the kind of a blend that somehow tends to make him acceptable to, for instance, the people in . . . like for instance he won the country and western award last year for politician, beating Wallace and Nixon out.

J.B.: Who is that given by?

Anderson: I don't know. . . the group came down here from out of Tennessee, the country western award. But what I'm saying is, what do you have to do to beat Wallace and Nixon? At the same time, he won the national profile in courage award ~~that big~~ ~~they give out for profile in courage. He won that too.~~

Now how do you put those two together? At the same time he was elected to the education commission of the states. he has that kind of an image. Reuben takes care of business very directly. He's an extremely sharp guy, direct guy. He has stature and he has poise. He gives you the feeling that Reuben is not a politician. He always makes you feel like he's a statesman. And that's the feeling I always have when I'm with him. He's always very natty in his dress. He's a friendly guy. He's very sharp and very bright. And he's a fun guy. But he's the kind of guy that if he's got two things he'll give you one of them.

J.B.: Does he have a sense of humor?

Anderson: Yes. Extremely so. Loves to joke and play around with you.

W.D.V.: Where do you think he's going?

Anderson: I don't know. That depends on the moral standards of this country.

W.D.V.: Assuming he's re-elected and there's not going to be anything in the way, now what? He's one of only two southerner governors to be re-elected. Because most of them, of course, can only serve one term. The other one is Edwards. And where is he nationally?

Anderson: There's Wallace, too.

W.D.V.: Oh yeah. Well, other than George Wallace. I know the staff doesn't drink, at least Askew doesn't, but when they sit around talking about what's going to happen in 1976, what do they. . . .?

Anderson: Well, that would be based on whether the Democratic party would again find a necessity to pick a governor or a Senator, which I'm probably inclined to believe they would.

W.D.V.: Or go South.

Anderson: That's what I'm saying. For two reasons. First of all, I think the Watergate taint is going to be so strong by '76 that they're going to want to get somebody not associated with Washington. They'll probably feel that we're going to try to do like the Republicans do. We're going to go big business wise. Which means pick somebody who has had the experience of running a business or running a state and go for a governor. If they go for a governor, they've only got two in the country that have the visibility. That's Wallace and Reuben. So he tried to get Reuben for that vice presidency for a long time. Even before it became public knowledge. To run with McGovern. He continuously refused it. They'd already *asked* him to be the keynote speaker for the Democratic party. Again you raise this question about whether or not he would be a fanatic. One of whole thing. . . in talking with them. . . why did you want Reuben to be your keynote speaker is that it is the custom to have that individual who has the kind of image and and understanding, for human and for the

direction of the party. And Reuben was the one. That's why they asked him to give the keynote address. That's what they were after. Fine, that's what we want. We want him to give the keynote address. Let me go back and try to explain and then we'll come back to this other question. Reuben has the luck in a sense of being honest and truthful and being for real and down to earth with people that Nixon has in being conniving. . .

W.D.V.: That would make him extremely skillful at it.

Anderson: That's the best way I can explain it. Episode after episode that I've been in here--sometimes four or five a day, maybe three or four big ones a week. And you ask me how does he survive. Some how he can flip and hit on his feet and take those positions. God knows I don't know how he does it. He just says I have to be honest and truthful and he hits on his feet. I don't know how he does it, but he does it. He has the skill and the personality and when he talks to people or sits down on the tv, they buy it. Reuben will sell them tanks to save gas. He's just a little old country boy. That sounds good to me. Let's get some tanks and save gas. But to go back to the other question, nationally I think that it will probably switch down between Reuben and Wallace. Unless Reuben's luck changes drastically or unless the morals of this country take a drastic twist for the better, the Wallace people will turn around and try to do us in.

J.B.: Would he take second spot on the ticket in '76? With someone other than McGovern.

Anderson: I don't know. Before he has always discouraged me.

He's always said he wasn't interested.

W.D.V.: We're now talking about a situation where he's been re-elected and it's 1976.

Anderson: I don't know then. He might then. Because up to before he's always said no, he wasn't interested.

W.D.V.: You moved down here from the North. Did you go to the national governors conference. Do you go to the southern governors conference. Do you see any difference in southern politics and northern politics? What I'm asking is, is there any point in writing a book about southern politics? Does it differ from what you've known in other parts of the country?

Anderson: I think so. I'm not quite sure whether I can articulate it, the difference. And secondly I'm not sure whether I'm accurately able to determine it, that there is a difference. Maybe this might even be true in the North, so you're going to have to respond to that. But you can go into a small town around here, sort of traditional, I can go in and find, for instance, one guy running the whole town. Maybe that's also true in the North. This guy runs everything there and he owns everything there, including the sheriff, and the commissioners and everybody else. But the difference between the North and the South, I gather, is that everybody knows it doesn't make any difference in the South. In the North that's not true. In the North when I had my little contacts with the police department there. . . on the seventh floor *she* deal with the mafia. The mafia had clean monies--supposedly good money--running into *the* big boys,

affluent, cleaners, Shell gas stations, a few other operations like that, under one guy. But that was information that you had to dig for. And the guy would always try to keep it. . . . But here they don't do that. That's where the porking chopping term comes from. Here they just take care of each other and do it outside.

J.B.: You're saying that the South is more open than the North?

Anderson: Yeah. Again, you asked me about why they accept stuff. They're inclined to accept that you do something if you do it. . . . You go into areas around here and they'll just do it, do it outright. Let's take another issue. Let's take one of the civil rights issues. Back ten years ago when the various blacks and whites who were in civil rights were being killed, you know. Beat to death or blown up or shot. All that was done with people's knowledge. People knew what was going on. They didn't even have to do it under the cover of darkness. Reuben made Life magazine, I think, last year in his fight with Sheriff McCall. Two-gun McCall. Do you remember that? Cool Hand Luke or something was inspired by him. He's the guy been sheriff for twenty-five years. He's always bragged about how many blacks he's killed. So a year or so ago he stomped a black to death for having an expired window sticker on his car. ~~Down in~~, Florida. Pulled a black over for having an expired window sticker. Have to buy a sticker every year on your window shield. And one day after it expired they would haul you in and give you a ticket. This black's window shield sticker expired in something like February or March. They took him in and McCall, the sheriff, stomped him to death, killed him. Reuben said "You

would never do that in my state and get away with it." And this guy said "Well, McCall's been here twenty-five years. He's a legend in his own time. He's bragged about how many blacks he's killed." *and Reuben said:*

⁴ "That will be the last one." And they had this big fight for about a year. And everybody was upset. Told him to leave him alone. That he would never get re-elected. What a big, powerful man he was. A big thing. Reuben pulled everything in the book until he found a *charge* and busted him. Took about a year to do it, though. Everybody said Reuben would never be re-elected after that in Florida. That that would really hurt him. That he had bothered a hero, a southern hero. When he went for a corporate tax rather than putting a state tax on all the people, all the big money people in the state of Florida said Reuben would never be re-elected. He put a corporate tax on the people and upset the apple cart. *We was for* Bussing. Mess with all these sacred things. He's *unwilling* ^{on} all the sacred issues nobody else would touch. Judicial reform and busing and environmental reform. Disclosure laws, ethics bills. Name anything you want. And like I say about Nixon, he hits on his feet every time. And don't ask me why. But he does. I got off on that and didn't answer the question. What was it?

W.D.V.: About the difference between North and South? Distinctive regional differences. The distinctive difference is really the way they conduct politics. I can't quite pinpoint the difference for you and I'm sorry I can't. For instance, Maddox can get up and conduct a legislative session. Maddox knows about as much about parliamentary

procedures as you know about flying. Instead of using Robert's rules of order Maddox will say "I'll tell you right now I'll *make the rules* you say up there again.

" It doesn't bother anybody. Any of the rules can be broken. But he does it in such an honest way, you know. An honest, ignorant way, in this instance. He gets away with it. And the same thing in business ventures. They can do it. "Look now, you just give me what you're going to give me and let's forget about all this and go buy a beer." And they can get away with it. And that's the way politics is conducted. They call it pork chopping. Looking out for your buddy. But the North is much more skillful and polished. They'll do you in, too, but they. . . . That's the thing you have to watch for. And I'm not sure right now. . . . I'm trying to grab for a term that would convey what I'm trying to tell you. The demarcation here. And I can't figure out what it is yet. But in dealing with them, that's how I can best get along with them. I use the shock value, though. I know there's a lag in the North and South and I use it to my benefit when I'm dealing with them.

W.D.V.: Is the difference that the quid pro quos up North are always unspoken but down here. . . here's the deal.

Anderson: Right. That's a part of it. And the second part of it is the lag that's between the two is also part of the problem. I can go up to a sheriff now in one of these counties. Ten years ago he probably would have killed me and had me hung. Okay? I say "Now you're the biggest, goddamn sloppy redneck in these goddamn hills. Get your hand off that nigger." He's just going to sit there and look at you.

Won't say very much. You know, probably go tell them to turn him loose. In his own mind, he hasn't quite understood yet how he is to deal with that and react with the lag. You understand what I'm saying? Maybe in another five or ten years he'll understand how to react. Right now, because of the desegregation shock and the lag between North and South, they haven't quite developed a proper attitude or mood to deal with those kind of issues yet. I always take advantage of the gab. So whenever I find a gap, I always try to fill it as soon as I can. If I can't get there personally, I fill it verbally or psychologically. Something. To keep them on the defensive. In this case, I'm dealing with legislation, I'm dealing with people in confrontation situations. And I just try to take advantage of them.

[Interruption.]

--in the posture of Nixon's administration, right? Reuben has chosen some very good people. I'm not talking about myself. Most of the guys are pretty good guys, honest guys. I guess likes tend to choose likes, so he tends to choose those individuals who feel very much like him. Just like Nixon, see.

Is that what you were talking about earlier? I think like tend to choose like. If Reuben is bad, then all of his staff is going to be bad. I think if one person goes bad on Reuben's staff, I think there's a pretty good chance Reuben's also bad. But if Reuben is pretty strong and he hangs in there. . . has a staff or rod of worth, personal dignity and pride, religious conviction and faith, strong, clean honest government, I think pretty much his staff is going to follow suit.

W.D.V.: Did you ever think you would say that about any guy three years ago?

Anderson: No. Particularly as a northern black about a southern white. No way. *I still* wonder why I'm still saying that about him, but I do.

W.D.V.: Are you amazed that you keep on saying it?

Anderson: Yeah, I am.

J.B.: Is Florida a southern state?

Anderson: Yeah, as I said, parts of it. Particularly the upper part. The only part that is really not southern is the Miami area. That's sort of northern.

J.B.: But in state-wide politics you think Florida is a southern state.

Anderson: Yes. What I'm saying to you is that the northern part of it is only a little section down on the tip. The rest of Florida is very much like the population is in flux, in flux socially and attitudinally. It's also in flux population wise. Up until recently Florida was basically an uninhabited state. The population here has doubled in the last ten years. We're picking up about six thousand people a day into this state. Tallahassee is the fastest growing city in Florida and it's the second fastest growing city in the United States. So I'm not sure how much longer it will be a southern state with that massive rate of migration into the state. People are pouring in here from all over the country. But right now it is a southern state.

J.B.: Were you reluctant to come back South? I mean you had left North Carolina, gone to Detroit. Why did you come back South?

Anderson: Because he called me two or three times, asked me to come back.

W.D.V.: Who called you?

Anderson: His staff, staff member, Bill Malloy for him.

W.D.V.: You mean to come back to teach in the state?

Anderson: No, to come back to work for him on his staff.

J.B.: But why did you come back to the South at all to teach?


Anderson: Because I wanted the experience, because I've always grown up in an integrated setting. I've always lived around blacks and whites. There's my own family, and I've always gone to black and white schools.

J.B.: In Winston-Salem?

Anderson: Well, in Winston-Salem we went to black schools there but by factors of segregation we still all lived together. That's one of the well kept secrets of blacks. I shouldn't tell you that. We have various forms of intraracial discrimination, too, among us. Blacks tend to run the color spectrum from chalk to charcoal. We have a tremendous number of blacks in this country--last estimate I read somewhere like about 35,000 blacks in this country every year pass for white and don't come back, period. And I grew up in the South. Half of my relatives were white or people thought they were white because they worked downtown in various shops and stores, down at the Greyhound bus station and stuff. As whites. *And as white we all still lived together.*

Because, see, in the South there never was a problem. The South never discriminated against you as far as home conditions were concerned. They only discriminated against you socially, economically and educationally. Whites in the South never cared where you lived. I can take you out right now and see whites and blacks who live together. They'll live together out here on the farm. One farm down the road. And that is farmed together. Or they even let you live in their house. You can move in as a maid and live upstairs, or have a bedroom in the back, or build a place for you up over the garage. Southern whites don't care about where you live. It's just the opposite in the North. It's only in the North that whites care about where you live. But they don't care about where you go to school or where you work or where you are employed. See, they are just reversed.

J.B.: Of course they have neighborhood schools.

Anderson: Up there? Well, see, when I went there  went to a mixed school like Northwest High School in Detroit. That school was still mixed. I went to Wayne with whites and blacks. I worked with the whites and blacks. It gets to be like a ball game. The whites in the South let you come up to home plate, but you never get to first, second or third. In the North, you can get on first, second or third, but you can't never come home. Because they have residential segregation patterns. You can't never get to the suburbs. That's why the black in the North is much more frustrated than the black in the South. You know what it's like to knock a ball and get a triple and go all the way to third and everytime you get to third the game ends? So you get

a much more volatile personality, a frustrated, emotionally blocked personality in a northern black than you get in a southern black. That's why I was saying earlier that the blacks in the south were about 100 years in history. Because most of them have never been that frustrated about issues like that. They never got concerned about enjoying those things. They don't know what the hell they are missing. They've always had home. You hear a black talking about going home. That's what he's talking about. "I'm going back South." See, home to them symbolizes never having been permitted to go to first, second or third. You go into those large black ghettos in the North now and you hear blacks talking about that, saying "One day I'm going back home. I run all these damn bases in the North to kind of come to this illusionary nirvana, black paradise of the North, and I can't ever get past third base. I can never score a point." So the South will change, I guess if you get enough people down here. But right now they are still pretty well in flux between those two. Decide whether they're going to let blacks move homes. When you get about 100,000 in a city in a given area you're going to get those residential patterns forming like you do in Tallahassee. We're beginning to get home patterns forming. Little suburbs beginning to pick up now. So we're going to see segregation here just like is in the North once you get so many people in there. But I can take you up in the rural areas and see blacks and whites live together. In Miami they won't. Looks like the magic number is about 100,000. You get about 100,000 and you get migration and succession patterns form and they begin to start discriminating against each other

home-wise.

J.B.: Do you have any contacts with Spanish-speaking Floridians?

Anderson: Yeah, one of my best friends on the Dade county board of education, which we put on there. Alfredo Durant. He's sort of a leader of the Cuban community. Plus one of my friends on the staff is Charlie Intiango.

J.B.: Do you see them becoming more of a political force in Florida politics? Do you see them staying predominantly in the Republican party? Are they now predominantly in the Republican party?

Anderson: Yes. No. No, there's been a massive switch-over going back to Democrats for several reasons. They've been pretty well disenchanted with Watergate, particularly in view of the fact that the Nixon administration [Interruption.] Let the Cubans take the blame for the Watergate, some of the break-ins and stuff. So they're disenchanted with the Republicans right now for those two reasons. And thirdly because we're getting some pretty strong Democratic Cubans, Democratic Cuban leadership in the state, such as Alfredo and some others. Who encourage them to come over to the Democratic party.

J.B.: Is political awareness per se growing in that community?

Anderson: Yes it is, very much so. Extremely so.

W.D.V.: Are they more and more thinking of themselves as citizens rather than as transients?

Anderson: At this point I think they are now? At this point they've just about become permanently convinced that America is going to have to be their home from now on. So they actively get involved in

politics. As a matter of fact they have capitalized on the entry advantages they have down there. And they are one of the dominant populations now. See, they've snookered blacks all the way back to the back now. See, blacks down there are gerrymandered between Liberty and Miami, which means their vote is split. Those in Liberty are not even included in that county population, so the Cubans now are the dominant population in that sense, minority. They outregister them and outvote them.

J.B.: Are they likely to be competitive or to form coalitions?

Anderson: I would say it would be much more a competitive situation than a coalition. Cubans, like most minority groups, are only concerned about their own minority groups. Blacks are about the only minority group that express concern about all minority groups. I'm on a national task force--I was, I guess we're just about terminated now--for the last two years or so, for minority groups. Don't any minority group express any concern about any other minority group. Not with my chicano friends or orleons or Puerto Ricans, Cuban, all the rest of them, Indians. As a matter of fact we have an Indian commission here, which I also function with. They only talk about their people. They don't even use the words minority group. The only group that talks about coalitions and collectivism are blacks. They use those terms. They always talk about we are going to do this for minority groups. *Those are the* concerns that we talk about. Indians, Puerto Ricans and chicano movement. And blacks have never gotten that mature to understand the difference, even in that.

J.B.: How about coalitions in state-wide politics?

Anderson: State-wide politics they would. There would be a coalition between the blacks and the Cuban Democrats and the liberal whites in the state, just on most of the voting issues. But that's not all of them now. We also have some very ultra-conservative Cubans, too.

J.B.: How about the economic situation of Cubans?

Anderson: It was bad but it is improving rapidly for a lot of different reasons. One reason is the fact that they are getting a lot of assistance. Washington gives them--at least it was giving them--\$13 million straight out for their schools. They were getting some pretty good scholarship advantages into the university system. Also a lot of the institutions are bending over backwards to help them get small business loans and they get started in businesses. Now the greater part of Miami right now is basically owned by the Cubans, the Cuban community. So they are off and running. Plus we just got a recent state supreme court ruling that they would give Cubans added advantage in getting into law schools. Set up a quota for Cubans in law schools.

[End of interview.]