EDITORIALS

John J. Oliver, Jr.
Chairman of the Board

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THE VOICE OF BLACK AMERICA SINCE 1892

Bennett is all talk

Nothing is more pathetic than to walk through a hospital nursery and see the tiny infants deserted by their families because they were born of parents who are dope addicts. Their little bodies are covered with tubes and needles and they seem more dead than alive.

This was the scene the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Mayor Marion Barry showed to the world this week in an effort to point out that while drug czars are wasting time throwing stones at our nation's capital, thousands of babies are being born each day to a living hell.

A poem by an unknown author entitled "My Name is Cocaine" which is being circulated in our high schools this week has this paragraph:

I'm the King of Crime and the Prince of Destruction
I'll cause the organs of your body to malfunction,
I'll cause your babies to be born hooked,
I'll turn the most honest men into crooks,
I'll make you rob, steal and kill
When you're under my power, you will have no will.

If you had walked with Jackson and Barry last Sunday, you would know we are in a critical situation in this country where not only the present generation is being led down a road to destruction, but the next generation is already facing the slaughter.

Those who cried out in horror at the 93 who were suffocated and trampled to death at that soccer game in England, the young children slaughtered by their half-crazed father and the other horrible crimes we are now reading about from across the country, should be making twice as much noise about the suffering of our babies in hospital wards around these United States: and the babies are of all colors, not just black.

Some of our politicians who have tried to paint a black face on all dope peddlers, who have tried to say the problem is just in the inner cities, who want to believe that the billion dollar dope business is run just by "us folks", are living in a dream world. They are in for a rude awakening.

The dope problem is not just a District of Columbia problem, not a state of Virginia problem, not a Maryland problem...but a problem which must be faced with all things considered. Control of turf fights are going on in every city and hamlet in this country. Dope is in every school, every office. The government must stop the supply before it can begin to win battles, and it must win battles before we can win this war.

William Bennett, the federal drug czar, must discover that he needs all the help he can get. He can't sit on the hill and dictate terms to a city he doesn't know. He can't ignore the advice of people from all walks of life who can help solve the problem with the right resources; neither can he make pronouncements about building jails and instituting programs without a well- thought out plan.

Bennett needs to start over again. He needs to sit down with the Jesse Jacksons and Marion Barrys — not with the idea of being the "white man in the big house"—but on a one-to-one, equal basis and forget he thinks he knows it all. He needs to talk to the drug dealers behind bars and those still out on the street. Above all, he needs to talk with police chiefs who have been fighting the war these past 30 years without the help of the federal government. Then he should open his mouth and talk: and then most of us just might listen.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

African-American Summit

I earnestly hope that Rev. Jesse Jackson and the other conveners of the African American Summit being held in New Orleans, Louisiana, this weekend, accomplishes more than we did at the first National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana in 1972.

When we went to Gary, I was of the opinion that we were coming together to plan strategy and tactics for the 1972 Presidential Elections.

I also thought that our purpose would be to stand together as a bloc and make demands on the candidates from both parties for economic security and justice for black Americans, but I was wrong.

I found that Mayor Hatcher and Congressman Diggs, conveners of the Convention, were saying one thing and Rev. Jesse Jackson was saying just the opposite.

Then I found officials of the NAACP disagreeing with Roy Innis of CORE on the issues of separatism and busing. Innis was for separatism and against busing of school children to achieve integration.

In the meantime, Imamu Amiri Baraka was holding a press conference on the outside of the convention hall blasting everyone on the inside. I later found out why Roy Innis was against busing.

I found out that he was supporting President Nixon for re-election. Innis was well financed. CORE sponsored two to three bus loads of delegates from the various states.

As a matter of fact, his people dominated the convention. They also controlled almost every State Delegation. In other words, they had the votes to push anything through the convention they wanted to.

For example, they pushed through a resolution against busing. This meant that the entire convention was on record as being against busing to achieve integration.

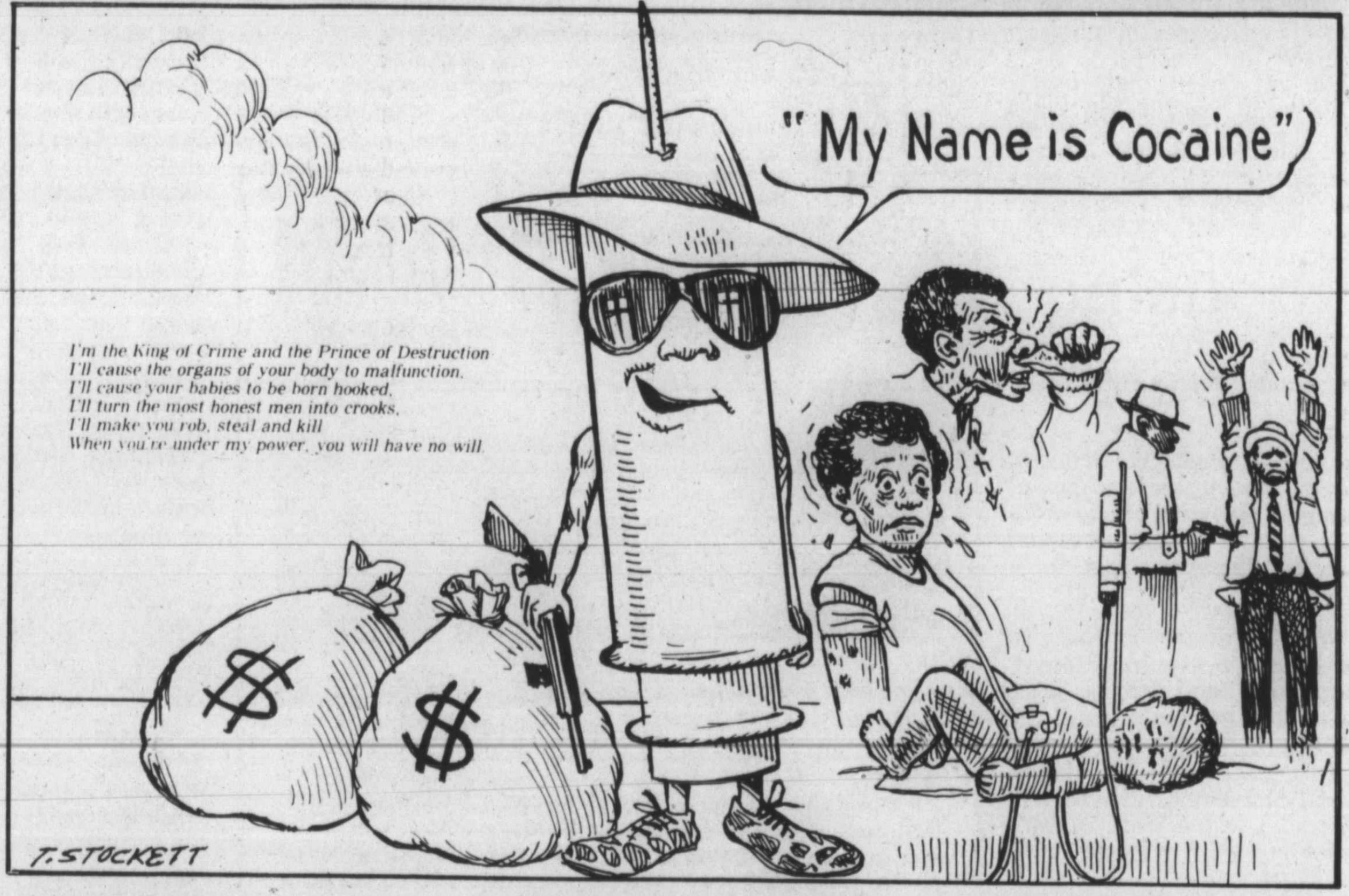
They also pushed through the adoption of the so-called Black Manifesto which would set blacks back 100 years if it were put into effect. The entire convention was also bound by that vote.

However, Delegate Walter Fauntleroy was the Chief Architect of the Black Manifesto. He was for calling a National Constitutional Convention to have the voters make Washington, D.C. a State.

Former President Reagan and President Bush are also calling for a Constitutional Convention so they can recall the 14th Amendment.

I hope that something positive comes out of this African American Summit.

Troy Brailey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T. STOCKETT

Samuel
Banks
Educator

Black Americans and 1990 census

Since the annual census enumeration (i.e., counting the population) began in 1790, it has an immensely significant impact in terms of the federal distributions of goods and services throughout the nation.

The decennial (i.e., every ten years) count provides a national socio - economic, educational and political profile of the United States.

The census count, under the direction of U.S. Census Bureau, for 1990 has as its overriding and overarching objective an accurate count of the 250 million Americans who comprise our national population.

The census count has, in essence, a three-point focus:

1. POLITICAL. The primary political purpose is to determine the number of people in the nation for the purpose of apportioning congressional districts. State and local districts will also be affected by the rise and drop in the population. It is population which determines, in fact, representation at the national, state, and local levels.

2. SOCIO - ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS. The census count of the population not only determines political representation at the national, state, and local levels, but is also critically important in terms of how federal grants and distribution of monetary and human resources are allocated to the individual states for education, housing, health care, jobs, transportation, welfare assistance, and a multiplicity of other programs.

As population decreases or there is an undercount in an area, the level of federal support decreases.

3. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE. The statistical data collected or accrued as a result of the census count enable leaders at all levels (i.e., federal, state, local) of government to make plans and projections for the future in terms of a whole panoply of human needs (vis., jobs, health care, education, housing, etc.).

The 1990 Census has highly important significance for over 35 million black Americans, Hispanics, and poor people. Black Americans, in particular, are notoriously undercounted in census reports.

There are, to be sure, a variety of reasons for this lamentable situation as reflected in fear, high mobility, apathy, the daily struggle to stay afloat, ignorance of the significance of the census count and a feeling, in some quarters, that confidentility will not be maintained.

While a certain amount of fear is understandable among our people, given the cruel legacy, past and present, of institutional racism and exclusion, the stakes simply are too high not to be counted in the census report for 1990. The census figures, if we are fully counted, represent a conduit for political empowerment and expanded socio - economic and educational opportunity.

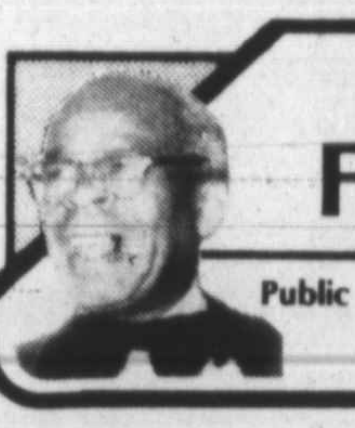
I had the privilege of attending and participating in a marvelous and very instructive seminar sponsored by the Impact Democratic Action Organization, Inc., Saturday, April 15.

It was reported in the conference as a result of 27,000 citizens failing to participate in the 1980 Census, Baltimore City lost federal revenue in the amount of $232 million.

A similar undercount of 45,000 occurred in the 1970 Census report.

It is imperative that every legitimate method be utilized to prevent the 1990 census count repeating the disastrous census undercounts of 1970 and 1980 in Baltimore and throughout the nation for black, Hispanics, and poor American citizens.

It is now time to become better informed and get on board for the 1990 census. Let our byword by: Power Through The 1990 Census. It is an extremely urgent matter for us as black people.



G. James
Fleming
Public Affairs Commentator

Lessons learned from Chicago

What happened in the Chicago mayoralty election has left questions and confusion. Only one thing is clear: the new mayor is Richard M. Daley, Democrat, Cook County state's attorney, and son of a father, Richard J., who was also mayor of the Windy City for 20 years.

In city with a preponderance of blacks, with a black incumbent mayor and with the exuberant support of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, just recently contender for the U.S. presidency and vice-presidency, nevertheless, the sitting African American, the interim mayor, was defeated.

What happened?

The black vote was split into three splinters: Some votes went to Timothy Evans, Democratic alderman, running as an independent (on the "Harold Washington Party" ticket); some others voted Republican; but the largest turnout (55 percent) went to Daley.

While this was happening, in usually politically - wise, black Chicago, white voters were casting their ballots almost solidly for young Daley, considered "the white hope" and the reincarnation of his legendary father.

Some African - American Democrats, reportedly, sat out the election, in protest, because of Evans' failure to support Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer in the earlier primary.

* * *

Among the lessons learned is that, once an African American has risen to any high office, there is no guarantee that such an office will remain in black hands or under black control, election after election, or forever.

What has happened in Chicago can happen in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, Birmingham or in any other jurisdiction. It has happened before, most recently in the case of Edward W. Brooke, Republican, U.S. Senator, for two terms, from Massachusetts.

There is one happy and outstanding exception. Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles has been elected five times as mayor of his city where only 18 percent of the population is black.

In an open democracy, where there is real and historic equality of opportunity, there would be no quarrel with a pattern of racial interchange of high office. Every election would then be judged totally on the issues and on the competence and character of the candidates.

In the American environment, at this time, however, when African Americans are still trying to obtain a place in the sun, it is compelling that blacks hold on to as many as possible of positions of responsibility, influence, trust and service.

This is especially so because of the almost certainty that a majority of white voters will always vote for a white candidate, rather than an African American, based solely on race and color.

This pattern is changing but the majority of African Americans are not convinced as yet. It is to their credit, nevertheless, that more often than not, they have supported whites in a contested election, voting for qualifications rather than race.

* * *

Another lessons learned from Chicago is one as old as history, that in unity there is strength. Black Chicagoans ignored this dictum. Emotions and a spirit of "getting even with," prevented them from forming a coalition, to nominate their candidate in the primary or to elect one on Election Day.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, a resident Chicago Democrat, did not help. This projector of "the rainbow coalition" backed one candidate in the primary and another in the mayoralty election. The Jackson oratory—lots of it—had no magic.

Ron Brown, the first black ever elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee, acquitted himself ably and as a professional, in as ticklish and uncomfortable a spot as can be imagined.

As head of his party, he is enthusiastic about electing Democrats and it is his obligation and responsibility to support such candidates, once they have been duly nominated. Richard M. Daley was thus nominated and was the Democratic Party candidate and, in this case, the eventual winner.

Ron Brown's usefulness and influence to his party and to African Americans would have been destroyed if he had not behaved in Chicago as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Chicagoans did not give him any other option.

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COMMENTARY & OPINIONS

Parren J.
Mitchell
Former U.S. Rep.

War against the criminals

I stopped in Grogan's Restaurant in Oakland, California. I was in Oakland to address the Conference of Black Mayors. While waiting for my lunch to be served, I read the San Francisco Examiner and a particular story, "Oakland Policeman Sues Department," caught my eye. "Bet he was black," I thought, and he was.

Officer Derrick Norfleet, an Oakland, California undercover policeman, was beaten, kicked and run down by a squad car after a crew of uniformed officers mistook him for a drug dealer. The three officers, two white and one Asian, stopped their attack on him only when they saw his face and realized he was a fellow officer.

Officer Norfleet's attorney stated, "In the narcotics areas in Oakland, many people who aren't criminals are subjected to unprovoked and unwarranted aggressive acts by police officers . . . particularly, officers in the drug task force don't make clear distinctions between people who are criminals and those who aren't."

From the very outset, I want to make it crystal clear that I hate drug pushers and drug suppliers with a passion. I have seen what their evil business has done to youths and their families, adults and their families; and black neighborhoods in which residents live out their lives in daily fear and are virtually prisoners in their own homes.

Yes, I hate pushers and suppliers.

The whole nation is alarmed over the drug epidemic. It should be; but when passions run high, that is precisely the time to zealously guard civil liberties, to guard them against police brutality.

While visiting in a large East Coast city recently, I saw three officers (white) slapping the face of a black man repeatedly (I suppose they slapped him at least a dozen times). By the time I got to their location, they had thrown the black male in a squad car.

When I discreetly approached one of the officers, showing him my identification, and asked him what had happened, the officer told me curtly that the man was a user, who, when he saw the officers, attempted to swallow his narcotics and "we were just trying to slap it out of him."

I have enormous sympathy and respect for police officers who in their fight against drugs appear to be outnumbered and often in fear of their physical safety. This is why they must not condone, or support the actions of those few officers who indiscriminately violate civil rights and civil liberties.

Such violations actually hamper their work in the narcotics war. Citizens, already intimidated by the drug traffickers, are fearful to cooperate with the police when they see officers conduct themselves in an illegal manner. They don't want to get involved.

When innocent people are subjected to abuse and harassment, a climate of antagonism builds up in the neighborhood, thus denying important information to officers and a general attitude of non-cooperation and hostility.

I was told the story by this mother. She said her 17 - year - old son saved money all year so that he could have an expensive gold chain for a Christmas present.

Incidentally, I think it is absolutely ridiculous to give children very, expensive gold gifts; it just doesn't make sense, but that was their choice.

He came in with his gold chain broken, explained to his mother that an officer had broken it while roughing him up and accusing him of being in the drug business.

After they had finished with him he was warned not to talk to anyone about it. If this happens thousands of times, will we develop a class of "cop-haters"? Would not that be a tragic development?

I received a letter from parents residing in a large East Coast city. They wrote to tell me about their 18-year-old son, who is small for his age and who was stopped by police officers who thought he might be involved in narcotics.

After searching him, "shoving him around," and questioning him, they told him to go. He told them that if they were so — — dumb, that they would grab anyone, they shouldn't be police.

This infuriated them. They punched him and kicked him. One series of kicks broke his right leg. He was warned to tell anybody that some boys jumped him and beat him. Their son had no prior conflict with the law.

The parents wrote me asking me for help, because no one in her city would help her. All I could do was write to the mayor of the city, asking that the situation be investigated.

The AIDS scare has triggered off an hysteria in which whole communities have violated civil rights and civil liberties. Children with AIDS denied entry into schools. Their homes vandalized. This must not happen in the drug hysteria.

Our guardians and protectors, police officers, must be made to know the enormous dangers of wholesale violations of civil liberties.

Such violations of civil liberties may help to wage the war against drugs, but they will make us lose something precious, that is, the right of the innocent person to be safe and secure against wrong doing by police officers.

Ethel
Payne
BEHIND THE SCENES

Notable items

Camille Cosby will be inducted as an honorary member of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority on April 22, another coup for the organization in its lineup of celebrities. Mrs. Bill Cosby joins such other distinguished honorees as divas, Leontyne Price, and New York's famed Beverly Sills, and singer Lena Horne.

The rites of initiation will follow ground breaking for the restoration of the sorority's headquarters on New Hampshire Avenue.

Mrs. Cosby who is producing a film on the life of Winnie Mandela will speak on behalf of the beleaguered: "South African leader who has been accused of complicity in the death of a young black anti-apartheid activist. Winnie Mandela was inducted as an honorary member of Delta (in absentia) in 1986.

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All is quiet on the Howard University campus following the March 3, student revolt which was precipitated by the naming of Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee, to the board of trustees. But the calm is deceptive.

Even as the May commencement approaches, progress on meeting the demands for student aid, and decent housing have not been met. The rental prices for a new student dormitory are far beyond the means of 80 percent of the enrollment.

Meanwhile there are hungry students in dire need of food, clothing and other staples whose only source of survival is from concerned private individuals and organizations who have learned of their plight through back channels.

—

Mayor Marion Barry, undaunted by the barrage of harpoons launched against his teflon shield by the major media was buoyed by a recent article in the **Washington Magazine** which balanced his 10-year accomplishments against the daily diet of-neglective stories in the **Washington Post.**

Barbara Matusow, who wrote the piece, describes the anti-Barry campaign in these words, "the media is in a feeding franzy," and feisty radio owner and talk show hostess, Cathy Houghes is quoted as saying, "I don't know what it's going to take to convince the white media that the mayor's personal life is not of importance to the black community.

As for running for a fourth term in 1990, Hizzoner gives an enigmatic smile to reporters queries, but his stepped up-image polishing ritual makes him look more and more like a candidate. The prediction is that come summertime, he will just say yes.

At a recent pre-90th birthday tribute to Mrs. Genevieve Johnson, the Washington doyenne of senior citizens. Barry made a pitch to this powerful constituency, there would be no budget paring of the many programs for their needs for which he has their loyal support.

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Coming to Washington soon will be three of the most/eminent clergymen who are staunch adversaries of apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Rev. Beyers Naude one of the leading white opponents of the system and Rev. Alan Boesak president of the Dutch Reformed Church.

COSA is the acronym for the U.S. based organization in support of South Africa which is financed by Shell Oil. The head of the propaganda agency is Raphael Pagan whose major target is recruiting black church leaders to journey to South Africa and Namibia to get a "first-hand look" at the situation and then return to work against sanctions.

Pagan, who operates from his Washington headquarters, is a hard-sell agent who is accused of using pressure tactics against those who are not in favor of softening sanctions.

From the All Africa Press Service an article on South African goods flooding the Ghanaian market, including jeans made in Ciskei, one of the homelands. Ironically, they are named "Cocaine." There are hundreds of Ghanaians working in South Africa who are suspected of smuggling in the "hot" items.

GUS HAWKINS:

The 1990 census, an evaluation of America's population and demographic characteristics, will be the 21st in our nation's history, and the largest and most complex ever undertaken. It is of great importance that every American participate in the census survey.

An accurate record of your community's population and profile is extremely important in determining the share of federal and state assistance it will be eligible for in terms of allocation of loans, subsidies, grants, public housing, emergency funds, etc.

Census information is used by the Congress and government agencies in both the planning and management of Federal and local programs, and in the distribution of billions of dollars a year to local communities for school lunches, job training, education, police protection and much more.

In addition to the federal government's use of the census, here are some examples of how civic and other public officials used census facts and figures to help meet community needs:

*The high number of working women with small children in a community, revealed by a study of census data, prompted community leaders in a midwestern city to seek and win approval for a day care center.

1990 census

* Using census numbers to bolster its request, a senior citizens organization argued successfully before county commissioners for a community center.

* During a severe heat wave, public health officials in St. Louis used census facts to locate neighborhoods with large numbers of the early; city workers went door-to-door, convincing many seniors to go to specifically designed air-conditioned centers.

* In San Francisco, transportation planners used census information to select bus routes, subway stops, and highways that needed widening.

It is also important to note that the census count determines representation in the U.S. House of Representatives, state legislatures, county and city governments.

Historically, minority communities have been severely undercounted. This undercounting translates into lost government funds for the communities that need this assistance the most.

That is why I urge people who are concerned about the welfare of their community to cooperate with census takers.

I also urge civic and community leaders to "get the word out" on the importance of an accurate census count.

By law, your answers to census questions are confidential.

Information from the 1990 Census will be used only to provide statistical summaries, and your own particular answers cannot be identified. Don't be shortchanged - remember an accurate census count benefits you and your children.

Stand up and be counted.

Is education a human right?

Manning
Marable
Along The Color Line

During last year's presidential campaign, Republican candidate George Bush vowed to become the "Education President." Federal expenditures and initiatives to help resolve the crisis in our schools would be increased.

Of course, since Bush moved into the White House, we've learned that the President's rhetoric on education has little correlation with his budget proposals.

Education — at the elementary and secondary school levels, in colleges and professional schools — is the fundamental basis for individual and group development.

Without education, one cannot acquire concrete skills or a mastery of information necessary to accomplish even the most simple tasks.

Without a college degree or advanced training in a technical program, it is extremely difficult to advance economically. Increasingly, African-Americans are losing the battle for educational opportunity and equality.

One indicator is the falling number of black doctoral degrees which are being granted. Between 1977 and 1987, for example, the total number of students who received doctorates in American universities increased by about 500, to 32,278 students. In 1977, the number of African-Americans receiving doctorates was 1,116.

By 1980, the year Reagan was elected, the number of black doctorates had fallen slightly, to 1,032 students.

The Reagan administration initiated budget cuts in education, replacing government grants for loans, and deliberately hiked unemployment for low income people, making it difficult to afford tuition at professional schools.

By 1983, the number of black doctorates dropped to 921; four years later, only 765, the number of black doctorates were awarded. Meanwhile, by contrast, the number of white women receiving doctorates during the same ten year period rose 36 percent.

A similar story exists for the overall enrollment of African-Americans in institutions of higher education. In 1980, 1,107,000 black women and men were enrolled in a college or post-secondary institution. Six years later, that figure had declined slightly, down to 1,081,000 students.

However, since the population base for blacks of college age (18 to 26 years) had increased significantly during these years, the decline was actually far greater than it appeared, when considered as a percentage of that population group.

By contrast, white college enrollment between 1976 to 1986 increased by nearly one million students — almost the total number of all African-Americans currently enrolled.

In the elementary and secondary schools, we're also losing the battle for educational equality. According to the California Postsecondary Education Commission Director's Report of December, 1985, for example, black children in the California public schools have terrible prospects for advancement.

The 1988 black kindergarten enrollment in California was approximately 35,290 students. Of this number, the Director's Report estimates that by the first years of the twenty-first century, only 17,645 black students from this 1988 kindergarten class, roughly 50 percent, will graduate from high schools.

About 680 will enter community colleges, approximately 20 percent; 1,235 are projected to enter campuses of the California State University system; and another 706 will enroll in the University of California, only 2 percent of that kindergarten class.

How many will graduate? Only 363 black students will ultimately receive college diplomas from California State University or the University of California, one percent of the original group.

Is education a human right, or simply a commodity which is bought and sold? Financial aid grants at most universities have been reduced from one third to two thirds since 1975.

Most black youth who manage to get to high school are tracked into community colleges, and never receive four-year degrees.

And high school drop out rates for African-American youth exceed 50 percent in many cities and states. If we are serous about the development of the next generation of Black leadership in government, labor, politics, medicine, law, and other professions, we must urgently develop a long-term strategy to reverse these trends.

In California this month, thousands of black, Hispanic and Asian students will travel to the state legislature in Sacramento to denounce racism in the state's school systems.

Activists are calling for an increased funding for student loans and services, ethnic studies as a graduation requirement in colleges, and expanding budgets for elementary and secondary schools.

Such activism must be initiated at every state capital across the country. The organizing theme should be "Education is a Human Right."

Dr. Manning Marable is Chairperson of the Department of Black Studies, Ohio State University.