

EDITORIALS

DURHAM'S HOUSING PROBLEMS

The continuing problems of housing, and especially sub-standard housing have been a problem area for Durham as well as in most areas of the country.

Discrimination in housing has been a most elusive issue to prove, but some restrictive parts have been outlawed.

Most sub-standard housing in Durham for many years, even before Urban Renewal, was owned by two or three black and white landlords. Since an important part of the local downtown power structure owned much of the housing, according to tax listings, code enforcement and inspections were often sidestepped or merely brought up to the very minimum.

After much serious study and many boycotts by low income groups and other interested coalitions, no further public housing units were placed in the East Durham and southeastern

sectors of the city.

The change within the Housing Authority also brought about an easing of the many racial tensions from biased administration of the housing units.

But the sub-standard housing remains in many areas of the city. This writer knows of one particular poorly constructed house where at different times children have been burned to death and the house is quickly, shoddily built and put up for rent again.

Periodically the press of Durham will attempt to pin point and highlight the problem of sub-standard housing. Unfortunately, nothing much appears to come from it.

It would seem that continued pressure at all levels, regardless to ownership, would combat some of the continuing housing problems and begin to make for a better housing climate in Durham and elsewhere.

THINGS CHANGE AT UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

George Wallace, governor of Alabama, made the news again this week when he placed the crown on the Homecoming Queen, a 21 year old black co-ed at University of Alabama.

Ten years ago, in 1963, Wallace gained national note by standing in the University of Alabama's Administration buildings to keep Miss Autherine Lucy, from enrolling as the first black student under court order.

Presently, the University of Alabama has eleven black football players on its team this year. Further, George Wallace attended the Black

Mayors Conference in Tuskegee and offered them his support in their city administration and problems revolving around the cities such as revenue sharing, education and social services.

This appears to be a complete turn about from his 1963 rabble-rousing activities.

Yes, things change and time marches on.

We hope that even more changes will continue as the ugly roots of prejudice appears to be knocked down in all parts of the nation and the world.

Jordan Says Black Citizens Victimized By Federal Policies

VERNON JORDAN

Executive Director, National Urban League

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, charged tonight that black citizens had been victimized by federal policies amounting to "a Black Watergate" that left "the hopes and aspirations of black people to 'twist, slowly, slowly, in the wind,' and called on Congress to take steps in three major areas to 'avert a disastrous vacuum.'"

Mr. Jordan spoke at the National Urban League's annual Equal Opportunity Day Dinner at the New York Hilton Hotel. The Dinner Chairman was David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board, Chase Manhattan Bank and NUL President. Donald H. McGannon presented the Equal Opportunity Award to former NUL President, James A. Linen. Mr. Linen, formerly President of TIME Inc., was honored for his outstanding contribution to the League during his five years as President, from 1968-1973.

Referring to the continuing crisis in Washington, Mr. Jordan stated: "Bileople insist that the current crisis be resolved, for while we lack the vindictiveness some people would consider understandable, we know above all that we have a stake in a government that is stable, that can govern, and that will reverse those policies that have been harmful to us. The reforms we seek and the goals we are fighting for depend in large part upon governmental stability, public faith in the governing process and in the integrity of the courts and the governing institutions. Weaken these and you weaken the prospects for change."

"With the Administration in a state of paralysis and incapable of offering constructive initiatives in the area of equal opportunity, it becomes the responsibility of the Congress to act on behalf of America's minorities and her poor—the very people who have been excluded from the rewards and responsibilities of our nation. I would suggest that if the Congress wishes to avert a

disastrous vacuum of progress in the coming years; if it wishes to avoid having our nation sink into its 200th anniversary covered with shame and humiliation, that it act boldly in the following areas:

1. Revenue Sharing. The Congress should make clear its understanding that revenue sharing reflects an unacceptable withdrawal of the national government from national issues that demand federal involvement and resolution. It should strangle any attempt to shift the proper responsibilities of the federal government onto state and local governments that have demonstrated neither their concern nor their capabilities in dealing with these problems of minorities and the poor. And it should clearly label any attempt to abandon a proper federal role in key areas like housing, manpower and health as something that must be "operative."

2. Welfare Reform. Reports from across the country indicate that welfare rare shrinking and federal and state administrators are congratulating themselves on doing such a good job in cutting costs. Their satisfaction to a lesser extent.

The spate of worker illnesses caused some 700 members of the 950-man bargaining unit of Textile Workers Union Local 487 to leave their jobs for two months. They returned a week ago following adoption of the new safety program.

Some five health agencies, two Federal and three representing the State of Ohio, had been investigating the disease, which they described as unique. Some of the workers most severely afflicted developed muscle weakness to the extent they could not even turn a door knob.

Federal mediators initiated a series of meetings in Washington and Columbus bringing together the company, the union, and the health agencies to devise an effective safety program and to coordinate the efforts of all

concerned. Certain interim labor contract changes were negotiated with the assistance of Federal mediators John Popular II, of Washington, and Joseph P. Santa-Emma, of Columbus.

The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health is coordinating the implementation of the new safety program, with the assistance of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Ohio State agencies, the union and the company.

Among the remedial measures are the wearing of respirators in key areas, rotation of workers required to wear respirators, company-provided for eating meals away from the work areas, and waiver of certain labor contract provisions during a 60-day test period.

Mr. Usery stated that he was pleased the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service had been instrumental in bringing the health agencies into agreement on the best scientific procedures and in assisting the employer and union to adopt them.

Energy Crisis—'Stop Bussing'

JACKSON, Miss.—Former Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett suggested that one way to help save fuel would be to stop court-ordered school bussing.

"Please seriously consider doing away with the bussing of children to the schools throughout the nation," he said in a telegram to President Nixon.

"Should this be done, it would save billions of gallons of gasoline and permit our children to have the freedom to walk to their neighborhood schools."

In Marksville, La., meanwhile, Dr. S. R. "Pete" Abramson, chairman of the American Party of Louisiana, claimed that school bussing was "consuming a tremendous amount of fuel and energy" and said, "This energy must be conserved if America is to have enough fuel for transportation."

BLACK'S CAN AND MUST ORGANIZE THEIR COMMUNITY

INCOME OF BLACK AMERICANS IN 1972 WAS 51 BILLION DOLLARS, SAID DR. ANDREWS BRIMMER, BLACK MEMBER OF FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD.

\$51,000,000,000.00 INCOME OF BLACK AMERICA 1972

BLACKS RETICENCE TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE TO ORGANIZE THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES IS A MAJOR FACTOR AND IMPORTANT FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO OUR COMMUNITIES UNDER-DEVELOPMENT.. DOUGLAS C. GLASGOW, DEAN OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK.



Elections Spur New Hopes Among Blacks

BY LOUIS MARTIN

In the Chicago DEFENDER Not even the most stubborn black sourpuss could resist the excitement of the news from the political front this week. Coleman Young of Detroit, Clarence Lightner of Raleigh, N. Car., and Lyman Parks of Grand Rapids, Mich., joined the growing ranks of the nation's black mayors.

In the history of so-called ethnic politics, the remarkable rise of the

Irish to power in the big cities many years ago led some political scientists to ascribe to the Irish a special genius for politics. Now it is beginning to appear that black Americans have similar gifts.

This reminds me of some of the racist jokes about big cities I heard in my youth. One of them, which was current in the late twenties, was that New York city was "owned by the Jews, controlled by the Irish and enjoyed by the Negroes." A lot of water, some of it filthy, has flowed over the dam since those benighted days.

We are in the midst of a phenomenal political period. Black Americans who so recently seemed to despair of ever overcoming utter powerlessness are winning ma-

jor elective offices. Some of the victories, as in Raleigh last week and in Los Angeles not long ago, have come from the support of large white majorities in addition to their black support.

The cynics, however, are still with us and they are still asking what do these political victories mean to the rank and file of blacks. There are at least a hundred answers to that question.

Many of us recall Senator Ed Brooke's comment on this subject at the annual dinner of the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington a few weeks ago. He said: "Americans respect and respond to political power. Political power influences public policy at all levels. Power changes people. If power does not at once change the hearts of men, it can indeed change the way the hearts respond. Laws can help encourage people to rethink and change their positions in order to protect their self-interests."

Often we forget, for instance, that the elected public officials hire and control the police and the whole law enforcement system of the nation. All of us are familiar with vast appointive powers of the elected officials. Further, the elected officials supervise and direct the collection and expenditure of all public moneys.

It is said that there are two kinds of dollars, the public or tax dollars and the private dollars. Some of us complain that those tax dollars

multiply faster than any dollar should.

Nevertheless, these public dollars controlled by elected officials have built all the roads and highways, the streets and city structures and the costly instruments of war, from supersonic planes to nuclear submarines. Billions of public dollars exceeding the riches of any nation on earth are in the hands of those we elect to public office.

Historically black Americans have been economically short-changed. We have had limited access to private dollars and until recently almost no access to public dollars. By climbing the political ladder and capturing important seats of power black Americans are beginning to change the picture.

It is trite to say that we have a long, long way to go. The point to note, however, is that at last we seem to be on the way. In some respects fortune may favor us after all. We have been so effectively excluded from the high precincts of political power that we have not been infested with the virus of Watergate.

Blacks, of course, have no immunity from this disease. Nevertheless, at this "point in time" all the major political crooks who are making history today are lily-white. They have come close to wrecking the country. The time has come for black Americans to rescue the nation.

Should Nixon Resign

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

The most distressing thing about the governmental crisis which has engulfed America is that the President does not seem to recognize that a crisis in fact exists. Instead of facing the issues involved, he obscures them, projecting himself as the victim of a malicious press and questioning the motives of Special Prosecutor Cox. He persists in the policy of concealment and subterfuge that has marked the Administration's response ever since the time, many months ago, when Nixon supporters dismissed the Watergate break-in as a "cap-er." Neither the President's actions nor his words suggest an awareness that withholding potential evidence from a criminal prosecution represents a blatant disregard of basic democratic and constitutional principles.

The Constitution demands that the President "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." This is an absolute responsibility, not subject to individual whim. And yet the President has chosen to ignore this responsibility, submitting neither to its spirit or letter until forced to bend by the bipartisan outrage of the nation.

This is particularly unsettling for blacks, since our civil liberties depend above all else on the President's determination to enforce the law, regardless of his political philosophy. Although opposed to the 1954 Brown decision, President Eisenhower ordered federal troops into Little Rock when Governor Faubus defied court desegregation directives. Had he placed his natural impulse above the obligation to ensure that the law is carried out, Eisenhower would have set back the civil rights movement for years to come, while destroying the federal system of government.

By supplanting the tapes to Judge Sirica, the President has done little to allay the worst fears of Americans. There are still unanswered questions, and the Pres-

ident has made it abundantly clear that, short of another judicial confrontation, he will not provide the answers. These questions suggest broad implications about the functioning of democracy. The ITT case, for example, calls to question whether national policy was being formulated on the basis of law, or was determined by the promises of campaign contributions. Then there are the questions about the President's land transactions and other personal financial dealings; whether the President was taking advantage of high office for personal enrichment.

To prejudice these cases before the proper officials have examined all the facts would do an unconscionable injustice to the President and to our system of law. The dilemma facing Americans is that the President will not cooperate with a full and impartial investigation, thus thwarting the only means of removing the cloud of suspicion which hovers over his office. As the AFL-CIO said, in calling for the President's resignation: "When the President appears fearful of facing a Supreme Court composed in large measure of his own appointees, the public can scarcely resist the darkest speculations."

The crisis which the President has brought upon himself and the nation has multiplied and deepened our problems. Our domestic policy can be summed up in one word: "veto." Our foreign policy is suffering at a time it can least afford to suffer.

I do not contemplate the possibility of the President's resigning or his impeachment with any feeling of elation. Nor do I call for his removal from office because of political differences, profound as they may be.

The fact is, however, that the President no longer has the ability to govern effectively, nor the moral legitimacy to guide the course

of the nation.

The only principled alternative left is for him to resign, and spare the country a protracted, agonizing period when we would be, I fear, without a leader. And if Nixon fails to resign, I feel it is incumbent on the Congress to initiate impeachment proceedings. Should the President ultimately leave office, Congress would be then well advised to consider the appointment of a bipartisan government, with the two major parties sharing the presidency and vice presidency, as has been proposed by Sen. Inouye of Hawaii.

I believe that the resignation of Richard Nixon would serve the genuine interests of the United States, for this country cannot absorb the almost daily crisis which the President seems incapable of averting. As I write this, the White House has announced that the two most important tapes never existed; already there is speculation over whether this is part of the President's efforts to cover-up wrong-doing. Because of the pattern he has established, every move the President makes evokes suspicion and cynicism. We cannot endure this for three more years.

Lyndon Johnson was elected President in 1964 with a mandate in all respects as decisive as that Nixon received in last year's election. Four years later, having compiled a record of unprecedented domestic accomplishment, Johnson declined to seek re-election, not because of any impropriety on his part, but because he was convinced that to do so was in the best interests of national unity and world peace. If Lyndon Johnson, under the attack of a small though highly vocal minority, was capable of an act of high statesmanship, it is not presumptuous to expect Richard Nixon, having lost the confidence of the overwhelming majority of Americans, to take the same difficult step.

A G.O.P. Responsibility

Although political parties are nowhere mentioned in the written Constitution, the two-party system has become a major stabilizing influence in the nation's conduct of constitutional government.

The knowledge of the party out of power that it can reasonably look forward to holding office again serves to temper public passions on any given issue and to keep alive a common sense of stewardship for the long-term public interest. The knowledge of the party in power that its actions and policies face critical examination by the political opposition and a future judgment by the electorate serves to keep power democratic and responsive.

The many-sided Watergate scandal is a severe test of the two-party system because Watergate is a uniquely political scandal, involving as it does corruption and lawlessness at the highest levels of the Government.

Some of the wrongdoing was directed against the opposition party; some of the wrongdoing was aimed at perpetuating a political faction in power. And some wrongdoing was directed against ordinary citizens who protested against or disagreed with various Administration policies. Coming on top of all this was a cynical cover-up coordinated at the White House and involving perjured testimony, the destruction of incriminating evidence and the payment of "hush money."

As a result of these grave and repeated abuses of political authority and the many lies told to conceal them, the confidence of the people in their elected officials and in the integrity of the law has been profoundly shaken. How to restore that confidence?

In facing up to that inexorable question, the Republican party has the primary responsibility, one which its leaders in Congress and in the nation have scarcely begun to discharge. Indeed, too many Republican party leaders continue to reiterate the unctuous and silly argument that Watergate has nothing to do with the Republican party and that it was all perpetrated by that disowned and illegitimate orphan, the Committee to Re-elect the President. That argument will not wash.

President Nixon is the symbol of Watergate. Mr. Nixon has three times been the Presidential nominee of the Republican party. The committee to re-elect him was the central effort of loyal Republicans across the nation in the 1972 campaign. Numerous Republican candidates for Federal and local office benefited from the magnitude of his electoral victory. In short, Mr. Nixon is the leader of the Republican party and the head of a Republican Administration. The question is: What are Republicans going to do about him?

They cannot shift the burden to the Democrats. The President and his allies have tried to spread the idea that the public indignation over Watergate is really just an underhanded attempt to rob Republicans of the fruits of their 1972 victory. The charge is laughable on its face. The Democrats in Congress under the leadership of Speaker Albert and Senate Majority Leader Mansfield have been extraordinarily circumspect and passive throughout this crisis.

To be sure, the Democrats initiated the Ervin investigation; they have most reluctantly begun consideration of impeachment proceedings in the House Judiciary Committee; and they support pending bills to place the office of special prosecutor under protection of the courts. But those three actions are the minimum that any opposition party could have taken.

Moreover, the sentiment among Democrats in Congress is overwhelming that if Mr. Nixon is removed from office, his successor should be a Republican and one broadly in accord with the Nixon policies. In that conviction, Democrats appear likely to confirm Representative Ford as Vice President if no damaging information is forthcoming concerning his character or competence.

Against this background, Republicans have no excuse to pretend that Watergate is just a partisan donnybrook. Mr. Nixon has destroyed his usefulness to his nation and his party. He should resign. As long as he refuses to resign, the House should move expeditiously to draw up articles of impeachment against him. At this critical juncture, Republicans can no longer dodge their responsibility to decide where their own duty lies.

To their credit, some Republicans have met the question squarely; but far too many Republicans are still looking for an easy way out. The conservative establishment of the Republican party continues to extend Mr. Nixon its support. The business and financial communities that paid for his campaigns on an ever more lavish scale have been publicly silent.

If the Nixon problem is not resolved, the executive branch of the Government will limp along, crippled and discredited, for another three years. If the Nixon problem is not resolved, the Republican party will suffer a political holocaust in the 1974 and 1976 elections. The time has come for the honorable leaders of the Republican party and its influential adherents to assume the burden of leadership, painful though it may be, that inevitably accompanies political power and influence.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NAACP Accepting Applications For Roy Wilkins Scholarships

NEW YORK — The NAACP Youth and College division has begun accepting applications for the newly-established Roy Wilkins Educational Scholarships. The first batch of seven scholarships of \$1,000 each will be awarded on December 14 to deserving minority group high school graduates who are about to enter college. Applications should be sent to James Brown Jr., national youth director, at 1790 Broad-

way, New York City, no later than December 7. The scholarships were made possible by a donation of \$7,500 from the Honeywell Corp., for this purpose at the recent NAACP 64th annual convention in Indianapolis and will be continued for three years. Qualities that will be considered by the awarding committee are scholastic record, leadership potential, intellectual curiosity and creativity and financial need.

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