



IN 1954 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT PROCLAIMED THE "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" UNCONSTITUTIONAL... IN 1977 UNDER THE NAME OF "INTEGRATION," WHITE INSTITUTIONS MERELY ACCOMODATE BLACKS WHILE BLACK INSTITUTIONS (WHICH NEVER PRACTICED SEGREGATION) CAN NO LONGER CONTROL THEIR OWN FUTURES.

EDITORIALS

More Federal Money Going Downtown

Announcement was made this week of another big chunk of Federal money coming down the pipeline from Washington to Durham - probably between \$800,000 and \$900,000 from the Economic Development Administration for public works.

Durham has already spent \$21 million beautifying downtown and not one cent improving south of the tracks. You know where south of the tracks is - where black folk were pushed years ago to try to live and do business. Urban 'black removal' has already wreaked havoc with dozens of black businesses and hundreds of homes

south of the tracks, but still nothing is considered for the wasteland left as a result thereof, which would directly benefit the black community.

Plans are in the works for more downtown improvements. City Hall Plaza, a small park at Parrish and Orange Streets, the pedestrian mall for parking deck No. 3 to Main Street and Church Street in the two blocks north and south of Main. How much the \$21 million spent on downtown will increase before some notice is paid to Durham's invisible citizen taxpayers is anybody's guess. It certainly doesn't augur well for Durham's blacks.

A Costly Goof

Several delegates to the General Baptist State Convention found themselves with no place to stay when they arrived in Durham Monday and Tuesday morning, even though they had confirmed reservations in their hands, for the Downtowner Motor Inn.

While rooms were found in other hostels for the delegates, this sort of experience in the "Friendly City" leaves an unpleasant 'taste in peoples' mouths'.

One man and his wife were sent to different motels across town from each other - they left their cars at home and used public transportation to get here - think of the unsettling feelings.

The Downtowner management's apologies probably won't mean much

in a group of 5,000 delegates who dump approximately a half million into the economy of the convention city within a matter of four and a half to five days.

If Durham wants to attract conventions, this unpleasant and embarrassing incident could not have happened to a worse group, in the sense that some of those involved are extremely active and influential in religious, civic and social organizations that meet all over the country. What will happen when some of those organizations consider Durham for a big convention in the future and this negative incident is recited. The answer is simple. They go elsewhere.

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who propose to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the oceans majestic waves without the awful roar of its waters."

—Frederick Douglass

Things You Should Know KING PREMPEH of Ashanti

ONE OF AFRICA'S RICHEST MONARCHS, HE HAD 333 WIVES AND A GOLDEN THRONE! HIS ATTENDANTS WORE JEWELS AND RARE SILKS! FOR TWO HUNDRED YEARS, HIS PEOPLE DOMINATED THEIR GOLD COAST NEIGHBORS AND COLLECTED HEAVY TAXES FROM THE BRITISH AND THE DUTCH!



To Be Equal

Blackout, 1977

When the lights went out in New York City we came face to face with urban anarchy in its most terrifying form. Large sections of the City fell prey to looting, burning and lawlessness.

New Yorkers were horrified, not least among them the poor people in whose neighborhoods most of the outrages took place. Innocent people found themselves burned out of their homes and terrorized by the breakdown of order in the streets.

After the crisis passed, they were faced with essential neighborhood services gone - food stores, cleaning establishments and clothing stores burned or looted. Lives already made difficult by poverty and hardship became significantly harder.

That's a part of the New York story that has been neglected by the media focus on the acts of looting and on the arrests. All of the attention has been placed on the violence and little on the victims of that violence. The storekeepers whose businesses were lost or damaged were not the only victims - their customers and employees and neighbors will suffer from the blackout looting too.

It would be a mistake to assume that this was just a repeat version of the riots of the late 1960's. Racial violence was absent this time - black and Hispanic-owned stores were not immune from looting, and there was no overt racial conflict behind the attacks.

Many people in other cities should not be smug about the New York tragedy. It's a

national past-time to downgrade New York and to exaggerate its problems. But what happened in New York could easily happen in any of our cities.

For national policies of neglect have led to the creation of an urban wilderness peopled by victims of poverty, discrimination and joblessness. We have created a large underclass of people with no stake in our society, embittered people whose exclusion from the mainstream has led them to reject society's values and principles of behavior.

Many of the looters were young people. In the affected neighborhoods, up to two-thirds of minority youngsters who want to work can't find jobs. At the same time as they despair of finding work and live in substandard housing, they are exposed by a consumer-oriented mass society to a constant barrage of ads encouraging the good life, a life they know is beyond their reach.

So, when, as in the blackout conditions, the opportunity presents itself to walk away with the color TVs, the appliances, and clothes our society values so highly, they do so. The bonds of conventional behavior are broken, and anarchy reigns.

To explain is not to condone. For every looter, there were many dozens of people, equally poor, who stayed off the streets and who shared the horror at what was happening. Those people, as I've said, are the real victims of the tragedy, for it is their neigh-

By VERNON E. JORDAN

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE



borhoods that were ravaged. But it is too easy just to condemn the looters. It goes without saying that punishment must take place if we don't want a repetition of that night of shame. At the same time, we've got to understand the social conditions that gave rise to the lawlessness and do something about them.

It will take many millions of dollars to repair the damages, but the same resources placed into employment and housing improvement programs may well have prevented the rioting. People with jobs, with secure incomes, and with decent housing must realize that their valued living standards may not survive the onslaughts of those who have no jobs, incomes or housing.

People abide by the rules so long as the game makes sense to them. But if they are excluded from their share of the necessities of life, from jobs and housing, they become prone to scrap the rules. And the existence of hordes of people who reject the rules of our society and its values present a clear and present danger to themselves and to the rest of us.

So the real problem posed by New York's blackout isn't the technical one of why the electricity failed and how it can be prevented from happening again, but the human one of how we can organize our society so that it is more just and so that all of our people can have their share of its benefits and thus, of its responsibilities as well.



Congressman Hawkins' Column

By Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins

Words As Weapons

In any era in this country, labels and labeling have played an important part in defining how we felt about things.

During the infamous days of the McCarthy era, when Senator McCarthy smeared anyone he didn't like with the term "communist," many Americans of varying political persuasions were frightened to death that they could be so labeled. Their fright overcame their good sense, and McCarthy was then able to almost silence dissent, of any sort.

There were Americans who stood up to him, however, and fortunately for us, they succeeded in toppling his fascist aims.

Other labels in other times have equally and unfairly misrepresented the state of things.

Remember the term "black militant?" When the current may of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley, first ran against then Mayor Sam Yorty, Yorty continually referred to

Bradley as a "black militant." Bradley lost that race. Whether or not people were frightened by the use of those words, is an unknown, but it certainly stands to reason that kind of label didn't help Bradley.

And no matter what Bradley did or said, the term obviously stuck in the minds of some voters, when they cast their vote. Things haven't changed much in this regard. No one wants to be called a "racist" for example. Not even ex-Presidents F. Nixon and Ford.

The term "racist" is not always appropriate anyhow, since the person may not be a racist at all, but someone who does not agree with your viewpoint. And so it's easier to dismiss his ideas, by calling him a name.

Then there are the labels which identify one as being for or against something.

What's your view on "reverse discrimination?" Are you for "goals," "timetables," or "quotas?" Is "gay" good? Do you believe

in "preferential treatment" of minorities? Is "affirmative action" legal? Does a woman have a right to have an "abortion," if she wants one?

And so on. Labels and labeling can graphically identify an issue, but they can't resolve issues. They can also shut off discussion, by the fear they can engender, which is their great danger. When Nixon and his Attorney General, Mitchell, used the term "law and order," they mean "law and order" for you, but not for themselves, as "Watergate" so neatly attested.

We'll always be confronted with terminologies that are emotionally loaded, that are meant to cut off dissent, and that discourage open, free discussion.

As you know, I am an advocate of "full employment." It means many things to many people; but it's discussable. Get my point?

Benjamin L. Hooks

I have been confronted with it on Face the Nation; Good Morning America; TV and radio news interview too numerous to mention - in person and by phone.

Like death and taxes the question seems inevitable: "Mr. Hooks," a steely-eyed questioner will begin, "when you take over as the executive director of the NAACP on August 1, this year, what new direction do you plan to take? What new strategy do you have?"

Ever since I was first named executive director-designate of the NAACP on November 9, last, the question has come at me with only minute variation. Every news show I have been on, every telephone interview, every street corner spot reporter, all have come up with the same question. For the implication seems to be, if you have no new gimmick or plan, you are not worth media coverage.

So I've been doing a lot of thinking about that question. A new face, I suppose demands a new set of objectives, a new direction, a new appraisal of old problems.

Well, I have thought on it and thought on it. I have examined the history of the civil rights movement in this country and the woman's suffrage movement; other kinds of movements, too. And I have come to the conclusion that there is not much new under the sun in respect to strategy than any of them can boast.

Years ago, the NAACP initiated court action to secure remedies for historic wrongs. It sought to introduce or influence legislation through lobbying. It has always been a direct action organization despite the view of some of its detractors (witness the whopping \$1 million plus bond the organization was forced to put up in Mississippi as a direct result of the selective buying and picketing campaign its members successfully launched in Port Gibson).

A New Strategy

Voter registration, with attendant voter education and voter participation, have long been staples in the pantry larder of the NAACP. So have negotiations, conciliation, et cetera.

These tactics are traditionally used today by every civil rights or protest organization I

I've had the occasion to know or study. These include the National Council of Christians and Jews, the American Jewish Congress, the Gay Rights Movement, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Civil Liberties Union, Common Cause, Ralph Nader's "Raiders," the who shooting match.

Indeed, when New York residents wanted to protest the Concorde decision, they didn't dream up new tactics; they simply staged a car and picket demonstration designed to forestall the landing of the plane at Kennedy International Airport.

That protest was news. And why was it news? Not because it was new, but simply because new people were employing our old tactics. When the NAACP does the same it is not news.

The media - white, not black - for the reasons best known to themselves, do not focus these days on the activities of traditional civil rights groups such as the NAACP.

Unless we are pioneering something new, or unique, then we are not news. Hence, we do not receive coverage necessary to inform folks of what we are doing. Hence, some folks, including some in this same media,

question whether we effectively exist, or they say we are in "a disarray."

From time to time in the future, I will be addressing this vital subject of media coverage, or lack of it.

For the present, I suppose it is sufficient to say that our organization will be continuing to do what it has been doing so effectively and well for so many years: engaging in direct action, lobbying, launching voter registration, education and participation drives; negotiating, conciliating, demonstrating; all old tried but true tactics, the curse, if there be one, is that we have used them so effectively and well, we have literally transformed to social face of America. So others have borrowed them lock, stock and barrel.

Under my leadership at the NAACP, we do not promise anything new. No "see-me-no-hands" magic. Just tough organizing, hard work, utilization of old tried and true methods, and tears and much sweat.

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