



**EDITORIALS**

**Full Speed, Governor**

A generation has been born and graduated from high school since the United States Supreme Court struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine which was the basis for segregated public schools in this nation. Since, we have been riding the same buses, eating the same lunches, taking the same classes under the same teachers, had access to the same libraries, books, science laboratories, et cetera, as students of every other shape, size and color. While many of them have been concentrating on academics, increasing numbers of us blacks have been concentrating on cheerleading, athletics, dancing and partying.

To this day, we are hearing pleas and cries for special treatment and dispensations on the part of many blacks. Granted, past injustices of long standing, etched so deeply into the fiber and psyche of black folk, can not and will not be erased in one generation. Those painful marks may not disappear over many generations yet to come. There are, and probably will continue to be for some time, valid reasons for shortcomings among blacks trying to function in the mainstream of American life. But there comes a time, when reasons, overused, become excuses.

Governor Jim Hunt is proceeding to implement competency testing to guarantee, among other things, that North Carolina's high school graduates will be able to read, write and perform basic arithmetic functions. We are well aware that testing, of and by itself, is not the full answer to the worsening state of education, but it is a start. The problem is many-faceted.

There comes a time - such as NOW - to stop making excuses and get to work "burning the midnight oil" and wearing out some books with study. A friend said this week, "hand-out clothes you can get; hand-out food, you can get; hand-out living quarters, you can get; but there is no such thing as hand-out education".

We've observed, with distress, Hillside High School's Honor Society turning white; NCCU's graduate programs, including our revered Law School, turning white fast. We've no objection whatever to the use and accomplishments of whites - that is not the problem. When our black students take the stupid position that to carry home books to study makes one a traitor to his race or is not 'cool' or whatever other terminology they use, it only shows how dumb they are. These negativists are even exerting unbelievable pressures on their peers not to study. The simpletons are drunk with hand-outs and think they will get their education through hand-outs, too. It doesn't stop at high school, either. James and Morrison dormitories at Chapel Hill house most of the black undergraduates attending the University of North Carolina. Those two dorms are acknowledged to have the highest noise levels and highest theft rates on the campus. This is ridiculous for the poorest segment of the population.

It may take wholesale flunking (failing) to knock some sense into some black folks' heads. So, we say to Governor Hunt, FULL SPEED AHEAD! The sooner, the better.

**IN HIS MAILGRAM TO VERNON JORDAN**  
 "Blacks need no lecturing from [President] Carter that criticism against the Democratic Party, the Congress, and the Democratic President does a disservice to the poor. Such nonsense. Are we the imitation of the barkless canines who even when we hurt them are not supposed to yelp?"  
 "The people are wise - wiser than the politicians think."  
 "The Black masses hear only what Jimmy Carter does, and must ignore the Administration's Black robots who have severed their roots."  
 -Carlton B. Goodlett, Pres., NNPA

**BUSINESS IN THE BLACK** by CHARLES E. BELLE

**Billions for Black Business**

President James Earl Carter signed into law on May 13, 1977, a \$4 billion local Public Works Program. These billions of dollars should not bypass the black community. The amended legislation requires that at least ten per cent of this money go for minority business enterprise through construction, contracting, subcontracting and purchase of materials and equipment.

The United States Department of Commerce, through the Economic Development Administration (EDA), is responsible for administering the program, but black businessmen would do well to buttress these bucks with their local chapters of the NAACP, National Business League and community development organization to direct these funds directly to the black market.

Ostensibly, the program is to provide 100 per cent federal funding to units of state and local governments for the construction of needed public facilities in areas of high unemployment. Given the unusually high concentration of people of color in these high unemployment areas, ten per cent is a minimum goal. Four hundred million dollars is pennies. The objective should be more like fifty per cent to match black youth unemployment. Two billion dollars.

The Economic Development Administration is committed publicly to administer the ten per cent requirement vigorously and effectively. But black people cannot be put down to the lowest expectation of participa-

**Benjamin L. Hooks**

Executive Director NAACP

**Our New Day Begun**

Our recently concluded convention in St. Louis was for me a mixed bag. It was at once satisfying and dissatisfying, mystical and real, perplexing and clear.

It was filled with nostalgia: the legend of the civil rights movement, Roy Wilkins, stepping down from the post of executive director, a position he had proudly held for 22 years. It was a changing of the guard: Wilkins relinquishing the position to me. This capped more than 45 years of brilliant and dogged work with the NAACP for Wilkins, who first began with the organization in 1931, held various posts from editor of the Crisis Magazine and associate director until he was appointed to the top position after the death of the charismatic Walter White.

It was laced with parties. A large round of affairs designed to say goodbye to Roy, and each of them vying with the other in festive purpose and attempts at disguising broken hearts.

While merriment and light banter were the stuff of these affairs, a tear or two appeared, especially after a solemn word from Wilkins; but each was hastily wiped away. It was as if the veterans of the civil rights movement, the folks who have been at the cutting edge of change for all these years steeled themselves with the resolve: "Big boys and girls don't cry, no matter how deep the hurt or sense of loss." But the

lumps were, nevertheless, there. And visible, at times, in the throat.

A stiff upper lip was the order of the day. This was no time for tears. It was an uncertain time, to be sure. A time to take stock; a time to assess; a time to look over the new boy on the block - me; to weigh him; to assess him, to analyze him; to test him. Maybe even make a few criticisms of him. But not too many, and maybe most of all, not quite so uncharitably yet. Give him time. For this, I am grateful.

These were not just the thoughts of many convention delegates, men and women from every nook and cranny of these United States. They were my thoughts, as well. For I felt the lump in the throat, the tightening of the viscera, the tingling of the spine when Roy, with great dignity, acknowledged, upon arriving at an affair, his wife, Minnie, at his side, the great waves of applause and cheers washing over him.

I felt the burning of the eyeballs as hot tears pushed against them. I, too, fought to hold myself erect and not give way to emotional unstringing. For my life, too, was caught in the balance. The years Roy Wilkins spent working with the NAACP were ineluctably my years. I was seven years old when he started with the NAACP, and every battle fought, every battle won, or lost, is etched indelibly in the record of my being.

The massive battles against lynching, against

the Grandfather clauses, against white primaries, for equal job opportunities, against restrictive covenants, to end separate but unequal everything twanged at my nerve endings as Wilkins and White and Randolph and other great black leaders orchestrated, planned or plotted brilliant strategy on the huge chess board of America.

Wilkins' stepping down then, brought to an end a whole way of life for me. Where I may have differed slightly from other delegates and friends of the great leader at the convention, I could not afford, after first blush, to spend time contemplating the meaning this has for all of us. I was being primed to step immediately into this big man's mighty shoes.

The weight of the struggle's leadership then is mine. The thrill of battle, the concerted action, even the sensation of a fight well made, can be long to all of us. But the burden of mistakes belongs to me, alone. It is a sobering thought.

Who can really fill Roy Wilkins' shoes? Who should try? I, for one, will try to be the best leader I know how to be. I will pray for guidance and ask friends, NAACP staff and members alike to give me their unswerving support. But in the end it will be me, my leadership done in my own inimitable style that must and should be judged.

**To Be Equal**

By VERNON E. JORDAN

**Vets' Discharge Status Under Attack**

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE



President Carter's proposal to upgrade less-than-honorable discharges was a long overdue step to restore some rationality and justice to an irrational and unjust situation. But this proposal is now running into Congressional opposition that threatens to sabotage the hopes of hundreds of thousands of Vietnam-era veterans.

The Administration wants to automatically upgrade many less-than-honorable discharges to honorable. This has important consequences for such individuals. It would qualify them for veteran's benefits, and it would remove an obstacle to employment, since many employers won't hire anyone who holds less than an honorable discharge.

Lobbying groups and some Congressmen want to either scrap the plan or dilute it to the point where it's meaningless. Instead of blanket upgrading, they're suggesting that recipients of the upgraded discharges still be denied veteran's benefits until cleared by a review panel, a time-consuming and unworkable process.

Compassion and justice demand that such vindictive measures be beaten back and the Administration's program be supported.

The upgraded discharges would go to people whose less-than-honorable discharges were administrative. The popular image of a military law-

breaker whose court martial would be reversed is fiction. Most of the veterans served their terms of duty, slogged through the mud in Vietnam, and now, often because of grossly unfair procedures, personal grudges, or other factors - including racial discrimination - are under a life sentence of disadvantage because of arbitrarily imposed discharges.

Most also served honorably in the combat zone, which is the basic test of the soldier. Their discharges, when there was a valid reason, were often for minor infractions. The penalty does not fit the offense in such cases.

The racial factor is obvious from an examination of discharge statistics that show disproportionate numbers of blacks getting less-than-honorable discharges. Important differences exist too, among the different service units. Less than ten per cent of Army personnel separated for "character or behavior disorders" got honorable discharges but 77 per cent of Navy personnel separated for the same reason got honorable discharges.

That doesn't make sense. It is unfair to individuals who get uneven treatment only because different services acted differently. This is capriciousness not justice.

Many of the veterans concerned never

should have been in the armed forces at all. They were persons whose educational and other disadvantages were below military standards. Rather than resort to politically unpopular draft of college students or calling up reserve units, such persons were recruited into the military with the promise that they'd benefit from special programs upgrading their skills and education.

Instead they found themselves in combat, and are disproportionately among those who received bad discharges. Not to correct that situation would be to double the unfairness they've already been subjected to.

Less-than-honorable discharges are so important in their effect on a person's life that they should not be imposed without formal proceedings.

Service personnel should not be subjected to arbitrary administrative fiat; removal from the ranks and receipt of a discharge that carries penalties should be for cause, with due process and protection for the accused.

The Administration's program for upgrading discharges should be supported against emotional but mistaken attacks. It represents an important step in the process of healing the wounds of Vietnam, and we'll never escape from that tragedy so long as justice to veterans is denied.



**Congressman Hawkins' Column**

By Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins

**Who Were New York's Blackout Looters?**

During the looting that took place in New York City's blackout, if one believes the pictures published in the July 25, editions of Newsweek and Time magazines, all the looters were black (with the exception of a sprinkling of racially unidentified culprits also so involved).

Time magazine displayed six pictures of looting incidents; every picture showed blacks at the center of activity.

Newsweek used eight pictures depicting looting; blacks were prominently displayed in all 8 photos.

Both magazines, dramatically displayed blacks, in various looting scenes, on the covers of their respective publications. They splashed these covers with vividly dramatic colors to highlight the viciousness of the plundering that took place.

At first I refused to believe what I was seeing, because somehow I thought that we were press negative, racially exploitive, media reporting. But unfortunately I was wrong on both counts; one, I was seeing correctly and properly, and two, at least Time and Newsweek were not above, racist reporting (especially pictorial reporting) in this instance.

And I say "racist reporting," carefully, conservatively, and advisedly.

The pictures don't lie. They caught the plunderers red-handed; fighting over stolen goods; defiantly posing with their ill-gotten gains; destroying property; breaking into barricaded stores.

No excuse for this.

But was this the whole story? Am I to understand that the only ransackers were the blacks - and no others? In a city with eight million people, only blacks looted? Only blacks?

In that vast city, light-less, and laying prostrate to all manner of indignities, does Time Magazine and Newsweek magazine desire to send out a message, which says that blacks and blacks alone, ravaged the City of New York, when the City was helpless to do anything about protecting itself?

If this is the communication that these two responsible journals wish to enunciate, then I say that they are taking tremendous liberty with truth and honesty.

They also must be ready to accept the responsibility for maliciously maligning the basic decency of 99.9 per cent of the black people of that city.

By printing these pictures, and isolating looting to blacks, Time and Newsweek are raising

ghosts of the past, stereotypic and dangerous, which in former days equated blacks with all that was bad in this society, and painted whites as being goodness personified.

I have an apology coming from Newsweek and Time Magazine, unless they can prove to me that there is no message of bigotry, prejudice and bias in their glorious pictures, and that they are not going to take us back in time to the kind of slanted, racist reporting that once existed in that infamous piece of American history.

I have an apology coming from Newsweek and Time Magazine, because my experience with and knowledge of the urban riots of the 60's tells that maligning a whole group of people for the bad acts of a few, does damage to this whole nation in the long run.

And, oh yes, I also want that apology for all the nice black and white kinds in this country, who are beginning to understand that both black and white are beautiful.

Time and Newsweek, with malice aforethought, have thrown handfuls of mud at that road to understanding, which needs building not brickbats.

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