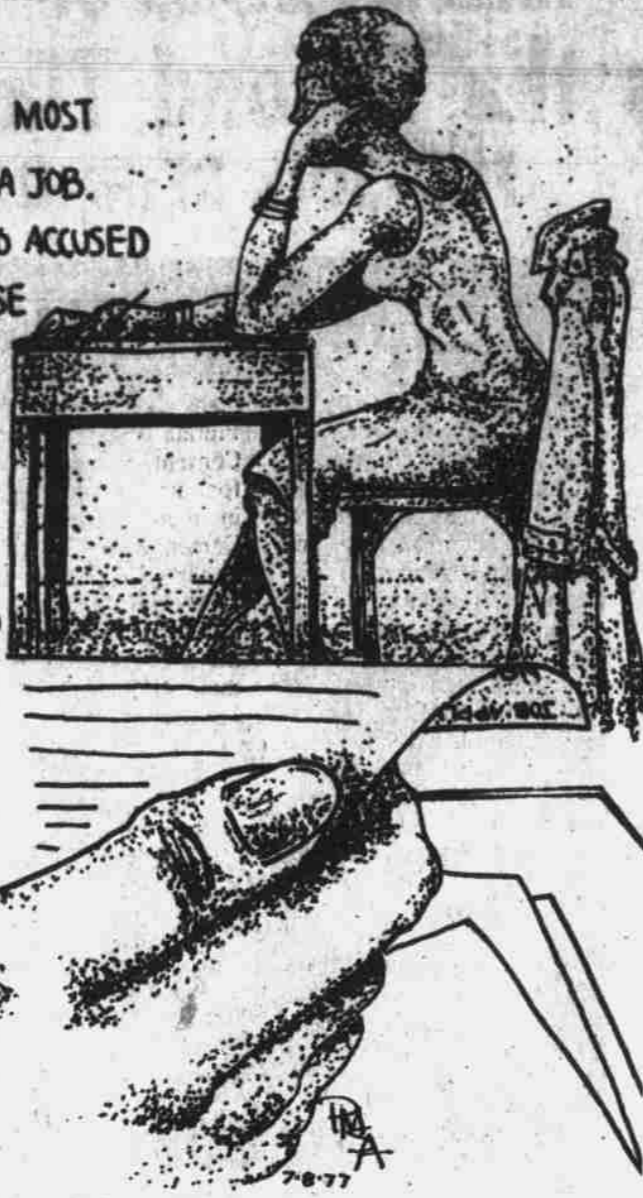


DEAR MOM,  
THIS YEAR I HAVE SPENT MOST OF MY TIME LOOKING FOR A JOB. I MET A WHITE MAN WHO ACCUSED ME OF CAUSING REVERSE DISCRIMINATION CAUSE HE WASN'T A MINORITY OR POOR AND COULDN'T GET A JOB. I ALSO MET A BLACK MAN WHO TOLD ME BLACK WOMEN LIKE ME TOOK JOBS AWAY FROM BLACK MEN WHO NEEDED TO WORK.  
P.S. I'M STILL LOOKING FOR A JOB!



EDITORIALS

Threat To Affirmative Action

Public policy in this country has verbalized a commitment to Affirmative action over the past ten years or so. A series of Federal acts, during that time, allegedly committed our society to the goal of equal opportunity for blacks, women and other minorities in education and employment. At their inception, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a series of Executive Orders were hailed as exciting creative approaches for ending discrimination. "Affirmative Action" as a present remedy for past discrimination, became a working concept.

Soon after inception, Affirmative Action programs and concepts were burdened down with catchphrases. Huge bureaucracies were established to regulate compliance with the various federal regulations. A technical language developed to discuss the issue: "goal," "timetable," "under-utilization." Some Americans began to take for granted the effectiveness and permanence of Affirmative Action as a concept.

Simultaneously many changes were taking place in this country - politically, economically, socially and culturally. The cutting edge of the sixties became the blunted and forsaken depressions of the seventies as noble commitments became hollow illusions.

The Black movement was the vanguard of the sixties. It gave impetus, drive and direction to a mighty crusade for equality in this country. The revolutionary zeal of the period was led by blacks who were followed by those of all ethnic groups.

The marriage of liberal ideas with liberation goals was a matter of grave concern for many. At this point, racism reared its ugly head and the liberal was spun from the liberation and a new era of vested interest white liberalism moved in separate direction.

Right after that the word "minority" was instituted in phrases and sentences where the word black was formerly used. The news media blitzed the people with the word. Soon it was used by almost everyone including blacks. The women's movement, which had been staunchly opposed, was suddenly palatable and found new and ready allies.

Blacks, who had been the prime movers for Affirmative Action, were kicked to the foreground and replaced by minorities, both contrived and genuine, who sapped the dynamics from the black thrust.

Despite the shameful crushing of the black man's thrust within the Affirmative Action programs, that is not the greatest story about Affirmative Action. The cold fact is that evidence shows conclusively that Affirmative Action has never taken place.

At current rates, it will take 43 more years for black workers to achieve levels of employment equal to their representation in the labor force. Statistics show that women are farther behind in the force than they were twenty years ago. The earning gap between men and women has increased 7% in that time. The average woman now earns 57% of that earned by a man who is similarly employed.

The working definition of Affirmative Action in this process has been twisted to a description of the "pool of applicants," not the concrete measurable movement of applicants out of that pool.

Against this reality - that decisive, positive action has not yet been effectively taken - comes that charge that affirmative action as it is practiced amounts to "reverse discrimination." According to this thinking, it is unreasonable and unjust to "discriminate" against qualified white males in favor of blacks, women and other minorities who, by some standards or beliefs, are deemed less qualified for the jobs. There is a concerted effort - in the courts, in the legislatures, in public forums - to in some way recast affirmative action as unfair and to remove it as unfair and to remove it as a principle from law.

We are on the threshold of an important Supreme Court decision. We must be reminded of Plessy vs Ferguson in 1896. The decision legalized the separate but equal concept in education. American race relations struggled under that burden for 58 years. Now, 81 years later, we stand at another important crossroad, where the principle in question is fair and equitable Affirmative Action, which under the imposed and contrived banner of "reverse discrimination" is being challenged. Again the Supreme Court must make a monumental decision.

Unfortunately, the climate and conditions are not favorable for a just decision. The need for communication, unity and activism is great and urgent.

Walter Bremond  
Executive Director  
National Black United Fund, Inc.

Benjamin L. Hooks

Executive Director NAACP

New Day Begun

Some of my colleagues and the trade press have called it a going away present for me. "It" being my proposal to the Federal Communications Commission that in order for Blacks and other minorities to have a decent shot at competing in the process of TV and radio license sales, sellers of broadcast properties should give public notice of at least 45 days in advance of proposed sales.

That way Blacks and minorities would be able to bid for the properties along with those belonging on the inside - The so-called "The Good Ol' Boy" network. However, I would like to think that "it" was and is ultimately a gift to the people, especially to the Blacks and other minorities who have been historically shut out of opportunities to bid in sales of TV and radio properties, simply because they have not been privy to the vital information of an upcoming sale.

Present FCC rules only decree that notice of sale must be publicly made 30 days before final consummation of the sale which has already been made. The rules, however, do not permit a competing interest to enter the arrangement. The 30-day notice is simply to allow anyone who may have some reservations about the proposed sale, or the parties involved, to give voice of their objections.

The Commission would then decide if the objections were of sufficient merit to hold a hearing. But unless the objections are of a major such petitions are seldom granted a hearing. My proposal, which grew out of the concerns voiced

at the two-day Minority Ownership Conference in April sponsored by the FCC, was put forth as Notice of Proposed Rulemaking.

I thought the impediment in respect to blacks and other minorities was of such importance in this instance. The Commission should move promptly to secure dialogue from interested parties with an eye to making a rule that would lighten the burden of blacks and other minorities seeking to compete in the sale of broadcast properties. However, with the exception of two other Commissioners, there was not enough enthusiasm for this proposal.

So on my last day as a Commissioner, July 27, it was amended in Commission meeting to make it a Notice of Inquiry into the subject. I am pragmatic, so I believe that even though I would rather have had rulemaking, an inquiry into the subject will serve the same purpose. Ultimately, I believe such a rulemaking will be effected. My only regret is that I will not be at the Commission to see it come to fruition.

In the transfer of radio and TV licenses, just as in all other fields of corporate and industry endeavor, it may not be so much what but who you know. Blacks and other minorities are not members of the posh private clubs, nor do they move in the upper strata social, business and political circles of the decision-making white power structure.

And since we do not, it is not hard to understand why we blacks own less than one per cent of the nation's broadcasting properties. Even when we do move in these circles, however, pre-

vailing clandestine suspicions and xenophobic bordering on racist, attitudes of some of the majority white corporate officials tend to foreclose us from insider knowledge that would put us on track at the competitive starting blocks.

John H. Johnson, publisher of Jet and Ebony magazines, owner of radio station WJPC, Chicago, who also sits on many of America's top corporation boards of directors, reveals that even possession of keys to corporate executive washrooms does not automatically or completely open those secrets and intimate passageways to specialized information so essential to meaningful decision making process in business. Other black corporate executives have voiced the same concerns.

There are those who say that any amending of the rules to notify the public of upcoming sales would pose enforcement problems for the Commission; that it would pave the way to bidding wars that would price a station out of financial sight.

I say rubbish to both reservations while at the same time realizing that there will be additional enforcement problems, that competition for the properties will be stiffer.

But the Commission can easily handle the former while the latter will test our belief in free enterprise. I believe the market place given a chance, is the most democratic of arbiters.

Nevertheless, the time has come to open this process for access to all our people, not just the privileged, "Ol' Boy Club" members.

It is in the public interest for the Commission to do so.



Congressman Hawkins' Column

By Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins

How's Mr. Carter Doing?

guaranteed job, by government if necessary."

As with most things there is a middle ground in these views, with the President not doing quite as badly as Jordan thinks, nor is he (that is Mr. Carter.) doing as good as he so states the case.

Those of us that are looking on are also keeping the score cards watching and waiting for the President to improve the quality of his performance (since I believe both Mr. Jordan and Mr. Carter would agree that one's performance can always be improved).

My score-keeping is naturally concerned with the Administration's position and actions on the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill (HR-50, S-50).

I was therefore immensely interested in the President's statement linking welfare reform and the guarantee of jobs by the Federal government for those wanting to work.

Since the core of HR-50 is the establishment

of a right to a job for all those willing, able, and seeking work, the President's remarks come at a timely and propitious time.

This rather new position taken by the President on this matter, needs his further elaboration of course; but the fact that he's recognized the significance of the Federal role regarding job guarantees, is a step in the right direction.

It does raise other questions however, since the President indicated that this guarantee would only be available to one member to provide for its dollar resource needs.

What would happen in this situation would certainly need further exploration.

In my view, the next few months are going to be crucial, if we are to move closer to a national commitment on full employment.

It seems that in this area at least, the President is moving in a way which may open up new Federal thinking regarding this nation's need for a full employment economy.

By VERNON E. JORDAN

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE



To Be Equal

Blacks, Poor, Look For Signals

The speech I made to the National Urban League's Annual Conference analyzing the Administration's domestic policies and expressing black disappointment with the record to date was based on my talks and travels all over the country, and much of what I said has been said by others as well.

The President appeared before the same Annual Conference the next morning and gave an effective defense of his Administration, as did a number of Cabinet officers and other key figures in Washington.

That kind of public dialogue is an important phenomenon. It put some neglected issues back into the field of public discussion, where they belong. And it informed the Administration that a significant part of its constituency is unhappy with its performance to date.

When the dust had cleared and all sides made their case, the situation facing black people was unchanged and the analysis I made of the Administration's first six months was unaltered.

The basic outline of that analysis is this: The Carter Administration was elected largely through capturing solid black votes. Those votes were given on the assumption that campaign promises of full employment and urban revitalization would be fulfilled. To date, despite some significant steps in HUD's block grant program, in youth employment, and other areas, black

expectations have not been fulfilled.

A basic reason for this may be that priorities are askew. Instead of full employment, balancing the budget by 1981 has become the top priority. Energy, controlling inflation, and government reorganization have all been given greater urgency than a national urban policy, national health insurance and other basic human needs programs.

A case may be made for the importance of the items the Administration has chosen to make it priorities, but to the degree that emphasis on balanced budgets restricts its ability to inaugurate needed social reforms, the hopes of poor people will be frustrated. I understand the need for balanced budgets, but human needs must have priority.

And if the price of balanced budgets is continued joblessness, poverty and urban deterioration, then we're only laying the groundwork for possibly insoluble social problems in the 1980s.

The positive changes that took place in the 1960s were arrested for much of this decade. To some degree those gains have helped foster expectations on the part of minorities and the poor that must now be satisfied.

When Nixon and Ford occupied the White House many people realized that little could be expected in the way of social reforms, but that

situation changed in November. A new President was elected by a coalition of labor, blacks, minorities, poor people, and others who renewed their faith in the political system in backing a candidate who promised jobs and reform.

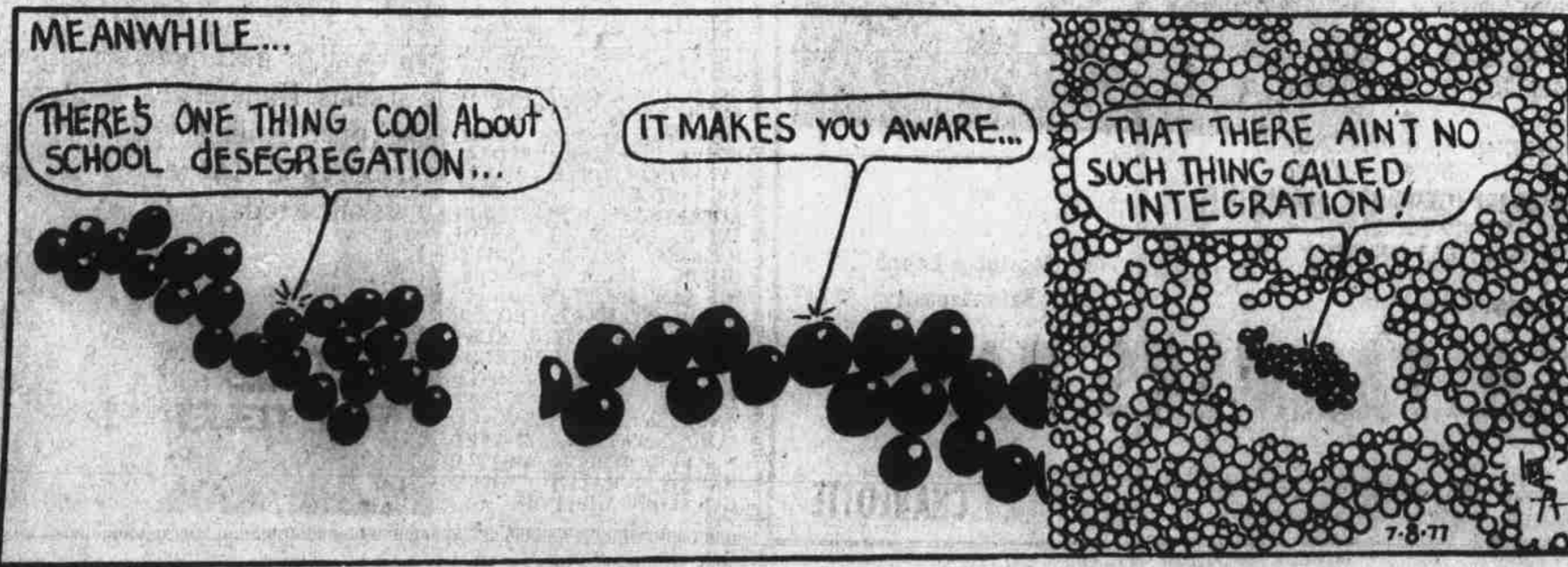
The President has proved adept at signaling. By emphasizing human rights, he's sent signals to the world's dictators to shape up. By selling the Presidential yacht and other symbolic moves, he's signalled his countrymen that the Imperial Presidency is at an end.

Now, he should send some signals to the poor people who placed so much faith in him and in his Administration. He could make symbolic visits to urban ghettos, change the misguided welfare reform plan, and express in legislative terms his commitment to expanded job-creation beyond the limited measures already taken.

A new Administration can't do everything in only six months, but it can set a new tone and it can frame strategies it will follow in the next four years. That's the point of the pressure black people are now exerting on Washington - to return the Administration to what we feel are its true instincts of helping ease the lot of the poor.

Misjudged

White House advisers have misjudged the Urban League's Vernon Jordan's recent criticism of President Carter's administration with failure to care about the poor and blacks. They've circulated the idea that it was self-serving and a product of competition among black leaders for the top spot among blacks. Immediate backing of Jordan by the Congressional Black Caucus, the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks and other black leaders show that Jordan's remarks were neither "demagogic" nor "erroneous."



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