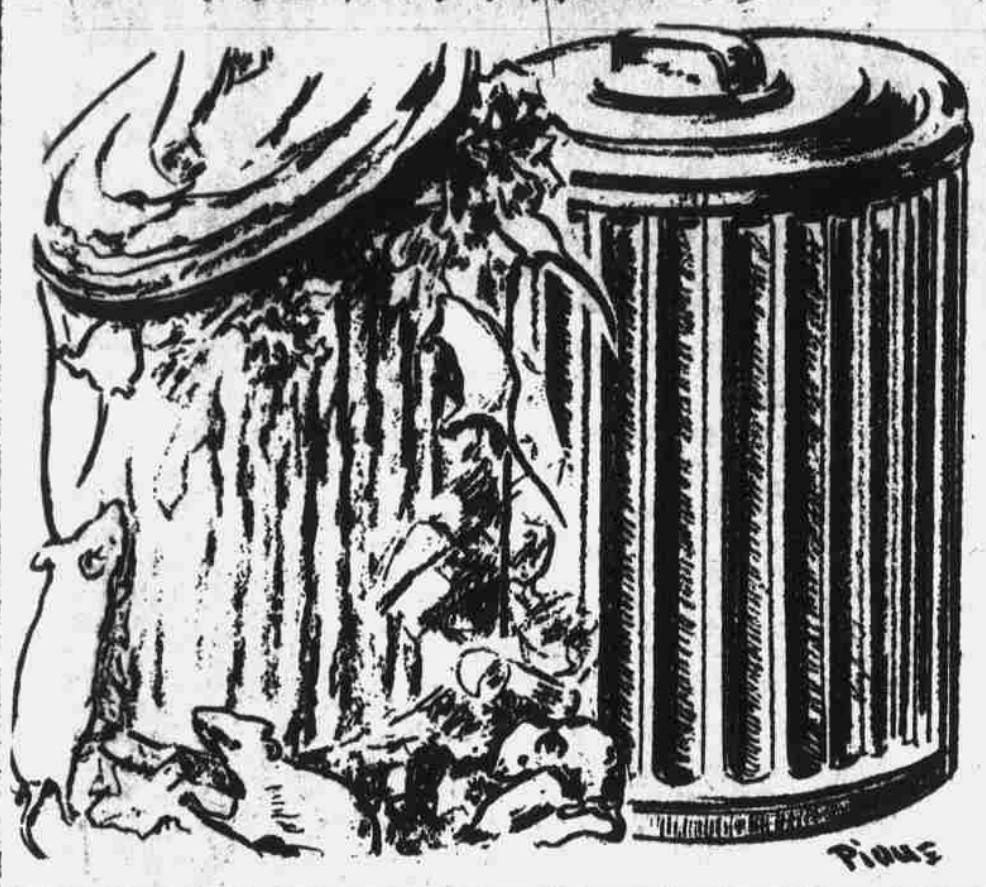


THIS IS WHAT WE CAN DO NOW.

# THE BEST DEFENSE AGAINST RATS IS A GARBAGE CAN WITH THE LID ON TIGHT!



## Twelve Months After Humphrey-Hawkins

Robert L. White

October 27 marks the first anniversary of the enactment of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Growth Act. Why is it that twelve months after a law has passed, it has not been implemented, and in fact, unemployment is still on the rise?

Instead of addressing the problem of putting Americans back to work, the emphasis is on austerity, balanced budgets, low growth, high interest rates, and tight money. It is all too easy to approach a problem academically when one is removed from those circumstances.

Politicians and economists talk glibly about unemployment in terms of percentages. I say that for each person who needs a job and does not have one — for that person, the rate of unemployment is 100 per cent.

A number one priority for every black American for 1980 should be to elect persons to office who will put us back in the work force. To earn a living and to share in the fruits of this country is our inalienable right.

October 29 is the generally agreed upon 50th Anniversary of the stock market crash that pushed the country into the Great Depression. Some of us will remember that it was President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal that was the big deal that gave us a square deal, created

jobs and warmed up the economy. Prior to the time Roosevelt was sworn into Office, the rapid loss of jobs cast a cloak of darkness over the nation that was as devastating as any preceding period in history. Blacks were especially hard hit and because of the then existing economic and social conditions, we were practically helpless to change things.

We are no longer helpless. Voter registration is not the nightmare it used to be. We have seen our bloc of votes send a man to the White House. This should give us the confidence and encouragement we need to actively participate in the political process.

The first step is to make sure that you, your family and friends all register to vote. I know that I have mentioned this before and I will no doubt, mention it again in future columns. The importance of voter participation cannot be overemphasized. It should be discussed in our homes, churches, school rooms, and pool rooms.

Next, we must carefully evaluate the platform of each political candidate. If the pledge is more to bring peace in the Middle East without mention of a workable solution to the unemployment situation, then he or she is not a candidate worthy of the black vote.

Our problems here at home must take precedence over all others.

"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

# Pierre Toussaint

1776 — 1853



A SLAVE FROM SANTO DOMINGO, HIS MASTER BROUGHT HIM TO NEW YORK DURING THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION—WHILE IN NEW YORK HIS MASTER DIED IN POVERTY... BUT TOUSSAINT TOOK OVER THE JOB OF SUPPORTING HIS WIDOW IN LUXURY / HE EARNED FABULOUS SUMS AS A HAIRDRESSER / AFTER SHE REMARRIED, THE WIDOW SET TOUSSAINT FREE FROM SLAVERY /

CONTINENTAL FEATURES

## The Unfinished Business of Civil Rights

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

There's one thing opponents of civil rights and some supporters of civil rights agree on. Both say there has been significant progress made by blacks in the past two decades, and that less emphasis should be placed on the plight of the poorest of the black community.

They come at this conclusion from different directions, of course. Traditional opponents of civil rights movement refuse to accept the need for more action to end poverty and discrimination, just as they opposed earlier efforts.

But some in the civil rights movement make an argument that goes roughly like this: "The Great Society programs of the sixties got many people out of poverty. Yes, new programs are needed and old ones need to be strengthened in order to complete the job. But stressing the terrible plight of the poorest leads to a defeatist attitude. People will say that if so many are still so poor, then government programs don't work and we shouldn't start new ones."

I don't buy that argument at all.

If we concentrate on the real progress some of us have made, we will destroy the possibility of progress for the many more people who did not share the advances of the sixties.

In fact, stressing the positives would just lull public and politicians alike into thinking the problem is pretty well solved and new steps

are unnecessary.

Worse, they'll condemn the poor for not being able to climb out of poverty, even with government help. That in fact is what is happening today.

I think we must continually remind a forgetting nation that while the Great Society programs did work, they were largely half-hearted, underfunded, and reached only a small portion of the poor.

In fact most of today's federal programs exclude more people who are eligible for participation than they include.

We affirm the real success story of the sixties — that black people made greater economic, social and political progress than in any previous period. But the fact remains that the masses of black people did not make significant progress and the recessions of the seventies eroded many of the gains that had been made.

Instead of looking backward at the recent past we've got to look forward to the measures necessary to complete the movement for civil rights and greater equality.

The big ticket items on the shopping list of necessary measures are familiar — full employment, national health, youth development, better schools and housing, and others.

But there is also a need to make existing civil rights laws more effective. There's a difference between passing a law and imple-

menting it.

We've got a fair housing law on the books, but it has no teeth. Congress is still delaying the necessary passage of amendments that would enforce the fair housing law.

Some laws have to be implemented through private action. We've got fair hiring laws, but there's still an enormous job ahead to help employers devise and set up effective affirmative action programs, training programs, and similar actions.

Prospective employees have to be counseled and taught work habits, skills and attitudes demanded by the work place.

Voting rights are guaranteed. But the incredibly low black voter turnout means a massive job in educating people to utilize their newly-won rights in their own interests, and to participate in the democratic process.

I could cite numerous other instances as well. But the point is that the civil rights movement is far from over — not by a long shot.

The imperfectly drafted and implemented laws and the need to help people benefit from federal laws and programs places a tremendous burden on community-based agencies.

And that burden won't be made easier by the advice to take a low key attitude toward the neediest and most disadvantaged of the people depending on them for services and advocacy.

## The Quota Controversy

Gerald C. Horne, Esquire

The issue of quotas has been a troublesome one for erstwhile advocates of the civil rights movement. Pro-Zionist groups especially — e.g. Anti-Defamation League, World Jewish Congress — have argued that quotas are anti-democratic and violate the "merit" principle. Prof. Nathan Glazer has devoted an entire book to this question and pundits from William F. Buckley to Evans & Novak have pilloried the use of quotas designed to include groups previously discriminated against — e.g. blacks.

What is behind this controversy? Are the words of quota's critics true?

In a word, no. Let us approach this issue from a number of different standpoints.

First of all, since when has the so-called "merit principle" been used, to say, get into school or more importantly, get a job. Anybody knows, for example, the way judges are selected in the Bronx, Brooklyn and other areas of this country know that "merit" has nothing to do with it. These judges are selected on the basis of their service to a Democratic Party club or leader, not on the basis of scholarship or trial skills or the astuteness of one's legal reasoning. If you don't believe it, there are a number of books that document it; just thumb through any book on urban politics, e.g. Jack Newfield's and Paul deBrui's *The Abuse of Power*. It is only when there is talk of more black representation via quotas is the red herring of "merit" raised.

The same holds true for hiring in the corporate world. First of all, what does "merit" really mean in this context. Does an all-A average mean necessarily that one is equipped to sell brushes or advertising or supervise a staff or plan a hard-hitting business strategy? Of course not. Less quantifiable measures e.g. organizational skill, aggressiveness, a cool head, etc., are probably more important.

But even if one grants the point that "merit", e.g. a grade point average, should be the guiding determinant, the fact is that the corporate world does not follow that principle in any event. A front page article in the Wall Street Journal of September 19, 1979, detailing the hiring standards can be. Corporate recruiters in this article freely admit that they discriminate against blacks because they don't feel "comfortable" around them or feel "threatened" by them. Then they go so far as to say that they turn thumbs down on candidates on such "meritorious" bases as whether or not the person had a dark suit on (!) or a white shirt (!) or if they peeled an artichoke correctly at dinner!!

Complaints about goals and quotas are especially hypocritical when coming from the corporate world. "Management by objective" is the basic credo of the business world. The works of Peter Drucker on this subject can be found in every corporate library. But when it comes to quotas for blacks, goals for

minority hiring, "objectives" for recruiting blacks, suddenly the value of having focused aims and goals disappears. What demagogic poppycock!!

The same business world that demands quotas for Japanese steel and color TV's, French wine and cheese, Brazilian shoes, West German coal, and on and on, suddenly attacks quotas when it comes to blacks. What about the "merit principle" for these import items?

The fact is that quotas are not the issue, the purpose of quotas is. When quotas are used to exclude Jews and blacks from colleges, as happened so frequently in the past, this is to be condemned. But when quotas are used to include blacks and other disadvantaged groups, this is to be condemned. But when fire is used to temper steel in order to construct a building, this is to be applauded.

And despite the rumblings of the pundits, the courts agree. Nine of the eleven circuit courts of appeal have endorsed the use of goals, numerical remedies, quotas, etc. The Supreme Court in *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum* has put its imprimatur on quotas.

But let us make no mistake. Only pressure from the civil rights movement has caused quotas to be imposed to include blacks in areas where we were unrepresented previously. And only continued pressure will maintain quotas so that we will not be consigned to a fate of "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

## Is There a World-Wide Move to the Political Right?

Laura Parks

Politicians and propagandists on the Right have intensified their efforts to convince the political multitudes that there is an on-going and irresistible world-wide conservative trend. Their aim is to create a psychological climate made of conservative rhetoric and mind bending exaggerations based on the flimsiest of evidence, to prove their claim.

A few years back, Conservative publicists were more than delighted when Sweden's welfare oriented Socialists were ousted from power. They ruled Sweden for a very long time and their ouster was considered by the Conservatives as most significant. They reasoned that if the Swedes rejected the welfare state for a conservative government, then surely the rest of the world could not be far behind.

Now, after one term in office, the Swedish conservatives managed to remain in power by one vote, which was given to them by the wealthy, via mail voting, from their socialist playgrounds along the sun-baked shores of the world. If the conservatives managed to remain in power by one

vote, the non-socialist left, by contrast, scored impressive gains.

Following Sweden, the conservative trendists usually cite Britain as another piece of evidence to prove their case for a conservative revival. The conservatives did in fact win the British election, but it was a victory given to them by the British equivalent of our middle and upper class communities. Working Britons voted for the welfare state Labor Party and defeated almost all conservative candidates and incumbents running in the industrial heartland of the country.

To date, conservative policies have been extremely bad that in many parts of the country even the conservatives are lining up in opposition to the Big Business policies espoused by the present conservative government. In Britain the conservative policies are rapidly polarizing the country and major confrontations are expected between Labor and the Conservatives. Last time out, in the early 70s, when confrontations took place, under the conservative Prime Minister Heath, the conservatives were forced out of office.

In another part of the world, in India, the conservatives professed to see in the defeat of Indira Gandhi a historic triumph for the Indian Conservative Janata Party. The Janata Party tried to bring Indira Gandhi to trial and prison, but the poor and the working multitudes staged impressive demonstrations in her behalf. The Janata leaders backed down.

Today, Indira Gandhi is being joined by some of her enemies, who now recognize that the policies of the Janata Party cannot solve the immense problems facing India's 600 million people, 95% of whom live at the subsistence level, barely avoiding starvation, and seldom living beyond fifty years of age.

Citing these alleged moves toward Conservatism, the Conservatives in the U.S. are attempting to create a psychological bandwagon for their cause among the American voters. They would attempt to push Congress and the President now caught between the prospects of runaway inflation and depression, to enact policies that would in fact increase the danger of a depression

without eliminating inflationary pressure. In short, they would do all in their power to do their best for Big Business at the expense of the country as a whole.

At times, conservative chatter sounds most alarming. But as in other parts of the world, their chances for permanent success are small. Conservatives must know by now that the economic and political worlds of the 1929 Boom and Bus era are gone forever. It was that age that fed and encouraged the conservatives until they

[Continued on page 19]

**The Carolina Times**  
 (USPS 091-380)

L. E. AUSTIN  
 Editor-Publisher 1927-1979

Published every Thursday (dated Saturday) at Durham, N.C. by United Publishers, Incorporated; Mailing Address: P.O. Box 3825, Durham, N.C. 27702. Office located at 923 Fayetteville Street, Durham, N.C. 27701. Second Class Postage paid at Durham, North Carolina 27702. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to THE CAROLINA TIMES, P.O. Box 3825, Durham, N.C. 27702.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, \$12.00 (plus \$0.48 sales tax for North Carolina residents). Single copy \$ .30. Postal regulations REQUIRE advanced payment on subscriptions. Address all communications and make all checks and money orders payable to: THE CAROLINA TIMES.

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