

## LAW ABIDING BLACKS MUST SPEAK OUT---

**CRIME!**

**THE RISE IN BLACK COMMUNITIES HAS BECOME A SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT TO BLACK LEADERSHIP. HOWEVER, THEY MUST ASSUME AN ACTIVE LEADERSHIP.**

...STATEN



## Coping

## Racism: Parts IX &amp; X

## Black Brainwashing

By Dr. Charles W. Faulkner

"If you don't believe that blacks are inferior to whites, look at television. Do you see any blacks playing sophisticated roles? Look at the newspapers, don't you see more stories about blacks committing crime than whites? Look at politics, how many black politicians do you see? Isn't it true that blacks were freed a century ago?"

Well, why are blacks still fighting for basic Human Rights while foreigners who come to America are accorded Civil Rights immediately and are provided with governmental financial support that assures that they will not fail?

Years of this "Logical" substantiation of black inferiority stamps itself indelibly in the psyche of the black child who grows up wanting to succeed in America but knowing that it will not happen because, somehow, he or she is simply "not good enough."

This self-evaluation translates into self-underestimation and an undervaluing of ability. Whites are exposed to the same "Logical" evidence as blacks and the meaning is the same: Whites are superior and blacks are inferior.

Blacks can expect more psychological and physical assaults from whites who are desperate to find a basis for self-pride. This is an additional burden that blacks must be prepared to endure. When viewed from this perspective, it is little wonder that the leading cause of death among young black males is suicide. The leading cause of death among young white males is automobile accidents.

## Black Forgiveness and Passivity

Few would doubt the oppressive nature of American capitalism. It is inherently abusive for all who participate in it — especially the poor — especially the black poor.

In many oppressive societies, the oppressed person reacts vehemently, and sometimes violently, to the conditions that oppress him. Black Americans are, however, forgiving even to their oppressors. Thus, even though blacks are continuously burdened with oppression, they tend to turn the other cheek and "Excuse" the oppressor for oppressing them.

The Bible plays an important motivational, philosophical and psychological part in the tradition of the black family. The Bible importunes "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Many blacks follow this rule without deviation hoping for a positive evaluation by God and better things in the Hereafter. So, while the oppressor abuses the weak with amorality and minimum concern for their welfare, blacks forgive, excuse and forget.

The psychological escape provided by the black church seems to result in social inactivity or, even, passivity. Interviews with many black churchgoers elicited the following responses: "He (the cause of social injustice) will be punished by the Almighty." "What goes around, comes around; the white man will get what is coming to him." "God is the final judge." "The Lord is going to punish the evildoer." "We need a leader like Martin Luther King."

The "What goes around, comes around" school of thought, which is currently popular, vests its confidence in a cyclical metaphysical apparatus of poetic justice that it presumes will counter rather than support evil. Historical evidence does not seem to

The message is clear: While young white males are releasing their frustrations in full-filled automobile escapades, young blacks are releasing their frustrations in the self-destructive frenzy of suicide. The loud exclamation, "I can't take it anymore," is heard from one American coast to another.

1. The policies of the present Republican Administration are likely to decrease the factors that serve as the bases for black pride.

Blacks are likely to lose even a minimal basis for pride and self-esteem. Their inability to endure the frustration caused by their unfulfilled dreams and stress caused by compounded frustration will cause many blacks to lose the motivation to continue to live.

They will find it almost impossible to find a basis for pride in themselves. The need to say, "I am better than you" in some capacity will put black against black in psychological competition born out of deeply-ingrained self-hatred.

2. Whites, who will have their basis for self-esteem and pride reduced as the result of stringent monetary cutbacks, will seek desperately for a basis for pride and blacks will serve as the psychological crutch.

Even though some whites will lose their jobs, and some will find their dreams of accomplishment diminishing, they can always say, "Well, all is not lost because I can always take pride in the fact that I am better than blacks."

support this theory.

The "Let Him do it" statements suggest that quite a few black people have given up the personal struggle and are waiting for God or some other unseen force to punish the doer of evil deeds.

Could it be that blacks are spiritually ill-equipped to exist in a society that responds only to violence and threats to violence? Although the emotional inclination is to answer each question with a resounding "No," the logic of the conditions that exist seem to produce a contrary response.

This passivity is often unintentional and indirect. It would not appear that black church leaders plot to make their members passive. Nevertheless, the philosophy of refusing to strike back at one's tormentor results in social inaction that, in pragmatic terms, is identical in its effects.

The implicitly contradictory nature of the plight of the black person who is taught as a child to be kind and forgiving in a world that is brutally unkind and unforgiving is psychologically devastating. The historical religious background of most black people drives them to search for an escape.

It engenders a hope for an answer to the difficult questions of life that cannot be addressed by the limits of science or the limits of reality.

NORTH CAROLINA



BLACK PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

## To Be Equal

## America's South Africa Policy

By Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Rational discussion about America's policy options in South Africa got a boost by the recent publication of the Report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa.

The Commission, an independent group of prestigious citizens chaired by the president of the Ford Foundation, Franklin A. Thomas, provides solid analysis of a knotty subject in a report appropriately titled: "South Africa: Time Running Out."

Time is running out, for that nation's racial situation is deteriorating faster than anyone cares to admit. The ignoble experiment of 4.5 million whites ruling 23 million non-whites was always doomed to failure, especially since that rule was brutal, exploitative, and firmly based on theories of racial superiority.

The apartheid system can only sicken any civilized human being, and South Africa's rulers have forfeited any claim to consideration for a system of racial oppression.

For Americans, it has never been enough merely to say we don't like apartheid and to let it go at that. America's pretensions to world leadership, its far-reaching network of military and diplomatic alliances that have traditionally included South Africa, its principles of human rights and, in theory at least, racial equality, all make policy toward South Africa important to us.

And beyond such considerations is South Africa's important strategic position and its possession of important minerals.

For all these reasons, America's policy options toward South Africa have veered toward a middle road of lip service against apartheid but little action to make that country's rulers modify their positions.

But time is running out, and middle-of-the-road waffling will not preserve our long-term interest in the region, nor will the current Administration's friendly tilt toward the white minority government help us in the long run.

That's why the Report of the Commission is so valuable. It takes all factors into consideration and suggests a unified policy that is in America's self-interest and supports black power-sharing in South Africa.

The Report suggests America demonstrate its "fundamental and continuing opposition" to apartheid, through diplomatic actions and private sector acts.

While the Commission stops short of asking U.S. corporations to close up their operations there, it does say they should make no new investments, refuse to expand operations, subscribe to the "Sullivan Principles" of social responsibility toward the black majority and commit their resources to improving the

lives of black South Africans.

That strikes me as an appropriate response, and a workable one that would impact on South African society even if it does not go as far as some would like.

The Report urges American promotion of genuine power-sharing by "systematically exerting influence on the South African government." It backs pressures such as a broadened embargo on arms sales, an end to nuclear cooperation, and withholding economic aid and diplomatic recognition for the mini-states South Africa has set up to split the black population.

The Report wisely suggests more U.S. economic aid to South Africa's neighbors, to reduce their dependence on the racist state.

Last but far from least, the Report calls for support for organizations working for change in South Africa, and aid in black economic and political development programs.

Sooner or later the black majority in South Africa will overthrow racist rule. Our stake in the region is too big to be perceived as an enemy of freedom for South Africa's majority. Clearly, it is America's political and moral responsibility to help guide the future development of that unhappy country toward a peaceful resolution of its problems. Time is running out.

## Affirmative Action And Sports:

## Time To Play Hardball

Gerald C. Horne, Esquire

The lingering strike in major league baseball and the opening of the new football season dramatize for all to see the paltry percentage of blacks in front office jobs. Many are familiar with the sight of Reggie Jackson knocking the ball out of the park but how many know that Yankee Stadium is a veritable white oasis of employment in the midst of the teeming black and Latino South Bronx, which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country? Many are familiar with the whirling dervish dunks of Dr. J but how many blacks hold high management positions in the Philadelphia 76'ers organization?

Racism in professional sports has had a long and fabled history. Until Jackie Robinson broke the barrier of Jim Crow in baseball in 1947, the sport was as lily-white as the ball. Talented super-stars like Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson and Jay "Cool Papa" Bell were relegated to eking out a living in the poverty-stricken "Negro leagues." It should never be forgotten that what ended the racial bar in baseball was not the benevolence or new-found vision of the greedy team owners but the determined protest of black fans led by Paul Robeson and the changing international situation in which the U.S. found it difficult to compete for "hearts and minds" in the Third World when people of color here were so heavily discriminated against.

Today, black athletes account for more than 70% of the players in the National Basketball Association, 55% of the players in the National Football League and some of the highest salaries in major league baseball. Even in the National Hockey League there are two black players active. Professional tennis has seen the flowering of a number of black female players, e.g. Leslie Allen.

Yet, the charge by Ed Garvey, executive director of the National Football League Players Association, that the NFL itself is "a monument to racism," could just as easily be applied to professional sports generally.

Still, it is quite easy to see why this charge was leveled at the NFL. First of all, there are no black general managers or head coaches. A recent study conducted by sociologist Jomils Braddock II of Johns Hopkins University shows that flagrant institutionalized racism continues to exist against former players who are black, in terms of coaching jobs.

The study, covering the twenty years of 1960 through 1979 showed that 329 former NFL players had been promoted to the coaching ranks -- 261 assistants and 68 head coaches. Of that total of 329, only 20 were black, all in assistant jobs.

Garvey has noted that although there has been a growth in the number of assistant coaching jobs over the last seven years, the proportion of black assistants had not grown. The study pointed out that one of every twenty retired white NFL players can look forward to becoming an assistant coach, while the figure for blacks was one in 100.

Prof. Braddock projected that in the two decade period studied, ten blacks

could have expected head coaching positions and 92 could have expected assistant jobs. Yet, there were no head coaching jobs and a meager twenty assistants.

What is the NFL hierarchy saying? Do they maintain that blacks are good enough to play the game and not good enough to coach it? Have they swallowed their TV announcers' racist rhetoric that blacks get by on "natural talent" while whites get by on "intelligence" and "hard work," thereby the latter are more "qualified" to coach and instruct?

In 1979 there were only ten blacks among the 227 assistant coaches. At that juncture the Affirmative Action Coordinating Center and the South Christian Leadership Conference started raising a ruckus about this abominable situation and threatened boycotts and other militant action. All of a sudden, the NFL "got religion" and the number of black assistants has doubled since then.

Even within the ranks of the players, the sore of racism continues to fester. Quarterbacks are by far the highest paid performers in the league (\$131,206 yearly average salary) and not surprisingly one finds only a few blacks — e.g., Doug Williams of Tampa Bay and Vince Evary of Chicago — at this position.

In the 1981 NFL draft, 25 of the 28 first round picks were black athletes. Many of these future stars were defensive backs, defensive linemen and running backs. Not surprisingly, the greatest proportion of blacks are found at these positions that carry some of the lowest average salaries — in the case of defensive backs, almost half the average salary of quarterbacks.

In San Jose, California, city employees went on strike over the issue of "comparable worth" — jobs considered "women's work," — e.g. secretaries were paid less than mechanics, jobs considered "men's work." Perhaps the NFL players should consider striking over the disparity in pay between "black positions", e.g. defensive back, and "white" positions, e.g. quarterback.

This question of "comparable worth" is not an idle inquiry. Running backs are the heart of any football team and of the top forty backs with the best statistics, only four were white. Yet running backs' salaries, too, fall way below those of quarterbacks. Of course, racism in the NFL is nothing new. Some teams, most notably the misnamed Washington Redskins, resisted the hiring of black players until the tumultuous 1960's.

But this is not all. Just as black children in public schools are suspended and expelled disproportionately, an astounding 85% of all fines in the NFL are levied against black players. White club owners prefer shuffling "Uncle Tom" players and when they're confronted with forceful, outspoken and articulate blacks, they fine them inordinately and try to pin bad reputations on them.

Though it may be hard to believe, the record of pro basketball in hiring blacks for high positions may be worse. Yes, over 70% of the players are black. Yes, the top twelve scorers in the league are black. Yes, the top ten assist men were black. And yes, both New York and

Golden State had all black squads.

But with this multitude of black talent, only three of the 23 coaches were black and a mere seven of the 35 assistants. Simon Gouridine, black deputy commissioner of the NBA is resigning precisely because he knew that despite his competence and brilliant record of accomplishment, there was no way he could ascend higher up the ladder.

K.C. Jones, now an assistant coach with the Boston Celtics, holds the third highest winning percentage of any coach in NBA history right behind Red Auerbach and Billy Cunningham. His Bullets never missed the playoffs. But this black defensive wizard has not been offered a head coaching post in years. But the man he replaced at Washington in 1973, the lackadaisical loser Gene Shue, has since had three head jobs. As they say, Shue has the right connections and the "right" complexion.

Price Cobbs and Mike Brown of Pacific Management Systems, a San Francisco consulting firm, has found striking parallels between the death of black head coaches and the tiny number of blacks who hold high-level management positions in corporations. For example, the Urban League has documented a mere 117 blacks among the top 13,000 corporate managers, while the *Wall Street Journal* found only three blacks among the top 1,300 senior executives.

Sports are a reflection of society. Though because opportunities for blacks have been closed off in so many other areas, we have been forced into the entertainment and sports world. Yet, just as the cry for affirmative action has been heard on the campuses and in factories, that same cry must be heard in the boardrooms of these sports conglomerates, many of which would fold tomorrow if it weren't for the black athlete and the black fan. And if this cry is not answered, the tried and trusted weapon of boycott must be dusted off again and brought into the game.

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*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 ocean's majestic waves without the awful roar of its waters. —Frederick Douglass*