

# Winston-Salem Chronicle

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## The Little Plan

"If something ain't broke," the plain-folks maxim declares, "don't fix it."

If, on the other hand, something is very broken, and inherently unfair to boot, it ought to be repaired, and with all due speed and resolve.

A three-judge panel has determined that the multi-member 39th House District is "broken" because it makes it difficult for black candidates to be elected to the North Carolina House of Representatives, and in so doing violates the Voting Rights Act.

A better alternative would be several single-member districts that, like the ward system designed to elect our aldermen, gives black citizens a much better alternative for equitable representation than one district that includes most of Forsyth County and dilutes black voter strength significantly.

True, two black state House representatives, C.B. Hauser and Annie Brown Kennedy, were elected under the old system. But that was clearly the exception and not the rule, as black candidates' earlier losses in the same races show.

Further, opponents of single-member districts argue that the population of Forsyth County can only support one predominantly black single-member district. Though it would all but guarantee one black man or woman in the state House, they say, it would limit black representation in the Forsyth County delegation to that one person, since the remaining districts would be overwhelmingly white -- and white people have shown a tendency historically not to vote for black people in droves.

Not true.

North Ward Alderman Larry Little has huddled with some of his colleagues and devised what he says is a means to carve two majority-black districts out of the county.

If Little has done all of his homework, and we believe he has, the plan could mean a major change in black political leverage in the county and, more importantly, would inject some old-fashioned fairmindedness into county politics.

Little presented his plan Tuesday night at a meeting of the Black Political Awareness League and received strong endorsements from his fellow black aldermen as well as the BPAL membership, and County Commissioner Mazie Woodruff.

The proof of the pudding, however, is the rest of the Forsyth County House delegation, which would introduce it to the House for consideration, if it decides it wants to.

The other crucial element is public support for the plan, which no doubt would have a telling effect on how the delegation behaves.

If an alternative plan is not adopted by March 16, the court will draw its own plan, though we would prefer for the process not to go that far. A plan conceived by the people in a district for the people in that district would be preferable.

So we urge you to study what we'll call henceforth The Little Plan, ask questions about it and be heard. After all, it's your future that's at stake more than the futures of a handful of politicians.

Moreover, we like what we've seen of the plan and we think you will, too. But that's for you to decide.

## Crosswinds

### Blacks and Jews

From The Philadelphia Tribune.

It was Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who once said that wherever there was discrimination and oppression against Jews, he would be compelled to join his Jewish brothers and sisters in raising his voice in protest, whether or not they sought his help.

King made the same point about religious discrimination in referring to his support for Catholics. Nevertheless, Dr. King's support for the Jewish liberation cause was intertwined with the civil and human rights movement of African-Americans.

Thus, King's repeated reference to "our Jewish friends" was no accident. In fact, history will clearly show that Jewish support, physically, mentally, financially and otherwise, went to the very core of the civil rights movement.

Whether it was because the enemy Ku Klux Klan and Nazis repeatedly bunched Jews and blacks together or that our historical ordeals seemed parallel in our plight for survival and freedom, Jews and blacks stuck together. There was a bond which seemed everlasting as the civil rights movement reached its pinnacle.

But what has happened to change all of this is a serious question facing both the Jewish and African-American communities locally, nationally and internationally. The two communities in Philadelphia have gone adrift and there is no denying the fact.

Since the great days of the civil rights movement, things have certainly changed considerably. Both communities apparently have separate agendas and both communities have gone about in separate directions seeking to attain their full potentials.

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## Black lawyers and black progress

By CLIFTON GRAVES  
Chronicle Columnist

*We should organize the country over. Raise funds and employ counsel. Then, if an individual is denied some right or privilege, let the race make his wrong their cause and test the cause in law.*

E.J. Waning,  
Baltimore's first black attorney

*The black lawyer should be a social engineer.*

Charles Houston,  
Legal Pioneer

Charles H. Houston, William Henry Hastie, James A. Nabrit Jr., Leon Ransom, Oliver Hill, Spottswood Robinson, Wiley Brenton, Joseph Waddy, Hope Stevens, A. Leon Higginbotham, William Bryant, George Crockett, Bruce Wright, Harry Toussaint-Alexander, Constance Baker Motley, Julius L. Chambers, Jasper A. (Jack) Atkins and Thurgood Marshall -- with the exception of the latter, not a household name among them.

Yet, those knowledgeable of the determined and protracted struggle of African-Americans to achieve equality and to make this nation live up to the true meaning of its creed by challenging the legal underpinnings of racism and injustice, are quite familiar with the efforts of black bar-risters.

It was the staunch belief of black lawyers that the battle for equal justice under the law must be waged on several fronts. Until 1929, one "front" -- the sociopolitical protest front -- had been fairly well-covered. Men and women such as Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, W.E.B. Du Bois, Henry McNeil Turner, A. Phillip Randolph, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, Langston Hughes and Paul Robeson had consistently singed America's conscience, challenging the hypocrisy of this nation's ways.

Yet, despite the prodding, pleading, praying and protesting, racism and injustice remained firmly interwoven in the fabric of American life. This was underscored by the official sanctioning of the farcial doctrine of "separate but equal" enunciated by this nation's highest court in Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896), a pronouncement that opened the floodgates for white racists to overturn the minimal gains made during Reconstruction. That doctrine also prompted states (North Carolina included) to pass constitutional amendments establishing poll taxes, literacy tests and "grandfather clauses" in the attempt to disen-



Clifton Graves

franchise blacks, and led to the legal establishment of apartheid, USA-style, in all aspects of American life.

Thus, in 1929, when Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, tapped the young, brilliant Harvard-trained lawyer named Charles Hamilton to head the university's law school, the legal status of the African American was relatively unchanged from what it had been in 1829. The legal trappings of slavery had been ostensibly removed (by the 13th and 14th Amendments), but the day-to-day condition of the black man -- legally, socially, economically and politically -- was still that of a captive in his own land.

Charlie Houston set out to alter this situation. And with his second cousin, Bill Hastie, along with colleagues and former students such as Atkins, Nabrit, Hill, Robinson and Marshall, developed a cadre of black legal talent and expertise that in time would literally and legally destroy de-jure segregation in America, and would later inspire an entire generation of black and white attorneys to no longer view the law as the protector of an antiquated status quo, but as the defender of basic human rights, as well as the catalyst for social change.

While that view has been dimmed somewhat in recent years, entities such as the National Conference on Black Lawyers, the Legal Defense Fund, the National Bar Association, the North Carolina Association of

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## The problem with Walter Mondale

By DR. MANNING MARABLE  
Guest Columnist

Since Jesse Jackson has announced his candidacy for the presidency, a number of black elected officials and civil rights leaders have continued to back former Vice President Walter Mondale.

They insist that our principal goal should be the defeat of Ronald Reagan next November, and that Mondale has the best chance of defeating the incumbent president. Any black candidate is simply a "spoiler" who claims to be the one we take apart some of these flawed and faulty assumptions about national politics.

First, our immediate political goal must not be simply the defeat of Ronald Reagan, but the entire reactionary philosophy of Reaganism -- the elimination of public programs in health care, jobs, public housing and welfare; the buildup of both conventional and nuclear weapons; an expansionist and imperialist foreign policy abroad; and the repudiation of the very concept of social justice for blacks, Hispanics, women, gays and lesbians, the elderly, poor people and the disabled.

Politically, this requires that the black community target all of Reagan's supporters for defeat in the

November 1984 election. It also demands support for progressive representatives of civil rights interests who challenge moderates inside the Democratic Party primaries this coming spring and summer.

I am much more optimistic about our ability to defeat congressional Reaganites than I am about the removal of the incumbent president. As things now stand, either Walter Mondale, John Glenn or Reagan will

is organized labor, big city Democratic Party organizations and the most moderate elements of national minority leadership. His speeches and policy statements clearly indicate that he is not a progressive or true liberal, but a moderate in the Cold War Liberal tradition.

Black leaders who have now committed themselves to Mondale's campaign insist he is the "most liberal" candidate who has any hope of derail-

*"What's wrong with Mondale? First, Mondale's strategy is not new. We are witnessing a revival of Hubert Humphrey's 1968 and 1972 presidential campaigns."*

be inaugurated in January 1985, and Reagan is the clear favorite.

Among the white males currently seeking the Democratic Party's nomination, only Alan Cranston and George McGovern could be identified as "progressives." But neither have substantial links with black, Latino or labor groups, and the tardy entrance of McGovern has all but scotched any "dark horse" possibilities for the California liberal.

What's wrong with Mondale? First, Mondale's strategy is not new: We are witnessing a revival of Hubert H. Humphrey's 1968 and 1972 presidential campaigns.

Mondale's crucial base of support

ing Reagan. This may be true: If Mondale wins the nomination, a larger number of minorities, labor and other liberal constituents will turn out than if Glenn is the nominee.

But this obscures the more fundamental issues -- which are how can we build a stronger civil rights movement, and how can we reverse the advances of Reaganite conservatism? Moreover, how can we seriously expand the electorate in 1984 to include millions of young people, blacks, Hispanics, women and poor people? Working for Mondale in the Democratic primary does not do this, and, in fact, it virtually guarantees

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IS A CIVILIZING FORCE



OH?

IT CLEARLY REMOVES THE CRIMINAL FROM THE COLLECTIVE...



AND THEREBY REAFFIRMS OUR SOCIAL CONTRACT



COULD YOU BE MORE SPECIFIC?

OFF WITH THEIR HEADS!!



## Chronicle Letter

### Let's get behind Jackson

To The Editor:

I feel that it is the time for black to come together as one. The Rev. Jesse Jackson has taken a great stand by making his proposed bid for president of the United States. Instead of saying it isn't his time or he isn't financially capable, we should back him with prayer and moral support.

If we take time to remember about another powerful black leader, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., it took unity and strength for him to accomplish the goals that he set out to achieve. (This is not to compare Jackson to King).

Another outstanding group of individuals were our ancestors. They united because they had only each other. They managed to stay together during years of bondage. Our ancestors withstood the hard work and the abusive manner in which they were treated. Jackson's name should be included on this list.

The black community makes a difference in the political field. Our 18 million eligible voters is enough power to make or break presidents. This effort should not be turned into a racist campaign. We can support Jackson in every effort that he undertakes. He needs support from his people.

Jackson went to Syria and negotiated with the Syrians and secured the release of Lt. Robert Goodman. If he didn't have people supporting him, his mission would have ended in failure.

Another effort that Rev. Jackson has proposed is his platform consisting of six main objectives: enforcement of voting rights act, voter registration, the equal rights amendment, affirmative action, U.S. policy in El Salvador, and blacks in the Democratic Party.

If we support Rev. Jackson, we will give him that valuable element of confidence.

Bishop Lawrence S. Tate  
New Faith Chapel Holiness  
Church Inc.  
Winston-Salem

## Support Schools

To The Editor:

I enjoyed the article "Black Alumni Giving: It's Improving Slowly But Still Below Par" appearing in one of the December issues.

As past alumni president of the Winston-Salem State University Alumni Association, I have given many hours of my time and energy. It was an honor to serve my alma mater. The loyalty that we have is undecipherable.

Many of our graduates were trained as teachers and nurses. It was not until the late 1970s that the business administration program was added. Therefore, educational and medical institutions do not match annual giving donations such as business and corporations.

Alumni have a tendency to designate their funds for their area of interest. Personally, if athletes who are alumni would participate with their time, talents and gifts, maybe Coach "Bighouse" Gaines could support four students (in-state or out-of-state).

Wake Forest, A&T, North Carolina Central, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill alumni who have benefited from athletic scholarships have pride. Sad to say, my fellow alumni in this category have mixed feelings about loyalty. I know the problem but everything can't be put on paper.

I agree with Walter Brown at Shaw University, whom I had the privilege to work with on the Winston-Salem State University Foundation Board. He said, "Peo-

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