

### Affirmative Action: Has Lynching Returned — And Why?

'Twas not so long that lynching — brutal, open murder — was as common in the black community as black-eyed peas. Some might recall the stringing up of Charles Mack Parker in Missouri in the late 1950's or Emmett Till in Mississippi in the mid-1950's. These two persons and scores of others were killed on the slightest of pretexts. In Till's case, the ostensible reason was whistling at a white woman.

The more things change, the more they remain the same. So goes the old Gallic expression, so fitting for the Black Condition. Blacks are no longer told they're not being hired because of their color or nationality, but because they're "unqualified."

And blacks are no longer found swaying from the nearest tree, eyes bulging and neck snapped as blood thirsty racists salivate.

As the recent events in Buffalo demonstrate, blacks are killed under the cover of darkness by cowering gunmen. In the past few weeks, six black men have been found slain in this aging, upstate New York industrial town. Four were felled by shots fired from the same .22 caliber gun. Two weeks ago, two black cab drivers were found with their hearts cut out.

In Atlanta, eight black children have been found murdered and six others have "disappeared" in the past fifteen months. Just recently a mysterious explosion hit a black day-care nursery in Atlanta. The result? Four children and one adult dead.

In Boston, New Orleans and numerous other towns there have been variations on this grisly theme. In Boston, fourteen-year-old black youth Levi Hart suffered a fractured skull, then was shot dead by a police officer. Though a four-day inquest concluded there was "ample cause" to believe Hart died as a result of the policeman's "unlawful" conduct, a federal grand jury decided not to indict. In New Orleans, Lawrence Louis, Jr., was shot dead by police officers after being beaten steadily for five minutes; this brutal incident touched off several days of protest and rioting in the Desire Housing Project where the shooting took place.

These killings come against the backdrop of an occurrence little noted but terribly important. And that is the discovery of Ku Klux Klan infiltration of police departments.

Unfortunately, this nation-wide pattern will probably get worse before it becomes better and the question is — why? Why can blacks be struck down like flies with no perpetrators apprehended, let alone convicted? Why can Vernon Jordan be plugged in the back in Indiana, barely escaping death, with no assailant captured?

The question is especially appropriate to ask around election time, as the answer is so bound up with politics.

The fact is that the political game has changed since the halcyon days of the civil rights movement but like generals who are always fighting the last war, many of our organizations have not grasped this crucial point.

Those forces who helped us fight the Klan in the 1960's are now vehemently

defending their right to march and organize on the patently spurious ground that this activity is protected by the First Amendment.

Those forces who supported the desegregation of lunch counters and buses now shriek "reverse discrimination" and bloody murder when affirmative action pacts call for the hiring of blacks to work behind the counter or behind the wheel.

Those forces who may have supported the coming to independence of Kenya, Nigeria, etc., and opposed colonialism, now oppose divestment by U.S. corporations to bring that last colonial outpost — South Africa — to its knees.

The growing strength of the anti-black "New Right" — which is spearheading this offensive — is clear. Just recently, the United States Commission on Civil Rights pointed with alarm to eight restrictive amendments attached to money bill spending in Congress that would virtually cripple civil rights enforcement by the Federal Government. These amendments, already approved in the House, would prevent the Education and Justice Departments from doing anything to require school busing; prevent federal spending on programs that use numerical goals for hiring minorities and women; prevent the Internal Revenue Service from revoking the tax-exempt status of private schools that discriminate against minorities.

Those who were once "allies" have now become antagonists and, correspondingly, our political battle plan should shift. Our antagonists are to be found in the Democratic and Republican parties — along with their corporate supporters who foot the bills — and include not only an Eastland of Mississippi or a Tower of Texas, but a Moynihan of New York.

Some of our leaders, like Congressional Black Caucus members Parren Mitchell, John Conyers and Ronald V. Dellums recognize that a new political situation is at hand and have been inching toward William Wimpisinger of the one million strong International Association of Machinists, who has been calling steadily for the building of a new political party.

It is to be hoped that this courageous trio will not face the fate of W.E.B. DuBois and Paul Robeson. Though lauded now — conveniently so, since they're both dead — these two stalwarts were attacked steadily by certain civil rights leaders and organizations when they boldly advocated a political shift to the left during the 1950's to meet the strength of the right. They recognized that such a shift would aid "on-the-fence" liberals and help to keep them from moving right. Unfortunately, Robeson and DuBois were not heeded and some of the same issues they faced — a growing right-wing, attacks on black rights, etc. — confront us starkly today.

Today, if this new wave of lynching is not to grow into a tidal wave, it will be necessary to heed the admonitions of Dellums, Conyers, Mitchers, et al., and strike out in a new political direction. The political terrain has shifted and our black generals should not fight as if they were fighting the last war.

*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

### To Be Equal

## The Rise of the Far Right

By Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

It is no longer possible to neglect the rise of right-wing extremism and the threat it poses to democracy. The phenomenon is world-wide, and America is not exempt from it.

In Europe, right-wing terrorism seems to be supplanting left-wing terrorism as the immediate threat. No longer do we hear much about the Red Guards in Italy or German terrorist gangs.

Instead, we now read of neo-fascist groups emerging from the woodwork; of bombings in Bologna and Munich that killed dozens, and of murderous attacks on Jewish communities, including the bombing of a Paris synagogue.

Here at home, recent weeks have seen widespread attacks on black people and the activities of a revived Ku Klux Klan. New accounts from places as far apart geographically and culturally as Rhode Island, Alabama, Utah and Buffalo document extremist outrages directed at black citizens.

One Klan group proudly announces it has "special forces" in combat training for a race war. Other Klan contingents are marching through the same streets from which they were driven years ago by communities that would no longer stand for their brand of racism.

But it would be too easy to focus exclusively on the still-small numbers of "crazies" that feed on media publicity

and perform terrorist acts.

More serious is the spread of a national mood that grants respectability to movements that once would have been laughed off the national stage. Extremism doesn't exist in a vacuum; it needs a climate that sustains it. It has that climate in the mood of alienation and disillusionment that leads to what I call the politics of bitterness.

One reflection of that climate is the growth of politicized religion — a heady mixture of fundamentalist gospel with extreme right-wing ideology. Such groups convert political issues into moral absolutes. Honest disagreement over real issues becomes a sin, and tolerance for minorities an evil.

People of strong religious convictions should, like others, participate in politics. That's far from the issue. The issue is whether such groups should be allowed to impose their version of Christianity on others; whether they should convert negotiable political differences into moral confrontations, and whether their goal of "Christianizing" government and politics should be allowed to prevail.

It seems to me we have enough problems in America without adding such a dangerous religious-political mix. The true message of Christianity is brotherly love and compassion, not the hate and hard-heartedness of our home-grown

ayatollahs.

The troubled waters in which our extremist fish swim are fed by the economic insecurity of years of inflation and recessions. When the economy is growing, people are inclined to be more tolerant and generous. But when hard times come, it's every man for himself.

What has happened, almost unnoticed in the rush of single events like Proposition 13 and resistance to desegregation is a pattern of selfishness and withdrawal from common efforts to peacefully deal with common problems.

We must not exaggerate this pattern — it is still in its early stages and Klan bombers and intolerant groups are still in the minority. But we also must not exaggerate the ultimate danger of a pattern that threatens to move America further from its traditional freedoms and from the goal of equality.

We must recognize the link between extremist acts and the troubled climate that fosters them. That means breaking the boom and bust economic cycle with sustained growth and jobs for all. And it means rededicating ourselves to the principles of equality and social justice.

In such a setting, racism could no longer be fashionable and the intolerant fringe would be denied the respectability they now enjoy in some places. It's up to leadership — national and local, public and private — to address this issue now, before it is too late.

### Spectacles: A Closer Look

## The Communist Lie

By Ada M. Fisher

For those who have critically read of the recent unrest in Poland, which resulted in a workers' strike, the communist lie is apparent. Communism has done no more for the common man or worker's social system than any other system and black Americans ought not be deceived by those telling us otherwise. If anything, Communism represents two groups — a small elite or rulers and a big pool of workers for the state. These workers unknowingly help support rulers in a style most of them will never experience. In turn is demanded a conformity which most of us would find intolerable and which (from all reports) seems to suppress individual freedoms including freedom of worship and the right of dissent.

The communist lie is apparent by Russia's dilemma on which position to take in the

matter. If the Russians invade Poland they did in Afghanistan, few Communist Block Nations can be kept in the fold, for the ultimate colonial imperialistic goals of their leaders will be apparent. If the new Polish government acquiesces too much to worker demands, the nature of the Communist system will still be undermined for it means the party has not lived up to its founding principles for worker security, etc.

Russian defectors, though critical of the American way, still have a propensity for our shores. No where would their criticism be allowed or disseminated as broadly in their own communist country. And, no where would their books pay them as well.

The illusion of freedom which Communism has for blacks is deceiving. The in-

ner circle ruling party of communism does not have room for black expression and I don't care what any one says, it cannot represent the best interests of black people. Angela Davis, and the Communist Worker's Party are vocal advocates of the communist way. If they truly feel that the communist system is so great, why don't they go live in a communist nation?

Black people wake up! Do not be lulled in the communist lie. Do not be deceived by promises of freedom which require that we sacrifice our individual liberties. No matter how small our numbers may be, in a representative government our chances for expressing our needs are theoretically better than in those systems which act in the interest of the group without consideration of its parts.

## Corporate Greed and Corporate Responsibility

By Norman Hill

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A recent issue of *Business Week* carried an account of how a number of corporations, Gulf Oil, Tenneco, and Standard Oil of Indiana among them, are seeking to exclude unions from future government-sponsored programs to create synthetic fuels that would replace oil. One industry executive, John M. Hopkins, of Union Oil of California, is quoted in the article as saying, "No owner has any desire to use union labor if he doesn't have to."

There is no small irony in this turn of events, particularly because organized labor — in the form of the AFL-CIO — lobbied hard for the synfuel program and was praised by big business for its constructive role in passing the necessary legislation for the research and development project.

Now, in an abrupt about face, corporate America is seeking to ditch its partners from labor in a bid to reap ever-larger profits.

It is clear that our economy is going through a critical period. And it is equally true that this period will be one in which all Americans will have to make sacrifices while our economy reindustrializes and modernizes its industrial base. Business leaders are quick to comment about the need for working people to make these sacrifices in the form of smaller wage increases. However, no business leader is willing to assert that business must also sacrifice in the form of smaller profits if we are to solve our nation's economic problems.

If business is unwilling to play a responsible role in partnership with labor and government to equitably distribute economic burdens in this time of reindustrialization, then it cannot expect the labor movement

and working Americans to be willing to cooperate.

Corporations, particularly those in the energy field, have been reaping exorbitant profits at the expense of the working people of this country and have contributed significantly to the inflation in which we find ourselves. The greed exhibited by Tenneco, Gulf, and Standard Oil of Indiana in their attempts to exclude the Plumbers, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the Mine Workers from the synfuel project and thus create a union-free environment must be condemned not only by working people, government officials, and political leaders, but also by responsible corporate leaders who do not wish to see a return to a period of heightened "class warfare."

In a time in which business and labor should not be at each other's throat, but should be shaping policy to move our nation's industrial base forward, it is the responsibility of government to play an important role in balancing interests. It is likewise important that the government be perceived as impartial and not as the ally or tool of big business.

Equally crucial is the need for corporations to be more candid in making public the true state of their finances. So long as these finances are shrouded in corporate secrecy, claims that business is suffering will be greeted with skepticism by all workers.

The tasks that lie ahead in our country's effort to modernize industry and to make it more competitive world-wide will require big business to engage in confidence building. Efforts to exclude organized labor and therefore to deny working people their

due is an example of untrammelled corporate greed and can hardly stir confidence. Clearly the conduct of Tenneco, Gulf, and Standard Oil of Indiana is hardly in the national interest.

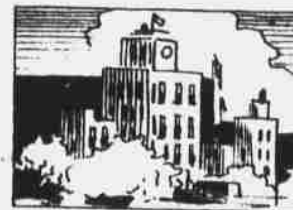
## NEWS Of Education

### Progress

While college costs are going up, in many areas public support for education is going down; nevertheless, there are some encouraging signs of progress for minorities.

Concerned individuals at one large insurance company are making a commitment to minorities a top item, not just on the corporate agenda, but on their personal agendas as well. This company's Minority College Liaison Program helps selected colleges in terms of management assistance, curriculum development and job opportunities for graduates.

Beyond a generous corporate contributions program, the Equitable Life Assurance Society is sharing expertise with minority colleges and universities. What is most significant, perhaps, is that management views the program as a two-way street, providing the company with the opportunity "to gain a better understanding of the concerns of the minority communities," and as a means of "recruiting minorities for management and professional positions."



A leading American company is sharing its resources with minority schools.

At one university, the liaison officer established an executive-in-residence program: managers teach courses in personnel, computer science, management, real estate and finance. At others, data processing systems have been evaluated, help has been provided in planning a capital development campaign, personnel management policies and procedures have been reviewed and the income-producing possibilities of land holdings have been explored.

For some minority colleges, thanks to The Equitable's program, the ABCs are coming increasingly to mean, "American Businessmen Care!"

Theodore R. Speigner  
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Durham City Board of Education

### Letter To The Editor

I am requesting that you print in the forthcoming edition of *The Carolina Times* my refutation to a statement made by the *Panelists for the Fifth Youth Forum* in *The Carolina Times* for October 25, 1980. I shall appreciate it very much if you would give it the same prominence and space as allowed for remarks made by members of the *Fifth Youth Forum*. The statement which has no veracity whatever: "It was also recalled during the Forum that when the program (police liaison) was originally presented, it was accepted by then city schools superintendent, Dr. Ben Brooks, and the then city school board Chairman, Dr. T.R. Speigner." This statement is a fabrication of the truth. The minutes of the Durham City Board of Education will prove beyond a reasonable shadow of doubt that I fought the idea of

having a Police Safety Liaison Program in the City Schools. It was not necessary then, neither is such a program necessary for Black students in the Durham City School System.

It is an absolute fabrication to say, to write, or to imply through the news media, or any reputable source that the concept of the police liaison program was approved and accepted by me. The panelists for the *Fifth Youth Forum* owe me an apology and each of the three Black members on the city school board at that time, who had the moral courage and stamina to reject the concept of the Police Safety Liaison Program for the city schools, and defeated it.