

EDITORIALS & COMMENTS

Voting Protects You!

On Tuesday, June 29, Charlotte voters—at least those who are registered and will vote in the primary election as part of the democratic process—will determine who will govern allegedly to serve the people and protect your interest and ours.

The very fact that there will be an election should be enough to remind us to study the issues, become familiar with the candidates and vote. Unfortunately, that is not enough. We need to be reminded time after time of the importance of voting. We need to be reminded that it was North Carolina's Jesse Helms and John East who led a filibuster effort in the U.S. Senate last week to try and weaken or kill an extension of the Voting Rights Act. These conservative thinkers and their supporters would use voter apathy to justify their claim that the Voting Rights Act should have been allowed to expire in August 1982.

We make this observation because Tuesday's election, unfortunately like most primaries, has not created wide public interest. In that regard we need to be reminded that only nine percent of the city's Democrats went to the polls in the September 1981 primary, one of the lowest voter turn-outs in Charlotte's voting history.

The low-key nature of the candidates' campaigns, the lack of substantive issues raised by the candidates, or even your personal dislike for the candidates, are not excuses for failing to vote to help make the democratic process continue to work and to further assure free elections.

There simply is no reason for Americans to not vote. This is particularly true for black Americans considering the struggles they have had to have a right to vote. Nevertheless, blacks in Charlotte have historically exhibited voter apathy so that isn't anything new. What is or should be new is a renewed commitment to establish a pattern of voting in large numbers. Will we see you at the polls on Tuesday? The challenge is yours...be there!

Unemployment

A re-occurring theme in this column continues to be unemployment - especially black youth unemployment which currently is moving toward 50 percent. Furthermore, overall black unemployment stands at about 19 percent or twice that of the nation's general unemployment rate.

The question might be asked, how did we get to this state of affairs in our so-called free market economy. Answer: Once we get beyond the continuing

specter of racism in the job market and the assortment of other factors that keep many black Americans in a near permanent state of economic depression, we find the Reagan Administration and its consortium of neo-conservatives telling the nation that we should be willing to accept a two or three percent rise in the jobless rate in order to hold down the rate of inflation.

This experiment - more unemployment for less inflation - is reportedly working so well that the nation's jobless rate has passed nine percent. All of this sounds so neat, so theoretical, so abstract, and so statistical.

Jobless Rates

However, if you are old enough to remember the Depression or simply and knowledgeable enough to understand some conditions of the present you will know that there is a mounting human cost for playing the statistical game of inflation rates versus jobless rates. On the lighter side is the recent Johnson C. Smith University graduates who said, "Employment opportunities for blacks look pretty bleak. That's why I'm going back to school to further my education" (that someone can fortunately pay for).

On the darker side, some can recall the decade of the 1930's when, in the writing of historian David Shannon, "Unemployed and homeless men welcomed arrest for vagrancy and the warmth and food to be had in jail...A boy can steal (to eat). A girl can offer her body, but as likely as not she will find nobody in the market with desire and a dime."

"Or," as contemporary economist Caroline Bird notes, "the man who sat down on the curb and cried because he could not afford to repair the hole in the only pair of shoes that he could wear looking for work...These scars persist...Social statistics are much more accurate (today) than they were in the 1930's, so we now can calculate exactly what such feelings costs."

Using data compiled by sociologist Harvey Brenner, Ms. Bird adds, "A community that experiences a rise of one percent in the unemployment rate can expect to have five percent more suicides, three to four percent more hospitalization for mental illness, four to six percent more homicides, six to seven percent more admissions to prisons and an increase of two percent in the overall death rate." These came from the "different reactions to the shame of unemployment."

In still another human tragedy stemming from unemployment, a house in the city of Baltimore burned down recently killing 10 members of one family.

NEEDED NOW...UNITED COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

BLACK AMERICA ROLL UP YOUR SLEEVES



'BLACK FOLKS THEMSELVES ARE GOING TO HAVE TO WORK OUT MANY OF THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, INSTEAD OF LEAVING IT UP TO THE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND PROGRAMS.'

ROY WILKINS



Tony Brown's Comments

NAACP Memo Uncovers Real Hero

An internal 1961 NAACP memorandum obtained by this writer sheds new light on the NAACP's case against the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF).

Federal Judge Robert L. Carter, then the NAACP General Counsel, documented the historical relationship between these two groups: "Conceptually, the Fund was to operate as a part of the NAACP, and while a separate legal entity, it was to function as an NAACP subsidiary and instrumentality." This was in 1940.

Carter, a member of the inner circle of key lawyers who argued the successful Brown desegregation case, also advised: "The Fund has no national institution to preserve and strengthen. Outside the legal problems raised, objections could only rest upon fear that the personal prerogatives of some of its officials might be restricted."

"The harm to the NAACP could not have been seen or understood while the former Director-Counsel headed the Fund, simply because he symbolized the NAACP. From its inception the NAACP, like all organizations of its kind, has had to struggle with two polar concepts of its role—militancy and accommodation. At least, since the 1940s, the image of the NAACP as a militant and aggressive organization has been exemplified by its legal activities and in the person of Thurgood Marshall as 'Mr. Civil Rights'."

Many thought Robert Carter, black and a seasoned legal veteran, and not Jack Greenberg, should have been picked by Thur-

Third in a series

good Marshall to succeed him as head of the legal fund. Many still do.

Carter's 1961 memo as the NAACP's lawyer also explained: "What was done was authorized by the NAACP Board, but with little analysis or understanding of its consequences, as the past few years have demonstrated. The right of the Fund to continue to use the NAACP's name was approved, by inference at least, by the NAACP and by acquiescence since 1957."

"In effect, two separate legal arms came into being, both purporting to be the legal arm of the NAACP. While the Fund's legal department was no longer the legal department of the NAACP, it acted as such. It initiated legal activity in the NAACP's name and spoke for the NAACP."

In effect, Carter pointed out that the NAACP was assuming that the independence of the legal fund and the "divorcement of the NAACP's legal department was necessary to preserve the Fund's tax-exempt status."

The memo concluded: "As you can see, the law supports the view that the Fund may finance the NAACP's legal program, consistent with its own tax-exempt status. Under the circumstances, the NAACP should seek to require the Fund to do just that."

A brilliant lawyer, Carter advised 16 years ago what the NAACP has finally demanded of the fund. He proposed a "Re-establishment of an NAACP Legal Department. This is to be ac-

complished by a staff reorganization which merges the present NAACP and Fund legal staff into one entity. This department should have a head called Special, General or whatever Counsel. The department should be under the jurisdiction of the NAACP Board and Executive Secretary."

Of course, we know that Jack Greenberg's organization has turned down that merger offer. Judge Carter advised years ago, as the NAACP's General Counsel, that the NAACP was on solid legal grounds.

"The NAACP does have a legal basis to claim that the Fund never received final permission to use the initials. However, the Fund has been using the name without objection for 20 years and could make a showing that official permission was intended."

"The Fund has by its own activities, however, created between it and the NAACP an agency relationship. Its staff purports to speak for the NAACP and goes to the public for funds for the NAACP's legal program. Unless it is willing to do this in fact, we can successfully require it to make clear that the funds it raises are to carry out its own, not the NAACP's legal program."

We all owe Judge Carter an apology for not having taken his advice in 1961 -- and nipping the problem in the bud.

"Tony Brown's Journal," the television series, can be seen on public television Saturday, on Channel 42 at 8 p.m. It can also be seen on channel 58, Sunday, at 6:30 p.m. Consult listings.

WALK Your TALK



Rev. Perkins

Submitting To Black Leadership

Jesus was suggesting that those who are traditionally in dominant positions should trade places with those who are below them and become subject to them. His solution to the arrogance of expectation which James and John showed was a radical reversal of roles. This point of Jesus is not an isolated one; Matthew relates two parables just before his version of this incident, and both make the same point. "So the last will be first, and the first last" (Matt. 20:16). This strategy of radically reversing roles to combat sinfulness is characteristic of all Jesus' ministry. It is central to the very incarnation; without becoming despised, without radically reversing his role from God to man, he could not have supplied the ultimate answer to man's sinfulness. His Sermon on the Mount in Matthew and his Sermon on the Plain in Luke proclaimed the same radical reversal of roles: the traditionally weak and oppressed would trade places with the religious establishment as objects of God's favor. The washing of the apostles' feet was just such a reversal. Jesus was demonstrating to his followers their misunderstanding of leadership.

Let us consider the Biblical alternative of radical role reversal: whites abandoning their positions of authority over blacks and submitting to black authority. To parallel Jesus' strategy, nothing less is called for.

That means more than providing for black leadership. "Indigenous development" among black peoples has been an encouraging new direction in Christian mission. Allowing blacks to determine their own standards and results through local leadership has combatted some of the damage done to blacks by a history of oppression. But what of the oppressor? "Indigenous development" does nothing to treat the damage done to whites by that history. For all of its value in rebuilding an oppressed people and their economy, indigenous development neatly side-steps the real problem of white racism and the damage it has done to white people.

Not only must we permit black leadership; we must submit to black leadership. That is the radical reversal of roles which can be effective in identifying and eradicating contemporary racism.

White submission to black leadership will do more than deal with that arrogance which is so deep within us. Submission to black leadership will also reveal that arrogance which we do not believe is there. Unless we submit ourselves with abandon to black authority in some significant arena of our lives we will not fully understand our hidden prejudice: hedging in response to a request from a black authority: the reflex action of mistrust when a directive comes down: the quaking of subtle rebellion when a correction is made. These reactions which so clearly reveal our surprising, hidden arrogance will plague whites who submit to black authority.

Through projects of indigenous development we have submitted our money and sometimes our skills to black leadership. Now we must move beyond indigenous development and submit our own selves, to reveal and combat that sin which is arrogance which is racism which deep down deceives us by telling us that a position of authority is our byright.

From Capitol Hill

Auctioneering Promotion Of Welfare Of The People

Alfreda L. Madison Special To The Post Unemployment soars daily. The latest figures show overall adult employment is 9.5 percent, youth 23.1 percent, white adult 8.5 percent, white youth 20.3 percent and black adult 18.7 percent, black youth 49.8 percent. The gap is widening monthly between the black and white unemployment. Politicians who want to show that racism plays no part in these great disparities always talk with a sanctimonious sham about the hard core blacks not being job trained. Yet in all budget proposals, except the Congressional Black Caucus budget, funds for job training programs are cut.

The Senate passed budget cuts of \$93 billion from the domestic programs; the House Republican budget cut \$103 billion and the House Democratic budget cut Domestic programs by \$49 billion. So what do the members of Congress and the Reagan administration expect these so-called hard core youths to do? They certainly won't vanish. Are these elected officials showing



Alfreda L. Madison their concern for them by building more jails, giving police a freer hand and bringing back the death penalty? Yet, the President and Congress echo strongly that they are compassionate people. Why not shift their compassion from providing jails to using that same money in providing work training programs? Instead of giving law enforcement officials greater latitude in handling these youths which often result in police brutality, provide more recreational facilities? Since testimony has proved that death penalty is no deterrent to crime, ways should be provided that will give them hope.

All of these budget proposals consist, as Representative Ronald Dellums says, of auctioning, cuts in domestic programs which promote the general welfare of the middle, low and no-income people are sold to the bidder who comes with the biggest domestic cuts. The administration and Congress base their bids on findings of economists. The President got everything he wanted in his fiscal 1982 budget because economists proved to him that his supply-side economy would work. The result has been higher and higher unemployment, fewer young people being able to receive education, soaring health care, the elderly finding it almost impossible to exist and businesses going bankrupt. Andy Rooney's advice is not so ironical after all when he said, "put all economists in solitary confinement until they know what they're talking about."

Highly qualified blacks are also victims of the racial employment hatchet. It is ludicrous, for those who argue against

affirmative action are the best reasons why this nation needs some legal enforcement against racial discriminatory practices in employment.

An example of the Senate Capital Hill staff employment is as follows - the senator's name, the total number of staff members, and the number of blacks on staff:

- Adnor: 18, 0; Armstrong: 25, 1; Baucus: 25, 0; Biden: 15, 4; Boren: 17, 0; Bumpers: 21, 2; Burdick: 17, 0; Eagleton: 30, 4; Harry Byrd: 23, 0; Cannon: 20, 0; East: 30, 0; Chafee: 19, 1; Cochran: 18, 2; Dansforth: 30, 1; Dixon: 32, 1; Glenn: 32, 4; Andrews: 15, 0; Baker: 40, 1; Benton: 40, 7; Boschwitz: 27, 0; Bradley: 29, 5; Dominici: 20, 1; Durenberger: 29, 3; Exon: 14, 2; Warner: 23, 1; Helms: 30, 0; Long: 30, 5; Chiles: 22, 2; D'Amato: 55, 0; Hatch: 23, 1; Dodd: 23, 1; and Cohen: 30, 0.

This is a partial list of the Senator's hiring practices, which is just about typical. The total number of staff members in this group is 832 and only 48 of them are black. We are unable to

ascertain their status, but from general observations of office visits and attendance at committee hearings, professional positions held by these 48 blacks would only be a mere token.

There are 30 pages on the Senate side, two are black. Most Senators and the Reagan administration argue that the American people are only interested

in qualified personnel. It's very hard to get employment data from the White House; there are 20 on the White House press staff and no blacks, Mrs. Reagan has 15 on her staff and one black. If these elected officials feel these inequities are not based on racism, then they should analyze these conditions, seriously, and come up with a solution.

Hearing Set For Housing Plan

The Charlotte City Council will hold a public hearing on Monday, June 28, at 3 p.m. in the Council Chamber at City Hall to hear comments and suggestions on an amendment to the Charlotte Housing Assistance Plan.

The amendment proposes to increase the number of eligible areas or census tracts for the construction of housing for lower income citizens. A hearing is necessary prior to any final action by the City Council.

Residents from Community Development neighborhood strategy areas and agencies or other persons interested in the Housing Assistance Plan

are encouraged to attend. Persons wishing to speak should contact the Office of the City Clerk, 374-2247, by noon the day of the hearing. If possible, comments should also be placed in writing for consideration.

Persons not able to attend the hearing should send written responses to the Director, Community Development Department, Cameron-Brown Building, 301 South McDowell Street, Charlotte, N.C. 28204.



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