

# EDITORIALS

**'You're A Part Of The Solution, Or You're A Part Of The Problem'**

THE VIEWS OF THE WRITER'S ARE NOT ALWAYS THOSE OF THE PAPER'S

## The Last Black Congressman

This is the farewell speech to the U.S. Congress from Congressman George H. White in 1901. White was the last Negro to serve in the House until Oscar De Priest was elected from Illinois in 1928.

Continued From Last Week

"I am wholly at sea as to just what MR. OTEY had in view in advancing the thoughts contained in the above quotation, unless he wishes to extend the simile and apply the lion as a white man and the negro as a lamb. In that case we will gladly accept the comparison, for of all animals known in God's creation the lamb is the most inoffensive, and has been in all ages held up as a badge of innocence. But what will my good friend of Virginia do with Bible, for God says that He created all men of one flesh and blood? Again, we insist on having one race - the lion clothed with great strength, vicious, and with destructive propensities, while the other is weak, good natured, inoffensive, and useful - what will he do with all the heterogeneous intermediate animals, ranging all the way from the pure lion to the pure lamb, found on the plantations of every Southern State in the Union?"

I regard his borrowed thoughts, as he admits they are, as very inaptly applied. However, it has perhaps served the purpose for which he intended it - the attempt to show the inferiority of the one and the superiority of the other. I fear I am giving too much time in the consideration of these personal comments of members of Congress, but I trust I will be pardoned for making a passing reference to one more gentleman - MR. WILSON of South Carolina - who, in the early part of this month, made a speech some parts of which did great credit to him, showing, as it did, capacity for collating, arranging, and advancing thoughts of others and of making a pretty strong argument out of a very poor case.

If he had stopped there, while not agreeing with him, many of us would have been forced to admit that he had done well. But his purpose was incomplete until he dragged in the reconstruction days and held up to scorn and ridicule the few ignorant, gullible, and perhaps purchasable negroes who served in the State legislature of South Carolina over thirty years ago. Not a word did he say about the unscrupulous white men, in the main bummers who followed in the wake of the Federal Army and settled themselves in the Southern States, and preyed upon the ignorant and unskilled minds of the colored people, then hied away to their Northern homes for ease and comfort and the balance of their lives, or joined the Democratic party to obtain social recognition, and have greatly aided in depressing and further degrading those whom they had used as easy tools to accomplish a diabolical purpose.

These few ignorant men who chanced at that time to hold office are given as a reason why the black man should not be permitted to participate in the affairs of the Government which he is forced to pay taxes to support. He insists that they, the Southern whites, are the black man's best friend, and that they are taking him by the hand and trying to lift him up; that they are educating him. For all that he and all Southern people have done in this regard, I wish in behalf of the colored people of the South to extend our thanks. We are not ungrateful to friends, but feel that our toil has made our friends able to contribute the stinty pittance which we have received at their hands.

I read in a Democratic paper a few days ago, the Washington Times, an extract taken from a South Carolina paper, which was intended to exhibit the eagerness with which the negro is grasping every opportunity to educating himself. The clipping showed that the money for each white child in the State ranged from three to five times as much per capita as was given to each colored child. This is helping us some, but not to the extent that one would infer from the gentlemen's speech.

If the gentleman to whom I have referred will pardon me, I would like to advance the statement that the musty records of 1868, filed away in the archives of Southern capitols, as to what the negro was thirty-two years ago, is not a proper standard by which the negro living on the threshold of the twentieth century should be measured. Since that time we have reduced the illiteracy of the race at least 45 per cent. We have written and published nearly 500 books. We have nearly 300 newspapers, 3 of which are dailies. We have now in practice over 2,000 lawyers and a corresponding number of doctors. We have accumulated over \$12,000,000 worth of school property and about \$40,000,000 worth of church property. We have about 140,000 farms and homes, valued at in the neighborhood of \$750,000,000, and personal property valued at about \$170,000,000. We have raised about \$11,000,000 for educational purposes, and the property per capita for every colored man, woman, and child in the United States is estimated at \$75.

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## THE TRIBUNAL AID

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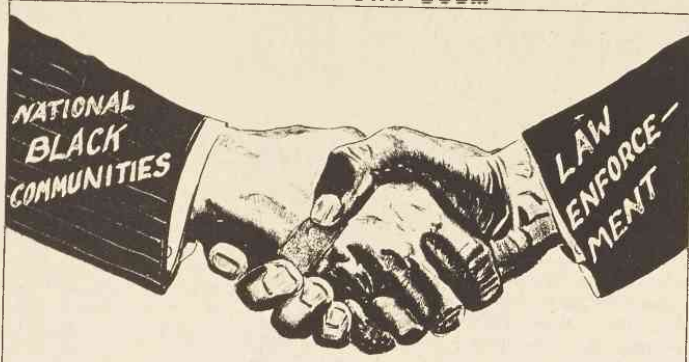
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## BLACKS MUST NOT BECOME 'JUST SPECTATORS' TO THEIR OWN DOOM



**"BLACKS WHO WANT TO FIGHT CRIME BY BLACKS AGAINST BLACKS MUST NOT BE INTIMIDATED."**

DR. CHARLES COBB  
DIRECTOR, COMMISSION  
FOR EQUAL JUSTICE



## TO BE EQUAL

by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Executive Director of the National Urban League

New York City's last-ditch struggle against bankruptcy got a lot of national attention a few months ago, culminating with a hard-line stand by the Administration that finally led to a three-year plan to get the City back on the road to solvency.

That plan didn't end New York's problems—it just was a step on the way toward correcting its fiscal emergency. In fact, the imposed cuts in City spending have worsened conditions for its poorer citizens and may, in the long run, prevent the City from regaining its economic viability.

One basic remaining problem on the fiscal scene is the dollar straitjacket the City has been placed in by its three-year plan that forces it to cut a deficit that took ten years to accumulate, and builds into the City's budget over \$2 billion just in interest charges.

Those are tough terms; private corporations and foreign countries have all been able to get easier terms than that. So the very terms of rescue impede full recovery and make the long-term outlook bleak.

With so much of its revenues going to creditors, the City has fewer dollars left for essential services. That means lay-offs of City workers.

Because the lay-offs have been on the seniority principle, black and minority workers have been the ones chopped from the payroll in disproportionate numbers. New York's Human Rights Commissioner, Eleanor Holmes Norton, reports that in the past year-and-a-half the City has lost half of its Spanish-surnamed workers, 40 percent of its black males and almost a third of its women employees.

So equal employment opportunities have been a big victim of the fiscal belt-tightening.

Another target of budget cuts is the City University, which has a free tuition policy and recently instituted a successful open admissions policy that has enabled more youngsters to get a college education.

Open admissions is one of those

problems popularly labelled as being for blacks while actually benefiting greater numbers of white ethnics who never before went to college in such numbers.

Now, both white and black students have their futures endangered since the City is trying to get the state to take over the colleges, and that means tuition payments beyond their means. Even if limited scholarship money becomes available, white middle class families that won't qualify for such aid will have less reason to stay in the City, leading to increased white migration to suburbia and greater segregation.

It's as if each step leads to a second one, and then a third, each with unfortunate results for the City and for its residents.

Attracting more job-producing businesses to the City is one goal of the City's planners and a good one. But several key officials are now talking about bulldozing slum areas to build industrial parks to attract factories.

When it is pointed out that it's cruel to uproot families in this manner and that the City has plenty of empty land zoned for industrial use, they say yes, but we need to give industry a symbolic gesture to show we want them. So the solution seems to be to kick the poorest and least able out of their homes and neighborhoods not for concrete results, but for "a symbolic gesture."

All of these real and impending hardships, including some that border on the cruel, are taking place in the name of fiscal austerity and lack of City tax revenue. But at the same time, City residents pay some \$7 billion in federal taxes earmarked for the Pentagon.

In other words, the City shuts down hospitals and firehouses for lack of money while it sends billions to Washington for redistribution to other parts of the country in military contracts.

It all adds up to an anti-city, anti-minority set of priorities imposed upon our largest city. Solution of the fiscal crisis was bought at the cost of increased misery for the poor and by undermining the City's future.

## N. C. Human Resources

RALEIGH--When Grady left a large western North Carolina training school last week and headed for the eastern part of the state, the 14-year-old had no idea he was making history.

Grady was not a runaway. His trip across the state had the full blessing of the state of North Carolina, including the governor, the General Assembly, the North Carolina Department of Human Resources, and particularly the Division of Youth Services--not to mention countless concerned private citizens who for years have been behind a national effort to reduce the number of children in state institutions.

Grady was leaving training school and 160 school mates for a wilderness camp. There, along with four counselors and 16 other boys who were not juvenile delinquents, he would work, play and live for an indefinite time.

He would clear land, help construct camp facilities, live in camper-built primitive cottages, plan and cook at least two meals a day over an open fire. He would

clear land, help construct camp facilities, live in camper-built primitive cottages, plan and cook at least two meals a day over an open fire. He would for the first time know simple successes, such as sawing a piece of wood, hammering a nail, clearing land and building bridges. But most of all he would learn to be responsible for his own survival.

It was a history-making move for the state of North Carolina. Grady and Tom were the first of an estimated 50 children who, in the next few months, will be transferred out of the training schools into smaller community type facilities.

According to North Carolina Division of Youth Services Director Ray Shurling, facilities such as the wilderness camp have certain advantages over training schools. "In the first place, camps, while not cheap, cost less than institutions. More important, for many young people the wilderness type environment is more conducive to the development of great self confidence, self esteem and encourages cooperation with others. In

that setting everyday necessities such as cooking meals and building a shelter get done only if there is both individual initiative and interdependence."

Grady, for instance, is an example of a child who had become institutionalized, or dependent upon the system. Only 14 years old, his involvement with the law had already consumed about half of his life.

Since 1970, when he was eight-years-old, he has been arrested for several charges of breaking and entering, larceny and shoplifting. He had been in training school a number of times. In an attempt to remain there, he consistently committed offenses just before his release time. Twice he was released and sent back home, but an afternoon of shoplifting would get him back into training school. Grady's mother is alcoholic and partially paralyzed. Grady remembers when he was eight that she murdered her husband in self-defense. His record at training school showed that he does well there...until it's time to go home.

At camp, Grady will learn how to work with others, to make decisions, and to take responsibility for his own survival.

According to Dr. Elmer Davidson, a psychologist with the Division of Youth Services, "One of the best things about sending a child to camp instead of training school is they don't get into a beat-the-system culture." At wilderness camp, they become successful at getting things accomplished, because there are so many things that must get done in order for them to sleep and eat, he said.

The trend away from training schools, the increasing number of commitments to smaller community type facilities, including camps and group homes, is expected to increase in the next few years as the North Carolina Division of Youth Services seeks out a new alternative to training school.

Contracts have already been signed with three North Carolina camps and a number of additional contracts with camps, group homes and other facilities will be signed in the next few months, Shurling said.

## Things You Should Know

Josiah Willard  
**GIBBS...**



A PROFESSOR AT YALE, & A THEO-

LOGIAN & LINGUIST, HE HELPED TRANS-

LATE THE STORY OF THE FAMOUS SLAVE

MUTINY ON THE SPANISH SHIP AMISTAD IN

JULY, 1839, WHEN JOSEPH CINQUE, THEIR LEADER, & ALL THE

OTHER MUTINEERS WERE TRIED IN THE U.S. SUPREME COURT,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS DEFENDED THEM WITH A BRILLIANT 8 1/2 HOUR

ARGUMENT, THEY WERE FREED ON MARCH 9, 1841!

CONTINENTAL FEATURES

## Livingstone College

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amplify those efforts, not only domestically, but internationally to achieve and to use all of the instruments of knowledge, science, technology, art and culture to enlarge--not to destroy--mankind. We have demonstrated this achievement in the fields of medicine, athletics and entertainment and we are approaching it in politics and in business; but there are miles yet to go in education and scholarship,

in employment, in management and ownership, and in the final resolution of the unconscionable American dissonance in the matter of basic human respect and trustworthiness. We know now that our nation is not in crisis as between competence and incompetence, or even as between education and lack of education, since one of our greatest recent national achievements has been to make the advantages of

education more broadly available across the spectrum of our American population than any other nation or society has ever achieved. Our crisis is as between the use of competence and education or right purposes and the use of those gifts for selfish, parochial and in too many instances hypocritical, corrupt, and wrong purposes. The already demonstrated hypocrisy among the educated and

the competent, and the corruption among the affluent and able, are the two most present threats to the survival of constitutionally protected liberty and justice in our society. Those threats are so persuasive as to invade the sanctuary of the private lives of the most honorable among us. That is what the loss of confidence in the integrity of our national leaders, of our educational leaders, and even to an extent of our

religious leaders has signalled to us. And that is why our first national priority must be to restore a climate worthy of confidence. There has been a marked increase of the revelations of corruption in local, state and federal government, business, social institutions and programs, and in law itself. Our courts have had as tedious a time dealing with the best educated, the most educated, the affluent and the highest

placed in responsibility among us as with those whom we customarily associate with poverty and criminality. This phenomenon has so pervaded the basic fabric of our society as to increase the inner tensions of almost all persons. It has even brought the greatest pressures upon the family institution. That in my judgment is why there is a sudden return to religion

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