Would they be welcome?

Gov. Robert D. Ray of Iowa is urging Iowans to open their hearts to 1,500 refugees from Indochina. The state is getting national attention for its refugee resettlement program which has been ongoing for over three years.

It was three years ago that 1,400 Indochinese refugees were resettled in Iowa, and one of those welcoming the soon - to - be Americans was Arlanda Williams.

Williams urged local supermarkets to donate food, found shelter for some of the families, and even ran a one - man taxi service. As he put it: "It's a case of the poor helping the poor."

So now, Gov. Ray has issued the plea to "help these unfortunate refugees who look to America as their only hope for a new life after having risked their lives to escape Communist rule."

The expected newcomers are Vietnamese "boat people," who have been very much in the news over the past few months.

But this time, there is a difference. When Gov. Ray says, "we have had almost no refugees on welfare, almost everyone has a regular job and over one - third now own their homes," it raises the question: "Whose jobs are they taking?"

Only 1.8 percent of the population of Iowa is nonwhite. The largest proportion of the poverty and unemployment is concentrated in the nonwhite group.

Williams says his change in attitude toward refugee program is centered around a discovery of his. According to Williams, many of the refugees resented the fact that a black group was offering help.

He continued: "Some of them are more prejudiced against blacks than the American white man."

There were loud denials once this statement became public. Kalonji Saadiq, a former Black Panther leader in Iowa, said he thought Williams wrong on the racial allegations.

"I think it may have nothing to do with race. It's just that when you take people away from their homeland and put them in a new environment, they're going to be clannish. Give them time . . ."

One white state official who once worked with the refugee program stated: "Those feelings exist." Many of the Indochinese regard whites as being No. 1, themselves as No. 2 and blacks as No. 3. When you want to get to the top, you don't lineup with the bottom."

Williams sums up perfectly the feeling of many black Iowans about the refugee situation when he says:

"But would this country extend the same privilege to 1,500 blacks if they were stuck on boats, trying to escape from Rhodesia, or Uganda, or Haiti? Would the governor of Iowa say: 'Send them to me?'"

Indeed — would he — or the governor of any state in America?

Sweat and sacrifice

All surveys indicate that the present Congress and that most state legislatures are more conservative than their recent predecessors.

One of the areas to suffer, as a result of such increased conservatism, is higher education and opportunities for the children of the masses to secure higher education.

There is already reduction in federal education grants and the guidelines for such grants are bound to become more stringent.

This new approach should be a challenge to those students and their families who benefit most from scholarship aid.

Most good students will usually find a way to obtain an education, somehow, somewhere. Being "good" does not necessarily mean being brilliant or being a genius. It means making most of whatever talents one has, working hard, using holidays and weekends for extra study, and putting first things first.

Being a "good" student also means attending to one's homework and reading, reading, reading. Television, as entertainment, will then become a reward for work well done. Television, as a learning tool, will be a blessing. There is a difference.

Most present - day grandfathers, and some fathers, who are graduates of some college or professional school, received no substantial scholarship aid.

They labored as they studied, in order to provide themselves three not - quite square meals each day and pay for books and tuition. Sometimes, they could only manage two meals per day.

Dr. Charles H. Wesley, noted historian, once said something like this: "I swept my way through Howard and waited my way through Harvard." Others worked summers in New England brickyards, were porters on steamboats or on railroads, or washed dishes and made beds in hotels and summer resorts where they could not have entered as guests.

These types did not only "work their way" through college and even medical school, they were among the high-ranking students, academically. Many students who toiled every night in the local post office—8 hours per night—and carried a full roster of studies were also "A" and "B" achievers.

As scholarship aid becomes scarcer, serious students, and those who will become serious, can counter attack—not only by blaming and griping, but by making the obtaining of an education their first priority, and by being willing even to sweat and sacrifice to obtain such an education.

Bakke critics right?

It appears it was a matter of sour grapes and sweet lemons after all this matter of the Supreme Court's Bakke decision which ruled in favor of a white man disqualified from admission to a medical school which reserved a quota of positions for blacks.

Immediately after the ruling, various black organizations nationwide, including the NAACP, sought to allay fears that the decision was the worst thing to happen to Afro-Americans since the Plessy-Ferguson decision which said we had no rights a white man was bound to respect.

Whether to prevent despair and reaction among the masses, or whether to salvage liberal support for those special admissions programs which already existed, many black leaders chose to point out that the court decision had also recognized (although somewhat by default) the concept of "affirmative action."

Well, now that the preliminary records are coming in, it appears that the critics of Bakke were correct, after all.

The court ruling has had a devastating effect on not only educational admissions and support programs for minorities, but also on nearly all job-training and affirmative action goals set by industry as well.

In fact, if the initial evidence holds true a few more months, it will be totally unnecessary for the now-publicized Weber court case to even reach the judges' chambers. (Weber is challenging voluntary affirmative action hiring programs by employers).

The NAACP (one of the organizations which first tried to minimize the negative effects of the Bakke decision) has now issued word admitting that the effect has been "more chilling" than anticipated.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director, conceded recently that both educators and employers have either eliminated or reduced the importance of programs designed to aid access of minorities (and women) to jobs and schools.

Everywhere, officials are "distorting the limited holding in Bakke to justify eliminating or cutting back on affirmative action and promotional programs," Hooks said.

The 1978 year-end report of the NAACP went on to call the Bakke case the most "notable defeat" of the year.

Such developments should sober those who are hailing (as one book title described it) "the declining significance of race."

The struggle for civil rights, contrary to popular ideas, has not concluded; in reality, it may have just begun.

Glimmer of hope

A job-bias lawsuit filed against the San Francisco Police Department by a group of black patrolmen offers one glimmer of hope against a foreboding horizon.

Under terms of a settlement, at least half of all vacancies in the future will go to minorities; and at least 300 more patrolmen will be hired, in addition.

And, advertisements must be placed in black and other minority newspapers to publicize openings.

All-in-all, this is not the largest department of a city to be affected by such an affirmative action plan. And it certainly is not an all-black issue (although black officers filed the suit) since Orientals and Latinos will benefit equally as much.

What then is its significance?

It is that this is the first such racial discrimination suit to be settled favorably and to include the setting of racial percentages as part of the remedy, since the infamous Bakke decision.

Since that Supreme Court decision, there has been a massive setback to affirmative action programs of all kinds (despite the court's insistence that such programs were not all invalid).

True enough, this single case in our favor in San Francisco does not alter the whole course of repercussions from the Bakke-case fallout.

But it does show that at least some justice-minded areas of the country are not negatively interpreting the Bakke precedent to the detriment of all minority goals.

Hopefully, others will take notice.

LETTERS TO THE AFRO:

A lesson to blacks from the Jews

McCOLL, S.C. — In his column Feb. 10 Mr. Roy Wilkins deplores the growth of Black Nationalism.

But in its defense, it is noteworthy to remember that history records many individuals, racial groups, and nations that grew great because they had a spirit of nationalism.

But there is no record of anyone becoming great because they did not. Nor should we be credulous enough to believe that we can just lose ourselves in the main-stream of American life and escape the prejudice and race hatred that is a part of it.

No, we are too "visible."

And if anyone thinks that it can be "Good-Willed or Good-Deeded away" ask the Jews.

They tried it for two thousand years. Two thousand years during which they made great contributions to an ungrateful world that took their contributions and continued to prosecute and oppress them.

But the Jews survived.

They were able to survive because they had something that our people badly need, pride and unity.

So why shouldn't we take a lesson from them?

Work hard. Be good citizens. Accumulate wealth. Be active politically.

But above all, stand together.

THOMAS C. McNEIL

'Good work'

RICHMOND — When you tell both sides of the story, that's news.

When you tell but one side of a story, that's propaganda.

Three cheers for the AFRO for publishing both sides of the African story, "Moscow Defends Role In African Liberation Fight."

Keep up the good work, maybe, but maybe, some of the white daily newspapers will learn how to report the news, instead of printing the avalanche of propaganda they are so accustomed to.

DONALD B. FITCHETT

Carter ignores blacks

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — President Carter has ignored up to now the request made by Republican Senate Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., that he call a national conference on unemployment.

The Minority Leader of the Senate made his request of the president during a news conference here recently at the Mid-Winter Workshop of the National Newspaper Publishers Association — the Black Press of America.

The Tennessee Senator's deputy press secretary, Tom Griscom, says that the Senator had followed up the news conference request with a letter to the president and documentation of the need for him to deal with the serious unemployment problem.

"But up to now," said Griscom, "President Carter has not responded."

We are asking when is the president going to respond?

Or does his Southern mentality tell him "most blacks don't want to work."

What will blacks tell him next election? Drop dead!

WILLIAM OWENS

New Senate rules may end filibusters

By Bayard Rustin

During the 1960s many young militants complained that American democracy was nothing more than a sham, a mere facade to conceal the real workings of an oppressive system.

In Black Power, for example, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton pointed to "the conflict between the so - called American Creed and American practice." As they saw things, democracy's claims to equality and liberty "are simply words."

While some black people despaired of the democratic political process, others — like Dr. King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and myself — grappled with its imperfections and transformed it into a dynamic agent for racial equality and constructive social change.

This transformation, of course, did not miraculously happen overnight. On the contrary, it was the culmination of a long series of painfully slow advances, some of them almost imperceptible and seemingly insignificant. We fought hard and long sometimes against terrible odds; but, by and large, we succeeded in achieving many of our most important goals.

Without a doubt, then, the old Carmichael-Hamilton critique of American democracy was proved erroneous. Yet as we toppled one obstacle after another, by organizing a Congressional majority, we never succeeded in eliminating one particularly frustrating roadblock — the Senate filibuster.

Indeed, by establishing de facto minority rule, the filibuster serves as a perfect example of "a conflict between the so-called American Creed and American practice," to use the words of Carmichael and Hamilton.

People with good memories will surely recall the 83-day talkathon aimed at defeating the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Although the bill had President Johnson's support, and the backing of a clear majority in the Senate, a minority held it captive by corralling it with a filibuster. Eventually the filibuster ended and the bill became law, but many other key pieces of civil rights legislation were either defeated or delayed by minority veto in the Senate.

Passage of the Anti-Poll Tax bill, for instance, was delayed for 22 years because of filibusters and threats of filibusters. And the Fair Employment Practices Act was held hostage for 18 years.

Now, after fighting the undemocratic filibuster for so many years, we seem to be on the verge of a major breakthrough. Because of the uniting work of Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd, a man who himself once used the filibuster in a truly masterful way, the Senate will soon consider a set of new rules designed to curb the veto power of the minority.

Under Senator Byrd's plan, an obstinate minority will no longer be able to defeat legislation by entangling the Senate in a web of frivolous amendments, as Senator Orrin Hatch and others threatened to do the Humphrey-Hawkins and the Labor Law Reform bills.

In almost every instance, filibusters have been used to kill legislation supported by blacks and working people.

Because, of this, a broad coalition of groups, including every major civil rights and labor organization, have banded together in solid support of Senator Byrd's proposals. While these groups fully recognize that the Majority Leader's reforms will not end filibusters or even reduce the number of votes necessary for cloture (the number of votes required to end a filibuster), they clearly understand that the reforms go a long way in restoring majority rule in the U.S. Senate.

On the surface at least, Senator Byrd's suggested changes might appear to be insignificant and overcomprehensible but their adoption could very well signal the beginning of the end for the filibuster, one of the last, but most durable manifestations of inequality and minority-rule in America.

Farmers: just a group in a long line

By Rep. Augustus Hawkins
D., Calif.

There are about 2,000 farmers and their families ringing the Capitol with their tractors and trailers this week.

They are not only frustrated, they are also angry about what has happened to their living costs, and their inability to keep up with their increasing indebtedness.

Well I can sympathize with them, but they'll have to stand in line because, there are others in this society who are just as bad off as farmers.

There are senior citizens on fixed incomes, having a devil of a time making ends meet.

There are retirees on Social Security being threatened with income decreases, because the federal budget is in a strain.

There are the physically handicapped, the blind and the deaf; there are the white poor, and the black poor; there are the welfare families; there are the un-skilled, unemployed workers; there are the jobless teen-agers whose income is necessary at home; there are the working poor; there are the female-headed households barely surviving economically.

There are those, working, and making decent salaries, who have felt the yearly value of their dollars decrease, and who feel that they cannot stand another 9 percent increase in their cost of living (as they experienced in 1978).

All of these groups aren't looking it either, and so farmers and their problems merely add to the dilemma, they don't change the basic factors contributing to the dilemma.

For every tractor bought on credit by a farmer, urban people can cite their own inflation-spiraling expenses, which have compounded their debt, and made their lives an economic hell.

This, of course, doesn't resolve the problems causing rising consumer indebtedness, rising interest rates and the rising prices on food, health costs, housing and energy.

Getting to a resolve means placing every segment of this nation on an equal footing in sharing the burden of economic austerity and economic sacrifice.

In this regard, the President's fiscal year 1980 budget message calls for a national sacrifice on the part of every citizen, group and organization, which would then enable us to better control inflation and consumer indebtedness.

It might be worthwhile if the President has asked for, and what he is likely to get, are two different things.

Farmers, for example, want the federal government to further guarantee their investment.

Seems fair enough, when we realize that the government has placed federal guarantees on corporate loans made in the private sector, has also guaranteed loans for New York City and has guaranteed investments that private corporations have made overseas.

The catch is that such guarantees cost money, by further inflating the already inflated dollar, by increasing interest rates, by increasing the demand for expensive credit.

So when the President asks for a national economic sacrifice, the question is — who will make the sacrifice?

The under-lying assumption, when you read the President's budget, is that the sacrifice is not going to be made by or felt by the private sector.

Once again it's going to be the poor, the minorities, the minorities and the unskilled that will bear the brunt of any sacrifice.

Where does this leave the farmer?

I'm afraid they are going to be up the creek, without a paddle — once again.

AFRO welcomes letters

The AFRO welcomes letters from its readers. Letters should be brief and must bear the writer's name and address. All letters will be given consideration for publication.

Wilkins speaks out

Courts do have right to remedy ills

By Roy Wilkins

We received in the mail an unpublished article entitled, "The Supreme Court's Busing Decision: A Blow at Civil Rights," sent by the Judiciary by Lisle A. Graglia.

Graglia is a professor of constitutional law at the University of Houston, who in 1976 authored "Disaster by Decree — The Supreme Court Decisions on Race and the Schools."

How interesting that Graglia is an author of an article in the International Institute for Economic Research series.

The institute, based in California, claims that it exists to "promote and distribute applications of elemental analysis to economic and related issues."

Graglia's article is an anti - busing monograph; it is not dispassionate at all.

The place gets hot - seated busing advocates of the most passionate issues of the day — including capital punishment and local police procedures.

Unless someone has changed the meaning of the word "dispassionate" (Webster defines it as "not influenced by strong feeling"), this particular article is one of the most partisan, wrathful pieces on school busing around.

From the start, it attacks the constitutional underpinning for court-ordered busing.

Thomas Sowell, the UCLA professor of economics who also is a well - known critic of affirmative action and the judicial decisions that use race as a means of remedying discrimination, has written a sympathetic and inflammatory introduction to Graglia's text.

Sowell accuses the Supreme Court during the tenure of Chief Justice Earl Warren of polarizing the races and substituting "judicial tyranny" in the place of law and principles of the Republic.

He pointedly blames the Warren Court for "all the criminals freed on newly - created technicalities" and for a pattern of "futile tyranny" that imposed school busing even though it has "failed to achieve any demonstrable educational, psychological or social benefits."

Graglia can read the Constitution strident than Sowell's. Graglia shares the late Alexander Bickel's view of judicial lawmaking — saying it is ill - advised, indeed, an arrogant abuse of power.

His analysis, however, doesn't have the scholarly persuasiveness of Bickel's conservatism.

Graglia asserts that the courts have been "purporting to do no more than interpret and apply the Constitution, but have "primarily or exclusively determined social policy on such basic matters as abortion, the administration, trial and punishment of criminals; capital punishment; legislative reapportionment; pornography; prayer in the schools; control of subversive activities and control of street demonstrations."

In Graglia's views, the "irrelevancy of the Constitution to constitutional law" can be illustrated.

These are strong and sweeping indictments of a judiciary for what is supposed to be a "dispassionate" analysis of school busing in America.

Critics can read the Constitution as he wishes, but it isn't documented freedom. But what makes his views of that revered document and the courts' powers any more reliable or reserved than those of others?

Why should his view be more correct of what the Constitution mandates or what prohibition the federal courts for relief from discrimination or from some wrongful act committed by the legislative or executive branches of government?

Why should any person have to await action from the state legislature or the Congress to secure "equal protection of the law?"

You say the Supreme Court has absurdity powers? Not if that means that the court has, under Warren, been willing to listen to the poor and downtrodden who went to federal courts to get their constitutional rights vindicated when state courts were not listening.

Not if that means that the court exercised its moral and legal duties to protect black citizens from the discrimination practiced daily against them.

It was clearly established in the famous Marbury vs. Madison case in the 1800s that if there is a violation of the Constitution, then it is exactly the role of the court to say so, and its duty to fashion an appropriate and effective remedy.

The court may order you free from prison if the authorities have acted in a wrongful way to rob you of your freedom.

It may protect a mother's "right of privacy" before it recognizes the right to life of a fetus still in the mother's womb who cannot invoke a similar constitutional claim.

It can order a recalcitrant U.S.-trained Iranian generals on Feb. 10 withdrew their support from the already shaky Bakhtiar puppet regime.

So, as of this writing, it looks as if the Ayatollah Khomeini, leader in exile of the mass opposition to the Shah, will be the effective ruler of Iran.

Ayatollah means "leader of heaven."

After Khomeini's delayed return from France — delayed because the frightened generals had shut down Iran's airports to keep him out — he named Mehdi Barzagan as prime minister of the projected Islamic Republic of Iran, just as if the "official" prime minister, Bakhtiar, didn't exist.

Barzagan has come full circle. He was a member of the 1951-1953 nationalist government of Premier Mossadegh, until the Shah and the CIA overthrew it in a bloody coup d'etat.

About the time that Khomeini named Barzagan, U.S. General Robert Huyser, a deputy chief of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), who has been in Iran for a month supervising the iranian military, was forced by public opinion to leave the country.

The mass demonstrations all over Iran were denouncing him as a neocolonial "vice regent" — intent on arranging a military coup against the Khomeini forces, in a desperate effort to safeguard U.S. investments.

Besides the naked presence of western oil interests, such huge companies as General Motors, Du Pont, General Tire, Gillette, Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola, Johnson and Johnson, Squibb, AT & T, and Colgate-Palmolive have been operating very profitably in Iran.

On Jan. 17, the New York Times ran an article entitled "Iranian Festival Is Over for American Business."

(Do you remember Franklin Williams's recent stirring AFRO article: "The Party Is Over in South Africa" for U.S. business?)

Last year, 7 major multinational corporations sold $2 billion out of Iran. How did they manage to extract that much profit? Wages there are pitifully low. Unemployment is rife. The CIA-installed Shah provided a wide range of "sweetheart" tax and investment opportunities.

As the people outside the Shah's rule mounted — including a protected general strike — the European press reported that the opposition forces of the Ayatollah controlled nearly everything that continued to function — oil production, is banking and in the postal and telegraph services.

Such a dual sovereignty is never a real power after emerges in revolutionary situations before the old - hard breed of the ancien regime finally overthrows.

Islamic committees were handing food distribution and holding prices down.

Such displacement of official economic and political agencies both presents and reflects a de facto transfer of power. No matter how the military and the Shah and his U.S. backers try to dig in, such a transfer of power is irreversible.

YOU KNOW BECAUSE YOU READ THE AFRO — THE AFRO-AMERICAN — WEEK OF FEBRUARY 20-24, 1979

Oil giants' grip on nation: all but complete

By Samuel F. Yette

Jimmy Carter and George Washington have more in common than his fact that they were farmers and military men who became presidents.

They also have in common an historical precedent with which they did not and never would, and it was said of the other that he never did. One is as believable as the other.

This comes irresistibly to mind this week not merely because of Washington's birthday observance, but moreso because of what is happening in today's presidency, and in the nation.

In short, the nation seems fast becoming a ward of the oil empires and the president its designated warden.

WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT

By Samuel F. Yette

The nation's big eight oil companies have delayed longer than they might the superimposition of a tiger, coach shell, torch or some other company symbol over the insignia of the U.S. presidency.

But that symbolic gesture seems at most all that remains for the oil giants to declare themselves publicly in charge of the nation and its affairs.

The cultural and economic revolution in Iran merely provides the multi-national oil syndicates a handy excuse once again to manipulate energy resources and to wrench outrageous profits from the public pocketbooks.

As outrageous and criminal as these oil profits are, they would not be possible without the connivance and complicity of the federal government itself.

It is a fact that within 24 hours after his inauguration two years ago, President Carter issued a firm declaration that the nation was in the grip of an oil "crisis."

Such scare tactics rushed through Congress last year a bill not merely deregulating the price of oil and gas, but also authorizing the use of the military to enforce compliance with whatever extremes might be imposed in the interest of profits.

Profits zoomed immediately. During the second quarter last year, for example, profits for Mobil (second largest behind Exxon) jumped 21 percent to $395 million.

But once such profits were guaranteed by government action in one direction and inaction in another, "crisis" talk subsided. Indeed, one heard of gluts in the market and pressure from the oil companies on stations to stay open longer to sell more gas.

At his televised news conference last Carter said that Iran had been providing only 2½ percent of this nation's oil imports, and specifically denied that the loss of Iranian oil represented a "crisis."

Because of alleged mishandling of U.S. involvement in Iran, Carter was anxious to down - play the harm of the possible loss of Iranian oil. And yet, the switch from a crisis in 1977 to no crisis in 1979 — despite the loss of imports — is a complete turnabout.

So much for Carter's veracity.

But oil company cleat is not at all limited to the Oval Office. Indeed, oil muscle has a grip on Congress, and, at times, is indistinguishable from this nation's so - called "intelligence community."

Former CIA chief James Schlesinger is not only head of Carter's new Department of Energy, but the CIA has also been Carter's source for pronouncements on the world's oil supplies.

Critics of the oil empires and their incestuous hold on government have for years urged that anti - trust laws be enforced to break up the oil giants.

The big eight — Exxon, Shell, Texaco, Amoco, Socal, Mobil, Gulf and ARCO—all control their operations from the field to the pump. They control oil production, transportation, refining and marketing.

A few years ago, Indiana's ambitious Sen. Birch Bayh offered a bill to limit each company to just one phase of the operation.

Bayh's bill got nowhere, but he soon found himself in an uphill fight for reelection, plus official investigations into his official conduct and personal finances.

By contrast, Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash., chairman of the Senate Energy Committee, promptly predicted gas shortages and a cost of $1 per gallon as a result of the revolution in Iran last week.

And President Carter went to Mexico last week admittedly in search of that country's oil.

Such dependency ignores the fact the United States itself, is a major oil producer, and, especially with solar energy, could well be self-sufficient in energy in the foreseeable future. This nation's oil syndicates are rich, powerful, and greedy. Day by day they are tracking their grip on the machinery of government, a government that actuitively looks to others as the source of its well-being.

That combination is a prescription for exploitation, and for adventurism and war abroad, and eventually, for tyranny and - or revolution at home.

In his Farewell Address, George Washington said:

"There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation."

In that, the nation's first president might have been guilty of over statement, but he was not lying.

Roots-resources-communication

Shah of Iran's overthrow should be no surprise

By William Worthy

If President Carter had been reading the Left press for information on Iran, instead of relying on CIA spies and operatives with their warped western mindset, he wouldn't have been the least surprised by the ouster of the Shah and by all the other recent revolutionary developments.

For years, the Left press here and abroad has reported on popular grievances in that oil rich country, and also on the many anti-Shah demonstrations by Iran by Iranian students studying abroad.

Until the Shah fell, the protesting students in the U.S. wore masks, in order to avoid deportation, and also to protect their families back home from vicious reprisals by SAVAK, the Shah's notoriously brutal secret police.

This column is being written on the day (Feb. 11) when the Shah's hand-picked successor, Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar, has surrendered to his foes.

For whatever reasons — possibly out of fear of mass defections by their foot soldiers (after all the Army's firing on civilians, the U.S.-trained Iranian generals on Feb. 10 withdrew their support from the already shaky Bakhtiar puppet regime.

So, as of this writing, it looks as if the Ayatollah Khomeini, leader in exile of the mass opposition to the Shah, will be the effective ruler of Iran.

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Besides the naked presence of western oil interests, such huge companies as General Motors, Du Pont, General Tire, Gillette, Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola, Johnson and Johnson, Squibb, AT & T, and Colgate-Palmolive have been operating very profitably in Iran.

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and no matter how pompously the dying regime may be proclaiming its eternal rule.

More and more, as Ayatollah Khomeini, still in exile, loomed as a highly visible threat to western investments, the U.S. press began dutifully portraying him in dark tones as almost a fanatical, senile, medieval Islamic equivalent of Idi Amin.

For a different perspective on the man and his political aims, direct quotations from a May 6, 1978 interview in the influential Paris newspaper Le Monda may be helpful:

"The Shah is the very essence of obscurantism and is oriented toward the past. . .The Shah, carrying out the policy of the imperialists, seeks to maintain Iran in a backward state.

"Our agriculture, which 23 years ago exceeded our needs and enabled us to be exporters, has been destroyed. . .The Shah has destroyed our economy and squandered the oil income — our source of future wealth — on buying armaments gadgetry at exorbitant prices. . .

"The Shah's land reform was aimed above all at creating a market for foreign countries. The reform that we wish to undertake will enable the peasant to benefit from his labor, and will provoke enormous joy for have acted contrary to Islamic law.

"As for the industrialization of the country, we are completely in agreement with the aim, but we desire an industry that should be fully national and independent, one integrated into the economy of the country and consequently balanced with agriculture in the service of the people.

"We do not want an industry that is dependent on foreigners and consists of assembly plants, like the industry now being establish in Iran. . .

"As for women, Islam has never opposed her liberation. Woman is the equal of man, and like him she is free to choose her destiny and her activities.

"But the regime of the Shah is attempting to prevent women from exercising their liberty by plunging them into servitude. . .

"This regime has destroyed the liberty not only of woman but also of man. Both women and men fill the prisons of the Shah, and in them their liberty is menaced. We wish to liberate women from the corruption that is menacing them."

To these quotations from Khomeini can be added an observation in a valuable document cited in last week's column, "Background Information on the Crisis in Iran" published by Washington by the Institute for Policy Studies:

"To interpret the current religious opposition (to Iran) as obscurantist and reactionary is to be badly misinformed, for Shiite Islam is a very rich and diverse tradition which has grown and evolved along with the historical development of the society."

To be equal

By Vernon E. Jordan Jr.

Sears, Roebuck and Co., the nation's largest retailer, has filed suit against 10 government agencies.

It charges that past and present federal actions have so shaped the nation's work force that the company should be relieved of liability for compliance with various — and often conflicting — affirmative action mandates.

Sears reaches back to World War II, to demonstrate that the government maintained race and gender quotas on members of the armed forces. After the war legislation established veterans' education and skills training opportunities not available to non - veterans. And it pressed employers to give veterans preference in jobs in a way that favored white males, to the exclusion of women and minorities.

Most recently, Congressional action barred discrimination against the aged, impeding early retirement and mandatory retirement rules in private industry. Thus, corporate efforts to recruit and to promote minority employees run up against the brick wall of older white males holding on to their jobs, including managerial positions to which they have been aided through past veterans preference rules.

What it all adds up to says Sears, is that the company cannot by itself reconcile various conflicting affirmative action mandates — for minorities, for women, for the elderly, for the handicapped and for other groups deemed in need of special efforts.

Not only that, says Sears, but the government's own hiring record is bad. And until the government acts to shape the nation's workforce in accordance with its priorities, industry should be relieved of penalties for noncompliance with affirmative action mandates.

Sears does have some justice in its complaint. The concept of affirmative action for minorities, previously denied their rights and opportunities, has been variously diluted through extension of the mandate to include all women, and others. Veterans preferences and higher retirement ages block progress for younger people and for minorities.

But that's hardly the whole story. There is nothing in the Sears brief to indicate that the private sector voluntarily, indeed enthusiastically engaged in blatant racial discrimination. Sears has compiled one of the country's better minority hiring records, but can it seriously suggest that black applicants were treated equally with white applicants before company policy changed in the 1960s?

Sears' suit is on behalf of all retail establishments with 15 employees or more, but hiring discrimination was endemic in the retail industry. Blacks were deemed not fit to serve white customers even in stores outside the South. And federal veterans preferences had nothing to do with that situation.

The fact is that federal discrimination against minorities was not imposed on the private sector. If anything, it reflected majority and private sector attitudes.

I can appreciate the bind Sears finds itself in. Government orders have been inconsistent and contradictory. Given the employment picture you can't have affirmative action for everybody. That's why it is necessary to have effective affirmative action for those most in need of special efforts — black workers struggling to overcome the negative heritage of persistent exclusion from jobs, trades and professions.

And that's why both the government and the private sector have to redirect their efforts. If the Sears suit results in such a clarification it will have served a good purpose. But if it becomes part of the attack on the principle of affirmative action in the post - Bakke era, it could have harmful effects. Given the negative mood of the country at this time, I am afraid this suit will give aid and comfort to the enemies of affirmative action.

Black Rhodesians suffer hardships as leaders vie for political power

By Warren Brown
Special to Afro-American

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, — At the moment it is impossible to predict which way the country will go. It seems that all of the political leaders have an insatiable lust for power and neither has the will or desire to yield his potential gain for the future of the country.

The atrocities being committed by all factions are too fiendish and savage to believe, according to eye witnesses. Constant denials of such stories appear in the news media. Guerrillas, gangs, terrorists, thugs — all prey on the people under the guise of liberation.

However, from first hand observation the people in the African tribal trust lands are really suffering from cruelties and hardships that are beyond one's imagination.

Other evidence of the horrible situation is seen in the movement of hordes of people from rural areas into townships.

Even on the outskirts of Arcadia, the segregated section of Salisbury where colored people live, black Africans are living in Kraals, enclosures that are used for keeping animals. For many of them tar paper is their only bedding for a wife, husband and five children.

These hardships and cruelties being inflicted are the outcome of in-fighting between all the political factions.

There is dissension among the Ian Smith Executive Council — Smith maneuvering to preserve his white power while Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole acting independently and each striving for the sole black leadership. Also, the guerrillas under the umbrella of the Patriotic Front are now split between Joshua Nkoma and Robert Mugabe.

Universally over the years Africans have experienced harassment and denial of human rights by the European government. Every phase of social, economic and political life was initiated to main-

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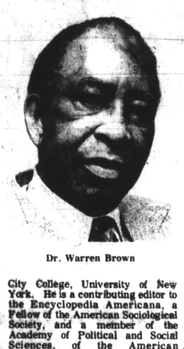
He served as cultural attache in the U.S. embassies in Guatemala, Rhodesia, Ghana, and the Kingdom of Libya.

His highly imaginative work in bringing about the introduction of a science curriculum in the school system of Southern Rhodesia for black Africans, was recognized by the U.S. Embassy Department with special commendation.

Prior to his diplomatic service, he was a professor and director of the Social Research Laboratory at the



Dr. Warren Brown

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In a society based on skin color, and the black African was kept on the bottom of the ladder.

For example, Dr. James McHarg, the founder of a Technical and Secondary School for blacks, set the standards of his school to meet all of the highest requirements of trade unions and his students turned out to be the top ranked craftsmen in the country. Dr. McHarg was instructed by the Ministry of Education to lower his standard of training and on refusing, the school was closed.

Another instance of the disregard of human dignity for the African was in the case of Herbert Makina, one of the first African students to receive a scholarship to study in the United States and returned to Rhodesia as a graduate in electrical engineering from Purdue University.

On his return there were three job openings in his field. The personnel officer in one company refused to interview him until the president of the company expressed an interest in the applicant and then he was offered $25.00 per month while the starting pay for whites at the same level was $250.00. Neither one of the two other jobs were promising and Mr. Makina later secured a position in Zambia.

Other handicaps were common occurrences. For example a non - Rhodesian white woman desired to teach English in a black missionary school, the black division of the Ministry of Education would not qualify her for the position on the pretense she did not have the basic background for teaching the subject. Incidentally, she had earned a master's degree in classical languages, having majored in Greek, Latin and English.

Furthe - cases in the interest of blacks as championed by The African Daily News, a publication of the London Times, were halted when the newspaper was forced to close down. Derrick James, the English editor and his Nigerian wife and three children left for England.

Another one of the most distressing practices of the Smith government of Law and Order leading to the harassment of African of Africans was the use of blacks who were arrested for an alleged misdemeanor and then released from prison only when they agreed to act as informers in the African townships.

The informants were instructed to call the CID (similar organization to the CIA) if more than two or three people were seen standing and talking together in a township street.

On one occasion an informant was marked and directed by CID agents to walk through Harare and Highfield, two African townships near Salisbury, to identify suspected "trouble - makers," so as to place them under arrest.

An African employee of the American Consulate before it was closed was a constant target of the CID.

On one Sunday a small wedding reception was given in his home for one of his brothers. Shortly after friends and family arrived a CID contingency of 15 men arrived and searched everyone present and then tore up the house looking for political literature.

Although a radio station was permitted to function in the Harare township, the Smith government censored sharply all advertisement and news items. One producer who resigned said that the government was sensitive and critical even of the tone of voice as well as words used by announcers reporting the news in Shona and Ndebele, two African languages.

According to the producer, announcers could not use a descriptive term as "African leader" or "rebel." Such labels had to be qualified as "Leader of a Few Africans" or "an Outlawed Rebel."

Conditions have changed for a small minority of Africans who have returned to Rhodesia in anticipation of a change over to a majority government, but they are standing on the outside of the political action as the turmoil accelerates.

The overwhelming vote by white Rhodesians recently endorsing Prime Minister Ian Smith's constitutional scheme for establishing a black majority government may have been an exercise in futility.

The action will perhaps neither halt the worsening conditions of the economy, give free rule to Africans nor bring about a truce in the guerilla war.

At best the new constitution sets up a black front so as to prolong the Prime Minister's commitment of 1965: "Never a black majority rule during my life time". There are an estimated 6.7 million blacks and 200,000 whites in Rhodesia.

Actually the role of blacks in the new government, contended by the Patriotic Group leaders, in the new government is to beguile the outside world into believing the government's plan will suppress the rise of communism and preserve law and order.

In the new constitution, 28 out of the 100 seats in Parliament are designated for whites having a veto power over all legislation relating to their special interests.

The constitution secures for the whites the main core of government, military, police, judiciary and civil service over the next decade. Natives are barred from taking over the fertile land for farming now restricted to the use of the white population. Lack of cultivatable land has kept blacks impoverished over the years.

In preparation for a black government to be installed on January 1, 1979, last April a bi - racial Executive Council, including Bishop Abel Muzorewa; Rev. Ndabaninga Sithole and Senator Jeremiah Chirau, was established to administer the government. Other native leaders were appointed to share equally directing the various ministries.

Only two weeks after the appointment of the Black Minister of Justice, Byron R. Hove was dismissed for publicly raising the question of police brutality against Blacks.

Specifically, he allegedly instructed white workers to procure figures for the number of times police and prison officers had been charged with assaults on blacks that had not been publicly disclosed.

The inquiry caused the Prime Minister to become infuriated and call upon the Council "to put him (Mr. Hove) in his place." Mr. Hove, a graduate of the London University School of Law and the Inner Temple of London, was undaunted by Mr. Smith's anger and continued to question police procedures and policies.

From the tall, immaculate Mr. Hove was summarily fired and although the Prime Minister said it was the action of the Executive Council, Bishop Muzorew