EDITORIALS

John J. Oliver, Jr.
Chairman of the Board

Frances M. Draper
President

L. Douglas Wilder, Governor

On Saturday, January 13, 1990, the Commonwealth of Virginia enters a new phase in its history. Douglas Wilder will be inaugurated as Governor of Virginia.

Wilder, during his campaign, had promised that he would be a governor for all the people of Virginia, and indications are, he fully intends to carry out this promise.

The Black community in Virginia is eagerly looking forward to a revamped status for Blacks in the state, and expect the new governor to solve all of the race-related problems that have accumulated over the decades.

But this "pie in the sky" line of reasoning is in for a rude awakening as the realities of politics clink into place. Some disappointment has already been expressed, saying that no high-ranking Black cabinet officers have been appointed.

It must be remembered that an elected official owes a certain allegiance to the electorate which put him into office. In the case of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Blacks comprise 27 percent of the populace.

It should be remembered that the governor will make almost 4,000 appointments to various boards, commissions and agencies. It is logical to expect that a much higher proportion of those appointees will be minorities.

In other words, questions of race relations will not be the primary issue with which Gov. Wilder will have to deal. Budgetary problems, prison problems, education, environmental problems have been endemic to the governor's office for almost 200 years.

There is no doubt that having a Black governor will radically affect the thinking of many of the lesser lights who hold positions of influence. Overt racism will undoubtedly recede, although covertly it will still exist as strongly as ever.

Out of all this, the Black community of Virginia is the better for having a Doug Wilder in office. Cautionary attitudes must be put into place, for although there will be a change, it will be gradual.

But in the end — Virginia will indeed be a complete place for lovers.

No more drug zones

Do our town and cities have to be turned into police states before the drug war can be won or can the war be fought with education, prevention and rehabilitation?

This seems to be the basic question as the City Council debates the Illicit Drug Zone Act of 1989 which now has 12 councilmembers for and one against.

It is the one vote against that has some citizens worried about which rights are more important.

Councilman H.R. Crawford of Ward 7, who courageously cast the lone "no" vote against the first reading of the Drug Zone Act, argued that "if you come to my neighborhood there are a lot of people who are tired, don't have jobs and don't want to move on." Councilman Crawford wants more policemen and more jobs for prevention along with programs of education and rehabilitation. He had supported the bill in the beginning but changed his mind after listening to the arguments from the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union.

In many neighborhoods, what was once taken as your given rights have been taken away by drug dealers. Few people living in urban centers can walk in their neighborhood at night or day without passing a drug dealer. Children walking to and from school have reported numerous encounters with dealers. And the rise in homicides and robberies have made many persons, especially the elderly, prisoners in their own homes.

And we understand the feelings of Councilmembers Hilda Mason whose nephew was killed and Nadine Winter who was mugged.

But is the answer to these drug problem one more denial of the rights of the innocent. Do you want to be told that you cannot be seen by police in the same place in your neighborhood for five consecutive days? If a member of your family is out of work do you want him restricted to the house and not allowed out on the street just loitering around? Are we saying that the city streets are just for those who hold jobs and hurry back and forth. If the poor and out of work are caught up in the fight to catch drug dealers will this help or hurt your neighborhood?

Black people who have fought so hard for just the basic rights to exist must fight even harder now to retain what rights they have. It is sad to say that although our 12 councilmembers are really thinking of how this bill will help, in truth deep down they know that the only people who will be arrested and jailed are Black people who live in congested areas.

The Illicit Drug Zone Act will be one more step toward establishing a police state here in the District of Columbia. Under a police state, good people carry identification cards, don't congregate on the street, do not hold meetings without authority and generally don't have the right to loiter even outside their own homes. If District residents don't want this to happen in here, they must protest now before the council reads the bill for the second time on Jan. 21.

Yes Councilman Crawford, we need more police and more jobs for the idle but no more laws on the book to restrict the innocent.

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. Write

Baltimore Afro-American
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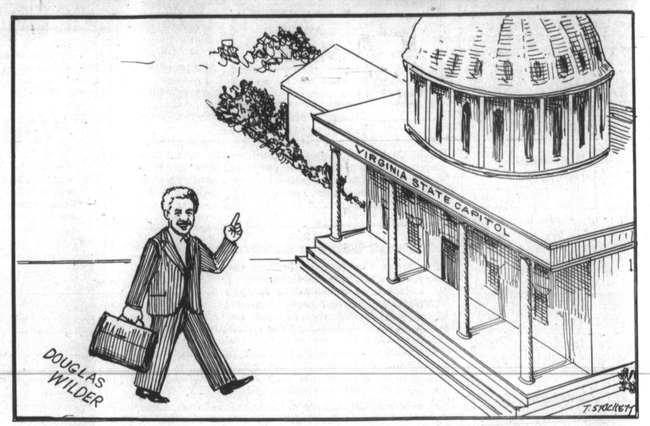
Baltimore, Maryland 21201



Commentaries from all over:

Fighting words for the 1990s

THE 1990 CENSUS

The 1990 census is important because Black representatives are from urban districts that have lost population during the last decade. We will have to struggle to make sure that the boundaries of their districts are not redrawn in a way that dilutes Black voting power.

Therefore, the need for every Black American to participate in the census cannot be overstated. It is central to maintaining our current level of representation and funding for services which are based on the number of people living and counted in each area. *MARION WRIGHT EDELMAN, Children's Defense Fund*

MORE WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The Reagan-packed judiciary has revealed a strategy of preserving rights in name only. NOW LDEF's work to educate judges, legislators and the public about the harm and waste of talent that sex discrimination causes has never been more important. We face new challenges in retaining and advancing women's rights in all areas, including economic rights, reproductive freedom, work and family concerns and women's health. If women realize that the future is in our hands, the 1990's will be a time of dramatic progress." *SARA E. BURNS, LDEF legal director.*

HAVE WE OVERCOME?

The problem is that there are too many persons in the United States who now assume that "We have overcome already." Nothing could be further from the truth.

The beginning of the 1990's finds quantitatively more persons in the United States living in poverty and degradation than in the 1890s or in the 1960s. While the rich are in fact more wealthy, the poor are poorer. The resurgence of racism, across this nation has to serve as a challenge for the 1990's. We must claim the 21st century with a new vision.... **BENJAMIN F. CHAVIS, executive director, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ.**

SHABBY JOB IN EDUCATION

The bottom line of the report is that the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights failed, (and continues to fail) to enforce the laws which they are mandated to uphold and overall, they are doing a pretty shabby job of protecting individuals from discrimination....

Dr. William Smith is the acting assistant secretary for civil rights in the Department of Education and James P. Turner is the acting assistant attorney general of the Civil Rights Division.... This is an illustration of how priorities are ranked in the administration. After a year, there is no reason why President Bush hasn't named someone to head these key civil rights positions. *CONG. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, (D.CA)*

GETTING OUT THE VOTE

In the old days, party bosses handpicked candidates in "smoke filled rooms" and told them how to vote and what to say. But reforms that ended patronage and created primary elections sapped that power. Parties became rump organizations and candidates learned how to use pollsters, consultants and ads to deal directly to voters. *PAUL GLASTRIS, US News and World Report*

WAGING WAR SO. AFRICA

Together, all Black South Africans must wage a Trojan fight against Black disunity and continued White domination. And may all Black South Africans and the entire world community opposed to apartheid heed Walter Sisulu's caution and do everything to demolish apartheid and liberate millions of Black South Africans who have been caught up in apartheid South Africa, its Bantustans and divisive policies.... *DANIEL MAROLEN for NNPA*

WRONG IS WRONG

In a graphic illustration of America's inconsistency and hypocrisy in foreign police, Jesse Jackson pointed to the contradiction of America condemning the late Ayatollah Khomeni for mining the Persian Gulf while President Reagan was illegally mining the ports and harbors of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua took the United States to the World Court accusing America of flagrant violations of its sovereignty and won the case. America disregarded the verdict and continued its illegal actions against Nicaragua while continuing to condemn Iran for its illegal actions in the Persian Gulf.

The Jackson doctrine proclaims, what's illegal is illegal. U.S. policy must affirm and uphold the rule of law, and strengthen those international bodies like the United Nations and the World Court which can help create an atmosphere where respect for international law can flourish. *RON DANIELS, director, National Rainbow Coalition*

DARK SIDE OF INTERPOL

Interpol is best-known as a romantic agency that gets mentioned regularly in James Bond movies and "Kojak" reruns. But the real Interpol is hardly romantic. It is a private police group based in France, with a membership of over 140 countries, Each country has its own Interpol headquarters generally staffed by law enforcement officials from that country. It is through such national headquarters that corrupt Interpol officials have access to sensitive information of drug trafficking from law enforcement officials around the world....

What we have here is a police organization riddled with corruption that can funnel sensitive police data on drug interdiction to drug traffickers around the world . To make matters worse, Interpol is controlled by no country, and is virtually immune from legal suits throughout the world. *ALEXANDER R. JONES, Church of Scientology International.*

EVE WAS A BLACK WOMAN

A new study by a University of California, Berkeley molecular biologist, Dr. Allan Wilson, has found new conclusive genetic evidence that shows all people alive today are descended from a single African woman.

Eve, as the scientists called her, lived 140,000 years ago and her descendants started migrating north out of Africa 75,000 years ago and finally settled in Europe 35,000 years ago.

The indigenous Neanderthal population was disposed "because they were genetically incompatible with the people of African origin." Dr. Wilson found in his research that the lineages descended from all other women died out.

One can only conclude that a Black woman was the mother of us all and that she could only have lived in Africa. *TONY BROWN, Tony Brown's comments*

THEY WANT JOBS

Blacks, minorities and women, historically frozen out of many of America's White-male-dominated craft unions and thus out of all but the lowest job classes, are an increasingly available source of less demanding labor.

The Bureau of Census forecasts that Blacks and minorities will form the largest labor pool by the year 2000— a factor that could make the outlook for organized labor even more dismal over the next 10 years as Blacks and women begin to reassess their allegiance to the unions which once excluded them. *CHESTER A. HIGGINS, SR., for NNPA*

The Afro-American
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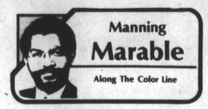
COMMENTARY & OPINIONS



Manning Marable
Along The Color Line

The legacy of MLK Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr., has been dead for nearly a generation. The political environment which defined his activities, the oppressive conditions of legal segregation and political disfranchisement, no longer exist.

It is easy, therefore, for those who had opposed the democratic social vision of Dr. King while he was alive, such as President Bush, to provide platitudes about racial equality and justice.

In the wreckage of the destruction of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the absence of enforcement for affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation, and the policy of ignoring the mounting tragedies of Black unemployment, homelessness and growing poverty, most White American politicians hide behind the soothing image of King as an advocate of racial peace.

They fear the disturbing implications of King's economic and social demands for restructuring America's social order in the final years of his life, and pretend that this final, radical phase of his political career never existed.

Black politicians have a different responsibility to be truthful within African - American history.

To be sure, Martin symbolized the struggle to desegregate the racist South, to dismantle the structure of civil inequality.

His famous "I Have a Dream" speech, given on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on that hot August afternoon in 1963, spoke for the democratic sacrifices and struggles of millions of African - Americans, from the abolitionists like Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth to the early civil rights crusaders like Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, A. Philip Randolph and Ida B. Wells.

Black elected officials and all Blacks who had gained some degree of success within the cultural, social and political hierarchy of White America owe part of their accomplishment to King and thousands of other nameless freedom fighters, who demanded a redefinition of democracy beyond the color line.

But civil rights was not the only issue to divide America in the 1960s. Under the Johnson administration, the U.S. had sent over one half million troops to southeast Asia.

Black Americans represented one out of seven soldiers in Vietnam, and suffered disproportionately high casualties because they were unfairly ordered into combat units.

While the NAACP and Urban League, fearing political retaliation, cautioned against civil rights involvement in the Vietnam War debate, King made the decision to align his political beliefs with his ethical hatred of war.

Against bitter attacks, Martin urged Black Americans to reject American imperialism abroad, and the sterile logic of crusading anti - Communism. King inspired millions to oppose the U.S. war effort.

But Martin's political legacy transcended the issue of Vietnam.

He began to recognize that the political program of integration was insufficient to achieve the material basis of equality for people of color within the U.S.

He began to call for the nationalization of basic industries, in order to guarantee jobs for the central cities. Martin favored a plan for a guaranteed income for all Americans, and expanded social programs.

To finance this domestic reconstruction, massive reductions in the Pentagon budget would be required. American foreign policy abroad would have to pull back from its support for imperialism, economic exploitation and political domination.

Martin's political vision also makes sense for the 1990s. We must advocate certain socioeconomic prerequisites for full participation in a democracy, such as the human right to a job, the human right not to starve, the right to decent housing and free medical care.

Martin would insist that the battle against racism today is being lost, and that all Americans lose when Blacks' median incomes are barely 55 percent those of Whites.

Poverty is directly connected with urban crime. And the answer to urban chaos, Martin would tell us, is not more police and capital punishment.

The termination of drugs, crime and social unrest will come about only with the total reconstruction of the central cities, requiring the cancellation of billions of dollars from the military budget.

The real legacy of Martin Luther King demands a rededication to the struggle to create both a political and economic democracy in America.

This way for Black empowerment

Here's to independent decade

We stand at the beginning not just of a new year, but of a new decade — and on the brink of a new century! These are very thrilling times, full of promise for a better world.

They're dangerous times, too: the people's movement for democracy that spilled out into the streets of eastern Europe and China in 1989 was paid for in blood; and there are those whose only interest in the struggle against corruption is to exploit it for their own, anti - democratic purpose.

But hope is in the air; walls are crumbling; change is on the way!

Peoples and nations who have been among the world's forgotten "poor relations" and Black sheep" are building new alliances with one another so that when they sit down at the table now with the "Great Powers" they can bargain from a position of strength.

It is high time to build such new, independent alliances here in the United States — between the community and rank and file labor;

Between students and the elderly; between Blacks and gays — between and among all of those who, year in and year out, are excluded from the wheeling and dealing that passes for politics in America.

As the chairperson of the Black - led, multi - racial New Alliance Party, I am committed to making the 90's the decade of independent politics.

We began in 1988, with my independent Presidential run. For the first time in the history of this country, an African American woman was on the ballot in every state.

For the first time, every voter in America from Alaska to Hawaii and all points in between had the opportunity to pull the lever for an independent candidate who stood — and stands — for the Black Agenda for social and economic justice, for peace instead of war, for people instead of profits.

On Election Day, 1988, 24 percent of the nation's African American voters rebelled against the Black political establishment by enlisting in my crusade for fair elections and democracy.

The rebellion at the polls was reenacted one year later in the South Bronx, where 42 percent of the Black and Puerto Rican working class voters in the 11th Councilmanic District defied the notoriously corrupt Democratic Party machine to pull the lever for the grassroots Puerto Rican leader — Pedro Espada — who ran for City Council on the independent NAP line.

1990 is a ballot status year in New York State. A party whose candidate gets 50,000 votes in the gubernatorial election thereby secures a permanent place on the ballot — a crucial weapon in the fight for fair elections.

NAP has been seeking permanent ballot status in New York since 1982, when we got 5,000 votes.

Four years later I ran for Governor — the first Black woman in New York ever to do so — and received 25,000 votes. 1990 will be our third try for ballot status in New York, where there has not been a progressive independent party on the ballot for many, many years.

A ballot status victory for NAP in New York would make a very significant political statement to the entire country — one which would have enormous impact in 1992, when the first Presidential race of the new decade takes place.

Dr. Lenora Fulani is the chairperson of the New Alliance Party and a practicing social therapist in Harlem. She can be contacted at the New Alliance Party, 2032 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10035 and at (212) 996-4700.

An Open Letter

The Pan-Hellenic community

My Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I write to you tonight with a heavy heart, because of the escalating violence, criminal hazing, "underground" pledging activities, and lawlessness which have become evident among so many of our undergraduate chapters. Fighting, injury, abduction and even death are arising out of this behavior. As the adults — the elders — of our group, we have a responsibility to take counsel with each other, and to act as a culture to change this tragic behavior among our children. In the context of the African American Cultural Offensive, this is the classic case of time when cultural integrity, power and correctness must step in to change or correct intolerable behavior.

I write to you tonight to earnestly implore us, as the African American Pan-Hellenic Elders, to institute policy at the Grand Chapter level, and put into action throughout our collective network of chapters and individual members, a plan by which delegations of alumnae chapter members of African American Greek Letter Organizations become more directly involved in the orientation and initiation of undergraduate chapters in their neighborhood, town, city or region.

How will our undergraduates share our common values and ways of doing things, if we do not share with them? Who will teach them the real value of our sororities and fraternities, which is that educated African American need to bond like sisters and brothers, and form groups according to the values, goals, styles and preferences of their members; and they then need to decide as a group how they will work together on behalf of the uplift of our people. We have done that very well at times in our histories, but we are doing very poorly today.

There is a clear role and function for Greeks in our culture: and there is a clear need, as thousands of graduate chapter initiates prove each year. We need to bond together, unify, and form a powerful network of educated professionals across the country and the world. But are we doing what we could and should be doing to be examples of what the values represent; and are we passing our tradition and standards on to the next generation? Clearly, we are not.

from Ramona Hoage Edelin, Ph.D. President, The National Urban Coalition

I believe we should go talk to each of our undergraduate chapters, to share with them what the organization means and stands for; where we have been — to get this far but not further; why leadership and service to the vast masses of our people are so important, and central to our advancement.

To let them know we love and care for them; and that we recognize their talent, and we have something in the way of practical wisdom to share with them.

To guide them in their handling of pledging initiates and in other matters of representation. Not to dominate, intimidate, castigate or in any way disrespect, but to be the adults, the elders; and to show the way as is natural and correct for it to be shown. By example.

My brothers and sisters, how can we have any earthy hope of helping our children who have literally been turned out into the streets and who live in an environment of gang and drug violence, if we do not guide and nurture the Talented Tenth?

Please become personally involved at this crucial time, to stem this tide before it rises any higher by becoming involved with our children. We can't be too tired, too busy climbing that corporate ladder, too otherwise self-indulgent, to come to the aid of our children when they obviously need our help.

We can't leave them in this state of knowing what Greekdom looks like, but not knowing what it is really all about. Let's share our understanding and experiences with them, and provide practical help where we can and it is desired by the young people.

We will be following-up with you as much as possible, through the African American Cultural Offensive, to offer suggestions and resource.

Ron Daniels
Vantage Point

Bishop Tutu backs Palestinian state

During a recent five day Christmas visit to the Holy land South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu strongly reiterated his support for Palestinian rights. Bishop Tutu asserted that until there is justice for the "native" people of Palestine, there will be no peace in the Middle East.

Standing firm in the face of intense criticism from many Israeli leaders and citizens, Bishop Tutu endorsed the recognition of the Palestinian state as the principal ingredient for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the Middle East.

In advocating recognition for the Palestinian State, Tutu also was unequivocal regarding the right of Israel to exist within safe and secure boundaries.

However, the South African Anti-Apartheid leader assailed the Israeli government for its military and economic axis with South Africa. The Nobel Peace Prize winner also called the Israelis to task for past and present acts of terrorism against the Palestinian people.

Bishop Tutu's stand showed great courage and conviction. All too often debate about Middle East policy has been severely stifled by fierce resistance by many Israelis and American Jews to any suggestion that the Palestinians have a legitimate right to a homeland and a state.

Deviations from the official policy of the Israeli government or the position of powerful pro-Israel American Jewish organizations have frequently been characterized as anti-semitic.

Bishop Tutu's position on the Middle-east closely parallels the policy recommendations advanced by Rev. Jesse L. Jackson during the 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

The historic Gary Black Political Convention in 1972 broke the silence on the subject of Palestinian rights by calling for self-determination for the Palestinian people. The Organization of African Unity has also been on record in support of Palestinian self-determination.

The Jackson campaigns were major vehicles for the articulation of a more balanced U.S. policy in the Middle-East. By 1988, largely do to the strength of the Jackson campaigns and an emerging new consensus on Middle East policy, the subject of Palestinian rights was openly debated at the Democratic National Convention. The subject would have been strictly taboo just a few short years ago.

People like Bishop Tutu who have had the courage to put forth a more truthful and balanced view of the Middle East conflict have often paid a heavy price.

Under the Carter Administration, U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young was forced to resign because he dared to have secret contacts with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

These contacts were undoubtedly sanctioned by the State Department and the President. However, once the contacts were discovered, the Jewish Lobby went after Andy Young's head and got it.

Jesse Jackson has never been forgiven by most Jews for his meeting with PLO leader Yasser Arafat and his call for a Palestinian state.

And no matter how profusely Jackson has apologized for his 1984 "hymietown" remark and distanced himself from Farrakhan, he is still a virtual pariah in much of the Jewish community because of his views on Palestinian rights.

Indeed, David Dinkins, who does not share all of Jackson's view on the Middle East, was constantly hounded by members of the Jewish community about his friendship with Jesse Jackson during the recent New York mayoral campaign.

In the end, despite incredible overtures to a traditionally Democratic Jewish community, 79 percent of the Jewish electorate voted against Dinkins because of his association with Jesse Jackson.

Bishop Tutu therefore has boldly stepped forth on a course that can be extremely risky. During his Christmas pilgrimage one outraged Israeli called him a "Black Nazi pig." Tutu is not likely to win a popularity contest in Israel or among American Jews from this point on.

Fortunately not all Israelis or American Jews are so intransient. A sizable minority of Israelis and American Jews now support a two state policy, and the concept of land for peace. Many Jews also are sharply critical of Israel's relations with South Africa.

African Americans should applaud Bishop Tutu's conviction and courage and we should add our voices to a growing chorus calling for the recognition of the state of Palestine.

Bishop Tutu is absolutely right when he proclaims that without a homeland for the Palestinian people there will be no peace in the Middle East. In supporting Tutu's stance, we will be on the right side of history.