EDITORIALS

John J. Oliver, Jr.
Chairman of the Board

Frances M. Draper
President

South Africa president

The announcement of South Africa President Frederik de Klerk loosening restrictions on Black political activity, brought about an euphoric state among Black leaders around the world. The major point seized upon was the lifting of the 30-year ban against the African National Congress.

De Klerk also said that Nelson Mandela, the symbolic leader of the ANC will be freed soon, eased restrictions under a 43-month-old state of emergency, and suspended executions of death row prisoners pending a review of the death penalty.

What de Klerk did not do was to lift the state of emergency completely, order army troops to leave the Black townships, release all political prisoners, and spell out the process for the return of ANC exiles.

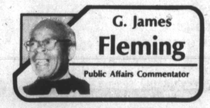
Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson, spent five hours visiting with her husband at the prison where he is being held. She threw cold water on the rumors that Nelson would be released soon. She said that her husband would insist on repeal of South Africa's state of emergency and fulfillment of other conditions before he would allow himself to be freed.

Senior ANC leaders were in Stockholm over the weekend, and were less than enthusiastic over the de Klerk pronouncements. ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo said "the only positive thing about de Klerk's speech was the unbanning of the ANC and the South African Communist Party. Everything else was a half measure."

Thus it would appear that the widely heralded announcement of de Klerk's pronouncements must be considered merely an opening wedge in the fight to dismantle apartheid. De Klerk faces a terrible challenge from the right-wing South African forces, who have already started calling for his resignation.

Sanctions, and other tactics being employed in the Black South Africans' struggle, must continue. Now that the way has been opened a crack, it must be forced completely open.

No one should forget his past



G. James Fleming
Public Affairs Commentator

"No Catholic Should Forget" is the title of a message by Cardinal John J. O'Connor, of New York City, as he reminds White Catholics of the attitudes and practices — and the religious discrimination — which plagued Catholics in the United States not so long ago.

"No Catholic has any business forgetting the hostility, the oppression, the discrimination expressed in the American colonies and then in the country itself," the Catholic leader points out, and he continues:

"No Catholic should forget the Help Wanted ads that said: 'Irish and Catholics need not apply.' No Catholic should forget that priests were hunted, subject to imprisonment, exile and even death."

Showing, further, in what respectable minds anti - Catholicism lodged, Cardinal O'Connor turned to recent research by the Rev. Richard Shaw. From one newspaper, the *New York Observer*, published by S. F. B. Morse (1791-1872), notable as the inventor of the telegraph and the Morse Code, he quotes the views of the publisher, words which speak for themselves:

"The number of Negroes imported from Africa in 150 years was less than 300,000 — less than the number of Papists we are now importing every five years from Europe. We shall soon have more Papists in the North than they have slaves in the South." Then Morse goes on:

"And who would not prefer two million slaves under the control of 2,000 masters, owners of the soil and prompted by every consideration of duty and interest to promote the peace and prosperity of the country, to two million Papists, under the control of two thousand priests — two thousand bachelors bound to the country by notice of interest or affection — two thousand emissaries of a foreign prince."

In 1836, Morse — inventor, artist, writer and bigot — ran for mayor of New York, campaigning on a platform that was opposed to foreigners in government, to paupers, to criminal immigrants, and to the Catholic church. Happily, he was defeated.

* * *

Cardinal O'Connor writes that "it is sad to reflect that there are some Catholics as contemptuous of Blacks as Morse was of both Catholics and Blacks," but he adds: "Any are too many."

Writing in *Catholic New York*, the Cardinal takes to task those who wanted to pretend "that's all gone," of racial discrimination and prejudice. He observes:

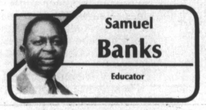
"It is hard to imagine any New Yorker, let alone any Catholic, being so naive about the conditions faced every day by far too many Blacks today, in 1990. It is a miracle that as many 'make it' as do make it, given the obstacles."

While what "No Catholic Should Forget" is addressed to Catholics, specifically, it can also apply — in lesser or greater degree — to many peoples, in many places, at some time, regardless of race, creed, color or national original:

Aristocratic, educated Jews against shanty Jews, Americans of European background against native Americans, "proper" Bostonians against not-so-proper Bostonians, Gentiles against Jews, Northerners against Southerners, Blacks against Whites, Black American against West Indians, some West Indian islanders against other islanders, men against women, "those who were born here" versus aliens and all others. The listing could continue.

The historic difference in most cases is that the prejudice and the discrimination practiced against the latter groups were not cemented in law, whereas in reference to Blacks, American Indians, aliens and women — especially Blacks — the criminal justice sometimes backed by military might, insured the enforcement of the difference of treatment.

"No Catholic Should Forget" is a reminder to one and all that if they (and we), think hard enough and delve deeply enough, they will find reasons sufficient why some of us should not, and dare not, look down on the rest of us.



Samuel Banks
Educator

Black History

Americans should undertake as we commemorate National Black History Month in honor of Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson. I highly recommend the following suggestions for a substantive beginning.

1. Read widely and broadly about the unusual life of Woodson. The following books, written by Woodson, will provide you with a solid background:

a. Carter G. Woodson. **The Story of the Negro** (College Level).
b. ————. The Story of the Negro Retold (High School level).
c. ————. **Negro Makers of History** (Elementary Level)
d. ————. **The MisEducation of the Negro**

After you have finished the books I have recommended by Woodson, please read the following books to provide additional understanding and depth:

a. John Hope Franklin. **From Slavery to Freedom)** (Fifth edition).
N.B. This is the best single comprehensive account of Black History.
b. Benjamin Quarles. The Negro in the Making of America.
c. Rayford W. Logan. The Negro Amercian.

2. If you have not done so, arrange to take out a regular subscription to a Black publication such as the **Baltimore Afro-American, the Norfolk Journal and Guide, the Amsterdam News, Ebony and Jet Magazines,** and other Black publications which provide consistent, comprehensive and contemporary coverage of Black life and history.

You, too, should insist that Black publications are available in your childrens' schools, churches, and public libraries.

A conscientious and deliberate effort must be made to know and share our history.

You, too, should request Black exhibits and displays, not just during Black History Month, focusing on Black history throughout the year in your schools, institutions of higher education and churches.

3. Insist that Black history is a required part of your child's curriculum. Visit your school to observe instruction, review textbooks, and monitor your child's home assignments in history and social studies, English and other areas.

4. Read a minimum of two books on Black Life and history. Black history is not propaganda or myth-making, but factual, realistic **and truthful.**

In this conjunction, it is heartening that so many people, Black and White, are flocking to see "Glory" now running throughout the nation. "Glory" depicts the valiant, awesome and extraordinary service of the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Colored Regiment during the Civil War.

It is, to be sure, a highly moving, poignant, and powerful portrayal of the courage of free and runaway slaves in fighting, against stupendous odds, for freedom, dignity, and manhood.

However, it should be borne in mind that Black Americans have fought in every war in which our nation has been engaged. **The First American to die for freedom** on the Boston Common on March 5, 1770 was a Black man named Crispus Attucks.

In short, Black Americans have answered the nation's call from the Revolutionary War to Panama.

Dr. Woodson, in the course of his long life, was unrelenting, undaunted and persisted in stressing racial pride, high expectation, high quality education as a means of negotiating the system and, above all, knowing one's roots in or order not to become a "negligible factor in the thought of the world."

Woodson was born in New Canton, Buckingham County, Virginia in 1875. He was son of former slaves who were illiterate, but who, nonetheless, possessed a passion for education.

Woodson's unwavering faith in the power of education as a social elevator and bulwark against racism, poverty, and socio-economic exclusion proved to be of incalculable value to Woodson and his siblings.

It is to the enormous credit of Woodson, in spite of mountains and harsh socio-economic, political and educational realities of his time, that he refused to allow blatant racism and poverty to break his spirit or his fierce love of learning.

In this marvelous sense, Woodson reflected the position for learning that our people have shown historically. We must now, in earnest, be about the business of revitalizing and sustaining our passion for learning and strong sense of community for our collective survival, progress, and survival.

What, then, are essential minimums that we as Black

LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

African-American name

A January issue of the AFRO carried an article titled "Objects To Afro-Moniker - By H. Archibald Holland." Perhaps this brief discussion will help Mr. Holland focus on what the term Afro-American or African American really means.

When America was set upon by other people, the people they found here were the Indians. Everyone else came from one of the other continents: Asia, Africa, Antarctica, Australia or Europe.

The ancestors of present day Americans, with the exception of the Indians, came from one of the continents. So, if your ancestors came from Africa, you are an African American. If you ancestors came from Europe, you are an European American, if you ancestors came from Asia, then you are an Asian American and so it goes.

The color of your skin has very little to do with whether or not you are an African American, although most are considered Black.

The children of inter - continental marriages may have a small problem. For example, if the person is a product of an Asian mother and an African American father, what is that person?

Technically, that person is an African-Asian American, and so it goes with all the citizens of the United States of America.

Since we have been called Negroes, Colored, and other names designed to make us feel that we are different, it is important that those of us of African descent teach our fellow Americans that we are Americans too.

It is easy for our fellow Americans to think of us as outsiders when we allow them to define us as Negroes, Colored, Black or whatever.

I think the term "African American" serves to remind everyone that our fore-fathers came from one of the great land masses we call continents, the same as all other Americans.

ITALY OVERTON

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
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

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COMMENTARY & OPINIONS

Parren J. Mitchell
Former U.S. Rep.

Congressional hearing

Congressman John Conyers, (D. Michigan), is Chairman of the Government Operations Committee of the U.S. Congress. The Chairman will conduct a series of hearings in an attempt to assess damages done to minority businesses as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the case of the **City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Company.**

In its decision, the Court held the Richmond Minority Business Program to be unconstitutional. This decision has had a negative impact in many cities and states. In my home city, Baltimore, Maryland, the local law has been challenged.

The hearing will take place on February 7, 1990, in the Government Operations Committee Room in the Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

I will be the lead-off witness at the February 7th Hearing. Today, I want to share with you the first portion of the testimony I plan to present.

"Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, in 1972, in a hearing before the Subcommittee on Minority Small Business Enterprise of the House Select Committee on Small Business, Congressman James Corman, a member of the Subcommittee, addressed the following remarks to Thomas S. Kleppe, then Administrator of the Small Business Administration:

"I do hope you won't listen to those who say everybody is equal, and our history has left us with no problems and therefore, there is no color line. It hasn't been true in granting credit in this country. That is the reason we have special programs.

"That is the reason you have a particularly difficult and challenging job which we hope you will perform by providing us with a percentage of small business Black entrepreneurs that reflects the total percentage of Black people in this country.

"Today, 18 long years later, we are witnessing the same problems we faced in 1972. Today, as then, there are those who advance the preposterous proposition that we have no problems and therefore, there is no color line.

"Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, there is a sharp, hard color line which adversely affects bonding opportunities, contract opportunities, access to capital and all other facets in the enterprise arena.

"The Congress, is or should be, fully aware of the color line. Beginning in 1971, and continuing through 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, and 1987, I participated in hearings in which almost all of the agencies of the federal government and many private corporations were questioned as to why minority business participation remained minuscule.

"Those yearly hearings were exceedingly distressing to me. Year after year, I had to listen to the same litany of excuses and promises. 'We can't find qualified minority businesses.' 'Minority businesses have never approached us for contracting opportunities.' 'When we find a minority firm, the quality of work is inferior, and so on and so forth ad nauseam.

"The most distressing aspect of the hearings was that, almost inevitably, the witnesses would conclude their testimony, 'We are really committed;' "We are making a sincere good faith effort'; or, 'Just give us a little more time to improve our record.'

"But year after year, in both the public and private sectors, minority business participation remained fixed at about 1/10 of 1 percent.

"That percentage only began to improve slightly with the passage of the first minority business set aside amendment which we attached to the legislation creating Round II of the Public Works Act of 1976.

"One of the most cherished memories of public service I had is the day when a group of Black business persons came to my Congressional office to report on the economic opportunities they had gotten as a result of the minority business set - aside law.

They advised me that even more important than the opportunities they had secured was the improved climate. They said that for the very first time in history, city, county, and state officials actually sat down with them to discuss working with them.

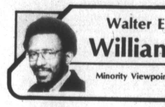
"Based on that experience, I was elated when state and local governments began implementing their own minority business laws. These laws were needed because a pattern of exclusion, similar to that found at the federal level, existed at the state and local levels.

"As a result, minority businesses began to increase in numbers and in size. Seeing new opportunities, they began to break from the traditional small shop operations. They ventured into fields in which they had never dreamed they would enter — chemicals; computers; manufacturing; telemarketing, etc. Their businesses showed profits.

"Even with federal, state and local laws on the books, progress for MBEs continued to be dreadfully slow. The slow pace is directly attributable to the failure of agencies of government to implement fully and effectively the laws.

Reprehensible is the practice of bureaucracies to establish a labyrinth of rules and regulations, which far too often negate the intent of the laws.

"Despite all the obstacles, impediments and denial of opportunities that remain and despite failure to administer MBE laws fairly and justly, many of us became caught up in the idea of the inevitability for continued progress to minority businesses. We felt that we would continue to approach the day Congressman James Corman spoke of in 1972."



Walter E. Williams
Minority Viewpoint

Who cares?

Many years ago, my view was: Distrust everyone until they prove themselves trustworthy. Then I married a girl whose philosophy was just the opposite — trust everyone until they prove themselves untrustworthy.

Which is best? It all depends on the cost.

If you distrust everyone until they prove themselves trustworthy you may minimize hurt, but maximize the number of potential good friends lost.

On the other hand, trusting everyone — until they prove themselves untrustworthy — maximizes the number of potential friends, while maximizing the possibilities that someone will hurt you.

When I was an economics graduate student at UCLA back in the late '60s, I was explaining this concept (technically known as the type I versus type II error) to Professor Armen Alchian during a weekly faculty - student coffee hour.

And Prof. Alchian came back with an alternative view that blew my mind. He said there's a neutral, more probable, position between thinking the world is either hostile or friendly.

Widely known for his candor, Alchian suggested, "Williams, have you considered that the world probably doesn't give a damn about you?"

That was psychologically unsettling; if true, it meant I was totally insignificant in the scheme of things. Now, if Prof. Alchian told you something, even if it seemed insulting, crass and wrong, sooner or later you'd discover it was true, whether you liked it or not. Let's look at it.

There are more than 5-billion people in the world. What fraction of them would car if you dropped dead or lost a limb in an accident? I would guess that fraction wouldn't differ significantly from zero. You say, "Williams, that doesn't count; most of these are foreigners who don't mean us any good anyway."

Okay; there are 240-million Americans, what fraction of them care one way or another? Again, we get a figure pretty close to zero. We can try your hometown, and it's the same thing. We'd probably have to narrow it down to your neighborhood, job, or family to find people that cared enough to hate or love you.

If we buy this reasoning, what do we make of charges like: Men are out to exploit women? Or the more frequent charge that White people are out to exploit and mistreat Blacks?

I can't speak for White people, but I imagine, from small sample inquiries, that White people don't give a damn, one way or another, about Blacks.

I've asked some White people, "How many minutes or seconds today have you thought about Black people one way or another?" Outside of a strange look, or the question "What in the world are you talking about?" most often they've guiltily stuttered, "Not at all."

No sweat, because, as a Black man, I've reciprocated. Most of my waking moments are spent thinking about how to save the country, earn money, and prevent my wife and daughter from spending it all.

You say, "Williams, that's crass and selfish!" I say, what counts is whether it's true. Besides, to get along with and serve one another, doesn't require caring about each other.

Take Texas ranchers who trek through the snow and blizzards each winter herding cattle just so we in Cincinnati, New York, or Detroit will have beef.

Does anybody think they make these sacrifices because they care about you and me? I suspect they don't give a damn about us; they only care about themselves.

But, in the process of caring about themselves (earning money), they provide for us. I shudder to think how much beef would get to market if it depended only on love and human kindness.

A genius like Prof. Alchian didn't have to teach me this lesson. Mom said it first, "Worry about what you're supposed to be doing. And don't worry about other people."

COMMENTARY

U.S. Relations with Angola

By Ronald V. Dellums

A little more than a year ago the administration of Ronald Reagan had a golden opportunity to finally be on the correct side of history, on the side of the people of Southern Africa who have endured too many years of war and suffering.

Reagan failed to meet the challenge.

More profoundly tragic than the damage of the Reagan years, are the foreboding signs that the Bush Administration seems equally uncommitted to rectifying the injustices heaped upon the Angolan people.

The signing of the New York Accord at the United Nations in December 1988 cleared the path for Namibian independence and set in motion the withdrawal of Cuban troops guarding Angola.

It forced South African occupying troops to leave Angola and made Pretoria formally end its backing of the Angola UNITA movement led by Jonas Savimbi.

The Accords, signed during the transition between Bush and Reagan, also provided an opportunity for the U.S. to come to terms with an irrational, self-defeating policy of non-recognition of the Angolan government.

Despite extensive business ties — the U.S. is Angola's largest trading partner—we stand shamefully with South Africa as the only government that does not recognize Angola.

The incoming Bush Administration could have propelled itself into a new arena as genuine supporter of Black Africa, helping to end the 15-year war of the South African-backed UNITA Forces by ceasing the immoral CIA Funding of that movement.

Instead, President Bush picked up where South Africa left off, intensifying the war and more than quadrupling UNITA funding from an estimated $15 million in 1985 to as much as $80 million last year.

The president, at the same time, has turned a deaf ear to more than 100 bipartisan members of Congress who have called for normalized relations with the Angolan government.

In human terms that have meant death, destruction and the continued strangulation of a developing nation unable to be selfdetermining after the brutal legacy of Portuguese colonialism.

It has reduced Angola to a place where people are refugees in their own land. As many as 700,000 have been displaced by the war. At least 20,000 children have been orphaned or abandoned.

And an estimated 50,000 people have been maimed by land mines and other attacks, giving Angola the horrible distinction of claiming the world's highest per capita amputee rate.

On the eve of the scheduled visit here by Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, an important opportunity is once again thrust in the lap of George Bush. I call upon President Bush to correct the historical error of his predecessor.

The American policy has caused too much pain in Angola. The suffering can't be undone. But we can change our course and normalize relations. It's a moral imperative.

(Ronald v. Dellums, a U.S. representative from California, is the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus and chief sponsor of the Southern African sanctions bill.)

Ron Daniels
Vantage Point

We Remember Malcolm X Day

February 21, 1965 El Hajj Malik el Shabazz, Malcolm X, strode to the podium of the famed Audubon Ballroom in Harlem to deliver a speech about his newly formed Organization of Afro - American Unity (OAAU).

The room was packed with friends, followers and curiosity seekers eagerly awaiting word from Malcolm on his evolving vision of the struggle for African liberation and the OAAU's platform for action.

No one inspired more admiration and devotion among his followers, respect from his adversaries or struck more fear into the hearts of the power elite in America than Malcolm X. To paraphrase Mari Evans, Malcolm X spoke the truth to the people; the plain unadulterated truth.

The truth was freeing the hearts and minds and souls of Black folk in America and commanding the attention of people of color and freedom fighters throughout Africa, the Carribean, Latin America, Asia and the world.

Malcolm X was an excruciating critic of America's system of virulent racism, oppression and Euro - American domination and economic exploitation of Africa and the Third World. To the American state, Malcolm X was a dangerous man. Malcolm X had to die.

At the Audubon Ballroom, not only were Malcolm's friends and followers assembled, there were also some enemies; the ever present eyes and ears and tools of the state. As Malcolm raised his voice to speak, there was commotion in the room.

Malcolm raised his hands to appeal for calm. He was felled by a fusillade of bullets as his wife and family, friends and followers watched in horror. The guns of the state had silenced Malcolm . . . or so they thought.

Lewis Michaux proprietor of the world famous Harlem bookstore posted a sign outside his doors:

"Man, if you think Bro. Malcolm is dead, you are out of your cotton picking head. Just get up off your slumbering bed, and just watch his fighting spirit spread. Every shut eye ain't sleep. Every good-bye ain't gone."

Truth cannot be silenced. The state of Black America has not appreciately changed since Malcolm died on that frightful day in Harlem. America's system has not been fundamentally transformed.

But Malcolm's voice is claiming renewed expression in a new generation that finds the continuing reality of racism, poverty, drugs, violence and oppression of American people in America intolerable. Especially among the youth there is an increasing resolve to "fight the power." Malcolm's "fighting spirit" has spread.

Every year since his assassination the faithful have gathered on February 21 in memorials to Malcolm's memory. This year's memorials will be more powerful. 1990 is the year of Malcolm X.

This February 21 will mark the 25th anniversary of the assassination of "our shining Black Prince." Accordingly the African American Progressive Action Network has created a National Malcolm X Commemoration Commission with veteran scholar activist Dr. James Turner at its helm.

The National Commission which includes such notable African Americans leaders as Sonia Sanchez, Dr. Maulana Karenga and Haki Madhabuti has designated this February 21, 1990, National We Remember Malcolm Day. African American students have been asked to sponsor We Remember Malcolm Day Observance on scores of campuses across the nation.

In Washington, D.C. a major memorial will be held at the Shiloh Baptist Church and broadcast by radio across the city. By nightfall, however, the eyes of the Black world will be focused on Malcolm's beloved Harlem, where the National We Remember Malcolm Day Memorial will be hosted by Rev. Calvin Butts at the Abyssinia Baptist Church.

The year of Malcolm X will not end on February 21, however. We Remember Malcolm Day will simply signal the beginning of a massive mobilization to celebrate the life, legacy and lessions of El Hajj Malik el Shabazz by proclaiming May 19, Malcolm's birthday a National African American Day of Commemoration. (May 19, 1990 will be Malcolm's 65th birthday.)

Huge proclamation ceremonies are envisioned in Harlem, Omaha, Nebraska, (Malcolm's birthplace), Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Atlanta and countless communities around the country. February 21 will only be the beginning. May 19 will be the historic day.