EDITORIALS

John J. Oliver, Jr.
Chairman of the Board

Frances M. Draper
President

THE VOICE OF BLACK AMERICA SINCE 1892

Black Business Support

A cursory glance at the makeup of customers shopping at Lexington Market, shows a vast preponderance of blacks. It has long been a tradition to buy fresh produce and meats at "the market" as ownership of some of the stalls passed from generation to generation in the same family.

Then the market expanded, more stall space was added in both the East and West markets, but alas, entrepreneurial participation by the black community was and is, sorely lacking. At this date, there is exactly one black stall owner in the Center East segment of the market.

It is not as though blacks have not tried to make a go of it at the market, there have been attempts, but support for these enterprises was not there, especially in the black community.

The reasons why are varied and forgettable, but the resolve to get involved and support this venture of black business should be ever present in the mind and psyche of black marketgoers.

The complaint has been in some sectors, that black ownership has been shrouded in a kind of secrecy. "We didn't know the stall was owned by blacks" is the usual plea when a confrontation is voiced. And, there is some validity to these voicings.

It points up a need to get the word out, on the part of the businesspeople, and a need to help support black businesses. Once, the city administration was attacked for not giving everyone a crack at running an operation in the city market. This no longer exists.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that it is vital that we support black businesses. This is a vital link in the thrust for black economic independence, and together blacks can forge success in the highly competitive business world.

Your help is needed—NOW!

Parren J. **Mitchell**
Former U.S. Rep.

Still a dilemma for Whites

In the early 1940's, Gunnar Myrdal wrote a book which became a classic for academicians. It was **"An American Dilemma — The Negro In America."** In a startling approach, Myrdal posited that the problem was not "The Negro," it was the white man's inability to resolve for himself his desire to live up to the American creed and his violations of the creed insofar as "Negroes" were concerned. He wrote:

"Though our study includes economic, social and political race relations, at bottom our problem is the moral dilemma of the American — the conflict between his moral valuations on various levels of consciousness and generality.

"The American Dilemma," referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plan which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook."

I submit that the dilemma has not been resolved but is being masked over by whites in their new relationship with blacks. This new relationship was made clear in the case of Bob Wade, the former black basketball coach at the University of Maryland.

Wade, who had superlative performances in coaching at Dunbar High School, an all-black school, took over his post three years ago. He inherited a demoralized team, left shattered by the drug overdose death of one of its star players and the leaving of a well-loved former head coach.

Wade's team compiled a poor record, and recently was forced to resign. Some called his forced resignation "racist." Others citing the team's failures, said Wade had to go. But it was the use of the word "racists" which clearly revealed the new attitude towards blacks.

It was white moderates and white liberals who revealed their new attitudes toward us.

They argued, "Black people have got to learn that there are certain requirements and qualifications which must be met if they are going to make it in America." They further argued, "While it is true that racism still exists, but on a much smaller scale than in the past, black people have had the doors of opportunity opened to them, now they must prove their worth.

"Black people must stop using racism as an excuse, and get out and make it like the rest of us had to do. I am tired of hearing about racism; we are past that stage and there is just no need to talk about it any more."

The hard, sad fact is that those who are now blaming the victim believe they are right. They do not interface with us sufficiently to realize that they are dead wrong. They have no sense of what it means to face starkly acts of discrimination.

Despite existing laws, red-lining and steering are still very much common practices in the real estate industry. Blacks are steered to certain areas in their search for housing or not told about other housing opportunities.

Studies have revealed how many banks make few mortgage loans to us. A white family the same size and with the same approximately annual income as a black family is approved for a mortgage loan, but the black family is denied.

In the employment area, despite equal employment opportunity sloganeering, nepotism, friendship ties and inside information often stop black applicants cold. Most private sector personnel offices are white. The black applicant is told, "There must be some mistake; at present, we do not have any openings" or "I am truly sorry, but those positions are all filled."

The minority businessperson's search for access to capital for his or her business is quite often a graphic illustration of racism in the marketplace.

In every sphere of our existence, we who are black are made critically aware of the fact that racism remains with us on a much larger scale than our white friends believe. The pity of it is I cannot resolve their dilemma, only they can resolve it for themselves.

The personnel officer, the real estate agent, the bank loan officer, all of them know what the American creed is, but their actions are dominated by the valuations made on the specific planes of individual and group living.

Will they ever be able to resolve the dilemma? Out of pity for them, I hope they will.

Kweisi **Mfume**
U.S. Congressman

Wade gone but questions remain

The slow motion ax finally fell on University of Maryland Basketball Coach, Bob Wade. After living for months under a cloud of suspicion the University of Maryland (appearing to have more money than morals) negotiated the final buy-out while Wade was recuperating in the hospital.

The investigation of alleged violations of NCAA rules continues. But the non-explanations of Athletic Director, Lew Perkins, and the deafening silence of University President, Dr. William E. Kirwan, have failed to make any connection between the reasons for Wade's forced resignation and the assumed causes of the pressure to resign—the alleged rules violations.

Their silence speaks more loudly of their lack of courage than Wade's complicity in any wrong-doing.

The public would be better served if Dr. Kirwan and Perkins were more forthcoming with their explanations. If they are unable to speak because of the investigations they should tell us this.

As a public institution supported by Maryland taxpayers the University owes the public an explanation. Their silent treatment of Wade leads me to infer that they are not protecting him by their evasiveness; they are protecting themselves.

There are too many questions and not enough answers. I keep on getting the feeling that I am living one of those television murder mysteries.

Wade was hired to come in and see what good he could do in a seedy environment. The University's Administration let him do his job for three years before they gave up on him while the Athletic Department was anything but supportive of Wade during his short tenure as Coach.

One might conclude that they were hoping for him to fail from the beginning so that they could sack him at the first smell of rules violations. For those of us standing on the side-lines it appears that perhaps the wrong person was asked to resign.

There are ramifications to the suspicious handling of Wade's coaching tenure and his bought resignation that we have yet to see. Signs are already present indicating that the Terps will have trouble recruiting talented ball players.

Students and faculty have seen the University treat a valued member of its staff in the disgusting way they treated Bob Wade. Their behavior certainly doesn't inspire loyalty nor promote the University as a worthy educational institution.

The loyal Bob Wade fans have been mistreated as well. We deserve more than the double talk and empty phrases bounced around by Perkins and Dr. Kirwan.

It may be too late to save their reputation but Perkins and Dr. Kirwan should attempt to answer these questions as soon as possible.

Anthony **Armstrong**
Political Consultant

Tree politics

Several magnificent trees line both sides of the street just outside my east Lanvale Street window. they're lush trees, all of them easily thirty years old and more.

The leaves, I've watched grow larger with every day of Spring, are so bountiful that if I look straight out the window I can hardly see the castle-like three-story house just across a canopied way.

It's quite an amenity; and over the last ten years or so the verdant color of the trees has been uniquely highlighted against a sky of rich concentrated gray: a handsome return for such a small investment.

Yesterday, the trees got me thinking about the politics of growth.

I'm not sure why I'm musing over the potential represented by the new life in green leaves, juxtaposed against perceptions of a local economy mired in gray times.

Maybe those hardy trees on their gray background cause me thoughts of new wealth for Baltimore; whole new industries that challenge the fundamental reasons for this city's dollar problems.

Did you know that in Seoul, Korea all the trees are recycled every ten years — old ones dug up and replaced by new ones.

They do it to keep their city (a city that is 600 years old) looking forever young, new, fresh. Perhaps people in Seoul know something we don't about tree politics, as much, certainly, as they've shown they know about economic rebirth. And that's a lot!

Industries are born, have their productive lives, and die. Planting new ones, like more trees, is basic to the future of any city. Tourism is the example most talked of, but it was never nor could it ever be enough to revive and sustain the economy of Baltimore by itself.

Furthermore as tourism grows other familiar industrial activities contract. Shipbuilding, steel making, clothing manufacturing, to name only three, are industries that once enjoyed robust growth in Baltimore; but now they have died, gone, never to be seen again.

We're trying to squeeze economic juice from dary bark instead of planting new industrial trees.

We're tinkering with fringe fees that can't raise our long term economic indicators, but do add to the dissatisfaction of the very tax paying citizens we need to make happier.

Instead of a political climate geared to attracting new money, Baltimore's leadership goes about fostering a counterfeit regionalism where all the other would-be players see their involvement as a favor to us, the poor urban step-cousin.

This attitude can never infuse in the business community the kind of excitement needed to encourage money to find Baltimore a magnet.

Whoever burned in wood the permanent inscription, "A City With a Large African - American Population Can't Become A World Class City?" Like those new trees that get planted in Seoul, Baltimore has the soil to grow all kinds of industries, with life cycles as long as the trees outside my windows are old.

All the classic means of production — land, labor, capital, and now, ideas are available. If a town's land base is small, build up instead of out. If the labor base doesn't have the skills, make training people for those skills an exciting source of profit in itself.

If the capital is somewhere else, no matter wherein the world, then range broad to get it. It's only the ideas that appear lacking; and they must come from leadership.

So, here we are in a city full of potential for new "trees," and the economic leaves they bear. Before the ground hardens too much, however, we had better lay in some seeds. Let me propose two new industrial possibilities.

Baltimore: The Soul Food Capitol Of The World. Already we are a tourist town; but all the tourist stay jammed around the harbor, because there's nowhere outside the harbor that's been turned into a tourist attraction.

There's a neighborhood in east Baltimore that fits the bill perfectly. Just as we've got our Little Italy, that part of East Baltimore bordered by Monument Street, Patterson Park Avenue, Federal Street, and Milton Avenue could easily become "The Capitol."

A second industry is clearly world class. How about, Baltimore: The International Small Business Capital Formation Hub of The World. How about the politics of trees?

The Afro-American
MEMBER
The Audit Bureau
MDDC NNPA UPI

COMMENTARY & OPINIONS

Parren J. **Mitchell**
Former U.S. Rep.

Observation on the North trial

Are we so turned off by government that we just don't care any more?

The trial of Oliver North revealed things that should shock us to the core: one branch of government lying to another branch of government; one branch of government deliberately, calculatingly, violating the law; a pattern of illegal and unethical practices which were traceable to the White House itself.

This is a continuing pattern, followed in the Vietnam War; in the civil rights struggle; and now in Nicaragua.

Some years ago, consumer groups and elected officials became fed up with government secrecy, denial of information and providing only partial information, and so the Freedom of Information Act was passed. This law was designed to "open up government to the public," to prevent government secrecy.

I am looking into a messy situation in which it appears persons in a federal government agency followed a pattern of deception, which was to hide their illegal involvement in a business deal.

I requested some information on this matter through the Freedom of Information Act, but my request was denied. The letter of denial had attached to it the exemptions to the Freedom of Information Act.

My God! The exemptions provide loopholes large enough to drive a Sherman Tank through. Some of the exemptions appear to be justifiable, but some appear to be designed to protect government secrets because of who makes the decisions concerning "privileged" or "confidential."

For example, exemptions (b) (4) permits agencies to withhold trade secrets and financial information obtained from a person, and privileged or confidential.

How is privileged and confidential determined, by whom?

Exemption (b) (5) permits agencies to withhold inter-agency and intra-agency memoranda, or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency.

The rub comes when you ask, "Are you in litigation?" And the reply given is, "I am sorry, but we are not able to answer that as of this time."

Exemption (b) (7) (D), among other things, permits agencies to withhold records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes to the extent that the production of such records would reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source including, state, local or foreign agency or authority or any private institutiuon which furnished information on a confidential basis.

I had a comic/series experience during my first year in Congress, which dealt with withholding information.

During the 1960's, from time to time, friends and acquaintances would advise me that the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) had questioned them about my activities and beliefs.

As a member of Congress, I was advised that I had the right to inspect my FBI file and so I made the request to so do.

My file was handed to me by a smiling agent who said, "Congressman, you will be pleased to learn that there is nothing in your FBI file, it's absolutely clean." I could not help it, I burst out laughing.

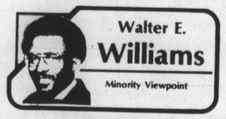
During the 1960's, covert domestic spying was conducted by the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The targets of that spying were Vietnam protesters, civil rights activists, and world peace activists.

In his pulitzer prize-winning book, "Parting the Waters — America During the King Years," Taylor Branch tells in hair-raising detail about the FBI spying on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and many others associated with the civil rights struggle;

And how Robert Kennedy, then the Attorney General, was manipulated and maneuvered into authorizing the wire taps on King. Domestic spying by the agencies in subsequent years was banned, but has it really stopped? I doubt it.

The North trial revealed that the same sordid mechanisms for deception and secrecy are still being used and are justified by claiming that the ends justify the means. The more I followed the Contra scandal, the Oliver North Story, the more I was reminded of a book read many years ago, "True Tales of Crime and Rascality."

Just one more brief observation on the reaction to the North trial. Almost every person with whom I discussed the mess, started out by saying, "Had Oliver North been Black . . ."



Walter E. **Williams**
Minority Viewpoint

Missing or stolen?

My wife's mother died during childbirth leaving her father with nine kids to raise. He wasn't an educated man and went from job to job as stevedore, dishwasher, cook, and, if nothing else was available, he collected and sold junk.

The family was very poor, much poorer than mine, often missing meals. Taylor, now deceased, always demanded that his nine kids do well in school, cooperate with each other and try to make the best of themselves.

He preached, "Just because we're poor doesn't mean we can't have pride, self-respect, and be clean.

Today's social enlightenment might see Taylor's vision as obsolete, "blaming the victim," bootstrapism, or uncaring. Through the false compassion of welfarism, Taylor would have been stripped of his pride and self-respect.

Yes, people can be poor and have self-respect, drive, and a sense of independence.

We saw it during the depression when housewives took in washing or men sold papers, spent the day looking for jobs, and yes, sold apples.

However meager, they were earnings as opposed to handouts. "Entitlements" had not become apart of our language, and to be on relief was to live in shame and disgrace.

During the '40s, I held jobs like huckster, shining shoes, shoveling snow, and picking blueberries on New Jersey farms. Regardless of how dirty or unpleasant the job, Mom always said, "Any honest job is better than stealing or begging."

Say that to today's panhandlers and hustlers, and you'll be dismissed as callous and uncaring.

Do-gooders say people should have "meaningful" employment paying a "living wage." Failing that, they are entitled to live off someone else.

Is being a domestic servant meaningful work? Is a welfare check better? Let's look at it. I never met Mrs. Craig, the lady who employed my mother and grandmother during the '40s, but I'll never forget her.

The topic of many a dinner discussion was how Mrs. Craig did this, or how Mrs. Craig did that, and how Mrs. Craig spoke. Every once in a while Mrs. Craig would send us used books and hand-me-down clothing.

The significance of this story is that poverty didn't isolate us from the larger society. Through most work there is beneficial contact with the outside world.

With today's warped sense of compassion, many of today's poor are exempted from outside contact, knowledge, and discipline that comes from the world of work.

Years ago, there was far more pride and self-respect in America. Someone who had two or three illegitimate children was seen as their own worst enemy. Today, we blame society.

People who refused to work were considered bums; today they're helpless "victims" of society, and you and I must be taxed for their indiscretions and sustain them in their mistaken lifestyle.

It's about time we recognize that the government cannot provide the basic ingredients for upward mobility. Child-rearing practices in which parents make children do their homework, behave in school, and go to bed on time are beyond government policy.

Personal pride, ambition, perseverance, and self-respect can't be given by government; but they can be weakened by handout programs.

REP. GUS HAWKINS:

'Bush league' education budget

Amid the pomp of a rose garden ceremony at the White House, President Bush recently released the details of how he intends to fulfill his pledge to be the "education president."

After a close review of the Bush education proposal, it is clear that the president has to go back to school.

The Bush education budget proposes a $441 million legislative package with a number of grab bag ideas like rewards for good teachers and schools, expanding magnet schools and providing funds for drug prevention.

What was not made clear at the education press event is that the new initiatives come at the expense of currently effective education programs.

Also, when you account for inflation, the Bush initiative represents a real cut in federal education spending. Although the media has not really exposed this, the reality is that the "education president" is doing less for education than Ronald Reagan.

In fact, the Bush initiatives come at the expense of the programs which are in Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Act, which President Reagan signed into law with Bush at his side.

The School Improvement Act was used in the Bush campaign to signal their support for education — now that he's been elected he has forgotten about merits of the Act, which received so much overwhelming bipartisan support, it passed the House 401-1.

Some of the President's ideas in education have merit, but they are not clearly thought out. For instance, he has a proposal to provide scholarships for 570 graduating high school seniors who have excelled in the sciences, math or engineering.

That is fine. But what about the average student, or those at risk, who will make up the majority of workers we need to compete in a complex technological era.

International studies have already indicated that even our best students are behind academically when compared that even our best students are behind academically when compared to many foreign students.

Likewise, we need to provide support for all schools, not just a few high achieving ones which may have the advantage of already having the best resources and a skilled student population to be awarded for excellence.

We need to take steps that will genuinely improve the quality of education in America. Instead of the Bush proposal, we need to implement the existing School Improvement Act.

To date, the Department of Education has dragged its feet in publishing the regulations which are necessary for school districts to receive money from the new law.

In addition, we have to adequately fund the School Improvement Act with real increases in education, instead of phony promises and nice sounding phrases like "rewarding excellence."

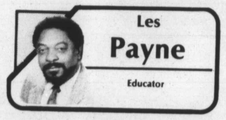
I have proposed to the House Budget Committee an "Investment Budget" which takes us beyond the rhetoric and weak proposals of the Bush Administration.

To critics who feel that my investment package is too much, I say: "If you think education is expensive — try ignorance."

My education investment initiative attempts to recoup the ground lost over the last ten years and lays a foundation for the future.

This investment addresses the nutrition, education and development needs of at-risk youth; strengthens basic skills for all youth; attacks the destructive problems of drugs and dropouts; trains and retrains American workers; and strengthens American higher education.

My investment strategy will lift us out of the "Bush league" and place our educational commitment in the major leagues. Surely our children deserve this. Without question our country and economy demand it.



Les **Payne**
Educator

Racial gulf widens in New York

New York City is at it again. Howard Beach, Bernhard Goetz, Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart.

These are names writ large, and with a dirty pen, in the current-events ledger of this once and still great city. Each case represents a singular ball of racial complexity. They were, at bottom, crime stories. But something about this metropolis would simply not permit them to remain as such.

The case before us now is of a 28-year-old rape victim — briefly named on TV.

It too is a crime story that has grown into something much larger. The media plucked it from among dozens of other rape-and-batteries, some ending in death, that occur each week in the Big Apple.

It was gruesome, to be sure, but unfortunately not distinguished for this face. What set it apart, as with those other cases heard around the world, is that attacker and victim were separated by race.

A young investment banker was the chance victim, who lived in a co-op that has a doorman. While jogging her regular route through north Central Park, she was brutally attacked at 10 p.m. by a group of teenagers reportedly hellbent on assault on the eve of a holiday from school.

Discovered a 1:30 a.m., the jogger's newly lifeless body, drained of two-thirds of its blood, was rushed to a hospital support system — and a veil of secrecy.

In the ensuing days, a band of youths, some looking younger than their years, were arrested, named, their statements circulated, their friends and relatives picked over for quotes.

Despite all attempts by cops to show otherwise, the attack was generally not considered a racial attack. The same cannot be said of what followed. The roving gang was apparently an equal-opportunity bunch, out to attack fellow humans, without regard to race, color, creed, sex, gender preference or national origin.

Given this fact, it would appear that since all New Yorkers were potential victims, they would unite as one in demanding the death house for this "wolf pack." That has not happened, and for sound reasons.

This is not a simple matter. The truly religious — which eliminates most public practitioners — have grieved over the victim, condemned the sin while praying for the sinners.

Universally, the attack has been condemned as an outrage.

However, many New Yorkers, mindful — and in some cases protective of their group prerogatives, retreated to their generally predictable camps. Thrashed for their overall presentation, the media got around its minimalist policy of race labeling in such cases by specifying the race not in words but in pictures.

Some of the youngsters were under age, and doubtlessly played lesser roles, but all were arrested as adults.

Still, despite police statements, as the **New York Observer** pointed out, they were all innocent — until proven guilty. Enraged members of Phil Donahue's TV audience last week would hear none of this. Sneering at the Constitution, several of the women screamed them "guilty."

Others tried to demand that black New Yorkers join them in the lynch-mob frenzy or hang their heads in shame. No two cases are alike, but the feet of those African-Americans with memory were stayed by their recollection of Howard Beach and the police shotgun killing of Eleanor Bumpurs and the subway police beating of Michael Stewart. In each of those cases the attackers were white and the black victims innocent and dead.

The Goetz case was a bit murkier, but not murky enough to justify the celebration of the "golden blond gunman" as a national hero.

Yet in all of these well-publicized cases with black victims, whites never lathered themselves up for punishment, to say nothing of vengeance, for the white perpetrator.

Furthermore, black women last week could not recall a single instance in New York — or American history — in which their victimization had been trumpeted at the collective volume the dominant society released over the brutalized jogger.

Blacks thus see that it is not crime, but black-on-white crime, that moved New York to high passion. The entire establishment (the mayor, Wall Street, the cardinal), the media, the venomous talk show hosts, etc.) rode down out of the hills to defend one of their own.

While grieving for the victim, African-Americans also demanded justice for the accused. Lost though they may be, these eight youngsters are their youngsters. Dehumanized by animal labels, painted as a monolith, they now stand representative for all black youngsters in the city.

In full-page ads, Donald Trump seemed to call for nothing short of a program against these youngsters: "I no longer want to understand their anger. I want them to understand our anger," Trump, his bulldozers ever at the ready, called for the death penalty.

As billionaire Trump closed ranks with Morton Downey, Mayor Edward Koch and the other race baiters, the gulf between the races in this town stretched even wider.

(C) 1989, Newsday Inc. Distributed by Los Angeles Times Syndicate