



We see the world
through Black eyes

Blacks must select own candidate

Gladys McCoy will resign from the Portland School Board on September 11th and some members of the Board have indicated a desire to fill the position with a Black person. This is appropriate since Black students make up 13.8 percent of the school population.

The district has some serious decisions to make in the next few months, decisions that center around minority concerns. The Community Coalition for School Integration will make its report on its investigation of desegregation policy and procedures in November and will make far-reaching recommendations. The district still has to deal with a realistic minority business enterprise program.

Three times in recent years the district has been found in non-compliance by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare — for segregation of teaching staff; for discrimination against Blacks in discipline; and for insufficiencies in the bi-lingual program.

It is clear that the Board needs input from a Black member, but it is also clear that the member must be representative of the Black community. He must have close contact with the community, be able to feel its concerns and be willing to be an advocate for its demands. This person must be selected and supported by the

Black community.

Certain Black persons have been mentioned as possible appointees by School Board members and several have been contacted by Mrs. McCoy with the indication that they might be considered if interested. But as far as we have been able to determine, no established Black organization, no so-called "leader", no person or group that has demonstrated a special interest in the schools has been contacted for recommendations. Other than letting the public know the position is available, no effort has been made to discuss the appointment with community groups.

It would be unconscionable if the remaining white board members were to ignore the recommendations of the Black community and select the Black member based on their own preconceived notions of what this person should be and should represent.

Neither can they depend solely on advice from the resigning Black member, whose rapport with the Black community has been questioned and who, at best, is only one individual.

If that should happen, it will be an indication that the district intends to go its own way and that the recommendations of the Coalition and others who are concerned about the education of Black children will fall on deaf ears. It will be an indication that redress must come from the courts.

Another Point of View

Put up or shut up

from the Gary, Indiana *Crusader*.

It has been pointed out once again that our daily newspaper is a racist newspaper. What's new?

We are not trying to infer that the statement is not true because we believe it is but we have some problems with the Black community that continue to harp on its (the newspaper's) racist attitudes instead of using a tool that's at its disposal.

What do we mean by that?

Well, we here at the *Crusader* are just a little tired of Black people trying to make white people act right. There are some areas that we must deal with them in an effort to receive some kind of fair treatment. For instance, the automobile industry. We own no automobile companies, therefore we have to rely on the existing ones for our purchase of an automobile. There are other areas of which this is also true.

However, it is not true in the case of a newspaper. While we are only a weekly newspaper and there are two other weekly newspapers in this town, why must you continue to support a racist organization?

Well, you say we only produce a newspaper once a week, and you want to read a newspaper every day. We could produce a newspaper every day if you would give us your support. You also say we only have from 12 to 24 pages a week. That's true, but we could certainly have a lot more if you purchased our paper, which we could use as a selling tool, and which would produce more advertising, number of pages you desire.

So, Black community, you are part of the case for this racist newspaper, because with all of its racism you continue to buy.

So we say to you, "PUT UP OR SHUT UP." If you don't like its racist attitudes then don't buy it and support the BLACK PRESS, your press.



Desegregation administrators: Once teachers, now clerks

by Herb L. Cawthorne

*It is not a carol of joy or glee,
But a prayer that he sends from his
heart's deep core,
But a plea, that upward to Heaven
he flings —
I know why the caged bird sings!*

"Sympathy"
Paul Laurence Dunbar

Armed with the 1964 report of the Committee on Race and Education and a bag full of special money, some administrators in the local school district began to make appointments with many reputedly fine Black teachers. Social pressures and federal legislation had convinced the local school system that something needed to be done about integration, although the future would show that they did not know exactly what.

Several years ago, numerous Black teachers heard a consistent proposition, which probably began with a question: "How would you like to assist your district in its desegregation efforts?"

The local white administrator perhaps elaborated thusly: Due to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965, and the Schwab Report of 1964, we have created some excellent new positions which, we feel, would be ideal for selected Black teachers. Our aim is to lower the percentages of Blacks in the Northeast Portland schools, and we need your help. Your salary will be much better, and you can teach us all how to face up to the difficulties of racially isolated children. The cause is a good one — an integrated school system here in the City of Roses.

One of the disheartening developments of desegregation history in Portland is the reality that a number of Black teachers jumped at the chance to secure these "special" positions. Frequently, after a conversation and the offer of more money, the Black teacher was enticed from the classroom. While the administration of the "racial balance" program got tremendous boost, the classroom atmosphere for Black children suffered a destructive drain. And as a result, the Black community became the victim of a swift backhanded blow, the sting of which smarts more today than at the moment of actual impact.

One by one, several Black teachers were plucked from the vines of intellectual vitality and delivered to the

morgue of desegregation. Some perceptive observers in the Black community have lamented that as time passed some Afro-American educators in Portland have completed in essence a full transformation from the creative teacher to the spineless clerk.

From the teacher to the clerk — a journey a number of local Afro-American professional educators have made in the hope of facilitating what they undoubtedly believed initially to be a sincere effort to harmonize the racial elements in Portland.

Yet, the concerned member of the Black community cannot help but question the exodus of some Black teachers to become arrowheads in a desegregation program which notoriously deceives the community by continually saying busing is voluntary when it is not. The transformation has been dramatic. From the teacher's vantage point for shaping the positive images of children in the past, several Black employees have become the pawns in the deception of the Black community in the present.

Under the dubious structure of desegregation here, those who have opted for a few more bucks and a vague hope have actually forfeited their right to self-assertion. They no longer have the freedom to assert their influence on the tender minds of society's Black children, and their weakness renders them only minimally effective at purging discrimination and prejudiced outlook from the school district.

From self-directed teaching to the mechanics of desegregation — a journey which undoubtedly was begun with the impression that the teaching of young minds was less significant than the opportunity to forge a new relationship among professional Blacks and whites in local education.

Yet, the attentive member of the Black community finds it hard to leave unnoticed the lifeless stagnation and utter complacency of those who administer the desegregation program. They give no information; they avoid the Community Coalition for School Integration like the plague; they refuse to unify with Black teachers; and they continue to implement, without pause or question, a desegregation process found in increasing disfavor by the Black community. In search

of better salaries and an elusive notion of "racial balance," some have thrown away the rewards of an appreciative public, substituting a scornful position whereby they simply sit by the window as the chief display of the commitment of a generally timid administration.

While I am sure some did not know it at the time of their decision, the educators who chose to become the technicians for desegregation have denied themselves the incomparable honor of truly sparking the future of Black people in this city. Instead of a focus on a generation of hope and faith, their visions are shackled by a limited opportunity for a fleeting personal security. Instead of facing the hungry eyes of children suffering from the pervasive insult of prejudice in Portland's society, they see now only the cold stare of an insensitive white supervisor.

From Black progress to white entrenchment — a journey which clearly began with a genuine hope has soured into professional disaster.

Because the desegregation effort has been totally inequitable, because it has "isolated" children from children, parents from parents, and teachers from teachers, the desegregation administrator has become the most "isolated" of all. In order to persuade Black parents to engage in an unequal process, they must speak language which degrades the schools in the local Afro-American community. And once the students arrive at schools away from their neighborhoods, the desegregation professionals are so lacking in power, understanding, unity of purpose and community support, they are forced to "blame the victim" in the face of conflicts in the predominantly white schools.

Thus, what began as perhaps a positive concern for meeting federal and social pressures toward better racial understanding has in Portland turned into a negative drain on the talent to teach Black children. Sadly, the desegregation workers no longer are seen as the creative sculpturers who carefully mold the formless minds of tomorrow's Black wealth. Now, they are seen as inhibitors of progress.

Once they were loved for touching the struggling hearts of Black children, now they are seldom trusted. Once they were teachers, now they are clerks.

Neo-conservatives and tax policy

by Bayard Rustin

Every time I pick up the *New York Times* and find one of those slick cleverly written advertisements from Mobil, I gain new insight into the varieties of conservative thought in America. Unlike the rather crude and half-baked positions of the New Right and its allies, the neo-conservatism of the Mobil ads is supremely intelligent and proper. For the average reader, the philosophy espoused by Mobil and its intellectual disciples appears moderate and sensible. But as harmless as it appears, it poses a serious threat to the movement for equality and justice in America.

In the area of tax policy, for example, the neo-conservatives in both political parties have already emerged as a powerful force for increased inequality. According to their model, society is divided into two broad "classes", the productive and unproductive. To insure continued economic growth and prosperity, the neo-conservatives propose a further redistribution of income and resources away from the so-called "unproductive" elements of society to the productive sector.

Stripped of its elegant ideological garments, the neo-conservative position is little more than a rehashed version of classical economic conservatism, the same conservatism made so unpopular by the disastrous economic policies of Coolidge, Hoover, and as more recently, Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford.

While the New Right engages in various forms of morality plays, the neo-conservatives have been busy transforming their philosophy into concrete legislative proposals. For example, on tax policy they have already produced two highly seductive bills which will almost surely receive even more attention during

the upcoming Congressional elections. Both bills, I think, would be disastrous if adopted.

In writing the "Tax Reduction Act", Congressman Jack Kemp (R-New York) has relied on the old strategy of coating vile medicine with sweet sugar. To sweeten the effects of a \$122 billion loss of revenue, Kemp's bill provides some tax relief to everyone. But the thought of reducing the federal budget by such an enormous amount is simply staggering. Everyone from the poorest pauper to the richest corporate president is going to feel it.

Kemp, of course, has a quick retort. By reducing taxes by thirty percent over the next three years, we will stimulate investment in the private sector which, according to the optimistic Congressman, will create millions of jobs and produce billions in revenue. As proof for this highly dubious theory, Kemp points to the Kennedy tax cuts and the beneficial results they produced. Unfortunately, as Walter Heller has pointed out, the economic environment in the early 1960's was substantially different from the dismal economic environment of today. Heller warns that the Kemp-Roth analysis is as misleading as the old "Free Lunch" signs in bars.

Kemp's bill is misleading in another way as well. Although he claims to be a friend of minorities, workers, and middle-class people (all of them hard pressed by high taxes), Kemp's bill is a lucrative tax bonanza for the rich, that is the truly "productive elements" of society. According to Kemp, our present tax system "is strangling the incentive for investment and savings that are so necessary to the production of goods and services."

I find it difficult to believe Kemp's assertion when I look at a Congressional report indicating that huge corporations like Texaco, AR-

CO, United States Steel, Xerox, ITT, and Union Carbide all enjoy effective tax rates below twenty percent. Interestingly enough, Mobil Oil, which provides us with reams of brow-beating essays, had an effective tax rate of under two percent in 1975!

To boost production, Kemp proposes massive tax reductions for those who already enjoy a high standard of living. Under the Kemp bill, 44.5 percent of the \$122 billion in lower taxes will go to the richest tenth of the American population. A family with an income of \$100,000 will receive \$8700 in tax reduction, more than many working people earn in a full year. By contrast, a family earning \$15,000 will receive a mere \$500 or \$600 in tax savings.

This same type of "welfare for the rich" is provided in a companion bill known as the Hansen-Steiger amendment. Like the Kemp-Roth bill, this legislation — which drastically reduces the capital gains tax — is aimed at "stimulating" investment by providing even more wealth to the rich, and shifting the tax burden even more heavily on those least able to bear it.

If we accept the political line so beautifully summarized in the Mobil ads, we should greet the Kemp-Roth and Hansen-Steiger bills with humble gratitude. For according to the neo-conservative, we — meaning Blacks, workers, and middle-income people — are the lucky, but unworthy, beneficiaries of the great wisdom and generosity of the "productive elite," those who own and operate the great corporations.

But if we reject this new corporate paternalism, we and our allies must present rational and creative alternatives aimed at increasing economic equality in America. By doing anything less than that, the moderate gains achieved after years of struggle will be swept away by the rising tide of business conservatism.



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PORTLAND OBSERVER

Published every Thursday by Exie Publishing Company, 2201 North Killingsworth, Portland, Oregon 97217. Mailing address: P.O. Box 3137, Portland, Oregon 97208. Telephone: 283-2486.

Subscriptions: \$7.50 per year in the Tri-County area, \$8.00 per year outside Portland.

Second Class Postage Paid at Portland, Oregon

The *Portland Observer's* official position is expressed only in its Publisher's column (We See The World Through Black Eyes). Any other material throughout the paper is the opinion of the individual writer or submitter and does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the *Portland Observer*.

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Portland, OR. 97208