

EDITORIAL/OPINION

Opposition as principle

It is an inevitable reality in the quests of Black people here to acquire any semblances of respect from the authoritarian sectors of public life that sometimes the most tragic frustrations are caused by persons of Black complexion. This is commonly attributed to their social development being woefully crippled.

The Portland police are launching a program wherein police will serve as the teachers to instruct students in schools in the Black community on what they should think about the police. Black people throughout this nation see this kind of police activity as heavy handed indoctrination, intimidation and aggression. It is an unconcealed *tour de force*.

More appropriately police should be entering school everywhere and enrolling in multi-cultural, non-racist educational courses to help them learn that Black children (people) are human. Black parents and Black organizations were not made aware of and consulted on the feasibility of this project. As is customary in most hardball, racist, militarist decisions Black input was of no importance.

The impact of such a program upon Black children can be only negative because the Black experience with police throughout the history of America has been only negative. Information at this point is that no Black officers are participating, and well they should not regardless of the reason.

Most Black people find in their encounters with police that officers frequently pervert the truth as routine procedure. Also police are the

first line of the organized, militarized and power endowed forces (guns, mace, electronic gear, assault vehicles, etc.) to invoke brutalities upon the Black population. They are physically trained and psychologically conditioned to arrest, whip and kill Black people. This happens so frequently that many Blacks think of police as adventure seekers and thrill killers. Opinions are widespread that these tendencies have not been reduced but public relations training enables police to structure better alibis. Portland police seldom disguise their contempt for Black people and this is sufficient reason for Black parents to object to police serving as teachers of Black children.

Black spokesmen have made their opposition known in clear and concise terms to Commissioner Jordan. He defends the program. Is there a message in all this?

Misuse to abuse

KGW TV is feverishly seeking to line up some Black persons to serve as rhetorical dissidents when William "super sperm" Shockley, pseudo-geneticist, is featured on the Gerry Pratt bark and bellow hour.

Several Black organizations and individuals have said "no." This may signal the beginning of a total disenchantment with KGW and NBC by the Black population. Shockley's appearance, added to Lew Frederick's "Albina" and the network's "Beulahland," is a crowning achievement in the huge wave of anti-Black racial chauvinism being vigorously stirred up by these media.

Economic Development: Opportunities for citizen participation

By Claudia Fisher

(Note: This article is one of a series focusing on economic and community development through community-based corporations.)

While citizen participation is on the road to institutionalization, the forms of citizen participation being institutionalized may be giving citizens the illusion that they have gained some greater power when actually the participation processes employed (often for appearances sake or for the sake of government funds) leave the citizen with no greater control than previously. The tranquilly deluded citizen with this illusion of having contributed to, benefitted from and had outcome determination power is less likely to make demands upon the system than is the citizen who has no real power and realizes it. In other words, we may be doing it more but enjoying less benefits.

To those of us with a burning desire to redistribute power and resources in society, the issue of citizen participation is critical to pursue. Blacks, and increasingly other groups in the minority in this country, have recognized and acted upon the belief, beginning with OEO Community Action Program days, and especially beginning with amendments to that legislation, that a deteriorated neighborhood must make its own plan, develop its own agenda and provide leadership and management in order for real change to occur.

In the community development process, there are two major objectives. The other is the process itself and what accrues to the community through its participation in or direction of that process. Community and economic development must be self-development.

When an organization is formed to achieve these two major ends, such as a community development corporation, with the intent of creating and directing businesses, institutions, programs and funds aimed at uplift of an area and its people, the single most important question that arises is, "Who controls the CDC?"

Susan Horn-Moo, from the Center for Community Economic Development in Cambridge, Mass., has discussed the control issue and the ways in which for-profit and nonprofit corporations set up membership criteria and decision-making authority. The remainder of this article is from her discussion in "Alternative Models for CDCs," 1974.

In a nonprofit CDC, the charter and bylaws set out rules of membership, just as a for-profit corporation's charter and bylaws describe those groups or individuals

who will be eligible to purchase stock.

Membership in nonprofit models may be extended to all community residents in a defined geographical area. Sometimes income limitations are imposed to assure that people with low incomes control the organization developed to benefit them, though we have all witnessed "low income representatives" not the least bit representative of the low income population at large. Some CDCs also require members to devote a set amount of time to the CDC as a means to create more committed membership.

The question of direct versus indirect membership of community residents must also be decided. Some CDC leaders favor indirect representation; in a large urban area a self-selected group of residents may be less committed or representative than a group chosen another way.

One common practice is to restrict membership to representatives of existing groups -- action, welfare, religious, social service, neighborhood, etc., -- who elect a representative to the CDC. The rationale is that if this group reflects the diverse interests and power structure then it can involve those already committed and working while still ensuring representation. The opposite view, of course, is that people with low income tend to participate less, so existing groups may be less than representative.

The direct and indirect method can be combined by allowing residents to become members directly while also electing a number of directors who are from both the general community and from representative community groups. State laws regarding this vary.

In for-profit CDCs, stockholders run the CDC. Stock may be owned by community residents (say for \$5 per share, which could be earned by selling stock or in some other way assisting the CDC). But CDCs do not usually begin by selling stock to the general community; they wait until business ventures become successful. Stock may be temporarily held by a nonprofit group or groups for the residents until it is determined to allow community purchase.

A trust can be set up for the benefit of the community. The association declares in writing, with powers and duties spelled out, that it is holding title to property for the benefit of another group of people. A trust does not usually do business or provide social services. With this temporary institution, which is similar to a nonprofit charitable corporation, trustees decide when

and how to spend profits and, to some extent, when to sell stock to the community.

Stock can remain in trust and never be sold; it remains in trust for the community's benefit as a whole, including those who cannot or do not purchase stock. This method offers the advantages of both direct and indirect control, as is possible in nonprofit corporations.

CDCs generally aim to be inclusive rather than exclusive. Community-based organizations are no longer single issue groups operating outside the mainstream or often employing techniques of confrontation and threat to achieve ends. Rather, CDC organization and operation involves compromise and accommodation by diverse segments of a geographical area population. This includes not only residents but also representatives from the private and public sector in a partnership essential to achieving ends. CDCs are a massive experiment in bringing together diverse elements of communities to achieve economic and community development.

But with all that compromise and accommodation, there must be in a CDC an effective program for community involvement, one that assures ultimate control by people who are intended to be the prime beneficiaries -- those with low income. The challenge and opportunity of getting people involved in a community development organization is the process of community development itself.

Next week's article will detail the process begun by Buckman Neighborhood and the inner southeast to create community economic development organizations.

Letters

To the Editor:
Congratulations *Portland Observer*!

The Black Community, the *Portland Observer* and the Portland area are very lucky in having Bruce Broussard as the new Editor and Publisher of the *Portland Observer*. I say this based upon my experience, of almost a decade, of knowing Bruce Broussard in the political and business arena. Based upon the experience, I can say that Bruce's energies will be devoted to the social and economic justice for all.

I look forward to the new accomplishments that will be obtained through Bruce's new leadership position.

Very truly yours,
Raul Soto-Seeig
Attorney At Law



Sea of Shaka 'Zone of Peace'

By Fungai Kumbula

Non-African historians and map-makers refer to it as the Indian Ocean but in the African world it has, from time immemorial, been known as "Nyanza kaShaka," the Sea of Shaka. The area in question is that vast body of water stretching from the eastern shores of Africa, east to the Indian subcontinent and Australasia and south to join the Antarctic Ocean. The Africans had named it in honor of Shaka the Great, the Zulu Emperor who, in the late nineteenth century, built one of the largest empires in the whole world.

At one point the empire encompassed what are now South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and parts of Mozambique and Zimbabwe. He was the great warrior-king often likened to Napoleon because of his military genius. Miriam Makeba, the great South African songbird, however, argues, and quite correctly too, that Napoleon should be called the white Shaka instead of calling Shaka the Black Napoleon. Through his military genius and great statesmanship, Shaka came closer to defeating the Boer and British settlers than any other leader in the history of South Africa.

Matter of fact, singly he had defeated both the Boers and the British. It was only when they joined forces that they were able to prevail. At about the same time also, Shaka suffered a series of defections from his ranks that were to prove the start of the beginning of the end of his great reign.

In a rather interesting twist of history, the President of Malagasy, Didier Ratsirake, this past week announced plans for an international conference to be held soon, the sole purpose of which will be to make the Sea of Shaka a zone of peace.

Plant closings and economic democracy

By Dr. Manning Marble

In the hot summer of 1980, the working class of Detroit experienced the highest sustained rate of unemployment since the Great Depression. A cutback in automobile output of 30 percent meant that 80,000 employees at Chrysler, Ford and General Motors have been laid off indefinitely. Detroit's unemployment rate exceeds 18 percent; for Black auto workers, the figure is above 25 percent. Black youth unemployment is between 50-60 percent and climbing.

Similar conditions exist throughout the country. In 1979, the U.S. Department of Labor estimated that over 400,000 workers lost their jobs because of plant closings. Hundreds of thousands more were thrown into unemployment lines because of private industry cutbacks in hiring, or reductions in existing work personnel short of complete closure.

Americans are accustomed to these kinds of cruel statistics - they no longer surprise us. We live in a society where the system of government and law reflects the rule of private capital. The American Revolution two centuries ago was fought, after all, to liberate one group of domestic entrepreneurs and slaveholders from the unfair restrictions on their right to accumulate and control capital. By capital, I mean all forms of private property, money and all financial systems, the ownership of the means

Malagasy is that large island (larger than California and Oregon combined) which used to be called Madagascar and which sits in the Sea of Shaka about a hundred miles from the coast of Mozambique. It is considered part of the African continent.

Increasing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union have resulted in a large military build-up in the Sea Shaka. Such other African leaders as Mozambique's Samora Machel, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Libya's Muammar Khaddafi have called for the "demilitarization" of the Sea of Shaka. Britain is at the moment involved in a running diplomatic wrangle with the island of Mauritius, Malagasy's other island neighbor, over Britain's use of Deigo Garcia.

Diego Garcia is another Sea of Shaka island that belongs to Mauritius and which had been leased to the British to use "for non military purposes." Over the years the British in collusion with the Americans proceeded to remove the local population and turn Diego Garcia into a military base. For that reason, Mauritian President Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam is demanding return of his island on the grounds that terms of the lease have been violated.

The conference which will be held either late next year or early 1982 has so far been endorsed by 20 nations: eight of them African, five Asian, three Sea of Shaka nations, plus Cuba, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and France. The UN had in 1971 passed a resolution proclaiming the Sea of Shaka a zone of peace. Also, last year plans were made to hold a UN conference in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) in 1981. Sri Lanka

is another Sea of Shaka island nation.

While all this is going on, the United States is busy "beefing up its Sea of Shaka forces." She has already reached agreement with Kenya, the East African nation bordering on the Sea of Shaka, for use of her port facilities. Though this has seriously alienated Kenya, the arap Moi led regime is still pressing ahead.

Further north, Somalia led by Siad Barre, has been rumored to be near signing an agreement that would permit the United States use of her port facilities in exchange for massive economic and military assistance. For several years now Somalia has been engaged in an on-again, off-again war with Ethiopia over Somali claims to Ethiopian territory. She now sees this use of her ports as the final carrot to lure the United States into providing the military hardware she needs so badly for this war.

Most African countries would like to see the establishment of this zone of peace in the Sea of Shaka. To them, the East-West conflict is totally irrelevant to their everyday lives. They wish not to be caught in the cross-fire. Said one up and coming young African, "If the Russians and Americans want to annihilate each other, why don't they go and do so somewhere in outer space where the fallout will not affect those of us who still have a love of life?"

Making the Sea of Shaka a zone of peace would be a fitting tribute to one of Africa's and the world's greatest leaders because it would guarantee what he fought for all his life: the independence and security as well as prosperity of all African people.

and distribution of all productive forces and consumer goods.

All capital in a capitalist society is mobile. All businesses can expand or contract, open and close or move to any part of the U.S., or even the globe.

Who bears the costs for the high mobility of American capital? Society. First, in order to hold their jobs, most workers must sell their houses, leave friends and family, and relocate to a new environment. All citizens pay for the relocation of a plant in the form of higher state and local taxes whenever a plant departs. The environment also suffers, as major businesses relocate periodically in search of lower state and local taxes, nonunion labor and a generally favorable political climate for capital accumulation.

Until several years ago, the problem of "capital flight" was not even perceived as a problem - until some disturbing economic statistics came into public discussion about a decade ago. Familiar American corporate names like General Motors, IBM, and General Foods began to conduct more and more of their transactions overseas. The old "mom-and-pop" neighborhood stores of the Great Depression and World War II era began giving way to multinational corporations. More foreign capital was invested inside the U.S., more domestic capital began to move overseas.

An excellent example of this later case is provided by the U.S. Banking industry. In 1964, only

elevan U. S. banks had overseas branches, and these branch banks held assets totalling only \$7 billion. In 1972, 107 U. S. banks had foreign branches and assets totalling \$90 billion. During this 8 year period, Chase Manhattan's share of foreign assets to total assets increased from 12 to 34 percent. Citibank of New York's percentage rose from 16 to 46 percent. By 1974 the conglomerate owner of Citibank, Citicorp, earned 62 percent of its total net profits from overseas operations. This capital for the most part comes from our savings accounts, pension funds and other sources of income derived from our labor. Thus private capital uses our money to finance its own foreign projects to destroy our jobs.

NAACP meets

The NAACP, Portland Branch, will meet Sunday, September 21st at 4:00 p.m., at St. Phillips Episcopal Church, NE Knott and Rodney.

On the agenda is a discussion of branch election procedures. Election of a nominating committee will take place at the October meeting. All who want to serve on the nominating committee must be members in good standing by September 25th.

Additional agenda items are a discussion of the Little Rostus program on channel 2, voter registration and political action, and whether to ask to host the 1982 regional convention.

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The *Portland Observer* is a defender against racist assaults, persecutions, insults, harassments, discriminations and related evils; a vigilant champion for justice, equality and liberation; an alert guard against social atrocities; a thorough analyst and severe critic of discriminatory practices; a sentinel to warn of all existing and impending detrimental racist trends and practices.

The real problems of the Black population will be viewed and presented from the perspective of their causality: unrestrained and chronically entrenched white racism. National and international arrangements that prolong and increase the oppression of Third World peoples shall be considered in relation to the continued abuse, exploitation, political manipulation and contrivances implicit in the relationships that have characterized America's historical treatment of its Black population.



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