

EDITORIAL/OPINION

El Salvador initiative success

One of the most significant results in the November 2nd election was largely overlooked in the excitement over the defeat of Measure 3, the narrow success of Measure 51 and the fate of favorite candidates.

Measure 7—the El Salvador initiative—puts the people of Multnomah County on record as opposing U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

This measure passed by an overwhelming 75.4 percent majority, an even larger majority than the nuclear freeze initiative. The vote demonstrates that the people of Portland do not want their tax money used to buy helicopters, bombs, bullets and napalm to kill the people of El Salvador—largely peasants without education or medical care who only want to live in peace and security.

Throughout the world the people call for a halt to the massacre in El Salvador. Mexico and Venezuela have recommended talks between the guerrillas and the government and its patron, the U.S. Cuba has recommended negotiation. The guerrillas have repeatedly offered to meet with government and U.S. representatives. Even Deane Hinton, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, has charged the El Salvador government with failing to stop the more than 30,000 civilian murders by government endorsed right-wing terrorist groups and the military.

In spite of all of this, U.S. military aid continues and an increase is planned.

The guerrillas, who represent the people, are gaining in strength and eventually will win. The only question is how many people will die first. The El Salvadoran government would fall if U.S. support were withdrawn—so the U.S. is directly responsible for the bloodshed.

The only way to stop this madness is for the people of the U.S. to put an end to it. The initiative will serve as an example to other cities and states to follow Portland's example. It also should enable the Oregon Legislature to pass legislation this season. A similar bill narrowly lost in the House last session; the people's vote should give those legislators more courage.

Congratulations and thanks to the small group of hard working people who not only put this measure on the ballot, fought in court for its admission, and publicized it—but for several years have spent many hours bringing the El Salvador revolution to public attention, providing educational information, raising money for medical supplies, etc. They have shown that hard work and persistence can bring success—but the battle is far from won. All those citizens who voted for Measure 7 need to contact Congress and the Oregon Legislature to demand that U.S. involvement be stopped now.

If this is a democracy we live in the wishes of the people should mean something. . . .

Return board to citizens

The passage of Measure 51 should demonstrate to everyone—including the Portland Police Association, the police administration, and the Mayor—that the people of Portland want some type of police review committee. The narrowness of the vote indicates that they are not too happy about the involvement of elected officials.

The Council's first order of business should be to return the citizen's audit committee to the citizens.

Time running out for South Africa

by Frank W. Goheen

The brutal and senseless system of racial segregation and exploitation in the Republic of South Africa, known as apartheid, is not just the sick conception of a small group of theologians and politicians in the South African Dutch community. Millions of members of the Dutch Reformed Church believe implicitly in the God-given right of white South Africans to treat black South Africans like slaves or worse. We know that this is just the sort of treatment these devout and determined white men and women have meted out to 20 million black men and women in South Africa.

The rationale behind the system of apartheid is that eventually each "nation" in South Africa—the white, Colored (mixed race), Asian, and black—will have their own homeland wherein they will rule themselves. Magically, all racial animosity will disappear because all races will live completely apart, or so the theological seminaries and political caucuses of the South African Dutch, or Afrikaners, believe. There are undoubtedly white South Africans who really believe in this utopian and impossible conception, and like all true believers they are willing to do great wrongs to achieve their ends. Since 1960, 3 million black South Africans have been transported by force from "white" areas to desolate and poverty-stricken "homelands" where they, by the stroke of a pen, cease to be South Africans and start to be Zulus, Transkeians, or what have you. By eliminating all blacks from the category of being South Africans, the white South Africans are relieved of the onerous burden of ever having to deal with black South African grievances.

The practical effect of this inhuman and draconian policy is to kill black children, who are the weakest and most helpless members of the community, by the tens of thousands and the hundreds of thou-

sands from diseases that would not exist, or at least not exist as virulently, in the areas from which they have been forcibly removed. The zealous white enforcers of the "influx control" programs to keep blacks out of the cities and the officials who want to keep "white South Africa white" do not care about the suffering they cause, for they can always return to their comfortable homes at night and never hear the cries and lamentations of those who suffer. Such is apartheid, a system several billion dollars of American investments support and fortify. We must not be fooled into believing that the white South Africans will get rid of apartheid to attract investment, for it is the guarantee of cheap labor and a docile work force that attracts business from America, Britain, and other places, and that apartheid provides in abundance.

Analysis

A combination of ideological zeal for apartheid and the desire to make as much money as possible has brought tragedy to one of the world's most beautiful countries. A measure of the tragedy can be found in just one statistic: the infant mortality rate for whites in South Africa is 12 per 1,000 per year, while for blacks it is over 250 per 1,000. Among older black children the mortality is mainly due to malnutrition, even though South Africa exports over \$2 billion worth of food per year. The food to save these children is there, but the political will to use it to save lives is not. America and Western Europe approve of this situation *de facto* even if they make perfunctory speeches from time to time against it. Actions, such as withdrawing investments, would speak much louder than mere words.

The existence of apartheid in the

modern world is an evil that only Nazi Germany in the Second World War and the Cambodian regime of Prime Minister Pol Pot from 1975-1979 has ever equaled. Until such time as the West removes its support from the South African government, both military and economic, the world will be confronted with a grave and present danger of race war on a massive scale in southern Africa. Comforting words about "reform" of apartheid have been said many times before since 1948, yet the shackles holding down the 70 percent black majority have never been more locktight than now, and never more destructive of human life and dignity. Of all the nations of the world, only the Republic of South Africa has elevated racial discrimination to an official policy written into its laws and constitution. That the United States has formed a kind of "axis" between Washington and Pretoria is the most tragic, and for Americans, shameful, aspect of the situation. Perhaps the news that a white man, Dr. Neil Haggart, who had attempted to organize black workers into a union, was tortured and killed by the South African police, should awaken us to the fact that it is not just blacks who are liable to feel the heavy and implacable boot of the South African police. Since 1960, at least 60 prisoners have been killed while in jail for political viewpoints, while over the same period the Pretoria regime has had thousands of common criminals hanged for offenses that would merit only a few years in jail in America.

Time is running out for a peaceful solution in South Africa, but the United States government thinks that business as usual is the correct approach to this ghastly human tragedy. We can't wait any longer to make our individual views heard by our government. Apartheid must cease to exist if there is to be any peace and security for Africa or for the world.

The Wallace story

by Dr. Manning Marable

Of all the opponents to blacks' civil rights in the 1960s, none equalled George C. Wallace in racial hatred and demagoguery. Wallace was the personification of bigotry and white supremacy. Yet on September 29, 1982, the symbol of racism won an election in the Alabama Democratic primary, and is likely to become governor of that state for an unprecedented fourth term. (Since this was written, Wallace did win that governor's race—Ed.) In a narrow race with a progressive Democrat, Lieutenant Governor George McMillan, Wallace succeeded in carrying a third of the state's black voters, and by that margin won the election.

In the campaign, the overwhelming majority of black elected officials supported McMillan. But Wallace was able to co-opt the majority of conservative rural black preachers into his cause, who in turn urged their congregations to "forget the past" and "to forgive Wallace" by casting their support for him. When Mrs. Coretta Scott King and other civil rights activists stumped the state for McMillan, black ministers denounced her as "an outside agitator." Incredibly, several majority-black counties—the sites of the bloodiest civil rights demonstrations—cast majorities for Wallace. The former governor even received 30 to 40 percent of the black vote in Montgomery, the state capital.

For outside civil rights observers, the renaissance of Wallace is nothing short of a political nightmare. Such interpretations fail to take into account Wallace's chameleon-like ability to reverse himself according to the prevailing political conditions. During the recent campaign, for instance, Wallace not only defended Mrs. King's right to campaign against him, but also noted to the press that "one or both of Mrs. King's elderly parents, who live in Marion, Alabama, planned to vote for him."

To understand Wallace's recent victory, it is necessary to review his political career over the past forty years. In the 1940s, Alabama was a strictly segregated society. Yet the state's white electorate, in the tradition of Southern Populism, put into office a number of relatively enlightened public officials. Compared to the vitriolic demagogues of neighboring Mississippi, particularly Theodore Bilbo, Alabama Senators Lister Hill and Hugo Black, and Governor James Folsom were infinitely better. They were all segregationists, but they advanced economic programs which benefited poor blacks and whites alike. Wallace first emerged as a protégé of Folsom, winning election as a state representative from rural Barbour County. Wallace served as Folsom's alter-ego for a dozen years, managing his successful re-election campaign in southern Alabama in 1954. In return for his support, Wallace asked Folsom to appoint him to the board of trustees at Tuskegee Institute. "It was considered a very liberal move at the time," one prominent white politician recalled later. "Na-

turally, nobody was thinking about race back then like they got to thinking about it later, but it was still considered very liberal of him to establish this contact with the Negro community. And he was real proud of this connection with Tuskegee; he'd tell everybody about it. Anybody'd said back then he would be where he is today on the racial question, we'd of thought they were crazy."

During his first decade in Alabama politics, Wallace established himself on the left wing of the Democratic Party on the race question. A genuine populist on economic issues, Wallace urged his white constituents to consider the plight of blacks in the same terms as their own. After his election as circuit judge, Wallace subsequently announced his candidacy for governor in 1958. His principal opponent was a "stridently irreconcilable segregationist," John Patterson. When Patterson accepted the support of the Ku Klux Klan, Wallace issued a sharp denunciation of the racist group. Endorsed by labor, Jewish organization and the state's NAACP chapter, Wallace lost the run-off election to Patterson by 64,902 votes. After his defeat, Wallace informed his supporters: "John Patterson out-niggered me. And boys, I'm not goin' to be out-niggered again."

The ambitious politician who once told friends that "we just can't keep the colored folks down like we been doin' for years and years" suddenly became a raving demagogue, more outrageous than Bilbo, Patterson, Vardaman, and the entire motley host of racist leaders throughout Southern history. In the election of 1962, Wallace's entire campaign denounced "carpetbaggin'" and "race mixin'." Anyone who opposed him was "a nigger-lover, a pinko, or a communist." He attacked liberals as "sissy-briches intellectual morons," and was swept into office as governor. At his inauguration in January, 1963, Wallace declared, "From this very heart of the great Anglo-Saxon Southland, in the name of the greatest people that have trod this earth, I say Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"

From 1963-1967 and 1971-1979, Wallace reigned as the state's governor; his first wife, Lurleen, was elected to the post in 1966. During most of these years, Wallace fostered what his biographer, Marshall Frady, terms "a totalitarian society." Wallace "left Alabama with a single provincial vision of itself in the nation and the world, and a single ruthless expectation for unanimity—not only in ideas but also in habits, in morality, even in dress: most youngsters in Alabama classrooms regarded any deviation from short hair and neatly pressed clothes as a sign of perversion." *Mein Kampf* became "the Bible of Alabama," and friends and foes of Wallace drew parallels between the governor and Hitler. Wallace gleefully appointed semi-literate into positions of public responsibility, and bragged openly that one of his appointees as a state college president

barely "just did finish the sixth grade." In public statements, he suggested that the U.S. was "maneuvered into fighting the enemies of communism" in World War II. Wallace regretted "fighting against those anti-Communist nations. Hell, we should have been in those trenches with the Germans... fighting the Bolsheviks."

Wallace's sordid career in national politics is quite familiar, and can be summarized briefly. In 1964, 1968 and 1972 he was a major factor in the presidential races. 9.9 million Americans voted for him in an independent presidential campaign in 1968, comprising 13.5 percent of the electorate. In the Democratic primary elections of 1972, he carried a 42 percent plurality in Florida, and also won in Michigan and Maryland. It is entirely possible that had Wallace not been shot and paralyzed during this campaign that he would have become the Democratic party's Vice Presidential candidate, perhaps with conservative Henry Jackson at the top of the ticket. As it was, Wallace's focus returned to state politics. Retiring in 1979, after serving three terms as governor, most black and progressive white Southerners breathed a sigh of relief—until this fall.

If it is possible to say anything positive about the Wallace legacy in Alabama, one must admit that his administration carried out substantial liberal socio-economic reforms in the state. Compared to the "New South" governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, Wallace was far more progressive. In ten years, he established 14 new junior colleges, 15 trade schools, and greatly expanded the size of Alabama's social services to the poor. By 1976 the proportion of the state's labor force employed by state government and social service programs was 34 percent, the second highest ratio in the U.S. Wallace's advocacy of social spending was a key factor in the 1982 election.

But a more disturbing issue remains. While in office, Wallace inspired a reign of lynchings, murders, and police brutality against blacks. His epigones raped and bludgeoned blacks with legal impunity, in the name of white supremacy. In a very real sense, Wallace is responsible for the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963, which killed four little black girls. After all the human sufferings, Wallace stands before the black electorate, asking for the remission of his bloody crimes.

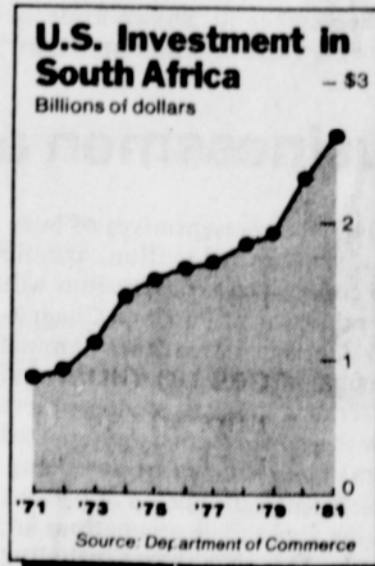
As heirs to a rich tradition of black faith and forgiveness, black Alabamians *should* have replied: "Yes, we can forgive you. And to show your commitment to us, we will allow you to sweep the streets of Birmingham's black community. Or raise money for a black school; or work as an orderly in a rural black hospital. We forgive you, but under no conditions will we entrust you with our votes. *Never again* will you be allowed to occupy the most minor position of civil authority over our lives. We can forgive: *but we will never forget.*"

U.S. closer to South Africa

(Continued from page 1 column 6)

South Africa in attempting to tie Namibian independence to withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighboring Angola. Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said that Cuban troops will stay until Namibia is independent and South Africa withdraws its troops from Namibia and from southern Angola. Although Gen. Vernon Walters spent the summer attempting to change Santos' mind, South Africa has done its part by launching repeated invasions of Angola. The United States continues to claim that a "breakthrough" is imminent but Angola and Cuba say this is propaganda spread by the Western

press. In the meantime the U.S. and South Africa are solidifying their relationship. A consular convention was signed in October that strengthens protections to consular staffs of the two countries—a step toward normal relations. Last week the number of attaches of each government in the other's country was brought to full strength. President Jimmy Carter had an attaché after the death of Steve Biko in 1977 and South Africa expelled two more and reduced their staff in Washington. The airplane that South Africa claimed was used by the attaches for spying was returned to the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria.



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