

## EDITORIAL/COMMENTARY

### Senate Tax Bill, Good Legislation

The Tax Bill approved last Tuesday by the Senate Finance Committee was a good piece of legislation. The Bill, which was sponsored by Oregon Senator Bob Packwood, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has been called the most radical tax reform legislation in more than 40 years. Now the Tax Bill must be approved by a House-Senate conference committee.

Under the Bill, six million low-income taxpayers will pay no taxes at all - tax rates for both individual and business will be reduced - instead of 15 tax brackets, there will be only two - tax loopholes for the wealthy will be eliminated.

As with any legislation, there will be losers. For example, under the Senate Bill, businesses would lose a \$38 billion yearly subsidy for equipment purchases; impose a minimum tax limiting the value of deductions for equipment; eliminate most individual tax shelters; and repeal deductions for contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRA).

Making wealthy individuals and corporations pay their fair share of taxes is what makes the Senate Bill a good piece of legislation. For too long, this nation's tax laws have favored the rich and big business.

The Senate tax plan is the first plan in recent memory that favors the common citizen and not special interest groups.

### Call to Conscience Challenges U.S. Policy in Southern Africa

by Jerry Garner

A group of organizations opposing the system of Apartheid in Southern Africa has formed the Call to Conscience (CTC).

Call to Conscience is modeled on the Pledge of Resistance used by Central American activists. CTC is a pledge taken to demand that the United States government, its institutions and its corporations cease all actions supporting injustice in Southern Africa.

Acting on moral and religious values, individuals and organizations will

use nonviolent protest to challenge policies that strengthen Apartheid.

Call to Conscience asks citizens to join with others to engage in acts of public protest, as conscience leads them, including participating in demonstrations, vigils, leaflet distributions, and appeals to the Congress and the White House.

CTC is supported by the following organizations: American Committee, Episcopal Church People for a Free Southern Africa, National Black

Caucus of State Legislators, National Black United Front, National Free South Africa Movement, National Namibia Concerns, National Political Congress of Black Women, Southern Africa Support Project, Trans Africa, United States Student Association, and Washington Office on Africa.

Under the system of Apartheid, 26,000,000 Blacks are denied the right to vote, to live and work where they choose, to own a business or trade, or to live with their families as equals with the 6 million White South Africans.



### "Black Mayors: A Mixed Review"

Dr. Manning Marable "Along the Color Line"

The recent electoral defeat of incumbent Mayor Kenneth A. Gibson of Newark highlights a national trend in black politics - a growing degree of alienation between big city mayors and their black constituents. First elected mayor in 1970, Gibson was seeking an unprecedented fifth term against three challengers. Highly confident throughout the campaign, Gibson was shellshocked when voters gave their mandate to Sharpe James, a black college professor and city councilman. Soundly defeated, Gibson now admits that he "never saw it coming."

He should have. Gibson was the first black elected mayor of a Northeastern city. Initially, he brought into office a number of excellent appointments. In the past sixteen years, Newark's health care has improved markedly, and black infant mortality rates declined. Crime dropped over 6 percent, and nearly 11,000 apartments for families and the elderly were renovated or constructed. But Newark's other problems were so severe that only massive Federal intervention could have turned things around. For a decade, Gibson called for a "Marshall Plan" to rebuild U.S. central cities. But no major aid ever arrived.

Newark's socioeconomic base, already declining when Gibson was first elected, was shattered in subsequent years. The number of restaurants fell from 937 to 246 this year. Retail stores dropped from 3,869 to 1,794. Hotels fell from 32 to 16; drug stores, 205 down to 59. In a major city of over 300,000 people, there are currently no bowling alleys, six movie theatres, and only one large supermarket. The decline in businesses meant a loss of jobs. As of February, 1986, Newark's unemployment rate reached 12.6 percent.

Many problems Gibson faced could have been addressed by vigorous leadership, and strong, grassroots organization by community groups. Instead, power led to managerial malaise and corruption. The administration's critics have long noted that in competence quickly became the norm under Gibson. Rutgers University Professor Hilda Hidalgo observes, "Political loyalty became more of a criterion for a person getting a job or keeping people in positions." Ultimately, Gibson's lame promises were no longer satisfactory.

Other black mayors share Gibson's woes. In New Orleans two months ago, the handicapped mayoral candidate of outgoing Mayor Ernest Morial was trounced at the polls by his opponent, black city councilman Sidney Barthelemy. The election was in many respects a referendum on the eight year

tenure of Morial, New Orleans' first black mayor. Prohibited from running for a third term, Morial selected his close ally, State Sen. William Jefferson, a black Harvard law graduate, as his nominal successor. During a bitter mayoral campaign, a pro-Jefferson radio commercial attacked Barthelemy as "favoring whites." Barthelemy's strong victory represented two distinct constituencies. Eighty-six percent of all whites voted for him, plus an additional 28 percent of the black electorate. Crude racial appeals backfired; more fundamentally, blacks who did support Barthelemy were indirectly expressing a vote of "no confidence" in Morial.

One year after the disastrous bombing and urban fire precipitated by the MOVE incident in Philadelphia, Mayor Wilson Goode remains besieged. The event which claimed the lives of six adults, 5 children, and destroyed 61 homes, has never been justified. Even Goode's panel selected to investigate the case stated in its public report that the mayor was "grossly negligent," displaying a "reckless disregard for life and property." Hundreds of Black Philadelphia community leaders continue to call for his resignation - and even prosecution. Now Goode's white corporate backers have begun to distance themselves from the mayor's problems. Ralph Widner, the executive director of the Greater Philadelphia First Corporation, recently stated: "There is a widespread perception that you can't rely on his word." Two short years ago, Goode was seriously considered as Mondale's vice presidential running mate. Now, his political life appears to be virtually over.

In the late 1960s, many black political activists believed that the election of more Afro-American mayors would help solve the systemic problems of urban poverty, racism, unemployment, and police brutality. What we've learned from Newark, New Orleans and Philadelphia is that race alone can be no viable litmus test for political success. Unless politicians are responsive to community-based interests, and without extensive grassroots mobilization and continued efforts to empower poor, black and Hispanic constituencies, the election of black Democrats as mayors is almost meaningless.

Dr. Manning Marable will become Professor of Political Science and Sociology at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, beginning this July. "Along the Color Line" appears in more than 140 newspapers internationally.

## Letters to the Editor

### "Double Standard Of Justice"

People around the world recognize that so-called christian caucasoid Amerika is moving toward the abyss created by its own racist arrogance, misplaced priorities, rampant materialism, and ethical bankruptcy. The Reagan administration doesn't recognize international law. I was taught to believe Law is a refinement of man's aspiration to be civil, responsible and orderly. Civility promotes sensitivity to human feelings, thoughts and actions. Responsibility rejects fatalistic determinism. Orderliness espouses the rational and purposeful orientation of action and organization. So one could say Law consciousness is in part a product of constitutionalism which is a species of legalism. Legalism is an ideology committed to rule-following. Rule-following is a form of rational decision-making and, in the case of constitutions, power allocating. Thus, ever since the Constitutional Convention there has been a practice in the United States of attempting to solve great political and social problems through the process of law, including especially judicial solution than slavery and race relations in the United States. So I would say it is unwise to ever put too much confidence in the Court as the savior of Blacks. Yet fidelity to and respect for law enables many to transcend their callous incivility, selfish irresponsibility, and willful disorderliness. Law may be pedagogical as well as prescriptive.

On the whole, lawyers, the caretakers of our Constitutionalism,

have served our history and country comparatively well, in spite of their sometimes "brilliant myopia," "superfluous rigor," and precious rigidity. Public interest and civil rights lawyers are very much in keeping with the fine tradition of public service by some lawyers. And even if legal education sometimes "ennervate(s) moral indignation" and "inculcate(s) intellectual and oral timidity," it has produced a lot of fine lawyers who are dedicated to correcting injustices, promoting the common good, and expanding civility.

Brothers and Sisters - remember, knowledge is power. Black professionals must obtain and put it at the disposal of the Black Community in Portland. Otherwise the Black Community will be cast into outer "darkness," blindly beseeching and imploring the patronizing attention and feckless assistance of caucasoid professionals and missionary imperialists. I'm inclined to believe it would be well for Blacks to remember in evaluating and dealing with caucasoids and their institutions, whether judicial, legislative, administrative, or corporate, that "conservatives" are self-righteously arrogant; "liberals" are sometimes indulgently generous.

After reading the Editorial Commentary, 6/25/86, "Rehnquist Appointment Predictable," I'm inclined to believe continuous re-evaluation and re-assessment of all legal institutions, processes and principles are required, if effective legal strategies are to be employed against unequal-

ity, injustice and racism. Mr. William H. Rehnquist, will attempt to imprison the Supreme Court by a rigid framework of rules; rules which tend to glorify form over substance. I've been unable to find anyone who could possibly characterize Me. Rehnquist as sympathetic to individual or human rights. He's essentially a law and order man, guided by Frankfurter notions of formal equality. He will point the Court in whatever direction Mr. Reagan's winds blow and backlash counter-currents flow. Nominee Rehnquist is the signal that the role of the Supreme Court as a protector of Black causes may soon come to an end. This would mean that poor or working people can no longer depend on the Court to deliver the justice denied them by other less sympathetic Amerikan institutions.

The United State Supreme Court, as an institution, historically has not served as especially beneficial role in the lives of Blacks. The Court, like all other major institutions in Amerika, has reflected much of the overall racism of the society at large. Mr. Reagan is behaving and becoming king-like, which means he, and especially those in high places closely associated with him, feel they are above the law and governmental tradition. That which is corrupt or perverse or smells in the Reagan Administration is overlooked, rationalized, or disbelieved by the general caucasoid populace.

Indeed, it appears that the racist and anti-Black implication of a movement toward a second post-

Reconstruction are warmly approved and embraced by the majority of the so-called christian caucasoid populace. Blacks as an identifiable group will find a great threat to their interests in decisions of the Reagan-Rehnquist Court except when their claims are framed in terms reminiscent of nineteenth century property interests or coincidental to the nouveau malheureux, such as middle class caucasoid women, the aged, and non-smokers.

Dr. Jamil Cherovee

### "Have Black People Made It?"

Black People have made it to the suburbs, where we live next door to caucasoid people in houses and apartments and stand in line with caucasoid people in department stores and quick-food restaurants. Black people have made it to caucasoid schools, where we learn to speak caucasoid languages and tell caucasoid lies just like caucasoid people do. Black People have made it to the beauty parlors, where we straighten Our hair, squeeze Our noses and make Our thick lips thin so we can look like caucasoid people look. And, Black People have made it away from the used car lots; now we can buy a brand new car and make it to the Capital Centre in style. If these things are what equality is all about, then Black People have certainly made it.

But, do Black People have independent land of Our own where we can grow the food Black People need to survive? No, We don't, but caucasoid people do. Do Black People have a government of Our own which makes the laws that Black People live by? No, We don't, but caucasoid people do. Do Black People have an army of its own that will defend Us against foreigners who attack Us? No, We don't, but caucasoid people do. And, do Black People have a social structure of Our own, one that will direct Us in Our personal and interpersonal relationships? No, We don't but caucasoid people do. It follows then, that if these things are what equality is all about, Black People certainly have not made it.

This essay does at least three things. First, it tells Us what we think equality is, and what it actually is. Secondly, it tells Us what We are about, and what We should be about. Thirdly, it implies that there is a link between the two; between Our perception of equality and what We are about (What We do).

The first paragraph tells Us what We think equality is, and implies that We function in a certain way because that is what We are seeking. So, We function like simple-minded adults who, instead of being concerned about establishing standards, are satisfied imitating the standards established by caucasoid people; the reasoning being that if We can be like them, then We are equal to them. Needless to say, that type of reasoning is dangerous to Black

People's health.

The first paragraph tells what We are about, Brothers/Sisters. We are about imitating caucasoid people and playing caucasoid games with Our life. We are about ignorant people can satisfy themselves with less than what they need. What are We ignorant of? We are ignorant of what equality is really all about.

The second paragraph tells Us that equality is really about having the power to establish your own standards, enforce those standards and defend those standards against attack, when necessary. It is not about being able to dress cool, talk slick and live next to caucasoid people. It is about establishing governments, building armies and providing for the welfare of large numbers of people.

The second paragraph, by telling Us what equality really is, implies what We should be really about, Brothers/Sisters. It tells Us what people who are serious and knowledgeable of world politics are all about. It tells Us what people who understand power are all about, and suggest that, if We want equality, We should be about that also. We must stop settling for less than what We deserve. We should stop settling for the role of well-off imitators. We should recognize that equality is more than what We have thought it is and

recognize that We therefore need to make adjustments in the way We conduct Ourselves. Then, after making these recognitions, We should act accordingly; We should act as serious people in search of power and self-determination (equality) usually act.

I believe it was our Brother (Marcus M. Garvey) who said: "The so-called Negro now stands at the crossroads of human destiny. He is at the place where he must either step forward or backward. If he goes backward he dies; if he goes forward it will be with the hope of a greater life. Those of us who have developed our minds scientifically are compelled, by duty, to step out among the millions of the unthinking masses and convince them of the seriousness of the age in which We live."

I'm inclined to believe, a successful attack on rising crime rates must consider the employment problems facing poor people. What can be done, in the context of the failure of our moral and political systems, to provide jobs and a decent standard of living for poor people in Portland? What people learn and study has to be relevant to their needs and at the same time it should enable them to change their condition and their surroundings, thereby changing themselves. It's obvious the masses of poor people are being programmed for destruction.

Dr. Jamil Cherovee

### Welfare Families Decry End of Two-Parent Family Welfare Program

On May 9, 1986 the Emergency Board of the legislature ended the two-parent family welfare program (ADC-UN) which began February 1, 1986. Families whose benefits have been cut off will tell what is happening to them at a media conference at the Family House, 626 N.W. 19th, in Portland, at 10:30 a.m. on July 1, 1986.

Because of budget deficits in the Department of Human Resources, the Emergency Board voted to stop ADC-UN July 1, 1986 and to have it start up again on November 1, 1986. Currently, there are 11,319 people (or 2,736 cases) receiving ADC-UN benefits. All of these families will lose their cash benefits on July 1.

One such family is the Kerths. The Kerths have been married for 20 years. They have 10 children, and one on the way. Last November Mr. Kerth lost his job, and has pounded the pavements job-hunting, without success, ever since. In March, they began to receive ADC-UN benefits. "My wife and I have been forced to separate because we will have no income as of July 1st," said Henry Kerth. "I love my family enough to desert them. But I want to work at any wage, anywhere, so that my family and I can be reunited."

"The effect on these families will be devastating," said Tim Hornbecker, Director of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. "Families who do not split up will be evicted, and end up homeless again, just at the time that the demand on helping agencies is at its height, this July. The demand on helping agencies is already up 325% from three years ago. With unemployment at 9.1%, the jobs are simply not there for these families."

"It is a myth that summer employment is available to keep 2,700 families from destitution," said Terry Ann Rogers, staff attorney at Legal Aid. "If the jobs were there, these families would have work and not need welfare. One of the parents in the ADC-UN household has to look for work the whole time a family receives benefits."

"Single parent families can still get cash assistance; why should the children in two-parent unemployed families be discriminated against because of the number of parents in the home?" asked Bob Castagna, Director of the Oregon Catholic Conference. "Oregon will see families being forced to separate just to put a roof over their children's heads. Government policy should not play this role."

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