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EDITORIAL / OPINION ALONG THE **GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT JOB** CIVIL RIGHTS JOURNAL

TRAINING

by John E. Jacob

The Administration has found serious flaws in the Job Training partnership Act and is moving to remedy them. But more -- a lot more -- is needed than simply patching up the program.

Our economy will be handcuffed unless the entire workforce is equipped with the skills needed to be productive in the competitive global market. That means quality education and training for all, especially the disadvantaged.

But the JTPA doesn't reach the most severely disadvantaged--the people it was intended to reach. As Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole told Congress:

"Funds do not always reach the individuals and areas who need help the most. In some communities it is felt that the program does not always result in good jobs and a higher standard of living.

All of the entrants to the program need training -- no one disputes that. But it seems that the program skims the most job-ready and ignores the least prepared and most disadvantaged. For example, although high school dropouts have the highest unemployment rate, the majority of JTPA trainees are high school graduates.

Program operations are paid on the basis of actual job placement, regardless of the length of training. As Congressman Augustus Hawkins pointed out:

"That has led to creaming and placing those who seem most job-ready and easiest to place, rather than the hard-core unemployed who may have social, psychological or other problems."

Congress and the Administration are working to reshape the Act so that most participants are dropouts or welfare recipients without basic skills.

A more focused program will reach more of the people most in need of training, but unless it is adequately funded and designed to reach everyone in need of assistance, it will fail to fulfill the needs of the disadvantaged or to secure the skilled workforce our economy needs.

Given the resources, federal programs have demonstrated they can deliver. The Job Corps, for example, has traditionally trained the most disadvantaged youth. It has a record of placing about 80 percent of its trainees in jobs or further education -- a better record than the JTPA, which has largely avoided serving the hardest cases.

But the Jobs Corps costs more per trainee. That's why it was unsuccessfully targeted for extinction by the Reagan Administration.

The real lesson here is that we need to invest whatever it takes to make people productive. In the long run, lower social costs and the higher taxes they'll pay over working lifetimes more than repay the investment.

So patching up the JPTA won't be enough. Congress and the Administration should turn to a more comprehensive solution to the workforce training issue

Such a solution would begin with concentrated aid to schools serving poverty areas, so that our kids get basic skills where they're supposed to get them -- in the public schools. It would also include guarantees of jobs and skills training to every young person -- with stipends to defray their costs, and with social and counseling services.

Such a program should have an important role for community-based organizations with a proven ability to reach disadvantaged people and train them.

No one should see the JTPA changes as the end of the road--we need a workforce training system that's the best in the world.

LEGISLATORS OUTLAW DRUG PARAPHERNALIA

STANDING FOR TRUTH

by Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr.

In the early morning hours of August 31, 1988, Khotso House, the headquarters of the South african Council of Churches (SACC) in Johannesburg, was rocked by one of the most powerful bombs used in South Africa history against the freedom movement. It was the supreme irony that the home of the ecumenical Christian movement in south Africa, whose name Kohotso means peace in the Sesotho language, should be destroyed by violence. The explosion at Khotso House marked yet another stage in the crisis that has engulfed South Africa since 1985. In fact, just six weeks later an arson fire gutted two floors at the offices of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference in Pretoria. Indeed, attempts on the lives of church leaders in South Africa have almost become commonplace and a number of church leaders have been detained and tortured.

Churches and their leaders, of course, are not the only ones suffering in south Africa. Since the imposition of a national "State of Emergency" in June, 1986, thousands have died in unrest-related disturbances. More than

40,000 people have been detained, half of them children and women. It is conservatively estimated that over 1,000 South Africans have been convicted as political prisoners. In 1988 alone, 32 organizations were banned and 55 popular leaders have been convicted as political prisoners. Clearly, the peaceful paths to change are being closed off one by one as a part of a twopronged policy by the racist apartheid regime to clamp down hard on antiapartheid activists at home while simultaneously convincing these outside South Africa that "things are changing."

We in the United States can not afford to allow ourselves to be fooled by this smokescreen. We must join in solidarity with South African Church leaders who launched a national campaign in South Africa called "Standing for the Truth." It was shortly after this campaign began, calling for a boycott of the elections last fall in which South Africans were denied an opportunity to vote, that the bombing of Khotso House occurred.

As a result, a group of national church representatives in the United States began organizing a sustained ecumenical response to the plea for international support which came from South African church leaders. Church leaders in the United States believe that Christians have a special responsibility to advocate for people whose oppression is due at least in part to the policies of our own government. The national Council of Churches along with other church leaders also organized a national ecumenical campaign "Stand for Truth: Until South Africa is Free" on which they committed themselves to work until the people of South Africa are free.

June 16 is a special day of remembrance in the life of South Africa. On that day in 1976 hundreds of brave young South Africans were killed as they peacefully marched to protest the unequal education they were receiving under the apartheid system and to stop the teaching in Afrikaans, the language of their oppressor, in their schools. Thousands of bright, articulate young people were forced to flee South Africa as a result of their participation in what the government called the Soweto uprisings.

This June 16 the "Stand for Truth" campaign is sponsoring a special Lobby Day in Washington, D.C., where they hope thousands of Americans will be meeting with their Senators about the proposed sanctions legislation against south Africa. On Saturday June 17, a massive service and rally will be held at the Washington Monument, featuring the Rev. Allan Boesak from South Africa, the Richard Smallwood Singers and other entertainers. Following the service there will be a march to Lafayette park across from the White House to call for an end to U.S. support of apartheid.

If you really care about our brothers and sisters in South Africa, become a part of the "Stand for the Truth" Campaign. Join thousands of others who are concerned in Washington, D.C. on June 16-17 and let us remember to

COLOR LINE by Dr. Manning Marable

The Challenge of Democracy

Throughout the world today, there is a rising tide of democracy. In China during the past month, we have witnessed more than a million students and workers who demonstrated on behalf of democracy in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. The cry for greater civil liberties and against official corruption threatened the regime of Deng Xiaoping and Prime Minister Li Peng, and a bloody repression was launched. Hundreds were killed and wounded.

In the Soviet Union, a new legislative process has promoted mass popular approval and participation of dissidents. A new willingness to foster ideological and political pluralism is necessary in order to restructure the Soviet economy. In Hungary, there are plans to establish a genuine, multiparty state without the permanent domination of the Community Party from the top. And in Poland only days ago, a competitive, democratic election brought many advocates of the Solidarity labor movement into the government. Once outlawed, new Soilidarity is viewed as part of the solution to help resolve Poland's pressing economic programs.

In country after country, people are demanding a greater degree of accountability by their political leaders, and more authority to determine state policies. They expect a higher degree of ethical behavior and democratic-decision making. In Washington, D.C. the crisis of ethics brought down Jim Wright, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Tony Coelho, Democratic House Whip. Republican Congressman Donald Lukens was recently convicted for having sexual relations with a minor, yet he's fighting to maintain his official position. Such ethical issues raise in sharp relief the issue of what citizens have a right to expect from elected officials.

The outbreak of democracy in Communist nations has prompted many conservative critics to argue that the competition between socialism and capitalism is finally over. and that capitalism has won. Going even further, rightwing ideologue Michael Novak, insisted recently that the socialist-inspired "dream of economic equality does not work." Since the abilities of each human being are different, Novak argued in Forges magazine, each individual must receive different rewards. "Justice seems to demand diversity, not uniformity, in rewards, "Novak declared. "The dream of economic equality for all is not attainable."

Progressives in America have much to learn from the Soviet experiment in glasnost and from the Chinese students' quest for democracy, for such examples teach us that there are many different roads to democracy. But when conservative critics tell us that such efforts disprove the necessity for equality of material conditions. we accept such a judgment at our peril. For if the civil rights movement against racial segregation taught us anything, we should have learned that the greater vision of democracy cannot be fulfilled simply by providing an integrated cup of coffee, or laws which permit Blacks to attend whites-only schools. A viable democracy cannot exist in which 20 million Americans go to bed hungry each night, and 37 million lack any type of health or dental insurance.

Democracy is not a thing, it is a process of expanding opportunities for all citizens, and their ability to control decision making from the bottom up.

This requires certain prerequistes for a decent life for all within the political society--full employment, decent housing, education, health care, and so forth. The battle for full democracy leads directly and inevitably toward the promise of economic equality. The challenge for all de-

mocracies is not to make the rich richer, but for all of us to greater economic and political rights.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES by Dr. Lenora Fulani

State Senator Bill McCoy, D-Portland, announced the Oregon state Senate's unanimous approval today of legislation making the sale of drug paraphernalia illegal.

"It is not reasonable policy to say "drugs are illegal, but you can go out to a record store or a head shop and buy devices that are designed only to enhance the power of drugs.' With this bill we send the clear message that we won't allow businesses to encourage drug use in any form," McCoy said.

Senate Bill 846 prohibits the sale or delivery of drug paraphernalia. It hits violators with fines of \$2,000 to \$10,000. The money would be used to help finance drug treatment programs.

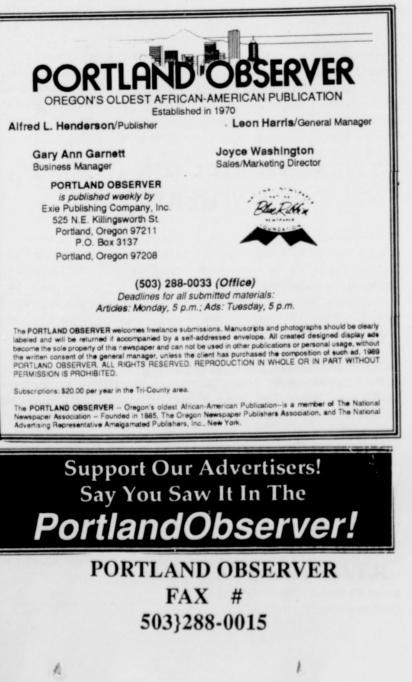
Currently Oregon is the only

and the District of Columbia have adopted similar legislation banning its sale.

"Allowing merchants to sell bongs, crack pipes, and cocaine kits only makes our war on drugs tougher to win, "McCoy said." Simply by walking into certain record stores our children can learn all they can about how to use and how to manufacture drugs."

McCoy goes on to say that the drug paraphernalia industry condones and promotes drug use. He says the state currently spends \$1.5 billion dollars combating drug abuse.

The bill now moves to the House for approval.



western state that allows the sale of keep our South African sisters and brothers in our prayers and in our actions drug paraphernalia. 39 other states of solidarity.

ADAM ABDUL-HAKEEM (LARRY DAVIS) PHYSICIAN ALLOWED TO EXAMINE HIM ON RIKERS ISLAND; JUDGE REFUSES TO FIND DEPARTMENT OF. **CORRECTIONS IN CONTEMPT**

Supreme Court Justice Richard Lowe III today ruled that Adam Abdul-Hakeem's personal physician, Dr. Susan Massad MUST be allowed to examine, although not to treat, Mr. Abdul-Hakeem on Rikers Island tomorrow, and set a hearing for June 26th at which Mr. Abdul-Hakeem's legal defense team can present evidence that his constitutional rights are being denied.

At the same time Judge Lowe refused to find the Department of Corrections in contempt for disregarding his previous order to examine and treat Adam Abdul-Hakeem for the massive injuries he has incurred from a series of brutal beatings by prison guards. Today's hearing was the result of a court order obtained in night court from Judge Richard A. Goldberg this morning at 3:00 a.m.

Mr. Abdul-Hakeem's legal team, attorneys Alvaader Frazier and Harry Kresky, sought to have him sent directly from the courthouse to a hospital designated by his private physician, Dr.Susan Massad. Judge Lowe refused this request, declaring that their charges that Mr. Abdul-Hakeem is being systematically beaten and tortured are "mere allegations." This order after Mr. Abdul-Hakeem, who had been brought to Bellevue Hospital on Thursday, June 1st for x-rays, a complete examination and attendant medical treatment, was refused admittance by Dr. Paul Katz, the chief of Bellevue's emergency room medical team, and returned to Rikers Island on a stretcher in spite of the fact that at least one other Bellevue physician and Dr. Massad urged that he be admitted for further tests and treatment. Dr. Katz made his recommendation in consultation with a Department of Corrections officials and an attorney for the department, Joseph Guarino.

The Department of Corrections failed to present Mr. Abdul-Hakeem in court today, claiming that the Bronx youth didn't want to come. "They were lying," charged attorney Frazier."They didn't allow him in court because they don't want his supporters and public to see that he can no longer walk."

"Adam is bruised around the eye, cannot move one arm and shoulder, can bear no weight on his left leg, and is experiencing severe back spasms, resulting in paralysis of his lower body, disabling to the point that he cannot walk or stand up and has no feeling in the entire left side of his body, rendering him defenseless against attack," said Dr. Massad, who has been denied access to her patient's medical record. "Adam's life is in danger. He has been severely beaten and sustained multiple serious injuries. He is being denied necessary medical care in the most flagrant violation of his human rights. The hospital administration is playing politics with this young man's life and violating every canon of medical ethics."

"The issue before the court--which the court refuses to recognize--is the life of Adam Abdul-Hakeem and his friend Ricky Burgos will live long enough to tell their story of the involvement of police officers in drug dealing in the 44th precinct in the Bronx and the 34th in Manhattan. We have evidence of this involvement and witnesses ready to testify. Apparently the Police and Corrections Department don't want this information exposed. This is a question of Adam's life and death.

The life and death fight to save Adam Abdul-Hakeem (formerly known as Larry Davis), the young Black brother who had the guts to speak out against police corruption. is being waged now in the courts.

The issue right now is to see that Adam -- whose physical condition is deteriorating rapidly as a result of the series of brutal beatings he has received at the hands of prison guards -- gets the medical care he needs so urgently. The New York City Department of Correction, which administers the Rikers Island prison where Adam is currently being held, says "nothing is wrong" with him; his injuries and symptoms, say the prison authorities, are the consequence of the "reasonable" force that has to be used in dealing with "difficult" prisoners like Adam Abdual-Hakeem.

Adam's physical appearance at a hearing before New York State Supreme Court Justice Richard Lowe earlier this week to determine whether he needed to be hospitalized visibly shocked everyone in the courtroom. Unable to walk, this 23 year old young man could not sit upright in his wheelchair or hold up his head. After blood appeared in his urine, he became unable to urinate for more than two days--symptoms that his personal physician, who has been legally prevented from treating him, fears may be signs of fatal kidney damage caused by the beatings. Adam groaned with pain throughout the hearing while lawyers for the Correction Department and the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation argued that he was fine! Finally Justice Lowe issued an order that Adam be kept at Bellevue Hospital for two days, properly examined and tested, and returned to the court before being sent back to Rikers.

Earlier this week the New York City Civil Rights Coalition hosted a twoday forum to discuss how the struggle for racial equality in Birmingham, Alabama can guide the movement toward racial equality and harmony in the city of New York. The guest from New York included some of the city's most prominent Black leaders, such as Reverend Wyatt T. Walker, the distinguished educator Dr.-Kenneth Clark, and Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins--who is seeking the Democratic Party's mayoral nomination this year.

The meeting took place during the same week that saw the funeral of Richard Luke, a Black man who died as the result of a beating by public housing cops. A few days earlier another Black man, Trevor Francis, was thrown to his death from a Harlem rooftop by a city policeman. Were these incidents discussed at the civil rights conference? No. Did the elected officials present raise Adam Abdul-Hakeem's name and call for an investigation into the attempted murder of one of our children? No. Is the New York City Civil Rights Coalition going to take a stand on Adam or do they only fight against injustice after the victims are dead? So far establishment against the blatant violation of Adam's constitutional rights.

AS the chairperson of the Adam Abdul-Hakeem Coalition to Save Our Youth, which has mobilized the community to demand media coverage of this case -- a key weapon in the fight to keep Adam alive -- I have been calling every Black and Latino liberal white elected official in New York, demanding that they do something NOW to save Adam's life. Every one of them depends on votes from the Black community to keep their jobs. I have not seen any action yet.

If Adam Abdul-Hakeem dies, killed by Correction officers who are being given a message that they are accountable to no one, that they can get away with murder....if Ricardo Burgos. Adam's young companion who has also come forward to corroborate the grim story of corrupt cops who recruit our children to traffic drugs and who has been brutually beaten in prison as well, is killed because no one in authority is prepared to intervene in the vendetta the cops are conducting against these two brothers their blood will be on the hands of those who refused to fight for our youth; those who remained silent while the cops went wilding.

We will not forget. And we will see that they pay for their cowardly and murderous silence.