

# EDITORIAL / OPINION

## Perspectives



### The Good, The Bad And The Beautiful

by Professor McKinley Burt

A great deal of interest was expressed in last week's description of Los Angeles' "Windsor Hills Elementary School Miracle." There was only admiration for the parents who in three short years of determined effort were able to advance this school from mediocrity to the finest in the city -- "ranked first" in mathematics and reading (episode described in Parents Magazine).

Several members of the community voiced strong reservations about achieving this type of success in Portland, whether the effort was mounted either within or without the system. They rightly pointed out that the California success had a lot to do with socio-economics; the demography of the area was that of an ambitious, upwardly mobile Black, urban, professional population ('BUPPIES') driven by their first taste of the "good life," and a determined commitment to similarly advance the future of their children. So what about 'Portland's Black Middle Class?'

An informal meeting at a neighborhood restaurant produced other interesting comments or reservations: "I always thought it was the job of the 'NAACP' and similar organizations to mount the legal challenges to institutional racism and inequities -- and not just lay back and expect a few Ron Herndon's and Haleem Rashan's to spend years fighting an underfunded battle for us all." I heard this too: "My father tells me that during and after World War II, the then president of the 'Portland NAACP', Rev. Clow of the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, was a prime mover in a community-wide struggle against discrimination in employment, public facilities, and urban institutions ("Today's community owes much to the fighting spirit of this early organization").

There was considerable discussion of Portland's 'Black College Exodus' -- and it was not that positive! The tone of the conversation was that "Everybody talkin' about heaven ain't goin' there"; that is to say the youth who will be going south for their education are, primarily, the children of what is called 'Portland's Black Middle Class' -- while 90% of Black high school graduates in our community do not have this financial option for continuing their education (99%). The key point made -- with which I concur -- was that those parents with the education and political skills necessary to effect change in several of Oregon's racist institutions of higher education will, instead, exhaust themselves trying to finance this expensive

diaspora to other lands. Last week the Portland Observer featured a front page article: "Black College Recruitment Rally Draws 460 High School Students." We quote as follows:

"Brooks said that 70 percent to 80 percent of the black youngsters from the Pacific Northwest who attend Black colleges graduate; a much lower percentage of Black students graduate from Oregon's non-black institutions of higher education."

He credits the success rate to the more individualized care and attention students receive at most black institutions.

"In a Black college you are not only welcome and accepted, you are treated as a human being and are not allowed to graduate without having a good education," she said. "You not only receive an education, you learn about your history."

Corporate America and other colleges and universities, she said, actively recruit at Black colleges.

The first quote is attributed to Samuel Brooks, conference chairman.

If it is suggested to you here that we have a 'bran drain', or even possible that a new 'fad/status symbol' has surfaced, you are absolutely correct. While I have always demonstrated every empathy for the Black parent whose child has faced a great educational disadvantage from day one, those parents with the aforementioned "educational and political skills" should be at the forefront to correct Oregon's inequities at the level of 'higher education' as well. We've all paid the taxes to support these institutions and have otherwise fulfilled the mission of good citizenship. Now, lets redirect some of the time allotted for golf, teas, soap operas and fashion shows. We may not have to assume the expensive task of 'exporting' our next generation abroad (few will return).

It should not be assumed here that we are in anyway denigrating the 'Black College System'; Its over-a-century success record stands for itself (23 members of my own family -- from 1893). What I am saying is that it is a 'must' that we correct the current disabilities of our own colleges as we quote the speakers at the "Recruitment Rally." This can be accomplished if we have the same type of response from our more skilled and advantaged population as we have had from our grassroots educational activists the last two decades. After all, we are 'all' at risk! More on this next week, for we must have 'equal regional opportunity' or our community will die.

## VANTAGE POINT

### Jackson Doctrine Should Guide U.S. Foreign



by Ron Daniels

One of the great ironies of American history is the fact that the United States, which was supposed born out of a "revolution" or struggle for self-determination, has consistently been on the wrong side of social revolution in the world. Indeed U.S. foreign policy either overtly or covertly has been a buttress for colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world. The driving motivation for U.S. policy has not been a quest for democracy, and human rights, but the narrow self-interest of U.S. businessness, and corporations. The legacy of this greed oriented foreign policy is a moral bankruptcy particularly as it relates to Africa and the Third World.

It was against the backdrop of failed U.S. foreign policy that Jesse Jackson boldly stepped to the forefront during the 1988 presidential campaign to provide some much needed vision and leadership on the question of the principles which should guide U.S. foreign policy. Like many of Jackson's proposals, the principles are simply and yet profound in terms of their power to transform America into a more humane, righteous and reputable nation. The "Jackson Doctrine" consists of the following principles:

- \* Support and Strengthen the Rule of International Law.
- \* Promote Self-Determination and Human Rights.
- \* Support International Economic Justice and Development.

As an adjunct to these principles Jesse Jackson also talked about CON-SISTENCY as opposed to hypocrisy in U.S. foreign policy.

In a graphic illustration of America's inconsistency and hypocrisy in foreign policy, Jesse Jackson pointed to the contradiction of America condemning the late Ayatollah Khomeini for mining the Persian Gulf while Reagan was illegally mining the ports and harbors of Nicaragua. Nicaragua took the United States to the World Court accusing America of a flagrant violation of its sovereignty and won the case. America disregarded the verdict and continued its illegal actions against Nicaragua while continuing to condemn Iran for its illegal actions in the Persian Gulf. The Jackson Doctrine proclaims, what's illegal actions in the Persian Gulf. The Jackson Doctrine proclaims, what's illegal is illegal. U.S. policy must affirm and uphold the rule of law, and strengthen those international bodies like the United Nations and the World Court which can

help to create an atmosphere where respect for international law can flourish.

On the question of self-determination, the Jackson Doctrine essentially argues that the United States (or any other nation) does not have the right to impose its will on another nation, or thwart the legitimate aspirations of oppressed people for self-determination. The character of self-determination must be asserted by the oppressed people themselves based on their own history, culture, and unique economic and political needs. The persistent pattern of providing military assistance and troops to support backward, rightwing, dictatorships, and oligarchies against the workers, peasants, students intellectuals etc. must be reversed. Implicit in the Jackson Doctrine is a respect for cultural and ideological pluralism and a sense of confidence that people struggling to liberate themselves from tyranny and oppression will ultimately shape systems of democracy and human rights based on their own culture and interests.

In a radical departure from prevailing U.S. practice in foreign policy, Jesse Jackson called for support of international economic justice and development. As opposed to viewing the developing world through the narrow prism of profit hungry U.S. corporations, Jackson contends that U.S. interest, even the self-interest of U.S. corporations lies in the creation of a prosperous and peaceful world. Hence instead of heaping hefty amounts of military aid on U.S. puppet regime to create safe havens for U.S. corporate investors, U.S. policy should promote economic growth in developing nations.

Massive economic assistance not military aid should be the priority. A code of conduct for U.S. corporations should also be developed to prevent them from exporting capital and factories abroad simply to exploit what amount of slave labor markets abroad. The rights of workers to organize in developing nations should be a fundamental tenet of U.S. foreign policy. As Jesse Jackson puts it "slave labor anywhere is a threat to organized labor everywhere."

I cite these principles which comprise the Jackson Doctrine because it is essential that African-Americans be on the right side of social revolution in the world. As Martin Luther King warned in 1967, "our nation has taken the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment" Martin Luther King was on the mark, and so is the Jackson Doctrine. African-Americans must use the Jackson Doctrine as we seek to refocus U.S. foreign policy in the interest of world peace and prosperity.

## Along The Color Line

### Why the Democrats Keep Losing

by Dr. Manning Marable

The greatest myth in American politics is that we have a two party system with real choices for voters. Actually, we have a one party system: we have the Republicans, the party for the rich, and the Republicans who call themselves Democrats, most of whom support the politics of privilege against the interests of the poor, minorities, working people and the powerless.

Although the Democrats have controlled Congress for decades, except for the GOP's domination of the Senate during much of the Reagan administration, Democratic presidential candidates have been disasters. Since the election of 1952, Democratic presidential candidates have lost seven out of ten times, and five out of six races since 1968. Most Democratic candidates have failed to gain at least 45 percent of the popular vote in presidential races. But the most amazing statistic is the pathetic inability of the Democrats to win a majority of votes from the white electorate. Since 1952, Democratic presidential candidates have received at least 50 percent of the white vote only once--Lyndon Johnson's 1964 landslide victory over Barry Goldwater.

Many explanations have been advanced to explain the party's sorry record at the polls. Some have suggested that the majority of the white electorate has become middle class and affluent, and its social class interests on economic issues no longer coincide with those of the labor movement, but with big business. Others suggest that the backlash against civil rights, affirmative action, and liberal social policies such as abortion rights have created massive defections from cultural conservatives and racists from the Democratic Party into the Reaganite wing of the Republicans. These explanations give part of the truth, but not all. Because more than any other single factor, Democratic presidential candidates keep losing because the party has lost the courage of its convictions, which were best expressed during the crisis of the Great Depression.

The party lost its identity and political soul because it fails to acknowledge what every Republican elected official and petty bureaucrat already know--that social class conflict lies at the heart of American politics.

Power and wealth in American society are concentrated in the hands of

a very small minority of people, who employ their clout to secure public policies favorable to their interests. There is no mystery to this process. This elite has established hundreds of corporate and Wall Street political action committees which reward Congressmen and Senators in both parties who favor its interests. In 1988, almost two thirds of all money raised by political action committees went to Democratic incumbents in Congress, and virtually none went to their Republican challengers. As liberal political critic Robert Reich observes:

The anticipated need for more money tends to stifle indignation toward the sources of funds and to constrain bold thinking. Democrats have come to sound like Republicans because they rely on the same funders and make the same contacts as the GOP."

Democrat presidential candidates lose because they no longer speak out for the interests of loyal, traditional constituencies. No single group of voters has been more steadfast or dependable as African-Americans to the Democratic party. Yet most Democratic candidates who are white say next to nothing about the Reagan-Bush assault against civil rights.

In West Virginia, thousands of miners are struggling against the Pittston coal-mining company in a strike has far-reaching implications for the entire labor movement. To date, nearly 3,000 miners have been arrested. The central issue of contention is that Pittston has refused to honor a forty year commitment to make contributions to a health care fund covering pensioners and their widows, whose average age is 76. Where are the leaders of the Democratic party to fight for the rights of labor?

Earlier this year, Exxon dumped millions of gallons of oil over thousands of miles of beautiful Alaskan shoreline. But the Democrats as a group barely peeped words of discontent. Where is the political party who will actively fight for the environment?

You can't defeat something with nothing. It's become fashionable for Democrats to deny that there are social class divisions within American society, or that issues like civil rights, labor, and the environment don't divide constituencies based on class. As long as Democrats believe this, and try to act like Republicans, they'll continue to be defeated at the polls.

## Civil Rights Journal

### Challenging Racism In Chicago

by Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr.

The pervasive and systematic existence of racism in the city of Chicago is really nothing new. Since the unfortunate and tragic death of Mayor Harold Washington two years ago and the subsequent election of Mayor Richard M. Daley, there has been a steady increase in overt and violent racist acts in Chicago.

Much of this renewed racial violence has been directed against the African-American and Hispanic communities. The good news today is that there appears to be a growing citywide grassroots movement of concerned Chicago residents who are determined to make an effective challenge to racism and violence in Chicago.

Recently, more than 1,500 persons staged a successful "March Against Fear and Racism" through a predominantly white section of Chicago where two young African-American youth had been beaten by a white mob. The march was called for and led by local civil rights leader, Atty. Lewis Myers.

The details of the incident that precipitated this large protest march is worth reviewing. Two months ago, fourteen-year old Joseph Weaver and Calvin McLin were walking from a baseball game at Comiskey Park. These two African-American youth were picked up by two white Chicago police officers for alleged curfew violations. One of the police officers, Kathleen Moore, reportedly slapped both youths across the face and shouted racial epithets at them. The New York Times reported that Officer Moore asked the two youths if they had ever been "kicked by a big, fat, white lady."

Then the police officers drove Joseph and Calvin to the predominantly

white Canaryville section of the bridgeport neighborhood of Chicago where they were released to a white mob who brutally beat and chased the youths.

Thus this case reveals the often close connection between acts of racially motivated violence by police officers and the racist mentality of white mobs who have attacked African-American youth in many different cities throughout the United States recently. This kind of police brutality and racial violence again cannot be tolerated by our society. Unfortunately, there seems to be a "pass the buck" attitude by too many Americans who refuse to speak out about this increasing problem because it has not yet happened in their neighborhoods. Yet, we believe one single act of racial violence anywhere in this nation poses a serious moral threat to justice for all.

We witnessed the peaceful march through the Bridgeport neighborhood and it was a sign of hope and encouragement to see African-American clergy and community leaders join with large numbers of other Chicago residents in chanting, "racism must go" and "police brutality must go." Joseph Weaver and Calvin McLin also returned to that neighborhood to help lead the march against fear and racism. Atty. Lewis Myers and the Rev. Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH held the hands of Joseph and Calvin as they marched together on the front row of the march. This kind of multi-racial people's challenge to racism provides a glimmer of hope for Chicago. Near the end of the march, Joseph Weaver stated, "I want to thank all of the people who have come today to help us. The last time Calvin and I were here we were very afraid for our lives. But today, our fear is gone."

## THIS WAY FOR BLACK EMPOWERMENT

by Dr. Lenora Fulani

### Teaching Our Youth The Truth

On a Saturday evening at the end of July, a group of eight Black students hanging out in the cafeteria of the State University of New York at New Paltz were told by a campus police officer to lower their radio cassette player; among other things, they have been listening to Minister Louis Farrakhan. Although they turn the sound down, the cop comes back. Shoving and threatening, he tries to confiscate the box. Seven of the students are charged with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and failure to comply with governmental procedures--the first two charges each carry a possible one-year jail sentence. The case is in the hands of the district attorney.

Darold Thompson, a 21-year-old junior at SUNY New Paltz, is among the seven students who faces a jail sentence for having been in the wrong place at the wrong time that summer night when a white cop decided that the Black students on campus were getting "uppity." As one college official put it when students came to his office, by appointment, to complain about police harassment on campus: "F--- k 'people of color!' you're trespassing."

Darold is a secondary education and music education major. He says he doesn't know a lot about politics but would like to learn. He knows a lot more now than he did before his arrest. "We spoke with many people out there who

should have been willing to help us, but they weren't," he told a reporter recently. "Black leaders don't want to lose what they already have. Their attitude is, 'I don't want to stick my neck out for them because that might lose me the next election. I already have mine.' What I liked about Dr. Fulani is that she was the first Black person we saw who said things to us that weren't for herself. A lot of students have contacted her and will be taking part in the New Alliance Party."

It's absolutely true that a lot of the people the students go to for help aren't coming through -- just as they haven't come through for the vacationing Black college students who were set upon by the Virginia Beach police over the Labor Day weekend. So now they're reaching out to me.

They've gone to everyone else first; NAP is the last resort -- because we're not "legitimate," because they've been told that NAP is "too" radical and "top" militant. But unlike most of the establishment Black leaders -- who are telling these young men and women to cool it -- we'll go all the way with them, and they know that.

Black leaders' message to young

people is that if they protest racism they're "making trouble" -- by which they mean trouble for the Black middle class. The Black Democratic Party establishment is terrified that if the students who were involved in the police riot protest too much. It will jeopardize Lieutenant Governor Douglas Wilder's chances of becoming the first Black governor of Virginia -- just as Black Democrats in New York City were afraid that Black outrage over the murder of Yusef Hawkins would "spoil" David Dinkins' chances of being elected the first Black mayor of New York City? But who cares about electing Wilder and Dinkins if the price we have to pay for it is our children?

The sad truth is that the African-American establishment is afraid to fight for these kids. And in that context the white authorities -- from college deans to police captains -- feel that they have been given a license to do whatever they want to do to Black working class youth, which is to get rid of them -- to throw them out of school and into jail. The Powers That Be have sensed the establishment Black attitude, which is that our children are expendable; our so-called leaders are prepared to sacrifice

our children. And the folks who run these white institutions, which are very closely intertwined with the Democratic Party, know very well where Black leaders are at -- because a lot of those leaders are sitting at the table with them, trying to cut a deal, trying to get a piece of the action. My job is to teach young people the political significance of these ties and the reaction of the establishment -- Black and white -- when they "mess things up" because they don't protest "the right way."

The Black establishment may consider angry Black working class youth a potential threat to the status quo, and hence to their own privileged positions within it. As an independent Black leader I have no stake in preserving the status quo. I want those young people -- out in front with me, building and leading the independent political movement that will bring the new Black Agenda into being.

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