

EDITORIAL

Editorial Articles Do Not Necessarily Reflect Or Represent The Views Of The Portland Observer

Attention Readers!

Please take a minute to send us your comments. We're always trying to give you a better paper and we can't do it without your help. Tell us what you like and what needs improvement... any suggestions are welcomed and appreciated. We take criticism well! Get your powerful pens out NOW and address your letters to: Editor, Reader Response, P.O. Box 3137, Portland, OR 97208.

The Portland Observer

(USPS 959-680) Established in 1970

Charles Washington
Publisher & Editor

Gary Ann Taylor
Business Manager

Mark Washington
Distribution Manager

Larry J. Jackson, Sr.
Director of Operation

Mike Leighton
Copy Editor

Contributing Writers:

Professor McKinley Burt,
Lee Perlman,
Neal Heilpern

4747 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd.,
Portland, Oregon 97211

503-288-0033 • Fax 503-288-0015

Email: Pdxobserv@aol.com

Deadline for all submitted materials:

Articles: Friday, 5:00 pm Ads: Monday, 12:00pm

POSTMASTER: Send Address Changes To: Portland Observer,
P.O. Box 3137, Portland, OR 97208.

Periodicals postage paid at Portland, Oregon.

Subscriptions: \$30.00 per year

The Portland Observer welcomes freelance submissions. Manuscripts and photographs should be clearly labeled and will be returned if accompanied by a self-addressed envelope. All created design display ads become the sole property of the newspaper and cannot be used in other publications or personal usage without the written consent of the general manager, unless the client has purchased the composition of such ad. © 1996 THE PORTLAND OBSERVER. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. REPRODUCTION IN WHOLE OR IN PART WITHOUT PERMISSION IS PROHIBITED.

The Portland Observer--Oregon's Oldest Multicultural Publication--is a member of the National Newspaper Association--Founded in 1885, and The National Advertising Representative Amalgamated Publishers, Inc, New York, NY, and The West Coast Black Publishers Association • Serving Portland and Vancouver.

SUBSCRIBE TO The Portland Observer

The Portland Observer can be sent directly to your home for only \$30.00 per year. Please fill out, enclose check or money order, and mail to:

SUBSCRIPTIONS

THE PORTLAND OBSERVER; PO Box 3137
PORTLAND, OREGON 97208

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State: _____

Zip-Code: _____

THANK YOU FOR READING THE PORTLAND OBSERVER

By HUGH B. PRICE
PRESIDENT
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

It's become fashionable to claim that the 20th Century civil rights movement neglected the economic needs of African Americans, that its leaders devoted little effort to gaining for black Americans a secure economic foothold in American society. In fact, such claims can't survive the slightest scrutiny.

One can look, for example, at the pictures of the 1963 March on Washington and read what the sea of placards that punctuated its landscape proclaimed: "For Jobs and Freedom."

That was no accident. All of the placards in the march had to be approved by its sponsoring coalition.

Furthermore, the "Official Call" to the March, issued by the civil rights groups on July 12, 1963 contained demands for both civil rights and for a comprehensive jobs effort. That

economic focus was furthered underscored in several of the speeches of that day, notably by A. Philip Randolph, the venerable civil rights leader, and by Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and a stalwart ally of the movement.

Or, one can look at the "Domestic Marshall Plan," Whitney M. Young, Jr., then executive director of the Urban League, proposed at the League's 1963 national conference, which was held shortly before the march. Young put forward specific proposals to encourage America to tap the potential that lay unrealized in Black America, and he warned that a failure to do so would bring the socially destructive consequences in stunted lives and ruined communities that we are dealing with today.

Or, one can examine the comprehensive national Freedom Budget that the civil rights coalition proposed in 1966.

Or, one can study the trajectory of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s activism during the last five years of his life: it led him to Memphis that fateful April of 1968 to march with black sanitation workers seeking higher wages and better working conditions.

Or, one can read an important new book, *The Dual Agenda: The African-American Struggle for Civil and Economic Equality*, by Dona Cooper Hamilton and Charles V. Hamilton, a husband and wife duo of distinguished scholars.

Clearly-written and studded with details from the civil rights groups' position papers, congressional testimony, and the speeches of their lead-

ers, the book recounts their consistent fight to gain civil rights for African Americans and social welfare policies for all of the poor.

Indeed, the Hamiltons cite the founding of both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League in the first decade of the century as evidence that the "Civil rights groups have always understood that (civil rights victories alone) were insufficient to alleviate the socioeconomic problems that stretched over decades of neglect or parsimony."

They go on to say that, "Beginning in the early 1960s (when it was clear that the days of legal segregation were numbered), "virtually every major plan of action and policy statement included concerns for both

a fight against segregation and discrimination on the one hand, and, on the other, for effective programs to deal with socioeconomic problems for all Americans, not just for blacks."

So it was then. So it is today. Contrary to the claims some have made, America has not entered a "post-civil rights era." The headlines of last week, and yesterday, and today make all too clear that African Americans and other people of color still have to all too often fight for the right to be treated in a non-discriminatory fashion.

but it is true that the importance of African Americans, as individuals and as a group, securing a strong economic foundation is even more critical than in the past.

In the first decade of the 20th Century, African Americans and

their allies coalesced to fight for jobs and freedom. The placards of the 1963 march on Washington presented that message to the American people and the world in the most dramatic way.

Now, as African Americans turn toward a new century, they are better situated than they were just thirty years ago, with a growing cohort of individuals whose large and small contributions to the health of the American economy and American life in general cannot be denied.

Yet, for all the progress, there is much work yet to be done, by African Americans and by the larger society.

Yes, we still have those placards in our hands: For Jobs and Freedom.

Civil Rights Journal

By BERNICE POWELL JACKSON

The first time I visited an Indian reservation I was horrified, thrilled and overcome. Horrified at the poverty, the unemployment, the housing, the sense of aimlessness in so many. Thrilled at the deep-seeded culture, the understanding of connection between creation and Creator and the beauty of the people. Overcome with a new understanding of the shame that this nation should feel if we were to admit our role in the destruction of Indian people and the taking of their land.

Yet only two years before a new millennium we find the United States Senate, our nation's highest legislative body, trying to renege on our

treaties with Indians, this time without even the benefit of public discussion or debate. It does not bode well for the 21st century or our nation's role in it.

It seems that Senator Slade Gorton of Washington tacked two riders which threaten two centuries of treaty law and understandings onto a \$13 billion spending bill -- without any consultation with the tribes or even other parts of the Federal government. These riders would force tribes to waive their rights as sovereign nations in exchange for some \$700 million that they receive from the government and would require the tribes to undergo means testing to

receive these Federal dollars.

As information about the legislation has surfaced, Indian leaders have attacked these riders loudly. "They are a total departure from the government-to-government relationship the tribes always had with Washington," said John Blackhawk, chairman of the Winebago tribe. "Solemn immunity and basic Federal operating funds are not subject to shifting political winds ... but are the result of solemn promises made by the United States to tribal governments in exchange for Indian lands," wrote Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell to Sen. Gorton. "We gave up vast amounts of land in return for sovereignty and certain

obligations... Now they want to throw that out... yet, we aren't even consulted," said Debra Doxtator, chair of the Oneida tribe.

Indian leaders point to Sen. Gorton's two decades of work against Indian sovereignty as the real reason behind these surreptitious riders. In addition, they blame the incorrect public perception that Indian reservations are prospering because of casino gambling.

In actuality two-thirds of reservations do not have casinos and only 10 tribes took in more than half of the gambling revenues. Some Indian folk do not see gaming as the solution to economic development. Unemploy-

ment on reservations is more than three times the national average (on some, it is up to 85%) and Indian children are more than twice as likely to be poor.

Then there is the alcoholism and drug abuse which plagues most Indian families, as well as a variety of other social problems.

To our shame, we have a history of conveniently ignoring our treaties with Indian tribes. We have a history of not acknowledging that we owe the very existence of this nation to our native American brothers and sisters. Mr. Gorton's cruel budget trick only takes us backward.

But, we have an opportunity to begin the future with a new mind set and a new commitment to honoring all of the peoples who have contributed so much to this nation.

The first step must be to honor those treaties in the past and to treat native American nations with the respect they so deserve.

(You can write to President Clinton asking him to veto such legislation at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20500 or write to your Senator voicing your concern about this legislation at United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510.)

The Language of Racism:

Has It Turned On Those it Once Oppressed?

The word "racism" often conjures up negative stereotypes of words and images used by bigoted Whites or hate groups such as the Klu Klux Klan toward Blacks.

Now, decades after the civil rights victories of the 60's and 70's, racism within the Black community has emerged into the mainstream. This week on America's Black Forum, three media leaders-Emerge magazine Editor-in-chief George Curry, Essence magazine Editor-in-chief Susan Taylor, and Vibe magazine president and CEO Keith Clinkscales--share their views on "Racism from Within" and the role of Black media.

Oklahoma Congressman J.C. Watts' reference to Jesse Jackson and other Black leaders as "race-hustling poverty pimps" was but one illustration of what many African-Americans refer to as "Black-on-Black racism." Another was the November '96 issue of Emerge magazine, which featured Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas on the cover as a

lawnjockey.

Curry stands by his magazine's coverage of Thomas and accompanying artwork, stating: "You put one person up there who has benefitted from affirmative action."

Then, once he gets there, (he) wants to deny it to everyone else? I have a problem with that."

Taylor agrees. Although she does not condone name-calling, she says criticism of black leaders was often done behind closed doors.

"It's not O.K. to have any Supreme Court Justice who will sweep away the gains that African-Americans have made, and we've got to speak about it. It's the role of Black media," she says.

One area of Black culture that has had its share of criticism is the music industry, in particular, rap music. Clinkscales says it's time to stop making rap music, which is "a sliver" of the industry, a scapegoat for everything that's wrong.

p e r s p e c t i v e s



BY PROFESSOR
MCKINLEY
BURT

Confusion Abounds In the Land

correspondents that this earth-shaking bulletin was prepared and issued by the academic fortress of one, Ward Connerly, the Proposition 209 Guru who says, "the rhetoric about affirmative action being essential to the black middle class has become a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. But before we deal with that well-worn phraseology, note this.

Several writers cited the ambiguity in the second paragraph. "...the average for white 'and' Asian students..." If it is meant that the scores of the two races are lumped together, then the results are drastically skewed because the 'Asian' scores in most districts are appreciably higher than the whites. It is as though they operate in an academic 'republic' of their own.

I pointed this out in an earlier article where I analyzed a substantiating Study in the respected Scientific American Magazine. The performance of immigrant Indonesian students was examined - parents speak-

ing little, poor or no English: the children were being raised in a motivational and educational incubator the likes of which (I can attest) have not been seen in minority homes since before World War II.

Today, it is exceptional to find this type of cultural matrix among other minorities except in exceptional circumstances -- individual households with committed parents or exceptional schools viz a viz those like Father Clement's school in Chicago, Harlem Academy, etc. With this type of tutelage (and demand placed on parents) there is no difficulty with IQ or SAT tests.

Generally speaking, I would say for the black student in families earning more than \$60,000 per year, he would experience a similar performance deficit relative to his white income peer as would the \$20,000-black-student in respect to his white peer (except of course in the circumstances described in the previous paragraph).

I never argue about it any more, I noticed this as a youth. I found it later to be true on the job whether as an employer or administrator hiring, giving tests or supervising. And later, nothing occurred to disabuse me of this notion as a university professor or when tutoring within or without the system, black kids or white, as of now. It is as with that Indonesian home.

It is all about culture and language, not about brain power, as I so often write. I call the problem the "Jeopardy Syndrome" and have often asked black youths or parents of the so-called "middle class" do you think you could compete in this ABC show. Most angrily reply "that wouldn't prove anything" and I retort, "it already had, your economics and future."

Then I hand them a copy of my 8/8/90 Observer article, "Is It To Be Cultural Literacy or European Literacy?" Do we have a choice?

(Cont'd next week)

For Jobs And Freedom

Threatening Indian Rights