

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### THE DANGERS OF ETHNIC SEPARATISM

I would have no objection to the phenomenon known as the "new ethnicity" if the objective of its proponents was to enlarge a sense of pride in a group's heritage and to foster in society a respect for the uniqueness of that heritage.

To pay homage to the distinctive contributions of minority and immigrant cultures is important for the nation, as well as for the particular group. The enduring struggle of black people, the survival of the Jews, the political triumphs of the Irish, the successful campaigns of foreign-speaking immigrants for recognition of their unions--all bear witness to the pivotal role of minority groups in the forging of American democracy and in the creation of a more humane social order.

We have learned, however, that a healthy expression of cultural identification can easily escalate into extravagant claims of group superiority. Thus we hear, for instance, that there is inherent in "blackness," "Jewishness" or "womanhood," special qualities that endow the group with a distinct right to moral and political leadership. And where groups who suffered discrimination used to demand equal opportunity, they now demand a guarantee of power.

We have also learned that important social goals can be perverted--and promising programs destroyed--when tribal objectives are given precedence. For example, the notion that education should reinforce cultural separatism is currently jeopardizing programs designed to hasten the entry of Spanish-speaking children into a society where English is the dominant language. There is a desperate need to develop creative and educationally sound approaches to <sup>the</sup>teaching of the non-English speaking.

Ideally, bilingual education should be part of this effort, but the concept of bilingual teaching is all too often being advocated as a means of creating a separatist, alternative culture in which the speaking of English does not play a pivotal role.

While we may agree that it can be important for immigrant children to retain familiarity with the language of their parents, at the same time we must recognize that the object of education is to help students cope with an increasingly complex society. Those who minimize this goal are doing inestimable harm to the very children who need quality education more than any other group. Instead of producing students who are fluent in two languages, the proponents of cultural isolation would produce bilingual illiteracy on a massive scale.

What we are confronting here is, in large part, the belief that the member of a given tribe can "relate" only to other members of this tribe. Once cultural isolation is accepted as a positive social goal, inevitably steps will quickly be taken to ensure the tribe's seclusion. Thus we are told that only Hispanic teachers can relate to Hispanic children, and, a little further down the line, that only Puerto Rican teachers can relate to Puerto Rican children, and ultimately, that only Puerto Rican teachers with rural backgrounds can teach Puerto Rican children who migrated from the island's countryside.

Having more blacks and Hispanic minorities as teachers, policemen, judges, social workers and the like is an important social goal. But to suggest that because a black child is taught by a black teacher he or she will receive a better education than if taught by a white, or that<sup>a</sup> Hispanic criminal defendant will be guaranteed a more just trial only if the judge is Puerto Rican is sheer nonsense: it has no basis in fact and furthermore it entails some dangerous implications. No one would deny that some teachers perform poorly or that they are a factor--among many others--for the failures of minority children.

But no single group--blacks included--has a monopoly on teaching skills, imagination, creativity, or the ability to relate to school children, including minority children.

The schools in Washington, D. C. , have a black superintendent and a majority of black teachers, yet their problems are every bit as serious as the problems afflicting other urban schools with substantial numbers of black students. The failures of the Washington system are not the result of <sup>the</sup> racial composition of its teachers and administrators; they are, primarily, a function of the widespread poverty and the dislocation and despair that were generated in the society at large.

The importance of having greater minority representation in education, law enforcement and other social services has nothing to do with cultural solidarity, "nationhood" or community control. The issue here is simply that these are satisfying, respected and generally well-paying jobs which have in the past been closed to minorities. Beyond their value to minority group members as individuals, the integration of civil service and professional jobs is vital for all of society because it is only through integration that a genuine, dynamic pluralistic order--one in which there are no special turfs or privileged positions--can be forged.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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Immediately  
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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### FORD'S PROGRAM A DISASTER FOR BLACKS

President Ford has told the nation the "bad news" about the economy. But the President has greatly understated the situation. We are experiencing a crisis, pure and simple, and it will take much more than candor or gimmicks to lead us to recovery.

In Atlanta, unemployed men and women began lining up at 3 a.m. for a paltry 225 public service jobs. By morning, a crowd of over 3,000 desperate, hungry persons had assembled, and a riot was narrowly averted as they crowded and surged forward. In Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Detroit, the situation is much the same--thousands are out of work, with young blacks suffering the most severe consequences.

The recession is for blacks the most severe since World War II: 12.8 per cent of the black work force is unemployed, and the figures are much, much higher for young workers.

President Ford has responded to this crisis with a program that is inadequate and which, in many respects, will further worsen the plight of the poor, the jobless, and working people. The intent of the program may be commendable, but the results are most surely to be disastrous.

It is a program more noteworthy for what it does not propose than for what it does. There is no proposal for enlarging the totally inadequate number of public service jobs; indeed, the President, by threatening to veto new spending measures, seems to rule out an enlarged public jobs program. There are no proposals to deal with those social services--housing, health care, public transportation, welfare--which have been most seriously affected by the combination of inflation and recession.



Here in fact the President states flatly that he will fight Congress if it attempts to implement new spending programs.

Thus in those areas which pertain most personally and fundamentally to black people, to all those who have borne the brunt of economic deterioration, the Administration has closed the door on the most effective and necessary remedies.

The two basic elements of the President's program are the tax cut, in the form of a rebate, and his proposals for increased taxes on imported oil. Both measures will have an effect on black people; in the case of the tax cut the effect will be too little, while as for the energy program, the effect will be significant and negative.

I believe the President was sincere in proposing a tax cut as a means of stimulating the economy and helping those who have been most severely harmed by inflation. But in actuality, the Ford program is practically meaningless for poor people and for those working people who have had the hardest time making ends meet.

Consider this: a worker with a family of four earning \$6,000 a year-- a category which includes many unskilled black workers--would receive less than \$30.00 under the President's plan. This is considerably less than he would need to simply feed his family for a week. And for a worker earning \$5,000 a year, the rebate comes to \$11.74, an amount so meager to be hardly worth the government's trouble to mail the check.

It appears, in fact, that the President's program will ultimately take more money out of the pockets of the poor than it puts back into them. The exorbitant increases in the excise tax on imported oil will cost everyone who uses an automobile or mass transit--which is just about everyone. But the increased oil prices will do much more. Their impact will be felt all through the economy: in the prices of fuel to heat homes and buildings, in food costs which will rise with the price of fertilizer, in every product in which oil is part of the production process.

There has been a tendency to give President Ford the benefit of the doubt, to give credit for his positive gestures and ignore his shortcomings. In recent weeks, for example, Mr. Ford has been praised for appointing a capable black man to his Cabinet and announcing his support for extension of the Voting Rights Act.

These are not irrelevant gestures, particularly considering the dismal record of the previous resident of the White House. But they are superficial: a black Secretary of Transportation will have little impact in an administration committed to fiscal austerity, while the Voting Rights Act would almost surely have passed with or without the President's endorsement.

The real test is Mr. Ford's performance on economic policy. Can he provide more jobs; will prices come down; will America begin to move once again. On these basic issues, the President seems to be fashioning a policy that, at best, will perpetuate an abysmal status quo, and at worst lead us further down the road to crisis and collapse.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

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Rustin Column  
For further information, contact:

### FORD'S GRAND ILLUSION AND LABOR'S RESPONSE

by Bayard Rustin

Recent events have demonstrated how thoroughly confused our national leadership is. In the midst of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, President Ford has asked for additional sacrifices from those who have sacrificed enough already--workers, the poor, the unemployed.

We are told that unemployment, which stands at nearly 13 per cent in the black community, will climb even higher before the year's end. And according to the President's grand strategy, we are not to expect a significant decrease in joblessness for three years. Indeed, we are assured that the President will vigorously oppose those measures--such as massive public employment programs--which represent the only way of getting the country back to work.

But that is not all. There is to be no new spending for social services, and, in some areas, social programs are to be cut. Thus federal spending for welfare is to be cut at the very time that economic collapse is forcing more and more persons to the relief roles. As more people are unemployed, and thus without the protection of medical insurance, we are told that National Health Insurance must wait. With the housing industry deeply in depression, with construction workers out of work and the cities rotting away, we are told that housing programs must also be postponed.

Truly, the Ford program is not a grand strategy, but a grand illusion.

It is clear that black people can expect nothing more from the Ford Administration than the most superficial gesture: the President has shown himself most open and accessible to all viewpoints. But when push comes to shove, when hard decisions of

economic policy must be made, the Ford prescription has proven no easier to swallow than that of Richard Nixon.

What the Administration is saying is that nothing can be done --hardship will be a fact of American life for the rest of the decade. This is the assumption that underlies all the policy decisions Mr. Ford has made, and it is an assumption which must be resisted by all people of good will.

But what is the alternative? Does anyone have a program to deal with depression, raging unemployment, and the collapse of our cities?

The answer is, quite simply, that of all the forces in society, only the labor movement is addressing the problems of inequality and injustice in a comprehensive and systematic way. Only labor has a program to put people to work, ensure a measure of justice for the unemployed worker and the family on welfare, regenerate the housing industry, and overhaul the health care system.

The details of labor's program were pieced together by the AFL-CIO's General Board, which consists of each of the presidents of the federation's affiliated unions. The significance of the program for black people is that the issues addressed by organized labor are precisely those issues which are of most vital concern to blacks and other minorities.

First and foremost is the issue of unemployment. The AFL-CIO calls for "immediate, massive federal efforts to create jobs for the unemployed." Among the specific demands are a public jobs program which would provide one million additional public service jobs in 1976, a doubling of the youth summer job program, and heavy federal investment in public works projects as a means of stimulating jobs.

The AFL-CIO also proposes tax cuts which go well beyond the level proposed by President Ford, and which would provide the most benefit to poor and middle income workers. The revitalization of the federal housing effort, a federal program to ensure that health care is provided to workers who have lost their jobs and the medical insurance that goes with them, and the extension and improvement of unemployment compensation programs are demanded.

In addition, there is strong opposition to the proposed increase in the price of food stamps.

Labor has proposed a program designed, in the AFL-CIO's words, "to put Americans back to work," a program, in other words, to deal with the most dangerous situation America has faced in the post-war period.

It is no coincidence that the program spelled out by organized labor parallels the agenda of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization responsible for pressing the needs of minority Americans in Congress. For if the goals and needs of the black community have historically mirrored those of labor, this is more true today than ever before.

The choice of allies is not something that is made for abstract reasons: it is determined by common goals and common needs and the commitment of an ally to join with you in struggle to achieve them. At a time when so much of society is confused, when loss of will and purpose are prevalent, it is encouraging to know that at least one force has the clear vision and the strength of conviction to fight for its needs, and the needs of black Americans

# # #

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

Immediately  
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For further information, contact Austin Column

### THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Not too many years have elapsed since America experienced the phenomenon known popularly as Black Power. The specifics of Black Power's philosophy and program were never particularly clear; in fact, it can be safely said that the vehemence and shrillness of Black Power's most prominent advocates was equaled only by the emptiness of their ideas.

There was, however, one important theme that emerged from the rantings of the so-called militants: American society and culture, they seemed to be saying, was beyond redemption, sick, not worth the efforts at reform or change. Black people, particularly young blacks, should devote their energies to the development of an alternate, separatist culture, one defined by race consciousness and should avoid at all costs any contact with or participation in the larger white world.

During the height of the Black Power debate, A. Philip Randolph--who was lumped, along with Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, as chief among the sell-outs and Uncle Toms of the traditional civil rights leadership--responded quite eloquently to the issues raised by the young militants. His words bear repeating since they suggest something quite important about the current situation.

"The forces of advanced technology are not limited by national boundaries and they are sweeping the world. Somehow we must find a way to become a part of this phenomenon that is sweeping the world and changing the world. The youngsters of today must direct their attention not only to the matter of racial identity and racial realization through black studies, but they must make

certain that they are not left behind in the scientific and technological revolution, because if they are, they will be in a helpless state. There will be absolutely no way in the world whereby they can become an effective force. If the young Negro cannot become a part of this advancing technology his whole revolution will have been in vain."

One need not hate American society to recognize that it is in deep, deep trouble. Its basic institutions are crumbling: millions are out of work, the schools face economic crisis, housing is not being built for anyone, much less the poor, the fabric of urban life is being torn apart by violent crime and the fear it generates. And no one, much less the present national leadership, seems to have the will to even begin to resolve these problems.

In the past, there was a certain amount of truth to the proposition that the troubles of American society only marginally affected blacks. During the Great Depression of the 1930s black people lived on the margins of society, poverty-stricken and with little hope of rising above the ghetto or rural squalor.

But this is no longer the case. The majority of black people do not exist as a massive underclass, living at society's edges. They are part of America; they have a stake in the strength of American society and in the democratization of its institutions. When the failures of national leadership create a massive army of unemployed black workers, it does not signify merely the further impoverishment of an already impoverished people; it is a major catastrophe for those who have most recently won the opportunity to enjoy the fruits modern civilization can bestow.

What A. Philip Randolph was saying is that black people are of society, not apart from it. We face a stern choice: to mobilize our unique skills and energies to the reshaping and humanizing of that society, or to ignore this challenge. In which case society, with its advancing technology, its increasingly complex international complex order, and constantly shifting political systems, smother us as it proceeds inexorably on its way.

The challenge is for black people to speak out, loudly and firmly, in the great debates which will shape our destiny. These issues may not, probably will not, be identifiably "black" issues: the formulation of a long term energy policy, the role of America in encouraging internal freedom for oppressed peoples around the world, the role of government in ensuring a permanent policy of full employment, to name just a few. But they are the issues which will ultimately determine the fate of black people, here and abroad.

In the 1960s black people were the vanguard of a massive movement to shake America out of its passivity and move it towards the ideal of an equal society. Today American society is in a far deeper crisis, and black people have much more to lose. The issue is no longer whether to reject American society--that is an option only the affluent and their children can choose. It falls to blacks to take up the challenge posed by America's failures and shortcomings, to participate in the crucial debates, and to help remake all of society. To deliberately refuse this challenge signifies, not a revulsion at the diseased state of society, but an outrageous and irresponsible attitude towards the mass of black Americans.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release Immediately  
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For further information, contact: Rustin Column

### SOME MIXED-UP PRIORITIES

It has become commonplace for young politicians to dismiss "Great Society liberalism" as a hopelessly outdated and impractical philosophy. Conservatives, of course, always hated the Great Society because they hated the activist, compassionate government policies it stood for.

We now find that there is a growing number of young liberals who are as contemptuous of the Great Society as are the most strongly ideological conservative. They see themselves as pragmatic liberals, and, in describing themselves as pragmatists, seem to be distinguishing themselves from what we are to believe is the unworkable formulas of the Johnson Administration.

If we examine the specific programs favored by these liberals, it becomes clear that their own philosophy is riddled with contradictions. They generally favor as activist a government as did the Johnson Administration: many believe in a system of national health care, expanded government housing programs, more aid to education and the like. Thus very often their differences with Great Society liberalism are differences of style, and not of substance.

Another difference between traditional liberals, and many of the newer liberals is the movements which produced them and the constituencies they represent. Many of the newly elected members of Congress represent suburban communities, areas that were traditionally strongholds of the Republican Party but which, in reaction to the scandals of the Nixon Administration and the economic failures of Gerald Ford, switched to the Democratic Party last November.

The Democrats elected by this more affluent constituency differ from traditional Democrats in that their priorities are in large measure defined by their wealthier constituents. For them, political change means first and foremost the reform of political structures, the protection of the environment, consumer issues and the like.

The people who elected them do not in principle like the idea of large government, and so they, at least in their rhetoric, proclaim the value of bringing government closer to the people and warn of the dangers of too much government intervention.

The significance of this is that the new liberals, although they would vigorously deny it, will not always support positions which are in the best interest of the black community. Many of the newer liberals, for example, are enthusiastic about the revenue sharing concept, which was the principal domestic "innovation" of the Nixon Administration. Although proposed as a means of returning government to "the people," revenue sharing is in reality simply a means of transferring the responsibility for the spending of government funds from the federal government, which has historically been the most responsive arm of government to the needs of minorities, to the cities and states, whose attitude towards racial progress has been far less progressive.

Another case of new liberal support for measures which are opposite the interests of blacks is the recent vote of Colorado Senator Gary Hart in opposition to modification of Senate Rule 22 to weaken the use of filibusters in the Senate. Those familiar with the history of the civil rights movement can recall numerous instances of the use of the filibuster by Southerners and conservatives to block civil rights laws. Rule 22 was a formidable (and outrageously undemocratic) hurdle to black progress.

Since his arrival in Washington, Senator Hart has established himself as a spokesman for the new liberalism in the Democratic Party. During his campaign, he was fond of observing that neither conservative nor liberal doctrine is relevant to issues such as "inflation, energy, the environment, campaign reform or congressional reform."

This may or may not be true, though one doubts that the energy crisis or environmental problems can be resolved through traditional conservative means.

The point, however, is that issues like congressional reform and the environment are defined by Senator Hart and those who share his ideology are seen as the crucial issues of our time. What, one may ask, about unemployment, the disastrous condition of the cities, the nationwide housing shortage, and the awful toll which the lack of decent schooling is exacting from young blacks. Somehow Senator Hart has gotten his priorities mixed up.

I have yet to see a rationalization for Hart's opposing reform of the filibuster rule. No doubt he has his reasons. The fact remains that he has aligned himself with forces which have again and again opposed the extension of the basic rights of minorities and working people, and has supported one of the worst legacies of the days of Dixiecrat domination in Congress.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin

*Executive Director*

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For further information, contact:

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

It was not so long ago that Eldridge Cleaver was hailed as an articulate prophet of black revolution. His principal work, "Soul on Ice," was widely praised, and there is no question that Cleaver's prose was compelling, even moving as it conveyed the bitterness and rage of the black dispossessed. When we remember that Cleaver was an uneducated man who had spent much of his life behind prison bars, his accomplishments as a writer become even more impressive.

But Cleaver's imposing style camouflaged the shallowness of his political thought. It was clear that behind the articulations of anger and frustration was a conception of society which had little relation to the concrete situation of the majority of black people. He shared a sense of rage with many black people, but he did not understand their aspirations. Indeed, he could not have, since his was a voice of hopelessness: the fulfillment of his political vision required the collapse of race relations. Thus when Cleaver asked blacks to support him for the presidency in 1968 as a protest against what he proclaimed to be a corrupted and racist political system, blacks ignored him to support Hubert Humphrey. Many suspect that Cleaver received more support from guilty whites than from blacks.

This leads to an interesting point. And that is that it was white liberals, and not blacks, who were most outspoken in their praise of Cleaver. Cleaver found himself in the ironical position of on the one hand railing against the injustices of white society, and on the other hand finding his most receptive, even worshipful

audience among affluent white socialites, influential white academics and journalists, and the children of the white middle and upper classes.

Cleaver the revolutionary would never have existed had it not been for the masochistic orgy of white guilt which absorbed many well-known liberals. The most shallow pop journalists and the most irresponsible social critics created his image, accepting unquestioningly Cleaver's most bizarre ideas--such as the proposition that the act of raping a white woman represented a positive gesture of insurrection. (a notion which Cleaver himself rejected as dehumanizing).

Six years ago Cleaver fled the United States, fearful of being returned to prison for parole violation. Little was heard from him until, <sup>in</sup> a recent Newsweek interview, he expressed a number of political judgements which do not simply revise his previous doctrines, but altogether contradict the very ideas which secured his fame and notoriety.

Instead of his once unbridled contempt for American society, Cleaver now asserts that the impulse of the American people is "anti-colonialist." The man who once declared that a "dead pig is the best pig of all" now favors "closely controlled police forces to guarantee public safety," according to Newsweek. The stridency of his anti-Israeli rhetoric has been moderated: Cleaver now says that the Middle East conflict is "more complicated than we thought it was." While he is still convinced that the police acted illegally in its suppression of the Black Panthers, he personally rejects the use of political violence.

A principal reason for the transformation of Cleaver's thought seems to be his experience in Communist and Third World countries. He had traveled in the Soviet Union, China, and several East European countries, and it is apparent that he has lost all illusions about Communism's potential as a revolutionizing agent. Even more striking are his views of the Third World.

A "cultural chasm" separated him from the people of Algeria, where he lived for several years, and he appears to have given up on the possibilities of Pan-Africanism.

To those of us who rejected the proposition that black liberation could be won through the barrel of a gun, who failed to see a foaming racist behind every policeman's shield, and who believed that underneath the appearances of dislocation racial progress was in fact being made, Cleaver's transformation is hardly surprising. For it was predestined that Cleaver, like all others whose philosophies were rooted in extremism and hatred, would either alter his views to conform with socio-political realities, embrace an opposite or equally as extremist doctrine, or, refusing to change, suffer that worst of fates--to be ignored. It is to Cleaver's credit that he is open-minded and honest enough to have learned from his experiences in exile.

One cannot be as generous to those whites responsible for molding the mystique of the black revolutionary. They really never believed in the potentiality of the type of revolution Cleaver preached; he represented, for them, a distorted image of black America through which they could enjoy a perverse, second-hand participation in social rebellion. With nothing to gain from the restructuring of society, they encouraged Cleaver because they knew he was doomed to fail. Their principal contribution to the racial struggle was to elevate and legitimize political irresponsibility. And they left a tragic legacy from which we have still not recovered.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### *The Economic Vision of Organized Labor*

One of the misconceptions about the labor movement most often spread by the liberal press is that labor's economic goals are somehow different from and at times opposed to the economic needs of the black community. Nothing could be further from the truth. Since most blacks are working people, and are in fact more likely to have unionized jobs than are white workers, it then follows that the realization of labor's legislative program will have an immediate and tangible impact on a significant portion of the black community.

The response of labor's critics is that whatever benefits labor wins for its members are exacted at the expense of the poorest of society: the underemployed, those with inadequate education backgrounds, and young workers. Such reasoning has led individuals who support in the abstract the objective of racial equality to oppose minimum wage legislation, to question the union shop, and to deride the achievement of substantial union contracts as having little consequence, and perhaps a negative implication, in the broad scheme of the economy.

One need only examine the history of social legislation during the past few years to understand the absurdity of this logic. At a time when much of liberalism has been consumed with causes that are at best marginally related to economic progress--foreign policy, the environment, political reform, and various expressions of psychological liberation--the labor movement has stood practically alone as an institution whose primary aim is the economic advancement of both working people and the poor. In the early years of the Nixon Administration, when others dismissed labor's program as irrelevant New Deal stuff, it was the trade unions who warned that the domestic policies being carried out by the administration would lead to disastrous consequences somewhere down the line. In this regard George Meany was far more visionary

than those who, in their haste to celebrate the "greening" of America, assured us that the economic question was passe'.

In its pursuit of economic justice, labor has elevated one goal--full employment--above all others. In retrospect, it seems clear that had the Johnson Administration thrown the full weight of the Great Society behind this one objective, thereby institutionalizing the concept of a job for everyone as a basic civil right, it would have forestalled many of the serious problems we have since encountered. Instead, we have the perpetuation and perhaps exacerbation of the most serious socio-economic problem to confront America in recent years: the existence of a vast slum underclass who have been removed from the economic structure through the process of cybernation. These are individuals, desperate to the point of violence, who were but marginally affected by the civil rights revolution, if they were touched at all. To their numbers are added annually thousands of black youths rejected by an economy in which the black jobless rate has consistently surpassed 10 per cent of the workforce.

The reason that we have failed to achieve full employment is that it has not really been tried. Instead of attacking the problem of racial inequality at its root--that is, instead of guaranteeing full employment--government has launched a series of oblique and diversionary strategies, none of which has made a particularly significant impact on black joblessness. Like so much else in his administration, Richard Nixon's black capitalism program became a mechanism for dispensing political patronage--in the public's mind it was discredited because of its scandals. The point that needs to be made, however, is that a program designed to stimulate small scale, ghetto entrepreneurship was ordained to fail, given the realities of an economic system in which even well established small businesses find it difficult to stay afloat.

Equally as utopian and impractical is the community action strategy so beloved of liberals and radicals in the 1960s. No doubt the community action agencies did perform some beneficial services in slum neighborhoods; at the same time, the confrontationist tactics adopted by many anti-poverty activists was a not insignificant factor in the deepening of rivalries between the have-nots and the have-littles of society and encouraged the

proliferation of a narrow, turf based tribalist mentality. As for the problem of jobs, this was an issue that was never seriously addressed by the community action agencies due largely to the fact that the philosophy behind the community action approach stressed psychology -- or consciousness raising as it were--instead of the more tedious field of economics.

Although black capitalism and the community organizing strategy spring from widely divergent ideological roots, their impact has been strikingly similar insofar as they have diverted society from the real problems of the black community. We are now paying for their failures in a staggering unemployment rate: indeed, should substantial remedies not soon be forthcoming, we may see an entire generation of black youth mature without being integrated into the economy.

There were those, principally the labor movement and civil rights groups, who warned of this possibility six years ago, only to be ignored by a society which has come to believe the myth of its own affluence. One can only hope that, faced with unprecedented crisis, America will begin to listen to its true visionaries.



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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

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### SHARE THE WEALTH, NOT THE MISERY

During the 1960s it was widely believed that the racial crisis could be resolved by exorcising the racist attitudes of individual whites and transforming the racist practices of economic and social institutions. There were those, a minority, who argued that the elimination of prejudice and discrimination, although pivotal to the creation of an equal society, were not enough. Some of the most fundamental problems, we said, were rooted in an economic system which elevated profits above human needs. A just social order would not be realized until these problems were addressed; indeed, we would fail to achieve even our short-term agenda without a direct challenge to the pervasive discrimination based on social class.

But this view did not prevail. Government has mounted a substantial assault on racial discrimination; a similarly vigorous effort to achieve economic change has not been forthcoming. Black people, of course, have been the principal losers because of it.

If the deterioration of the economy has taught us anything, it is that the enforcement of anti-bias laws cannot by itself bring about massive social change. The shortcomings of this strategy are made clear by the failure to achieve the total integration of the construction industry. For many, the answer to why we have failed is simple: construction unions are immovably opposed to the participation of blacks: they have done everything within their power to exclude minorities: the only way to deal with them is by imposing some form of quota system to guarantee the fulfillment of minority rights.

To believe thus is only to compound the mistaken assumptions of the 1960s. An honest evaluation of the construction unions' record reveals a pattern of steady progress, not rigid opposition to minority needs. Minorities comprise over 15 per cent of the apprentices in the highly skilled, better-paid crafts and over nine per cent of all building tradesmen.

The problem then is not one primarily of prejudice, but of economics. Unemployment in the construction industry exceeds 18 per cent, a level of joblessness higher even than the jobless level of the black community. In some heavily black communities--Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, New York--construction unemployment runs to 30 to 40 per cent.

In brief, the construction industry in the midst of a depression and there is no mystery as to why. Potential home purchasers have been discouraged by the exorbitantly high interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board; at the same time, the federal government has imposed massive cutbacks on federal housing and public works programs that are vital to the rebirth of the cities.

These are the policies of traditional economic conservatism, inaugurated under Richard Nixon and perpetuated by Gerald Ford. They are not, however, the sole reason for the problems confronting the construction industry. The liberal supporters of racial progress also bear an indirect responsibility for the current situation.

The problem with some liberals is that, while supporting racial justice in the abstract, they resist the measures necessary to achieve it. It is obvious that integration can proceed quickly and peacefully only if there is an expanding number of jobs for minority applicants. Also, the creation of jobs is not the only value of a vigorous building program. There is a vast rebuilding job to be done in the cities. We need to build projects to help protect the environment. In an era of growing energy scarcity, there is a desperate need for the construction of mass transit facilities.

Instead of a unified demand for a massive public works program, however, liberals seem confused. Some appear more intent on punish-

ing the building trades than creating more job opportunities. Others, having embraced the zero growth ethic, doubt whether building anything is socially useful. Thus when President Nixon in justifying his cutback of federal housing programs insisted they didn't work, many liberals concurred.

Building trades union, in contrast, have persistently demanded that government expand its role in the building of homes, subways, highways, and other necessary facilities. You can say that such demands are self-serving, but that is not the point. The point is that unions regularly criticized as "racist" were more likely to demand policies which would hasten the integration of the construction industry than their liberal critics.

When the civil rights movement asked that black people share equally in the American economy, they did not mean sharing increasingly small parts of the pie. The goal is not to share the misery, but to expand the opportunities for individual fulfillment for all people. To be fully integrated in an economy beset by massive unemployment is of no consolation to those who are unemployed and desperate. Unless we begin to recognize this basic fact, the word "equality" will continue to strike a bitter note in the souls of the oppressed.

# # #

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### HOW BLACK AFRICA VIEWS THE ARABS

A story in The New York Times concluded that the relationships between black Americans and the Jewish community, which have been strained over the past few years, have solidified in recent months. There are many reasons for the improved ties between blacks and Jews, but certainly one important factor is the realization that the oil pricing policies of the Arab nations have done severe damage to the economies of developing black African nations.

A recent article in the The Sunday Nation, a Kenyan newspaper, details some of the problems between black Africa and the Arabs. I have excerpted sections of this article because I felt it would be informative for black Americans to hear the opinion of an African on the issue of Arab-African "solidarity."

*"The honeymoon between Africans and Arabs seems almost over. The jubilant chants of solidarity which accompanied the dramatic breaks in diplomatic ties between African nations and Israel during the October Middle East War have now been replaced by cries of frustration and bitterness from African nations whose economies face collapse as a result of the astronomical increases in the price of oil products.*

*"Four years ago, the Arab members of the OAU had tried to rally support from African nations for the Arab cause with little success. In October, 1973, African nations were falling over themselves declaring solidarity with the Arabs against Israel, but the haste with which they were breaking relations with Israel did not hide the fact that they were doing so as much out of consideration of future oil price concessions from the Arab oil-producing nations as out of their commitment to the Palestinian cause.*

*"What the Arab oil-producing nations have failed to see is that equally high prices for all nations are in fact preferential, for while their effects on the economies of developed nations may be painful, they are tolerable,*

whereas the economies of a number of developing nations may collapse as a result of the increased prices of oil and oil products.

"While the standards of living of Western nations may fall somewhat as a result of increased fuel prices, the very survival of developing nations may be at stake if nothing is done to shield these nations from the repercussions of the energy crisis.

"And what has to be done must be more than the miserable gestures which the Arab nations are making through their development funds. The money which the Arab nations have invested in the African Development Bank, for instance, is no more than what the oil-producing nations will get back from East Africa, alone, during the next year-and-a-half, from increased crude oil prices, and is far less than the total revenue which oil-producing countries will get from Kenya alone during this coming year. In other words, the money we are being loaned is infinitesimal as compared with the sums we are being asked to spend on increased oil prices.

"In fact, the Arabs are doing what the bad old imperialists have been doing all along, giving aid so as to finance the purchase of products from the donor nations. The only difference is that there was a much closer relationship between the aid given by Western nations and the volume of trade between them and developing countries .

"It is difficult, in these circumstances, to square the concepts of friendship which the Arabs and the Africans have to each other. Certainly it is a strange friend, indeed, who persists in a policy which spells the collapse of the economy of a friendly State, especially when the intended victim pleads for his survival as eloquently as the African nations have done.

"Perhaps it is at times like this that Africans ought to review the depth of their friendship with the Arab nations. In the last twelve months, for instance, the Sahelian region of the continent has been suffering from one of the worst droughts in man's history. Millions of livestock have died; hundreds of people have lost their lives. It is true that there is much that African nations could have done for themselves before and during the droughts, but there is also much which the rest of the world could have done to assist the drought-stricken areas.

*"There has been much criticism of Western nations for not having responded promptly and with substantial aid, but what of the Arab oil-producing nations -- our friends? Our Third World comrades? Our allies? Their assistance to the Sahelian States has been conspicuous by its paltriness.*

*"Couldn't the Arab oil-producing nations, who profess to be the friends of Africans, have spared a few million out of their billions, which they earn weekly from oil revenue, to extend a helping hand to the starving and the dying in the drought-stricken areas?"*

*"So what are African nations to do about this whole state of affairs? Obviously they cannot force the Arab nations to sell their oil at a concessionary price to them. They cannot force the Arab nations to sink more meaningful sums into development projects in Africa.*

*"But neither should African nations adopt a stance which gives the impression that we are going down on our knees over the oil issues. The times ahead may be difficult, but we have stated our case to our Arab friends the best way we know how; it would not help for us to forfeit our pride in the bargain.*

*"For one thing, we can restore some of the psychological balance in this situation if those African nations who had no direct quarrel with Israel were to reopen diplomatic relations with Israel.*

*"A great many African nations broke diplomatic relations because they thought that by doing so they would be placed on the most favoured list when the Arab oil-producing nations offered oil price concessions. These concessions have not been forthcoming, and there is no reason for these African nations to continue their break in relations with Israel."*

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

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For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### The Refugees

America is facing a moral crisis, and nothing reveals this more vividly than the debate over the Vietnam refugees. We have witnessed in recent weeks an orgy of mean-spiritedness, self-recrimination, and intellectual duplicity in which, most deplorably, many liberals have played a leading role. A nation which attained moral stature as a haven for the oppressed now seems willing to turn away from its most cherished traditions. Truly we are experiencing a low point in American history.

I can understand why many ordinary Americans regard the refugees with hostility. The economy is in dreadful shape; competition along racial, sexual, and age lines is accelerating; the arrival of another group is seen as exacerbating an already desperate situation.

The fear generated by high unemployment also accounts for the antagonistic response of a good number of blacks. For six years the government has encouraged policies and attitudes of racial neglect. Other causes and priorities have displaced the goal of racial progress on the national agenda. Black people believe that they are justified in asking whether the refugees represent another have-not group whose arrival signifies that Negroes will be shunted further aside.

But while the apprehensions about the economic impact of the refugees may be real, they are in truth unwarranted. Although the total number of refugees come to about 120,000, the number seeking work is relatively small, about 30,000 or 40,000. Most, in fact, are children, including many orphans.

That the American people do not understand these facts is largely due to the failure of political leadership exhibited by many liberals. It is a frightening and discouraging spectacle when those who have traditionally stood by the persecuted of the world now take the narrow road, carping at and criticizing the request for political asylum.

Ironically those who, in opposing the Vietnam War, criticized the American government for holding degrading and stereotyped views of the Vietnamese people, now suggest that the majority of refugees are either criminals or political terrorists. One can hardly imagine a more degrading or unjustified stereotyping.

As for those, such as Senator McGovern, who propose, either through naivete or dishonesty, that most refugees would actually prefer to return to their homeland, have they considered asking the refugees themselves?

The critics of our refugee policy are unable to accept a hard, simple fact: that refugees, like millions of others who have suffered religious or political persecution, prefer the uncertainties of American life to the certain oppressiveness of the political regime they fled. That ordinary people had much to fear from the Communist forces is borne out by the experiences of the Cambodian people: a whole population uprooted from its homes, families separated from each other, forced into what amounts to slave labor, the sick and aged left to die.

There is an analogy between the situation of the Vietnam refugees and the experience of black Americans. During the 1940s and 1950s, southern blacks migrated in massive numbers to the cities of the north. They understood that the life awaiting them was no utopia and that they might be greeted with hostility by workers with whom they would compete for jobs. But they also recognized that the non-South offered opportunities for personal and political expression as well as economic opportunities.



In a sense, they were seeking an alternative political, economic and social system to the rigid, caste-bound pattern of southern segregation. They were convinced that the change, despite its traumas, was worth the risk .

The response of the southern defenders of Jim Crow was that theirs was just another system, different from the rest of the nation's, but compatible with the needs of its people. This was, of course, absurd. Segregation was not simply just another system. It was a cruelly oppressive engrained way of life that affected the lives of every black person born into it. And I am convinced that, upon reflection, few Americans would deny that the Vietnam refugees are fleeing a system whose oppression is real and tangible, and not simply imagined.

Blacks have been at most but marginally involved in the controversy over whether America is moving to isolationism in the wake of Vietnam. But if America indeed does embrace the mean, isolationist outlook, it will be its black citizens who will be <sup>the</sup> worse for it. For a society which rejects the dispossessed of the world, we shall discover, is a society that ultimately repudiates its own dispossessed. This is the lesson to be learned from the debate over the refugees. And it is a lesson we need learn well.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release Immediately  
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For further information, contact Bayard Rustin Column

### The Choice of Allies

By Norman Hill

*(The leading black activists from America's trade unions met recently in Baltimore, Maryland, at the national conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute to formulate a response to the economic crisis. This week's column is an excerpt from the conference's keynote address by Norman Hill, the Institute's executive director.)*

We have long preached the gospel of coalition politics. There was a time, of course, when the notion of coalition was not fashionable in certain circles--when separatism was the keynote that the media responded to. But despite all the seeming dislocation and controversy, black people were in fact engaging in politics, making coalitions, winning elections, and helping their white allies win elections.

Today we face a new and deepened crisis and must answer a new question. For the issue is no longer whether we are to make political coalitions; that issue has already been decided. The issue today is who we make coalition with--what social forces can we depend on to help remake this society so that it begins to serve human needs, and not profits?

Let me start by indicating who we are not likely to be making alliances with.

We are not likely to make coalition with the Ford Administration. The president is decent and apparently honest. Every so often he invites the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights or the Congressional Black Caucus to meet with him for an hour or so. He listens attentively, promises to consider everything that's been said, and then does nothing. Nothing, of course, is what we've gotten from this administration, at least nothing in terms of concrete action to get Americans back to work.

And we can expect nothing from President Ford as long as he remains committed to his current economic course.

We certainly can't depend on the beautiful people. Just a few days ago a newspaper carried an interview with Paul Newman, that well-known liberal. Newman was asked about having made a movie a few years back with a blatantly anti-union theme. His response, believe it or not, was "sure I'm anti-union; I'm anti-corporation too; I'm anti-big." In Washington this would be known as an even-handed policy. Which is fine. But I think those who hold such beliefs ought to end the charade of calling themselves liberals or radicals or whatever. They are not the allies of the black community or of the great mass of American working people who have borne the most severe burden of economic collapse.

What about Congress? Here the news is good and bad. Congress has certainly prevented the Ford Administration from implementing some of its more anti-worker, anti-black, and anti-poor policies. It has made a gesture at economic recovery, but only a gesture. We are going to discover soon enough that it will require far more than a tax cut to get people back to work; it may require far reaching measures which challenge some of the basic ways in which our economy has functioned. And the question is whether Congress, even the liberal Congress we now have, is prepared to support these kind of radical measures. One indication came several weeks ago, when Congress faced the issue of whether to limit this year's budget deficit. This was a clear issue of priorities: fighting inflation as against fighting unemployment. And when push came to shove, many on the Democratic, liberal side abandoned labor to support a position that was quite compatible with the philosophy of the Ford Administration.

This leaves two forces--organized labor and the black community itself.

These are two vital forces on which any movement for social change must be built.

It is the black community and the working class represented by organized labor who have been victimized by two successive Republican Administrations. Thus black people and white working people have the strongest, most deeply felt stake in turning this economy around. And without a strong, enduring alliance between these two groups, we are simply not going to make the changes we desperately need.

Another point is that the program of organized labor and the black community is essentially the same.

A few months ago many of the leading figures in the black community held an emergency meeting on the economy. It was called the black economic summit conference.

This conference produced a list of demands touching almost every aspect of the economy. Jobs, housing, health care--everything. It was comprehensive and far reaching.

A few months later another document dealing with the economy was put together. It was the AFL-CIO action program, another comprehensive and far reaching answer to economic scarcity.

The significant point is that the program adopted by the AFL-CIO was the same in almost every point to the program drafted by the nation's black leadership. Blacks and labor deliberated on the problems separately, but wound up with the same conclusion.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For further information, contact:

### THE NAACP AT 66

It is ironic that, just as America's bicentennial celebration draws near, this nation finds itself engulfed by a sea of indecision and self-doubt. Never before have Americans been less sure of their goals. Confronted with a rapidly escalating economic crisis--with over nine million unemployed--our political and intellectual leadership appears immobilized by a lack of purpose and loss of will.

The stagnation of leadership has not, fortunately, infected all of society. In a few weeks the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will open its 66th national convention in Washington, D.C. For most of this century the NAACP has been a leading force for moral, social and political change. Other organizations, of course, have contributed to social and racial progress. But far too many are notable today more for their mistakes and weaknesses than for the very real results they achieved. Indeed, with the single exception of the labor movement, no other organization can be said to have achieved the level of enduring and far-reaching change as has the NAACP.

I point this out because I believe there is something in the traditions and philosophy of the NAACP from which all society can learn, particularly when that society suffers from a thoroughgoing crisis of purpose.

The most fundamental point is that the NAACP was founded by individuals who had a particular vision of the kind of society they wanted to create. They were inspired by the conviction that a racially equal society could be forged through the use of every available democratic process: the courts, the political system,

and the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and assembly.

These principles, moreover, were the benchmark for NAACP activism over successive generations. The militancy of its leadership did not diminish when they were denounced as anti-American by racists and demagogues. Nor was the courage of its local activists affected by threats and murders.

By the same token, the NAACP's commitment to integration and non-violence enabled it to survive what was perhaps its most difficult period--the turbulent sixties. This was a time when Roy Wilkins was dubbed "Uncle Tom Number One" by archmilitants and separatists and when the NAACP, because of its refusal to abandon its integrationist ideals, was dismissed as irrelevant to the changing tide of black struggle.

Today, one seldom hears of the advocates of what was erroneously characterized as a movement for "black power." Few are actively engaged in the serious business of working for racial change: most dropped out of the civil rights movement altogether or drifted into any number of marginal causes, ranging from Republican business conservatism to forms of nationalism entirely inappropriate to the American situation.

Roy Wilkins has remained as probably the most important black leader because, unlike his critics, he believed that prejudice was not an inevitable part of American life and that American society could indeed be transformed. The causes that he and the NAACP refused to embrace--separatism, black studies programs that excluded whites, violent action--are today no longer seriously debated.

What we have experienced, in fact, is a return to the ideals on which the NAACP was founded. And that is that basic institutions must be reformed so as to serve human needs, and not profits, and that black people must be full participants in all aspects of society if they are to achieve the benefits of and exert maximum influence on that society.

Its adherence to these principles has given the NAACP a

renewed significance, while their abandonment led to the demise of others. The NAACP can count over 440,000 members in 1,700 active chapters, a substantial increase over even a decade ago. The NAACP has also adjusted its strategy: where once it sought change primarily through the courts, today it is increasing its legislative activities in recognition of the fact that economic change must be achieved politically.

There is an important lesson to be learned from the history of the NAACP, and it is our political leadership which would profit most from the experience. Social change is advanced by those who have a personal stake and philosophical commitment to its achievement. Those who in frustration would as soon bring society down, and those who resist the democratization of society are doomed to failure. The NAACP's accomplishments are an enduring part of our history: its critics and those who ignored its call for a more decent human order will soon be forgotten.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### LIBERALS AND WORKERS

Liberalism has developed in recent years a new cultural attitude toward working people, particularly white working people, that marks a distinct break with past liberal beliefs.

During the 1930s, 1940s, and even 1950s working people were looked on with respect as hard working, decent individuals whose values were as worthy as those of the rest of society. Contrast this with the current liberal attitude towards teachers, policemen, and construction workers. As individuals these working people are no longer accorded respect in liberal opinion; as for the unions representing these people, liberals often lump them together with corporations as comprising vast and powerful "vested interests" that operate against the public interest. The goals and the influence of a teachers' union are thus equated with those of the oil lobby.

To maintain any semblance of public dignity, then, working people find that they must identify, not with their job or class background, but rather with their racial, ethnic, or sexual heritage. It appears that liberals have to a significant extent accepted the myth of America as the affluent society in which the role of the working class has been minimized or abolished altogether.

Thus workers are no longer valued in terms of their economic roles, but are accepted only in the light of their biological or racial ancestry. To be a Jew or a Negro or an Irish-American is to bear the dignity conferred by a unique historical tradition set apart from the mainstream; to be a worker, on the other hand, is to bear the scorn of



society more than its respect.

It is this refusal to view social phenomena in terms of their economic roots that led in the late 1960s to much of the confusion over the direction of the civil rights agenda. And to the extent that many of the Negro's traditional allies in the liberal community believed individual white racism - not the economic system - to be at the heart of racial inequality, to that degree they postponed the implementation of massive social and economic reforms which would, in fact, have helped transform the ghetto.

For individual prejudice is not the root cause of black poverty, but rather the discriminatory functioning of a free-enterprise system which makes it unprofitable to build low-cost housing, encourages the exodus of jobs from the inner cities to the suburbs, discourages full employment, and fails to take into consideration the trauma and disruption of cybernetics and automation. To blame white racism for the Negro's plight is not simply to forestall the possibility of fundamental economic transformation, it is also to imply that white working people--particularly those whose economic situation is little different from that of blacks--are in large measure responsible for racial inequality. This, of course, makes cooperation and political alliance between white and black workers that much more difficult.

It has taken an unemployment rate in excess of nine percent, the highest of the post-war era, to demonstrate that lifestyle and liberation are not the central issues of our time, except insofar as everyone's lifestyle and freedom is threatened by the persisting failures of the economic system.

Thus it is essential that liberals rethink their basic attitudes--towards the state, towards their programmatic priorities, and most importantly, towards the working class. Liberals have played a central role in the struggles for social progress in America, but they have done so only in partnership with other progressive forces, particularly with the civil rights movement and the mass constituency of labor. Failure to understand this fundamental point will not only perpetuate the crisis of liberalism, it will certainly mean the continuation and worsening of the infinitely deeper crisis that America, and much of the rest of the world, is undergoing.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### EUSING FLARES ANEW

With the publication of his report on the consequences of busing to achieve racial integration, social scientist James Coleman has become the focal point of a major and potentially bitter controversy. The reactions to Coleman's findings are already assuming an all-too-familiar pattern. Some integrationists, concentrating on the report's assertion that massive busing has reinforced Negro isolation in the inner cities, are questioning Coleman's racial attitudes and intellectual integrity. The opponents of busing, on the other hand, are confidently preparing a renewed anti-integration offensive, their case bolstered by scholarly documentation authored by a respected friend of racial advancement.

One does not have to agree with all of Coleman's conclusions to recognize that the responses his research have evoked--both pro and con--are generated by fears and expectations, rather than by honest evaluation. James Coleman is no more a racist today than he was in 1966, when he published the landmark study *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, which provided the rationale for subsequent federal school-desegregation initiatives. Nor should his findings be interpreted as an assault on the concept of racial integration: Coleman states clearly that society as a whole is less segregated today than ever before and reaffirms his conviction that integration of all social institutions is a profoundly healthy development.

If I read him correctly, Coleman appears to be making two fundamental criticisms of the way America has gone about the integration process. First, he believes that the federal government erred in emphasizing school desegregation over the integration of other social institutions. And

second, he expresses serious reservations as to whether the court system should be issuing sweeping edicts that result in the wholesale restructuring of urban school systems.

As one who has consistently supported school integration, and who believes that busing may be one of many techniques that can be effectively utilized to promote desegregation, I nevertheless find myself in agreement with the premise that the integration of economic and social institutions is as important as school desegregation. Under ideal conditions, with a friendly administration in the White House, one might expect pressure for integration to be applied on all fronts: in neighborhood housing patterns and the economy as well as in the school house.

As for Coleman's doubts about the courts, there are few civil rights leaders who would not express concern about the uncoordinated, erratic pattern of school desegregation that has too often been the consequence of judicial decisions. No student, black or white, benefits from court-ordered integration formulas which trigger disruption and polarization throughout a school system.

Beyond the problems created by specific court decisions is another, broader issue. For years the courts have been the most responsive branch of government to the demands for racial justice. As a result, the strategy of the civil rights movement has centered on the courts as much as on the political process. But what would happen if the courts underwent an ideological transformation, shedding the activism of the past two decades for a stricter interpretation of civil rights issues? Many believe that we are witnessing such a phenomenon right now in the Supreme Court, where recent decisions--involving the rights of municipalities to dilute black political power by annexing predominantly white suburbs and to enact restrictive zoning regulations--have gone against civil rights forces.

If Coleman raises some valid points, he fails at the same time to confront a matter of overriding significance. And that is the politics of race--the almost total absence of political authority exhibited by both political parties, but particularly by the last two presidential administrations, on issues of racial policy.

We can debate from now until infinity whether the courts have overstepped their vested powers: the debate is meaningless unless you recognize that the courts have been functioning in a political vacuum for the past six and a half years. To President Nixon school integration was an issue to be exploited as part of a strategy to win the southern vote. Indeed, Nixon had a formidable interest in perpetuating the busing controversy because he was convinced that the more chaotic the process of school desegregation, the more secure his southern base. Although not a devious strategist, President Ford seems no more likely than Nixon to provide a high level of guidance on racial matters.

More than anything else, this nation needs vigorous, humane political leadership. Court decisions, bureaucratic directives, and research papers do not constitute national policy; they imply its absence if political direction is lacking. Moreover, we desperately need broad national policies which seek the full integration of society in order that we might escape the current obsession with busing and proceed about the business of creating a better society for all people.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### The Importance of Seniority

By Bayard Rustin

The escalating dispute over job seniority rights is a tragic but altogether predictable consequence of the hard times confronting American workers. Periods of intense racial competition have always emerged simultaneous with depressions, panics, and general economic instability. And while Americans are today far less likely to be motivated by blind race hatred, they nonetheless continue to perceive social phenomenon in racial terms.

Black workers, the disproportionate victims of massive layoffs, are embittered at their white colleagues, whom they see as the beneficiaries of past patterns of discrimination. White workers, rejecting in totality the presumption that they constitute a privileged elite, bristle at demands that they--the have-littles of society--should sacrifice for the discriminatory practices of their employers and the policy failures of the federal government.

There is, then, equity to both arguments. Or to put it another way, black and white workers alike stand to lose from the perpetuation of an intolerable high level of unemployment. The only winners will be the most affluent and powerful forces of society--those who, whether consciously or otherwise, have a vested stake in pitting working people at each other's throats.

The days when industrialists would import black strikebreakers by the trainload to supplant unionized whites may be well in the distant past. Likely as not, blacks are now an integral part of those unions which management once tried so determinedly to destroy. But conservatives,

whether in business or in government, have devised more sophisticated means of driving workers apart. Race is still an essential part of this strategy. And we must keep this point in mind when examining the seniority debate.

Thus my principal objection to proposals that seniority clauses be abrogated in the name of affirmative action is that such a move would severely damage the entire labor movement by weakening one of its most cherished achievements. Seniority is not a mark of privilege, it is a necessary right, won at no little cost, which protects workers from the whims and prejudices of an employer.

Primary among those who benefit from seniority are middle-aged and older workers, who themselves comprise a group that suffers a high degree of discrimination. Even now substantial numbers of older workers are being furloughed in non-unionized plants by employers anxious to replace higher-paid veterans with low-salary young workers. What future does a 50 or 60 year old worker have in today's economy? A question well worth pondering.

In some instances, of course, unions have decided, through the democratic approval of its members, to initiate work sharing schemes and other formulas to minimize the impact of layoffs. Some industries, garment manufacturing is one example, have employed work sharing formulas for years. Another important reform is the practice of granting to black workers who were once refused employment because of discrimination back seniority rights dating to the time of their initial rejection. Implicit in cases where black workers are protected by back seniority is the principle that white workers who had nothing to do with their employer's discrimination will not be penalized.

At the same time, I cannot support proposals for across-the-board wage cuts, reduction of benefits, or shortened work weeks as a basic means of dealing with the unemployment problem. Intentionally in some cases, unintentionally in others, the proponents of a general lowering of living standards have fallen victim to one of the most destructive myths about American society: the notion of an affluent secure working class. The most convincing evidence to the contrary lies in the most recent jobless statistics: 14 percent for blue collar workers; over 21 percent for construction workers. These are hardly reflections of wealth or security.

Furthermore, I am convinced that the acceptance of anti-worker and anti-union formulas signifies a weakening of resolve to achieve real economic transformation. There are already a few in the civil rights movement who are resigning themselves to another ten years of economic deterioration. Some misguided individuals even believe that a prolonged depression offers opportunities to advance the cause of racial equality through the institutionalization of the principle of an equitable sharing of poverty.

Such defeatism makes even more difficult the already formidable struggle for economic change. Blacks and whites can debate forever the question of who should sacrifice in an economy of scarcity. While we debate, those who have always profited from worker division will be on the sidelines, cheering us on. Their stake is not in who wins or loses, but only that the struggle pitting worker against worker continue.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release: Immediately  
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For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### Urban Benign Neglect

By Bayard Rustin

The financial crisis of New York City is a dramatic and much needed reminder of the continuing plight of all American cities. For although New York's plight is more serious, the same woes are affecting other large cities.

Inflation and recession are the immediate causes of the cities' troubles. Enormous price increases for energy and other goods have increased the costs of services that cities provide while the recession has slashed the tax revenues needed to provide those services. To solve immediate problems, nothing would be more helpful than a national economic policy to quickly restore full employment. President Ford and his advisors not only have no program for a quick and full economic recovery; they provide no remedial program to aid the hard-pressed cities. They condescendingly tell the cities to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, offering a formula of benign neglect that will be as disastrous to the cities as Nixon's benign neglect was for blacks.

The cities have already suffered from decades of neglect that has been anything but benign in its effects. It is no solution to attack the leaders of New York City as spendthrifts, for the problems of the cities are the result of national failures: years of neglect, lack of planning, and racism.

The cities have been forced to bear the nationwide burden of poverty, because we have no national welfare program. Poor people from the South, from Appalachia have moved to the cities to escape grinding poverty and almost nonexistent welfare programs. Compassionate and generous cities are now suffering for bearing the burden for the stingy and hateful.



We have not had a comprehensive, well-thought national program to save the cities. Programs have been enacted ad hoc and all too often have contributed to the decay of the cities. Federal programs have torn up black neighborhoods, destroyed black institutions, while encouraging businesses and middle class whites to move to the suburbs, the tax base has been eroded, making it more difficult to provide services. Deteriorating services in turn lead even more of those able to afford it to flee the cities.

To many of our leaders the cities have become racial and economic enclaves that are not worth saving. Since the cities are thought to be worth saving little aid is given, the cities are allowed to deteriorate further, and the bill for rebuilding them becomes even greater.

Many of the reactions to the problems of the cities not only ignore the fundamental causes of urban decay, but could well be disastrous for workers, blacks, and the quality of urban life. The most common reaction, to blame municipal workers and their unions, is a convenient smokescreen for anti-labor and anti-worker forces to divert attention from the disastrous effects of the Nixon-Ford economic policies and the continuous national neglect of our cities. Municipal workers have been underpaid for many years and have only recently begun to catch up. Many municipal workers in New York City still earn less than \$12,000 a year, clearly not enough to support a family given New York's high cost of living. Any effort to place the burden of saving the cities on working people will be unfair. It will be especially unfair to blacks, many of whom are employed as municipal workers.

Raising taxes or cutbacks in service through layoffs are not realistic answers to the problems of the cities. Either course will be self-defeating by hastening the flight to the suburbs and making the cities more and more unliveable.

Steps need to be taken immediately to solve the pressing financial problems of America's cities and to halt their deterioration. Federal aid should be extended to those cities suffering from high unemployment. Emergency aid is needed to keep the cities from collapsing but more will be needed to repair the damage of years of neglect. The federal government must assume a much greater portion of the nation's welfare, mass transit, and health costs.

Above all, we need new national priorities and a basic strategy to make cities places where a modest income can buy a decent life, where parents are glad to raise their children, where streets are not only safe but pleasant, where life is not simply bearable but enjoyable.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### A TEST OF THE BLACK - LABOR ALLIANCE

A frequent tactic of those antagonistic to the interests of working people has been to try to drive a wedge between the labor movement and its natural allies in the black community. Historically, racial antagonisms have been exploited by management to undermine solidarity during strikes and as a means of weakening unions.

Today the tactic of dividing labor and blacks is still around, albeit in a more sophisticated guise. In a recent case, racial divisions were exploited in an attempt to defeat a labor-backed measure in the House of Representatives. The measure, the site picketing bill, gives construction unions the same picketing rights long held by industrial unions. It allows construction workers to go on strike over conditions at the work site and post a picket line around the work site.

Opponents of the bill argued unsuccessfully that black Congressmen should not support a bill aiding the construction unions. Congressmen never before known for their devotion to civil rights offered several amendments that seemed to offer special benefits to blacks, but which were actually designed to weaken unions.

These efforts, however, were met by a united opposition from the black congressional delegation. A typical response was that of Rep. William Clay of Missouri, who denounced the amendments as "very vicious" because they would set worker against worker. Clay emphasized that the issue was simply, "whether or not there will be job security and the ability of workers to get decent wages and working conditions."

Skeptics may explain the position of black Congressmen as a simple quid pro quo for labor's support of civil rights measures. But they would be wrong, dead wrong. For blacks have a very real stake in construction workers

gaining status equal to that of industrial workers. At just the time when significant numbers of blacks are beginning to move into construction and other high-paying, high-skilled union jobs, anything which weakens unions will have the most tragic consequences for the black community. Conversely, measures which strengthen unions will mean more high-paying jobs available for blacks.

The vote of black Congressmen on this issue offers a clear refutation of some common, but profoundly mistaken views. We are frequently told that the interests and objectives of the American trade union movement are in fundamental conflict with the interests and objectives of black people. There are even some liberals and blacks who would have, in effect, argued for the crippling amendment from their mistaken view that the way to end discriminatory practices in the construction unions is to weaken those unions and that the way to help blacks is to weaken the unions in general.

Such views, held against the overwhelming weight of evidence, have been and remain a source of great danger to black people. For the union movement is a social force in which black people have an enormous stake. If blacks criticize unions in such a way as to do them irreparable harm, or stand idly by while others attack the unions, it will ultimately be blacks who are harmed.

With staggering unemployment in many black communities, many blacks are being attracted to gimmicks which offer no solution to the basic problems of unemployment, poor housing, inadequate schools, and poverty. Moreover, these gimmicks would set worker against worker. The active role Congressmen Clay, Parren Mitchell and others played in turning back the attempt to divide unions and blacks on the site picketing bill is heartening, for it is absolutely indispensable that black political leaders recognize that the most important things that can be done to advance civil rights is to strengthen the labor movement and enact labor's program for economic recovery.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### Haile Selassie's Ambiguous Legacy

By Bayard Rustin

It was not easy to know how to react to the news of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's recent death. The only appropriate response was emotions mixed to match the ambiguity of his legacy to Africa and the world.

Selassie died alone and deposed, but it cannot be forgotten that his speech before the League of Nations in 1936 was not simply among the most dramatic and moving speeches ever made, but was the signal that Africa had entered world politics as an active participant. The great democracies of the world had stood silently by while Mussolini's armies overran Selassie's backward kingdom. Selassie appealed to the League of Nations and warned the democracies, "It is us today. It will be you tomorrow." Though the great powers one by one recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, Selassie's eloquent speech was not futile. It reminded the oppressed throughout the world that decency, humanity, and courage were not dead.

After the end of World War II, Selassie was catapulted to a position of leadership among the rising generation of anti-colonialist statesmen in Africa. It was Selassie who called together the first meeting and devised the charter of the Organization of African Unity, which is fittingly headquartered in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia.

If Selassie could be remembered for that alone, he would be justly and simply regarded as one of the great leaders of the modern era. Unfortunately, the rest of Selassie's career was less deserving of admiration. Among the world's most unquestioned monarchs, he often seemed interested only in the grandeur and privilege of his position. While devoting his energies to posing as a world leader, he ignored Ethiopia's needs. While he threw lavish parties for up to 2,000 guests, his countrymen lived in

abject poverty. Ethiopia remained a backward, almost feudalistic nation without a developed highway or rail system. Even in Addis Ababa the bulk of the people lived in straw-huts. Selassie was slow to make needed reforms. At the end of his reign only 500,000 of the country's 3.2 million school-age children were enrolled. The virtually total abolition of slavery did not come until 1964 and there never was land reform. Selassie's greatest failure, which was as tragic as his League of Nations speech had been glorious, was his failure to even try to do anything to ease the impact of the severe drought which struck Ethiopia two years ago, resulting in one hundred thousand deaths.

The advice to speak kindly of the dead is valid when speaking of ordinary men. Of public figures, we are obligated to speak honestly and fairly and learn what we can from their lives. Selassie expressed to an extreme the ambiguity and complexity of Africa. Just as it is difficult to come to a short, realistic evaluation of Haile Selassie's life, so too is it difficult to say anything about Africa without ambiguity and complexity.

The psychological needs of black Americans which lead them to identify with Africa are perfectly understandable, but the reality of Africa is something very different. To talk of Africa as a monolith, much less as "Mother Africa," is nonsense. The variety of cultural, social, and political circumstances are simply too large to be meaningfully discussed as African culture, African society, or African politics.

There is much in Africa with which black Americans cannot and should not identify. There is widespread and cruel tribal discrimination. Many African countries have fallen under the control of incompetent and autocratic dictators.

The life, the triumphs and failures of Haile Selassie were symbolic of the complexity and ambiguity of Africa.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### THE ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Only rarely do my columns spark as much discussion and debate as a recent column in which I criticized certain liberals who dismiss economic growth as an obsolete, even destructive force in society. The column stimulated both sympathetic and critical responses from economists, environmentalists, members of Congress, newspapers, and others.

The replies to my argument that there is a fundamental and obvious contradiction in the notion that the condition of those at the bottom can be raised when society itself is standing still were interesting, to say the least. While a few automatically assumed that anyone who favors economic growth is in the pockets of big business, the response of others was to insist that there is no conflict between the no-growth environmentalists and the interests of poor and working people, by maintaining that environmentalists oppose not growth, but merely "waste." As if there were anyone who favors waste.

The fact is that there is considerable sentiment among "liberals" to dispense with economic growth, sentiments expressed by influential intellectual and political figures. While the anti-growth proponents support in the abstract the principles of social progress and racial equality, they define environmental concerns in a narrow and biased fashion that would curtail both social progress and racial equality.

Quite simply, all too many environmentalists are militant mainly about threats to rural peace and wildlife and their beloved vacation spots, while tending to ignore the far more desperate problems of the urban environment in which most Americans live.

An amendment to the Clean Air Act approved by the Senate Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment this July is but one example of the

distorted priorities of the environmental movement that I find so disturbing. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, the only documentable benefits of the amendment would be "aesthetic, scenic, and recreational." When the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare studied the proposed regulation they concluded that not only would it probably impose severe costs on the nation as a whole, but that a disproportionate share of the costs would be borne by the poor, the elderly, racial minorities, and other disadvantaged persons.

Because they have suffered far more from environmental degradation than any other groups, blacks and working people support genuine environmental improvement. But at the same time they naturally and properly insist that they not pay a disproportionate price for improving the environment. They correctly demand that due consideration be given to their jobs in pursuing environmental improvement, and that their environments be improved in the process and not merely the vacation playgrounds of the affluent.

More fundamentally, they realize the consequences of following a no-growth policy. Within the context of a rigid, stagnant economy, social equality could only be achieved by an across-the-board lowering of living standards. And if the experience of the past year is any indication, it is much more likely that class divisions would harden, with the poor and working people locked forever in their unequal states.

With a near static national economy there is simply no way even the most well-intentioned President and Congress could find the extra sums we so desperately need to end poverty, improve education, provide health care to all, and to construct efficient mass transportation systems.

The low-growth and no-growth approaches are absurd even in terms of the environment, as many environmentalists recognize. It will clearly cost billions of dollars to do everything that is needed to improve the environment. But in a stagnant economy neither the resources nor the will to do these things can be found. Even if the will was present the resources could be found only at the expense of shortchanging our other national priorities.

Thus to advocate economic growth is to defend both social justice and the environment. Perhaps the greatest fault of the no-growth movement is that it has allowed certain skilled manipulators the opportunity to go a



long ways in turning the argument for economic growth into a defense of unregulated growth and the argument for environmental protection into an attack on jobs. I am convinced that there must be strong environmental controls placed upon the corporations. The purpose of these controls must not be vengeful punishment nor the abolishment of economic growth under the pretext of protecting the environment.

Rather, we need to restructure the economy so as to improve the environment, understood in the widest sense, of all Americans, including an attack on the basic inequities built into the fabric of our economic system.

We must find a balanced approach that serves both the need for economic growth and environmental protection. We must have economic growth, but growth that is consciously controlled and regulated, if the environment is to be improved and social justice achieved.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### A GENERATION OF ECONOMIC UNTOUCHABLES

Hidden by the headlines of recession and unemployment, there is an unnoticed social crisis with frightening implications. We are perilously close to creating a generation of economic untouchables. Unless the economy is quickly turned around to sustained full employment we risk sentencing a generation of minority youth to growing up without meaningful job experiences.

A few statistics indicate the magnitude of the problem. Among twenty to twenty-four year old men as a whole the official jobless rate is 14.2 percent--about double the rate of 1973 and triple the rate of the late 1960s. An even more depressing statistic is that black teenage unemployment is officially put at 34.7 percent, while many economists believe that it is actually closer to 50 or 60 percent. And as if the prospects of ghetto youth were not dim enough, with unemployment in many inner city areas above fifty percent, they have little reason to expect their prospects to improve in the foreseeable future.

These young people are being told that they can make no useful contribution to society, that their abilities and aspirations are superfluous. They are going to be on welfare not just for one year, but for three or four. Their options will be restricted to welfare, or hustling, or marginal, temporary, dead-end jobs. Their self-esteem will have been badly, if not permanently, damaged and their attachment to society will be fragile at best.

Today, unlike fifteen years ago, to talk of racism as the cause of unemployment among blacks or black youth merely diverts us from the real causes and practical solutions.

The causes of unemployment among minority youth include the growing reliance upon automation and cybernation in production, the failures of education in the inner city, the disastrous welfare system, the lack of efficient mass transportation to get the poor to the jobs, and the creation of most new jobs in the suburbs

A whole series of governmental programs have made it more difficult for youngsters from poor families to get jobs. These programs, of course, did not have the purpose of creating or preserving employment. For the most part they are well-intentioned programs that have pursued useful goals. But in the process they have ignored or inflamed other pressing social problems.

A shocking example of the tendency of government programs to ignore the need for minority youth employment is CETA, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. Designed to train the unemployed, the unskilled and the semi-skilled, CETA has been distorted into a program to re-employ fired city employees, into a refuge for cronyism, nepotism, and patronage.

The corruption of CETA's purpose is the result of the failure of the Ford administration to develop a genuine program for economic recovery. CETA has been asked to perform a task--fighting overall unemployment--for which it was neither designed nor adequately funded. Consequently, it is not surprising that while CETA has made no real contribution to decreasing unemployment, the problems of structural unemployment, of unskilled and semi-skilled youth have been left unattended.

It is absolutely essential that job training programs continue even during the recession and that they be expanded. But these programs will be doomed to ineffectuality unless they take place within a growing, fully employed economy.

In the absence of a healthy economy, we are witnessing a brutal return and intensification of the cycle of poverty. During the Kennedy-Johnson years, when we had steady economic growth, that cycle was broken and 15 million people moved out of poverty. But in three of the five years before 1975, the number of poor increased. In 1974 alone 1.3 million people were thrown back into poverty. Even more have been tossed back into despair and deprivation by the present recession, the worst since the 1930s.

The reversal of the pattern of across-the-board gains of the 1960s is cruel and wasteful. Those thrown back into poverty in the last six years had only begun to have real hope for the future and confidence in the willingness of the larger society to make full use of their skills and abilities.

For poor and minority youth this has a most devastating impact. It is almost guaranteed to produce discouraged, embittered, and frustrated young men and women.

The nation, no less than black Americans, cannot afford to tolerate the creation of a generation of economic untouchables. This catastrophe can be avoided if the nation acts quickly and forcefully to restore the economy to full employment and if there is a renewed dedication to the elimination of poverty and injustice. Central to such an effort must be a massive program of job-training and job-creation for disadvantaged youth.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### THE AMIN CONTROVERSY

President Idi Amin of Uganda should not be regarded by American blacks as a great, important, or sensible leader. In the heated exchanges of views that have followed Amin's speech to the United Nations there will be those who will say that the issue is racial solidarity and support for the nations of black Africa.

The furor was created when the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, described Amin as a "racist murderer" and urged the members of the Organization of African Unity to disavow his remarks.

Amin is among the least impressive and most repulsive leaders to emerge in the post-colonial world. Reversing the humanism of the anti-colonial movements of Africa, Amin has made racism a virtue and operating principle of political action. Among his first acts after assuming office was to expel 60,000 Asians, whose families had lived in Uganda for generations, by a series of cruel racist decrees.

Amin has been more interested in the psychic gratification that comes with absolute rule than in achieving social and economic progress for the people of Uganda. After imprisoning a Britisher who had written some uncomplimentary things about Amin in his diary, Amin refused to pardon the man from a death sentence until the British Foreign Secretary virtually crawled on his knees. On another occasion, Amin arranged for four whites to carry him on a throne. In both instances Amin displayed a lack of dignity. Anyone who has suffered the horrors and degradations of racism and colonialism should be the last to require others to degrade themselves.

But Amin is not merely an egotistical ruler. He has erected a tyrannical, brutal, and repressive regime. According to objective inter-

national organizations like the International League for the Rights of Man, the International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International, Amin's assassination squads have killed as many as 250,000 Ugandans, including Uganda's most outstanding citizens.

Amin, a Moslem, is bitterly anti-Christian. He has expelled all Christian missionaries, persecuted the Ugandan Christian community, and devoted massive sums of government money to spreading Islam, despite the fact that Uganda is 85 percent Christian.

When Amin called for the extinction of Israel, his words could not be lightly dismissed. Besides his personal expertise at murder, Amin has frequently expressed admiration for Hitler. In 1972, he went so far as to send a telegram to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim endorsing Hitler's genocide against the Jews. Amin has repeated this statement on many occasions and has even named a public park in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, after Hitler.

The United Nations is a strange world where people are more alarmed at the man who calls "murderer," than at a man who has committed not simply one murder but thousands, and advocates the murder of thousands more. We are fortunate indeed that Ambassador Moynihan and Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, who is serving as a U.S. delegate to the UN, had the courage not to hide behind the safety of diplomatic niceties, but to say the things that needed to be said. They had a moral obligation to speak the truth. And the truth is that Amin is a racist murderer.

Although I attended the founding conference of the Organization of African Unity and spent some time in Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, and Tanzania helping in their liberation struggles, I am convinced that the nations of Africa made a serious error in this instance. The African states, which one would hope might be immune to the diplomatic hypocrisy perfected by the nations of Europe, were not in this case.

Because of the need for continental unity, the African states defended Amin, even though they are disturbed by Amin and his brutal despotism. But when they applauded Amin's call for the extinction of Israel, they approved of the destruction of a state, a violation of the UN charter. When they replied to Moynihan's criticism of Amin by echoing his "anti-Zionist" attack on the United States and Israel, they were employing the most unwarranted and deplorable stereotyping. Like Martin Luther King, Jr., we should recognize that "when people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews." Amin's

rhetoric resembled that of the right-wing lunatic fringe in this country that has always maintained that the NAACP is a communist organization and--most regrettably--that of Hitler. Finally, knowing that Amin has violated every principle that the UN is founded on--peace, brotherhood, international cooperation, and the rights of man--the OAU should not have allowed him to be chairman.

One sad by-product of the Amin episode is that it has detracted from the accomplishments of the Organization of African Unity. That organization has played and can continue to play a most important and progressive role in Africa and in the world. Indeed, both Moynihan and Mitchell praised the African states for their moderation in opposing Arab attempts to expel Israel from the United Nations.

American blacks truly interested in aiding the people of Africa will not indulge tyrants in black skins any more than they would support apartheid in South Africa. Authentic solidarity with Africa and humanity demands that we oppose the slaughter, oppression, or degradation of all peoples.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### LAEBOR CONFRONTS BUSING

Busing, perhaps the toughest and most controversial issue in recent years, presents a dilemma for politicians and public officials alike. While white acceptance of integrated schools has continued to rise until even a majority of white parents in the South approve, there is widespread rejection of "forced busing" for integration. In such cities as Boston and Louisville, resistance to busing has reached such proportions as to disrupt education and spark violent street brawls. An overwhelming majority of Americans support the Constitutional and moral mandate to end segregation, yet the very instrument that is often required to integrate schools is resisted.

Regrettably life is more complex than to permit us to conclude that every issue that is colored by racial tensions can be meaningfully discussed in black/white polarities. There have been unfair court decisions and even the most perfect busing program will cause inconveniences. Moreover, much of the opposition to busing has been motivated not by racism, but by the legitimate concerns of parents for the quality of their children's education. But the great majority of court-ordered busing has been done with the firm intention of improving the education of all children.

How politicians and others have responded to the busing issue reveals a great deal. Some are quite simply running from the issue. Others oppose busing for legitimate reasons and are diligently seeking alternatives that would provide for both integration and quality education. Under the slogan of quality education, still others seek an end to the process of integration. Finally, there are those desperate extremists who exploit resentments to fan the



flames of racial bigotry and hatred.

The American labor movement has been consistently vilified as racist. George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO and the symbol of the labor movement, has been attacked in similar terms or, by his more charitable critics, as less than enthusiastic in the pursuit of racial equality. Yet Meany and the AFL-CIO have held firm in their support of quality integrated education, including the use of busing when ordered by the courts.

On October 25, Meany released letters to the Kentucky AFL-CIO and the Louisville Central Labor Council declaring that it was against AFL-CIO policy for the Kentucky State AFL-CIO or any local central body to lend any aid or support to those who seek to ignore or pervert the AFL-CIO policy of support for busing when it would improve the educational opportunities of children.

Support of busing is not an easy decision for the AFL-CIO to take. For this issue vitally concerns many of its members. A movement less committed to racial equality could have taken a more ambiguous position. A man less principled than Meany could easily have been content to rest on the pro-busing resolution adopted at the recent AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco, while giving tacit approval to the anti-busing demonstrations.

The AFL-CIO's support of busing has not only been courageous, it has been responsible. In its support for both quality education and integrated education, the AFL-CIO has opposed anti-busing Constitutional amendments, fought for massive investments of federal funds to improve substandard schools, and supported legislation to achieve open housing as the most effective way to achieve integrated education. Even while recognizing the difficulties that busing has caused in Louisville, the AFL-CIO has insisted that "it is the responsibility of the labor movement to make the busing system work as it was intended to work: for the benefit of children who need and deserve the highest quality education available, regardless of their race or color."

The AFL-CIO and George Meany deserve the gratitude and admiration of black Americans and all others committed to racial justice.

and improved education for their intelligent and principled support of quality integrated education. As the labor movement recognizes, the nation--and most importantly our children--cannot afford for quality education to become a code word for segregated schools.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:  
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For further information, contact  
Rustin Column

### ZIONISM IS NOT RACISM

The vote of the United Nations General Assembly absurdly declaring Zionism to be a form of racism made November 11 a sad and frightening day. It was a sad day because the battle against racism was set back and a terrifying day because a supposedly anti-racist resolution gave approval to anti-Semitism, one of the oldest and most virulent racisms the world has ever known.

Zionism is not racism, but the legitimate expression of the Jewish people's self-determination, just as the liberation of 43 African countries in the last thirty years was the expression of their self-determination. To condemn it alone of all the movements for self-determination was an act of gigantic hypocrisy.

In this resolution the term "racism" has been stripped of virtually all value; if the trend continues it will soon have the meaning in international discussions that "s.o.b." has in personal relations. That this has happened, and that some African states assisted this development, is a bitter blow to everyone oppressed by racism, particularly the blacks who are brutalized by apartheid in South Africa.

Incalculable damage has been done to the fight against racism. The nature and roots of racism have been obscured and confused, and this will lead to misguided, irrelevant and counterproductive tactics in the battle to abolish racism and apartheid. The confusion sown by this resolution will help the real racists to buy time and continue their policies. Instead of being a humanitarian statement of the immorality, injustice, and unacceptability of racism, the resolution against racism became a political weapon. The sorely-needed world wide effort against racism has been sacrificed upon the altar of the political ends of the Arab and Communist states.

The nations which pushed this horrible resolution through the United

Nations did not come into the General Assembly with clean hands. Minorities are persecuted throughout the Middle East, with the notable exception of Israel. Kurds in Iran, Copts in Egypt, Jews in Syria have all suffered the most terrible and brutal persecution. The Constitution of Jordan forbids Jews from becoming citizens, while Arabs sit in the Israeli parliament and Arabic is an official language. The Soviet Union has practiced systematic discrimination against Jews and forcibly uprooted entire peoples. With the aid of the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, Sudan carried on a near-genocidal war against non-Moslem blacks, in which perhaps 1,000,000 were killed.

This resolution was a justification in advance of the Arabs intended destruction of Israel. It will provide the excuse for the Soviet Union and others to persecute Jews by labeling them "Zionists." By this resolution, the efforts of an entire people to establish a homeland to protect themselves from the ravages of racism has been declared racist.

The victims of one racism will not be aided by this inciting of another, equally ugly racism. Perhaps more than anyone, American blacks should be able to recognize code words. The attack on Zionism is a camouflage for anti-Semitism. As Martin Luther King, Jr. observed: "when people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews."

Blacks have suffered too long and too grievously from racism in this country to stand idly by while racism rears its ugly head anywhere in the world. We must denounce this resolution as evil. We must condemn it as an insult to the generations of blacks who have struggled against real racism. From our 400 years experience with slavery, segregation, and discrimination we know that Zionism is not racism.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DR. KING

It is no surprise that J. Edgar Hoover hated Martin Luther King, Jr. But even in this cynical age accustomed to dirty tricks and deceit it is shocking to learn the desperate and despicable lengths Hoover and the FBI went to in order to destroy King.

During the time when I worked with Dr. King, we knew that the FBI had sent spies into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and we suspected that we had been bugged as well. In recent weeks it has been revealed that the FBI went much further--that they organized and carried out a campaign designed to destroy Dr. King. The FBI tried to prevent a college from giving King an honorary degree, they hatched a plan to keep the Pope from granting him an audience, and tried to undermine the financial support for the S.C.L.C.

The FBI did not stop at trying to destroy King as a civil rights leader. Nor did they stop at a slanderous whispering campaign planned to destroy Dr. King's personal reputation. They went so far as to send a note and tape recording to King in late 1964 in an effort to drive him to suicide.

Paradoxically the revelations about Hoover's six-year campaign to destroy Dr. King make it clear that it was not King's reputation that was damaged by this effort but the reputation of Hoover and the FBI. Hoover's suspicions about King, if they could be called that, tell us more about him than about King.

Certainly in his later years Hoover was a petty man, jealous of his reputation, and deeply resentful of any criticism. It is unclear what aroused Hoover's suspicion of King, but perhaps it was the very largeness and charity of King's character.

If it could be said that King and Hoover were foes, the way in which they conceived of their contest and the manner in which they reacted to each other

show the stark contrasts between the quality of man that each was. While Hoover used a federal agency to carry on a personal vendetta against King, Martin was engaged in a great battle for social justice through non-violence and Christian love.

One incident during my ten year association with Dr. King illustrates this difference. Apparently angered by Dr. King's criticism of the FBI for appointing conservative agents to investigate civil rights violations in the South, Hoover publicly attacked King as the "biggest liar" in the country. Many of King's advisors, myself included, urged Martin to make a counterblast at Hoover, demanding that Hoover produce evidence to back his charge.

But public denunciation was completely alien to Martin's character. Whenever someone was in error and especially when they wrongly attacked him, Martin always sought a personal conference to attempt to reconcile the differences. Thus he met with Hoover and asked the FBI chief to explain just what he had done that Hoover considered deceitful. Hoover, of course, was unable to supply any basis for his attack.

I don't imagine that Martin would have been too alarmed at the knowledge that the FBI was out to destroy him. What would have disturbed him and what should disturb us today is that all the time and effort devoted to tearing down King could have saved the lives of many people who were killed during the great crusade to gain civil rights.

The good that men do does live long after they have died. Dr. King did much good in his life. It is our responsibility to make sure that that good continues and that it be expanded. For what King did will be regarded one hundred years from now as one of the greatest contributions to mankind. Martin took the strategy of non-violence a step even beyond Gandhi. He showed that it is possible for a minority using the principles and tactics of non-violence to win concessions from the majority, an effort Gandhi attempted but failed to achieve in South Africa. He showed that it is possible to secure justice and realistic to dream of a better world.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### A NEW AND DANGEROUS FAD

If politics makes for strange bedfellows, it sometimes produces even stranger offspring. In recent years there has developed a strange new breed of political animal--conservative liberals who say they are for social progress but against big government, who are sensitive to the plight of the poor, but propose cutbacks in social programs.

We saw a similar animal in the past, the "liberal conservative," who said he was liberal on civil rights, but conservative on social spending. But whereas the liberal conservative was trying to protect himself politically from the charge that he was for injustice, the conservative liberals have adopted almost completely the conservative attack on liberal reforms.

There is an undeniably faddish character about the conservative liberals, but as usual fads and fashions are the result of deeper phenomena. It has been a characteristic of liberals in the United States that they are almost addicted to anything that has the word "new" in it. There is nothing more difficult for some liberals than the recognition that the liberal answers of the past might still be essentially valid.

The conservative liberal tendency has dangerous implications for black Americans. The conservative liberals have adopted the conservative slogan that throwing money at problems doesn't solve them. But the conservative liberal response is that not throwing money at problems will solve them, which is nonsense. The conservative liberals talk about the need to go beyond the New Deal, but they are actually abandoning those goals by proposing that they be indefinitely postponed.

Blacks quite simply cannot afford the postponement of solutions; we have waited too long. We have endured too much and struggled too long to be told

that the problems of poverty, unemployment, and discrimination are intractable.

The only periods of black advancement have been during periods of strong presidential leadership and active federal programs designed to do something for the poor and working people. The civil rights gains of the 1960s in employment and income have been wiped out by the Nixon-Ford administration, which in its own way promised less--and delivered it.

I do not want to suggest that Roosevelt's New Deal, Truman's Fair Deal, or the Great Society were perfect. But they did do much to equalize social conditions, lift millions from poverty, and improve the lives of a majority of Americans. If these attempts at social reconstruction had a fault it was not that they tried to do too much. Rather it was that too little was spent and too little done to accomplish the laudable goals of these programs. Despite their shortcomings these programs are the foundation on which social justice must be constructed.

The problems of black Americans will not be solved by less government. The unpardonable unemployment rate of 14 percent among blacks will not be eased by those who say that we must lower our expectations. If anything our expectations have been too low. As a nation we have tolerated too much unemployment. We have permitted too much poverty. By our inaction, we have given approval to too much injustice.

In the final analysis the new breed liberals offer blacks, the poor, and working people little more than a warmed-over version of conservatism. We should no more accept this newer rationale for doing nothing than we accepted the original version. We must insist, now as we have in the past, that politicians face up to the issues of injustice, inequality, and unemployment.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

Immediately  
December 25, 1975

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### TEXTILE WORKERS SEEK JUSTICE

Textile workers in 89 J.P. Stevens plants across the South are engaged in a titantic struggle for justice. J.P. Stevens is virtually unknown to the public, despite being the second largest textile manufacturer in the country. But to many of its workers Stevens is known for low wages, poor working conditions, and union-busting tactics.

Stevens has quite properly been called the "nation's number one labor law violator." Since the Textile Workers Union of America launched an organizing campaign at Stevens plants in 1963, the company has engaged in a systematic and vicious pattern of anti-unionism."

Stevens has threatened workers with layoffs and firings if they joined the union. They have not hesitated to carry out their threats. They have wiretapped and intimidated the union's organizers and have attempted to pit black workers against white workers by inciting racial fears. No device has been too low for the Stevens company to employ in an attempt to frighten their workers from supporting the union.

Stevens has been found guilty by the National Labor Relations Board of violating the nation's labor laws on 13 separate occasions. Back pay settlements totaling more than \$1.3 million have been awarded to employees whose rights were violated by Stevens. Boyd Leedom, Chairman of the NLRB under President Eisenhower, has described the situation at Stevens as "so out of tune with a humane, civilized approach to industrial relations that it should shock even those least sensitive to honor, justice, and decent treatment."

When the Textile Workers Union has been able to overcome the determined and unfair opposition of Stevens and win a union representation election, the company has continued its union busting campaign. Stevens has turned to long delays in order to frustrate attempts to reach agreements on a contract. The

TWUA won the bargaining at Stevens' Roanoke Rapids plants in August 1974. But after 16 months of bargaining, the union still has been unable to wind up talks with the company. All that Stevens has agreed to is to allow the union a bulletin board to post its notices. The union has attempted to break the deadlock by proposing arbitration to settle the differences. But J.P. Stevens' answer was "NO."

This neanderthal approach to bargaining is matched by the working conditions in the Stevens plants. The average income of textile workers in the South in 1973 was \$6,800 before deductions for an average work week of six days. The average work day includes just a 20 minute break for lunch and two 10-minute rest breaks. Even after a life-time of hard work at low pay, the Stevens employee cannot retire with decency. Stevens has no pension plan, but boasts of a "progressive profit-sharing plan." Under this plan top executives can retire with a pension of \$75,000 a year. In contrast, the workers who retired in 1975 received a lump sum averaging less than \$10 a month.

Stevens' record is no better in other areas. Many Stevens employees suffer from "brown lung," a respiratory disease caused by inhaling cotton dust. Stevens has been found to have three times the maximum level of cotton dust allowable under federal health standards. Hourly employees at Stevens can be fired at the whim of a supervisor with virtually no rights to due process or fair hearings.

For the textile worker at Stevens and other Southern textile plants the union card means not only decent wages and working conditions, but dignity and self-respect, as well.

The stakes are much higher than improving the life of the 50,000 employees of J.P. Stevens. Only a small percentage of the 700,000 textile workers in the Deep South are unionized. For the others conditions are not much different than at Stevens. If the struggle of the textile workers at J.P. Stevens can be won, the way will be open to bring the benefits of unions to these workers and to workers in other industries across the South. Every American concerned with fair play and social justice should be committed to assisting the textile workers in their cause.

Blacks in particular should be interested in the outcome. Twenty percent of the mill hands at Stevens are black and the percentage is the same for the Southern textile industry as a whole. Although Stevens still tries

to pit white workers against black workers, the day when that tactic can succeed is past. Through the civil rights movement blacks forced Southern society to end the injustice of segregation. Through the union movement black and white workers together can bring economic justice to the South.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

---

**For Release:**

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**For further information, contact:**

Rustin Column

### THE NAACP

Since 1909 the NAACP has been the most influential and important organization in the black community. The NAACP is currently in a financial crisis as a result of the combined effect of recession and inflation. This is then a good time to reflect on what the NAACP means to black Americans. Precisely because it has been around for so long and has achieved so much, we sometimes forget just what it has accomplished in its 76 years.

The NAACP has had a profound impact on the very fabric of the life of every American-black and white. It is almost impossible to imagine how much more oppressive the lives of black Americans would be if it were not for the tireless and courageous efforts of the NAACP. Recalling a few of the major triumphs of the NAACP is the best way to appreciate its importance:

1. Anti-lynching laws. Beginning in 1916 the NAACP campaigned vigorously for the enactment of federal anti-lynching laws. Although these measures were continually defeated by filibusters in the Senate, the NAACP was able to focus national and world attention on this tragedy. After more than 40 years anti-lynching laws were finally passed.

2. Voting Rights. The struggle of the NAACP to enfranchise black Americans is as old as the Association itself. It fought undaunted by the murder of many of its leaders across the South. The NAACP fought for many years in the courts to outlaw white primaries in the South, against the poll tax, and general registration barriers. The culmination was the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act which enfranchised millions of blacks throughout the South and permanently altered the American political landscape.

3. Black political power. The NAACP understood better, practiced earlier, and achieved more black political power, than the firebrands who created the slogan in the 1960s. As early as 1930 Walter White, the

national secretary, was able to engineer the defeat of the nomination of segregationist Judge John J. Parker to the Supreme Court. In 1948, the NAACP called a conference of black organizations to issue a "Declaration of Negro Voters." The efforts of the NAACP were successful from the re-election of President Truman to the increasing black caucus in Congress.

4. Housing. In 1924 the NAACP began a court battle against racially restrictive housing covenants. These covenants which bound homeowners not to sell to blacks were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1948. The NAACP was crucial to the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

5. Integrating the federal government. The Association started its effort to end segregation in the federal government in 1914. In 1941 Walter White and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters persuaded Franklin Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 which barred discrimination in government and defense plant hiring.

6. Education. The 1954 Supreme Court decision overturning the separate but equal doctrine was undoubtedly the greatest achievement of the NAACP and one of the turning points in American history. It ended the legitimacy of segregation and signaled the opening of a new, intensified battle for full equality in every sphere of American life.

7. Civil Rights. The civil rights legislation of the 1960s which firmly established the constitutional and legal rights of black Americans was in large part the result of the lobbying and political capabilities of the NAACP over a period of sixty or more long years.

The NAACP has never been content to rest on its record. Its continuous advocacy of the interests of black Americans has been its defining characteristic. With every victory, the NAACP has endeavored to make it permanent and has moved on to the next battle.

In large part this is because the NAACP has been guided by Roy Wilkins, who has led the NAACP through the most turbulent and divisive period in the history of black Americans. Through his wise leadership a major portion of the agenda for racial equality has been won.

The NAACP has many urgent tasks before it in the coming years. It remains the strength and pillar of the black community. It is my hope that thousands of Americans will respond to the needs of the NAACP by sending whatever they can to their local branch or to the national NAACP (1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019.) Some black people may not know it but never more urgently have we needed the NAACP.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### THE REAGAN DANGER

Although few blacks can be expected to support the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, his campaign does concern us. Reagan's recent controversial proposals demonstrate clearly that he threatens the well-being of blacks, the poor, and working people.

The most startling of Reagan's extremist proposals is that rather than federalizing the burden of welfare, huge chunks of welfare, education, and other social programs should be turned back to the states. That's the same old bad news blacks have heard before. At the same time, desiring to avoid the image of a heartless enemy of the poor, Reagan has suggested that in those states that do not provide adequate welfare benefits the poor should migrate to those states that do.

Strangely enough, there is a precedent for Reagan's proposal. But it is one that has been disastrous. Welfare migration is one reason why our cities are in a shambles. For years, poor blacks and whites were forced out of the rural South by the mechanization of agriculture, a lack of job opportunities, and miserly welfare payments.

They sought jobs in the cities of the North, where there was at least some hope of gainful employment. They flocked to states and cities that also had kinder attitudes toward working people and the poor and provided welfare and unemployment benefits. While federal agriculture programs had forced the poor to the cities and the interstate highway system stimulated the movement of jobs away from the cities, there was no federal plan to provide jobs for the newest immigrants to the cities. The welfare problem is a national problem created by national policies and national failures. To pretend otherwise is merely to set the stage for even worse problems in the future.

Reagan's proposal that \$90 billion worth of federal responsibilities be

turned back to the states is an effort to turn back the clock to the days of Herbert Hoover. The idea would be profoundly regressive and reactionary if adopted. It would shift the burden of taxation to the poor and working people, since only two of the fifty states have progressive tax systems. The Reagan proposal would mean that those who most need help would be paying more for programs that do less to meet their needs.

Blacks, liberals, and others of good will are naturally alarmed at the extremism and callousness of Reagan's program. But I am more disturbed at the notable absence of liberal leadership for enlargement of social justice.

One danger of the Reagan campaign is that it makes President Ford look like a moderate. In truth, Ford is not that different from Reagan. He is more cautious and less willing to advance conservative panaceas. But as his recent State of the Union and budget speeches indicate he is still willing to tolerate excessive unemployment, while recommending measures that would benefit the rich at the expense of those less well off.

The Congress cannot provide a real alternative to the conservatives. The Congress has been forced into a defensive pattern to resist the attempts of the Nixon and Ford administrations to dismantle the welfare state. It has been a difficult battle. There have been some defeats and some victories. But the victories have been limited to preserving programs enacted in the 1960s; there have been no programs to extend social justice. Almost the entire energies of the Congress are required merely to keeping a deteriorating situation resulting from economic stagnation and recession from growing worse.

To make matters worse, a number of liberals are repeating phrases remarkably similar to Reagan and Ford's. They have suggested that the poor should lower their expectations. They talk about the need for cutting back social programs. When liberals are so confused as to speak such nonsense, how can it be expected that the average voter will know that there is an alternative to the outmoded conservatism of Ford and Reagan.

President Truman anticipated the dilemma of the current situation when he observed that given a choice between two conservative parties, people will always choose the one that is honestly and deliberately so. The labor movement and the black community have been pushing for full employment and the expansion of social justice. But they cannot do the job alone. The only way in which the conservative onslaught can be repulsed is for liberal politicians to speak out in advocacy of humanitarian, decent, and necessary social programs.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### A LETTER TO MY GODSON

Dear Michael:

The last time we talked you asked me why blacks should celebrate the bicentennial. I'm afraid that at the time I may not have given a very satisfactory answer. I've done a lot of thinking about it since then, not only because you asked me the question, but because it is being widely debated in the black community.

It's not hard for me to understand why you are reluctant to support the bicentennial. Many leading blacks are writing or saying that blacks should avoid or reject the bicentennial celebration. It is not the commercialization which puts you off, but something more important. What disturbs you is the feeling that this is just another example of the capacity of white Americans to believe that this country is and always has been what it claims to be.

I can almost hear you reacting to some of the hoopla by protesting that blacks can't really celebrate 200 years of freedom in 1976; the most we can celebrate is a little more than 100 years from the Emancipation Proclamation. And you would probably go on to say that it might be more accurate to measure the duration of black freedom as 22 years (from the Brown decision) or 11 years (from the Voting Rights Act).

The bicentennial raises fundamental questions for blacks, questions of identity--how do we think of ourselves and what is our relation to this country. While everyone must ultimately answer these questions for himself, I know the answer I'll give. Blacks are Americans and ought to participate in all bicentennial events of value. We should participate in our own way and on our own terms. With Langston Hughes we should loudly proclaim, "I, too, am America.

During this bicentennial year we should bring our history from the shadows of obscurity and ignorance and restore it to its rightful place. What better



A LETTER TO MY GODSON  
February 5, 1976

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time to educate about the masses of black Americans who built this country--from the nameless millions who toiled in the cotton fields and built the railroads to the individuals of gigantic contributions. The bicentennial is a time to celebrate that blacks never surrendered to the dehumanizing forces of slavery. It is a time to remember that even during slavery there were black doctors and lawyers, black universities and churches were established, and that blacks, like Crispus Attucks, were part of the American revolution.

It is a time to celebrate the courage and fortitude of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth. It is a time to remember the thousands of blacks who fought for their freedom during the Civil War--even before the Emancipation Proclamation.

It is a time to celebrate the black struggle of the twentieth century. It is a time to remember Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King.

We should not let this year pass without reminding ourselves and the entire nation that we, too, are America.

When the founding fathers wrote the Declaration of Independence they dreamed of a more perfect, a just society. But it was merely a dream--so long as it was reserved for whites only. Blacks have more of a right to celebrate the bicentennial because by persevering through slavery, segregation, lynchings, degradation and insult we gave meaning to the Constitution and content to the American dream.

So, Michael, when I say that we should observe the bicentennial, I don't mean we should do so thoughtlessly or naively. We should lay claim to the American ideals of equality, democracy, and freedom not because the ideals are practiced perfectly. Rather the ideals are important because insofar as they are real it is because we have struggled for their implementation.

A LETTER TO MY GODSON  
February 5, 1976

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There's a final reason why I think we should be involved in the bicentennial. America is a nation still in the making. By remembering the struggles of the past, we can proclaim that we will continue to work until the ideals of justice, equality, and democracy are realized.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately  
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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### THE ANGOLA TRAGEDY

Blacks often talk about the need to have a greater impact on American foreign policy toward Africa, but nothing much ever seems to come of it. One reason is that black interest in Africa is less identification with a real and concrete Africa than a symbolic identification with another continent, another people to ease the pain of rejection and frustration here. Another is that despite a long concern for Africa, black Americans still suffer from a widespread ignorance of Africa. The combination of romanticism and ignorance produces a vague aspiration that we should be doing something more about Africa, but not a program for action.

There has been no major part of the world to which the United States has paid less attention or assigned a lower priority than Africa. Only when there is a crisis like the Angolan civil war does there seem to be any concern about Africa. And there has been little in the public debate to suggest that this crisis will bring a more permanent interest in Africa. Indeed, I am deeply disturbed at the implications of a developing double standard which says that democracy is important for Europeans, but Africans can do without it, which thinks that what happens in Europe is important, but what happens in Africa is not.

The Angolan conflict has been a classic case of men versus weapons and the subjugation of right by might. The moderate, democratic, and anti-Soviet UNITA and FNLA, according to objective observers, had the support of a far larger proportion of the Angolan people than the narrowly-based MPLA. UNITA and FNLA have been forced to abandon conventional warfare and turn to guerrilla conflict not because they lack the support of the Angolan people, but because the pro-Soviet MPLA received enormous material support from the Soviet Union, and, more importantly, the intervention of over 10,000 Cuban soldiers.

The MPLA, moreover, is overtly totalitarian in its ideology and practice.

MPLA Minister of Justice Diogenes Boavida has called for "people's tribunals" and corrective labor camps. UNITA and FNLA consistently sought a coalition government of national unity, while the MPLA, driven by its desire for domination and secure in the knowledge that it would be backed to the hilt by the Russians and Cubans, refused all attempts at compromise. It is a deep tragedy that the Angolan people have been denied the opportunity to exercise genuine self determination by the imposition of a regime by the force of foreign intervention.

The Angolan crisis will not end with the battlefield victories of the MPLA. An MPLA-controlled Angola may well become a staging ground to subvert the neighboring governments of Zambia and Zaire. More ominous still is the increased possibility of a bloody race war engulfing all of southern Africa. The Rhodesian and South Africans will now be hardened in their determination to retain minority rule and apartheid. The Soviet Union has already begun to pour arms into the most extreme black nationalist groups in the hope of extending its neo-colonialist empire in Africa. Finally, those African statesmen like Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who have sought to stimulate a peaceful evolution from minority rule and apartheid rather than a violent confrontation with Rhodesia and South Africa, will have less chance to influence events.

Whether the United States will rise to the opportunity presented by this challenge is an open question. The past does not give much cause for optimism. With the possible exception of a few years in the early 1960s, we have not had an African policy. The Nixon administration, in particular, thought Africa so unimportant that it adopted a policy of accommodation with the Portuguese, Rhodesians, and South Africans.

The interest in Angola displayed by the Ford administration was, regrettably, not the beginning of a reorientation of our African policies. The insensitivity of the Ford administration to the overwhelming opposition of Africa to the apartheid South African regime compounded moral crime with political blunder.

The Angolan tragedy demonstrates the necessity of fundamentally reorienting American policy toward Africa. The first step is to recognize the bankruptcy of our past and present African policy. The second step is to regard Africa as important. We need a new African policy that increases pressure on Rhodesia to end white minority rule and on South Africa to abandon apartheid. We must also have a positive program. We must provide generous technical and economic aid to assist African economic development, support moderate and stable African regimes, and encourage the growth and development of democratic forces in Africa.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
March 4, 1976

Rustin Column

### WHY BLACKS DON'T LEARN

I don't know how black parents reacted to a recent national news magazine cover story that asked "Why Johnny Can't Read." Education seems to be yet another one of those problems that becomes a crisis only when it spreads from the ghetto to the suburbs.

Why do minority youngsters do poorly in school? This question has perplexed parents, teachers, and the public for many years and set off bitter confrontations. Some said that the educational system was racist and others that minority youngsters and those from poor families had low aspirations and a poor self-image that led to failure.

A recent study of over 700 high school students in San Francisco shows that both views are wrong. The study found that minority youngsters had a positive view of their achievements and efforts. However, the study showed that it was the students who were doing the poorest who got the most praise from their teachers. True, it is precisely those students who are doing the poorest who need the most encouragement. But apparently many minority students didn't know they were doing poor work and were not given an understanding of how much they needed to catch up.

The report also found that black students were receiving assignments that were not sufficiently challenging and were often given grades that were completely unrealistic. For instance, those who simply showed up for classes automatically got a C.

What can we learn from this study? First, black students have a tremendous desire to learn; they correctly see education as a path of upward mobility. Second, black children should be expected to meet the same academic standards as any student. To excuse black students from doing the rigorous and difficult work that must always be part of an education does

them no favors. Too often, it leaves them unprepared to make it at the next level of education or in the real world.

Third, we shouldn't see the problems of black students as being a symptom of racism. Even elite colleges have suffered grade escalation that saw lesser and lesser amounts of work required for higher and higher grades. In fact the constant search for racist attitudes has added to the problems. In too many cases 'do-gooders' have put across "enlightened" notions that are merely dressed-up versions of old prejudices. What else is the notion that black students shouldn't be given an F in mathematics if that was what they deserved, but the old stereotype that blacks are inherently stupid?

I suspect that black parents may have a share in the creation of this problem as well. Like all parents, they have sometimes been more concerned with seeing their son or daughter promoted than making sure he or she was getting a real education. In some cities, school boards have, under parental pressure, instituted policies that required students to be promoted even if they had not mastered the material at that grade level.

Community attitudes, cramped educational budgets, oversized classrooms have made it difficult for all teachers to do their jobs, particularly those in inner-city schools. Many minority students fall behind in grade school and never catch up. As they fall further and further behind, they are unable to understand what is being taught in their classes and frequently become discipline problems.

Faced with oversized classes, teachers are unable to give sufficient attention to these students and sometimes heap praise on them despite their poor academic performance in order to prevent the entire classroom from being disrupted. Obviously, we can't expect over-worked teachers to both teach challenging lessons to those capable of learning more and to do remedial teaching for those who need it. An indispensable part of improving the education of black children is to increase educational budgets so that teachers can give proper attention to students with problems in reading, mathematics, or other subjects.

Despite all the problems that remain to be solved all is not bleak for blacks in education. Blacks are entering college in roughly equal proportion to the percentage of blacks in the general population. But their dropout rate is significantly higher than that of whites. A lack of thorough preparation for college work is one reason for this higher dropout rate. As black parents have always known, there is no substitute for a real education.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
March 18, 1976

Rustin Column

### BLACKS AND THE PRIMARIES

At the same time that black leaders have voiced concern that candidates for the presidency are ignoring black issues, none of the candidates has generated much enthusiasm among black voters. There are only two politicians who can automatically count on overwhelming support from the black community: Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy. I share the fondness of most blacks for Humphrey and Kennedy, but it is unrealistic to think either will enter the race and the chances of either being nominated at a deadlocked convention are very small.

What then are blacks to do? We certainly can't rely on an inherent good will of the political process to automatically produce a candidate who will be sensitive to the needs of black Americans. Nor should we have to feel "turned on" by a candidate before we make our impact felt. Blacks should look at the presidential candidates with a maturity and sophistication that reflects our growing political power and experience.

That means, quite simply, separating important issues from peripheral ones and concentrating on substance and not being beguiled by style. There are only a few issues that are paramount to blacks in this election year. The most important are economic--full employment and jobs. A second, related issue is whether government social programs which have been so important to black advancement should be cut. A third issue is the commitment or non-commitment of candidates to racial justice.

Only four candidates are left in the Democratic race for the presidency--Congressman Morris Udall, Senator Henry Jackson, George Wallace, and Jimmy Carter. Wallace's well-known record of segregationism and racial demagoguery precludes black support for his candidacy. Thus, it is the other three candidates that we must look at.

Udall, Carter, and Jackson all have satisfactory civil rights records. There

has been a lot of fire directed at Senator Jackson for his opposition to busing. But the busing issue is one about which blacks themselves are divided and is really not an indicator of a candidate's fundamental position on racial justice. Jackson has built an excellent civil rights record during his years in the Congress and Senate. I, as a supporter of busing, am convinced that Senator Jackson's opposition to it is pragmatic and rooted in his honest conviction that it is not working either to increase integration or improve education.

Jimmy Carter has won the respect and admiration of many blacks for his progressive record on racial issues as governor of Georgia, despite having virtually the same position on busing as Jackson. But an even more important reason for black sympathy for his candidacy is that he made a keynote of his campaign his intention to beat Wallace in Florida. Now that the combined vote of Carter and Jackson has denied Wallace a primary victory in that state it is time to take a closer look at Carter's record. There are many questions that blacks should insist that Carter answer before they give him their support. He must explain his embracing Lester Maddox and George Wallace when governor. He must explain why he supported a gerrymander plan to divide Atlanta into three congressional districts, which would have prevented the election of black Congressman Andrew Young. He must also explain why, during his campaign for the Georgia governorship, he supported an amendment to weaken the 1970 Voting Rights Act. Udall, too, has some explaining to do in this regard. In 1975 he voted for an amendment that would have weakened the Voting Rights Act.

Of all the issues facing blacks, the economic issue is central. It is on economic issues that the candidates differ the most. Senator Jackson is the one candidate who is making jobs, full employment, and economic growth his main issues. He is a firm supporter of government social programs, increased aid to education, and national health insurance. Jimmy Carter identifies himself as an economic conservative. He opposes the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, is resistant to federal jobs programs, and has refused to support the Kennedy-Corman national health insurance bill. Moreover, Carter has equivocated about the so-called right-to-work laws, which by making unionization more difficult have depressed wages in the South. His litany of attack on the "Washington bureaucracy" has the ring of playing on resentment against those Great Society programs which are seen as primarily benefitting black people. Udall supports national health insurance and federal jobs programs. But the persuasiveness of his support for full employment is weakened by his statements that we have had too much, rather than not enough economic growth and wealth. Blacks have



learned through bitter experience the futility of trying to get a bigger piece of a shrinking pie.

Blacks won't find a perfect presidential candidate in this or any other election. But we can and should support the candidate who has a program that comes closest to meeting our needs: full employment and the expansion of justice through social programs.

The positions and records of the candidates are only beginning to emerge and perhaps it would be premature for blacks to commit themselves as a group to any one of the candidates now. I certainly am not yet prepared to endorse any of the candidates. But, on the record so far, the candidate who seems to be speaking most directly to the fundamental issues affecting black people is-- despite the inaccurate press references to him as a conservative--Senator Henry Jackson.

Meanwhile, blacks should be wary of candidates who denounce "big government" or economic growth. We need growth--and lots of it--to make the pie bigger--and we need forceful government action to make sure it gets sliced right.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### THE EMERGENCE OF A BLACK ISSUE

The press has been speculating about where black issues have disappeared to in this presidential election. Many black political and civil rights leaders have voiced concern that candidates of both parties are ignoring the black vote. Concern reached such a height that Basil Paterson, a vice chairman of the Democratic Party has convened an ad hoc "Caucus of Black Democrats" which will hold a conference at the end of April to get candidate positions on issues of concern to blacks.

Paradoxically, in recent weeks a black issue has in fact emerged. The issue has been there all along, of course, but it has only recently been drawn in a clear cut form. The black agenda in this election year is not so much a collection of specific issues, though there are issues of critical importance. The issues serve primarily as criteria to judge candidates on the fundamental question of whether the federal government has a responsibility to further social justice. Presidential candidates of both parties are running against Washington with the philosophy that has been described as the "new minimalism." Even candidates who are making an appeal for liberal votes are joining the anti-government crusade that proclaims government should do less, not more; that admonishes the poor and deprived to lower their expectations.

The anti-government program is not overtly racist, but like George Wallace's cruder version it is a backhanded way to exploit resentment against programs that are perceived as being designed primarily to help minorities and the poor. Like the social and economic policies of the Nixon administration, the new minimalism, whether espoused by conservatives or "liberals", is directly and unmistakably harmful to black interests.

No doubt, some of the Democrats who are running against Washington are doing so not because they actually want to make drastic cuts in social programs, but

because they are cynically seeking votes. No matter how well-intentioned or personally committed to social justice, the critics of big government are, they will find themselves in a political trap of their own making. Their indiscriminate, uninformed, and unintelligent attacks on government will make it impossible to rally public support for government action. Having run against Washington, they will find it impossible to lead from Washington, unless in retreat.

It is significant that it is just as black leaders have begun to criticize the shibboleths of the new minimalism that the debate has entered the presidential contest. Senator Henry Jackson, a declared candidate, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, a potential candidate, have entered the discussion as defenders of the necessary role of the federal government as an agent for social justice. It is no accident that Humphrey and Jackson are forceful and articulate advocates of full employment, including the responsibility of the federal government to serve as employer of the last resort.

Former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter is one of those who has been running against Washington, but his smiling manner has obscured his stand on the issues. Nevertheless his recent comments in the New York primary place him squarely in the anti-Washington camp. Carter is opposed to federal takeover of welfare. He would leave New York to flounder if it failed to meet its financial responsibilities because of external factors such as a downturn of the economy, increased unemployment, or reduced Federal funding.

The great irony in the discussion of the absence of black issues in this election is that black issues are no longer a political ghetto. Rather the issues of importance to blacks are the same issues that are important to the vast majority of Americans--jobs, health, housing and education. And these are issues, of course, which cannot be dealt with effectively except from Washington. When a candidate speaks responsibly to these issues and to the role Washington must play, he is speaking to the aspirations and needs of black Americans.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately  
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For further information, contact: Rustin Column

### THE MEANING OF ETHNIC PURITY

The nation and the black community have been gripped in the implications of Jimmy Carter's defense of "ethnic purity." Carter was quoted in the New York Daily News on April 4 as saying he saw "nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained." Questioned later in the week, Carter used even more provocative phrases like "injecting" blacks into white areas, "alien" groups, "the intrusion of blacks," "newcomers," and "a diametrically-opposite kind of family."

Carter has since backtracked and, in an attempt to recapture black support which he might have lost, has come out for the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill which he had previously opposed. But his remarks remain deeply disturbing, despite the apologies. As Carter has prided himself on being the most careful and precise of the candidates in his use of the language, it is difficult to believe that it was just a slip of the tongue, particularly since the candidate, while apologizing for his phrasing, has reaffirmed the substance of his position on housing policy. It is not that one or two ill-chosen phrases somehow intruded into Carter's speeches, but that the sum of his statements amount to an endorsement of residential segregation, so long as it is called "homogeneity." In one of the few departures from his carefully-crafted script, we saw Carter appealing not to love and compassion but to hatred, fear, and division.

While many blacks, including some of his supporters, were stunned at his remarks, I did not find them all that surprising. In the past Carter has shown himself adept at playing racial politics. In his 1970 gubernatorial campaign he courted the segregationist vote and visited "white academies" just before the election. More recently, Carter's campaign stumping included a recitation of a list of great Americans. Speaking before blacks, Carter would finish the list ~~with the name of Martin Luther King, but dropped it when addressing white~~

audiences. When the press called this to his attention, he promised never to do it again. Sure enough, he dropped the list from all of his speeches.

Some political commentators have been unable to explain how Carter, who has had so much support among blacks, has also been able to win the anti-black vote. It's really not difficult to understand. Carter has been running a sophisticated and subtle version of George Wallace's anti-Washington campaign. Running against Washington is a backhanded way of exploiting the resentments of people who perceive social programs as having been designed to aid blacks and the poor. Carter has made a special effort to appeal to those voters, so it is not terribly surprising that he has made a more overt appeal to the anti-black vote.

There was a message in what Carter said about neighborhood purity and it was consistent with the message of his attacks on Washington. Since 1954, the nation has been engaged in a continuous struggle for integration. While there have been disagreements as to the best means to bring it about, every Democrat to the left of George Wallace has supported the goal of integration. Jimmy Carter has delivered the message that he believes the goal of integration is no longer worth pursuing.

The issue of how to achieve integrated housing is a most difficult and complex one. Many Americans, perhaps most, have decent attitudes toward integration. Others, for whatever reason--prejudice, fears, the threat of declining home values--are opposed. What Carter's statements have done is lend comfort to the bigots and demoralize the supporters of integration.

Carter's remarks will be interpreted by some as pitting ethnic Americans against blacks. But they also imply that Italians should not move into Irish neighborhoods, Poles should not move into Italian neighborhoods, and that they all should stay out of the WASP neighborhoods.

I think that ethnic Americans will be insulted by Carter's underlying assumption that they are anti-black. Ethnics are the most integrated of white Americans. One out of five Catholics lives in census tracts with blacks, compared to one out of 18 Anglo-Americans. Americans of all ethnic groups want strong and viable neighborhoods, but Carter is profoundly misreading the temper of the American people in his conclusion that they feel a neighborhood must be "ethnically pure" to be a good neighborhood.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

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For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS MUST GO

Some struggles for social justice take place in the glare of national publicity and widespread public concern. Others of no less significance are seemingly shrouded in silence. One of the most important and most promising campaigns for social justice is currently under way in Arkansas. Although it is not the kind of struggle that is well geared to headlines, it is important because of its potentially large impact on American society and because the issues involved are often misunderstood.

The Arkansas AFL-CIO and other concerned citizens of that state have mounted a campaign to repeal that state's "right-to-work" law. While it might seem surprising that the labor movement is fighting right-to-work laws, it is not strange at all for the laws are one of history's worst violators of truth-in-labeling. These laws despite the propaganda of business groups, don't guarantee anybody jobs. The only rights they provide are the rights of employers to pay lower wages, provide poorer working conditions, and to exploit workers. Defended as protecting the right of individuals to work without being compelled to join a union, what the right-to-work laws in fact do is institute a compulsory open shop. They are designed to weaken strong unions, destroy weak unions, and prevent unorganized workers from forming a union.

A union that wins certification as the bargaining agent of the majority of workers must, under U.S. law, represent all the workers in the bargaining unit. Thus, in a right-to-work state, unions must represent all workers without receiving dues from all the employees they represent. Some workers receive the benefits of the union without paying their fair share.

There is nothing undemocratic about the union shop when a majority votes to be represented by a union and the union negotiates with management a contract that requires all workers to join the union. ~~Repeal of the right-to-work law in~~

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April 29, 1976

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Arkansas and the other 18 states which have it on their statute books would allow freedom of choice for employer and union to agree on the most sensible rules for the plant in which they have a common working interest.

It has been argued that right-to-work laws aid the economic development of poorer states like Arkansas. But when the facts are examined there doesn't seem to be much of a case. In 1947, hourly wages in Arkansas were 57 cents below the national average. Today they are over \$1 below the national average. The same is true for income. In 1948 per capita income in Arkansas was \$555 below the national average, by 1973 it had fallen \$1,238 behind the national average. A former counsel to the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board explained this regression by declaring that "'right-to-work' law states have not received more than their proportionate share of new industry." Rather than stimulating economic growth, the right-to-work laws are used as inducements for companies that can make money off a large defenseless pool of unskilled labor and that can profit from the perpetuation of this backwardness.

Thirty years of right-to-work laws have done little for states like Arkansas except keep them among the poor states in the nation in wages, per capita income, social legislation, and economic advancement.

The right-to-work laws also have been an instrument to perpetuate the informal system of racism in the United States. Dr. Vivian Henderson found that between 1950 and 1960 in only one of the Southern "right-to-work" states did the earnings of Negro male workers gain in relation to those of white male workers. In the other ten states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but blacks also lost percentage ground.

The reactionary character of the right-to-work laws is apparent from the fact that most of the right-to-work states are in the South. The strongest supporter of these laws, moreover, have by and large, been opposed to every social and economic reform that would benefit blacks.

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If the right-to-work provision is removed Arkansas workers will win a greater degree of equality in dealing with management. They will have a more effective voice in determining wages and working conditions. Moreover, in the process of gaining 100,000 petition signatures and fighting the election battle, a strong and durable coalition between labor and blacks will be forged in Arkansas that will have long range political impact. Finally, if the campaign to repeal right-to-work is successful in Arkansas it will set an example for the other 18 states which still retain this backward and regressive measure.

The effort to remove the right-to-work limitations on free collective bargaining in Arkansas is a little noticed struggle for social justice that could reshape American society in a more decent and humane fashion.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### BLACK COLLEGES ARE STILL IMPORTANT

It is fashionable to downgrade the black colleges with the mistaken notion that they have fulfilled their function and can't really measure up to the "elite" white universities, whether public or private. There are at least two things wrong with this set of attitudes. First, many black colleges--Howard, Lincoln, Fisk, Clark, to name a few--rank among the finest colleges in the United States in academic excellence and the contributions their graduates have made to the country. Second, it ignores the fact that there are also many second-rate white colleges and that the so-called second-rate institutions have served an indispensable role in educating America.

It is hard to imagine anyone arguing that the black colleges were historically unimportant, when four-fifths of the black college graduates alive today got their degrees at black colleges. What one does hear is the view that black colleges were necessary when blacks couldn't get into white schools in large numbers, but that they are now an anachronism.

Yet black colleges are, despite the importance of integrating the University of Mississippi and other bastions of exclusivity, still important. There are over 200,000 students in the 100 historic black colleges.

Although the percentage of black students in college who are enrolled in black institutions declined from about 80 percent in 1950 to 35 percent in 1970, the absolute number of blacks in largely black colleges has not declined, but increased. In the last decade black college enrollment has almost tripled until one out of six black youth between the ages of 18 and 24 are enrolled in college. We have passed well beyond the point where it was a distant goal that the

"talented tenth" of black youth would go to college.

Unfortunately, the drop-out rate among black college students is all too high. While once the justification of black colleges was to educate blacks whom white colleges could not admit, today their function is to educate better and more effectively. The black colleges have a superior record at educating black students. In 1974, over half of the estimated 48,000 blacks who graduated received their degrees from black colleges, even though those schools had far less than half of the black students.

The very factors which are derided as parochial and limiting are the reasons that the black colleges have been able to succeed where more prestigious and richer schools have failed. The small size of the black colleges means that they can do a much better job at remedial education. Black colleges have a sense of mission and community that is only rarely approached in the large state universities or even in the small elite colleges. Particularly for students coming from the farm, small town, or ghetto, black colleges are able to provide a social and educational environment that encourages confidence and develops untapped talents and abilities. The excruciatingly difficult transition from understaffed, crowded and inadequate high schools to the demands and rigors of college is eased by the supportive atmosphere of the black college.

Many black students who might flounder at larger, more prestigious institutions flower and develop at the black colleges and ultimately succeed at schools like Harvard and Yale. Many graduates of black colleges are able to succeed in graduate school. During the 1972-73 school year, 60 percent of the blacks who earned doctorates had earlier earned their degrees at black colleges.

The measure of institutions of higher learning can never be adequately expressed by the number of graduates they produce. Colleges and universities also have responsibilities to the community. Black colleges pioneered in social responsibility. From their beginnings they have been repositories of authentic black culture and were studying black history and Africa long before they became fads. Moreover, black scholars have always recognized the need to relate their research to practical social problems. And in communicating this recognition to their students they have produced new generations of socially-conscious scholars and informed activists. Black college leaders have themselves been leaders of the black community. The late Dr. Vivian Henderson was not only president of Clark College in Atlanta and an outstanding economist, but a powerful and articulate spokesman for just and humane national policies. It is the black colleges

that have produced the leadership of the black movement. Whitney Young was a graduate of Kentucky State, while Martin Luther King, Jr. was a graduate of Morehouse.

The always precarious financial status of black colleges has not been eased by their successes. But the black colleges are an invaluable national educational resource that we cannot afford to lose. They have unique skills and programs that can meet the needs of not only black, but also white students from poverty and low-income backgrounds. If the alumni remember the difference that black colleges have made in their lives and the lives of all blacks and recognize that the black colleges are still desperately needed they will be able to make their much needed contributions. One way to help is to send a contribution to the United Negro College Fund, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, New York 10022.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### WHY I SUPPORT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Of the many causes I have been involved in, the struggle to help Eldridge Cleaver's may appear to be the most unlikely. During the late nineteen sixties there were perhaps no greater or more total political opponents than Cleaver and me. Yet in February of this year I organized the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Fund.

I am obviously not helping Cleaver to defend his past positions or actions. Rather I believe that Cleaver deserves help because of his courage in coming back to the United States to face criminal charges. Like every individual faced with jail, Cleaver is entitled to an adequate defense. The principle of innocent until proven guilty has no meaning unless the defendant is able to afford counsel. Therefore, I thought it important that a committee be formed to assist in raising money to help with Cleaver's substantial legal expenses.

Moreover, in the seven years he was outside the United States Cleaver underwent a profound and important political transformation. Even when I disagreed with his political beliefs, I always admired Cleaver's literary and creative abilities. Now he is one of the most articulate opponents of totalitarianism, one of the most knowledgeable critics of the hypocrisy of the despotic ruling elites in some of the third world countries and communism, and a devoted advocate of the democratic process.

It was not so surprising that Cleaver became disillusioned with Communism, but that he neither abandoned politics nor turned to an opposite and equally-as-extreme doctrine was to me an indication that his thinking had reached an impressive degree of maturity. Cleaver remains a critic of injustice in America, but he insists that change must be democratic reform, not revolution.

It has not been easy to raise money for Cleaver or to get people to join the ~~committee~~. Images die hard and for many the image of Cleaver as a hate-spewing

WHY I SUPPORT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
May 27, 1976

revolutionary is so firmly etched in their minds that they are unable to see a new reality. Some leaders in the black community are simply unable to forget or forgive Cleaver's abusive and unfair attacks of the past, attacks which he has now repudiated. And, as in the case of the biblical prodigal son there are those who resent Cleaver's change of heart and say why wasn't he with us back then.

Cleaver has also been deserted by most of his former friends on the left because he is no longer willing to play the role of the "bad nigger." Some remain convinced that he has made a deal with the government, despite the lack of a shred of evidence to support that view. For if Cleaver had made a deal he would not presently be sitting in the Alameda County Jail and he would not be facing the prospect of life imprisonment.

Others on the left, more cynical, have unabashedly expressed their desire to keep Cleaver behind bars because they consider him a renegade for having reexamined his views. More fundamentally, I suspect, they fear the power of his message.

The press has ignored Cleaver's case except for the sensation of his return to the U.S. They were more interested in him when he was shouting slogans than when he is now talking sense. Cleaver, to his credit, has refused to play the martyr and is not attempting to make his trial a political cause or a media event.

Conservatives have not flocked to his cause because they have no more use for Cleaver as an advocate of democratic social change than they had for him as a revolutionary.

But most conspicuous in their absence are the white liberals and affluent radicals who used to be most outspoken in praise of Cleaver. This is to be expected, for these whites never really believed in Cleaver. He represented for these voyeurs a distorted image of black America through which they could enjoy a perverse, second-hand participation in an orgy of violence. Now that Cleaver has chosen to work to transform America through the democratic system they have no use for him.

Cleaver, I believe, has much of value to contribute to his country and the world. He has a clear understanding of the importance of democracy and human rights which is both theoretical and the result of first-hand experience in totalitarian states. Cleaver, because his conclusions come through bitter experience, is perhaps the most qualified individual to speak to young blacks who are enchanted with the third world, and believe it a model for America. He can identify the good and bad elements in those third world countries and separate the myths from reality. Precisely because he was such a severe critic of America, he has a special credibility when he says, "with all its faults, the

WHY I SUPPORT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
May 27, 1976

American political system is the freest and most democratic in the world."

In the final analysis it will be left to Americans of good will to insure that a man of Cleaver's abilities and insights does not languish in prison. I appeal for your help. Please send a contribution to the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Committee, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### MORAL EXHORTATION IS NOT ENOUGH

It has always been tempting to believe that social change could come through moral exhortation. And in times when it seems difficult or impossible to gain change through concerted political action blacks have been particularly susceptible to this habit.

Jesse Jackson has called for a program of self-improvement and a new morality among blacks, beginning with the schools, in the New York Times Magazine, and has since attempted to start such a program in ten high schools in Chicago.

Jackson has certainly hit on a real issue. All right-thinking blacks share Jackson's concern about the chaotic conditions in some black communities and in our schools. I, for one, am all for efforts to improve the schools and the community. Certainly we need to insist that there is no room for crime, drug pushers, and chronic disrupters in our schools. Too many of our young people have been victimized by the attitude nurtured by white liberals that imposing discipline on black students is racist. Certainly black parents must push the schools to educate and encourage their children to learn.

Several years ago we were hung up with some similar notions about crime. For a long time the legitimate concerns of blacks about crime could not break through the liberal notion that to be concerned about crime was to be racist. We have gotten over that notion. All across the country blacks are organizing to fight crime in their communities. The same thing is now happening with education.

If Jackson stopped with an analysis of the need for discipline, order, and learning in the schools there would be no problem. But he goes far beyond this. He makes the schools into the primary agent of social change and moral persuasion the primary engine of social change.

This is, I believe, an erroneous evaluation of the problems of blacks and a profoundly mistaken prescription for achieving social change. You simply cannot, as Jackson suggests, "rebuild our communities with moral authority." It will take money, resources, and skills to do the job.

It is no accident that Jackson's message has been picked up and endorsed by such ultra-right columnists as Phyllis Schlafly. For Jackson's insistence that blacks must help solve their own problems leaves the impression that it is blacks alone who are responsible for creating those problems. I find it no more palatable when a black leader suggests, however sincerely, that blacks can pull themselves up by their bootstraps than when it was suggested hypocritically by racist and conservative whites.

It is not simply that Jackson is unintentionally giving ammunition to white conservatives. The idea that the problems of deteriorating inner cities, of unemployment and underemployment, and of poverty can be solved by self-improvement crusades is just as likely to be picked up by white liberals and moderates who are already in a defeatist mood about the possibility of real change. It will aid and abet those who are ready to concede that the federal government has only a limited responsibility to aid the cities and to solve social problems.

No one, including Jesse, doubts that black students want to excel. The question is how do we provide the economic and social environment which will allow black youth to excel. There are enormous reservoirs of ability and energy in the black community, but self-improvement crusades are not capable of releasing those energies. The call to excellence may stimulate black youth to new exertions but in the absence of fundamental social changes they will soon run into a brick wall and will emerge even more disillusioned and discouraged than before.

The fundamental reasons that so many of our inner city schools are out of control is not a lack of moral authority and sound ethical conduct. When unemployment and underemployment in many inner city areas is 20 or 30 percent or more and unemployment among black teenagers 40 or 50 percent, is it any wonder that so many young people have become disillusioned and discouraged? Schools simply do not produce social conditions as much as social conditions are reflected in the schools.

You cannot achieve social reform by exhortation. A good sermon often makes a poor political program. Jesse Jackson is a young man of great ability and greater potential. His energies would be better employed if he would get back to the hard business that Dr. King was engaged in before his death: the mobilization of political power and skills to create a coalition that will implement economic and social changes to bring equality.



# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BALLOT

Few measures have so changed the politics of the United States as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The climax to a string of legislative victories for civil rights, it was symbolically crucial because by guaranteeing the right to vote it broke the image of blacks as being less than full citizens. Moreover, when the Voting Rights Act was passed it was heralded as inaugurating a great political transformation. The political transformation has not yet materialized in total, but blacks have won some magnificent political victories.

The political landscape of the South and, indeed, of the nation has been altered in the decade since its passage. In the first five years after the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act black voter registration in the seven states covered by the bill nearly doubled, from 1.2 million to 2.1 million. A more important change was the dramatic increase in the number of blacks elected to public office in the South. In 1965 only 72 blacks held public office in the South. Today nearly two thousand--27 times as many do.

This explosion of blacks seeking and winning office is part of a great political awakening of blacks across the country. The number of blacks holding elected office across the country has more than tripled since 1969. And there is reason to suspect that it will continue to grow. Although there are fewer than twenty blacks in the Congress, there are over 75 congressional districts where twenty percent or more of the population is black. Many of these districts can be expected to send blacks to Washington in the near future.

The real significance of the Voting Rights Act is not limited to the increasing numbers of blacks elected to office. The black vote has made it possible, perhaps even necessary, for racial moderates and progressives like Jimmy Carter, Reuben Askew, and Dale Bumpers to emerge as the dominant political figures in the South. It has even turned rabid segregationists like Strom Thurmond into courtiers

of the black vote. It is not much of an exaggeration to observe that the Voting Rights Act has virtually, killed the old racial politics of the South.

But the Voting Rights Act has not brought the millenium of black political power. At the same time that more blacks are participating in politics by running for office, black registration and voting has been declining. There are 14 million blacks eligible to vote, but only half are registered.

One reason that so many blacks are not registered is that the resistance has become more subtle. Moreover, many election laws and election officials are still guided by the middle-class bias that voting is a privilege to be earned by individual initiative, rather than a right which the government should actively extend to all.

Whether black or white, poor and working people often suspect--and frequently with good reason--that a rigged system has made them powerless. When unemployment among blacks is above 13 percent according to official statistics it is not easy to believe in the efficacy of the vote. Thus, an important reason for the disenchantment of blacks with politics, candidates have been failing to deal with the issues that are critical to blacks. When so many candidates are running against Washington, against the social programs which have benefited the poor and the minorities, it is hard to persuade people to register.

When so many of our friends have been wavering in their support of programs which we need desperately, we can send them a message by maximizing black registration and participation. The political system does not always work well for poor and working people or for blacks. Nonetheless, poor and working people and blacks can make the political system work for them.

For blacks, registering to vote is not an exercise in civic responsibility; it is a necessary and indispensable weapon in the arsenal of our struggle for justice, equality, and jobs.

I can understand why blacks might be apathetic or cynical about politics, politicians, and government. Those attitudes bred powerlessness and escapism. No matter how disappointed we might be we cannot afford to surrender to those negative moods that will only make things worse. We need to turn cynicism into properly directed anger and replace apathy with commitment.

Because blacks have traditionally been disenfranchised we have to go an extra mile to catch up. Instead of feeling content to register, we have to get our family, friends, neighbors, and co-workers registered. And we have to make sure they get to the polls. We need to give our active support and involvement

to those groups in the black community which are right now engaged in registering voters.

The vote was once taken away from us and denied for many years by violence, fraud, and statute. Today the danger is that we will let it slip away through apathy, despair, and cynicism.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
July 8, 1976

Rustin's Column

### THE MESSAGE OF THE SOWETO RIOTS

The three days of riots in the South African township of Soweto resulted in 176 deaths and over 1,000 injuries and delivered a message which must not be ignored. The violence was touched off when a march of 10,000 black students protesting the compulsory use of the Afrikaans language ended with a volley of police bullets and the death of a 13 year-old boy. South African leaders, in the manner of Southern segregationists, denounced the riots as the product of agitators. But if there were any agitators, they can be found in the pattern of discriminatory laws known as apartheid.

Afrikaans, the language of the Boer settlers of South Africa that evolved from 17th century Dutch, is the symbol of authority and of apartheid. In the words of The Rand Daily Mail, the leading liberal Johannesburg newspaper, it "is the language of the police station, the pass office, and the oppressor." Yet in 1975 the government mandated that Afrikaans and English were to be used equally in black secondary schools.

South African leaders appear unable to realize the discriminatory nature of the decision, for they described the objections to the imposition of the Afrikaans language as a "pretext" for the riots. White students in the country's English speaking communities are required to study Afrikaans as a language in state schools, but, unlike blacks, they are not obliged to use it as a medium of instruction. Moreover, Afrikaans is considered by linguists to be especially difficult to learn. Black parents and teachers protested that the ruling would retard the students' education since most had grown up speaking an African language and English. Between the introduction of the regulation and the outbreak of violence, 15 responsible protests from organizations ranging from the African Teachers' Association to the white Progressive Reform Party were ignored

by the Minister of Education.

After the riots the South African government rescinded the requirement that Afrikaans be used in instruction. But the reform may well have been too little, too late. Rather than being the first step of a process of reform, it appears more likely to be a palliative that means no real change in apartheid. In defending itself against charges of brutality in handling the protests, the South Africans described the language issue as a pretext; in eliminating the requirement they have treated it as the only issue of black dissatisfaction. The truth, of course, is that the real issue is apartheid and racial domination.

The violence was a clear signal that the continuation of South Africa's apartheid policy is likely to lead to racial war in that country. The reform leaves untouched the basic grievances of the blacks. Though it may temporarily defuse the tension, in the long run the blacks of South Africa will demand nothing less than full civil and legal equality and an end to a system of institutionalized discrimination and inequality.

The South African government has missed an opportunity to initiate a genuine dialogue between black and white South Africans. The machinery for a meaningful discussion between blacks and whites is lacking because even moderate political activity of blacks has been outlawed for so long. Responsible black national leaders have been jailed or exiled. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, elected head of the Zulu homeland and one of the few blacks with a larger than local or tribal following, called on Prime Minister John Vorster to convene a national convention as soon as the immediate crisis had passed "so that we can face South Africa's problems together." His suggestion was totally ignored and a one-man (white) commission of inquiry was established to investigate the riots. The commissioner can be expected to follow the line of Vorster and Minister of Justice Kruger who blamed the riot on outside agitators, while totally ignoring the real cause of apartheid and contributing nothing to the peaceful solution of South Africa's problems.

There is yet another reason to be pessimistic about the prospects for peaceful evolution in South Africa. Since the rioting, the government has made widespread use of laws that permit indefinite detention without trial. An official report issued on June 25, before the latest series of arrests, said a total of 1,298 people had been arrested since the outbreak of violence, although no breakdown was given on how many were held under detention laws. The arrests have dampened criticism of the government's handling of the riots. Many opponents of apartheid have been silent because they fear that to say anything would invite

imprisonment. A bill, passed just before the outbreak of violence, authorizes the indefinite detention of anybody considered to be a threat to state security or public order. Police state measures of this sort have prevented the emergence of white political forces which might convince the majority of white South Africans that apartheid will not work.

Yet despite all the grounds for despair, there are some reasons for hope in South Africa. The tiny Progressive Reform Party, which opposes apartheid, has recently won some important electoral advances. There have been some small cracks in the wall of apartheid. More significantly, Prime Minister Vorster has sought a detente with the nations of black Africa. But after the riots it should be clear to Vorster that the only reforms which will improve South Africa's international image are those that begin to alter the position of hopeless inferiority to which apartheid has assigned blacks.

It is unlikely that fundamental changes will come without pressure from the outside. Though we cannot expect to produce change overnight, the United States can do much to end apartheid.

The message of the Soweto riots for both South Africa and the United States is that the hour is late. South Africa cannot long hesitate in reaching the decision to dismantle apartheid. The United States must clearly and effectively act on its stated opposition to white minority rule in Rhodesia and apartheid in South Africa.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The 1976 Democratic national convention was a product of the civil rights movement. Twenty years ago no-one would have predicted that the Democratic party would nominate a presidential candidate from the Deep South, much less that many blacks would be enthusiastic about his nomination. Never more clearly has the political revolution worked by the civil rights movement been more clearly demonstrated than at this convention.

Even without a quota system, more than 10 percent of the delegates were black. But the political impact of blacks was larger even than their representation on the floor. Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan inspired the convention and the nation with her opening night keynote address. After her speech there was even talk of running her as a symbolic protest candidate for the vice-presidential nomination. Rep. Jordan rejected the idea, saying that if she ever allowed her name to be placed in nomination for the national ticket it would be a serious effort. It would not surprise me in the least if a black becomes the presidential or vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic party in the near future.

At this convention the most important black leader may well have been Andrew Young. Indeed, he was Carter's most important supporter. Young symbolizes the changes that have taken place in the civil rights movement in the last two decades. He got his start as a minister active in Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Today as Congressman from Atlanta, he has made the shift from protest to politics, from confrontation to compromise.

That shift is not the result of selling out, but of finding new strategies for a new political period. The civil rights movement has not won all of its goals, but has won enough to work a fundamental transformation in American politics. It

was the successes of the civil rights movement which made possible the nomination of a Southerner as the Democratic presidential candidate. The more than doubling of the number of black voters in the South in a few short years as a result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act stimulated the emergence of moderate and liberal Southerners like Jimmy Carter, Dale Bumpers, and ~~Reuben~~ Askew. By challenging the legality and morality of segregation the civil rights movement worked a profound ethical and psychological change in the attitudes of white Southerners. As such, it contributed to the decline of racial politics. We now have much more than ever before a national politics, which can only be of benefit to black Americans.

The political transformation was also seen in the selection of Walter Mondale as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, in the Democratic platform, and in the acceptance speeches of Carter and Mondale. The selection of Mondale, a leading liberal and a protege of Hubert Humphrey, was filled with historical irony. For it was Humphrey's 1948 convention speech in support of integration that led to the bolt of the Dixiecrats. All of the people considered by Carter for the vice-presidential nomination had good civil rights records, but Mondale was most closely identified with the kind of civil rights activism that was once anathema to the South.

Carter's acceptance speech was clear, forthright, and encouraging. Carter identified himself with the aspirations of blacks and other Americans who suffer from unemployment and poverty in his attack on "a political and economic elite who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes nor to suffer from injustice. When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job." Carter supported full employment, universal voter registration, a comprehensive national health program, tax reform, and welfare reform.

The Democratic platform also reflected the input and needs of black Americans. It commits the Democrats to guaranteeing jobs to all Americans who want to work and to reducing the adult unemployment rate to three percent within four years. The most significant innovation in the Democratic platform recommended combining existing welfare programs into a single income maintenance program substantially financed by the federal government. Even on foreign policy, the platform reflected the aspirations of black Americans as it proposed stronger sanctions against the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

The civil rights movement has worked a fundamental transformation in American



THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT  
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politics. To take full advantage of the new political situation our strategy must complete the transition from protest to politics, from symbolism to accomplishment, from confrontation to coalitions. The uncompleted portion of the civil rights agenda is economic and thus requires an approach which is not exclusively black, but which appeals to the needs of all Americans who suffer from poverty, unemployment, poor housing, and inadequate health care.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### THE TERRORIST PLAGUE

International terrorism is a new, growing, and ugly phenomenon. In the past six years there have been 500 major acts of international terrorism, including over sixty-five kidnappings. That technological advances have made it possible for acts of violence to take part across national borders is only one of the significant developments of international terrorism. The nature as well as the scope of terrorism has also changed. The intellectual revolutionaries and anarchists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not take political hostages. They did not randomly kill innocent bystanders. If they resorted to political violence it was against an individual tyrant. Today's terrorism on the other hand, is actually a modern version of the non-political kidnappings for money ransom by sea pirates, medieval highway robbers, and twentieth century gangsters.

Although terrorists claim to represent the "people," they are in fact a self-proclaimed elite which has set itself above politics and above responsibility to anyone. Most terrorists are not motivated by political programs. Rather their slogans of revolution and retribution are covers for disturbances of mind and soul.

While it is true that successful democratic revolutions have been ushered in by violence, they are the exceptions. Political violence more often results in the imposition of a new despotism. Moreover, the attitude of democratic revolutionaries toward violence is entirely different from that of terrorists. It is not true, as is sometimes contended, that "one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist." There is much more than political disagreement which defines political terrorism.

The modern terrorist is not a revolutionary, but a gangster. For terrorists violence is not simply an instrument of change, it assumes a value in and of itself.

It displaces whatever political grievances might have originally motivated the terrorist. Terrorists reject the possibility that their political goals might be achieved by means other than violence. They will turn on any of their own gang who reject terrorism and seek peaceful change. Consequently, it is almost always true that terrorists do not become responsible and respectable rulers if they gain power.

Terrorism, by striking randomly at the citizen who is not responsible, threatens the whole of society, the entire body of mores and morals. Intellectuals have sometime defended terrorism as a short-cut to political change. In reality, terrorism more often paralyzes the political process and weakens democracy and the forces which might make for a peaceful reconciliation. If terrorists are moderately successful, fear and suspicion become the dominant characteristics of society. Even the most dramatic system must in the face of violence by a handful of terrorists adopt some repressive measures.

Terrorism is an even greater threat to the developing countries than to the industrialized West. Developing countries are "soft states." They have a fragile margin of resources which can be devoted to the political and economic modernization of the country. Terrorist violence forces the governments of developing countries to take repressive measures, thereby alienating the citizens and decreasing the government's ability to make needed reforms. As the government loses popular support it is forced to adopt ever more repressive measures.

Eight years after the death of Martin Luther King and thirty years after the death of Mahatma Gandhi, we can see even more clearly the reasons they advocated non-violence. Martin Luther King preached non-violence not only for moral reasons, but for the pragmatic reason that the use of violence would be counter-productive and would increase the forces of the extreme right. The bloodshed and mindless violence that flows naturally from terrorism is best seen in Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

It is not always easy to draw a line between domestic and international terrorism. Both are reprehensible and destructive, but international terrorism is especially so. The targets of international terrorists--principally airlines with overseas routes--are symbols of international interdependence. International terrorism would not be possible without the collaboration of some states. Significantly, the collaborating states are ones in which terrorists have gained power and which terrorize their own citizens and the world. A recent example is Idi Amin's complicity in the hijacking of the French airliner.

The Israeli rescue mission was a heroic and humane operation. Israel acted

in self-defense under thoroughly established doctrines of international law. International law does not prohibit states from protecting their nationals whose lives are imperiled by political conditions in another state, provided the degree of physical presence employed in their protection is proportional to the situation. Israel's action certainly met those standards.

Israel's rescue mission was a defense of democracy and world peace against terrorism. But the problem of political gangsterism will not be ended by the heroism of the Israelis. If anything, terrorism will grow worse. If progress is to be made within nations and if world peace and justice is to be furthered, it is essential that the attack of terrorists against the political process and civilized society be defeated.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

Immediately  
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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### THE ISSUE IS JOBS

The Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill is the most important piece of legislation before the Congress. A landmark bill like the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, it is the fulfillment of the theme of the 1963 March on Washington--"Jobs and Freedom." Symbolically, this can be seen in the fact that not only is the Congressional Black Caucus fully supporting the bill, but that one member of the Caucus, Congressman Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, is a co-author.

Distortions, misinterpretations, and outright lies are being spread by the opponents of Humphrey-Hawkins in an attempt to discredit it. But the discouraging economic news of the last several months will make jobs a major issue in this election year and will force Humphrey-Hawkins to be examined on its merits.

Unemployment has increased each of the last three months and is now officially at 7.8 percent. But if one wants to get a more accurate picture one has to include workers who have become so discouraged that they have given up looking for jobs that no longer exist and part-time workers who want full-time jobs. If these people are counted, unemployment is really over ten percent.

These figures reflect a continuing crisis in the American economy. We are faced with a significant unemployment problem for many years to come. Many economists project that unemployment will still be at six percent four years from now; others warn that we may be headed for another economic slowdown or even a recession.

There are two basic approaches to unemployment. One says that we should define as acceptable whatever level of joblessness is prevailing at the time. In 1946, full employment was thought to be three percent, by 1960 it had been redefined upwards to four percent, and today some "experts" are telling us that

five and-a-half or six percent unemployment is the best we can do.

The other approach, which is both better morality and better economics, recognizes that unemployment is not only a burden on the individual, but a loss to the nation. It is typified by the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment and balanced growth bill. Humphrey-Hawkins recognizes that in a complex, modern economy like ours we need intelligent, coordinated policies to achieve full employment; and that national policy must be devoted to the goal of full employment.

Like most good ideas whose time has come, there is bitter opposition to Humphrey-Hawkins. Its opponents may criticize this or that feature of the bill, as unrealistic but if you listen carefully what they really object to is the idea that the government has any obligation to make sure that everyone has an opportunity for useful work at decent wages.

Like every piece of progressive legislation since Franklin D. Roosevelt, Humphrey-Hawkins is being smeared. It has been denounced as a boondoggle that would bankrupt the country by putting all the unemployed on the government payroll. This allegation is simply untrue. In fact, two-thirds to three-fourths of the jobs created under Humphrey-Hawkins would be in the private sector, and most government jobs would be at the local or state level.

Nor is Humphrey-Hawkins a make-work, leaf-raking measure. There are many desperately needed national priorities which can be provided by the federal, local, or state government--urban mass transportation, hospitals, and the environment to name just a few.

It is sometimes said that the nation cannot afford full employment, but it is too rarely asked whether we can afford unemployment. Unemployed workers mean idle resources, and dollars which do not go for the purchase of other goods. Unemployment means lost production. Because of five recessions from 1953 to 1975, we lost \$3 trillion worth of goods and services.

Full employment would actually be a bargain. If the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is enacted during the four years 1977-1980 total national production will be about \$725 billion more than under present policy. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the budget cost of the bill as \$12 billion a year, an estimate many observers believe to be too high. But the bill would also add \$36 billion a year to the federal budget, because of fuller production. With full employment the federal budget could be balanced and a surplus produced by 1981.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill has been denounced as inflationary, but this is not true. The Congressional Budget Office has stated that if the bill's comprehensive approach to reducing unemployment "were adopted and were effective, a non-inflationary unemployment rate could be potentially even lower than 3 percent." Our worst period of inflation have come under Presidents Nixon and Ford who never had any kind of commitment to full employment and who in fact deliberately produced recessions in the vain hope of restraining inflation.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is a sound approach to national economic policy. It establishes a commitment to reduce unemployment to three percent within four years and creates a framework within our democratic system which makes that commitment realizable. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill sets an ambitious goal, but one that is well within our capabilities. The passage and implementation of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill would do more to advance racial equality than any other possible action.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
September 2, 1976

Bayard Rustin Column

### STEREOTYPING THE CITIES

The most harmful stereotypes are ones held and spread by those who are interested in solving a problem. Stereotypes about the cities are making solutions more difficult. During the 1960s, the anti-poverty coalition, government, the media, and scholars painted a bleak picture of uniform poverty in the inner cities. They were certainly right in pointing to the intolerable poverty in the inner cities and they were right in using this as an argument for increased aid to the cities. But the picture may have been too simplistic and thus counter-productive.

A recent study by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs of 87 working class neighborhoods in our older industrial cities shows just how wrong many of the stereotypes are. The image of the neighborhoods as "cultures of poverty" is very misleading. Of course, there is much poverty, but even the poorest neighborhoods had about one-third of their families with incomes above \$10,000 in 1970. The neighborhoods, whether predominantly white, Hispanic, or black, have large numbers of people who have moderate, or even high education and income levels. In fact, during the sixties the neighborhoods increased their percent of moderate, middle, and upper income families at a faster rate than did the suburbs, or the metropolitan areas as a whole.



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September 2, 1976

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Because the inner cities are retaining substantial percentages of moderate and middle income families and the well-educated, there is a base for economic growth which has been overlooked. This potential suggests a plan for urban development aimed at increasing the stability of neighborhoods, rather than the present erroneous assumption that center city neighborhoods can only be the staging grounds for the more affluent who will always move to the suburbs at the first available opportunity. The stereotype of deteriorating inner cities has kept public and private decision-makers from adopting the policies needed to make the inner cities truly viable communities.

Among the worst stereotypes of cities is the notion that the white working class neighborhoods have reached levels of affluence and stability approaching middle status and that black and Hispanic neighborhoods were exclusively cultures of poverty. This stereotype has distorted the views of political and private leadership and of the inner city residents themselves. This false image may be one reason so many inner city whites resist integration. It has certainly contributed to the political divisions between white ethnic and blacks in the cities, groups which should be political allies.

By measures of income, services, educational problems, the white, black and Hispanic neighborhoods have more in common with each other than they do with the suburbs. The increased economic and social pressures in the neighborhoods are creating a high degree of family disintegration not only in black and Hispanic neighborhoods, but in the white neighborhoods as well, despite the fact that the Catholic neighborhoods have been thought to be strong family oriented communities. Both the black and white neighborhoods have the same

STEREOTYPING THE CITIES  
September 2, 1976

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percentage of youth between 16 and 21 who are not in school--  
two-and-a-half times the rate of the suburbs.

A common set of problems creates an as yet untapped base for coalition in the creation of political demands and public policy. Relations between black, Hispanic and white ethnic groups will be a decisive factor in the future of our older industrial cities and in the quality of urban life. If the cities are to be saved, all three groups must operate from an accurate perception of the problems of the others and the realization that their problems can only be solved by a common effort.

In trying to correct the stereotypes of the cities, I don't wish to create a new optimistic stereotype. In many respects the hard-core problems of the inner city neighborhoods are still as severe as they were at the beginning of the nineteen sixties. These neighborhoods did not catch up, but rather fell further behind despite major governmental and private efforts and a decade of vigorous economic growth. With the downturn of the economy since 1970, the very stability of the center city neighborhoods and urban life in general is at stake.

We need a new national urban policy that breaks with the stereotypes of defeatism and negativism. We must see the strengths as well as the problems of the cities. Unless the working class neighborhoods are seen as potentially very attractive places to live, we won't be able to save the cities.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

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**For further information, contact:**

Bayard Rustin Column

### THE POLITICS OF VOTING

The largest political group in the United States is now made up of non-voters. Recent estimates are that 70 million qualified voting age Americans will not vote on November 2. Less than half of the possible electorate may take part in this presidential election. Seventy percent of the eligible voters could easily choose either to vote against the winner or not to vote at all. As has often been pointed out, this low participation is a disgrace to American democracy. What is sometimes forgotten is that low voting participation weakens our democratic system and lessens our ability to respond to social problems.

The declining voting participation has itself become a political issue. It was the real issue in the recent congressional debate on national postcard registration. The voting participation issue reflects two different conceptions of what a democracy is about. According to one way of thinking, voting is a privilege which must be acquired by the voters' initiative. The other conception is that voting is a right and that the government has a responsibility to encourage voters to register.

The opponents of postcard voter participation allege without much foundation that postcard registration will lead to voting fraud, but what they really fear is that it will lead to increased voting. There has been no indication of voting

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September 16, 1976

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fraud in those states **that** do have postcard registration. In fact, the national postcard registration bill, which would affect only registration for federal elections, contains careful provisions to insure honesty. The restrictive registration laws which actually discourage people from voting are a form of political cheating.

It is no accident that some politicians oppose postcard registration, for they have an interest in low voter participation. The largest increase in turnout would be among blacks, Southerners, and people with little formal education.

The postcard registration bill will not be enacted this year largely because of the threat of a presidential veto. Even as passed by the House, the bill was not all that might be desired. The effect of postcard registration will be limited unless the government mails the postcards to every household. Nonetheless, the House killed this provision because of the extensive lobbying of state and local election officials who feared the additional paperwork. Congress was badly mistaken in listening to those officials for two reasons. First, the concern should be not to make the lives of registration officials comfortable, but to make registration easier. Second with few exceptions, election officials have rarely made an equally intensive effort to change state registration laws.

The debate about reforming our election laws has been confused by the discussion about the reasons for the lower turnout. The expansion of voting rights to 18 year olds has resulted in lower percentage turnouts. Younger voters have always voted in lower numbers. Only half of the 18 to 29 year olds are registered, while almost three out of four of those between 30 and 49 are registered and more than four out of five of those 50 and older are registered. But the

THE POLITICS OF VOTING  
September 16, 1976

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increase in the number of young potential voters should only account for a relative decline in participation, not an absolute and dramatic decline in voting participation. At the present time, 5 million fewer people are registered than in 1972. Part of this decline is undoubtedly due to disillusionment with politics because of Watergate. For many voters between 18 and 34 the usual low voting rates of the young and the political disillusionment have created the danger that non-voting will be accepted as the norm.

But to respond to low voting participation with the argument that we should make no reforms of the election laws because people who don't vote aren't interested will only compound the problem. Only by making registration simple and convenient will we be able to increase voting participation.

If registration is made easier, turnouts in presidential elections would probably increase by more than ten percent. The most important reform would be to keep the voter rolls open until just a few days before the election, when interest is highest. Other barriers to voting which should be removed are long residency requirements, irregular registration hours, the periodic purging of non-voters from the rolls, inconvenient location of registration offices, and the lack of absentee registration in some states.

Voters who are concerned about the health of our democracy should make the easing of registration laws an issue with candidates for office. Attitudes toward postcard registration are perhaps the best measure of whether a candidate truly wants to make voting a right instead of a privilege.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

**For Release:**

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**For further information, contact:**

Rustin Column

### A CLEAR AND UNMISTAKABLE DIFFERENCE

More than anything else, it is the election of the president which determines whether black Americans will go forward or backward. The black struggle for equality, after making impressive gains during the nineteen-sixties, has been at a standstill for the past eight years. But this November black Americans will have a unique opportunity to get things moving in the right direction again.

The problem is that even many of the victims of present policy--the teenager who can't find his first job, the worker who has been laid off--are saying it doesn't make any difference who is elected. This cynicism is understandable after eight years during which government policy has seemed only to make things worse, but it couldn't be more wrong. For without the right kind of President, things will continue to get worse.

In a race that is extremely close there are clear and unmistakable differences between presidential candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. They differ not merely in style and personality, but in their approach to the basic issues confronting the nation. On every important issue--from the cities to taxes to health care--Carter is obviously superior.

President Ford is running on a record which deserves to be thoroughly repudiated. His platform flaunts an ultra-conservatism and disregard for human problems that was out-dated when it was the creed of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover.

Ford's election would mean the continuation of policies initiated under Richard Nixon that have been disastrous for all working Americans, and especially for blacks. Nearly eight million Americans are unemployed, two-and-a-half million more than when Ford assumed office. And there is little hope of improvement given present policies. In the last year alone, the number of Americans living

in poverty increased by more than two million. Since 1970 black unemployment has averaged more than 10 percent. Today nearly one out of seven black workers can't find a job. The gap between black and white income which was narrowing in the sixties is growing again. The average black family is worse off than it was six years ago.

It would be bad enough if Ford had simply followed a wrong course of economic action. But what is worse is that he seems totally oblivious to the human and social cost of unemployment. Rather than being a leader in civil rights, Ford has attempted to exploit racial tensions for political advantage. Overall, his performance has been dismal. He has substituted obstructionism for program. He has shown no capacity for the imagination and vision needed to inspire and unite the American people.

In contrast to Ford's insensitivity and lack of sympathy for the poor and unemployed, Jimmy Carter offers compassion and understanding. Carter forged an admirable and courageous civil rights record as governor of Georgia. He promises to be a dynamic and aggressive President who can work effectively with Congress to pass much needed legislation.

On the issue of jobs Carter differs most fundamentally with Ford. Rather than more of the same, Carter is committed to effective and vigorous action to reduce the jobless rate. He knows that unemployment is not just a statistic, but something that affects real people. He recognizes that while government has limits, it also has responsibilities which cannot be postponed or ignored. He has articulated the aspirations of the American people for a responsive and effective government as an instrument for forging a more just and equitable society.

Blacks have responded with enthusiasm to the candidacy of Jimmy Carter. He involved blacks in important positions in his campaign from its earliest days not as tokenism, but as a reflection of his basic commitment to racial justice. He has put forward a program that is responsive to the needs of black Americans.

The choice has rarely been clearer, but the outcome is uncertain. Black voters are potentially the decisive factor on November 2. If blacks had voted in the same proportion as whites in 1968, Hubert Humphrey would have been elected President. With so much at stake, blacks cannot afford to stay at home this time. Political apathy which rewards our enemies and punishes our friends hurts black Americans most of all.

Jimmy Carter deserves our support on November 2, because black Americans need a friend in the White House.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

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For Release:  
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For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### SAVING THE NAACP

The NAACP barely escaped a legal lynching on October 8. It was endangered because it had worked so diligently to protect the rights of black Americans. Already facing a recession-induced financial crisis, a new and more ominous threat to the most important civil rights organization arose over the summer.

In the early 1960's the NAACP organized a selective buying campaign against merchants in Port Gibson, Mississippi to counteract job discrimination. The merchants sued in the Mississippi courts, alleging restraint of trade, and won a damage suite of \$1.25 million.

To make matters worse, Mississippi requires a bond of 125 percent of the judgement, in this case \$1.6 million, to be posted within 45 days if the judge's decision is to be appealed. That bond was originally due on October 1, but a federal judge in Mississippi issued a restraining order and pushed back the deadline for a week pending a full hearing of the issue.

Throughout its history there have been attempts to destroy the NAACP. But for many years intimidation, violence, and legislation has threatened only local or state branches. The Mississippi suit, in contrast, threatens the entire NAACP. The bond which the NAACP was required to post amounts to almost half of its annual budget, the awarded damages by themselves to over one-third. At a minimum, the NAACP was facing a drastic cut back in its activities.

Although most lawyers and constitutional experts agreed that the Mississippi bond requirement was unconstitutional and the NAACP was confident the suit would be overturned on appeal, it meant nothing unless the NAACP could raise the money.

Faced with this desperate situation, the NAACP mounted a vigorous effort to raise the needed \$1.6 million. Serious obstacles handicapped the effort. Many blacks, not to mention whites, found it impossible to believe that in 1976 the



SAVING THE NAACP  
October 14, 1976

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NAACP was under a crippling, potentially fatal assault. The leadership of the NAACP and black churches formed a coalition last year which elected Governor Charles Finch, a moderate. For the first time in modern history, blacks now play an integral role in the state's Democratic party. But all the past and future accomplishments of the NAACP were, nonetheless, threatened by the suit. The national media virtually ignored the threat to the NAACP, although the black press implored its readers to help and black leaders called upon their supporters.

Blacks across the country responded to the NAACP's crisis by the tens of thousands. When I was at the NAACP's national headquarters the day before the deadline, a black woman, who works as a cleaning lady, brought in a contribution of \$25. The day of the deadline, she returned with another \$25. The sacrifice and commitment of this woman was typical of the responses of black Americans. The bulk of the money raised came in small contributions from NAACP branches.

Yet as the deadline approached, the NAACP was still \$800,000 short. In moments of crisis like this we find out who our real friends are. No corporation, no foundation, no philanthropist stepped forward to save the NAACP. But the labor movement was there. The AFL-CIO guaranteed the additional \$800,000 needed for the bond. The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department and the United Auto Workers each agreed to reimburse the federation for up to \$200,000 should the NAACP lose its appeal in the courts.

Lane Kirkland, the AFL CIO's Secretary-Treasurer, pointed out that "It should come as no surprise to anyone that the labor movement is taking action. We have never been passive spectators when our friends were in trouble and we never will be." Unfortunately, for many people it probably came as an enormous surprise. All too often the labor movement has been scorned as racist and reactionary, when, in fact, it has been the leading ally of the civil rights movement. Black Americans owe the labor movement a debt of gratitude for its assistance at this time of crisis.

We also owe an incalculable debt to the NAACP. The immediate crisis has passed, but the NAACP still needs contributions so that it can continue the fight for freedom and justice.

You can do your part by sending a contribution to the NAACP, 1790 Broadway,  
New York, New York 10019.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### WHITHER THE CITIES?

During the presidential debates there was almost no mention of the problems of the cities. This was not a tribute to the success of national urban policy. Nor was it an indication that the candidates had identical philosophies toward the cities. It was more a confession that neither candidate was confident that he had a program that would really do the job.

There is a widespread feeling that the cities are hopeless. Certainly city life has grown less pleasant and more burdensome in recent years. The financial crunch in New York and other cities has directly diminished the daily lives of millions. Services and facilities necessary to urban living have been cut back. In New York the public library is closed on weekends, in Detroit the school athletic program has been eliminated. Teacher-pupil ratios in many cities are so large that education is nearly impossible. The problems of unemployment, crime and decaying housing continue to grow worse.

Blacks have an immense stake in the fate of our cities and not simply because that is where many live. For if cities controlled politically by blacks fall apart, blacks will be blamed, unfairly, and the growth of black political influence will be slowed. The notion that the cities are doomed to further decline breeds a pervasive pessimism towards all social programs. Thus blacks have more than enough reasons to be part of a national crusade to save the cities.

It is important that the fatalism and defeatism about the cities be reversed. We must see the cities not as problems, but as a challenge. It is true that past programs and approaches have been inadequate. Some policies did not go far enough; others have proven counterproductive or ineffective. Still, not everything that was tried in the past failed. Nor is the future hopeless.

Some leading students of urban policy have concluded that the prospects for saving the cities are much brighter than is commonly thought.

It would be foolish to expect instant solutions to urban problems which have been building up over decades. But the recognition that the problems of the cities cannot be solved overnight may be the first step toward developing the type of long range programs that are needed. Neither despair nor wishful thinking will do the cities any good. Optimism about the possibility of progress and realism about the means of achieving it are what is required.

Immediately after the flourish of social experimentation in the sixties, it was frequently said that we needed to rethink the problems of the cities. Too often the rethinking turned out to be nothing more than an excuse for doing nothing. For the last eight years, our urban policy has seemed to consist of a hope that the cities would disappear. Nonetheless, the need to rethink the cities is still there and cannot be avoided merely because it was once used as a dodge.

Those who are committed most passionately to the cities, to the poor, and to the expansion of social justice must be willing to reexamine some of their conventional wisdom. For without the creative ideas that come from such a process of rethinking, it will be difficult to move urban policy off dead center, much less to know where we want to move it. The resources to aid the cities are limited, but the biggest shortage has been the lack of intelligence and imagination.

Some immediate steps must obviously be taken to give the cities some breathing space to deal with their more fundamental problems. The two most urgent measures needed are a healthy economy and a federal takeover of welfare.

But beyond these steps, we need a vision of what our cities can be, an understanding of the historical, social, and economic forces which have produced the urban crisis, and a plan for the recovery of our cities.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### A SWEET VICTORY

It has been almost eight years since black Americans have had a friend in the White House. Now, come January, we will have one in Jimmy Carter. Black progress, which was rapid throughout the sixties, but which has been halted since 1969, can now begin again.

There have been few elections in American history as close as the one just completed. In 14 states Carter and Ford were separated by less than two percent of the votes. Although the margin was small, Carter did defeat an incumbent president for only the eighth time in our history and the fourth time in this century. The election was a tremendous victory for Jimmy Carter, but he could not have done it alone.

In an extremely close election like this one, there are many groups without whom victory would have been transformed into defeat. But the two most important factors clearly were the labor movement and black voters. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and individual unions made their biggest effort ever. Labor's concerted election drive reversed the trend toward voter apathy and turned out a vote of several million more than expected. The strong vote of union members for Carter was a crucial part of his victory.

In state after state Carter's margin was provided by black voters. And this was true not only in the traditional swing states of the North, but also in such Southern states as Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida. The significance of the black vote was not simply that at least 80 percent and perhaps as many as 90 percent of blacks voted for Carter. It was the impressive black turnout which was really remarkable and which made the difference.

The large black turnout must have surprised those who underestimate the maturity and sophistication of the black voter. Unlike recent presidential contests there were no polarizing racial issues. The atmosphere of this election was more

A SWEET VICTORY  
November 4, 1976

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tranquil than 1968 or 1972. Although Ford displayed a lack of sensitivity in hesitating to fire Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz after his crude racial joke, his campaign did not attempt to stir up racial fears through the use of code words.

The absence of a racial issue tested the maturity and sophistication of black voters and permitted concentration on the real issues. The real issues in the campaign for blacks and for whites were economic--jobs, tax justice, and national health insurance. While it has been increasingly recognized that black progress depends more upon the overall condition of the national economy than on any other factor, some have doubted that black voters have the sophistication to turn out in large numbers in the absence of a clear-cut "black" issue. Those doubts were proven wrong on November 2. Blacks understood that Carter would be good for jobs and that Ford would be bad and they understood that this made all the difference between progress and continued stagnation.

With the election won, Carter must now turn his attention to leading the nation as President. The next four years will be a time of great challenge. Over ten million are unemployed. Our cities are in crisis. The nation has been drifting without purpose. It can be a period of renewed trust between the people and their government, a new opportunity to expand social justice.

Though still formidable, the barriers to equality and justice can be conquered by an intelligent and persistent attack. In that battle blacks will have a crucial role to play.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

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Immediately  
November 11, 1976

Rustin Column

### WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

After the ballots have been cast and the winner determined, there comes the analysis of the elections. Almost every election postscript has emphasized that black voters made the difference in Carter's election. But the deeper political significance of the election for blacks has yet to be fully digested. In 1976 black politics emerged from the ghetto. No longer willing to play a subsidiary role and with a clear perception of the requirements for progress, the black voter came of age.

An impressive black turnout in 1976 came despite the fact that Gerald Ford was not an anti-black candidate and despite the lack of a prospect for new breakthroughs by blacks into elected office. Black voters have clearly shown their potential to determine the outcome of elections. The black vote proved to be the margin of Carter's narrow victory in such key states as Missouri, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Maryland, South Carolina, and Florida. All in all the black vote may have provided the margin for as many as 219 of Carter's 297 electoral votes.

But if there is reason to be enthusiastic about the results there is also reason to be concerned. The Joint Center for Political Studies estimates that only about 43 percent of all blacks of voting age went to the polls, a significant drop from 1972. The only reason that the black vote was almost as large as four years ago was that a larger percentage of registered blacks voted. Even while we recognize the importance of the black vote in this election we must understand those forces which limit our political influence--and a low rate of black political participation is certainly among them.

The reasons for lower registration which has affected whites as well as blacks

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?  
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are complex. One factor is that the new Federal limitations on campaign spending made it difficult to get people excited enough about the elections to register. Early cutoff dates for registration then prevented many from registering when the election got into full swing.

Watergate and other scandals have been frequently cited as reasons for declining voter participation. While this has undoubtedly disillusioned some blacks, it is not a primary cause of lower black participation. The decline in black voter participation which began in 1970 has mirrored a stagnating economy that has meant the slowing or reversal of black progress.

Now that the power of the black vote through its size and strategic location has been demonstrated, there is good reason to hope that the black turnout will be better in the future. A primary condition for improving the black turnout is a healthy, growing economy and an administration which is sympathetic to blacks. There is now a potential to increase black political participation and power; the question is whether the potential will be realized.

The real measure of growing black political power is not the number of blacks elected to public office, though that is an important by-product. Rather it is the ability of black voters to shape national policies by electing candidates who are responsive to the economic needs that blacks share with other working Americans. Black voters recognize this, perhaps more clearly than some black politicians. In New York, black voters saw through peripheral issues and unfair allegations and voted for Daniel Patrick Moynihan, providing the margin to elect him to the Senate. Over 80 percent of blacks voted for Moynihan, even though he was not endorsed by the Council of Black Elected Officials, because they knew Moynihan was a domestic liberal with a commitment to helping the poor.

Only a political strategy which is national in scope, which reflects the political maturity of black Americans, and which recognizes the preeminence of economic issues can take full advantage of the new opportunities created by the election of Jimmy Carter.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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### OBITUARY FOR THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY

The South has been a key battleground in national politics in the last decade. After his election Richard Nixon developed a Southern Strategy designed to provide the political base for an emerging and permanent Republican majority. The thesis of Nixon's strategy was that dissatisfied Southern whites could be won over to the Republican party with veiled and, if necessary, open appeals to segregationism and that racial hatred and fear could turn the New Deal Southern whites into conservatives. From this there would eventually emerge a politically solid South--only now committed to the Republican party. Ever since Eisenhower had carried parts of the South the Republicans had been searching for an opportunity to take advantage of the decline of the old one-party South. But with the nomination of Barry Goldwater they increasingly abandoned the option of building a moderate, urban-based, forward-looking party that could attract important numbers of black voters. Instead the base of the Republican party in the South became converted Dixiecrats.

It was in Tennessee that Nixon's Southern Strategy had its greatest success. At their highpoint the state's Republicans held the two Senate seats, the Governor, and four of the nine Congressmen. The great battle of the Southern Strategy was in 1970 when Republicans launched a hard-hitting campaign against three-term incumbent liberal-populist Senator Albert Gore. Agnew and Nixon campaigned for Republican Congressman Bill Brock. Gore, one of the most effective spokesmen for the little man against the big interests, was painted as a radical liberal and a tool of outside interests. Brock was narrowly elected and became a leading light of the conservative wing of the Republican party, generally considered to be a potential presidential or vice-presidential nominee.

The Southern Strategy won some notable victories for the Republicans.



After the 1972 election they held nearly a third of the House seats in the region. But this strategy soon reached its limit. Nowhere was this more evident than in Tennessee. Not only did Carter carry the state by a comfortable margin, but Albert Gore's old seat was reclaimed from Bill Brock by a young Nashville attorney Jim Sasser. And with poetic justice, Albert Gore, Jr. was elected to the House seat once held by his father. Black voters played a key role in both these elections, but the important development is the strength of multi-racial coalitions throughout the South. Black Congressman Harold Ford of Memphis, who won by only 800 votes in 1974, was elected by a comfortable margin. Race did not become a pivotal issue in this district that is almost evenly split between blacks and whites, and Ford dramatically increased the percentage of the white vote he received.

Some Republicans will contend that the only reason for the failure of their Southern Strategy was the fact that Jimmy Carter is a Southerner. While Carter's roots did win some votes that a Northern Democrat would not have gotten, that is not the complete story. The Republicans based their strategy on the idea that the South was a rigid and unchanging area. They cast their lot with the Old South, hoping only to change the party label.

But a New South was in creation under the combined impact of urbanization, industrialization, and the civil rights movement. A new school of Southern politicians--moderate and concerned with human rights--grew to maturity. The labor movements of the South, although they still face tremendous difficulties, are imbued with a dynamism and a sense of social responsibility that is tremendously encouraging. It is no longer so easy to divide white and black workers. Although a majority of Southern whites voted for Ford, a majority of union members voted for Carter.

The election of progressive candidates like Jimmy Carter, Jim Sasser, and Albert Gore, Jr. pays tribute to the courage, decency, and faith of men like Albert Gore, who opposed segregation when it was exceedingly unpopular. The South will never again be a one-party region. Conservative Republicans will continue to challenge moderate Democrats. But one cannot help but feel that the Old South of segregation, despair, and backwardness is being eclipsed by a New South of racial equality and social justice.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### BLACKS AND COLLEGE

It is no secret that minority admissions programs are being questioned. But it is sometimes forgotten that the value and usefulness of college is being questioned as well. Ten years ago education was being criticized for failing to meet the needs of black students. Today education is being attacked as failing to do its job. The debate about the role and effectiveness of education could well have a greater impact on black Americans than the fate of minority admissions programs.

The attacks on education have been concentrated on the value of going to college. It no longer pays to go to college, some are saying, so there is no reason to hold out the dream of free or inexpensive college education. There is an element of truth in this argument, but it has been overstated. The rapid expansion of college attendance could not continue at the same rate as it did through the sixties. But there is no doubt that many young people are being misled about their opportunities and are not going to college when they should. More tragically, the possibility of a declining economic benefit from college has been used to justify increased tuition and plans for more unequal college systems. The attacks upon college could well lead to lower budgets for education at every level and a lack of enthusiasm for needed reforms.

The percentage of American young people going to college has been declining since 1970, but the proportion of blacks has been increasing. The proportion of college students who are black has more than doubled since 1964 from 5 percent to nearly 10 percent. Black high school graduates now go on to post-high school education at a rate approaching that of whites. Gains at the graduate and professional levels are smaller but follow the same pattern.

The picture is not quite so bright as these figures would seem to indicate.

Blacks got only 5.3 percent of the bachelor's degrees awarded in 1974. Blacks are disproportionately represented in community colleges and the less selective four-year institutions. The rate of black college students who do not finish their degree is half again as high as that of whites. Because the high school drop out rate is so high, the percentage of college age blacks getting some form of higher education has improved little.

Throughout the sixties the emphasis was on increasing the number of blacks who went to college by whatever means were available. This strategy had remarkable success but its very success created problems and the approach had inherent limitations. It did little good to get black students into colleges if they were not prepared to succeed. Most did extremely well, but too many were handicapped by poor high school educations. Remedial education at the college level can overcome some of this, but it can't do the job alone. Improving the level of high school instruction would be a more productive course. Progress in the future will depend upon increasing the number of qualified black students and enhancing the qualifications of those who are potential college students. The issue is becoming less one of access to education and more one of the quality of education.

The success of black students at college can only be improved by a total perspective on the American education system. Improving college opportunities for blacks cannot be considered in isolation. The false allegation that the increasing number of black students is responsible for a deterioration of academic standards is the most obvious example. It points up the formidable social tensions which are involved and which blacks must confront intelligently and responsibly. Higher tuition coupled with more generous aid programs for low-income students has put a squeeze on middle-income and working class families. As these families see the opportunity for their children to advance through a college education being blocked, there is always a danger that they will blame blacks.

But this need not happen. The fundamental interests of blacks and working class whites have much in common in this as in other areas. Blacks and working-class whites both have an interest in improving the level of education in high schools. This is crucial not only for college-bound students, but for youth who will go directly to work. They have a common interest in preventing the development of a rigid, stratified college system in which access to the out-

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standing public universities is substantially limited to the children of the wealthy, while black and working class students are restricted to community colleges that are little more than educational ghettos. They have a common interest in working for an education system in which young people are truly free to choose to go to college or not, according to their talents and tastes and are not forced to make their decisions on the basis of the income and wealth of their families.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### YOUNG AND HARRIS: TWO GREAT CHOICES

The appointment of two extremely well-qualified blacks, Andy Young and Patricia Harris, to cabinet level posts by President-elect Carter is a welcome development. Neither Young nor Mrs. Harris are flamboyant, charismatic figures. They have gotten where they are by hard work, dedication, and a genuine commitment to public service. They have earned their offices by records of excellence.

Patricia Harris comes to the Department of Housing and Urban Development from an impressive career in law and as a public servant. She has a record of responsible activism that is most impressive. In her student days she participated in a sit-in at a Washington white-only cafeteria. As a lawyer, Democratic party official, and public servant she has demonstrated competence, firmness, and courage. She has never been afraid to take <sup>an</sup> unpopular position. Less than a month after becoming Dean of the Howard Law School in 1969 Mrs. Harris resigned rather than yield to the rash demands of students who would have undermined the educational excellence of the school. In the Democratic Party she showed she knew how to be tough in political in-fighting.

Some have described her new job as less important than the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary of State. Mrs. Harris gave an apt response to this view when she rejected the view that "the agencies that deal with the immediate needs of individual human beings are agencies which somehow rank below those which are concerned with more arcane problems...." If anything is going to be done about the cities, the ideas will have <sup>to</sup> come from her department. The problems of the cities are likely to emerge as the central domestic issue of the next decade. Mrs. Harris has the personal qualities of toughness and dedication which are needed to tackle the enormous task of revitalizing America's cities.

Congressman Andy Young joins the select and prestigious list of Americans

who have served as Ambassador to the United Nations. His is not the usual background for a diplomatic post, but perhaps it is a better one. He worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and in 1972 was elected to the House of Representatives from a district that is 56 percent white. He became an effective member of Congress and in 1976 emerged as one of the key figures in Jimmy Carter's drive for the Presidency. He has given up a safe House seat and a path that would have made him an increasingly influential member of Congress for new challenges and responsibilities.

Young's appointment is a recognition that the values which have guided the civil rights movement are the values of America when it is at its best. Those principles--democracy, equality, justice, and peaceful change--clearly need to be applied on the global level. The vision which animated the civil rights movement cannot be contained in one geographical entity, nor can it take a back seat to power politics. It is to be hoped that Young will not only work for majority rule in southern Africa and a more equitable world economy, but that he will also become a vigorous spokesman for human rights throughout the world. The too often cynical and manipulative world of the United Nations cannot help but benefit from the presence and example of a real human rights activist.

Andy Young and Patricia Harris will serve in critical posts which require the maximum of creativity, determination, and principle. President-elect Carter is to be commended for appointing individuals whose abilities and convictions match the demands of their offices. The nation is fortunate to have their services.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### THE NEW LABOR SECRETARY: A SIGN FROM CARTER

Few tasks facing the Carter administration are more urgent than attacking unemployment, especially as it affects minorities. Eight years of Republican rule have left a tragic legacy of millions unemployed. A stagnating economy has halted, if not reversed, the black progress that was so rapid during the 1960s.

We do not yet know the exact shape of Carter's program, but he has selected a fairly liberal cabinet and can be expected to follow an expansionary economic policy. One cabinet department, Labor, will play a crucial role in any effective strategy to attack unemployment. The experience of the last fifteen years demonstrates that full employment without inflation cannot be achieved unless, besides other steps, there are selective programs to employ the young, train the unskilled, combat discrimination, and promote the development of lagging regions and areas.

Fortunately, in Ray Marshall, Carter has made an excellent selection for his Secretary of Labor. Marshall is among the nation's outstanding manpower economists. He has won the admiration and respect of nearly everyone he has worked with. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has rightly described him as one of the few American professors who understands working people.

Unlike many academic experts, Marshall knows poverty first hand. He grew up in an orphanage in Mississippi and entered college under the G.I. Bill. After getting his doctorate in economics, he returned to the South and stayed there despite lucrative job offers from prestigious universities. During the late 1950's and early '60's he was an outspoken champion of integration when that was not a popular position to take in Southern universities. Marshall has a deep and abiding commitment to developing programs to uplift the poor and disadvantaged.

Marshall may become one of Carter's chief economic advisors. The kind of advice that Marshall will give the new President was indicated in his testimony

on the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress in mid-1976. He stated that it is mistaken to believe that full employment will necessarily lead to intolerable levels of inflation. "The best attack on inflation," he declared, "is to increase output and efficiency through fully utilizing the nation's productive potential." The most effective way in Marshall's view of overcoming our most serious social and economic problems is to improve the quantity and quality of jobs available to the poor and near-poor.

Marshall has been a leading figure in developing programs and approaches to increase minority employment in the construction industry. We can expect this to be one of his major priorities as Secretary of Labor. In his opinion a major obstacle to increasing minority employment in the construction trades is the high level of cyclical and seasonal unemployment--there are two construction workers for every job. A scarcity of jobs places the interests of employed white workers in direct opposition to those of minorities seeking to enter the industry, thus slowing minority economic advancement. In a recent study Marshall concluded that a high level of national employment is among the "essential measures for achieving racial equity in the construction industry."

Marshall recognizes the complexity of the construction industry and warns of the limited effectiveness of legal approaches or quota schemes, such as the Philadelphia plan, as the main instruments to promote real and lasting integration. Those who thought union racism was entirely at fault "assumed that there were many qualified blacks available for employment and they could easily be recruited. This proved untrue." The primary market for union construction is commercial and industrial building which demands high levels of skills and training. Consequently, the most effective approach, and one that is supported by the labor movement, is apprenticeship outreach. According to Marshall outreach programs, particularly the Recruitment and Training Program, have been /successful in increasing the number and proportion of minorities in the skilled crafts with a minimum of conflict. Today, as a result, twenty percent of construction union apprentices are minorities.

Because Marshall enjoys the confidence of both labor and blacks he may be able to put together a program that both can support. The central element of such a program would be the need to create more jobs, while continuing to increase the effort to open more opportunities for minorities.

Ray Marshall will be an active and creative Labor Secretary. His presence in the cabinet is a welcome sign that the Carter administration intends to take vigorous action to create more and better jobs.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### "IPI TOMBI": A QUESTION OF FREEDOM

The proper relationship between art and politics created a controversy recently in New York with the opening of "Ipi Tombi," a musical featuring black singers and dancers from South Africa. Shortly before it opened, a protest committee called for a boycott of the play alleging that it supported apartheid and that the cast members were exploited. Some of the people who picketed "Ipi Tombi" no doubt sincerely believed that their actions were constructive, but their behavior was actually destructive to the artists, to the theater, and to the cause of freedom in South Africa.

I have long opposed the repressive regime of South Africa. More than twenty-five years ago, I was one of the founding members of the Committee for South African Resistance, which later became today's American Committee on Africa. I worked in Africa with Azikiwe in Nigeria, Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Tanzania, and Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia during the liberation struggles in those countries. It is my desire to do anything I can for the freedom of all peoples in southern Africa that caused me to be concerned about the implications of this protest.

The organizers of the protest made a number of charges that on examination proved to be untrue. They charged that the salaries the dancers and singers received in London and New York are exploitative. Frederick O'Neal, president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, investigated the charge and found that the salaries were correct according to union regulations. The actors in the New York company are receiving Actors' Equity road scale, \$395 a week, far more than they could ever hope to make in South Africa.

It was also alleged that the South African government is sponsoring the show. In fact, "Ipi Tombi" is an independent production and has no financial or other connection with the South African government. Surely, the Nigerian National

"IPI TOMBI": A QUESTION OF FREEDOM  
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Theater, which invited the show to perform in Lagos, would not have done so if the play was sponsored by the South African government.

Another charge was that the contents of the play are humiliating as they show Africans as happy-go-lucky children uninterested in dignity and freedom. The people who have made this charge, so far as I can tell, have not seen the play. I was deeply touched by the play's sensitive portrayal of conditions in the mines, menial work, the separation of families, the lack of opportunities, the difficulties that accompany urbanization, the longing for home, and the concern for helping young people cope with the lot of blacks in South Africa. Several songs were banned from the play when it was performed in South Africa precisely because they realistically portray the situation of blacks.

The nature of the protest was clearly shown when it continued even after these facts were known and after the New York cast rebuked the protest. The issues involved apparently had less to do with South Africa than with the fundamental issues of free speech and artistic freedom. The real objection of the protesters was that any play that does not explicitly and clearly condemn South Africa should not be performed. This thinking not only represents an attack on the theater, but also reveals a double standard on the part of a large number of people picketing--a number of whom I know. They praised "Porgy and Bess," which certainly did not address itself to the tragic condition of blacks living in the South at the time of its creation. Those who attacked the play for being non-political have set themselves up as censors. They would turn upside down the censorship of the South African government in order to replace it not with free expression, but with their own version of censorship. They would reduce theater from art to propaganda--a development all who support freedom should abhor.

Finally, it was said that even if all the other charges are untrue that the musical somehow supports South Africa's racial policies merely because it comes from South Africa. I fail to understand how depriving men and women from South Africa of the right to earn a living can do anything but reinforce the apartheid policy. That "Ipi Tombi" has won critical acclaim and financial success around the world seems to me to be a blow against apartheid. The play's performance before integrated audiences in New York will contribute to the self-confidence and determination to resist apartheid of blacks in South Africa. The health and vitality of the culture of black South Africans should be as much our concern as the more directly political struggle. I believe that "Ipi Tombi,"

"IPI TOMBI": A QUESTION OF FREEDOM  
January 20, 1977

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because it is a healthy, positive, and honest expression of that culture, is also a statement for freedom and dignity.

The protest against "Ipi Tombi" was misguided, misinformed, and mistaken. It has done nothing to aid the cause of black South Africans. I can understand the sense of urgency and commitment that involved some in the protest, but freedom nowhere--neither here nor in South Africa--can be advanced by the undemocratic methods and attitudes employed against "Ipi Tombi."

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For Release:

**Immediately**  
**February 3, 1977**

For further information, contact:

**Rustin Column**

### THE SUPREME COURT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The era that began with the 1954 Brown decision, which declared segregated schools unconstitutional, has ended. No longer can the civil rights movement count on favorable decisions from the Supreme Court. Transformed by the appointments made by Richard Nixon, the court, under Chief Justice Warren Burger, has established a new trend that breaks sharply with its earlier course when it led the nation in fighting racial discrimination.

For some time the court has been handing down rulings that some experts believe would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to win many of the landmark civil rights cases of the 1950s and 1960s. Though the rulings have often been procedural or technical and have even come in some cases which had nothing to do with racial or sexual discrimination, their implications are deeply disturbing to civil rights activists. What the court has done is three-fold. First, it has made it harder to bring suits on behalf of a class composed of all others in a similar situation--a technique that is frequently necessary to remedy civil rights violations. Second, those who get into court may find that they don't have a legitimate claim of discrimination. The Burger court has given a narrow interpretation to federal civil rights laws and the Constitution's guarantees of equal protection. Finally, the court is now stressing the need for proof that there was an actual discriminatory "intent" or "purpose" as opposed to clear proof of discriminatory "impact."

In January, the Court applied the "intent" ruling to a case challenging exclusionary suburban zoning. The court said that it was not inherently unconstitutional to refuse to change zoning regulations whose real effect is to block racially integrated housing. According to the court's reasoning, for such discrimination to be unconstitutional, there would have to be proof of intention

to discriminate. Regardless of the motives in this particular case, there can be no doubt that many suburbs have deliberately manipulated zoning regulations to keep blacks out. They have now been encouraged to believe that it is safe to continue discriminatory zoning because it will be difficult, if not impossible, to prove an intention to discriminate. The court decision has created additional barriers for those who are working to achieve racially integrated housing patterns.

As the zoning decision indicates, it is becoming increasingly improbable that new and significant civil rights victories can be won in the courts. Indeed, where court decisions make a difference to racial progress they are more likely to have a negative impact. The great judicial and legislative victories of the 1950s and 1960s will not be overturned, but new court decisions are likely to protect existing patterns of inequality and privilege. The question is no longer whether litigation or political action offers the best avenue to progress for black Americans. Rather it is how the black community and others committed to a just society will react to a new and troubling situation. Will defeats or lack of progress in the legal sphere lead to political defeatism, apathy, and despair? Or will a clear political strategy, as sophisticated as the legal strategies that won the great victories in the courts, be able to bring renewed vitality to the civil rights movement?

The adverse turn taken by the Supreme Court does not mean that racial progress must come to an end. For a long time, the important victories of the civil rights movement have not been dependent upon judicial decisions. The civil rights legislation of the sixties was a political victory, as was the economic progress that resulted from the Great Society programs. Although the legal protection of rights remains essential, the most important needs of blacks today cannot be won in the courts. No court decision can guarantee full employment, rebuild the cities, or establish effective job training for unemployed youth.

The retreat of the Supreme Court from civil rights activism emphasizes more than ever the necessity of politics if we are to reach our goals.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
February 17, 1977

Rustin Column

### THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

Economics has been much in the news lately--from the energy crisis to President Carter's economic package. We appear to be entering an era of renewed debate and discussion on economic policy that is sure to bring both new uncertainties and new challenges. Although President Carter's economic stimulation program is the immediate focus of discussion, it is also possible to discern a much broader and more fundamental discussion developing.

Like many others I was disappointed in the size and composition of Carter's recovery program. But our disappointment should not obscure the fact that the Carter program is a positive step that would not have been proposed if Gerald Ford had been re-elected. Moreover, it raises the hope that more vigorous action will be taken in the future. Even if the Carter program accomplishes its modest objectives, there are a large number of crucial decisions having more to do with the fundamental nature of our economy than with short term objectives, which will have to be made in the years ahead. Most obviously, even spokesmen for the Carter administration admit that their recently proposed stimulus package will not be sufficient to produce genuine full employment. A concerted and comprehensive program to reduce joblessness to really low levels still remains to be developed. Moreover, such difficult problems as poverty, inner city deterioration, concentration of wealth and economic power, genuine tax reform, national health insurance, and energy policy must be faced.

The Carter administration has been given advice from a number of directions. Prominent business leaders met with Carter several times before his inauguration and have not hesitated to make their views known since. The AFL-CIO has characterized the Carter program as a retreat from his campaign promises and proposed an

alternative program of direct job creation that would provide an additional two million jobs. Labor's program has received the support of a number of black leaders. Sadly, there has been no coherent program emerging from the liberal community. Although many liberals were less than satisfied with Carter's program, they have hesitated to criticize a president of their own party.

Because the Carter administration, however inadequate its initial program, is committed to full employment and because of the stubbornness of economic problems a discussion of fundamental economic issues is shaping up. Blacks are not yet contributing to the debate in the way that we need to be. Traditionally, blacks have been in the position of simply demanding more. Many of us have had neither the time nor the expertise to develop theoretical and abstract understandings of the economy. Still, the gut feeling blacks share with most working people that unemployment is wrong and that society can achieve full employment is more economic wisdom than possessed by many economists. But to translate this superior vision into reality requires greater attention to detail.

Thus, the question today is becoming more one of how we are to get more. What instruments and policies are needed to reach our goals? By what criteria do we measure progress? Some may understandably fear that attempting to gain a more sophisticated approach to economic issues in the black community will detract from the strength and effectiveness of our demands for a fair share in the economy. However, we can ignore the large economic issues only at our own peril. The black demand for more runs head on into the fashionable talk about the limits of growth. Many one-time supporters of civil rights now endorse the proposition that we no longer need economic growth without bothering to examine the effect of no growth on the economic progress of black Americans. The fear of inflation continues to be a major barrier against the achievement of full employment. The solution finally adopted to the energy crisis will have a profound effect on the future progress of black Americans.

We have no need to fear the complexity of the economic question. Blacks have moved in recent years from a reliance on protest to the development of political power. Now that growing political power must be translated into programmatic politics.

Blacks have a tremendous stake in mastering the full range of economic issues. Otherwise, there is a great danger that bold and innovative proposals

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will be resisted because they clash with established ways of doing things and an opposite risk that some may be attracted to gimmicks and non-solutions out of a desperate desire to see change. While we cannot wait until we have all the answers to economic problems to take steps toward full employment, we will not get full employment until many of the difficult economic questions are answered.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

Immediately  
February 23, 1977

For further information, contact:

Patricia Jones

### BLACK LEADERS BLAST AMIN

Eight American leaders have denounced Ugandan President Idi Amin in a letter published in the February 23 New York Times. They declared that they were "outraged by the violations of human rights and the murders committed by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. Neither the character nor quality of oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks."

The letter described Amin's six-year rule in Uganda as "a series of savage incidents demonstrating a total contempt for human life." It cited estimates that from 50,000 to 300,000 Ugandans have been killed by Amin's murder squads. The black leaders wrote that, "No one should believe that in criticizing Amin they are criticizing black Africa. The leading statesmen of Africa have denounced his atrocities. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has called him a 'murderer,' while President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has termed him a 'racialist.'"

The black leaders closed with the appeal that "All Americans, black and white, should join in vigorously condemning Amin's reign of terror and should do whatever is possible to defend his victims--hundreds of whom are exiles living in the United States."

The letter was signed by Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Vernon Jordan, Executive Director, National Urban League; Eleanor Holmes Norton, N.Y.C. Commissioner of Human Rights; Frederick O'Neal, President Associated Actors and Artistes; William Pollard, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; A. Philip Randolph, President Emeritus, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Director of the 1963 March on Washington; Bayard Rustin, President, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, N.A.A.C.P.:

The letter follows the arrest and death last week of Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum of Uganda. The suspicious circumstances surrounding his death

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have caused most observers to doubt the Ugandan government's claim that the death was accidental. Church and other groups have called for an investigation of the Archbishop's death, while newspapers in neighboring Tanzania have reported that, while being tortured, the Archbishop was murdered by Amin.

Andrew Young American Ambassador to the United Nations, in a press conference on February 17, said that the assassination of the Anglican Archbishop "has to be condemned in the court of world opinion and public opinion, and those malicious and sadistic elements in every society need to be confronted, and people of goodwill within every society, including South Africa and Uganda, need to be encouraged."

In describing the purpose of the letter, Bayard Rustin said, "No service is done for the freedom movements of Africa nor for the freedom of Africa's independent states by failing to criticize injustice wherever it occurs. As part of the world-wide outcry against the barbarism of Amin's regime, this letter expresses the shock and anguish which I am sure is felt by every American."

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH PRESS LIST  
FROM: STUART ELLIOTT  
RE: MARCH 3 COLUMN ON IDI AMIN

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The March 3 news release containing the Rustin column "Amin's Reign of Terror" had a major typographical error. On page 3, line 2 it referred to the "United States Human Rights Commission" when it should have read the "United Nations Human Rights Commission."

We apologize for this error.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
March 3, 1977

Rustin Column

### AMIN'S REIGN OF TERROR

To be silent about the tragedy in Uganda would be to betray our principles, our values, and ourselves. On February 23 a letter to the editor appeared in the New York Times from eight black leaders condemning "Amin's reign of terror."

The letter was signed by Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, Eleanor Holmes Norton of the N.Y. City Human Rights Commission, Frederick O'Neal of the Associated Actors and artistes, William Pollard of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, A. Philip Randolph, President Emeritus of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, and myself.

We wrote that we were "outraged by the violations of human rights and the murders committed by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. Neither the character nor the quality of oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks."

The letter expressed our deep anguish and concern. We pointed out that Amin's six-year rule has been a series of savage incidents demonstrating a total contempt for human life. But in February a new chapter of cruelty and barbarism began. In his first press conference at the United Nations, Ambassador Andrew Young, to his credit, denounced the assassination of an Anglican archbishop and two members of the Ugandan cabinet as "sadistic and malicious acts that need to be condemned." Later, the Tanzanian Daily News reported that the archbishop, after being tortured, was killed by Amin himself.

The full horror of Amin's rule in Uganda has only slowly and belatedly been fully revealed. It is sometimes easy to mistake a madman for a buffoon, but there can be no doubt that Amin is the former and not the latter. In 1972 Amin gave the 80,000 Asians living in Uganda three months to get out of the country,

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including those who held Ugandan citizenship. What he has done since is even more outrageous. He has systematically persecuted the country's Christians, who make up eighty percent of Uganda's population. It is estimated that from 50,000 to 300,000 Ugandans have been killed by Amin's murder squads. Thousands of Ugandans are in prison and tens of thousands have flown to other African nations, Europe, and the United States. The country's chief justice, a former Prime Minister, was dragged from his courtroom by Amin's gunmen and has not been seen since. And he was not the only prominent Ugandan to meet that end. Every barrier that might have protected Ugandans from the abuses and crimes of Amin has been destroyed. The social, political, and economic structure of Uganda has been shattered.

During the 1950s and early 1960s I worked in four liberation movements in Africa, so I have no hesitation in declaring that Amin's rule in Uganda is a gross betrayal of Africa's struggle against colonialism, injustice, and oppression. To suppose that criticizing Amin is also to criticize black Africa would defile the lofty principles that guided the movements for national independence. Leading African statesmen have denounced Amin's atrocities. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has called him "a murderer," while President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has termed him "a racist." A Kenyan government radio broadcast in July 1976 declared that "it is a pity that the peace loving people of Uganda should now find themselves under the world's greatest dictator in modern history."

Any notion that Amin's crimes are to any degree excusable because he is black can only harm the moral and political cause of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and minority rule in Rhodesia. Violations of human rights in Uganda do not justify those in South Africa and Rhodesia. Ian Smith does not justify Idi Amin. Oppression and injustice must be opposed wherever it occurs if freedom and human dignity are to flourish anywhere.

While American and world attention was focused on the fate of the two hundred Americans Amin had ordered to stay in Uganda, he, a Muslim, was launching a purge of thousands of predominantly Christian Lango and Acholi tribesmen in Uganda's army, airforce, police forces, and prison forces. Thousands of tribesmen have been massacred and hundreds of students from those tribes have been arrested in Kampala.

We are thankful that the Americans have escaped harm, but innocent people

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continue to be killed in Uganda, while many of the world's leaders remain silent. The United States Human Rights Commission has rejected a British proposal for an investigation of the entire human rights situation in Uganda. Black people especially must understand the harmful effect this will have on our efforts to build a world-wide moral crusade against the terrible oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia. The cowardice and cynicism of diplomats must not be allowed to erode our indignation at violations of human rights anywhere in the world. All Americans, black and white, who are dedicated to human rights and freedom, must join in condemning Amin's reign of terror and must do whatever is possible to defend his victims, many of whom are refugees in the United States.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010.

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
March 17, 1977

Rustin Column

### THE HUMAN RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The new spirit in the foreign policy of Jimmy Carter is the focus that has been placed on human rights. The administration's initiatives in defending dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and expressions of concern over human rights violations in Uganda, South Africa, and elsewhere are encouraging signs to those who live in free societies and to those who are suffering from dictatorship and oppression.

Although Carter's statements are important, the most crucial impetus for the cause of human rights is a growing world-wide movement that insists that international affairs should be judged by their impact on human beings and not by the changing power relationships and ambitions of states. The key issue involved is a simple one. There are internationally recognized human rights which have been defined in various international agreements. Not only can it be said that morally there are no internal affairs left anywhere on earth, but it is also true that the basic human rights now bear the protection of international law. The small and persecuted human rights groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have courageously called for the full implementation of those rights. Their determination may mean that international politics will never be the same again.

This human rights revolution derives its strength not only from the extraordinary heroism and courage of the human rights advocates in totalitarian and authoritarian countries but also from the sympathy and concern of democratic world opinion. Without the support of those of us who enjoy the advantages of democracy, the sacrifices of brave figures like Andrei Sakharov would be futile.

There are some who say an emphasis on human rights, whether expressed by governments or private individuals, is ineffective. While our statements of concern do not guarantee change, humanity compels us to protest. Moreover, our

statements can make a difference. If the world had cynically accepted Indira Gandhi's imposition of dictatorship, there would have been no prospect for a return to democracy. But there were protests in Western Europe and the United States and Mrs. Gandhi has removed the state of emergency and elections have recently been held.

Others warn that human rights advocacy threatens world peace. But one has to ask what kind of world we will have if dictators continue to believe that they can violate basic human rights with impunity. There is little prospect that dangerous world problems can be peacefully resolved unless human rights are more widely respected.

The protest of the dictators that violations of human rights are purely internal affairs sounds strikingly familiar to American blacks. It is exactly the same argument that we heard twenty and thirty years ago from segregationists who said that race relations were a Southern matter.

The great odds against which the dissidents in the Communist countries must struggle merely to survive is a vivid reminder of the value of even an imperfect democracy. The civil rights movement in the United States was able to achieve remarkable progress in a comparatively short period. Such far-reaching changes are virtually impossible under dictatorships.

The infatuation with the Third World as an ideal has faded because the systematic and often brutal violations of human rights in so many of the third world countries is becoming increasingly well-known. The savagery and cruelty of Idi Amin's rule is among the most extreme, but unfortunately it is not unique. It would be a bitter and cruel hoax to pretend that ignoring human rights violations or apologizing for them does anything to help the people of the developing countries.

There are both historical and philosophical connections between the American civil rights movement and the international human rights movement. Both movements have demanded that human rights must be observed in practice if they are to have any meaning. If we are to be true to the principles that have guided the black struggle for equality and justice, every struggle for human rights, whether in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, or South Africa, must also be our struggle.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For further information, contact:

For Release:

Immediately  
March 31, 1977

Rustin Column

### BLACKS SHOULD SUPPORT STEVENS BOYCOTT

The boycott of the J.P. Stevens Company by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union deserves the enthusiastic support of black Americans. Stevens, the nation's second largest textile manufacturer with 89 plants in the South, has violated labor laws, while exploiting its workers through low wages, poor working conditions, arbitrary firings, and dangerous health and safety conditions. The boycott, which has already been launched in 35 cities has attracted the support of key civil rights, church, and community leaders.

Having suffered so grievously from injustice, blacks are sympathetic to the plight of the Stevens workers. Practical considerations and moral values require that that sympathy be translated into active concern and support.

Although the connection might not seem apparent at first, the effort to organize workers in the South is a continuation of the civil rights struggle. A large number of workers at Stevens and the other textile plants in the South are black--an estimated 20 percent of the 700,000 textile workers in the region. Until these workers are represented by unions, their chances for economic advancement will be poor. Like many companies in the South, Stevens continues to discriminate. In December 1975, a federal judge ruled that Stevens was guilty of hiring on the basis of race, reserving clerical jobs for white employees, discrimination against blacks in job assignments, discrimination in lay-offs and recalls, and other discriminatory employment practices. The judge discovered that blacks with ten years seniority were making less than whites with only two years seniority, while blacks with a twelfth grade education were paid less than whites with a third grade education.

Blacks have a profound interest in a strong labor movement. Unions are capable of uplifting hundreds of thousands of black Americans from poverty to

BLACKS SHOULD SUPPORT STEVENS BOYCOTT  
March 31, 1977

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achieve a measure of economic dignity and security. The labor movement has been the major ally of the civil rights movement in passing legislation. Moreover, labor has an economic and legislative program that addresses the needs of black Americans, of the poor, and of working people. If the boycott of J. P. Stevens is successful, then the coalition for economic and social justice will be strengthened in all its dimensions.

An influential and effective labor movement in the South is an essential precondition to completing the social transformation begun by the civil rights movement. When blacks and whites work together in the same union old attitudes of suspicion and distrust are replaced by a new spirit of cooperation, understanding, and mutual commitment to social justice. By decreasing the poverty of blacks and poor whites, unions can put an end to the economic rivalry which lies at the roots of so much of the South's racial tensions.

Like the civil rights movement, the workers at the J.P. Stevens plants, as well as other workers in the South, are dependent upon the support of public opinion if they are to gain justice. A Federal Court of Appeals ruling said that Stevens "has initiated and pursued a pattern of conduct the purpose of which was to crush the union movement...." Stevens has exploited weaknesses in the nation's labor laws to create a climate of fear that makes it impossible to hold fair elections to determine whether the workers want to be represented by a union. In the one instance where a strict court ruling partially restrained the company's anti-union activities, 3500 workers in seven plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C. voted for union representation. But Stevens has refused to bargain in good faith. As a result the workers called for a public support for a campaign against the company to stop its law violations. The labor movement responded by launching a massive consumer boycott designed to awaken J.P. Stevens to its obligation to stop coercing and threatening its workers, to end its climate of fear so that fair elections can be held, and to bargain in good faith when its workers vote to bargain collectively through a union of their own choice.

Only by mobilizing the concern of people all over the country in support of the boycott of J.P. Stevens can a start be made to bringing economic and social justice to the working people of the South, both black and white. Supporting the boycott should become a central element in the struggle of black Americans to achieve full equality.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
April 14, 1977

Rustin Column

### INCREASE THE MINIMUM WAGE

America's lowest-paid workers need a fair minimum wage. This is the message of a coalition headed by Clarence Mitchell of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Dorothy Height, President of the National Council of Negro Women, AFL-CIO President George Meany, and Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University and a former Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

It has always been the case that even presidents who are sympathetic to social reforms are never sympathetic enough unless there are some outside forces pushing them in the right direction. The formation of the Coalition for a Fair Minimum Wage recognizes this fact. It makes it clear that blacks, labor, and others committed to social justice are not going to be satisfied merely with good appointments and rhetoric from the new administration. We want and need concrete actions.

The fight for a fair minimum wage faces an uphill battle. Business groups and conservatives are as strongly opposed to an increase in the minimum wage as they were to the first minimum wage of 25 cents an hour back in 1937. So this would be a tough fight under any circumstances. But to make matters worse, it is going to be more difficult to mobilize the broad coalition that once worked for so much important social legislation. Too many people of liberal inclinations have been taken in by the spurious argument that an increase in the minimum wage would increase inflation and harm the poor.

Of course, the perpetrators of the arguments against an increase in the minimum wage have never been noted for their support of the poor or civil rights. It is doubtful that they have suddenly been converted to a more enlightened view. Despite all the claims of the minimum-wage opponents there is no credible evidence that any of the past increases in the minimum wage have caused increases in unemployment. There is no reason to think that it would be different this time.

INCREASE THE MINIMUM WAGE  
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Nor is the minimum wage increase likely to cause inflation. The truth is that when labor is cheap, it is usually employed wastefully. In fact, studies by the Department of Labor and other experts have concluded that minimum wage increases have provided widespread benefits for the economy as a whole and substantial gains for those at the lowest-end of the wage scale.

The case for an increase in the minimum wage is as convincing as the arguments against it are weak. The estimated 3 million workers now being paid the \$2.30 federal minimum wage are receiving 61 cents an hour less than would be needed to reach the family poverty cutoff level. An additional 5 million workers earn only a little more than the minimum wage. It would take a minimum wage increase of at least 53 cents just to restore the buying power lost to inflation since 1974, when the minimum wage law was last amended.

The Carter administration has advocated an increase in the minimum wage, but not nearly a big enough increase. Their proposal to raise the wage floor a mere 20 cents and in the future tie it to 50 per cent of the average wage level is inadequate and unfair. It would lock the lowest-paid workers into a poverty-wage for the future. Many full-time minimum wage workers would still have to seek supplemental welfare assistance in order to have a decent standard of living.

The issue of a fair minimum wage is a challenge to the conscience of America. It asks that the plight of the poorest paid Americans not be forgotten. As unemployment recedes--and it has not yet receded very far--enormous economic hardships will remain for millions of Americans. When workers are poor, they can move out of poverty only if they are paid a decent wage. An increase in the minimum wage is the most important step that can be taken to help the working poor. It will be a sign that the United States is still committed to economic and social justice.

In contrast to the administration's disappointing proposal, Congressman John Dent has introduced a bill which offers some hope for the working poor. His bill would start with a rise in the wage floor to \$2.85 and beginning next January would link the minimum wage to 60 percent of the average manufacturing wage. It deserves our active support. We can have a fair minimum wage, if people write their Congressional representatives and ask them to support the Dent bill.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:  
Immediately  
April 28, 1977

For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### A DANGEROUS COMPLACENCY

The growing complacency about unemployment is misplaced and betrays a lack of concern for the less fortunate members of society. An old saying has been amended. It now appears that familiarity breeds tolerance. There seems to be no other way to explain the lack of concern about an unemployment rate that is scandalously high.

We are now more than two years past the peak of joblessness, but the situation has improved only marginally. A historical comparison demonstrates that the job crisis is still real. The lowest rate of unemployment during this recession is equal to the highest rate of unemployment in any other previous post-war recession. Officially, there are still over seven million people unemployed. The official figures, however, badly underestimate the real extent of joblessness. They take no account of the workers who have become so discouraged that they have quit looking for work. And they do not include the workers who have been forced to take part-time jobs, even though they need and want full-time jobs. Thus, the real unemployment rate is around 10 percent.

Not only is the situation bad today, but there is little prospect for quick or significant improvement. It is unlikely that unemployment will fall below five percent, which is still too high, within the next four years. Even this modest improvement will require more rapid economic growth over the next several years than will be possible unless there is vigorous government action to reduce joblessness.

So it is particularly unfortunate that the Carter administration has dropped its tax rebate proposal, which was the major portion of its economic recovery program. Whether or not tax rebates were the best way to create jobs, dropping them is a major blow against the type of vigorous economic recovery needed to cut joblessness. This action is in conflict with the administration's own rhetoric and

intentions. There is no doubt that reducing unemployment is a difficult task, perhaps more difficult than the President and his advisors had originally thought. The difficulty of the task, however, should not be an excuse for abandoning the effort or for pretending that it is already on the way to solution. Nor should it be reason to back away from making the goal of jobs for all a fundamental commitment of national policy.

The administration's retreat from full employment creates a number of dangers. Without full employment it will be impossible to achieve needed social reforms and improvements. But a greater danger is that complacency about unemployment will be contagious and frustrate other measures that are needed to improve the lives of the poor, minorities, and workers.

The ~~Republican~~-inspired attempt to pass a permanent tax reduction, which has been defeated by the Senate, was a political gimmick not a serious proposal to create jobs. Under the guise of an effort to revive the economy, it would have foreclosed the possibility of enacting important reforms to which the administration is committed. It would have made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to achieve a comprehensive tax reform later this year or next year. More importantly, it would have removed the revenue base that is needed for such long-overdue programs as national health insurance.

There is still a need to stimulate the economy. The \$11 billion that was saved when President Carter abandoned the tax rebate should not be used just to cut the deficit; instead it should be used to directly put people to work. There is no way to get a balanced budget without full employment. Employment in public work programs can be substantially increased without creating any danger of inflation. Moreover, in addition to helping the general economy, these jobs can be aimed primarily at areas of high unemployment, where they will do the most good. Increased spending for public service and public works programs must now be supported by everyone who is committed to reducing joblessness.

Complacency about unemployment, in thought and action, must end. Social justice cannot be achieved until there are jobs for all our workers. We have waited long enough for vigorous action to put America back to work.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

Immediately  
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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### THE SOVIET THREAT TO AFRICA

The Soviet Union is up to something new and dangerous in Africa. It is adopting a belligerent and aggressive policy that threatens the independence and development of Africa. A recent report by the Library of Congress called attention to unprecedented Soviet involvement in Angola. After having won its independence from Portugal, Angola is increasingly falling under the influence of the Russians. Their influence is neither indirect nor subtle. In fact, it is so direct and pervasive that it is nothing less than neo-colonialism. There are 25,000 Cubans in Angola, which is close to 10 percent of the Cuban army and more than were present during the height of the Angolan civil war. In addition, there are as many as 2,000 East Germans. The Soviet secret police have established effective control over the important departments of information and security.

Angola is not an isolated case. Cuba, which does the Soviet's dirty work in Africa, has troops in six other African countries and possibly in three or four more. In Sierra Leone, the Cubans are training an internal security unit. They are also active in Equatorial Guinea, where President Macias has established one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the world. About one-fourth of that country's original inhabitants have fled into exile. Fifty thousand people have been killed without trial or charges and Macias has reportedly introduced a system of slavery. A Cuban military mission recently visited Uganda. The Soviet Union is already helping to keep Idi Amin in power by supplying him with at least 50 MIGs and other weapons.

The Soviet Union has built naval and air bases in Somalia and through generous military aid has won over the military junta in neighboring, strife-torn Ethiopia

Soviet actions are destructive to moderate African regimes and dangerous to

Africa itself. Their aid to Uganda, Ethiopia, and Somalia appears to be part of a long-term strategy against Kenya, which has the smallest army in the region because it has invested its resources in education and development rather than in arms. The recent invasion of the mineral-rich Shaba province of Zaire could not have taken place without the support of the Angolans and Cubans, who supplied arms and training to the rebels and planned the attack. If the national integrity of Zaire is undermined, the whole continent of Africa could be wracked by separatist conflicts.

The Soviet Union and Cuba have little interest in a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia and South-West Africa. Their goal is to increase their own power by frustrating the American effort to negotiate a settlement. They are actively encouraging a military solution, regardless of the cost to black Africans. Because of the superior training and fire power of the whites, it is estimated that the violent liberation of Rhodesia and South-West Africa would cost from ten to twenty black lives for every white one. Moreover, if white minority rule in Rhodesia is ended by military force, there is a great danger that a civil war will break out between the rival black nationalist factions. But this does not disturb the Soviet Union. In fact, they would welcome such a development, because it would provide them with the opportunity to establish control over the winning side.

Unlike the leaders of black Africa, the Russians aren't particularly interested in seeing black Rhodesians win majority rule by their own efforts. They hope that in a "war of liberation", the nationalists will be compelled to ask for "assistance" from the Cubans. Thus, Angola will be repeated in Rhodesia.

The manner in which majority rule is established in Rhodesia will determine the future course in South Africa. If it is by war, there will be increased repression of the 18 million blacks in South Africa.

The worst impact of increased Soviet influence in Africa is on the people themselves. Without exception, the growing number of African states which have declared themselves to be Marxist-Leninist, including Angola, Mozambique, Benin, and Ethiopia, are brutally repressive and dictatorial regimes. They run roughshod over traditional ethnic and social interests. Any attempt to impose a political system on African countries which does not recognize the force of tribalism can only result in severe repression. Communism is alien to Africa; it will do nothing to improve the lives of average Africans.

It is not surprising that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and other African leaders are becoming increasingly concerned about the growing Soviet intervention



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in Africa. Americans should recognize that the Soviet Union is a threat to the future progress of Africa.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### CARTER: STYLE OR SUBSTANCE?

While Jimmy Carter's presidential style has been imaginative and impressive, his performance has been less than inspiring. One wants to allow a new President plenty of time to prove himself, but surely enough has happened to form some judgments. President Carter has done an admirable job of communicating a sense of openness to the American people and he has established an extraordinary degree of personal popularity. But as one who wishes the President well and who still has high hopes for his administration, I believe he is doing less well on the issues than he should.

Of course, not everything the President has done has been bad. He has come up with some good ideas, particularly in the field of foreign policy. But the general drift of the administration's policy is deeply disturbing. It's economic philosophy is almost as conservative as that of Gerald Ford. Achieving full employment has taken the back seat to controlling inflation and balancing the budget. It has even been reported that Carter plans to reappoint Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, whose conservative policies have done much to aggravate our economic difficulties. Whether true or not, this rumor is a reflection of the fact that the administration's economic policies and rhetoric seem to be designed to please business and conservatives.

The administration's minimum wage proposal was abominable. They proposed a small increase which would leave the minimum wage forty-two cents an hour below the poverty line. This small increase was justified on the grounds that a larger one would be inflationary. Yet the administration's energy program includes the deregulation of natural gas, a most inflationary proposal, which would benefit the rich and penalize the poor.

The welfare reform proposal presented by the Carter administration was a

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vague, unspecific set of principles. The administration is still working out the details and will not present the finished package to the Congress before the fall. Even worse, HEW Secretary Califano has said that he does not expect the reform to go into effect before the fall of 1980. The top priority of the administration seems to be that the new program cost no more than the present programs. It is hard to see how such a program is any sort of reform at all, for it will mean that large numbers of the poor will be made worse off. Moreover, it will mean virtually no fiscal relief to local governments.

There is no doubt that Carter has appointed blacks and women to many important positions, but this has done nothing to help those in greatest need.

All this is more tragic since it was the poor, workers, and minorities who elected Carter. Their commitment was not to a man, but to the economic and social policies Carter proclaimed in his campaign speeches and which promised significant reforms and full employment.

The administration's domestic program is uncertain in purpose, lacks a clear focus, or motivating principle. The only consistent theme seems to be the need for better management. One has the feeling that the problems of poverty, welfare reform, and unemployment are being approached as engineering problems and that the human dimension of the suffering they cause is being overlooked. Without a philosophy of democratic social change, without a clear concern for improving the lives of working people and the poor, the Carter administration will fail to realize its potential. Without a vision, even the good parts of the administration's program will have a difficult time being passed.

Presidential leadership is the most important factor in rallying the Congress and the American people to the cause of reform. At the Democratic convention, Jimmy Carter identified himself with the great reforming Presidents-- Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson. Thus far that identification has not been matched by a dynamic and concrete program to benefit working people, the poor, and minorities. The task of the labor movement, the civil rights community, and others is to persuade the President to make a bold, determined commitment to fight for social justice.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:  
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For further information, contact: Rustin Column

### GIVE WORKERS A CHANCE

The nation's labor laws need to be reformed to give workers a fair chance to organize. Enlightened opinion has long recognized that unions are essential if workers are to have any hope of dealing on an equal basis with their employers. The nation's basic labor relations policy was expressed in the Wagner Act of 1935 as "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing." The Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffith amendments to the Wagner Act undermined those principles by creating an imbalance in favor of employers. Although companies no longer employ the brutal anti-union methods of the past, many have adopted a sophisticated arsenal of devices--legal, illegal, and extralegal--to interfere with and frustrate the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively.

There is a basic inequality in the nation's labor laws. There are prompt, effective, harsh, even vindictive, penalties against union violations of the law. However, there are no comparable remedies against employer violations--even the most flagrant violations during union organizing campaigns. The National Labor Relations Act provides speedy action to protect the rights of employers, but allows delay after delay to frustrate the rights of workers. Violations of equal severity are treated with unequal punishment. The law has naively and erroneously assumed that employers would accept the spirit of the law and respect the rights of workers.

Employers exploit procedural delays to prevent the law from being enforced for several years. The promise of collective bargaining can be dragged through the National Labor Relations Board and the courts for years and never become a reality.

The new brand of union-busters carry briefcases instead of clubs and brass knuckles. Their main strategy is delay. As one union-buster put it: "the name of the game is to prevent the election and chill the union off." It now takes an

average of six months for an election to be held to determine if workers want to be represented by a union. There is no reason that elections cannot be held within a specified and short period of time. In fact, such a reform is essential if workers are to have an effective right to organize.

Workers fired by their employers because of their union activities must wait years for legal remedies. The employer may be forced to hire back the workers after two or three years, but the promise of eventual justice will not feed a family.

When an unfair labor practice charge is filed by a union it takes an average of one year for a cease-and-desist order to be issued by the National Labor Relations Board. After that it takes another year or two for a court order to be issued and the employer can still delay by refusing to bargain in good faith. In one-fourth of the union representation elections won in 1977, contracts had still not been signed five years later. For workers, justice delayed is truly justice denied.

Employers who illegally fire workers for supporting a union and employers who refuse to bargain in good faith after an election should be ~~subject~~ to prompt, enforceable court orders to stop such illegal activities.

Another vitally needed reform is that the government should stop subsidizing employers who consistently and repeatedly violate the national labor laws. Government contracts should no more be awarded to companies that violate labor laws than to those that violate laws against discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or sex.

Big business is mounting a huge and expensive campaign to oppose labor law reform. Those who have always placed property rights above human rights continue to oppose their employees' attempts to exercise their right to representation and self-organization. They are going to be spending millions of dollars spreading the lie that labor law reform is a selfish power grab by big labor. They couldn't be farther from the truth.

Labor law reform is needed to insure the rights of unorganized and exploited workers. The right to organize and bargain collectively is still effectively denied to millions of workers. Black workers, who have shown an extraordinary interest in unions, are special victims of this unjust situation. They make up a large percentage of the workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most

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ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of black workers.

Every worker must have the right to self-organization and collective bargaining, with speedy processes and effective remedies to guarantee those rights.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

In light of the recent Supreme Court's decision on limiting state assistance for abortions, I would like to reprint some words I wrote in 1970. It is sad to note that instead of progressing in this area of women's rights, we have regressed.

### FEMINISM AND EQUALITY

The modern feminist movement differs from the suffragette movement of a half-century ago in that its demands have to do more with economic equality than with political rights. To a considerable degree, this is a reflection of technological changes that have taken place in the society -- changes which have freed the more affluent women from household chores and enables them to gain a high degree of education. These women are now demanding that jobs and other opportunities be opened to them on a nondiscriminatory basis. The force of their argument is reflected in economic statistics showing that the income differential between men and women is greater than it is between whites and blacks.

If the women's liberation movement should be criticized, it is not because its demands are unjust but because they do not go far enough. The three demands put forth at the August 26 demonstrations were for free abortions, twenty-four-hour day-care centers for children of working mothers, and equal education and employment opportunities.

I would personally take issue with none of these demands, but they are inadequate in that they are proposed in isolation from

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the broad social and economic context of American life. The feminists are making the same mistake that many other social protesters have made: they do not relate their demands to the larger issues which ultimately will determine whether the demands are met.

For example, I am entirely for free abortions on demand, since I think women should be able to choose whether they want to have children. But I think that the feminists would be wiser to make this specific demand part of a larger demand for socialized medicine. Our current health system does not permit all women, or all Americans, to obtain adequate medical care, and good health is a prerequisite for "liberation," however one cares to define that word. Similarly, it is not enough to have day-care centers that will free mothers from constant supervision of their children. There should also be a demand for the expansion of preschool education and for high-quality integrated schools that will liberate the minds of the children and enable them to develop their potential to the fullest. Finally, the demand for equal employment opportunities cannot be met in the absence of full employment. As long as a sizable portion of the population is unemployed, workers, regardless of their sex or race, will have to compete for jobs and employers will be able to hire those willing to work for the least pay. Here it should be added that the demand for female equality is too often stated in terms of giving women the same rights as men. What happens then is that women consider their own special rights -- such as the legal protection of women workers -- to be expendable. Rather than give up these rights, they should be demanding that such provisions be extended to all workers.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

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---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

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For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### THE NAACP FACES CHANGE

The news accounts of the recent NAACP convention gave the impression of an organization consumed by crisis and division. These reports, of course, suffer from the distortions and exaggerations which are so prevalent in news coverage of race relations. It is the media's credo that a bridge which does not fall down is a far too dull subject for the general public.

Nonetheless, I would be less than honest if I did not acknowledge that the NAACP does in fact face some serious difficulties over the coming period. That problems should emerge at this particular time really should come as no surprise. The NAACP, after all, is undergoing a time of far-reaching change: change of leadership, change in tactics, change in long-term objectives. Change never comes easily; a certain amount of upheaval and pain is often a necessary part of the process.

The question that many must be asking themselves after the St. Louis convention is whether the NAACP will emerge from this time of change with the strength and vitality that, for almost the entire century, have made it the foremost voice for racial justice in America.

Here it is important to place the NAACP's troubles in their historical perspective. The organization today remains the largest and most powerful spokesman for the needs and aspirations of black Americans. It has, moreover, endured much more trying periods--times when there seemed no support at all among whites for racial change; times when the very integrationist values on which it was based were the target for attack from vocal minorities within the black community.

The NAACP triumphed in the past because while it stood fast to its convictions, it was flexible enough to perceive the need to face new goals and adopt new strategies in pursuit of those goals. Most of the convention coverage emphasized the internal problems entailed in the transition of leadership from

Roy Wilkins to Benjamin Hooks. However, I strongly suspect that the resolution of the organization's current difficulties will depend on how it meets the external challenges tied in with changing realities in American society.

To go a bit further, I believe that the most crucial problem confronting the NAACP is its ambivalence towards its traditional allies and its choice of strategies for achieving equality. Let me deal with the latter problem first.

For years the NAACP has seen court action as the main tool for advancing racial justice. Until now, this approach has proven remarkably successful, as barrier after barrier fell before skilled and determined NAACP attorneys.

But there is strong evidence to suggest that we are approaching, and may even have reached, the limits to judicial activism on race matters. There are those who blame the setbacks which the NAACP and other civil rights groups have received from the Supreme Court on the conservatism of the Nixon appointees. Certainly this is a factor.

But there is another problem here that relates to the nature of the demands which are being put forth on behalf of black people. Increasingly, the courts are being asked to find remedies to past practices of race discrimination which require quota systems of one sort or another. This the courts are increasingly refusing to do.

In so doing, the courts, whether consciously or not, reflecting the views of the vast number of Americans, including a majority of blacks. Americans favor vigorous legal and legislative action to wipe out race bias; they draw the line, however, at quotas or other schemes which institutionalize forms of race preference in employment or college admissions.

The recent trend of court decisions demands that civil rights organizations make a realistic assessment of goals and strategies. Simply because the Supreme Court has come down hard on quota systems obviously does not mean that we have reached the "end of the Second Reconstruction" or that blacks are "worse off than they were before the Brown decision in 1954."

The most pressing problem facing the black community is economic inequality. This is a problem, however, that must be addressed politically, not through the courts. Politics means making coalitions and alliances between groups with similar problems and interests. Affirmative action coupled with a programmatic commitment to full employment can be the basis for maintaining and strengthening the civil rights--labor--liberal alliance that has always been essential for progress.

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One of the most publicized incidents at the St. Louis convention was an intemperate outburst by Herbert Hill, the NAACP's labor director, in which he accused the labor movement of being "committed to white male workers against the vital interests of women and minorities." In making this statement, Mr. Hill was expressing his own views, and not those of the NAACP or of its leadership, which has worked closely with organized labor in the pursuit of many goals throughout the years.

I mention Mr. Hill's remarks because I think they reflect just the sort of unwarranted bitterness and defeatism which obscures the reality of the black struggle today. Throughout history, no group has been able to achieve democratic economic transformation without the cooperation and support of other groups. We must keep this in mind as we begin to assess our successes and failures and as we move to come to grips with a new phase of our struggle.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

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For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### LOOTING: PAYING THE PRICE

Overshadowing the technological failures that plunged New York City into darkness for more than twenty four hours was a virtual breakdown of the social order in the city's ghettos. Unlike the 1965 blackout, there was widespread looting and arson. Almost four thousand people were arrested, more than during the New York riots of the 1960s. Inevitably, the tendency to interpret events in the light of past experience will lead to comparisons of the looting with those riots.

Nonetheless, the looting was not really a riot, much less a ghetto rebellion. Although it may have been produced by social conditions, the looting was not, in any meaningful sense, a protest against poverty. It was essentially non-political. Although many youngsters may have been caught up in the anarchic atmosphere and the opportunity to get something for nothing, over seventy percent of the looters had criminal records.

The significance of the looting was precisely that it was not politically inspired. It highlighted two important changes which have taken place since the 1960s. First, anti-white sentiment was not a factor in fueling the looting. Civil rights legislation and other changes have considerably opened up American society and decreased racial tensions. While this is encouraging, other developments are deeply disturbing. There is an overwhelming sense of despair and hopelessness in the inner cities. The ghettos were largely bypassed by the economic growth of the 1960s. During the last recession, inner city poverty areas lost more than ten percent of their jobs, while employment remained basically stable elsewhere.

There is little reason to suspect that the looting in New York will spark similar outbreaks in other cities. But, in any number of cities the combination of total darkness and blistering heat could easily set off a situation like New York's, if not worse.

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The real issue, however, is not whether there will be similar outbursts of disorder. The problem is the day-to-day misery of unemployment, poverty, and crime. Ghetto life remains depressing, hard, and brutal. To react by blaming the looters can only obscure the social and economic roots that produced the looting and which, more importantly, oppress the poor everyday. Like most Americans, I was appalled by the looting. But I am more shocked that the poor are forgotten until there is looting or rioting.

The New York looting may momentarily focus attention upon the problems of the inner city, but it is unlikely to lead to a rapid expansion of funds for the cities as did the riots of the 1960s. Because those programs were largely emergency measures designed to prevent the cities from exploding, they were incapable of transforming the ghetto. Summer job programs for young people, for example, were often viewed as little more than anti-riot insurance. Inadequate programs led to inertia and demoralization. Efforts at reform became stalled by defeatism and a lack of concern and imagination. The problem lost its urgency and visibility. But just as the blackout will spur investigations and new efforts to guarantee a secure supply of electricity to New York and other cities, the looting should be seen as a warning sign that there must be renewed efforts to eliminate poverty.

We need long-range, sustained programs for full employment, job training, especially for young people, and urban recovery. We need programs which will give a sense of confidence and hope to the poorest of the poor.

It is not a question of knowing what to do, but of whether we have the will to do what needs to be done. The American people face a choice; either to eradicate poverty and unemployment or to be faced with the continual threat of outbreaks of disorder. One way or another society will pay a tremendous price. In the long run, it will be cheaper to spend billions to put people to work and rebuild our cities than to incur the costs of tension, fear, social disintegration, and wasted lives.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:  
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For further information, contact:  
Bayard Rustin Column

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A MESSAGE TO CARTER: PERFORMANCE NOT PROMISES  
by Bayard Rustin

A troubled relationship between the black community and the Carter administration has been dramatically highlighted by Jimmy Carter's response to Vernon Jordan's criticism of the administration. That the President reacted is not surprising; that he over-reacted is disturbing. While the President conceded that it was legitimate for the head of the Urban League or other organizations to speak out "if they think inadequate attention has been paid," he left the distinct impression that he thinks it irresponsible for black leaders to criticize his policies. Carter explained that "erroneous and demagogic statements" reporting that the President and the Congress do not care about the poor would damage the hopes of the poor. Not only did Carter misportray Jordan's speech, which was far from being demagogic, but he came close to warning the poor and blacks to be patient, keep quiet, and rely upon the good will of the President and the Congress.

The President would be making a serious mistake if he believes that Vernon Jordan's remarks were demagogic or did not reflect the concerns of black Americans. The administration has not grasped the fact that blacks are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the administration's performance. They have not been listening closely or carefully enough to black Americans. No one has accused the President of being hostile or indifferent to the needs and aspirations of blacks and the poor. Indeed, Jordan's speech specifically declared that the President's "devotion to equal opportunity is unquestioned."

The issue is not whether the President is concerned about the poor, but whether he and his administration will translate their concerns into policy. On the key issues of full employment, welfare reform, revitalization of the cities, and national health insurance, the administration has been disappointing.

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A MESSAGE TO CARTER: PERFORMANCE NOT PROMISES  
August 3, 1977

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Its programs have been inadequate or nonexistent. To be sure, the administration has made some small positive steps with its youth employment program, public service jobs, and public works programs, but these fall far short of what is required.

It is not Vernon Jordan's speech which threatens to damage the hopes of blacks and the poor. The hopes of the poor, the deprived, and the alienated are shaped quite differently from how the President imagines. Hopes cannot be sustained by statements of concern. Poverty and deprivation cannot be overcome by minor measures. Alienation cannot be combatted by vague promises. The absence of effective programs accompanied by a vision of a just, compassionate, and caring society can only lead to crushed hopes, despair, and frustrated lives.

A profound flaw lies at the very heart of the President's domestic policy. His avowed commitment to advancing social justice and promoting racial equality is simply not achievable so long as the administration makes its priorities a balanced budget, restrained social spending, and the reduction of inflation. This will harm not only black Americans and the poor, most of whom are white, but also all working Americans.

The lesson for labor, liberals, the cities, blacks, and other minorities is, as Vernon Jordan put it, "even an administration sympathetic to our needs and in harmony with our aspirations needs sustained pressure." The task before us is not to find fault with the Carter administration, but to help it "escape from the evils of premature political compromise, narrow fiscal conservatism, and indefinite delays in implementing reforms."

Thus the Carter-Jordan clash does not necessarily signal an impending or irrevocable break between blacks and the Carter administration. It does unmistakably announce that the black community will not sit back and allow the administration or the Congress to neglect its interests. There can be no doubt that we are going to judge the administration by its performance and not by its promises. We will mobilize our resources and rally our friends and allies to the fight for social justice.

Hopefully, the President will realize that the critical views of black leaders are not an attack, but a challenge to exercise bold leadership.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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Rustin Column

SUBMINIMUM WAGE: HOW NOT TO ATTACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT  
by Bayard Rustin

The Carter administration's proposal for an increase in the minimum wage, supported by labor, civil rights, and religious groups, is being threatened by a sophisticated conservative and business counterattack. With remarkable audacity and courage, the opponents of the minimum wage are promoting themselves as the protectors of minorities, the poor, and the young. If this seems a strange role for conservatives and business, the protection they offer is even more peculiar. They maintain that low-income workers will be better off if the minimum wage is below the poverty line and if the minimum wage is not protected against inflation.

But the greatest success of the conservative and business interests has been the widespread confusion they have created by the contention that a youth subminimum wage is the way to attack the problems of teenage unemployment. It is more than a little suspicious when these interests suddenly "discover" high unemployment among young people at precisely the time when a proposal to increase the minimum wage is before the Congress. Of course, their real purpose is to defeat or weaken the minimum wage increase.

Unfortunately, the conservatives have so clouded the issue that even some liberal and moderate Congressmen are leaning toward support of the subminimum proposal. Youth unemployment is indeed a serious problem, but to think that a subminimum wage is the solution is to engage in wishful thinking. Supporting a subminimum wage is a cheap way to demonstrate a "concern" for youth unemployment, without doing anything to make a real impact on the problem.

There simply isn't much evidence that a subminimum wage will decrease teenage unemployment. There are only some exceedingly untrustworthy conjectures and the self-serving speculations of business groups.

On the other hand, there is abundant reason to conclude that a subminimum



wage would be a disastrous mistake. The Department of Labor has studied the question and found that the general state of the economy is the major factor determining the level of youth employment and unemployment. When unemployment is high year after year, a lot of young people are going to encounter major difficulties in finding jobs. A subminimum wage will do nothing to create more jobs or to reverse the policies that have produced unemployment, recession and stagnation. The obvious answer that a better performing economy is the most effective instrument to cut joblessness among young workers seems to have escaped the misguided proponents of a youth subminimum wage.

The subminimum wage advocates have been less than candid about the probable effects of their idea. If the subminimum wage does anything at all, it puts older workers out of work. Employers would hire lower-paid teenage workers and fire higher-paid adults, many of whom have families to support. The only beneficiaries from a youth subminimum wage would be the employers who would reap greater profits. A policy that fires fathers in order to employ sons is morally bankrupt and socially disastrous.

Young workers don't need a subminimum wage. They need what other workers need, more jobs at decent wages. This is especially true for young people in the inner cities, who the conservatives would have us believe will benefit from lower wages. Low wage jobs typically provide few marketable skills, no real training, and no opportunities for career development and personal advancement. What is really needed is expanded job training programs, improved education, and meaningful job opportunities, none of which will be achieved by a subminimum wage.

The subminimum wage concept violates the principle that workers should be paid according to their work and not by their personal characteristics. Abandoning this principle could easily have a negative psychological impact on young workers. It would tell them that they are inferior workers. A subminimum wage would undermine the dignity, self-respect, and hope of young workers.

The youth subminimum wage proposal is not motivated by a genuine concern for the well-being of young people. Instead, it is the product of an intense opposition to any measure that is designed to help the disadvantaged and the poor. The United States has benefited immensely from a decent minimum wage floor. All of us, and particularly young people, will suffer if a subminimum wage is established.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

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For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### THE BLACK "SUMMIT CONFERENCE" by Bayard Rustin

The first "summit conference" of black leaders since the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. could well become a crossroads in the struggle for equality. In a very real sense, it is the beginning of a new and sustained drive for social justice.

These are my impressions after participating in the recent meeting of fifteen black leaders to develop common approaches, strategies, and policies to reverse the neglect of blacks, the poor, and America's cities.

The meeting underscored the dramatic changes that have taken place in the civil rights movement. Besides myself, only Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women also attended the black leadership meetings held during the 1960s. The meeting was a reminder that many who made invaluable contributions to the black struggle--Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. King, Whitney Young--have retired or passed away during the past decade. It would be hard to overestimate how much we miss their leadership.

On the other hand, the meeting was also evidence of the rise of new, creative, young leaders in the black community. More is involved here than a change of generations, however. The character of black leadership has changed, as well. An obvious sign of this was that three women were involved in the meeting. The really important change, however, is that the leadership of the black community is broader and more diverse. In the last decade new areas of activity have become crucial to the progress of black Americans. New and dynamic organizations have been established. The Congressional Black Caucus, black mayors, and black elected officials are three examples of the expanding power and resource base of black Americans.

Nonetheless, black Americans continue to face difficult and complex problems. The failure of the Carter administration to meet the needs of blacks, the poor,

THE BLACK "SUMMIT CONFERENCE"  
September 1, 1977

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and the cities has made cooperation a necessity. But an immediate political crisis was not the only, nor even the major reason for the meeting. If it had been, the purpose of the meeting would have been simply to wring this or that concession from a hesitant administration.

In reality, the meeting is to be the first in a series of conferences to develop approaches and coordinate strategies and tactics for fundamental social change. The conferences are necessary because the black agenda has undergone a profound transformation. Fifteen years ago, the issues of basic concern to blacks were voting rights, fair employment, fair housing, and the like. Today, the crucial issues are fundamentally economic. Consequently, there is a feeling that the strategies and tactics which were effective in the 1960s will not be enough to solve the problems of today.

To develop programs and tactics adequate to solve today's problems will not be an easy task. Despite this, there is reason to be optimistic about the future. The most important sign of a vital movement is a leadership that is willing and able to evolve new approaches. By this test, the black movement is strong and healthy.

The leaders of the major black organizations are now cooperating in an effort to build a revitalized struggle for "full employment, rebuilding our cities, welfare reform, affirmative action, economic development, and the rejuvenation of moral and social purpose in this nation." Ultimately, the success of this struggle depends upon the involvement of the black community. For only through the active participation of the black masses can the President and the Congress be made to understand the urgency of full employment, adequate welfare, and rebuilding our cities.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

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---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

---

For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### PLACING *BAKKE* IN PERSPECTIVE by Bayard Rustin

Anyone who has lived in the ghetto knows the absurdity of the old saying, "Things just can't get any worse." Nothing demonstrates more clearly the fact that things in fact can get very much worse than the recently published unemployment figures. For the black community, the jobless rate of 14.5 percent is really no different than during the gloomiest months of the Ford and Nixon administrations. And to make matters worse, the Carter administration, although in many respects far superior to its predecessors, simply does not seem to recognize the awesome problems of black unemployment and underemployment.

But just as it is important that we do not deceive ourselves about the extent of our problems, it is also imperative to recognize that there are ways out of our dilemma. A. Philip Randolph has often said that you must struggle and fight to win anything worth winning. He has also said that in politics nothing is achieved without allies. Since jobs and economic progress are things that must be won in the political arena, one of our main tasks will be to find dependable and committed allies.

Here there is some extremely encouraging news. Although labor and the black community have often fought together for various political goals, I believe that the opportunity is ripe for an even closer and fulfilling alliance in the pursuit of economic change.

At least this is how I read George Meany's recent statement that "the greatest crime being committed today is being committed against the black community, against the black teenagers, and against the white teenagers," and his affirmation of solidarity with those blacks, such as Vernon Jordan, who have spoken out about Carter's failure to act on his campaign pledge to make jobs the number one goal of his administration.

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There is, of course, an element of self-interest in labor's actions. The unions, too, are seeking to forge a broad coalition of social forces, blacks prominent among them, to support issues like minimum wage increases and the reform of labor relations laws. But coalitions are most successful when the partners are moved both by pragmatic need and moral commitment. Both qualities, I think, are clearly evident in the alliance between labor and blacks.

The subject of political coalition leads me to a different, but nonetheless related matter. I am referring to the lawsuit brought by Allen Bakke against the University of California at Davis medical school because of the university's having set aside a specified number of places for minority group applicants.

The Bakke case raises a whole series of issues related to the question of how society is to deal with the problems of present and past discrimination, inferior education opportunities, and "reverse" discrimination. I am not prepared here to deal with the merits of the Bakke case; what I wish to address is the perception of this case in the black community.

There is no question that Bakke raises intense passions among blacks who are concerned about affirmative action programs, and whites who are opposed to quota systems. What disturbs me, however, is the attitude of many blacks, most particularly some political and civil rights figures, who are predicting that nothing less than the future of the black person in America depends on the Supreme Court's ruling in this case.

Already some are asserting that if Bakke, the white student who complained of reverse discrimination, is upheld, the status of blacks will be set back to the period before the Brown decision struck down school segregation in 1954. Others are complaining that black gains in college admissions and hiring will be permanently reversed.

I believe that such fears are greatly exaggerated. The issue in the Bakke case, as I see it, is not affirmative action, but quotas; most affirmative action programs do not rely on rigid numerical quotas, a fact which has not prevented them from helping place thousands of blacks in jobs and in college programs.

The merits of quota systems aside, I believe that the defeatism now being expressed over the Bakke outcome is unfortunate for an important strategic reason. Expressions of unwarranted alarm, first of all, will unnecessarily discourage and embitter many people who are already upset by the failure of the Carter administration to take firm action in the jobs area. Second, by overestimating the

significance of Bakke, we will only be setting up a situation which will encourage people to lash/at those, such as Jewish groups and some labor unions, who oppose the civil rights position on this issue, but who may be solid allies in the struggle for economic change.

The differences over the issue of racial quotas should not be reduced to a crude test of whether one is for or against blacks. The differences are legitimate; many individuals who have long worked for racial justice believe deeply that quotas are the wrong way to go about fighting discrimination. We ought not to separate ourselves from them. We need allies.

Furthermore, the affirmative action/quota question is not the cutting issue of racial progress today. Much more important is the question of how we are to create the jobs for those young blacks who have not even entered the workforce and how we are going to provide training for those who are unprepared to participate in an economy that demands increased skills and knowledge.

The issue, again, is jobs, just as it was last November, when Jimmy Carter was elected. If the medical school's admissions policies are upheld and quotas are legitimized, that will change nothing for the ghetto teenagers who are effectively "structured out" of the economy. If we are going to win the fight for jobs, we will need allies. This is a fact that should be kept firmly in mind as we consider our response to the Bakke case.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*President*

---

For Release:

Immediately  
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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### THE DEEPENING CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Bayard Rustin

More than forty political prisoners have died under suspicious circumstances in South African jails over the last fifteen years. The latest death is perhaps the most disturbing for the victim, Steven Biko, was thought by many to be the most influential young black leader in South Africa. A leading white editor described him as "one of the main hopes for a peaceful solution to the racial crisis in this country." Over 10,000 blacks attended his funeral despite stringent police controls. Although we may never know the full truth, there is reason to believe that Biko was beaten to death by prison guards. His death is not only a great tragedy, it is a grim omen for the future.

A little more than a year ago, South Africa was rocked by riots in the black township of Soweto which left over 1000 dead. The re-emergence of a sustained black protest movement and the spread of discontent to the Indian and "colored" or mixed race communities seemed to be forcing even the most conservative whites to recognize that things could not remain the same. However, it is now becoming clear that the South African whites are attempting to substitute the appearance of a vague willingness to change for the reality of beginning a long and difficult process of social transformation.

The leadership of the dominant Nationalist Party has not yet recognized the necessity of making major changes and of making them sooner rather than later. While there are a small number of influential white South Africans who recognize the need for fundamental change, their definition of fundamental change falls far short of the minimum demands of blacks. The liberal Progressive Reform Party is a minor political force and, if anything, the overwhelming majority of whites are more resistant to change than the leaders of the Nationalist Party.

Prime Minister John Vorster and his supporters have been both unable and un-

willing to make more than minor domestic concession to the oppressed majority of Africans, "coloreds," and Asians. It is doubtful that minor concessions will diffuse the anger and resentment of the blacks or persuade Western public opinion that South Africa is on the road to a socially just society.

Thus, it is not surprising that the South African leaders have been forced to resort to one of the oldest political gimmicks, that of divide and conquer. A new constitutional scheme has been proposed by Vorster in order to co-opt the coloreds and the Indians and keep them from uniting in common action with the country's black majority. The scheme would establish nominally independent assemblies for the coloreds and the Indians, while insuring that real political power remains the monopoly of the white minority. Vorster and other South African leaders have completely dismissed the possibility that at some time in the future the ten million urban blacks might be included in even this limited and primarily artificial restructuring of South Africa's political system.

This latest attempt to put a democratic veneer on an oppressive and unjust system of racial domination can only briefly postpone the deepening of South Africa's crisis. Even if it succeeds in splitting the non-white communities which is far from certain, it can only lead to a more united, determined and militant black community.

If whites continue to exclude blacks from the South African political community, escalating levels of violence and repression will be required to subjugate the blacks. Eventually, the whites will find themselves engulfed in the destruction. Ever since I helped initiate the American Committee Against Apartheid in the 1950s I have been haunted by the possibility that by time the whites realize that repression and apartheid will not work, it will be impossible for blacks and whites to reach the minimum level of trust necessary to produce a peaceful solution. With every passing day, this nightmare becomes more real. This fear was expressed by a leading black churchman at the funeral of Steven Biko when he pleaded, "For God's sake, let us move away from the edge of the precipice before all of us, blacks and whites, crash to our destruction."

There is still time for peaceful solutions in South Africa, but precious little time is left.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### THE NECESSITY OF ALLIES

by Bayard Rustin

A curious thing about politics is its puzzling inconsistency. It is not unusual for something to be given with one hand and to be taken away with the other. Recently, for instance, the Senate passed a minimum wage bill which was a definite improvement over the version passed by the House of Representatives. The Senate then turned around and voted to deregulate the price of natural gas, a move that would hurt most Americans and inflict special hardships on the poor. Ironically, this time, the House voted for a superior bill.

It would probably take a genius to make sense of the way the Senate and the House voted on these two issues. There are, nonetheless, some important lessons to be learned from these two recent votes. The first is the tremendous diversity of issues which affect the black community. Limited resources means that we can tackle only some issues. Thus, while many black organizations actively worked for the passage of an improved minimum wage bill (and are continuing to work for the superior Senate version), I doubt whether there is a major black organization which has made a determined effort to affect the natural gas vote.

The price of natural gas at first, may not, seem to be a civil rights or black issue. Certainly, the proponents of deregulation were not motivated by some anti-black spirit. Rather, the attraction of deregulation is that it appears to provide a simple, sweeping solution to a complex problem. There is, however, strong evidence that deregulation will lead to considerably larger consumer expenditures and only a negligible increase in natural gas production. If this view is correct, then, as the Congressional Budget Office observed, "the question becomes primarily one of income distribution." If natural gas prices are deregulated, an additional \$76 billion will flow from consumers to the industry between now and 1985. If oil prices are also decontrolled, the effect could be as

devastating to the economy as the four-fold increase in oil prices imposed by OPEC which was a major cause of the recession. When we recall the staggering and continuing damage inflicted on black Americans by the recession, it becomes clear that the issues of energy and economic growth may be as important to our future as the traditional civil rights agenda.

The importance of such issues as natural gas deregulation leads to a second lesson that can be drawn from the Senate vote on minimum wage and natural gas deregulation. Because civil rights organizations are unable to give their full attention to every issue vitally affecting black Americans, we must have a strategy or set of principles to guide us in dealing with the whole gamut of crucial issues. Otherwise, we will find ourselves outmaneuvered and outgunned. What we win in one vote will be taken away with another.

Our response must be based upon an analysis of allies and coalitions. It has occasionally been suggested that blacks should apply the philosophy of the British Prime Minister who proclaimed that his country had "no permanent allies, no permanent enemies, only permanent interests." The difficulty with this approach is that politics within a country differ profoundly from relations between countries. The victories won by the civil rights movement were largely possible because of the power of moral concerns in domestic politics.

More fundamentally, we are part of a community that is concerned with building a more just, decent, and responsible society. It is inevitable that, from time to time, serious differences will arise within that community. However, a disagreement with a friend is different than a disagreement with an enemy. One expects to be able to amicably resolve disagreements with friends and makes every possible effort to prevent disagreements from escalating into quarrels. It is no secret that there are today some issues on which the black community has important differences with our friends. But we must not allow disagreements on this or that issue to obscure the necessity to work together if we are to achieve the goals we believe in.

If, as I believe, new issues like natural gas deregulation are assuming a growing importance for black Americans, then it is essential to remember the special quality of our relationship with the labor movement, the liberal community, and other elements of the coalition for social justice. The questions which will increasingly determine black progress--full employment, economic growth, energy, and economic justice--cannot be solved unless the coalition is strong and united. The understanding that economic issues are central can form the basis for a renewed politics of equality.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

### IMPORTS AGAINST BLACK WORKERS

by Bayard Rustin

Economic news usually doesn't become news until it is bad news. Unfortunately there has been a lot of economic news lately. In September there was a brief flourish of concern about the rising rate of unemployment among black Americans. More recently, community after community has been rocked in a series of steel plant closings. In rapid succession, 5,000 jobs were lost in Youngstown, Ohio; 3,500 lost in Lackawanna, New York; and 3,800 lost in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. These two seemingly diverse economic problems are actually closely interrelated. Both are products of recession and economic stagnation. More fundamentally, both blacks and Steelworkers are unemployed, in part, because of imports.

The Nixon-Ford policies of "cooling the economy" are often mentioned as a major factor in the dramatic loss of manufacturing jobs in so many of our cities, but they are not the only important causes. Another primary reason is the export of job opportunities to other countries. So far as I know no one has attempted to figure out how many minority workers have lost their jobs because of the flood of imports coming into the United States. There is no question, however, that the number is huge. Economists at Cornell University have estimated that more than two million American jobs have been lost because of the overseas operations of multinational corporations. The total job loss due to imports is probably much higher.

Many industries which employ large numbers of blacks and other minorities are being decimated by imports. In 1976, there were 150,000 fewer jobs in the textile and apparel industry than ten years earlier, while the boot and shoe industry has been virtually destroyed. To the doctrinaire "free traders" these labor-intensive industries are expendable. But for workers the result is unemployment. Often living in rural areas, with few alternative opportunities, or in large metropolitan

centers where unemployment is extraordinarily high, thousands of workers are being shunted aside.

Lower-wage industries are not alone in being hurt by imports. Significant job losses have also occurred in high technology industries--electronics, rubber, and steel being three prominent examples. Moreover, the effect of imports ripples throughout the entire economy creating unemployment in industries far removed from those most directly affected. Given the economic problems facing the steel industry, for instance, and the economy in general, imports act as a virus accelerating and deepening the industry's weaknesses and dragging down the entire economy.

This problem won't be solved unless we get rid of the confusing and inaccurate notion that everyone concerned about imports is a protectionist. If I understand labor leaders like Lloyd McBride of the Steelworkers and Sol Chaikin of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union correctly, they are something far different. For McBride, Chaikin, and the labor movement the issue is this: American foreign economic policy should not be determined by the slogans of free trade or the profits of multinational corporations. Rather, the over-riding objective should be America's needs for jobs in a strong, growing economy. Labor doesn't want to exclude imports. It merely seeks to insure that trade is fair to American workers. It insists that the United States has rights as well as responsibilities in international trade.

It is highly debatable whether "free trade" is even a meaningful concept. Most other countries have erected a series of trade barriers to protect their industries and many make special efforts to maintain employment and production during recessionary periods. Indirectly, these two factors encourage imports into the United States at the expense of American jobs. To make matters worse, American tax codes promote the export of technology and jobs by multinational corporations. At the same time, our laws provide preferential import into the United States of goods produced by oppressed labor in closed economies abroad. Such trade cannot really be considered free; it is enormously expensive in jobs, taxes, and prices.

The import problem requires complex answers. In the long run, as labor has pointed out, a fully employed and healthy economy is essential, but in the short run the jobs of American workers must be saved. Unless quick action is taken, imports may inflict permanent damage on the American economy. If there is to be a serious effort to bring down the rate of black unemployment, few issues are more urgent than confronting imports.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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*Rustin Column*

### THUNDER ON THE NEW RIGHT

*by Bayard Rustin*

*The "ultra-right" of the 1960s has been transformed into the "new right" of the 1970s. They have gained a new respectability by adopting a modern, sophisticated, and, sometimes subtle approach. Although the new right tends to be just as "pure" as the old right on the issues, they have become more pragmatic in pursuing their objectives. It is for just these reasons that they are all the more dangerous. Under present conditions, the new right is a far greater threat than if Senator Bilbo came back spouting his old racist rhetoric. To be sure, the new right is not openly anti-black. Nonetheless, the new activism on the right runs against the interests of black Americans and other minorities.*

*The new right is not a monolithic movement. It is divided by subtle differences in emphasis, style, and strategy and by the personal ambitions of its leaders. The new right is more of an interlocking network, exchanging support and information and united by a basic agreement on political issues. Calling heavily on such old right figures as Senators Strom Thurmond and Jessie Helms, the new right is still determined to exploit the discontents and manipulate the fears and insecurities of Americans to advance its narrow and divisive political ends.*

*One recent project of the new right is an impeachment drive against Ambassador Andrew Young led by Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia, a member of the national council of the John Birch Society. As Young is worth more to the right in office than out, the real goal of this effort is to raise money. The apparent moving force behind the effort is Richard Vigurie, "the Godfather of the New Right," who raised \$6 million in 1976 for George Wallace. Vigurie runs a direct mail operation that raises \$15 million a year for a wide variety of right-wing groups. Vigurie has used his control of mailing lists to spawn a whole network of new conservative entities and to extend his influence over established*

right-wing groups. The campaign against Young is a peripheral concern of the new right, their priorities lie elsewhere.

Like the old right, the new right depends on hate, but their villains have changed from civil rights "agitators" to "union bosses." If the right-wing's primary enemy is the labor movement, its main victims are millions of ordinary workers. Just as the right-wing attempted to destroy the civil rights movement, it now works to cripple the labor movement. The right wing has launched a well-financed and virulent campaign against labor law reform, employing its usual techniques of exaggeration, distortion, and fear-mongering. It is already gearing up for future attacks on every major goal of American working men and women--national health insurance, full employment, tax reform, and occupational health and safety.

That the right has switched enemies is of some importance. Just as the civil rights movement can be viewed as the engine of social change during the 1960s, as the new right recognizes, the labor movement is increasingly playing that role today. For millions of black Americans, a strong labor movement is the chief hope for economic progress. Interestingly enough, the right wing campaign is directed heavily against public employee unions, unions which have large black memberships. Labor is, moreover, central to the possibilities for progressive and democratic change in American politics. Whether in the workplace, at the ballot box, or in the legislative halls, unions are the means by which million of working men and women can obtain some degree of control over the powerful and arbitrary forces that shape their lives.

The new right has developed into a significant and powerful political movement, I think it will fail in its attempts to remake American society in its own image, if for no other reason than that its program is almost entirely negative. There is a danger, however, that it will be successful enough to frustrate the reforms that are needed to make America a more decent, just, and compassionate society.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release:

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For further information, contact:

*Rustin Column*

### THE PROMISE OF HUMPHREY-HAWKINS

*by Bayard Rustin*

*The most tragic aspect of the unemployment crisis affecting the black community has been the discouraging prospects of speedy and significant improvement. Over the last several years, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill has come to express our concerns and represent our hopes. Unfortunately, despair and frustration have become so pervasive that now that President Carter is supporting the bill whispers have begun that Humphrey-Hawkins is an empty promise. Some people argue that the bill has been so watered down that it is now virtually meaningless.*

*Rarely has there been as much confusion about a single measure as about Humphrey-Hawkins. The contradictory press portrayals of the bill as both ineffectual and wildly inflationary have come close to transforming enthusiasm into skepticism. An unwarranted disillusionment with the bill could, in the end, prove more damaging to the cause of full employment than the onslaughts of outright opponents.*

*President Carter's support for the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act represents a major political victory for blacks and working people in general. The bill is still sufficiently advanced that an administration preferring caution and uncomfortable with bold domestic initiatives had to be persuaded to give its support by intense pressure from a broad coalition including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the labor movement.*

*The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is much more than a pious repetition of the Employment Act of 1946, which first committed the United States to the goal of full employment, though in a vague and ambiguous manner. It not only reaffirms the goal of full employment, but it also provides effective means to achieve that goal. For the first time there would be a declared ceiling on how much unemployment the United States is willing to tolerate. Targets for economic performance and jobs*

would be established with a degree of specificity and concreteness never before known. The President would be required to prepare programs to cut the seven percent joblessness rate to four percent within five years, while reducing adult unemployment to three percent.

Under Humphrey-Hawkins, the President will be required each year to give numerical goals for employment, unemployment, real income, and production. In addition, he must present his projections of the programs and appropriations necessary to achieve the goals. A third major proposal in the bill calls on the Federal Reserve System to explain to the Congress how its plans for monetary policy would affect the President's program. Finally, if, after two years, not enough jobs are being created to meet the 1983 goals, it will be the President's duty to present a program for "last resort" jobs in such priority fields as energy, mass transportation, environmental improvement, housing, and health.

The compromises which were necessary to gain the support of the Carter administration resulted in both less ambitious goals and a less realistic program for achieving full employment than contained in earlier versions of Humphrey-Hawkins. The bill will not itself immediately create new jobs. It may not even lead to significant inroads against unemployment until two years after its passage.

While the present version of Humphrey-Hawkins is not perfect, its shortcomings, nonetheless, are clearly outweighed by its promise. Without the clear goals and framework for policy-making provided by the bill, substantial progress in reducing unemployment will only happen accidentally and with extremely good fortune. In fact, if the bill is not passed, then the chances of yet another recession in the near future will be much greater. Although I would have preferred more ambitious and socially-conscious goals, the bill still merits strong support. The goals in the bill should be understood as a declaration of the minimum progress the nation aims to achieve in reducing unemployment. It is my hope that we can move more rapidly and effectively toward full employment than the bill envisions.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill will come before the Congress in 1978. It is an important first step, but achieving full employment will require on-going work; mobilizing support, registering more people to vote, and electing more creative and concerned people to office. It is essential that we wage a hard fight for the passage of Humphrey-Hawkins and then continue to fight just as hard for the job-creating and economic stimulus measures which are needed to make genuine full employment a reality.



# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

For Release:

For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

### HEALTH CARE: ILLUSION OR REFORM by Bayard Rustin

President Carter has promised to outline the principles of a national health insurance program sometime early next year. Ordinarily this would be cause for rejoicing. However, there is a growing uncertainty that the administration will propose an adequate and acceptable program. These doubts are particularly disturbing because national health insurance is a long overdue reform. The goal of making adequate health care a right instead of a privilege has been on the agenda of reform since the 1930s. Continually frustrated by the fierce opposition of the American Medical Association and private insurance companies, national health insurance is surely an idea whose time has come.

Health care is one area where the American people are so concerned that there is substantial support for a new and major government program--and with good reason. Only one-fourth of all personal health care bills are paid by health insurance, while less than one-half of our citizens are reasonably well-protected against high medical expenses. Although the United States spends a much greater percentage of its national income on health care than any other industrialized country, we lag far behind on most measures of health. No other aspect of the cost of living has risen as fast as hospital and medical costs in recent years and the end is not in sight. According to one recent study, health costs, under the present system, will double again in only five years. Many Americans, particularly minorities and the poor, lack adequate access to medical care. In short, most Americans are underserved and overcharged by the present system of health care.

It is no wonder that people want something done about medical care and that they expect President Carter to do it. Unfortunately, it is hard to know how the President will respond. The administration still appears to be debating

-more-

which fundamental approach to take towards the health care issue. There is reason to be concerned that the administration may be tempted to propose a weak bill on the mistaken notion that it is possible to satisfy both the supporters of national health insurance and those who have always been fundamentally opposed to the concept. During the last decade, as the case for national health insurance has become stronger and clearer, corporate and medical interests have tried to sidetrack genuine health reform with dozens of phony compromises. These so-called compromises would provide for no cost controls, no quality controls, and total reliance on the private health insurance industry. An approach very similar to these earlier "compromises" is one of the proposals the administration is considering.

If the Carter administration retreats from the bold reforms that are needed it will be doubly tragic because an effective bill would have an excellent chance of passing and because a "compromise" measure would do little to solve the problem. The major factor delaying a national health insurance program has been the lack of Presidential support. There is widespread public backing for national health insurance; in one recent poll it was favored by two-thirds. Moreover, the concept has strong support in the Congress and vigorous backing from labor, civil rights, and religious organizations. On the other hand, a weak bill would only create the illusion that something meaningful is being done, while perpetuating an inadequate and inefficient system and delaying the task of real reform.

The President may yet decide that now is the time to seek a fundamental reform of the health care system. If so, the requirements for a national health insurance program that meets the needs of the American people are clear. The program should be based upon the principle that health care is a right for all Americans and not a privilege for the few who can afford to pay. Real reform should provide universal coverage, a single comprehensive standard of benefits, no financial barriers to health care, and fair and equitable financing. It should create new mechanisms to finance and organize health care in the United States. It would establish incentives to reform health delivery systems, strong cost and quality controls, and administrative costs lower than in existing private insurance programs. Of the many health insurance proposals, only one has so far met these standards: the Kennedy-Corman Health Security Act. This bill, which already has wide support in the Congress, provides a measuring rod to evaluate the administration's proposal. As President Carter and his advisors

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prepare the administration's program, they should keep in mind that only a national health insurance program based on the approach adopted by the Health Security Act can provide a real answer to the medical needs of Americans.

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260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For further information, contact:

*Rustin Column*

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CUBAN INTERVENTION: A THREAT TO AFRICA'S INTEGRITY  
*by Bayard Rustin*

*American support for the well-being and political integrity of Africa is being undermined by a trend of thought in this country that minimizes the significance of the massive and widespread Cuban intervention in Africa. Rather than providing insights into one of the gravest political crises to threaten Africa since independence or proposing a positive and constructive American response, this approach avoids or prefers to wish away the problem.*

*Many statements from African leaders forcefully express grave concern over the extensive presence of Cuban forces on the continent. In January 1976, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda warned of "a plundering tiger with its deadly cubs now coming in through the back door," a clear reference to the intervention, with Soviet backing, of over 20,000 Cuban soldiers in the Angolan civil war. On April 19, 1977 a spokesman of the Zaire government charged that the invasion of Shaba province of Zaire "was masterminded by the Soviet-Cuban alliance using Angola as its puppet."*

*Among the other African leaders who have strongly expressed alarm over Cuban and Soviet intervention in Africa are President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, President Omar Bongo of Gabon, President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, President Houphet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, and Morocco's King Hassan. Moreover, at the meeting of the Organisation of African Unity held in Libreville in July a resolution introduced by Senegal was adopted "inviting" all member states of the OAU "not to permit the use of their territory for foreign military bases."*

*President Houphet-Boigny said recently that "in less than two years, the Cubans have killed thousands of Angolans--our African brothers murdered in cold blood. More victims fell in this short period than in the 15 years of guerilla war against Portuguese colonialism. Yet the West rarely notes this gruesome*

reality."

In recent weeks, the Carter administration has begun to demonstrate a firmer grasp of African realities. Ambassador Andrew Young, who once described the Cuban army in Angola as "a stabilizing force," now realizes that "what we are seeing is a continuation of death and destruction almost everywhere there is a Cuban military presence. It's a new kind of colonialism." This shift cannot be explained as the product of some design to gain political support in the United States. Rather the Carter administration has had its mind changed by a year of contact with the views of Africa.

In the minds of too many Americans, however, Africa remains an abstraction. Consequently, their attitudes toward Africa are shaped largely by the priorities and symbols of American politics. There is a powerful impulse to ignore African realities in order to preserve certain illusions about the Soviet Union and to advance domestic and foreign policy views unrelated to Africa, to maintain that the normalization of relations with Cuba might be slowed if the United States took even the most minimal, moderate, and restrained steps to express our opposition to Cuban behavior in Africa.

Some have contended that if you just ignore the massive presence in Angola, Cuban involvement in Africa resembles a conventional foreign aid program. Cuban involvement is compared with earlier Israeli aid efforts, although it is hard to think of two more dissimilar programs. While the Israeli aid program was limited and primarily technical, Cuba's role is primarily military and without any self-imposed limitations. The Cuban involvement in Angola and over a dozen other African states, along with the presence of East German, Soviet, and other Communist "advisors," forms a menacing pattern which must be considered as a whole. To refuse to recognize that Cuba operates as an extension of Soviet power in a region that has always sought to avoid entanglement with the great powers, and to dismiss the Cuban-Soviet threat to Africa, ignoring the warnings of African leaders, demonstrates a shocking disregard for the well-being and political integrity of nations of Africa.

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# Where We Stand

by Albert Shanker President, United Federation of Teachers

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BR Column  
Drawer

*U.S. to Admit 14,000 Per Month*

## Will Civilized World Rescue the Refugees?

[Today's guest columnist is Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader who is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a member of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees. He has made two visits with the Commission to the refugee camps.]

By Bayard Rustin

Human beings have an astounding capacity to postpone radical decisions—life and death decisions for thousands—by raising and debating all sorts of spurious issues. Today, as thousands of Indochinese refugees cling ever so tenuously to their lives, we hear Congressional representatives and world leaders discussing the problem as if it were a matter of pure economics with no human consequences.

In our own country, some people assert that new refugees will upset our social services, disrupt employment and wage levels, and become an unwelcome drain on hard-pressed state and federal treasuries. Others claim that we should only accept refugees if Western Europe and Japan increase their share of the burden.

These discussions, so dispassionate and rational because the calculus of economics places so little value on human flesh and blood, cleverly obscure the fundamental question: Will we, the American people, acquiesce in the inevitable death of thousands of people who seek nothing more costly than freedom?

By posing this central question in such a stark manner, I am not exaggerating in the slightest. The refugee problem, which began nearly five years ago, has now reached crisis proportions, and we have literally assumed a God-like power over the lives of thousands of Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese people.

Our serious moral responsibility, I believe, has become clearer in recent weeks as Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia—the main refugee havens—become more impatient and less willing to accept additional refugees. Just last week *The New York Times* reported that the Malaysians forced 13,000 Vietnamese "boat people" to return to the perilous seas in small boats and rafts. At one point, the Malaysians even threatened to shoot refugees on sight. Similarly the governments of Thailand and Indonesia have expressed new complaints and misgivings about the endless flood of Indochinese. They have reached the breaking point.

Quite understandably, Asian nations, especially Malaysia, have received harsh criticism in the American press. Their new "get tough" policies appear to be heartless and cruel. But such criticism distracts us from a central point. Asian countries are expelling Indochinese refugees because the international community has done so little to resettle the unwelcome and burdensome guests from Indochina.

We can begin to understand the harsh actions of some Asian countries by looking at recent statistics compiled by the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees. Since 1977, 230,000 "boat people" arrived in Asian countries of "first asylum." Of these, only 67,000—less than 30% of the total—were resettled in second countries. The vast majority of the unsettled refugees remain in the under-financed and chronically overcrowded camps of their reluctant hosts.

To add to the already unbearable pressures, recent trends suggest that the proportion of unresettled refugees will grow substantially during the coming year. Last month alone 59,000 additional "boat people" arrived in the countries of "first asylum," compared to an average of only 5,000 per month during 1978. Between 75% and 80% of these new arrivals are ethnic Chinese systematically expelled from Vietnam. About a million ethnic Chinese still remain in Vietnam, but they too face the almost certain prospect of expulsion. (Of course, those who urge Vietnam to cease expelling the ethnic Chinese should be careful. Expulsion, with at least the hope of life and freedom, is preferable to other "solutions" Vietnam might find for its unwanted minority. This century has already seen the nightmare of concentration camps, gas chambers and ovens.)

Continuing warfare in Cambodia has further aggravated the situation. Until last April, the number of Cambodian refugees in Thailand stabilized at 15,000. But by May as many as 90,000 new Cambodian refugees crossed the Thai border, escaping war, hunger and unheard of deprivation. Because of the overflow conditions in the camps, the Thais returned many of these new refugees to Cambodia. Many committed suicide, and many face death at the hands of their rulers. Added to this, we must remember that steady flow of Hmong refugees from Laos, of whom as many as 50,000 are expected to enter Thailand in the coming months.

As this is being written, good news has come over the radio, reporting that President Carter announced in Tokyo that the United States will double the number of refugees it accepts—going from 7,000 per month to 14,000 per month—starting this month. The White House press office confirms the report. The President is to be congratulated, for this is an important beginning. We should also—

- Provide immediate aid for endangered people threatened with death, by dispatching rescue ships to areas where refugees are being abandoned. And we should urge friendly Asian governments to rescind their "get tough" measures.

- Encourage other affluent nations to accept refugees. Japan, West Germany, Scandinavia—all rich societies—have done little. Hopefully, the President's announcement will convince them to assume a more equitable share of the burden.

- Lead the world community in demanding that Vietnam end its massive violation of human rights, those policies which have forced thousands to flee.

The choices in this matter are clear and simple. There are tens of thousands of human lives at stake, and the civilized world has an opportunity to rescue them. It dare not fail to do so—again.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this section every Sunday. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at United Federation of Teachers, 210 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10011. © 1979 by Albert Shanker.

# BAYARD RUSTIN



## High Tuition Jeopardizes Black Progress

As recently as ten or fifteen years ago, a black college graduate was indeed a rare species. In those days, only 1 out of every 20 young black adults held a bachelor's degree, and fewer than 285,000 black youngsters attended college classes on any kind of regular basis. Moreover, those who endured the economic hardships, and long hours of study in pursuit of their degrees frequently found themselves confined to low-paying, low-status jobs which offered little opportunity for further ad-

new problems facing black youngsters in three short words: inability to pay. Black people, and even working-class whites, are rapidly discovering that they can no longer afford a college education for their children. Some people, as expected, will quickly assert that financial aid programs have expanded in recent years, and that state-supported universities and local community colleges provide easily affordable education. But the facts tell a somewhat different story.

**"...Black people ...are rapidly discovering that they can no longer afford a college education for their children."**

vancement. For many young people, the civil rights revolution had scarcely begun, and America seemed happily contented with the startling inequalities between black and white citizens.

Today, however, the once enormous occupational disparities between college-educated blacks and whites have declined significantly, and black college graduates and black students have become considerably less rare than they used to be. Since 1966 for instance, the black student population in institutions of higher education has grown from a miniscule 285,000 to 1,062,000 more than a three-fold increase. And between 1960 and 1976, the proportion of black youngsters with college degrees more than doubled.

As encouraging as these figures appear, one commits a serious error by assuming -- as some con-

To begin with, few people without college-age children are fully aware of the huge increases in tuition, university fees, book prices, and campus living expenses. During the relatively short period between 1970 and 1976, tuition at private universities and colleges rose by 54%. The increase at state-supported schools was even higher, 57%. And the tuition ~~at~~ ~~at~~ community colleges, the schools supposedly designed to serve the needs of poor people, rose by a staggering 130%. To further aggravate the situation, the new "balance the budget" mania and Proposition 13 mentality threaten to undermine, existing financial aid programs, programs which are already noted for their stinginess and seemingly endless bureaucratic red tape.

To a very large extent, black advances in the area of higher education during

**"...Millions of black high school graduates ...will find it...impossible to earn a college degree..."**

servative social scientist and others have -- that this encouraging trend will continue on its own, that somehow black people have finally "made it," and that the great quest for racial equality has ended in final and decisive triumph. Such notions, while understandable, ignore some fundamental trends, trends that seriously threaten to reverse or halt the gradual movement toward greater equality.

It is important to note here that I am not referring to the new problems encountered by various affirmative action programs. These problems, of course, are important, but I think they are far surpassed in importance by a number of dangerous developments that threaten to bolt the college doors for the new generation of black students.

I can summarize the

the 1960's and 1970's were made possible by several factors: easy access to aid and low-interest student loans (70% of black students receive some form of financial assistance); the growth of relatively cheap community colleges and state university systems; a national commitment to the active pursuit of racial equality; and the availability of part-time jobs for young students.

Unfortunately, in today's world decent-paying part-time jobs have become scarcer, student loans have become more expensive and tuition at state-supported universities has become anything but cheap. Consequently, millions of black high school graduates who leave school this June will find it more difficult if not impossible, to earn a college degree, the key which has unlocked the ghetto doors for many.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For further information, contact: *Rustin Column*

### THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH *by Bayard Rustin*

*It has been said that nothing is more crucial to the political success of the Carter presidency than achieving enough economic growth to bring about a significant and rapid reduction in unemployment. If anything, this is an understatement. The questions of how much economic growth is desirable and how it is to be achieved are emerging as central issues in American politics.*

*Although the economy remains mired in stagflation with high levels of both unemployment and inflation, there appears to be modest optimism about the prospects for a relatively healthy economy in 1978. Unfortunately, modest optimism means a rate of economic growth that will reduce joblessness only slightly. At the same time, there is still a real danger that growth will slow and unemployment will again worsen. There is also a smaller, though very troubling, possibility of another recession with negative real economic growth and an explosive increase of joblessness.*

*Even modest optimism about the state of the economy has extremely disturbing implications for society. Nobel Prize winning economist Paul Samuelson has recently warned that the anticipated rate of economic growth is "not good enough to realize Jimmy Carter's promises to create jobs for youth, the unskilled, and minority workers." The longer we endure high unemployment, the harder it will be to achieve economic integration. Black unemployment already appears to be stuck at higher levels relative to whites. This trend can be expected to continue unless there is more rapid growth.*

*The economy has recovered somewhat from the depths of the recession, but it is still far from full health. Although we are less than half way back to prosperity and full employment, powerful and influential voices now argue that this is about as good as we can hope for. Herbert Stein, a leading Republican economist,*



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and Arthur Burns, the powerful outgoing chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, believe that a seven percent jobless rate is full employment. While it is true that more youth, women, and minorities have entered the labor market, this is not, as Stein, Burns, and others would have us think, the cause of high unemployment. These new workers should be viewed as an opportunity not a burden. They increase the ability of the economy to achieve higher levels of non-inflationary growth. Our high unemployment rate cannot be explained away as a structural problem. Excessive unemployment is not restricted to "unemployables," secondary workers, or groups especially affected by government benefit programs.

The reason that unemployment remains so high is not really a mystery. Production simply has not grown enough to generate the jobs needed to get us back to prosperity. Between 1973 and 1977, our annual growth rate averaged only two percent.

Fear that growth will aggravate a persistent inflation has been a powerful brake on the economy. In both its extreme and mild forms, this fear has wrecked havoc without providing a solution to inflation. As demonstrated by Richard Nixon's deliberate slowing of the economy, a severe recession and massive unemployment on a scale far exceeding even our recent experience would be required to eliminate inflation. The slow growth policies of recent years, a milder product of this fear, are doing little to reduce inflation, while extracting a heavy economic and social cost. Slowing the economy enough to reduce inflation by one percentage point sacrifices \$100 billion of output in goods and services. It is increasingly apparent that what we need is an anti-inflation program which is enthusiastically pro-growth and which does not place a burden on working people and the poor.

A common proposal for stimulating growth is a tax cut focused on investment. The idea is that jobs require capital and, therefore, investment. Since most investment is done by high income groups, it is contended that tax cuts should be concentrated on business and the rich. The final, and often unstated, part of the proposal is that because energy and social security taxes are going up any way, low-and middle-income earners must pay more absolutely and as a share of total taxes in order to provide "incentives" for the rich to invest. There is an element of truth in this argument, but far less than is usually imagined and certainly not enough to justify its obvious and profoundly inegalitarian results. Jobs do require capital, that is, plants, equipment, and so forth. But with almost twenty percent of existing productive capacity idle, it is not obvious

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that new investment is the way to generate jobs. Business is unlikely to invest in new plants when old ones are not being fully used. What is needed instead is more total demand for goods and services.

The economy is presently operating almost \$200 billion below full employment levels. This is a waste and extravagance which a rational and humane society cannot afford. Moreover, with industry running well beneath capacity we should be able to achieve much faster economic growth without increasing inflation.

The differences between those who would accept continuing high unemployment and those who urge quicker growth and full employment are much more than economics. It is also a debate about what is a tolerable or just distribution of economic resources--jobs, income, and wealth--and the social priorities and moral values that guide a society. Economic growth is an essential precondition if we are to expand economic and social justice.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

---

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For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

THE LEGACY OF HUBERT HUMPHREY  
by Bayard Rustin

An emptiness, a void descended upon the nation with the death of Hubert Humphrey. We have lost a dear friend, a brave and enthusiastic warrior for social justice. He represented the best in America, the promise of decency and democracy for all our citizens, the continual renewal of freedom. He believed in the goodness of our people and in the responsibility of our institutions to create the conditions in which goodness might flourish. His was not a naive faith that ignored evil; he saw injustice as an enemy to be defeated by the forces of reason, compassion, and understanding.

No cause was dearer to Hubert than civil rights; no man's contributions were more crucial, untiring, or indispensable than his. The modern civil rights era can truly be said to have begun with his call for a strong civil rights platform at the 1948 Democratic national convention. "There are those who say to you 'We are rushing this issue of civil rights.' I say we are 172 years late. There are those who say, 'This issue of civil rights is an infringement of states' rights.' The time has arrived for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights. People--human beings--this is the issue of the 20th century." He was always at the head of that great, still uncompleted march, ever faithful to that dream. He rallied Congressional support for the 1963 March on Washington and guided the 1964 Civil Rights Act through the Senate, overcoming a bitter 57-day Southern filibuster. It was not only among the greatest legislative and moral dramas in the history of American politics, but also a landmark chapter in the expansion of freedom.

Never has one man, over so long a period, so fully and forcefully represented the aspirations and hopes of the deprived, downtrodden, and unfortunate. He embraced unfashionable causes and through a persistent and often lonely advocacy

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transformed them into reality. He was the prime mover behind medicare, the Peace Corps, the Food for Peace Program, and much of the most important social legislation of the last thirty years.

His politics combined imagination, moral idealism, and responsibility. He was not afraid to dream, to innovate, but he did not overlook the importance of achieving, rather than simply advocating, change. He understood the necessity of mastering political power for the service of social justice.

That he never served as President was a tragedy, not so much personally for Hubert Humphrey but for the nation. He could have done so much good for so many. It is an irony that many who not so long ago denounced him as passe and old hat came to recognize his continuing virtues only after they had helped contribute to his defeat.

Hubert Humphrey brought qualities to American life that will be sorely missed. There was an exuberance and caring about him that ran deep and was uniquely felt by workers, blacks, and the poor. He understood suffering and could see through the maze of statistics to people. His liberalism sprang not from a set of abstract principles, but from a vibrant search for solutions to human problems.

It is a measure of the constancy of his vision that in his final years he not only worked to complete unfinished projects, but also launched a new crusade for social justice: the fight for a meaningful national commitment to full employment. The finest and most fitting tribute we can pay to this man who did so much to make America a better country is the passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill.

Hubert Humphrey leaves a legacy that will long endure. Wherever men and women strive to ease the pain of suffering, work to bring hope and opportunity to the despairing and rejected, and struggle to replace injustice and hatred with fairness and compassion, his labors will be continued.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release:

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Rustin Column

### BLACKS AND THE GOP? by Bayard Rustin

The Republican party is showing a new interest in black voters, until now the most solidly Democratic group in American politics. The most dramatic indication of this is that the Rev. Jesse Jackson was invited to address a recent meeting of the Republican National Committee. In addition, party chairman Bill Brock has announced a well-financed program to recruit black candidates and convert black voters.

It is my conviction that blacks should always be ready to re-examine our political behavior, to explore new alternatives, and to entertain novel ideas. We can only benefit from a serious discussion of every conceivable political strategy. If this Republican initiative helps to spark such a discussion, it could make an important contribution to the development of an effective black political strategy even if, as I suspect, the initiative is rejected as offering very little to blacks.

There is as yet no rush of blacks to the Republican party. But that there is a willingness to consider the idea says something important about the present political situation. Blacks are disappointed with the performance of the Carter administration. Many feel that the Democratic party is beginning to take blacks for granted. Consequently, there is interest in discovering some means to regain political leverage.

Although it is a break with their recent past, the Republicans have reason to be interested in black votes. If they hope to compete on even terms, with the Democrats, they need to seek votes wherever they can find them. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act and growing political participation, black votes have become decisive in more and more elections, most dramatically in the last Presidential election.

The possibility that Republicans might be able to win more black votes is

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not inconceivable. There have always been some Republicans, such as New York Senator Jacob Javits, who have won--and deservedly so--large numbers of black votes. And like other voters, blacks are increasingly willing to split their tickets.

The road from deciding not to concede the black vote to the Democrats to actually winning significant numbers of blacks to the Republican ranks is likely to be a long and difficult one. It will take more than an attractive candidate here and there. It will require more than the tokenism and public relations gimmickry of inviting a civil rights leader to speak to Republican meetings. The decisive factor will be the program, policies, and direction of the Republican party. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that the Republicans will be able to attract blacks only by moving closer to Democratic positions. The prospects of this happening are not great. The Republicans have, if anything, become more, not less conservative in recent years and there is no solid indication that this course is about to be reversed. Even Republican National Chairman Bill Brock, who is spearheading the drive for black support, rarely voted correctly on any civil rights issues as a Senator from Tennessee. There is no sign that the Republicans have recognized the fundamental incompatibility between their traditional programs and the interests of their constituency, on the one hand, and the needs of the black community on the other.

It might even be speculated that the Republicans do not really hope to win a majority of black votes and that their goal is actually much more modest: to increase their share of the black vote from less than ten percent to perhaps twenty or twenty-five percent. With the declining importance of traditional civil rights issues, those blacks whose class interests largely coincide with the Republican philosophy may well be attracted to that party. It would not be surprising, if for instance, black businessmen join white businessmen in finding the Republican party a more congenial home than the Democrats.

For the overwhelming majority of blacks however, there are serious limitations to the Republican option. It would seem both counterproductive and foolish to attempt to punish Jimmy Carter for being too conservative, too much like a Republican, by embracing real Republicans who are likely to be even more conservative, even more unwilling to undertake the ambitious, activist programs necessary to overcome the problems afflicting black Americans. While we should welcome the newly-discovered Republican interest in black voters and help them to under-

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stand our problems, our main hope for salvation is likely to lie in other directions.

As of now, the Republican party (though not all Republicans) is rightly considered the enemy of blacks in the working class and blacks who are economic outcasts. If and when the Republican party stands for progressive measures that will alleviate poverty and social injustice, then we can take their wooing seriously.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### REASONS FOR HOPE by Bayard Rustin

Recently a great deal of attention has been focused on the civil rights movement. According to many commentators its condition is far from healthy. An article in the New York Times talked about "murmurs of deep concern" for the future of the NAACP in the black community. The NAACP's national energy position, which broke with the stands of its traditional liberal and labor allies as well as with other civil rights organizations, provoked a storm of controversy that has not yet subsided. As a result, the movement seems disoriented and fragmented. Washington Post columnist William Raspberry recently wrote that the differences between the Carter administration and blacks are not only but large, but "may even be growing" and concluded that blacks have little political leverage to gain results from the President. And another writer observed that "the movement is unsure of its tactics."

All in all, a pretty discouraging picture. Yet, on examination, the portrayal of the civil rights movement as isolated, confused, weak, and ineffective is misleading. It exaggerates the difficulties, overlooks the achievements, and underestimates the strengths. There is no doubt that this is a time filled with challenges for the black community. But without an accounting of the pluses, as well as the minuses, we cannot hope to understand, much less overcome, the formidable problems that do exist.

It is too often forgotten that the difficulties facing the civil rights movement today are largely the consequence of its successes. The elimination of racially discriminatory legislation and the introduction of anti-discriminatory programs has substantially altered the requirements for achieving racial equality. It is not simply that the issues have become more complicated. The change is actually much deeper and far-reaching. While there has always been an economic dimension to the civil rights agenda, today the central issue is no longer the



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elimination of racial discrimination, but of economic inequality. The task is to begin a process of economic growth and reform that will bring economic progress not only to the "talented tenth," who have continued to make significant strides, but to the overwhelming majority of blacks, who are increasingly falling behind.

This requires a transition from a movement for equal rights for an oppressed minority to a movement for social justice that encompasses the needs of a constituency far broader than just blacks. Such a transition is inherently disruptive, painful, and awkward. Thus, it is most encouraging that the leadership of black organizations recognizes that economic issues form the new agenda for racial progress. That does not mean that there is agreement over the content of the economic agenda. Obviously, there are significant differences. Because the answers are neither obvious nor easy, it is probably inevitable that there will be occasional differences. But once the primacy of economics is fully understood, the possibilities for progress are immeasurably enhanced.

The past year, despite its plentiful disappointments, shows that this process of transition has considerable promise in addition to the often noted complications. Two developments in particular encourage the belief that the energy of the civil rights movement is far from exhausted. First, there was a growing practical unity and cooperation between black organizations. Second, there has been a conscious solidification and strengthening of the ties between organized labor and the civil rights community. This was demonstrated by the impressive support from the black community for labor's legislative initiatives, particularly labor law reform, and labor's strengthened determination to organize the South. This reflects the spreading and correct perception that the labor's programs for economic justice are essential to realizing the hopes and aspirations of millions of black workers and their families.

Taken together, these developments give a new impetus to the political dynamic that is our central hope for social progress and economic justice. The potential impact of this dynamic has already been demonstrated. In conjunction with labor and liberals, blacks have been able to apply pressure to the Carter administration with significant, though far from satisfactory, success. True, the administration's ambivalence and caution has not yet been transformed into a vigorous and unequivocal commitment to social justice. Nonetheless, this coalition represents a formidable political force to which attention must be paid.

What seems to be confusion and uncertainty in the civil rights community may emerge as the surface reflection of the creative process of evolving programs to meet the changing requirements for black progress.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

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For further information, contact:

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Rustin Column

LABOR LAW REFORM: THE BROADER ISSUE  
by Bayard Rustin

For the past six months, American business groups and their erstwhile allies in the resurgent conservative movement have been beating the drums on labor law reform. "Big Labor," they tell us, is using the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 as a battering ram against the gates of corporate America; if the gates swing open, they warn, hordes of power hungry labor bureaucrats will ravage the land, and bankrupt thousands of hapless businessmen.

Such a scenario is, of course, highly exaggerated, yet the opponents of the Williams-Javits bill have been extraordinarily successful in causing widespread confusion about the intent of the legislation. For one thing, frightened business leaders have labeled the reform package a "give-a-way to the Labor Bosses." If the bill passes, according to President Richard Leshner of the Chamber of Commerce, the nation's workers and consumer's "will be burdened with an unfair, imbalanced labor law designed to increase membership and economic and political clout of the big labor unions."

But the bill is not about "Union Power." It is, instead, a measure designed to revitalize and reinforce America's labor relations system, a system whose success or failure has an enormous impact on the economic well-being of low and middle-income Americans.

Black working people -- despite what some conservatives and black businessmen have argued -- have an especially large stake in the outcome of this debate: it is blacks who are disproportionately represented in those industries and geographic regions which have most steadfastly resisted trade union organizing drives -- the textile, clothing and service industries of the Deep South. Workers employed in those labor intensive industries receive meager wages (almost subsistence wages) and face the constant threat of temporary lay-off or outright dismissal. They

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exist on the economic fringes of society with little or no hope for advancement.

Trade unions do, however, make a difference. Recent studies have demonstrated that blacks with trade union cards fare substantially better than their brothers and sisters working in non-union enterprises. According to the most recent data, black union workers -- both men and women -- earned a median weekly income of \$169 in 1974. Non-union blacks, on the other hand, earned only \$124 per week: a difference of over 35%. Another study showed that black union members are less likely than non-union blacks to suffer from temporary layoffs.

It would be naive and misleading, of course, to argue that trade union membership per se will magically advance the economic position of Southern blacks and other low-wage workers. But strong trade unions do, nevertheless, serve as a solid foundation for future economic gains. And without them, workers cannot even begin to confront the other social and economic factors which perpetuate poverty.

Why haven't low-wage workers already organized themselves into trade unions? The answer is relatively simple: employers, because of their overwhelming political and economic power, have thwarted virtually every organizing drive, frequently by using illegal and unethical tactics.

Under the present law, there are few penalties which effectively deter unscrupulous employers from dismissing pro-union employees, interrogating workers about their union sympathies, or bargaining in "bad faith." Similarly, anti-union companies can slowly dissipate pro-union sentiment by continually delaying representation elections through clever -- but costly-legal maneuvers.

Some critics of the proposed reforms, such as Mr. Leshar of the Chamber of Commerce, complain that the bill "would transform the National Labor Relations Act from a remedial statute to a punitive law, designed to punish employers...." To a certain extent, Mr. Leshar is correct. But how else can one enforce a law which many employers find so tempting to violate?

The penalties included in the Williams-Javits bill are hardly draconian. Employers who repeatedly break the law and deny workers their most basic rights will be barred from receiving federal contracts. Who could possibly complain about that?

And employers who bargain in "bad faith" (as legally determined by the National Labor Relations Board) will be required to grant their employees retroactive wage increases comparable to those won by other workers. Without such sanctions -- and these are mild indeed -- workers have no protection whatsoever against law-breaking

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employers.

Business groups and Congressional conservatives on both sides of the aisle have derisively called the reform package "just another piece of self-interest legislation." But when the Senate votes on the Williams-Javits bill, it will be more than a yes or no to what conservatives call "the Labor Bosses." It will be a yes or no to the thousands of workers, especially black and low-wage workers, who want a fair chance to join the economic mainstream of America.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

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## NEWS RELEASE

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(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately  
March 16, 1978

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE REFUGEES: "DO NOT FORGET US!"  
by Bayard Rustin

A new "invisible man" has been born within our midst -- the Southeast Asian refugee. Shunted from country to country, over 150,000 of these "invisible people" cling to a precarious existence in scores of refugee camps which dot non-Communist Asia. They have a simple and solitary message for the international community: "Do not forget us!"

Some well-meaning people have said to me: "The black community suffers from record high unemployment. Why should blacks be concerned about Southeast Asian refugees? They'll only take jobs and housing which black people desperately need." Such an attitude is understandable, but allow me to describe the enormity and urgency of the refugee problem.

Two months ago while serving on a delegation organized by the International Rescue Committee (an organization which has provided much assistance to the victims of apartheid and repression in Africa), I had an opportunity to speak with many refugees currently living in Thailand. They all told the same stories; they all had the same fears. If they return home, they said, the Communist regimes will almost certainly kill them. Many complained about the lack of food in the Thai camps, yet they fear their own governments more than they fear starvation.

Of all the refugee groups I encountered, the Cambodians were the most determined to resist returning to their now desolate homeland. When the brutal Khmer Rouge forces seized control of their country over two years ago, more than 15,000 people fled to Thailand, frequently with only the clothing on their backs.

At present, thousands of Cambodians are crowded into four camps in eastern Thailand. Most of these destitute people have lived in these poorly equipped camps for two years or more. Resettlement programs have advanced at a snail's

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pace; few foreign countries have any interest in "undesirable" and semi-literate Cambodians. Moreover, recent border clashes between Thai and Khmer Rouge troops have made the Cambodian refugees suspect in the eyes of the Thai government.

Cambodia's neighbor to the east -- Vietnam -- has produced thousands of its own refugees, many of whom have taken to the high seas in dangerous little boats. These courageous "Boat People" have suffered heavy losses in their quest for freedom. According to several reliable sources, as many as half of these people perish at sea (about the same mortality rate suffered by black slaves crossing the Atlantic from Africa), either through starvation, drowning or exposure. Merchant ships which pass these imperiled human beings rarely, if ever, offer assistance. And the Thai government has become increasingly reluctant in granting them landing rights on Thai shores.

Vietnamese "Boat People" who somehow survive the rigorous sea journey presently live in two temporary camps near the coastline. Since 1976, the number of refugees in these camps has risen to over 2,000. Another inland camp serves 1,500 Vietnamese who escaped through Laos.

I talked to several Vietnamese and they all described the "New Vietnam" as a harsh and oppressive society. Common people, they told me, have been uprooted and forced to re-locate in areas far from friends and family. Others have been sent to the so-called New Economic Zones. And still others have been compelled to change occupations. Trade unions, religious groups (both Buddhist and Christian), and student organizations -- all of which once flourished in South Vietnam -- have all but disappeared.

Two ethnic groups from Laos -- the Lao and Hmong peoples -- have even more refugees in Thailand than the Vietnamese and Cambodians combined. At present, over 72,000 Laotian refugees live in nine densely populated camps in the northern sections of Thailand. The refugee community includes urban and rural people, as well as a contingent of former military and government officials.

Conditions in Thailand's refugee camps, at least the ones I visited, are far from uniform. Certain camps have better facilities than others, but none of them deserve to be called "homes." Given its limited resources, the Thai government has, I believe, made an honest effort to provide decent facilities. Yet, most refugees lack toilets, adequate food and clothing, and even personal privacy. All of these amenities, which most of us consider indispensable, have become highly-prized luxuries. Indeed, life itself has become a costly luxury for these people.

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It would be easy and politically expedient to conveniently forget these beleaguered people. We could, I suppose, sooth our collective conscience by sending a few dollars to the camps. But in seeking a "painless solution", blacks would ignore a basic lesson of the civil rights movement: the black struggle for freedom is intimately linked with the universal struggle for freedom, whether it be in South Africa, the Soviet Union, or Indochina.

How can we help these people? They do not want hand-outs or a "free ride." Instead, they want a fair opportunity to rebuild their shattered lives and earn a decent livelihood. And there is only one way we can help -- we must open the doors of America. Black people must recognize these people for what they are -- brothers and sisters, not enemies and competitors.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

For Release:  
Immediately  
March 30, 1978

For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

### MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DREAM by Bayard Rustin

Last week, I was talking to a young man who -- at the time of Dr. King's assassination in 1968 -- was in 10th grade. He recalled that evening in early April when the shocking news of Dr. King's murder was broadcast to the world. But he had few, if any, meaningful recollections of the great civil rights struggles of the 1950's and the 1960's. Names and places like James Meredith, Birmingham, "Bull" Connor, and Little Rock, were blurred in his mind, vaguely remembered but not fully comprehended. He was, unlike his parents and older neighbors, untouched by the bitter reality of racial segregation. For him, the very concept of segregation seemed alien and peculiar, indeed unthinkable.

The attitudes of this young man, I think, testify to Dr. King's greatest accomplishment: racial segregation, whether de jure or de facto, has become politically and morally untenable in modern America. He showed America, through the beauty of non-violent witness, the true face of racism, a face which was hideous and inhuman.

But Dr. King's social dream consisted of two intimately linked components: first, the realization of civil and political rights (an area in which we have made substantial progress); and, secondly, the achievement of economic and social equality by black Americans. In short, Dr. King proposed what might be called "a package deal" for black liberation. Freedom, according to Dr. King, would not and could not -- come piecemeal; nor would it come through the sheer benevolence of the white power centers. It would come only as the result of a social revolution, non-violent to be sure, but a revolution, nevertheless, in the true sense of the word.

During the ten years since Dr. King's death, phase II of the civil rights movement -- the economic phase -- has produced a spotty and somewhat disappointing record. Although most blacks have improved their economic position, at least



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marginally, since the 1960's recent years have seen repeated setbacks for black people.

After years of a slow, but steady, narrowing of the white-black income gap, the gap is now becoming wider. And unemployment rates among black workers remain at intolerably high levels. For certain categories of black workers, teenagers for example, the unemployment rate is double that of white workers. But perhaps even worse, the labor force participation rate for black men of prime working age has fallen drastically since 1958 -- from 96% to 88.5%. This bleak statistic indicates that thousands of black workers have abandoned all hope of "making it" in contemporary America.

These disheartening trends are easily traced to the disastrous economic policies so stubbornly pursued by the Nixon and Ford Administrations. And now even with a Democratic president elected with the overwhelming support of black voters, the situation looks only slightly better. Many politicians -- and here I include some liberals -- fail to grasp the concept that economic policy has become, in a very real way, the civil rights policy of the 1970's.

There are, however, viable and time-proven strategies for attacking the economic afflictions which continue to torment the black community. For one thing, Dr. King -- who died while aiding a union of sanitation men -- recognized the necessity of uniting black workers and white workers in their common struggle for economic security and advancement. But black workers, no matter how well organized, cannot resume the slow march toward economic and social equality within the context of a chronically ill economy. We must continue to press for a firm commitment to full employment (the recent House vote on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is an encouraging sign). We must move ahead in the uphill battle for quality integrated education. And we must reaffirm our support for America's urban centers, so often the depressing havens of America's poorest and most dejected people.

No, Dr. King's dream has not been realized after ten long and sometimes cruel years. Nor do I really think that he expected us to see the dream fulfilled in ten, twenty, or even fifty years. He knew that endurance and perseverance are the distinguishing marks of any worthwhile movement for justice. "The hard truth," he told us in 1967, "is that neither Negro nor white has done enough to expect the dawn of a new day. While much has been done, it has been accomplished by too few and on a scale too limited for the breadth of the goal. Freedom is not won by a passive acceptance of suffering. Freedom is won by a struggle against suffering. By this measure, Negroes have not yet paid the full price for freedom. And whites have not yet faced the full cost of justice." Dr. King's words still ring true today.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

---

## NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director*

---

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
April 13, 1978

Rustin Column

A BLACK TRADE UNION ENTERS A NEW ERA  
by Bayard Rustin

Several weeks ago, many black newspapers throughout the country mournfully -- and mistakenly -- reported the "death" of the venerable Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. While it is certainly true that the 53 year old union of black porters signed a merger pact with the much larger Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the old Brotherhood is far from dead.

At the time of the merger decision last February, A. Philip Randolph, who is celebrating his 89th birthday this month, explained the significance of the agreement. "The merger," Mr. Randolph pointed out, "does not signal the end of the Brotherhood. Instead, it will provide the union with renewed strength and additional resources to better represent its members."

In deciding to affiliate with a larger and much more powerful railroad union, the sleeping car porters did not dissolve their historic union. Instead, they once again displayed a keen understanding of the principles that have guided their immensely successful organization since 1925. For in linking arms with other union members, the porters have reaffirmed their fundamental belief that the struggle of black workers cannot and must not be separated from the struggle of all workers.

When Mr. Randolph and his friends proposed this "coalition" strategy in the 1920's, they were regarded as radicals, utopians, and even fools. Given the social and racial attitudes of the time, such a reaction is quite understandable.

The old craft-dominated American Federation of Labor, the only significant labor group in those days, had few black workers in its ranks, and it showed little enthusiasm for vigorous recruiting among "the darker races." And within the black community, both North and South, there was little or no understanding of the tremendous potential of mass organization as an indispensable weapon in the

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black struggle for social, political and economic liberation.

Despite these seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Mr. Randolph and his union brothers moved ahead, ignoring the counsel of the ever present pessimists and defeatists. During the early days of the Brotherhood, the small band of activists pursued their objectives at great personal risk. Not only did they face almost certain dismissal from their Pullman jobs, they also feared for their personal safety. It was no easy task to organize their brothers spread across the vast United States.

Unlike some other unions of the time, the Brotherhood was more than an economic movement. It was also a civil rights movement. Although the porters recognized the importance of unifying workers of all races, they never pulled their punches in criticizing the bothersome racial practices of some AFL unions.

At every AFL convention, except the Vancouver meeting of 1929, Brotherhood delegates introduced and organized support for resolutions demanding the elimination of "color bars" and other discriminatory practices used by certain Federation affiliates. On occasion, the charges and counter-charges became somewhat bitter. But, like the porters, the AFL soon came to the realization that a racially divided work force benefited neither white nor black workers. Racial division, the Federation and Brotherhood understood, only strengthened the position of employers against all workers.

The recent merger agreement, I think, symbolizes the strengthened bonds between the labor movement and the black community. To be sure, certain problems persist, but during the last twenty-five years, the labor movement has experienced a dramatic social transformation.

Today, "color bars" have become curious anachronisms, and Jim Crow locals and "auxiliaries" have completely disappeared. Trade unions are, as I have argued before, the most fully integrated institutions in America. And, even more important, they have shown themselves to be the most dependable allies of black people in the quest for social and economic equality. The fact that a black union like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has sufficient self-confidence and courage to merge with the predominantly white Railway and Airline Clerks is, I believe, the most convincing testament that real change -- and not just superficial change -- has been realized in the labor movement.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

653

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
April 27, 1978

Rustin Column

### PUBLIC PAYMENT FOR PRIVATE PRIVILEGE by Bayard Rustin

During the next few months, the black community must pay careful attention to a well-intentioned but dangerous piece of legislation that threatens the continued viability of public education in America. If adopted, the so-called Tuition Tax Credit Act -- commonly known as the Moynihan-Packwood bill -- would signal the beginning of a potentially harmful redistribution of public funds away from public education. In providing new financial "blood" to non-public schools, the bill would leave the already battered public schools seriously weakened, and dying from financial anemia.

Why is this particular bill so objectionable, especially to black people? As presently written, the Senate version of the Moynihan-Packwood bill proposes that the government provide annual tax credits -- not simply tax deductions -- to parents who decide to send their children to private schools. According to objective estimates, such credits will reduce federal revenues by as much as \$2.5 billion per year, a staggering amount by anyone's book.

If the bill is adopted by Congress, as seems likely at this time, taxpayers will be shouldered with the additional burden of paying half the tuition of every youngster attending private schools, including elite and upper-class institutions.

But the bill contains another feature which is even more objectionable: the tax credit plan will almost certainly be a financial bonanza for upper-income groups. Since many private schools have traditionally catered to the educational needs of America's more affluent citizens, the relatively well-off -- who can already afford private education -- will enjoy a significantly reduced tax burden at the expense of poor and working people. Even with the proposed \$500 tax credit,

I honestly doubt that many working-class blacks could easily finance a private education for their children.

To further illustrate the anti-egalitarian bias of this proposal, it is worth noting the results of a recent study. If the bill passes, the study concludes, nearly 60% of the tax credits will end up in the bank accounts of families earning over \$25,000 per year. With this in mind, it is quite clear that the Moynihan-Packwood proposal is hardly a "poor man's bill."

Considering the horrendous injustices of our tax system, it seems foolish -- even immoral -- to propose additional tax breaks for those who already escape their fair share. But the bill even goes beyond that: it threatens to erode the already precarious tax base which supports local public schools.

Thomas Shannon of the National Association of School Boards explained this point in a recent discussion of the tax credit proposal. By offering lucrative tuition tax credits, Shannon argues, a growing number of middle-class students will transfer to private schools.

As more students attend private schools, taxpayer support for public education will rapidly decline. With their children attending classes in private schools, middle-class voters will become even more reluctant to support local school bond issues which entail property tax hikes. As a result, blacks, and other low-income groups will be forced to use under-financed and inferior public schools while middle-income students flee to well-funded private institutions. Education in America, once the main agent of equal opportunity and minority advancement, will soon evolve into a two-caste system -- public schools for the poor and dispossessed; private schools for the moderately affluent and rich.

As terrible as the legislation is, we must remember that some of the bill's most outspoken supporters, including Senator Moynihan, are men of good will and long-time supporters of the civil rights movement. Their motives, I believe, reflect a genuine concern for the many hard-pressed urban families who have traditionally sent their children to local private schools. Such concerns are understandable, even commendable, but the present version of the Moynihan-Packwood bill simply goes too far, and, in many instances, will provide assistance to those who need it least.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
May 10, 1978

Rustin Column

### KKK: DELUSIONS OF GRANDEUR by Bayard Rustin

Not long ago, I switched on my radio hoping to catch the latest news bulletins. But instead of news, I accidentally tuned in one of those marathon "talk shows" which seek to explore everything from Roslyn Carter's Spring wardrobe to the supposed benefits of eating natural yogurt. On that particular day, however, the subject was a little less trivial. The special guest was a self-proclaimed leader of the Ku Klux Klan.

I listened to the KKK leader for a few minutes, and then turned off the radio, confident that I would miss nothing I hadn't heard before. Although the Klan now couches its racism in somewhat more subtle terms, it still peddles the same, tired political line that inspired its birth over a century ago -- black inferiority, Jewish/Vatican conspiracies, and the perils of "race mixing."

Even though few Americans adhere to the Klan's twisted political ideas, our news media displays a growing fascination with the KKK and other far-right groups like the National White People's Socialist Party, more commonly known as Nazis. These days, cross burnings or a meager platoon of swastika-bedecked storm troopers attract significantly more press coverage than a mainstream conservative meeting attended by thousands.

From a media standpoint, I can well understand the attraction of a colorful cross burning on a balmy May evening, but all too often the real story of the extreme right goes unwritten. Rather than shaking in our boots, dreading the possibility of a Klan resurgence, we should rest confident in the knowledge that extreme right-wing groups like the KKK and Nazis have made no substantial progress after decades of impassioned agitation. Quite the contrary, they are more isolated and insignificant than ever before.

Consider the history of the Klan. The so-called first Klan, which emerged

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shortly after the Civil War, proudly claimed responsibility for hanging, mutilating and torturing thousands of black people. In Louisiana alone, as many as 2,000 blacks perished at the hands of vengeful Klan members. Even with its lengthy record of brutality and crude racism, the Klan persisted into the present century. According to one estimate, the so-called second Klan -- which existed from 1915 but especially flourished during the 1920's -- had an active membership of between four and five million people, making it a formidable mass movement. Today, however, the combined membership of all the various progeny of the great Southern Klans is less than 10,000 -- a rather paltry offspring by anyone's measure.

By pointing to the tiny size of the Klan and assorted Nazi groups, I do not mean to dismiss them simply as bad jokes, unworthy of serious concern. Any political group, regardless of size, that seriously advocates or defends racist and fundamentally anti-democratic policies must be watched carefully. But at the same time we must remember that this tiny band of dedicated hate mongers is certainly not reflective of any real political tendencies within our well-established and time-tested democracy.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

653

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
May 24, 1978

Rustin Column

### THE MEANING OF THE RAND REPORT

In more than a few respects, the current discussion of racial quota systems has acquired an almost theological flavor. Rather than focusing on earthly realities, the debaters prefer to discuss abstractions such as white guilt, the meaning of equal opportunity, and the legacy of black slavery.

As interesting as these subjects might be, they overshadow the real questions: Are quotas and other forms of affirmative action really effective means for advancing the economic and social position of minority groups in America? A new report just issued by the RAND Corporation says no. And its conclusions are well worth examining.

Contrary to the dominant social mythology, the RAND report concludes that affirmative action programs have been "a relatively minor contributor" in raising black income relative to white income. "Our results," the report states, "suggest that the effect of Government on the aggregate black-white wage ratio is quite small and that the popular notion that these recent changes are being driven by Government pressure has little empirical support."

What then accounts for the gradual narrowing of the black-white income gap? "Blacks and whites," according to the study, "are simply becoming more alike in those attributes producing higher wages." Specifically, blacks have made significant gains in the area of education, in proving their competitive position in the labor market. In 1930 the average black worker had nearly 4 fewer years of formal education compared to white workers. By 1970, the gap had dropped to a little over 1 year.

Another major factor, the report points out, has been the steady industrialization of the South. The transformation of the South from a backward, tradition-bound province into a modern industrial region has produced steadily increasing wage



rates for blacks who were once confined to the fringes of the Southern economy. "There is no question," the researchers said, "that blacks are at least equal participants with whites in the recent economic resurgence in the South."

While the report contains some good news for blacks, it also describes some persistent problems, especially economic inequality. Even with steady economic gains, the incomes of black males are still only three-fourths of those earned by white males. And, even worse, the report predicts that white-black income will not approach full equality during the current century.

Like all statistical reports, the RAND study should be treated with a fair amount of skepticism. But, the report -- even with all its flaws -- deserves thoughtful consideration within the black community. It should not be dismissed automatically as another "establishment" attempt to ignore the problems of black Americans.

As I see it, the RAND study offers the black community an opportunity to re-examine old strategies and preconceptions. Most importantly, the report strongly suggests that a civil rights movement concerned exclusively with racial issues will soon become obsolete. While few will deny that racial discrimination stubbornly persists in certain industries and regions, it is no longer the major determinant of black economic well-being.

Rather than concentrating on issues like the Bakke case, and the further advancement of quota-oriented affirmative action plans, the RAND study suggests another, more promising strategy for the civil rights movement -- that strategy, simply stated, the formation of a racially-integrated political coalition around the issues of full employment, improved education, and expanded social services.

As we all know, there are dangerous political forces in America that thrive on racial conflict. For many of the more doctrinaire conservatives, racial issues serve as a convenient cover for their disastrous economic policies. Unable to win on a platform promising high unemployment, unfair tax policies, and cutbacks in social services, conservatives can frequently win votes by appealing to widespread opposition against quotas and other devices perceived as instruments of "preferential treatment."

For years I have argued that black people cannot even hope for economic liberation without solid allies. In the recent past, especially during the period from 1968 until quite recently, racial animosity nearly destroyed the political coalition which united blacks, white workers, and liberals.

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Now, with the needless re-emergence of racial issues in the form of a bitter and highly divisive debate on quotas, the progressive political coalition is once again endangered. Some of us, I fear, seem all too eager to sacrifice programs and approaches ensuring real economic gains in defense of highly questionable social mythology, namely the dubious utility of racial quotas.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

Immediately  
May 26, 1978

For further information, contact:

Michael Kerper

### RANDOLPH INSTITUTE CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON LABOR LAW REFORM

Black workers have more to gain from the passage of labor law reform than any other group in America, Bayard Rustin told 1400 black trade unionists at the ninth annual conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Atlanta.

The Institute, which is committed to strengthening the bonds between the labor movement and minorities, works closely with AFL-CIO affiliates in organizing voter registration drives and labor support activities in minority communities throughout the country.

"The issue of labor law reform is central because of one simple fact: blacks who work and are organized make substantially more than blacks who are not organized," Rustin declared.

Rustin, the Institute's president and a senior leader in the black community, urged local affiliates to step up their labor law reform activities during the final weeks of the Senate debate on the bill.

During the conference, participants endorsed a statement calling for speedy Senate approval of the reform proposals.

"We believe that this legislation is a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system. Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low income workers," the statement declared.

"There is only one place where the poor and working people of different races can cooperate, and that is in the labor movement," Rustin emphasized. "The labor movement is the only institution which represents their economic interests."

Because of the growth of a black middle-class in recent years, the veteran civil rights leader argued that black workers "must move beyond seeing everything in terms of race." Economic and class issues, he stressed, must become the main concerns of black trade unionists.

Middle and upper income blacks, he said, have become more concerned with their

own "class interests", sometimes to the detriment of working class blacks. Illustrating the point, Rustin pointed to recent attempts by several black employers to decertify trade unions representing black workers.

As racial issues become less significant, black people must turn their attention to economic problems. While noting that some black workers continue to suffer from discrimination, Rustin insisted that "now many more blacks lose jobs because of automation, cybernation, and unfair trade practices."

Rustin called for a comprehensive economic program as the best means for helping black people. He criticized those who suggest "racial quotas" as a solution for black unemployment. "Black workers need full employment, housing, and adequate welfare benefits--not quotas," he declared.

Dorothy Height, a longtime civil rights activist and President of the National Council of Negro Women, received the 1978 A. Philip Randolph Freedom Award in recognition of her longstanding commitment to the civil rights and labor movements.

In accepting the award, Height praised the Institute for "trying to help us understand what is meaningful and significant" on the social and political scene.

She said her early discussions with Randolph taught her much about the trade union movement and "the importance of solidarity."

During the three day conference, participants from 180 local affiliates attended workshops on labor law reform, public relations, and support activities for workers employed by J.P. Stevens and Winn-Dixie.

Other conference speakers included Retail Clerks President William Wynn, Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch, COPE Director Al Barkan, AFL-CIO Organization and Field Services Director Alan Kistler, and Institute Executive Director Norman Hill.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

653

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
June 7, 1978

Rustin Column

### PRICE TAGS ON WORKERS by Bayard Rustin

American workers have once again become the first casualties in the renewed "war on inflation." Caught between the crossfire of problem and solution, workers are steadily bombarded by rapidly rising prices while simultaneously confronted with corporate and government attempts to impose wage "restraint" and "moderation." The prospects for victory -- even stalemate -- seem dim. But for 800,000 workers in the cotton industry, many of them black, the battle is even more dangerous.

While thousands of workers toiled at their daily tasks in the textile and cotton mills, two of President Carter's top economic advisors -- Charles Schultze and Barry Bosworth -- solemnly pondered the "economic impact" of long awaited regulations to protect cotton workers from byssinosis, a serious disease more commonly known as "Brown Lung."

Numerous medical studies have shown that a significant number of cotton workers, perhaps as many as 20% of the total work force, eventually contract "Brown Lung" in one form or another. Early signs of the disease involve chronic coughing and shortness of breath. As the disease progresses, workers experience more advanced and painful breathing difficulties leading to total disability and eventually a pre-mature death.

Writing to some obscure governmental body known as the Regulatory Analysis Review Group, Charles Schultze -- once known as a liberal -- warned "it is important to insure that any new regulations (to protect the health of cotton workers) do not impose unnecessary or uneconomic costs on American industry."

In effect, Schultze was saying that the health -- even the very lives -- of American workers has a price tag. In this particular instance, Bosworth's economists at the Council on Wage and Price Stability calculated the cost of saving one life at \$440,000, a figure deemed highly "uneconomic."

Perhaps I am naive or old-fashioned, but the thought of producing "economic

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impact statements" about the biological organs of human beings leaves me cold -- and dismayed. If modern economists have become so sophisticated that they can now "accurately" calculate the monetary worth of each human breath, and each drop of human blood without looking into a worker's pitiful eyes, I fear they have lost touch with the human values that motivated the generous, and far-sighted economic policies which characterized most of the post-war era, especially during Democratic Administrations.

While the Carter Administration's handling of the cotton dust affair leaves me deeply disappointed and shocked, the role of Labor Secretary Ray Marshall fills me with genuine hope. Indeed, the labor secretary seems to be the Administration's only economic advisor with compassion and an informed understanding of the needs and aspirations of America's working people.

As the New York Times reported, Secretary Marshall strongly and quickly protested Schultze's callous disregard for health and safety of cotton workers. In a memorandum to President Carter, Marshall opposed any delay in implementing anti-Brown Lung measures in America's cotton mills.

Moreover, Marshall personally appealed to the President on behalf of America's cotton workers. Unfortunately, the Administration's econometric technicians, who have difficulty discerning the difference between a living human being and a pile of machinery, prevailed on President Carter.

To a very large extent, the cotton dust affair illustrates some disturbing aspects of President Carter's approach to controlling inflation. Like his conservative Republican predecessors -- men who at least never pretended to be friends of working people -- President Carter and his economic advisors have pushed American workers into the frontlines of the "war on inflation."

While workers have their wages suppressed and their jobs threatened, the real causes of inflation -- exorbitant interest rates, fat salaries for corporate executives, lawyers and doctors, and high fuel and food prices -- slip by virtually unchallenged.

If the President persists in his largely ineffective and misguided anti-inflation strategy, we can rest assured that the 150,000 victims of Brown Lung will be the first of many helpless people sacrificed in the name of "price stability."

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
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Rustin Column

### FOCUSING ON THE OTHER ECONOMY by Bayard Rustin

Anyone concerned with the economic squeeze on workers and poor people should read Gus Tyler's penetrating new study entitled The Other Economy: America's Working Poor. Appearing in a recent issue of a small -- but spirited -- magazine known as The New Leader, the study lays bare the poverty, deprivation, and glaring inequalities that co-exist with affluence and wealth.

Tyler's study effectively challenges two dangerous political trends that seem to be sweeping America. The first -- which is especially popular among some intellectuals and politicians -- is a curious and premature celebration of universal or near-universal "affluence." According to the proponents of this new social myth, we need only "mop up" the remaining vestiges of poverty by either motivating or quietly abandoning those who cling so stubbornly to the nefarious "welfare ethic." America, we are confidently told, has achieved plenty in our own time.

This smug complacency has given birth to a second disturbing trend -- the ever popular idea that social problems are best solved by the nimble fingers of the market's "invisible hand." Neo-conservatives and business figures solemnly lecture us about the limits of government, and the great untapped potential of an expanding private sector (i.e. profit-motivated enterprise) as it displaces a parasitical, inflation-producing, and morally corrupt public sector. For conservatives then, affluence is best preserved and expanded by a gradual "withering away of the state" and the gradual elimination of "unnecessary" social services for the poor and non-affluent.

Tyler shows these myths for what they are -- simple myths. All is not so rosy, according to the study, and the root causes of our social problems won't be found in bloated federal budgets, fat workers, welfare chislers, or a tax system which unfairly penalizes business activity. Quite the contrary, many of our most serious social problems have deep roots in the very economic system which conservatives claim has been so efficient, so egalitarian, and so victimized

by government "interference."

By illustrating the endemic and almost radical inequality that characterizes the American economic system, Tyler reminds us that the problem is so serious, and so broad-based, that it requires a social solution, not a "trickle-down" strategy. By a social solution, I mean far-reaching efforts directed toward the transformation of our economy from a system based exclusively on private profit to a system far more responsive to social needs.

A social solution, of course, presupposes the existence of a strong political coalition -- including black people -- capable of mobilizing mass support for fundamental change in the American economic system. But in light of recent political events (i.e. Proposition 13 in California, the defeat of Senator Case, etc.), I fear we will face increasing difficulties in protecting and enlarging the progressive coalition, a coalition which is, ironically, losing the votes of many Americans who live and work in Tyler's "Other Economy."

Here is the central paradox arising from Tyler's study: because of apathy, internal division, and simple confusion, the political power of "The Other Economy" is either under-utilized or unwittingly aligned with forces committed to the continued subjugation of "The Other Economy." In a very real sense, "The Other Economy" is its own jailer and prosecutor. But it also has the potential for becoming its own liberator.

As I see it, those of us concerned with the problems of "The Other Economy" must once again become the molders of political debate in America. Through our own programmatic sloppiness and intellectual exhaustion, we have virtually abandoned the field to the slick "anti-tax" hucksters who contend that every decent social welfare program of the last twenty years has somehow been a disaster for the economy. And the fact that so many in "The Other Economy" eagerly buy these new economic fallacies is, in large measure, our own fault.

If we are to succeed in reversing the conservative trend, a trend which will perpetuate and aggravate the problems of black workers in "The Other Economy," we must vigorously confront the essentially regressive policies of the so-called New Right. We must unmask the blatant injustices of the present tax system, and advocate meaningful reform. And, most importantly, we must intelligently counter the increasingly popular belief that any and all public action inevitably worsens economic and social problems it sets out to solve.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

653

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
July 6, 1978

Rustin Column

### THOUGHTS ON THE BAKKE DECISION by Bayard Rustin

Contrary to our worst fears, the Supreme Court's decision in the controversial Bakke case clearly upholds the principle of affirmative action. While firmly rejecting the racial quota system used by the University of California at Davis, the Court simultaneously approved flexible and equitable affirmative action programs. The decision was, to use the words of Benjamin Hooks, "a clear-cut victory for voluntary affirmative action, not only in the field of admissions to schools and universities, but in other civil rights areas as well."

But the Bakke decision is in no way a definitive statement on all aspects of affirmative action. True, the Court decisively rejected strict and rigidly-imposed racial quota systems. However, the Court's opinion is filled with dozens of unresolved ambiguities and gaps. Just as the 1954 Brown decision did not end litigation regarding school desegregation cases, we can be certain that the Bakke decision will not end legal challenges to varying forms of "reverse discrimination." We are only at the beginning.

As I see it, we in the civil rights movement are now confronted with one overwhelming challenge: We must use the Court's decision as a foundation for advancing authentic affirmative action programs. In the wake of Bakke, we have an unparalleled opportunity to counter the widespread and destructive belief that racial quotas and affirmative action are the same thing. As a result of the Bakke discussion, Americans -- both black and white -- are at last beginning to understand that minorities do not seek "preferential treatment". Quite the contrary, they seek fair treatment.

Now that the Court has ruled on the Bakke case, supporters of affirmative action must once again seize the initiative. As a start, I propose that we free ourselves from the old ~~obsession~~ with quotas and numerical targets. The Court

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has clearly ruled that racial quotas are illegal and unconstitutional. If we now attempt to cleverly devise de facto quota systems tailored to fit the legal limits set by the Court, we will only deceive ourselves. Strict legality, as black people have cruelly learned is never a guarantee of fairness, or effectiveness.

Rather than relying on discredited and highly unpopular racial quota systems, the civil rights movement now has a serious obligation to examine and develop creative forms of affirmative action. For in destroying the popular misconception that affirmative action systems are designed to advance "incompetent blacks" at the expense of white people, we will be creating the proper atmosphere for the expansion of authentic affirmative action.

When I speak of authentic affirmative action, I have in mind several highly successful outreach programs such as the Recruitment and Training Program, Minority Women's Employment Program, The Urban League's LEAP, The Human Resources Development Institute and the paraprofessional program sponsored by the United Federation of Teachers. These programs, unlike simple quota systems, provide blacks and other minorities with valuable job skills that facilitate fair and equal competition in the labor market. All this is accomplished without stigmatizing blacks as "special cases," without diluting fair and acceptable standards, and without provoking widespread anger about "preferential treatment" and "reverse discrimination."

Because of our pre-occupation with quotas, we in the black community have never organized a thorough discussion of the goals and techniques of affirmative action. In the past, our approach has been overly narrow, and emotion-laden. Now, however, it is imperative that we have such a discussion, not only among ourselves but with our allies in the labor movement, the liberal community, and other ethnic groups. As we learned from the civil rights struggle, black Americans are powerless without allies. Unless we build a solid constituency for affirmative action, we will have only ourselves to blame for its failure.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
July 20, 1978

Rustin Column

### ANDY YOUNG AND THE DISSIDENTS by Bayard Rustin

Following his recent statement about "political prisoners" in the United States a number of individuals pounced on Andy Young, hoping to score a few political points against the embattled Carter Administration. But few, if any, dealt with the substance of Young's comments. Instead, many critics -- like Republican Chairman Bill Brock -- focused their attacks on Young's personal character and competence.

Brock, who patiently endured Gerald Ford's ridiculous assertion that Eastern Europe is free from Soviet domination, fired off a harsh condemnation charging Young with "puerile ignorance and incompetence." But the issue at hand transcends the question of competence, timing, or motives. The real issue is the radical differences between totalitarianism as practiced in the Soviet Union, and democracy as practiced in America.

It is true, as Andy pointed out, that he and countless others -- including myself -- were arrested and imprisoned during the great civil rights struggle. Every step toward racial equality and freedom was met with a barrage of political attacks and, in certain instances, even physical violence. Freedom riders and demonstrators were beaten and kicked while local police looked away. And some of our closest friends and most respected leaders died in the struggle. Yet there are important differences between the American system and the Soviet system. Let's look at the basic and indisputable facts.

Even in the darkest days of the civil rights movement, black Americans had two important advantages not enjoyed by today's Soviet dissidents. First, America has always been a relatively open society. Blacks in the North had strong and influential organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League to champion the cause of equality. Through the free press, through free speech,

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and through peaceful assembly, blacks could appeal to the conscience of white America for justice and compassion. Indeed, it was this openness and free flow of information which prevented a wholesale assault on Southern blacks.

The second advantage was equally important: blacks did not confront a monolithic government committed to the preservation of segregation and injustice. Quite the contrary, while some state and local governments vehemently resisted integration, the federal government was, in large measure, an indispensable ally of the civil rights movement.

In the Soviet Union, however, dissidents can neither appeal to public opinion, nor expect protection from the government. The Soviet version of Bull Connor never appears on television, and the dissidents -- unlike American civil rights leaders -- remain anonymous figures among the masses. Indeed, anonymity is the greatest handicap for protest movements in totalitarian states. A faceless, nameless movement is easily crushed by the iron heel of the state.

The equation of American "political prisoners" with Soviet dissidents becomes even more foolish when we look at the alleged "crimes," and the severe penalties. For example, Aleksandr Ginzburg was charged with dispensing monies to the families of jailed dissidents. By that standard, any American involved with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, trade union strike funds, or any other organization raising and distributing funds for law-breakers could expect a trial and almost certain conviction.

Anatoly Shcharansky, was convicted in Moscow on treason charges. The charge, of course, was a cover for his "real crime," his prominent role in the Jewish emigration movement. He was convicted and sentenced because he and other Soviet Jews requested permission to leave the Soviet Union for Israel.

For their so-called crimes, Shcharansky and Ginzburg received extraordinary sentences -- for Shcharansky, three years in prison and ten years in a labor camp; for Ginzburg, eight years in a labor camp.

Unlike most American prisons, Soviet labor camps have strict regulations and no grievance procedures. Shcharansky and Ginzburg will be permitted only one family visit per year. Their diet will consist of gruel, bread, and an occasional piece of fish. Meat is served only twice a year. And neither will be allowed books, newspapers or magazines. There will be no inspectors from Amnesty International, no meetings of "prison reform groups," and no appeals by ACLU lawyers. Shcharansky and Ginzburg will be abandoned men, helpless in the hands of the Soviet state.

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While we have problems and injustices in the United States, I think it is important to remember that even in the worst of times America was never totalitarian. By contrast, the Soviet Union, even during its most "liberal" periods, was never less than brutally totalitarian. And those who deny or ignore the crucial difference between relative freedom and absolute slavery are either blind or foolish. Andy Young, I hope, understands the difference.

# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
August 3, 1978

Rustin Column

### NEO-CONSERVATIVES AND TAX POLICY by Bayard Rustin

Every time I pick up the New York Times and find one of those slick cleverly written advertisements from Mobil, I gain new insight into the varieties of conservative thought in America. Unlike the rather crude and half-baked positions of the New Right and its allies, the neo-conservatism of the Mobil ads is supremely intelligent and proper. For the average reader, the philosophy espoused by Mobil and its intellectual disciples appears moderate and sensible. But as harmless as it appears, it poses a serious threat to the movement for equality and justice in America.

In the area of tax policy, for example, the neo-conservatives in both political parties have already emerged as a powerful force for increased inequality. According to their model, society is divided into two broad "classes," the productive and unproductive. To insure continued economic growth and prosperity, the neo-conservatives propose a further redistribution of income and resources away from the so-called "unproductive" elements of society to the productive sector.

Stripped of its elegant ideological garments, the neo-conservative position is little more than a rehashed version of classical economic conservatism, the same conservatism made so unpopular by the disastrous economic policies of Coolidge, Hoover, and, as more recently, Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford.

While the New Right engages in various forms of morality plays, the neo-conservatives have been busy transforming their philosophy into concrete legislative proposals. For example, on tax policy they have already produced two highly seductive bills which will almost surely receive even more attention during the upcoming Congressional elections. Both bills, I think, would be disastrous if adopted.

In writing the "Tax Reduction Act", Congressman Jack Kemp (R-New York) has

relied on the old strategy of coating vile medicine with sweet sugar. To sweeten the effects of a \$122 billion loss of revenue, Kemp's bill provides some tax relief to everyone. But the thought of reducing the federal budget by such an enormous amount is simply staggering. Everyone, from the poorest pauper to the richest corporate president is going to feel it.

Kemp, of course, has a quick retort. By reducing taxes by 30% over the next three years, we will stimulate investment in the private sector which, according to the optimistic Congressman, will create millions of jobs and produce billions in revenue. As proof for this highly dubious theory, Kemp points to the Kennedy tax cuts and the beneficial results they produced. Unfortunately, as Walter Heller has pointed out, the economic environment in the early 1960's was substantially different from the dismal economic environment of today. Heller warns that the Kemp-Roth analysis is as misleading as the old "Free Lunch" signs in bars.

Kemp's bill is misleading in another way as well. Although he claims to be a friend of minorities, workers, and middle-class people (all of them hard pressed by high taxes), Kemp's bill is a lucrative tax bonanza for the rich, that is the truly "productive elements" of society. According to Kemp, our present tax system "is strangling the incentive for investment and saving that are so necessary to the production of goods and services."

I find it difficult to believe Kemp's assertion when I look at a Congressional report indicating that huge corporations like Texaco, ARCO, United States Steel, Xerox, ITT, and Union Carbide all enjoy effective tax rates below 20%. Interestingly enough, Mobil Oil, which provides us with reams of brow-beating essays, had an effective tax rate of under 2% in 1975!

To boost production, Kemp proposes massive tax reductions for those who already enjoy a high standard of living. Under the Kemp bill, 44.5% of the \$122 billion in lower taxes will go to the richest tenth of the American population. A family with an income of \$100,000 will receive \$8700 in tax reduction, more than many working people earn in a full year. By contrast, a family earning \$15,000 will receive a mere \$500 or \$600 in tax savings.

This same type of "welfare for the rich" is provided in a companion bill known as the Hansen-Steiger amendment. Like the Kemp-Roth bill, this legislation -- which drastically reduces the capital gains tax -- is aimed at "stimulating" investment by providing even more wealth to the rich, and shifting the tax burden even more heavily on those least able to bear it.

If we accept the political line so beautifully summarized in the Mobil ads,

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we should greet the Kemp-Roth and Hansen-Steiger bills with humble gratitude. For according to the neo-conservative, we -- meaning blacks, workers, and middle-income people -- are the lucky, but unworthy, beneficiaries of the great wisdom and generosity of the "productive elite," those who own and operate the great corporations.

But if we reject this new corporate paternalism, we and our allies must present rational and creative alternatives aimed at increasing economic equality in America. By doing anything less than that, the moderate gains achieved after years of struggle will be swept away by the rising tide of business conservatism.

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# A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

653

## NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000  
Bayard Rustin  
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
August 17, 1978

Rustin Column

### CETA: A PROGRAM WORTH DEFENDING by Bayard Rustin

As I listen to the arguments of those who are so committed to gutting the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), my thoughts return to a memorable passage from the New Testament: "For everyone who has will be given more than enough; but for the man who has not, even what he has will be taken away."

Those few lines of Scripture, I think serve as an exceptionally appropriate epigram for the social and economic policies espoused by the resurgent conservative movement, and its allies in the business community. Whether it be tax policy, welfare policy, educational policy, or labor policy, one dominant idea reigns supreme -- every failure of our economic system is blamed on the alleged greed and laziness of the poor, the young, and the supposedly "unproductive" public sector.

To remedy our chronic economic ills, conservatives smugly tell us to forcibly tighten the belts of the poor -- "the man who has not" -- while simultaneously enriching the wealthy with tax breaks and business subsidies. While asserting that business needs more "incentives," the same political leaders and economists call for a lower minimum wage, lower living standards for workers, and lower wages for public employees. In line with this Victorian economic reasoning, the "anti-Big Government" forces have set out to cripple the CETA program. As they see it, the current debate about CETA offers a highly lucrative opportunity to attack and threaten other social welfare and employment programs as well. Every week, newspapers and magazines uncover some new instance of CETA-related corruption or waste. Some politicians, especially those who hope to exploit the "tax revolt", enjoy characterizing CETA as a fat government program which pays enormous salaries for little or no work. CETA, according to many of its most outspoken critics, is another obvious cause of runaway inflation, burdensome taxes, and general economic malaise.

The steady attacks and distortions have taken their toll. CETA is, I believe,

perhaps one of the most unpopular and misunderstood federal programs in existence. However, a careful look at the facts can quickly dispell some of the more troublesome anti-CETA arguments.

For one thing, CETA is hardly the gargantuan monster as portrayed by its opponents. Compared to other federal programs, CETA is relatively small. During fiscal year 1978, CETA received only \$9.6 billion. By contrast, tax loopholes that benefit business -- and only business -- cost the United States Treasury 31.8 billion, three times the cost of CETA. In overall terms, only about 2 cents of every tax dollar went to CETA.

Despite CETA's small size, many critics contend that even this stingy expenditure for training and public service employment should be drastically curtailed. CETA programs, they argue, have outlived their usefulness because we have now supposedly achieved "full employment." Such an argument is persuasive only for those who consider 6.2% unemployment as "full employment." I, for one, soundly reject such reasoning.

While it is certainly true that unemployment has decreased during the last year and a half (President Carter deserves some credit here), the moderate decline hardly justifies scrapping or reducing CETA. In fact, the scandalously high jobless rates among blacks, teenagers, women and unskilled workers strongly suggest\* that we need to expand rather than trim the CETA program.

Some CETA opponents, especially those concerned with persistent unemployment, suggest that it would be far more efficient to subsidize low-paying jobs in the private sector. While such an approach seems attractive, it ignores some fundamental economic realities, including the highly selective impact of unemployment on specific groups of workers, such as minorities, young people, and the unskilled.

Unlike the "trickle down" strategies which emphasize investment tax credits and lower tax rates for corporations, CETA provides effective and immediate relief to special "target groups," which, in all probability, would gain little even if the overall economy experienced a sudden upturn. By selectively assisting groups like young people, migrants, women, minorities, and workers with obsolete skills, CETA provides job and training opportunities which the private sector alone cannot produce. Moreover, without a program like CETA, thousands of workers would be condemned to permanent unemployment; they would soon form a new and growing "underclass" in American society.

In addition to offering jobs and sorely needed income, CETA also provides workers with useful training, solid job experience and good work habits. At the

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same time, the overall community benefits from a wide range of CETA public works projects, such as the restoration of municipal parks, the construction of new roads, expanded recreational activities, and scores of other services. And all this is accomplished at a relatively small cost to the taxpayer.

Moreover, CETA jobs are not "dead end" careers as some critics charge. Nor are they a form of economic opium designed to lull the unemployed into political complacency. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall recently pointed out that the program "is not a short-term band-aid to cover up serious unemployment." Instead, he emphasized that CETA "is designed to be a transitional program for the unemployed and the disadvantaged rather than a permanent government subsidy." Marshall's point is convincingly demonstrated by concrete evidence. For example, according to one recent study, about 60% of all CETA workers receive regular jobs within three months of leaving the program and a substantial number of others enter military service, or return to school.

There are, of course, some disturbing flaws. Like most federal programs, CETA has some wasteful features and questionable procedures. But minor imperfections are not an adequate cause for killing or crippling the program. To eliminate the more serious abuses Secretary Marshall and the Labor Department have assembled a package of far-reaching and well designed reforms.

Although the Carter Administration is firmly committed to the reauthorization of CETA at the end of this year, the program's survival is by no means assured. Congressional conservatives -- who just enacted a horrendous tax program despite President Carter's opposition -- are more confident than ever in their drive to slash social welfare and public employment programs. Only a concerted legislative effort by minority groups and their allies in the labor and liberal communities will avert dangerous cutbacks in CETA.

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# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately  
August 31, 1978

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column.

## WOMEN AND ECONOMIC EXCUSES by Bayard Rustin

When I was a young child in elementary school, I had a classmate blessed with an amazing talent. No matter what the predicament, he managed to create a host of highly imaginative excuses. If he arrived late, as he frequently did, he blamed the weather, the roads, and even his poor mother who allegedly overslept. Because of his growing addiction to excuses, he soon scorned any attempt to analyze problems in a rational and mature way. Excuses, then, soon became easy -- though dangerously inadequate -- substitutes for solutions.

I recount the story of my old classmate because many modern economists, especially in America, have apparently fallen into the bad habit of preferring excuses to solutions. For example, current discussions regarding unemployment seem far more concerned with finding simplistic excuses rather than hard-headed solutions.

High unemployment, the economists tell us, is caused by too many women, too many youngsters, and too many old people seeking jobs. If all these so-called "marginal elements" would quietly return to the kitchens, the street corners, and the old folks homes we would, according to the new economic theories (i.e. excuses), have full employment.

These theories, which are really excuses, have always left me a bit wary, and for good reason. For decades the civil rights movement fought against the idea that America could justifiably turn its back on the unemployment and degradation of so-called "marginal groups." In those days, as you may recall, anyone with dark skin conveniently fell into the "marginal" category.

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Some contemporary economists now assert that the high jobless rates among women -- the new "marginal" -- are somehow natural and predestined by God. Such people advise us to look exclusively at the unemployment rates for males who head households. These rates -- which are always relatively low -- are supposed to be the true indicators of our affluent economy.

Such a narrow-minded approach to employment policy might be acceptable to some ancient theologians who enjoyed speculating as to whether or not women and blacks had souls. But for me, it seems hopelessly antiquated, and, even worse, tinged with a kind of social defeatism. Moreover, it ignores some fundamental -- and rarely discussed -- facts.

To begin with, those who complain that women have flooded the labor market have not, I suspect, bothered to consult any reliable statistics. Out of curiosity, I recently looked into the matter of the "female flood," and discovered that the great flood is hardly more than a trickle.

Compared to 1890, the proportion of women seeking jobs today is considerably higher, yet the increase in recent years is negligible. In 1967, for example, 41.1% of women aged 16 and over were in the labor force. In 1976, the proportion was 47.3% -- hardly a mammoth increase. And part of this increase was offset by a drop in the proportion of males over 16 who were working or seeking work. But while all this was occurring, the overall unemployment rate more than doubled during the same period. With this information in mind, I find it difficult to believe that the small increase in the proportion of working women caused or even contributed to the feverish increase in unemployment rates.

While it is true that the proportion of working women has grown, it is not true, as some people have insisted, that the vast majority of working women are in the labor force for ego-building kicks, or "pin money." The vast majority of women hold jobs for the same reason as men -- they head families, and desperately need income for themselves and their dependents.

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Presently, nearly 8 million families -- roughly 14% of all American families -- are headed by women. And within the black community, one of every three families is headed by a woman.

Because of anti-woman job discrimination, as well as other factors, these families face severe economic problems. According to an excellent study by Beverly Johnson of the Labor Department, one of every three families headed by a woman live in poverty. In 1976, these families had a median annual income of scarcely \$7,200. For black families headed by women, the median income was a mere \$5,069 -- not even \$100 per week.

Over 70% of these women work in low-paying, dead-end jobs such as domestic service, garment and textile manufacturing, and low-level clerical work. In most cases, they lack the protection of a union contract, and the various fringe benefits which it provides. To make matters even worse, the unemployment rates for these female bread winners is significantly higher than the overall rate. In March, 1977, for instance, the rate exceeded 10%.

As I see it, this scandalous situation must be dealt with on several levels. First, and perhaps most importantly, we must firmly establish the principle that all Americans -- regardless of sex, age, or race -- have a right to a good-paying, dignified job.

Attempts to establish separate employment goals for different groups would, I believe, signal a dangerous reversal for women as well as blacks. We in the civil rights movement have always opposed such "divide and conquer" strategies in the past, and I see no reason to change our position now.

Closely allied with this demand for an authentic right to work is the campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. If this amendment succumbs to underhanded attacks of the New Right, I fear women will have an even more difficult time pressing their legitimate demands for equal treatment in employment policy. And now is the time to challenge the myths and excuses of those who would blame our current economic malaise on women, youngsters or minorities.

# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Michael Kerper

## RUSTIN, HILL CRITICIZE CARTER ON PLO, CIVIL RIGHTS

Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill, top leaders of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, told President Carter today that his recent comparison of the civil rights movement and the Palestine Liberation Organization "is a disservice to the entire civil rights movement since it equates our cause -- a just and noble cause -- with a movement led by terrorists."

"In terms of tactics," Rustin and Hill wrote, "the differences between the PLO and the civil rights movement are enormous. Our movement is, as Mr. Randolph frequently said, 'a massive moral revolution.' The PLO, by contrast, has always engaged in what might be called a revolution against basic morality."

Rustin and Hill also noted that American civil rights groups "fought for reforms which would strengthen and protect the rights of all Americans." The PLO, however, "supports a program which denies the just rights of Israel and its citizens."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute is a national organization of black trade unionists with 180 affiliates in 36 states.

(The full text of the letter is attached)

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

A. Philip Randolph  
*President Emeritus*

Bayard Rustin  
*President*

Frederick O'Neal  
*Vice-President*

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*Executive Director*

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# apri

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

August 1, 1979

President Jimmy Carter  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Your recent statement about the supposed similarities of the American civil rights movement and the Palestinian cause left us confused and disturbed. In our view, there are no parallels between these two disparate movements, either in tactics or in objectives.

Whereas our civil rights movement demanded the rights of the black minority to participate on an equal basis within the overall society, the Palestinian cause -- as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization -- is not interested in securing rights for a minority. Instead, it openly seeks the destruction of Israel. In short, while we in the civil rights movement fought for reforms which would strengthen and protect the rights of all Americans, the PLO supports a program which denies the just rights of Israel and its citizens.

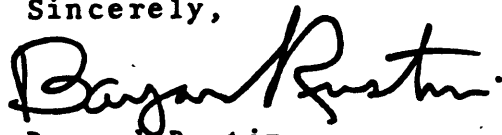
In terms of tactics, the differences between the PLO and the civil rights movement are enormous. While mainstream black leaders -- fine men like A. Philip Randolph, Dr. King, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young -- always emphasized non-violence and the crucial importance of political organization, the PLO has never relied on anything but outright terrorism and political and economic blackmail. Our movement is, as Mr. Randolph frequently said, "a massive moral revolution." The PLO, by contrast, has always engaged in what might be called a revolution against basic morality.



Because of our long years of involvement in the civil rights struggle, we sincerely regret that you have compared our movement with the PLO. Such a comparison, we believe, is a disservice to the entire civil rights movement since it equates our cause -- a just and noble cause -- with a movement led by terrorists.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



Bayard Rustin  
President



Norman Hill  
Executive Director

BR/spm

# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately  
September 14, 1978

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

## POLITICAL JUNK FOOD by Bayard Rustin

Confusion rather than accurate information is the product of most modern advertising. If you plan to market a non-nutritious breakfast cereal, you simply emphasize that each morsel is sugar-coated, shaped like personal zodiac signs and enjoyed world-wide by Olympic athletes. By stressing these inconsequential points, attention is cleverly diverted from the most pertinent fact -- the cereal is worthless junk.

Just as corporations have successfully marketed junk foods, junk cars, and other junk products, some business-supported groups are now selling junk political ideas. Foremost among these Cracker Jack proposals are the so-called "right-to-work" laws, the original political junk food.

While appearing to offer job security and full employment, "right-to-work" laws offer neither. Instead, they are intentionally designed to weaken unions, lower wages, and keep workers in their place. All this is accomplished by imposing a compulsory "open shop," even when a majority of workers democratically opt for union representation.

Essentially, the open shop arrangement -- favored by employers since trade unions emerged over a century ago -- allows a few workers -- the free riders -- to enjoy all the benefits of collective bargaining without paying a cent toward the upkeep of their union. Such an unfair system necessarily militates against the development of strong unions, and provides the employer with numerous advantages.

By deliberately and repeatedly confusing the issues, "right-to-work" forces

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have scored some key victories during the last two years. In Arkansas, for instance, they successfully blocked a spirited attempt to repeal that state's compulsory open shop law. And in Louisiana they passed legislation outlawing all forms of union security clauses. Now, the business-supported National Right-to-Work Committee has opened shop in Missouri with the hope of selling its sugar-coated, but hazardous proposals. Fortunately, many key black leaders in Missouri and across the country fully understand that a victory for "right-to-work" could very well spell disaster for the black community, economically as well as politically.

For black people, the economic consequences are especially clear. As numerous studies have shown, black union members earn substantially more than non-union blacks. In 1974, for example, the median weekly income of black union members was \$169, while non-union blacks received only \$124 -- a difference of more than a third. By weakening unions through compulsory open shop laws, the economic security of thousands upon thousands of black union members will be jeopardized.

To sweeten the bitter economic impact of "right-to-work" laws, their leading proponents assert that "union free" states and localities quickly attract business investment which creates more jobs. The facts, however, tell a different story. A few years ago, the former Governor of Kansas -- one of 20 "right-to-work" states -- claimed that such laws actually discourage industrial development. Furthermore Professor Daniel H. Pollitt of the University of North Carolina concluded that a variety of studies indicate that right-to-work states have not received more than their proportionate share of a new industry, and that the enactment of right-to-work laws is in no way responsible for the increase in non-farm employment."

While business groups supporting "right-to-work" efforts claim to be solely

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concerned with "protecting the freedom of their employees," they are, in reality seeking to protect their own freedom -- to fire workers at will, to pay low wages, and to keep fringe benefits minimal. Moreover, they also seek to neutralize labor as a political force by weakening unions in the shops.

At the political level, then, "right-to-work" is also a challenge to the black community. If these deceptive proposals -- favorites of the New Right -- win approval in Missouri or any other state we can expect a lengthy parade of other conservative measures, such as cuts in school budgets, reductions in desperately needed social services, and "tax reforms" that aid the rich. In short, another "right-to-work" victory, especially this year, will further encourage the peddlers of political junk food.

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# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
September 28, 1978

Rustin Column

BLACK VOTES VS. POLITICAL MONEY  
by Bayard Rustin

Over ten years ago, Martin Luther King boldly speculated about the great potential of a united, well-organized, and militant black electorate. "The Negro vote," he said, "is only a partially realized strength." With massive registration and mobilization efforts, Dr. King predicted that black electoral "pressure can achieve measurable results, the Negro citizen will make his influence felt."

Throughout the last decade, many of us have followed Dr. King's sensible advice. Yet, after innumerable registration drives, voter education conferences, and "get out the vote" campaigns, the black community continues to short-change itself politically. Indeed, with each passing year, the enormous political potential of the black electorate dwindles even further. For many politicians, the black community is now viewed as a political paper tiger, unable to mobilize voters, and unable to organize intensive lobbying efforts.

Consider for a moment some disturbing statistics about black political participation. Since 1968, the black vote has steadily declined at an alarming rate. Ten years ago, 58% of all eligible blacks voted in the Nixon-Humphrey election. In 1972, only 52% voted in the presidential election. And in 1976, barely 50% cast their ballots in the Ford-Carter contest. The figures for state and local races are even lower.

As our political strength continues to diminish, the power of our traditional adversaries continues to grow. Business and conservative groups -- never friends of the civil rights movement -- have successfully capitalized on the generally

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conservative mood of America. Their political aggressiveness is reminiscent of the wheeling and dealing of the old Robber Barons. While their tactics and ideas might seem out-moded, they won numerous legislative victories during the last year. Sensing a conservative resurgence in the November elections, the New Right and its business allies anticipate even sweeter victories when Congress reconvenes.

To a large extent, these expected victories will be engineered by business-dominated PACs, short for political action committees. Since 1974, over 500 corporations have established well-financed, and smoothly-operating PACs. Armed with computerized lists of employees, and seemingly unlimited funds, PACs have already demonstrated their clout, at the ballot box, as well as in Congress.

ARCO's Civic Action Program is a prime example of corporate political muscle. According to the Wall Street Journal, ARCO spends approximately \$750,000 per year on its amazingly effective political action program. ARCO uses its PAC to mobilize thousands of employee/voters. Additionally, the political action committee actively lobbies for company-backed legislation, and showers "friendly" candidates with generous contributions.

Some corporations and professional organizations shy away from the more innovative political techniques, such as ARCO's program. Instead, they simply provide candidates with lavish political contributions. For example, during 1977-78, the American Medical Association's PAC, the Real Estate lobby, and the Auto Dealer's PAC each raised over a million dollars. So far, the fourteen largest business committees and New Right groups have amassed nearly \$14 million for political activities.

Aside from formidable financial resources, business and conservative interest have another strategic advantage -- mass apathy, especially among minorities and workers. Unfortunately, the conservative forces -- who hope to make a real killing in November -- are far from apathetic and moribund. On the contrary,

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they have once again discovered that political action pays off handsomely.

A prominent conservative lobbyist summarized the current political situation with a brilliant one-liner: "Congressmen first learn how to count and then to think." And developments during the last session of Congress certainly confirm that simple though highly insightful analysis.

To remain in office, politicians must count votes as well as dollar bills. While money is highly important, even the richest and most heavily financed candidate comes to the electorate as a pleading supplicant. Regardless of slick advertisements, plus cocktail parties, and \$500-a-plate dinners, we -- the black electorate -- can make a "life or death" decision for a politician whether he be friend or foe. Our <sup>political</sup> power is there; we need only use it.

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# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately  
October 12, 1978

Rustin Column

## FREEDOM: NOT FOR WHITES ONLY

For many Americans, particularly poor people and blacks, the idea of "freedom" has become something of a hoax. Faced with high unemployment, steadily rising prices, and rather uninspiring political leaders, many people have concluded -- erroneously, I think -- that basic civil rights and constitutional government are nothing more than fancy icing on a stale, crumbling cake. "Freedom," they insist, is meaningless for the oppressed.

But those who so readily despair of freedom forget one central reality -- in today's world the worst oppression, worst, discrimination, and worst deprivation all exist in societies which decidedly lack freedom as we know it. Indeed, the absence of freedom is almost a certain guarantee of wretched poverty, scandalous inequality, and rampant political repression.

My point about freedom is not based on impressions, or a casual reading of the newspapers. Rather it is based on a carefully researched study entitled Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties. (available from Freedom House, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018).

A brief examination of the unfortunate situation in Post-Colonial Africa helps to illustrate my point. According to the Freedom House study, the vast majority of black Africans continue to endure discrimination, brutal exploitation, and quiet -- almost unnoticeable -- political subjugation.

While we all know and abhor white minority rule and the apartheid systems of South Africa and Rhodesia, we sometimes ignore the self-serving and occasionally gruesome dictatorships which seem to cover the African Continent from shore to



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shore.

Because of Idi Amin and his well-publicized excesses, much media attention has been diverted from the less colorful and slightly more humane African dictators, such as the rulers of the Central African Empire, Angola, Burundi, and the Congo. All these countries, according to the Freedom House report, are roughly on par with Uganda, South Africa, and Rhodesia in consistently violating basic civil liberties and human rights.

Consider for a moment the situation in Burundi. This small, inland country of 4 million people is ruled exclusively by members of the Tutsi tribe, a group which represents only 15% of the overall population. Meanwhile members of the majority Hutus tribe have no rights whatsoever. In a sense, Burundi has established a governmental system as cruel and as discriminating as the oppressive white minority in South Africa.

A similar situation exists in the Congo (Brazzaville) where virtually the entire ruling elite is drawn from a single tribe representing only 15% of the population. Similarly, small military or civilian cliques rule in countries like Benin, Togo, Somalia, Rwanda, Niger, and Malawi. In most instances, these relatively young African nations have only one political party; elections usually involve only one political slate; and debate is closely monitored, if not forbidden altogether. Additionally, independent trade unions face severe restrictions, and all types of citizen organizations are carefully controlled.

This distressing movement toward one-party dictatorship has been resisted by some sturdy -- and commendable -- anti-authoritarian states like Gambia, Senegal, Kenya and a handful of others. Yet the prospects for freedom and constitutional government in Africa, as well as other parts of the third world, are far from promising.

Some people, of course, keep telling me that my concern about the state of

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of human rights and civil liberties in Africa is misplaced, and even unwarranted. African people, they assert, cannot handle the complexities of democracy. Nor can Africans hope to achieve a modicum of economic prosperity unless they willingly accept iron-clad authoritarian rule.

These arguments -- or cliches -- hearken back to the days when Southern blacks had little or no political power. White segregationists constantly argued that blacks could not be trusted with the vote. Black people, they said, did not understand democracy. And some whites even tried to prove that blacks fared considerably better before the destruction of the degrading slave system. Now, many African leaders have unfortunately adopted the irrational arguments of our own segregationists.

As I see it, black Africans must be freed from the oppression of white minorities, as well as black minorities. Without some degree of liberty and democratic rule, the great mass of Africans will never break the terrible chains of slavery. As black Americans, we have a special responsibility to help foster and defend human rights in Africa. To do anything less would be a betrayal of our African brothers and sisters.

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# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release:  
Immediately  
October 26, 1978

For further information, contact:  
Rustin Column

## OUR DEFEATIST CONGRESS by Bayard Rustin

Throughout my career, I have been patted on the back innumerable times and smilingly told that half a loaf is better than nothing. In most cases, the "half loaf" represented a weak, disappointing compromise, but always something of substance, always something to build on in the future.

Using that old cliché, many Congressional leaders have told us that working people, minorities, and the poor received at least a "half loaf" from the 95th Congress. But an honest examination of the record suggests a basic revision of the old analogy. Instead of a "half loaf" we received little more than a few crumbs.

Some critics will surely accuse me of undue bitterness, but the facts, I think, more than justify my attitude. In compiling a quick balance sheet of Congressional actions, I found it difficult to identify more than three moderately significant victories. Setbacks and stalemates, however, became so numerous that I stopped jotting them down. Looking at the lists, my conclusion was easy: While we received crumbs, someone -- especially business interests -- walked out of Congress with "nearly a full loaf."

Interestingly enough, all our legislative gains came in cost-free areas. For instance, the ransacked version of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill -- a proposal which Hubert Humphrey would barely recognize as his -- will cost the government nothing. Likewise, full Congressional representation for the District of Columbia, and the extension of the ratification deadline for the Equal Rights Amendment involve no new expenditures. Yet even for these basically symbolic, no-cost measures, we had to fight bitterly.

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While we battled for new advances, our energies were frequently diverted to defensive actions. Here, I believe, we did rather well. For example, we halted the forward advance of the highly dangerous and simplistic Kemp-Roth tax bill, a piece of legislation which would cause chaos in the public sector while further shifting the tax burden from the rich to low and middle-income groups.

Energy legislation, specifically the question of gas deregulation, serves as another example of political stalemate. While the bill adopted by Congress has serious deficiencies, it does, nevertheless, offer some minimal protection for energy consumers. The deregulation of gas prices will be phased in over several years, thus avoiding an immediate and devastating impact on the poor. And even more important, the energy package offers a faint glimmer of hope for the future development of a comprehensive and fair energy program.

Our defeats, I fear, heavily outweigh our victories. In the area of public service jobs, for instance, revisions and cuts in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act have eliminated approximately 100,000 CETA slots. To make matters worse, Congress approved an unnecessary and shocking amendment lowering the already stingy wages paid to CETA workers.

As Congress busied itself with various measures to tighten up services and income to the poor and jobless, it adopted a tax bill which provides new and broader loopholes for the rich, especially those who thrive on un-earned capital gains income. As a result, the old aphorism about the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer has sadly gained renewed validity.

Congress handed us other defeats as well. We also lost on key issues like labor law reform, consumer protection, hospital cost containment, and public financing of elections. We abandoned proposals like national health insurance, equitable tax reform and fair import controls. And we were compelled to accept a seriously diluted version of our minimum wage proposal. In short, we achieved painfully little, and frequently at enormous costs. -more-

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How, then, does one account for all these stinging defeats and miserable disappointments, especially when Congress includes so many avowed friends of minorities and working people? Recently one leading social critic argued that Congress is simply responding to a resurgence of "social meanness" throughout the country. Americans, he asserts, no longer care about the unemployed, the poor, and the "welfare cases" of society. Through measures like Proposition 13, and the Kemp-Roth bill, voters are viciously striking back at black people and the poor. Selfishness and racism have supposedly become the dominant trends of the day.

As attractive as this "social meanness" analysis might seem, it is, I believe, fundamentally flawed. As I see it we are not dealing with mean-spirited people who enjoy kicking blacks, and stealing from the poor. And even if we were, there is no sure cure for meanness.

Instead our political problems arise more from a deep and pervasive sense of social defeatism rather than simple-minded meanness. As evidence of this, I point to several studies indicating that many people who support massive tax cuts, and a contracting public sector, vigorously support full employment, improved education, and assistance for the poor.

Americans have not lost their generous instincts. But I believe we have lost our historic optimism, . . . confidence in our ability to solve the ever-present problems of poverty, economic inequality, and racial discrimination. By banishing our once proud utopias and visions, we and Congress have become the pitiful victims of complacency and despair. Without hope and confidence progress is unachievable; stagnation is a certainty. Unfortunately, the record of the 95th Congress is a disturbing testimony to indifference, despair and the lack of vision.

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# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

## THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTIONS by Bayard Rustin

As American politics becomes more and more confused, those of us who analyze election results need ever stronger doses of skepticism and humility. I can still remember our triumphal mood back in 1976 following the election of President Carter and what seemed to be an overwhelmingly liberal Congress. But as we soon learned, initial political impressions -- especially in today's world can frequently mislead us. Thus, to avoid falling into that trap again, I will limit myself to a few comments about several races with special significance for blacks.

Any discussion of the elections, of course, must begin with the saddest news of all, the defeat of Senator Ed Brooke of Massachusetts. During his two terms in the Senate, Ed Brooke served quietly and unobtrusively. But even though he rarely made the headlines, he was unusually effective. With his close links to the moderate wing of the Republican Party, Ed Brooke frequently acted as a bridge between the two parties, constantly defending and articulating the program of the civil rights movement. And, unlike some other contemporary political figures, Senator Brooke always understood the difference between compromise and selling-out. In short, he was a marvelous Senator, and we will miss him greatly.

Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, both of them outstanding and promising black leaders, were also defeated, in this instance by a conservative upsurge in California. But even though these defeats -- along with Senator Brooke's -- are quite discouraging and painful, I think it is important to remember one important point: all of these black political leaders were rejected primarily for political reasons, not racial reasons. Thus, we should not view

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these setbacks as proof of an anti-black backlash. Instead, they reflect changing political trends that seem to favor conservatives over traditional liberals.

One very important black victory -- the Missouri "right to work" referendum -- received scant attention from the press, even though it was an amazing setback for the New Right and its anti-labor allies. The minority community in Missouri -- which was exceptionally well-organized -- proved once again that a united black vote is the most effective defense against political forces that threaten the economic security of blacks. Indeed, without a strong black vote, the anti-union measure might have won, sparking a nationwide campaign for "right to work" laws and other socially regressive measures.

Black voters also had a decisive impact in several other races as well. In Michigan, for example, blacks helped defeat Republican Senator Robert Griffin, a long-time opponent of federal programs supported by civil rights and labor organizations. During the last session of Congress, Griffin voted against the civil rights movement on 8 of 11 key issues, such as minimum wage, school desegregation, and labor law reform. His replacement, Carl Levin of Detroit, will hopefully do a better job of representing Michigan's blacks.

In some respects, the election reflected some disturbing trends: the steady drift to the right, the weakening concern for the poor and unemployed, and the sometimes dangerous fetish for irrational tax-cutting. Yet, there is also an important positive trend for blacks. Whereas some elections of the recent past -- 1968 and 1970, for instance -- focused heavily on racially-divisive issues like busing, and affirmative action, this year's elections had little or no racial overtones, even in the South. Such a development, I believe, is an encouraging sign for black Americans. And with the steady decline of racial issues, we can now focus on the real issues confronting blacks -- jobs, educational excellence, decent housing, and steadily expanding opportunity.

# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

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Immediately  
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For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

## MISSOURI: AN UNNOTICED VICTORY by Bayard Rustin

With all the chatter about the right-ward drift of American politics, blacks and other liberal forces occasionally fall prey to what might be called a psychology of defeat. Every day the press heralds new victories for the conservatives—such as defeated school bonds, new assaults on the minimum wage, anti-bussing crusades, and the like. Considering all these so-called stunning setbacks, we soon begin to think of the New Right and traditional conservative forces as virtually invincible; we think of ourselves and our allies as a bungling group of incompetents.

Because of this defeatist mentality, we overlook our own strengths and possibilities. And we fail to take full account of our own victories, victories which are rather impressive in light of current political realities. As an example of an impressive and highly significant victory, I have in mind the recent Missouri referendum on a favorite proposal of the New Right, a so-called "right to work" law.

Even though the Missouri referendum was billed as a great battle between organized labor and organized conservatism, the election involved much more. In a very real sense, the "right to work" question was a referendum on the program, priorities and attitudes of the New Right and its frequently covert allies in the business community. The outcome was, quite frankly, a surprise: conservatives were decisively rejected by Missouri's voters, and by especially large margins among working people and blacks, the very groups which are supposedly at each other throats.

Several other aspects of the referendum deserve careful attention. For example, at a time when we are supposed to believe that "special interest" issues



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for blacks and labor are doomed to certain defeat, the Missouri proposition was a perfect example of a "special interest" proposal. Yet, it produced widespread interest, and an amazingly large voter turnout. Over 45% of the Missouri electorate voted even though there were no statewide races whatsoever. In fact, Missouri's turnout was far higher than the national average of 39%, and much higher than many states which had widely-publicized and controversial races for Governor and Senator.

A look at Missouri's political traditions further emphasizes the significance of this victory. If "right to work" went down to defeat in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, or some other liberal, industrialized state, the defeat would be hardly worth mentioning. But Missouri is not a notably liberal state. Instead, it is a border state with a moderate to conservative political tradition. Moreover, some elections in recent years seemed to indicate that Missouri was also experiencing the general right-ward drift of the nation. But the black-labor victory contradicts all that. The old liberal-labor alliance -- if we can still use that phrase -- triumphed in the face of tremendous odds.

All this, I think, teaches us some worthwhile lessons. First, and most important, we should never underestimate our own strength and support in the broader community. If anything, the Missouri referendum proved that when given a clear, simple choice, voters will overwhelmingly line up with the forces of social progress and decency. Moreover, Missouri demonstrated that such support will emerge in even the most unexpected places, such as rural communities, and even among generally conservative white-collar, suburbanites. But we also learned that this nascent support must be effectively mobilized and educated. And these crucial tasks can only be accomplished if the black community is united and organized, and willing to cooperate with other groups, such as trade unions, religious organizations and community groups.

# apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately  
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For further information, contact: Rustin Column

CARTER'S INFLATION PROGRAM: PUNISH THE VICTIMS  
by Bayard Rustin

President Carter's anti-inflation program, to put it rather bluntly, suffers from a warped sense of fairness. Instead of coping with the real sources of inflation, the President's approach penalizes -- unintentionally, I believe -- the most brutalized and most defenseless victims of steadily rising prices. Rather than offering hope and aid to poor people, workers, and the unemployed, the President's strategy increases the already heavy burden shouldered by these groups. By comparison, business groups and wealthy individuals -- those who suffer least from inflation -- are asked to do little or nothing. Once again, then, victims are blamed for their own victimization.

By saying all this I am not suggesting that the Carter Administration is mean-spirited, insensitive, or a willing tool of business interests. On the contrary, I believe that President Carter has made a sincere effort to deal with inflation, a dangerous problem that especially torments working people and the poor. But while I refuse to question President Carter's good intentions, I do not refuse to question the wisdom of his economic policies as they relate to blacks and workers. Those policies, to be blunt once again, are disastrous.

While the Carter Administration certainly took precautions to insure that its anti-inflation program would be just and workable, it seems to me that its strategy has three serious and potentially fatal flaws: first, it is a voluntary program; second, it seems to assume that wage increases are the principle, if not exclusive cause of inflation; and, third, the proposal for fiscal "austerity" will have an especially disproportionate impact on individuals and groups least responsible for

CARTER'S INFLATION PROGRAM: PUNISH THE VICTIMS  
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inflation.

By its very nature, a purely voluntary system of wage-price controls -- as proposed by President Carter -- results in major inequities, and places a disproportionate burden on workers. Under the proposed guidelines, wage increases are capped at 7%. But the formula for regulating price increases is nebulous and confused. Without some sort of simple and easily enforceable price guidelines -- like those in force during World War II -- workers receive virtually nothing in return for their sacrifices. Moreover, a system widely perceived as unjust will breed even more distrust, resentment, and political cynicism.

Considering the weakness of Carter's price controls it seems fair to conclude that the Administration has bought the idea that wage increases have been the leading cause of inflation. While that analysis surely has wide popularity, an examination of recent economic trends clearly indicates that inflation has other less obvious sources. And by concentrating attention on wages, the easiest target, we ignore the far more troublesome sources of inflation especially in the areas of interest rates, food, housing, energy and health care costs. Wage increases have had little or no effect in boosting the costs of those goods and services.

In light of all this it seems somewhat misguided to place such a strong emphasis on a 7% wage cap when, in fact, inflation arises from predominantly non-wage sources. Wage guidelines without strong price controls -- especially in the problem areas I mentioned -- will simply prevent workers and poor people from making up lost income. And since real wages (in terms of 1967 dollars) are already significantly lower than they were in 1972, employer-enforced wage limits will only increase the frustration so keenly felt by the victims of the economic diseases that seem to permanently afflict our system.

President Carter's proposal for fiscal austerity makes his overall strategy even less attractive. For whenever we hear about "austerity budgets" it means

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austerity for the poor. It means, quite simply, that those who have the least in our society will be asked to sacrifice the most. If one believes the recent hints from various Administration officials, next year's federal budget will probably have about \$15 billion less for social programs and jobs. And those programs are already scandalously under-financed.

If Carter's program is inadequate, what can replace it? To begin with, we will never control inflation unless we have a program viewed as equitable and effective. President Carter has produced a set of proposals that have been rejected by the key constituencies that elected him, blacks and labor. Unless he can win the support of these two indispensable groups, I fear no anti-inflation program -- no matter how imaginative or promising -- will succeed. Furthermore, we must finally bury the old and discredited notion that inflation is best controlled by economic recession and government cutbacks. Working people and the poor are no longer willing to sacrifice while others indulge themselves.

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