

The Final Verdict Of Violence

Probably the most wretched and the most miserable human being on the face of the earth today is the dyed-in-the-wool white southerner in the United States. In his frantic effort to ease his sickened conscience he is bristling with threats of violence against the Negro in the deep South while southern congressmen scream like maddened she-wolves in Washington. In his hour of frustration he cries aloud to his god of segregation for relief only to be met with the hollow echoes of his own pitiable wails in a world that is slowly becoming aware that it is not by might and power that men must live at peace in the world but by the spirit of Him who walked this earth nearly two thousand years ago and taught all mankind to love one another.

That Negro leaders have met these angry thrusts of the White Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan, mobs and individual apostles of violence with patience, dignity, truth, love and other non-violent forces cannot easily be understood by the type of white southerner that is now running rampant in the deep South. These half-civilized humans are most adept at violence and bloodshed and enjoy nothing better than being the leaders in a reign of terror against Negroes. By so doing, they are furnished with a most comforting compensation for their lack of achievement in fields of education, industry and business. The more unenlightened ele-

ment of this particular segment has even been known to resort to the handling of poisonous snakes as a form of worship at which time they will defy the law or any other agency that attempts to prohibit them.

Such persons can take part in the lynching of a human being — provided it is a Negro — cut off the fingers, toes, or ears from the victims for souvenirs, set fire to the body after saturating it with gasoline then dance and shout for joy at the smell of burning human flesh. When the embers have died away they can go home and sleep as sound as a new-born baby. Their counterpart in the north is the kidnapper that can snatch a child from its crib and leave it on the side of the road to die or bludgeon its head into a mass of red jelly with no more thought or compunction than a gorilla.

As the frustration increases, the tempo against integration will increase with all stops being pulled out in the southern press and by southern congressmen, who are beginning to sense the threat of the rising Negro vote. That the Negro is pursuing a course of non-violence makes these rabid southerners madder and madder and their frustration more painful. Now if the Negro leaders would only come down to their level and resort to violence they would have an excuse for embarking upon a reign of bloodshed as their leaders have predicted. But when they dynamite Ne-

gro homes, shoot at and wound innocent bus passengers and the Negro leaders refuse to do likewise but continue to talk about brotherly love, forgiveness and kindness, they become enraged like madmen.

So, in the words of the lowly Nazarene we say to our white brethren in the South, "Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Put up your dynamite, your guns, your hot tempers, your violence, your race hatred, your malice; for they that fight with these things shall with these things be consumed. If you will not do this but will insist on choosing them as your weapons we will choose love, forgiveness, forbearance, and if, in so doing, you choose to shed the blood of those who for nearly three hundred years have walked side by side with you only in love, a brotherly spirit and faith in the building of this country, go ahead. A course of violence on the part of Negroes will not be endorsed by their leaders. We know too well the eternal price that must be paid by those who fight with the sword.

In the end Divinity will pronounce the verdict and unborn generations will bow their heads in shame at the record of their forebears who were so unchristian and so undemocratic as to resort to violence to preserve the right of one group to look down their noses at another.

just how asinine some of our white folks in the South can get when they become over-powered with prejudice. The two acts would not have been committed by ignorant whites. Certainly if such

viciousness is to be found on a federal bench in the South and at the head of a southern university, what must be the state of affairs among the illiterates in this section of the country.

FACING THE ISSUE

By DR. A. H. GORDON

IT WOULD HAPPEN HERE



We have heard a great deal in recent weeks about the cruel treatment perpetrated upon the Hungarian rebels by the established Communist government of that country, ably assisted by the Russian communists. Although we hold no brief for the Russian treatment of the rebels in Hungary, we think there is a great deal of hypocrisy in the anxiety which the governments of France, England, and the United States have been propagandizing. Our attitude is due to the fact that we believe that the same treatment given the Hungarian rebels would be given the Negroes in the southern part of the United States and the colored people under the control of England and France in Africa and elsewhere if the Negroes in the South and the colonial possessions of England and France would start fighting for their rights and against gross discrimination by the use of physical force as did the Hungarian rebels.

usually dramatic way, decided not to fight for their rights with physical force but rather to try the way suggested by Jesus Christ when he rebuked Peter for cutting off the Roman soldier's ear. If Peter had won out as to methodology, the result would have been a great many people, Roman and Jews, without ears, but Jesus would have still been arrested, tried and crucified. In addition to all this, Jesus would have lost his struggle with his adversary, the Devil, and there would be no spiritual salvation for us today. The great victory of the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama has not received as much publicity as the Hungarian rebellion, but it is far more significant in world perspective if one is thinking of the future of humanity upon this planet.

Force Failed In Slavery

We use the word "would" instead of "could" advisedly. For example, if the Negroes of Montgomery, had started fighting segregation by physical force, you would have had the Southern Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and other organized and unorganized groups in the South starting a reign of terror. England proved what she will do in the case of the Mau Mau in Africa. Nothing the Russians have done in Hungary could surpass in barbarity what the English did for the Mau Mau who were just as brave and willing to die for freedoms as were the Hungarian rebels.

Not only the Negroes in Montgomery but Negroes in the United States from slavery on down to the present day have shown far more common sense than the so-called brave Hungarians. Many Negroes in the days of slavery and since have believed that the best way to achieve freedom is to fight for it physically. Over a thousand insurrections in the South by Negroes to achieve their freedom before the civil war attest to the fact that the Negroes who sang and believed that "before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave" had courage and loved freedom more than life. Most of the Negroes who sang that song meaningfully were buried in their graves and freedom was not achieved by their deaths.

Negroes Tried Way Of Christ
The fact that we have not had just such a Godhead in Montgomery, in a more than un-

likely in the United States part (please turn to page seven)

THE MODERATE WAY IS NOT THE RIGHT WAY

Editor's note: This is the second installment in the series reprinting the speech prepared by Miss Lillian Smith for the non-violence institute sponsored by the Montgomery (Alabama) Improvement Association.

INSTALLMENT II
Why is there a crisis now when for 50 years we have not felt that segregation had reached a critical peak? Why has the Supreme Court's decision precipitated this crisis?
As I see it, this is why:
The Supreme Court is the legal voice in our land. It interprets the U. S. Constitution for us. We are not free, in this country ruled by law, to interpret the law for ourselves as Herman Talmadge says he does and that "everybody can do." The Supreme Court has, therefore, said in effect that all legal segregation must go. Once

saying this, the crisis was upon us.
Why? Because now, if we do not take segregation out of our schools, we are defying the Supreme Court, we are subverting the Constitution. If we do not get rid of segregation in buses and trains and planes, we are defying the highest law-interpreting body of our land. If we do not get rid of all forms of public segregation, we are subverting our form of government.
But to say the Supreme Court's decision precipitated the crisis is only half a truth. It spoke its decision. The actual crisis came because we did not listen. The ordeal began when the governmental leaders of our southern states spoke out and (please turn to page seven)

Double Taxation In Durham County Negro School

In our issue of December 8 we published an editorial in which we called attention of our readers to the policy existing in several city and county school systems in this state of doubly taxing Negro teachers and citizens to maintain Negro schools. In that editorial we cited instances in which teachers are often being asked to donate money out of their own pockets, solicit advertising, beg money and articles from merchants and other citizens during school hours. At the time we had no idea that such conditions existed anywhere in Durham County until in response to the editorial we were so informed in several letters from teachers of one of the Durham county schools.

The Carolina Times has been advised further that not only are teachers in this respective school required to peddle advertising but are often excused from their class room work to go down town to beg

merchants for various articles to be used as bait for the children's parents. They also inform us that several merchants have expressed themselves as being disgusted at the practice of teachers from this particular school always begging. Under fear of losing their jobs, however, the teachers continue the policy, though it is most embarrassing to them.

Our informant also advised us that there are other practices going on at this particular school that are questionable and seriously need investigating. Some of them include charge affairs given at the school for which parents are not only required to purchase costumes for their children but must pay to see them perform afterwards or stand outside until the program is over. To cap it all, a few nights after the money is raised the school is conveniently "broken into" and all of it "stolen," with "hush, hush" pressure put on those teachers in the know.

Now this newspaper considers the future of the school children more important than any designing principal or teacher in the whole county or school system of Durham. We therefore do not intend to stand idly by while these crooked and unfair practices exist, and we warn all school principals here and elsewhere that unless they desist, we intend to make a full exposure of such. The place of a teacher during teaching hours is in the classroom and not pounding the sidewalks begging money, articles and other things for a school that should be furnished out of the public tax fund.

We also promise the teachers of this particular school in this county that we intend to pursue to the bitter end other conditions about which they informed us at a later and more appropriate time. Until then we trust they will continue to keep us confidentially informed as to further developments.

The Result Of Prejudice In High Places

The roof has caved in on U. S. District Judge William H. Atwell of Dallas, Texas. The 66 year-old jurist is not only being harshly criticized by fellow members of various federal benches for his lack of judicial propriety but by practicing attorneys as well. The most stinging rebuke has come from Judge Meier Steinbrink of the New York Supreme Court, who declared Judge Atwell as "not fit to sit on the bench." A full account of the rebuke is published in this week's issue of this newspaper. It told of other outstanding attorneys who were members of a committee censuring Judge Atwell for his conduct.

Not only did the Texas jurist criticize the U. S. Supreme Court for its anti-segregation

ruling in a Texas case but he went on to belittle and abuse an attorney who was appearing in it. The incident reminds us that a combination of sensibility and prejudice is a dangerous thing when it is clothed with judicial authority. Judge Atwell has done more to harm the cause he is championing than all of the enemies of segregation could do in 10 years. Like many other southern demagogues, he does not know that basically the average American citizen hates a bully. Negro citizens of America can thank Judge Atwell for driving to their side many persons who otherwise would never have been interested one way or the other.

The greatest injury has probably been that done to

the up-and coming respectable young white southerners who are bound to become embarrassed at such antics of one of their own. That, together with the ordering of the Mississippi State's basketball team out of the Evansville College Invitational Tournament after they had reached the finals—solely because of the presence of Negro players on the opposing squad—are probably two of the most telling blows struck at segregation by any white persons in the entire South within the past twelve months.

Frankly, Negro leaders should thank both Judge Atwell and the president of Mississippi State for the contribution each has made toward bringing it to the attention of the nation and the world

"Will He Be Permitted To Do It Again?"



Spiritual Insight

"LEADING US BLIND MORTALS"

By REVEREND HAROLD ROLAND
Pastor, Mount Gilead Baptist Church

Leading Us Blind Mortals
"I will lead the blind in a way that they know not, in paths they have not known, I will guide them..." Isa. 42:16.

thoughts in the quiet and painful hours of sickness. The hurts and cuts were healed by the magic of God's mighty power to restore our bodies. God led us through sickness and pain out again into the light of health and physical well-being. God is wonderful and gracious in leading us blind mortals as we walk through the shadows of sickness towards the light of healing.

Others have known the piercing dagger of grief in the separation from our loved ones. This year has brought us through the dark valleys. We were caught in the shadows of a heavy heart. We were stranded in the darkness. But thank God that time eventually heal all wounds. Time brings healing and comfort for the grief-stricken. Grief is that inner hurtful feeling which comes when a strong tie is broken. It may be death or other agonizing experiences of separation. Many thus have known the painful breaking of strong ties which leaves a kind

of sickness of the spirit. God, in time, healed the grievous wounds, as we came on our way. God promises to comfort those who mourn.

Then others have been led to joyous experiences of achievement during this year. Some have realized long delayed hopes and dreams under God's guidance. For some prayers have been answered. Things we have labored for over the years have become a reality. God has led us to success. Our labors have been crowned with a glorious victory. We have had great moments of rejoicing. God's word and his promises have become living practical realities for us. His word has been fulfilled in our lives. "I will lead the blind in a way that they know not...in paths they have not known I will guide them..."

Let us all thank God for leading us in our blindness whatever may have been our lot as we came on our way.

Watch on the Potomac -

Behind The Headlines
Friends of Sen. Estes Kefauver and Sen. John Kennedy were disappointed that they did not join the small band of Senate liberals out to clip the wings of democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson. Some writers speculated that both were already running for the 1960 presidential nomination.

But insiders say there was something more immediate involved. Next month a vacancy occurs on the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee when Sen. George of Georgia retires. Kefauver and Kennedy are both vying for this seat. Johnson will decide who gets it.

greatest gloom there is a cheerier side. While blocking of the Suez cuts off her oil, the British were far ahead of this country in using this cheap new source of electricity. Necessity, as the old saying goes, is the mother of invention.

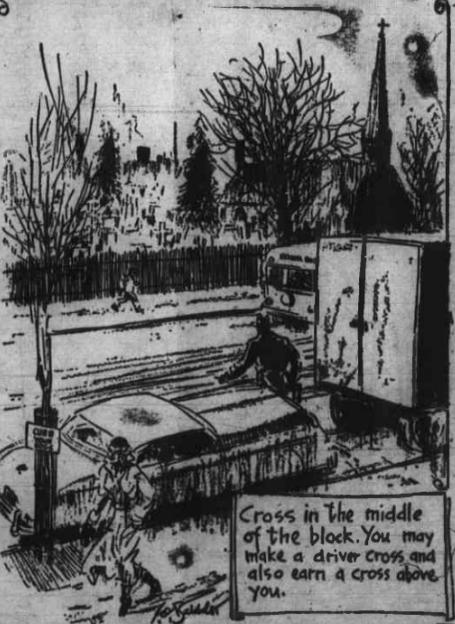
If we are able to avoid a World War in 1957, there will also be some improvement in the living standards of the impoverished people of the Middle East and India. The liberal bloc

within the Democratic and Republican parties apparently will prevail over the conservatives (for which read Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and Sen. Byrd of Virginia) on aid to backward nations.

President Eisenhower right now is siding with the liberals in preparing a blueprint for the foreign future.

As it takes shape, this is the face of Project World Recovery for 1957: (please turn to page seven)

INVITING THE UNDERTAKER-



Vice President Nixon is already being talked of as the "heir apparent" for the 1960 Republican nomination. But there are lots of Republicans who say "heir transparent" would be more to the point. The campaign to whittle Nixon down is already underway. His chief opponents include Ambassador-to-the UN Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator-elect John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and Senate Republican Leader Knowland.

But Nixon's friends are also at work trying to sustain the build-up he received in the election campaign. That's one reason for his trip to Austria. Nixon's most powerful backer, at the moment, is former Gov. Dewey of New York.

An Ill Wind That Blew Some Good

There isn't much cheerful news coming from Great Britain and the Continent at this Christmas season. The ill-fated Suez adventure took the edge off the slow British economic recovery from World War II and that unhappy people is headed once again for a period of austerity.

But even in moments of the

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