

## The Image of Durham's Mayor

At Monday evening's meeting of the City Council, Mayor Grabarek, respondent — as usual — with a red carnation, listened to Negro attorney, H. M. Michaux say in frank terms that a continuation of residential segregation in Durham could have the explosive consequences of Watts, Hough (Cleveland), Newark or Detroit. Speaking with reference to the proposed Bacon Street public housing issue, Michaux ended his statement saying, "If you do not wish to aid us in the perpetuation of progress, then we will not aid you in the preservation of peace."

With an air of arrogance and pomposity, the Mayor deigned to pardon the speaker for his presumption to "tell it like it is," by saying he would not interpret the attorney's words as a threat to the Council. To this, Michaux said: "I'm simply stating the facts, Mr. Mayor." The mayor's tone became terse and authoritarian as he told Michaux that, "this council will not be intimidated by threats."

Mayor Grabarek's trick of maneuvering a Negro, however humble his remarks, into a position of attempting intimidation or threats at his adversary is so old it stinks to high heaven. Such maneuvers can be interpreted as having one and only

one objective in mind and that is refusal or denial of the pleas of the representative of the 35,000 citizens of Durham not to build another housing project in the already overcrowded section of this city.

With three bond issues for the city and county of Durham now pending, in the near future and the distant future, the action of Mayor Grabarek and his ilk are making it hard for Negro leaders to influence voters of their race to support even one of them to say nothing about supporting all three.

What galls us further is Mr. Grabarek's hostility to soul-talk outlining what we have reasons to believe are true predictions, although dire, of what will happen if the white power structure in this city persists in policies and actions detrimental to racial harmony. The mayor also seems to think that the Negro has no right to say bluntly that he will not help those who refuse to help him.

What is even more disturbing is the fact that Mr. Grabarek's attitude is one of "arrogance of power." He is practically paranoid about the dignity of his office, and any attempt to nity of his office, and any attempt to exercise a citizen's democratic right to make demands of elected officials is met with raised hackles.

## The Voice of the Poor

After his official presentation to the Citizens' Advisory Committee here Wednesday, N. C. Fund Director, George Esser, remarked that "effective dialogue is usually accompanied by pressure."

Set in the context of what he had been saying to the Committee, the remark points to a fundamental problem generally involved in establishing communication between the poor and city officials whose decisions affect their lives, and a specific dilemma in our own city.

The term "dialogue" refers to reciprocal communication; it involves speaking out and being heard. If the poor speak out in concert, how do they insure that they will be heard? And if city officials listen to what they have to say, how do they insure that these officials will allow what is said to affect the decisions they make? The term "pressure" refers to what it takes to enliven a deaf ear, what it takes to get some action.

In Durham we have several organizations that give voice to the sentiments of different segments of our population — among them, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs and The United Organization for Community Improvement. These

two collectives have competent and articulate leaders who have presented to the City Council the views of their members concerning the construction of public housing in southeast Durham. They have done their part in attempting to establish an "effective dialogue" in communicating these views. But the City Council refuses to do its part, it listens but will not hear; if it hears, it refuses to allow the words of the people to influence their decisions on this housing issue.

The language of the common man is course, plain talk. It comes from the streets and the back alleys, from the porches and pool rooms, yes, even from the gutter. Part of the problem is that the city fathers are offended because the language of the people is not their own, and they allow themselves to be more concerned with how something is said than with what is said. On top of this, we believe they don't even want to hear what is being said.

If the City Council continues to fail to do their part in establishing an "effective dialogue," they will have to be pressured by every means the inventive minds of such men as Howard Fuller and Ben Ruffin can come up with.

## The Tobacco Industry

Young men and young women, both in and out of our schools, and colleges, who have allowed themselves to become addicts of cigarette smoking, should read with horror the recent report in which U.S. Surgeon General William H. Stewart charges the tobacco industry in this country with being "unconscionable" for introducing the 100 millimeter cigarette. The charges were made during his visit to the Research Triangle Park, located near this cigarette manufacturing center of North Carolina and the nation. They should view with increasing horror Stewart's statement revealing that cigarette smoking has been the cause of 55,000 deaths from lung cancer in this country.

Along with this newspaper's loyalty and profound interest in the growth and development of Durham, as a manufacturing center, we find ourselves confronted with the matter of weighing in the balances the health and lives of the future citizens of this nation against that of the tobacco industry. It is regretful that we find the tobacco industry decidedly WANTING!

Yes we have taken into consideration what tobacco manufacturing has meant to Durham and North Carolina, financially. We have also taken into consideration what the health and lives of our fellow citizens mean to this country. After carefully weighing the charges of U.S. Surgeon General Stewart in the balances we view the entire tobacco industry as a licensed murderer whose only concern is the almighty dollar profits at the expense of the health and lives of American citizens, principally our young people who will take up the

murderous habit of cigarette smoking. So we join with the U.S. Surgeon General when he says: "I don't know what it will do to the cigarette industry in North Carolina, I can't equate the North Carolina Tobacco economy with 55,000 deaths from lung cancer."

Back in the days when it was violently against the rules of our schools and colleges for any student to be caught smoking, on or off the campus, it now appears that their presidents, principals and faculty members wrought greater than they knew. As replacement for the abandoned rules against smoking in our schools and colleges we would like to suggest the organization of an anti-tobacco club or group in every school and college in this country. By so doing we would at least be doing something to safeguard the most precious possession of any human being — good health.

### Just one race—human

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — Re Dean Rusk's daughter's marriage: The Bible and science are in accord with the fundamental principle of the unity of mankind as expressed in the universal concept of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

There is but one race, the human race. Father Divine and good Pope John preached this over a million times. To all enlightened persons, there is no validity to the idea of "marrying out of one's own race." "Marrying out of one's own race" is a Nazi Rockwell and his technician "soul-brothers" might wish to believe.

Ku Klux Klan fanatics and Black Power bigots are preaching a dangerously stupid, destructive, and divisive philosophy. Since there is but one race, it is utter nonsense to believe that certain human beings have an innate monopoly on vice or virtue, and this based on pigmentation.

FREDERICK V. SEABROOK

## A DAILY PRAYER IN THE GHETTOS

MEN SHOW THEIR CHARACTER IN NOTHING MORE CLEARLY THAN BY WHAT THEY THINK LAUGHABLE.



## TELL IT LIKE IT IS

(By THAD GIVEN)

In the language of labor, Negro workers attempting to organize their own independent unions seem to have defined "Black Power" for themselves. "Power to Demand, Power to Negotiate, Power to Decide" has become the slogan of the Negro American Labor Council. The campaign to organize Negro unions represents a more militant stance on the part of the NALC which was organized seven years ago in protection over discrimination against Negroes in the AFL-CIO. The plan is to focus the campaign primarily on service workers. Represented in the effort are members of the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers of America, the International Longshoremen's Association, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The slogan is interesting. In the early days of union activity, workers emphasized the rights of labor to make demands of management, to negotiate their differences, and to decide what is acceptable in terms of their own interests. For the most part, management has conceded these rights to labor. In the case of the NALC, the emphasis is not labor's rights, but on the power that organization confers on labor's rights, but on the

power that organization confers on labor to exercise these rights.

The difference in emphasis is significant, and probably intentional. The stress on power reflects a strictly racial concern. Superimposed upon the shared concerns of workers generally, are the special concerns of Negroes specifically. In his frustration over his attempts to control the social forces affecting his life, the American Negro has identified his need for power. He is laboring to define "power" and to specify how and in what areas it is to be applied. The NALC has taken a step in this direction. Their slogan seems to imply that power must be wielded against management. Actually, the antagonist is white organized labor.

The exclusion of workers from established unions because these workers are Negro is the most damnable form of discrimination, even more heinous than that of prejudiced management. It is questionable whether the NALC will be able to deal with this problem effectively by forming independent Negro unions.

When it comes down to it, the source of "power" for the worker comes from his having specialized knowledge and skills. This is what most Negro workers do not have.

Those that do (carpenters, bricklayers, etc.) are denied access to the most potent means of controlling their livelihood when they are denied union membership. Those that don't are denied access to work itself—they cannot acquire the skills they need to practice a trade, because the unions control the training of recruits to the trade through their apprenticeship programs.

If skilled Negro workers form independent unions, they will conflict with white unions as they compete for contracts. Management will be able to play one off against the other. Racial antagonisms will increase. This is no solution. Separate unions only make sense where Negroes predominate in an occupation important to industry or business.

The NALC would do better to establish Negro Technical Institutes where unskilled Negroes can acquire the knowledge and skills they need. As more Negroes acquire specialized skills, white organized labor will have to allow them into their unions to keep management from being able to tap a large pool of skilled workers at non-union wages. Whether they know it or not, the source of "power" for the NALC will be the training of Negroes, not establishing their separateness as workers.

## To Be Equal

• By Whitney M. Young Jr.

### He Sees Signs A Sleeping Giant Is Awakening

There are signs that a sleeping giant is awakening. I'm talking about the immense power of nongovernmental institutions to use their many billions of dollars of economic power to help cure the racial and urban ills of America.

In the past, everyone looked to Washington. Business said that putting money into slums was too risky, religious and nonprofit groups said that such action didn't concern them, and local governments said they just didn't have the cash, although that didn't prevent them from finding it for other causes.

So it was up to the federal government. But its response was inadequate. It ended some forms of legal segregation, but in matters like housing it failed to make discrimination illegal or to provide an adequate supply of low-cost housing. As a result there are over 7 million dilapidated homes and apartments in America.

### Private industry needed

The big lesson here is that the federal government can't do the job alone. Building decent housing for all needs the cooperation of private industry, nonprofit groups, and government, all working together. In the past month a beginning has been made in this direction.

America's huge insurance industry announced that it would invest \$1 billion, mostly in low and moderate cost housing projects in slum neighborhoods. The government will insure their investment, guarding them against losses in what has always been a risky investment area. Without such government help it would be nearly impossible to get those private dollars into low-rent housing construction.

In a little more than a year, 1,000 moderate income families will move into the first of the buildings which will be constructed by the insurance industry. As part of its share in the pledged billion dollars, the Prudential Insurance Company will build a cooperative apartment house on the edge of the Newark ghetto.

### Catholic Church takes part

Nonprofit groups also are beginning to take part in the revival of private interest in decent housing. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Newark has announced that it will sponsor new housing and rehabilitation programs in several northern New Jersey cities.

But this is more than a bricks and mortar plan. Recognizing that many low-income families need help in many areas and that a decent home won't solve all their problems, the Archdiocese plans to provide special help for tenants.

They will help furnish and decorate the new home, and will provide guidance in educational, economic, medical, and other needs. Such services are desperately needed. They can help create the sense of community which the typical barracks-type of low income project destroys.

The importance of these planned projects is that they show that business, religious, and civic leaders are

coming to realize that they have an important stake in the cities, and that they must do something about the explosive urban conditions which threaten America's future.

### Can't be answered by guns

After this summer's riots many people called for repressive measures and police action. But the creative people in leadership roles understood that the cry from the ghettos cannot be answered by guns, but by action to end poverty and poor living conditions.

The Catholic housing plans in New Jersey, for example, grew out of Archbishop Thomas A. Boland's visit to Newark's riot area, and his decision to involve the church in the social and economic problems of the poor. And enlightened leadership of the business community has responded with the insurance industry's housing commitment, the formation of the Urban Coalition of city, business, labor religious and civil rights leaders, and with expanded work with groups like the Urban League to open up job opportunities.

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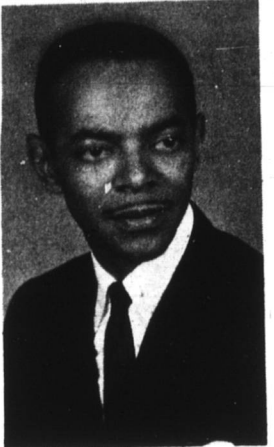
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## THE WAY I SEE IT

By DAVID W. STITH  
BACON STREET . . . DAVID AND GOLIATH

Note: David W. Stith, young Durham educator, is President of Southeastern Business College. A one-time candidate for Durham City Council he continues to show his interest in and concern for community affairs in this series of articles.

The struggle between Durham's Negro and white citizenry over the Bacon Street Housing Project continues. Each day it seems that more and more the superior numbers of the white citizens are carrying the day. And each white citizen must hold himself responsible as he quietly agrees to the course of action being imposed on the Negro citizens. Represented by their Goliath of votes on the city council they believe David will be easily defeated. But this is not so.



STITH

School? What will be the results of these two trends? To produce a new type of dual school system which carries more faults than the old Negro-White School system? In this system there will be on the one hand the predominantly white schools with just enough of a sprinkling of Negro students to be called integrated and a few highly qualified Negro teachers. On the other side will be the Negro schools with well integrated facilities supplied with the less experienced white teachers. The percentage of Negro teachers will be cut almost in half, and whites will be quieted with only token integration in their schools.

The Negro principals are taking the worse beating in this whole affair. Why is it that when a Negro and a White school are consolidated into a single unit the Negro principal nearly always loses his job, even when he is the better qualified of the two principals in terms of both training and experience?

And what of the attitude of city and county school administrators to the schools? Why is it that—again in Durham—white teachers in a Negro school are able to get materials and equipment by personally going to the administrative offices when the principal of the same school had been repeatedly denied the same supplies? Does this mean that only white teachers will have access to the materials needed to teach their students while they are denied to Negro teachers in the same school?

Despite the many efforts of the Negro citizens led by Ben Ruffin of the UOCI and others proceeding through the legitimate governmental channels the view of the Negro citizens have been ignored. Disobeying a basic precept of our governmental system the city council has refused to really listen to the legitimate protest of the Negro citizens. When even smaller groups of white citizens protested housing development in their areas (Club Boulevard and Benjamin Street) the city council acquiesced to arguments carrying much less force than those currently presented against Bacon Street proposal. In its single-minded attraction to this project, despite the opposition of the citizens of the area, the City Council has shown it would rather be racist than reasonable.

When all these methods have failed to rout the Philistines a single stone by David may win the victory.

May I suggest a stone to throw. Let them put on their armor—that is, build their ghetto housing project if they must. But Negroes do not have to live in it. If the whites want the Bacon Street Project so badly let them live there. A boycott of the project by the Negro citizens will give the whites a toy to play with. What will they do with a housing project in the middle of the Negro ghetto?

### WHERE IS SCHOOL INTEGRATION GOING?

North Carolina's pattern of school desegregation is moving towards something other than integration. Why are so many well qualified experienced Negro teachers being put into the predominantly white schools and being replaced by relatively inexperienced white teachers? To preserve an unequal system favorable to the whites? The result will certainly be to produce schools more unequal than they have been in the past and also gives a hint of the beginning of a pattern to sharply reduce the number of Negro teachers.

Is school integration in North Carolina to be simply a one way street? Does it mean only that Negro students will attend predominantly white schools with no traffic the other way? Consider the situation in Durham where a number of Negro students attend predominantly white Durham High School. But how many white students attend the Negro Hillside High

White doesn't make right—or even best for that matter—in education or in anything else. To take the white as the best simply because he is white is to do irreparable harm to our educational systems. In a day when rapid scientific and technological advances demand a superior educational effort, North Carolina, in its seeming concentration on maintaining a white oriented educational system with only token integration, is building a system which may be radically inferior in the years to come.

In rejecting practically all the Negro principals (except for almost totally Negro schools) North Carolina is failing to use many of its best educational administrators. In decreasing the number of Negro teachers North Carolina is reducing that group of teachers which is best qualified in terms of advanced training and degrees. Such losses should not be taken lightly.

## Research Facility To Open

A regional mass spectrometry center that holds dramatic potential for research advances in chemistry, biology, pharmacology, environmental health, and medicine is being established at Research Triangle Institute.

Created by a \$175,000 grant from the National Institutes of Health, U. S. Public Health Service, the center will be operated by the Institute in conjunction with Duke University, Durham, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and North Carolina State University at Raleigh. The Institute is a separately operated, contract research

organization closely affiliated with the three schools.

Initial activity at the center is now under way following the arrival of a high resolution, double-focusing mass spectrometer at RTI's Chemistry and Life Sciences Laboratory.

A model MS-902 produced by Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd., the instrument possesses a unique capability for precisely measuring the masses of ionized molecular fragments.

This will enable scientists to determine the identity and exact structure of complex organic compounds with unprecedented accuracy. One of only about half a dozen similar installations in the United States, and the only one of its kind in the South, the center will serve the scientific needs of the entire Research Triangle area of North Carolina. Laboratory director Dr. Monroe E. Wall of RTI is designated as principal investigator at the new facility.