EDITORIALS

"WORTH TRYING"

"If you want anything done and done right always do it yourself."

By L. A. Smith

THE SUPREME COURT ON SEGREGATION

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Virginia bus segregation case has been greeted as another milestone in the slow and painful march of the Negro toward equal citizenship and human rights in the United States. Within the past few years the Supreme Court has materially aided this progress by several imporant decisions, each one in line with the clear constitutional principles involved in the 14th and 15th Amendments. Outstanding have been the Gaines case, establishing the principle that all persons, regardless of race, must be provided with equal educational facilities by the state and within the state, and the Texas Primary case, which outlawed the barring of persons because of color from participation in primaries.

The decision which declared unconstitutional the Virginia law requiring the separation by race of interstate bus passengers was not based so much on the 14th Amendment as on the Inerstate Commerce clause. The opinion written by Justice Reed seemed primarily to be concerned with relieving the carriers of the burdensome necessity carrying out the segregation provision demanded by the state law, rather than with the rights of Negro passengers.

But the result may be the same, and the decision should remove one of the most irksome and humiliating discriminations to which Negroes are subjected. It has been noted many times that travel by bus is quite different from train travel, since trains carry coaches, or compartments of coaches, set aside for Negroes. On buses, however, there is no specific section absolutely reserved for Negroes, which means that in the South colored passenger has no inherent rights. He is at the mercy of the white passengers when it comes to getting a seat, and at the mercy of the law and the driver's interpretation of it in keeping a seat, should he get one.

The driver's interpretation of the segregation law often means that the only equality the Negro passenger enjoys is that of paying the same fare as all other passengers.

Another result of the decision will inevitably be that the whole question of segregation on common carriers will be brought before the public in a forceful manner. Already being discussed is the difficulty of enforcing the segregation rule for instastate passengers while interstate travelers are exempted. Conditions of train travel during the war demonstrated that for a large proportion of white persons in the South, being separated from Negroes on trains was far less important to them than having a seat in some coach or other. Jim crow proved to be very elastic when it would result in unnecessary inconvenience to white persons.

Any unbiased appraisal of jim crow in practice at once reveals its iniquity. Whatever the theory may be, in practice it always means that the right of Negroes are on a distinctly inferior plane as compared to the rights of others; that the facilities and accommodations provided for Negroes, if any, represent a necessary concession. It may be interesting to recall in this connection that when inter-city buses first began to operate in North Carolina there was no provision for Negro passengers at all, and it took a court decision to establish their right to accommodations of any sort on buses.

The whole philosophy of jim crow is fundamentally based on the idea that since the presence of Negroes is repugnant to some whites, and since the interests of all whites naturally come before the rights of any Negroes, whatever adjustment is made must naturally be made in favor of whites. If the adjustment is to the disadvantage of the Negro, that is simply one of the prices he has to pay for being so unreasonable as to be black.

Coupled with and re-enforcing this philosophy is the belief that Negroes naturally want to force their company on white persons—a tendency which must be scotched at all costs. Millions of white persons seem incapable of understanding that the average Negro's objection to jim crow has no relation to what is commonly called "social equality." It is rather a resentment of (1) inferior accommodations and facilities; (2) the fact that the prejudices of whites as whites take precedence over the rights of Negroes as citizens and humans, and that whatever "adjustments" must be made because of these prejudices, it is always the Negro who must make them, and to his own inconvenience and humiliation, if necessary.

Even the Supreme Court decision is based on the convenience of the operators rather than the inherent equality of a Negro passenger who is paying the same fare as the white passenger.

IN OKLAHOMA

The jim crow philosophy as discussed in these columns in connection with the comment on the Virginia segregation case is quite as clearly illustrated in the Oklahoma case in which a young woman is suing for admission to the State University.

Under the Gaines decision the state is bound to furnish equal educational facilities for all its citizens. The young woman, wishing to take a course not offered in any of the state's Negro schools, applied of the University of Oklahoma for admission. Of course her application was rejected: then the NAACP brought suit in behalf of the applicant.

In court the attorney general of the state admitted all allegations of the plaintiff. His only plea was the right of the state to enforce the discriminatory law, regardless of its effect on one of its citizens. In other words, "It's wrong, we admit; but after all which is more important—that the privileges of all citizens should be protected or that the prejudices of some should be preserved from offense?"

FOR ALL PEOPLE

Speaking of building fortunes by exploiting the ignorance and superstition of one's own people which practice was commented on here recently, let us consider for a moment Prophet Harvey Ambrose Green.

The prophet owes the U. S. Government $15,130 in income taxes for 1944 and 1945, plus $5,000 in penalties and interest, plus a $1,640 fine tor late filing.

Prophet Green presides over the House of Prayer for All People in St. Louis. He has available for sale blessed herbs. The reverend prophet explains that he had no intention of defrauding his Government by evading taxation; it was "merely an oversight," and traceable partly to the inadequacy of his secretarial help.

Religious organizations are of course exempt from income tax, but Federal Government regards the Prophet's House of Prayer as a going business concern.

AMAZING STATE OF AFFAIRS

As a part of the defense of the Negroes being tried en masse in connection with the Columbia, Tenn., "race riot," the N. A. A. C. P. is calling thousands of Negroes as witnesses to demonstrate that Negroes are qualified for jury service. The prosecution has been forced to admit that no Negroes have been drawn for jury service in that county for many years, but also blandly asserts that no Negroes in the county can qualify as jurymen!

The district attorney who made that statement is setting a fine example of veracity for witnesses to follow.

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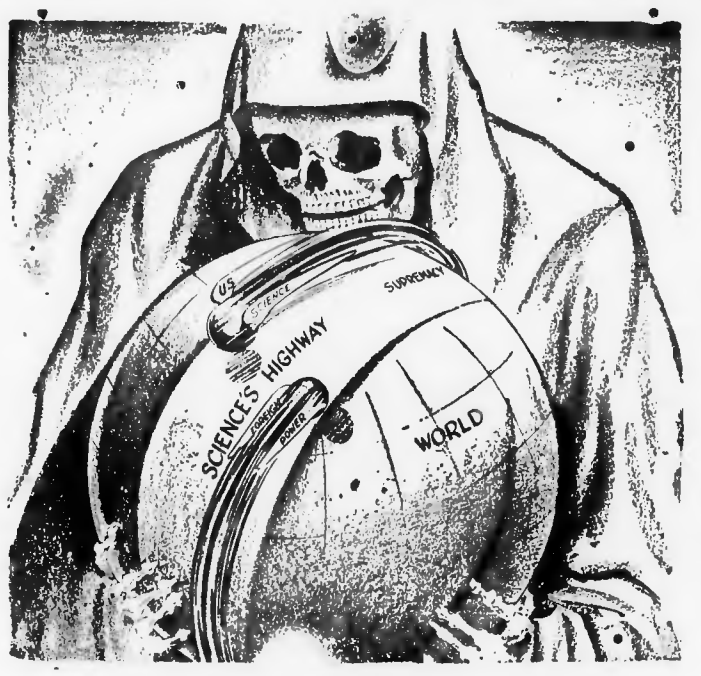


EDITORIAL: "Death and destruction patiently waiting!"

Second Thoughts

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

Some time ago the National Urban League, with the aid of a grant from the General Educational Board, made a study of business education among Negroes. More than 800 business establishments in twelve representative southern cities were surveyed.

Although the study was primarily concerned with the educational background of the proprietors of the businesses and their employes, in an attempt to discover the need for business training, many interesting facts were established. For instance, it was shown that Negro business establishments were predominantly of five kind: restaurants, beauty shops, barber shops, grocery stores and cleaning and pressing shops.

Casual observation on the part of anyone interested would have led to the same conclusions. The majority of Negro businesses are in the fields in which (1) there is little or no competition, because whites do not wish to render service to Negroes (barber shops, beauty parlors and undertaking establishments, for instance); (2) little capital and no particular skills are required for entering the field (grocery stores, etc.)

Also to be expected was the conclusion that most Negro businesses cater to the Negro middle class, and are found in overwhelmingly colored districts; but it was also brought out that 20 per cent of them cater to both white and Negro clientele. Less than 2 per cent serve exclusively or almost exclusively white trade.

Important and thought-provoking facts brought out by the study are that Negro businesses typically are launched with a capital of less than $1,000; that they are typically individually owned rather than corporate enterprises, and that their average life is five years. Certainly the first two facts, along with the further amply documented conclusion that the operators of most of the establishments surveyed has little business training or experience, go a long way in explaining the nigh mortality rate of Negro businesses.

Eighy-one per cent of the proprietors, nearly half of whom, by the way, were women, have had no business education, though more than half expressed a desire for more training.

The study raises at least two questions. One is, can practical training in the fundamentals of business be made available to those already in business who feel the need of it? The other is, why do relatively such few education Negroes go into business for themselves? The second of these two questions will be the subject of a later discussion in this space. Meanwhile the writer would like to hear from interested readers who would express their views on the whole subject of Negroes and business.

BETWEEN THE LINES

BY DEAN B HANCOCK FOR AND

MORAL GIANTISM

Giantism and dwarfism are biological characteristics strikingly illustrated in our population. Somewhere between these extremes, Mother Nature places most of her children; for the dear old mother deals harshly with deviates from the average. As with biological giantism and dwarfism so with the moral manifestations of these qualities, we can see them on every hand. For quite a few years this column has emphasized the need for more moral courage in race relations.

As clumsy as our social machinery may appear, it is far more advanced than is our moral courage. There is today an alarming fearfulness and timidity among both white and Negro leadership. Seldom do we find a man who is willing to suffer for his convictions." Fearful saintism" and Pontius Pilatism are too prevalent in both white and Negro leadership ranks. At a time when moral courage is paying its greatest dividends, we have an alarming timidity and fearfulness on the part of American leadership.

We are overdoing the "safety first" methods in our interracial procedures with the result that aside from pleasing platitudes we are not accomplishing much. We read "without regard to race, creed or color" a hundred times in various "statements" but in actual practice, few if any jim-crow signs are being taken down, while attempts to hang them up are going on apace.

When it comes to a magnificent display of moral courage the youthful governor of Georgia is fast stealing the limelight of this nation, a limelight he verily deserves! His successful fight to overthrow the terrible Talmadge, his successful attack on the poll tax system, his refusal to interfere with the supreme court's decision on the Democratic primary and his more recent statement to the effect that every legal resource of Georgia would be employed to drive out once for all the resurgent Ku Klux Klan mark Arnall as one of the moral stalwarts of this generation.

These safety-first interracialists should study Ellis Arnall of Georgia. In his joust with his enemies he has yet to lose a major battle, although he is always holding an advanced position. If a corresponding strong Negro leadership rises to match such leadership as Arnall and Lillian Smith are giving the south, we are going to head into a more secure course in race relations.

Now comes the latest decision of the United States Supreme court that segregation on interstate common carriers is illegal. This is another heartening decision that must challenge the Negroes to renewed efforts to help themselves by utilizing every opportunity to exercise the rights of suffrage. Supreme court decisions are empty things unless Negroes are going to rise to the occasion and acquit themselves like men. With the supreme court paving the way in Washington and with Gov. Ellis Arnall blazing a new highway in the south, it seems that after all, the Negro is on the advance.

It was in recognition of this new south with its new spirit that gave rise to the Southern Regional council. From the beginning I was contended the Negroes of the south should in an organized way seek to capitalize this growing liberalism in the south for in the last analysis if the advance is to come, it must come through the liberalism of the south, for Washington has on too many occasions ingloriously failed to do anything that would offend the south.

The supreme court alone poses an exception to this statement. The most remarkable thing about this whole matter is the pronounced absence of any stiff opposition to Arnall's advanced program, thus proving that this column has long contended that the south could go farther and faster than it was going. The south today is more ready for advance than is generally believed. It is waiting on a leadership of moral giants where too often pygmies are holding the fort.

The extent to which the younger generation can be brought into the picture is the extent to which the advance can be accelerated. When Arnall secured the suffrage of the 18-year olds he was making his most substantial strides; for it is among these that the hopes of advances are brightest. A few more moral giants among the whites who dare to be called "Negro-lovers" and a few more Negroes who dare to be called "Uncle Toms" to cooperate with them, will hasten a brighter day in race relations in the south and nation.

More moral giants, white and Negro!

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON By Rev. M. W. Williams

Subject: Learning About the Kingdom. Luke 9:23, 24, 46-48; 57-62; 11:1-4; 17:20, 21.

Key Verse: Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth. Matt. 6:10.

There is something to be gotten from a sermon today just as one of the disciples caught the spirit of the Master and desired to be taught to pray after listening to that memorable sermon on the Mount near Capernaum in the summer A. D. 29.

So we look out into the world torn with strife and confusion, the Christians feel deeply their responsibility for it. We are told "When we pray, say, Father, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy Kingdom come." To understand rightly the Kingdom of God is to accept Him as King in our own hearts. Then every act of our own will be towards bringing His Kingdom to rule the world. To pray for our daily bread and then go out buy, and store up enough to last us for months because we can, thereby robbing others who can only buy enough for today is contrary to our long prayers. That's why there is such a struggle over OPA. The Kingdom of God means peace on earth among men. Can a true Christian pray for "Thy Kingdom" and at the same time hire men at starvation wages while they make profits on the commodities produced, and they themselves get sufficient to feed their families and live in luxury? Then on the other hand, can a true Christian laborer, pray for "Thy Kingdom" and at the same time demand a wage which he knows is putting his employer deeper in debt every day he works? Here is what some will ask: Can the Christian control the situation? The answer is yes. Three-fourths of the industry in this country is controlled by Church going people. If they would apply the Christian principles of life as subjects of the Kingdom of God, the other one-fourth would be constrained to adopt the same policy. If not at once, our Christian way of life would cause them to think on their ways. What then are the cardinal points to be rigidly observed as principles of life as brought out in this lesson?

First, Sacrifice of self. In Luke 9:23, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." We no longer ask, what is the will of the King? All too often, we ask what is in it for me?

The second principle: The spirit of humility. In Luke 9:46, "And there arose a reasoning among them, which of them was the greatest?" In a world of confusion, the last man to display a spirit of arrogance should be the Christian worker. Let me do all I can for the Kingdom. If it happens to be more than my brother is doing or can do, let me thank God I could do such for the Kingdom's sake and not MY GLORY. How many times have we seen worthy causes lost because somebody could not be the greatest? Do you have the right spirit?

The third principle of life for those who are subjects of the Kingdom is: A voluntary determination to follow Him without reservation. The incidents recorded illustrate the sense of urency. Luke 9:57, a teacher offers to follow, but wants time to 'bury my father;' and in Luke 9:61 another said, "I will follow Thee, but suffer me to bid farefell to them that are at my house." After learning about the Kingdom, which of these do you represent?

PLAIN TALK By JOHN M. LEE

EDUCATION IS AN INVESTMENT THAT BENEFITS THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

Booker T. Washington who was recently elected to the Hall of Fame was a man of whom it might truthfully be said, "he had a single idea in which he fervently and passionately believed" With his deep instinct and unerring foresight, he saw that the land offered the truest salvation to his people, and he dedicated his life to teaching the skills that would enable them to reap an increasingly richer harevst of independence and self-respect. Today, with the emphasis on urbanity and culture, there are many who would disclaim his distinction as the greatest Negro educator in history.

Whatever your opinion of Booker T. Washington, you cannot disagree with the truth of philosophy that it is the duty of every man to learn to be better than he is. There are too many of us who are temperamentally and physically unsuited for the vigorous life in the land, and yet, most of us who elect to live the life in the big cities are proving daily that we are temperamentally and physically unsuited for the problems we must face.

By the standards with which we measure, city life is the highest form of exitsence, yet the lowest evidences of human behaviour come from the cities. Admittedly the conveniences that make living seem comparatively like a sojourn in Paradise, abound in the cities, but then the most horrible examples of our concealed barbaric tendencies also show up greatest in the cities. Perhaps, at the expense of over-simplification it can be said that the greatest single difference between the citified and non-citified areas is that in the cities, more people crowd together in less space than is the case in strictly rural areas.

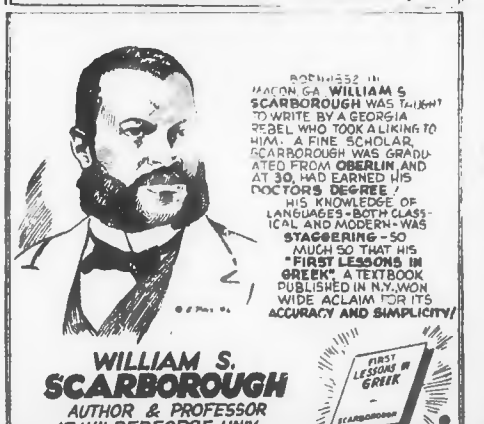
What Booker T. Washington taught had its limitations. It presupposed a race of people who would have to work their way up from the bottom, and he sought to prepare them to provide for themselves the things they would immediately need. For a time he was successful in proving that there is dignity in hand work, and Negro farmers sought eagerly to learn the tricks and the skills that would give them a greater yield.

As other generations came on the scene, the influence of Booker T. Washington was lost as the urge to get away from it all seized young southern Negroes. Because the communities in which they lived didn't give a damn whether they could read or write their own names, they felt that they didn't have any responsibility in the matter either. As a consequence, many of them came to the big cities of the north with no better equipment than a grudge against white folks and a determination to get by without struggling too hard in the process.

It would probably be well to state here that there is a place in the big cities for all types of people, and the poor and the damned are in most of them in abundance. It is true that a man can find his niche with no higher ability than that of a bootblack, a porter or a flunky, but it is also true that there is a place for men who are lawyers and doctors, radio mechanics, writers, teachers and gardners. It does appear that there is more dignity and profit in the latter category.

Some of the people who make it a practice to study such things feel that the incidence of juvenile delinquency in some of our larger cities is due to the neglect of education for Negro youth. They point out that because Negro youth do not have educational advantages in the south, they are unprepared for an dare frustrated by life in the city. Domestic Relations Court Justice, Hubert T. Delany used the figures gathered in nine southern states to point out recently that the educational expenditures for the education of a white child is 211 per cent greater than those made for Negro children.

This disparity, Justice Delany said, "robs not only the Negro child but the whole country." It would seem then, that when the forces of prejudice and greed in the south are inviting illiteracy and low educational standards for Negroes, they are undermining the very foundation of the nation which they profess to love.

How much the Negroes in the south can do to help themselves is questionable, the south being what it is but there is certainly something. However much we dislike criticism, we must admit that it is getting a little sickening to realize that Negro youth are committing serious crimes, and, in too many cases, the youth have come from the south more or less recently and did not have much schooling. A boy who has been trained to direct his mind and energy into a channel that is both profitable and interesting to him is less likely to get into serious trouble than is the boy who has been taught only to brood over the injustice that has robbed him and his kind of their rightful opportunities.

THEY'LL NEVER DIE By Elton Fax