

Editorial Viewpoint

WORDS OF WORSHIP

Once we heard a rural church choir sing "He walked the wide sea" and the appeal was for sinners to accept Jesus and join the church. The song had reference to Christ walking upon the waters without sinking, and it demonstrated his Almighty's power as he came to his disciples in

distress. The song should appeal to anyone with a faith that will not shrink in the arms of Jesus. Perhaps Jesus walked upon the waters to demonstrate his omnipotent powers before the disciples; but we today do not need such concrete persuasion. We should have no doubt that the Master actually walked upon the waters.

The New York Rioting

If the clash between New York City policemen and Negroes of Harlem had not flamed into notice, most of us would have thought very little of the plight of hundreds of thousands of Negroes who live in cramped, unfit housing which serves as breeding places for crime. We hardly think that these flare-ups have any significant relationships with the passage of the civil rights bill. Rather, the Harlem and Rochester mix-up of the Negroes is resentment against poverty, unemployment, and alleged police brutality.

The average southern white man does not think of exploring the causes of the rioting for a logical explanation, but rather he feels that this is what will happen in an ever-widening circle in the years ahead.

In this connection, we admire the interpretive reporting of the *Fayetteville Observer* in an editorial under the title "Cycle of Slum Area Misery" on July 28, 1964.

"When civil disturbance overrides the power of local law-enforcement the logical answer is martial law and the National Guard, and governor Rockefeller of New York has acted wisely in moving the militia into unhappy Rochester to keep the peace in the Negro area of that prosperous up-state New York manufacturing center.

"At the same time Governor Rockefeller and all right-thinking people must realize that soldiers are not the answer to the serious problems of the North's racial slums, anymore than they were the answer to the hot tempers of whites in school integration situations in Arkansas and Mississippi.

The *Fayetteville Observer* "hit the nail on the head" when it said: "In the northern slum areas the ultimate answer lies in more jobs, more purchasing power, more dignity and more self-respect." In short, we say, how can Negroes who are underfed, ill-clothed, unemployed, and with a colored skin have the

necessary "ego-strength" to walk proudly, erect, with chins up and feel that they are somebody?

Now, you may say, if this is all they need to become decent and respectful citizens, then let's get on with the task immediately. In answer, the *Fayetteville Observer* said, "That is an easy thing to say, but the achievement of these worthy ideals depends on complicated and in many instances frustrating forces." This is true because:

"For instance, the Negro inhabitant of these slum areas in the North has trouble finding a good job; because he has trouble finding a good job he has little money; because he has little money he has to live in dilapidated and unwholesome housing; because of the conditions under which he is forced to live he is apt to develop negative habits; because of the negative habits he becomes a less desirable employee; because he is a less desirable employee he has difficulty finding a good job; because he has difficulty finding a good job, he has little money, and the cycle begins to repeat itself."

To move in the direction of solving this problem, the *Fayetteville Observer* says that "the ultimate answer and the best help must come from that segment of the Negro race which has overcome to a degree the handicap of an identifying color and has achieved a modicum of social and economic success."

We agree that it's high time that responsible Negro citizens grab the leadership from the radicals and extremists, who are intensifying, not dissolving the barriers of color. However, we would add that the responsible leadership and government and city leaders also have considerable more work to do in this direction.

City councils must eradicate slums, industry must train Negro workers for good paying jobs, counseling centers must help build up the "moral deficiency" of Negroes everywhere.

Just For Fun

BY MARCUS H. BOWLWAKE

CONVENTION WORDS
Most of us watch the proceedings of the 1964 Republican National Convention with a great deal of interest. In reporting, the newspapers picked up terms that were used generously but the public had little idea of what they meant, and I suspect this was also true of the GOP delegations.

UNIT RULE: The rule in some state delegations under which the entire vote of the delegation must be delivered to the side favored by the majority of the votes in the delegation. This rule is based upon the parliamentary law principle that the rule of the majority must be carried out.

TAKE A WALK: The act of a delegation in leaving the convention floor because it disagrees with the platform of the party by Dixiecrat delegations in protest over civil rights plank in the platform.

DRAFT: The nomination by a convention of a candidate who has done no work to get the nomination. Most political

experts believe a legitimate draft these days is virtually impossible. We one time said that a poor man could rise from a log cabin to become president of the U. S.; this is hardly possible now, since it takes a man with plenty of money to get in the running.)

FAVORITE SON: A state political leader who receives the vote of his delegation on the first ballot. This gives the leader of the delegation, usually the governor, time to do some bargaining before committing the delegation to one of the serious candidates.

COATTAILS: Candidates for lesser political office seek a presidential candidate with "coattails" that they may hang on to and thus be pulled into office with the victorious president.

FRONT RUNNER: The candidate with the most delegate votes going into the convention. Often the victim of a gang-up if he does not make the nomination or come close to it on the first ballot.

Letters To The Editor

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

In view of recent events that have taken place in some of our large cities in the north, I am prompted to ask this question: Where does freedom begin and where does it end? First, I would like to say that the greater majority of responsible Negro citizens, both North and South, feel hurt and ashamed at what happened in those cities. I am sure that whatever the reason was, it served as no excuse for the wanton destruction of property, looting, and unprovoked attacks upon innocent people.

We would like to see law and order prevail in these cases. There are a variety of reasons that freedom holds true for different people. To people in the African Congo, freedom means independence from the white man's justice, to be free to take what the white man has, his house, his car, even his wife.

To others it means the right to decide for themselves what is right and what is wrong, still others feel to be free give them the right to intimidate others without regard for their personal rights. Therefore law and order must prevail to protect all people from those who would take advantage of us. You cannot have freedom without law and the exercise of self-discipline. Freedom in America to all Negroes means the right to share in all things that all other Americans are enjoying under our Democratic system of government. Without intimidation from law enforcement officers.

In my opinion, a great many Negroes have lost their respect for law and order because law enforcement officers have sometimes failed in their obligations to protect the rights of all the citizens. The officers in many cases, have been prejudiced in their protection of Negro citizens. There have been some cases of police brutality, which the general public has heard about. Justice is blind in some court rooms where Negroes are concerned. Deep discontent and restraint of these types of incidents.

Let Mr. Helms stop preaching states' rights and center his messages around equal rights for all American citizens. The state has not done anything about human rights in over a hundred years so when will it do anything? All persons who are helping to get total freedom for Negroes are said to be Communists and this is not true.

REV. S. R. SPENCER, Pastor
Morning Star Baptist Church
RALEIGH

Justices have been instilled in the Negro for so long a time that the very sight of a policeman makes some feel uncomfortable. And until these types of injustices and abuses are eliminated or rectified, these problems will continue to exist. To days responsible political leaders and citizens realize that there is one real, absolute truth—that you cannot have liberty and freedom without law, but this law, interpreted and implemented must be just, and must be for the benefit of all people, regardless of race or national origin.

Very truly yours,
WILBERT M. SANDERS,
RALEIGH

FLIGHT BY NIGHT

To The Editor:

The View Point message which was brought by Jesse Helms was incorrect. Mr. Williams did not flee to Cuba for kidnapping, it was a mistake. The couple was protected from a mob and concealed in a house which Mr. Williams, law and perhaps would be killed by the KKK which is doing more harm to our democracy than any other organization in the world.

It will pay to first do away with the KKK which is giving the Communist party an inroad in our free democracy and organizations which take the law in their hands as does the KKK, for mobbing and torture, should be done away with. All Americans should get behind the KKK and put an end to it and bring about human rights for all people, regardless of color, creed, or national origin.

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ONLY IN AMERICA

BY HARRY GOLDEN

CANDIDATE BARRY

All reports would have us believe the nomination of Barry Goldwater will once and for all change the nature of the Republican Party from a political organization which occasionally wins elections to one that will never win any elections at all.

We had best doubt this. Once upon a time, when he was just a junior Senator from Arizona, Barry used to make some amazing and stunning statements, he used to even write books which incorporated a shocking medieval philosophy and which were collected by young bibliophiles in universities. But Barry could make these statements because his constituency consisted of a few hardy pioneers out on the plains—folks decent enough but not concerned with such problems as urban renewal, suburban transit, racial issues, exploding population, overcrowded and backward schools. Those were Barry's solid constituents when he wanted to abolish the graduated income tax, evict the United Nations, and make the Social Security System voluntary.

Enthusiastic approval from Arizona who sent him back to the Senate. Now that he is the presidential nominee, one notices he is not appealing just to the cowboys and oil magnates out on the plains. He no longer makes the statements that characterized him as one in a million in the twentieth century. Indeed, his books will soon become collectors' items.

NATURE OF PARTY SAME

If one studies Barry's speeches closely, one will see he has not changed the homiletic nature of the Republican Party one whit. They may not win this election, but it will not be solely Barry's fault.

Just what is the difference between Barry and, say, Herbert Hoover who tediously announced it was not the duty of the federal government to intervene during periods of economic recession, like the Depression? Barry is less uncomfortable making the announcement that's all.

What is the difference be-

tween Barry and ex-President Eisenhower who told us law can't change the hearts of men? Why, no difference. In fact, Barry virtually repeats Dwight Eisenhower when he defends his Bill.

But curiously, Barry has never been a Hoover enough to let Arizona build dams instead of the federal government, nor does he want Arizona to pay farm subsidies instead of the federal government nor does he hold his head in shame when Arizona takes back more in federal taxes than it pays out. Conservatives have long ago decided government should be a partner in business, not a partner in civil rights or tax collection.

LAW VS. HEART

Cursory examination of the second principle teaches us immediately that neither Eisenhower nor Barry know what they are talking about when they claim law is not enough, that the hearts of men must change of themselves.

It is interesting that during the 1960 presidential campaign, vice-president Richard Nixon expressed himself on this very idea. "The issue," he said apropos of racial segregation, "will have to be solved in the minds and hearts of people... if the law goes further than public opinion can be brought along to support at a particular time, it may prove to do more harm than good."

But history, indeed the history of the Anglo-Saxon civilization, teaches us that acceptance of the law will be enforced. Often the law must lead. And when laws lead, cities do change the hearts of men. We have so consistently listened to the concord that laws do not that we have to doubt the whole purpose of the law itself, which is to make us better, more responsible men.

When the Supreme Court ruled school segregation unconstitutional, hundreds of school boards throughout the country voluntarily began desegregation. Those who defied the law experienced no change of heart, they were in the minority. The majority who complied with the ruling changed.

The Free World Is Disturbed!



Gordon B. Hancock's

BETWEEN THE LINES

MANNERS, MORALS, MONEY

Shakespeare uttered an almighty truth when he said, "There is a Divinity that shapes our ends, Rough-hew them how we will." Surely Divinity was shaping the ends of this nation when John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected President and Lyndon B. Johnson was elected as Vice-President of these United States in 1960.

When Kennedy chose Johnson as his running mate, he was unconsciously choosing the man upon whose shoulders his glorious mantle was destined to fall. Upon whose shoulders could such glorious mantle have fallen, to such great glory and advantage?

When the late John F. Kennedy as President committed this nation to the cause of civil rights he was unconsciously destining himself to a glorious immortality. When a felon's bullet had laid low, he had marked out the way that Johnson so marvelously followed, with the result that under the great leadership of great Lyndon B. Johnson as succeeding President, the Civil Rights Bill has been passed by Congress, which is positive cause for elation and jubilation but we must never forget that the Civil Rights Bill was figuratively speaking, written in the blood of our lamented President John Fitzgerald Kennedy who died for the cause of civil rights.

As has been said in this column before John Fitzgerald Kennedy died for the Negro race!

Concerning the Emancipation of 1863 there has often been raised questions of the intents and motives of Abraham Lincoln, but no such questions can be raised about the intents and motives of the immortal Kennedy. He died a martyr to the cause of civil rights for Negroes. He was slain in that South that fought an unsuccessful War of Rebellion to perpetuate the Negro's enslavement and that South that is today virtually fighting to reenslave its Negro citizens. It is true that the Civil Rights Bill has been enacted and signed by our President into a law of the land, our fight is not over but just beginning.

The enactment of civil rights legislation places upon Negroes themselves a great responsibility

for its implementation. Civil rights laws do not operate automatically they must be operated by the people of this country twenty million of whom are Negroes, who are the most intimately concerned, and great is the responsibility this intimate concern places upon Negroes. Just how much farther Negroes will be in A. D. 2064 than they are today depends largely upon the use Negroes make of civil rights opportunities vouchsafed unto them by the latest civil rights legislation. Just what will be the Negro's status a hundred years from now depends upon his manners, his morals and his money.

The Negro's general manners public and private need great improvement. Good manners do not come out of the air, they must be taught. Herein lies the great responsibilities of the Negro newspapers. The schools can do much, but millions of Negroes do not go to schools. They can do much but millions of Negroes do not read the inside of a church looks like a church. Negroes read Negro newspapers or deal with people who do. P. L. Farris says in his column in the Associated Negro Press, "Let of Negroes, you go into the finest places with their cars and they don't hurry to take their hats off."

There are just too many Negroes who want to look and act like bums, regardless of who they are, or who is looking at them. They don't give a hoot. The same is true of many Negroes riding public conveyances. With their smutty and smelly clothes on, they feel no compunction flopping themselves down beside the most elegantly-dressed lady, white or black. Negroes need such plain talk and it takes the Negro newspaper to give it to them.

Negroes must not forget that civil rights legislation presupposes good manners. It further presupposes a higher standard of morals and most surely it presupposes more money. The penniless Negro will never be integrated! Negroes cannot expect to spend their every dollar for cars and live on credit and be integrated.

A hundred civil rights bills cannot integrate the Negro with bad manners, bad morals and no money in the bank.

NEWS AND VIEWS

BY J. B. HARREN

SIGNS OF CHANGE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Writing from this Capital City of America, just back from a few hours in the outskirts of NYC and through the heart of Harlem, we feel to mention a few observations.

Mrs. Harren, (nee Annie Maude Harrison to E. City State Normalities) very capably piloted the trusty "Old 33" Ford Wagon some 150 of the 230 miles from Rocky Mount, Tarheelia, to Dee Cee on her birthday the 28th of July. Her friends can still send her a card.

Jay Bee Ayich accompanied his Old Mountaineer friend, James Andrew Dausel of 1505 Fifth Street, North West, to the Metropolis on business.

Mrs. Bessie Jones Suber Dausel is showing signs of improvement from a recent siege of illness which has confined her to her home. With Dausel on the NYC trip, we observed that, despite the extensive news coverage about the race riots in Harlem, it seemed normal during the morning and mid-day as we drove around the Lenox Avenue and 138th to 141st and Seventh and Fifth Avenues areas.

Hearing of Negroes mobbing whites and the like, it was interesting to see, during early morning working hours, a white man and colored woman peacefully walking to work together at 17th Street and St. Nicholas Ave. Father over, across the Harlem River we saw a colored man walking out of an auto dealership with his arm across a white man's shoulder. Whites we spoke to were generally pleasant and helpful, altho pointedly businesslike.

Friend Dausel asked that we tell you to not believe that the Negroes have gone to war against the whites because of the extreme cases you hear about. Most of the damage had been repaired in Harlem, such as broken windows and store fronts. Only a few remained to be repaired. But you have to see Harlem or Dee Cee on weekends to really tell how Negroes act. That goes for Southern towns and cities as well. Traditionally, we are generally unmanageable when we "get paid off" on Fridays and Saturdays—until we spend all we have and get in debt. Too bad we don't learn to SAVE our money for more productive things, like education and homes for our families.

In one Spanish or Puerto Rican area along Westchester and Colgate Avenues you wonder how the people live, work and sleep with the continual passing of an elevated railway train on an average of every five minutes of the day and too a lesser degree at night. People have to almost scream at each other to be heard even at close range. The mothers are busy pulling a baby carriage in one hand and a shopping cart in the other, with no hand to smoke cigarettes. Luckily, there were no smoking, even the clad in their tight breeches.

We did notice that some white cops in Harlem were standing with their hands over the holsters or tops of their guns just in case anybody attempted to snatch it. We didn't have time to see City as they hurried back across Uncle Washington's Bridge and down the Turnpike which costs you only about \$5 from Dee Cee to NYC without a single stop-light with speeds from 45 to 60 mph. Nobody stared when we ate in Turnpike restaurants, which was nothing new on the Jersey side.

How long should a vacation be, you ask? Well, one wit has said that it should be long enough for the boss to miss you; but not long enough for him to discover how well he can get along without you.

Watching "Washington's District of Colored" (they are now in the majority here) is both, encouraging and discouraging, depending upon where you view it. (Perhaps it's no different in your small town southward.) Viewed from Capital Hill, along Constitution Avenue or in the many other governmental agencies—including the Pentagon—where Negroes are given equal opportunities to utilize their higher skills, the outlook is indeed encouraging. That is also true for the nicer housing areas of the northwest beyond Howard University and other sections.

But when one sees the very deplorable slum areas of down-and-outers who have no pride in better citizenship, (we won't name streets) when roving gangs of all ages ruthlessly roam the streets and commit all kinds of petty thievery, robbery, and even rapes and murders, and people are afraid to walk the streets except in group at night—say "Oh God! What can we do to improve this?"

LISTEN LEADERS

We were very glad to learn that the "Big Six" of our Civil Rights leadership have agreed to tactfully withhold all major demonstrations until after the period of the Nov. 3 election in order that such demonstrations may not further embarrass those of our white friends who have so valiantly stood with us, in order that they may not be forced to withdraw their support under pressure from politicians or enemies.

It must be remembered that these white leaders have undergone much pressure when even hundreds of thousands of Negroes—all classes—will not give dollar or two to support our own fight.

And this column has long advocated — with others — that Negroes in the nation can best serve their cause by getting Negroes registered to vote and get them to vote Lyndon Johnson for president of the USA. For Tarheelia we now advocate a split ticket for Robert Gavin for governor, and Scott for Lt. governor. DON'T NEGLECT JOINING NAACP

Youthful Marriages Pro And Con

—Each year in Raleigh and every city in this country, we have seen thousands of young people get married. Many of them had to depend upon their parents to support them and their spouses.

It is getting so now that children want their parents to send them to college and professional schools, provide them with an automobile, and also help them support a husband or wife while they are in school.

Most parents and adults know that the hazards of early marriages far outweigh the advantages. Young married couples also agree.

The disadvantages stem largely from immaturity. Young couples might not be ready to settle down, are not equipped to handle money, and might lose educational opportunities if they become parents too early. This assessment was given recently in a national project of the Future Farmers of America.

The most frequently cited advantages, according to the FFA study, was in having children while young so married couples could grow up with their children or better understand their problems. Another was that couples could plan their future together while they were still young.

were still young.

The most important factor in successful marriage were said to be similar religious backgrounds and the completion of education before marriage so as not to put a financial handicap on the marriage that might be emotionally unwise. Next came enough maturity to work out problems and differences of opinion, to face reality squarely, to accept responsibility and to be willing to work. Next followed love, respect, kindness, trust and understanding.

The couples included in the FFA study were from Kentucky, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana. Yet the survey reflects the mores of hometown America. Let us hope that their views are shared more widely in this country.

When a young couple marries, the husband and wife, should have completed their education for some type of vocation or profession in order to be able to earn enough money to supply their basic needs — food, clothing, and housing. And many couples have married too young, only to regret later that they created innumerable problems for themselves and their parents.

Let's Declare A Moratorium

In seeking first-class citizenship, Negroes have used practically every known technique at their command—perhaps with the exception of physical revolution, and this would be unwise for it solves nothing.

Negroes have put on "sit-ins," "demonstrations," "picketing," "wade-ins," "church kneel-ins," and what-have-you. They have not always been effective, because they were tried in locations where there was no hope of winning. In some cases, we used "demonstrations" too often and simply "cloyed everybody to death." And, as we have said many times before, Negro "protest" organizations have scarcely tapped the power of persuasion in converting our die-hard enemies to our side.

We agree with our six civil rights leaders (not the extremists) that "broad curtailment, if not total moratorium" on all mass marches, picketing and other demonstrations until after the November election, will show good judgment on the part of Negroes all over the nation. And it may be to our advantage that this moratorium be employed afterwards, except in cases where the Negro has a good chance to win. To know this, our leadership organizations must study thoroughly each community before deciding to stage any kind of demonstration, because we cannot afford to continue to "demonstrate" in any town or city until we have a complete knowledge of that community and its leaders.

If it achieves nothing else, and we're confi-

dent it will, the moratorium will give local and state governments an opportunity to show that they are actively doing something to eradicate the causes of such explosions as we have had in New York State.

We are glad that, at long last, the six leaders of considerable stature among the Negro communities, have decided to come together for a racial summit strategy meeting. In this way, our leaders will learn to stop acting like small guerrilla chiefs who continue to pull surprise attacks in the same manner from their hiding places upon prejudice and hate in the various areas of both the North and South. To be more effective, we feel that from now on our demonstration battle must be thought out in advance and directed through a chain of command of our six leaders who have been in the forefront of the civil rights movement.

Our demonstrations at the GOP National Convention in California last month indicated that Negroes are too much concerned about who will be President. Since the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, the message ought to be clearly understood. Any President—Republican or Democrat—will be bound by oath to carry out the provisions of the new law.

Remember that a President can't be expected to do all the work in seeing that the provisions of the law are followed. Everybody in this nation has a definite responsibility in this undertaking. Don't worry too much about the President, be sure that you assume fully your own responsibility in this matter.

THE NEGRO PRESS—believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords to every man regardless of race, color or creed, his human and legal rights. Hating no man, fearing no man—the Negro Press strives to help every man on the firm belief that all men are free as long as anyone is held back.

