

AFTER COMPLETE EMANCIPATION, WHAT?

"When we possess that for which we struggle we cease to struggle. When we cease to struggle we cease to grow. When we cease to grow we deteriorate and then we die."

Complete emancipation of the Negro in 10 years to be celebrated on the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's proclamation is the new goal announced by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its 44th annual meeting recently concluded in St. Louis. Certainly such a state of affairs for any people is a most desirable achievement to strive for, but it is also one that carries with it all of the dangers that attend an individual, race or nation that ar-

ri- vives at a state of ease. In spite of the Negro's 90 years' struggle against second class citizenship, there are those among us who are well aware that it has been this very thing that has sharpened his wits, developed his resourcefulness and made him capable of holding his own against most staggering odds. One only has to look around him in the North and the South to recognize the fact that in most instances where Negroes are achieving in business, education, politics and even in the field of religion that they are the members of the race who have been born, reared or lived in the South where they have learned from the hard school of experience the very important art of struggle. This newspaper, that has

waged an eternal and consistent battle against all kinds of injustices which the Negro suffers in this country, is not unmindful of the strength the race has gained by being forced to organize and operate its own schools, businesses and churches, to fight for better employment, streets, homes, police protection and other things necessary for a full life in a democracy. We endorse the 10-year plan as announced by the NAACP and we shall endeavor to do everything in our power to bring it to full success. We are wondering, though, should the goal be obtained if the Negro will not rest on his oars, drift with the tide and finally grow so soft that the race will come to the same end as others who have reached a state of ease.

HANDPICKED NEGRO LEADERS NOT ACCEPTABLE

It is amazing to note with what speed and ease a certain element of white folks can make a Negro of their own choosing into a leader for Negroes when they want to use him for their own purpose. It is also amazing to note with what speed they can repudiate an honest Negro leader when he does not speak the language they so much like to hear. This week an Associated Press release, published in several of the leading newspapers of the state, referred to S. J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, as a "Negro leader." Phillips had made a speech in which he defended the "South's traditional segregation system," and in the stupid minds of this certain white element a Negro who defends segregation must by all means be

classified as a leader, whether his race accepts him as such or not. With the walls of segregation tumbling all around them apostles of segregation find great comfort in a Negro who will raise his voice in defense of the system that has been the only means of inflating southerners ego and maintaining their self esteem. Phillips is "a David come to judgement."

We do not care to argue here and now the advantage or disadvantage of segregation to the Negro any more than we would care to argue that the murder of a child's parents is beneficial to it because it robs him of the parental care and support to which he is entitled, thereby throwing him to shift for himself. Likewise we would not like to discuss here and now to what extent Phillips is ac-

cepted by his own race as one of its leaders. If it becomes necessary, millions of Negroes will attend to that by walking in the opposite direction of Phillips or any member of their own group who attempts to lead them down the road to segregation. We do here and now, however, take our stand against the custom so often resorted to in the South of white people selecting what they term a "safe Negro" and attempting to style him as a leader of the race. We repudiate the custom, and above all we repudiate such Negroes. From now on our Negroes will select their own leaders, and any member of the group who is kissed by those of the opposite group who are advocates of segregation may consider himself as having received a kiss of death.

IT'S TIME FOR ACTION

Asheville is a city which delights in boasting of the "good feeling" which characterizes Negro-white relations in this community, and whenever questions are sharply raised with respect to this community's racial status quo, great pains are taken to remind the Negro citizens of these "good race-relations" as the symbol of their progress. While we do agree that there is a great deal of goodwill which exists between the races in this community, we fear, however, that this reminder of such goodwill and "good feeling" is overdone by those political and economic bosses of our community who want to continue the status quo. There is increasing evidence to show that the masses of the Negro citizens in this community are getting fed up with this line about these so-called "good race-relations." They now want to see this "good feeling" translated into a program designed to raise their standard of living. To this minority racial

group, which constitutes nearly one third of this community's population, such a program means first an opportunity to work at a job paying decent wages and at the level of their capabilities. To be sure, Asheville's Negro population welcomes the interest and cooperation of all who desire to see for the Negro better facilities educationally, recreationally and so forth. Certainly, this is beyond a particular kind. But quite conspicuous by its absence is any interest and cooperation on the part of the promoters of these "good race relations" in a community-wide project or program which has as its object "better jobs for Negroes."

If these self-styled promoters of Asheville's "good race-relations" have come to recognize the needs and rights of the Negro citizens to have better schools, better recreational facilities and so forth, surely they would not ignore and deny the right of these same citizens to be gainfully employed at all occupa-

tional levels in our community work-life. There is little logic in the idea of building better schools to produce better trained persons for jobs which do not exist for them. Negroes are almost totally excluded from employment in Asheville and Buncombe County's increasing number of industries, and the Negroes of this community are becoming increasingly uneasy about such a situation. This failure to include them in the occupational pattern of the industrial life of this community sooner or later is bound to produce a sharp reaction to this talk about "good race relations."

Therefore, we call upon those who would point with pride to our "good race relations" to prove the sincerity of their interest in the Negro citizens of Asheville by getting behind a program of "better jobs for Negroes." To those who would say to you, "some of my best friends are Negroes" ask them to give a Negro just one of his better jobs.

DEEP SOUTH SPEAKS

By ROBERT DURR
(For Calvin News Service)

CREDITS OUR PROGRESS TO THE JUDICIARY
A GREAT LAWYER has observed that no progress has been made to secure civil rights to those people most commonly denied them except by judicial force based on constitutional guarantees. EVEN WHEN IT seems that voluntary progress is being made, a close examination will reveal that such progress is the result of fear of being forced to go forward judicially. A DANGEROUS situation occurs when people in a democracy come to feel that equality and relief for the oppressed and discriminated against can not be obtained through the legislative branch because of deals, unlightenment, ignorance and cancerous corruption. IS IT SO INCONCEIVABLE that just human relations,

education, fair employment laws could be enacted and just relief secured legislatively in Deep South states such as South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and adjacent states? THESE STATES ARE supposedly democratic, but when Talmadge, Byrnes and their fellow evil conspirators continue to deny the minority equal and adequate educational opportunity within their states and threaten this-and-the-other if the U. S. Supreme Court voids discrimination by segregation, they speak as the white supremacy fascists. And these white supremacy fascists worship not at the throne of equality and justice but as skin worshippers and their God is not the God of Moses or Jesus but of skin—Mr. White Skin God— (Please turn to Page Seven)

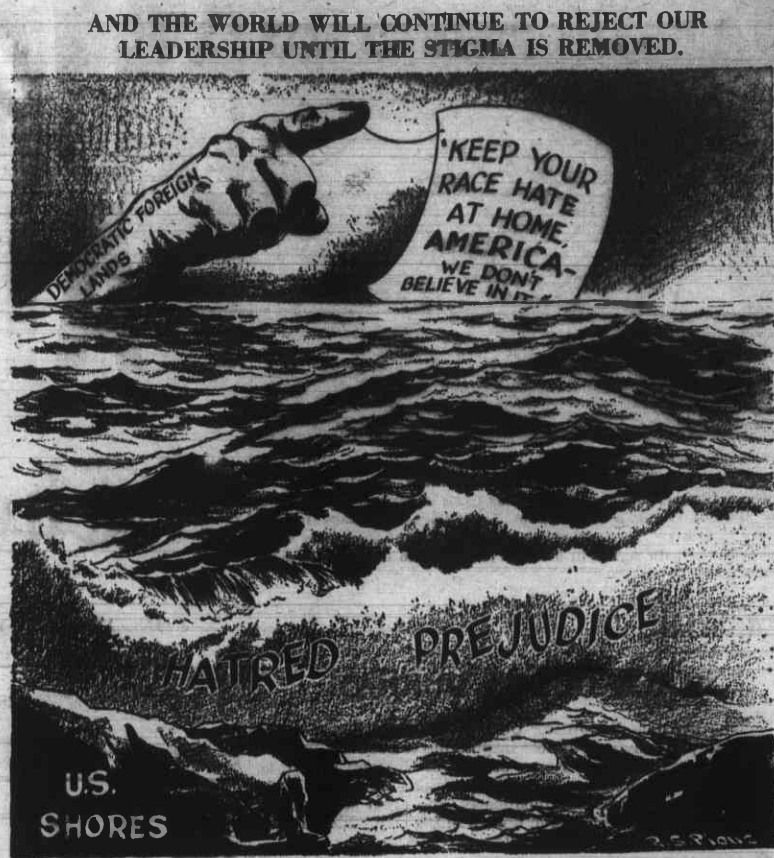
THE SUPREME COURT AND RACIAL JUSTICE

EDITOR'S NOTE: Albert Baker Lewis, New York insurance company executive, is a seasoned and keen observer of political and economic influences in this country. In the following article, Mr. Lewis discusses the Supreme Court and racial justice.

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

ONE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT that has not yet been put under the influence of the millionaires—and one plumb—whom make up President Eisenhower's cabinet, is the United States Supreme Court whose members are all appointees of either President Roosevelt or President Truman. It is, therefore, not surprising that the extremely able lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, led by the General Counsel Thurgood Marshall, have been able to get good results from Supreme Court decisions. One such recent gain is the decision of the Supreme Court, based on an old law not heretofore enforced, but never repealed either, that restaurants in Washington, D. C. could not discriminate against Negroes. By clear implication, neither can hotels or other places of public accommodation. For once, the Supreme Court decision was unanimous. This is an extremely important decision from the point of view of our foreign relations, for to Washington come representatives of all the nations of the world, many of them colored, and segregation in Washington was a severe blow to the prestige of our country as a supposedly democratic nation. OF COURSE, THE EISENHOWER Administration, backed

up by the overwhelming Republican daily press, will try to claim credit for this elimination of segregation in Washington. But actually the case was begun and the arguments were made by the NAACP lawyers before the election of President Eisenhower, and the decision was handed down by judges, none of whom were appointed by President Eisenhower. ANOTHER WELCOME Supreme Court decision was the one denying the right of property owners to sue another property owner for damages on the ground that, although there was a restrictive covenant on the owner's property, the owner nonetheless sold the property without a covenant and to Negroes. This decision is the logical follow-up of a previous decision, also won by the attorneys of the NAACP, that restrictive covenants could not be enforced by law. It amounts to a decision that such restrictive covenants cannot be enforced by indirection either. ON THE OTHER HAND, the Supreme Court dodged for a time a decision on the hottest issue to come before it for a long time, namely the school segregation cases. The judges asked for a re-argument on this issue. Evidently there was no clear-cut majority among them who were willing as yet to back the contention of the NAACP lawyers that school segregation in itself is discrimination and, therefore, unconstitutional. For such a decision would go a long way toward changing the pattern of segregation in the South, and apparently a majority of the Supreme Court judges were afraid to take such a chance (Please turn to Page Seven)



Spiritual Insight

"ALMOST PERSUADED"
By Reverend Harold Roland
Pastor, Mount Gilead Baptist Church

"Agrippa said unto Paul, almost thou persuadest me..." Acts 26:28.

WE NEED A COURAGEOUS decisiveness in the midst of life's great issues and events. What a contrast we have in this story — Paul, a man of passionate decisiveness and Agrippa with his sluggish procrastination. How strange! One is a free man and the other a prisoner. Paul burns with the flame of passionate conviction. Paul tells how God had saved his soul. He tells of the unforgettable day when he made the decision at high noon on the highway.

PAUL WITH THE HOLY Passion and Power of the Holy Spirit tells of the decisive turning point in his life—the day of his regeneration when he shifted loyalties from Judaism to Christianity. WE OUGHT TO MOVE WITH swift decision when confronted with a great decision for good. Why falter when the path of goodness is made clear? Many tragedies have resulted from such halting indecision. Good suffers

because men are often ALMOST PERSUADED. ALMOST IS NOT ENOUGH! Why become a slave of fear in the midst of goodness and truth? Be courageous to take the step for good. Let us be ever aware of the temptation to wait and falter when a decisive step for good is needed. Beware of the sad tragedy of Agrippa... "ALMOST THOU PERSUADEST ME..."

LET US RIDE THE tide of our great moments. Many faint-hearted souls have let their great moments pass. Thus they sit forever amid the reveries of regret. These great moments in our lives call for faith. A FAITH THAT WILL LEAD US TO SEIZE OUR GREAT MOMENTS! Why did Agrippa let this great moment pass? He might have been fearful of his prestige and of the people. In his fearful indecisiveness a great opportunity to serve his God and his fellowman had passed. I know for I have been confronted with some great moments. Some were seized. Others slipped by forever. Grasp your great moments!

Grasp them and escape the regrets of what might have been. Many faithless souls have missed the rising tide of a great moment. Why? Because they have said with King Agrippa... "Almost persuaded..."

GREAT SOULS have made life's great decisions. Abraham decided to move from Ur and follow the gleam of a great Divine vision. Moses decided between the quietness of the Midian hills and the excitement of a deliverer in Egypt. Peter chose between fishing nets and the Christ. Amos forsook the peace of Tekoa to brave the dangers of evil men at Bethel. Matthew gave up the profits of the tax office to give his life for the Kingdom. Almost was not enough or these great souls. They were persuaded. LET US BY FAITH grasp our great moments and use them for the glory of God and the service of mankind. In the midst of the good and the Holy let it not be said you... "ALMOST PERSUADED..."

Straight Ahead . . .

BY OLIVE A. ADAMS
(For Global News Service)

THIS IS A GREAT COUNTRY. You can complain about taxes, you can say anything you want about any public official and say it out loud. You may not like the way you're treated and there may be certain places where people can get away with murder—but not with the sanction of the Government, nor with the sanction of the majority of the people once they know the facts.

NEGROES KNOW this better than anybody else. If anyone in American life could have a reason to be bitter about anything, it would be the colored brother. But he is fiercely loyal because this is his country and he knows he has helped to build it. Some Negroes may go to live abroad, feeling that they cannot in the United States (but even so, they do it regretfully); and in spite of any bitterness they may feel, few, if any, would do anything to undermine its government.

IT'S GOOD THAT the Negro instinctively knows that this is a fine place to live. He knows it without having been anywhere else. It's a compliment to his good judgment that he has not had to suffer elsewhere to learn that the USA offers the best possible opportunity for all, even if he does have to fight for his.

THEY SAY THAT in order to appreciate an oil painting, one must stand at a bit and get a good angle on it. When one is up too close the picture isn't too clear. Therefore, anyone who doesn't quite appreciate it, might take a little jaunt

elsewhere and come back and look at this country from a little different angle. There must be something in this idea, because some of the most loyal Americans we know are those who are brand new Americans and because they understand how miserable life can be, they appreciate America all the more.

TWO GENTLEMEN WHO participated in Global's third annual Conference last Saturday, brought this out in their discussions. Henry Mao, Editor of the Chinese Nationalist Daily here in New York, a young Chinese who has been in this country a scant four years, and Gene Rea, Advertising Manager of Il Progresso Italo-Americano, an Italian language newspaper, both expressed the most reassuring loyalty to this country.

IN SPEAKING of combatting propaganda that would be harmful to America, they both felt that they were privileged to do a job that the Voice of America couldn't possibly do. In the words of Mr. Rea:

"AFTER ALL, THE PEOPLE of my country would be inclined to feel that anything the Voice of America said would be counter-propaganda. But we have instituted letter-writing campaigns with our people at home. We have asked our readers to write letters to their families over there telling them how life is in America. Those people feel that the Voice of America might not tell the whole truth, but when brother Guisepp writes home to his sister and his mother and tells them that all the things they hear against America are lies, that is

much more effective than official broadcasts."

THE REMARKABLE thing about these newspaper men is that, as they work so hard to Americanize their reading public, they know that the better they do their job, the faster they may lose their readers. But they see the job now, and they think it is important because they know what America has to offer and they feel their people should have the advantage of it. So, they keep right on urging people to learn to speak and write the English language well, to take out citizenship papers, to vote and to take part in civic activities and become well integrated so that they can make their contribution to the American Way of Life.

THEY DO ALL this, knowing that in time, because of the job they have done, they may have to close their doors. "This must be a great country!"



The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake. Yes, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.—(From the Twenty-third Psalm.)

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Pennsylvania Firm, Featuring Fair Employment Program, Sees Its Products Enjoy Popularity

PHILADELPHIA Retailers in 30 metropolitan areas throughout the United States are pushing the sale of the new "Booker T." cigar which was initially marketed in the Philadelphia area last April. Realizing the salability of such a tobacco product in the ever expanding Negro market has prompted the manufacturer, the Pennstate Cigar Corporation of Philadelphia, to invest thousands of dollars to promote this new business venture.

To date long range display advertising has been placed with 34 Negro newspapers whose readership runs into hundreds of thousands of consumers weekly. Posters featuring a Negro model and produced in four colors are being displayed in conspicuous places where the "Booker T." is sold. Distributors in every market area are conducting promotional programs to create the demand necessary to make the "Booker T." one of the top ranking tobacco products in the over-all market. Highlighting the story behind the "Booker T." is that it is named in honor of the noted Tuskegee educator and is the first tobacco product commemorating a Negro leader to be sold in several years. Also its manufacturer, Pennstate, has a long established fair employment practice program that has been effective for over ten years.

WASHINGTON AND "SMALL BUSINESS"

By C. WILSON HARDER

On this New Year's Day Washington predicts 1953 as the year of decision. Much strife, much bitterness, is anticipated as issues that have long been kept in the shadows of indecision, are brought forth.

The decisions will have both worldwide and domestic repercussions. For example: do people the world desire as for peace and orderly operation of the world economy. G. W. Harder and the belief that some sort of international understanding is necessary, the future of the United Nations is a question mark.

Wishful hope may be supplanted by realization of hard facts. Here are some of the indications. From California a freshman congressman, William Mulholland, will arrive. As a reserve commander, he spent a few weeks in Korean waters following his election. On returning, he expressed surprise at the vast amount of commerce he observed being carried on with Red China by shipping carrying the flag of United Nations members.

It is obvious that this nation, supplying the major part of the non-Korean manpower in the Korean struggle, cannot sacrifice men to the overwhelming manpower reserves of the enemy.

The only way to win the contest is to shut off supplies. But, according to the new Congress, man, supplies from U. N. members pour into Red China while Americans die for the U. N. cause.

Another straw in the wind. The British have been keeping

Independent oil operators out of Iran by threats. U. S. State Department appeared to be on the side of the British and their oil monopoly, Anglo-Iranian Oil. Apparently the situation became ridiculous. But whatever happened in the closing days of 1952, the U. S. State Department appeared to change policies with a statement advising it should be possible for American oil companies to trade in Iranian oil. Of course, so far, it is not known whether the statement was based on an attempt to open Iranian oil to free competition, or the first step to turn it over to one of the U. S. majors. But either way, it would be a step toward smashing the world oil cartel found to exist by the Federal Trade Commission.

While foreign affairs may seem remote from business along Main Street, it is a fact that controls, high taxes, inflation, and other damaging effects on the health of independent business are largely due to foreign policies.

Of course, the direction taken on anti-trust law enforcement will have a great deal to do with independent business welfare.

No one will predict just what will happen in this sphere.

It is felt that if the office in the Department of Justice charged with enforcement of the anti-trust laws is permanently removed from political pressure, as requested by a majority of the nation's independent business, the problem will be largely solved. As it stands now, the power of life or death for the nation's independent business is too closely held by a politically appointed Attorney General. On this one issue the delayed battle to decide which system is to prevail, monopolies or independent business, may hinge.