

SOME PERTINENT FACTS ABOUT GRADUALISM AND EXTREMISM

We think the Crisis, official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has made out about the best case against the advocates of gradualism and those who scream about extremism we have seen or heard since the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 1954, which struck down segregation in public schools. The Crisis argues, and we think rightly so, that and we think rightly so, that gradualism, he in actuality means never.

In one of its recent editorials, the Crisis reveals some very interesting facts about how gradual the efforts of the NAACP have been in its fight to secure civil rights for Negroes in the South. Says the Crisis:

Take the case of Autherine Juanita Lucy which provoked the mob action at the University of Alabama. Did the NAACP act precipitously in her case, since many of our friends, as well as our enemies, have accused us of pushing her entry into the University? Miss Lucy applied for admission to the University of Alabama, not under the recent United States Supreme Court rulings of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, but under the Court's ruling on the admission of Negro stu-

dents to southern graduate schools, a decision handed down in June 1950. It was not until two years later, in 1953, that Miss Lucy applied for admission to the University of Alabama. And she spent two years in the courts seeking admission. No court action is ever hurried or precipitous and neither Miss Lucy nor the NAACP can be accused of unreasonable haste in her case. Miss Lucy was patient. The NAACP was patient. NAACP lawyers were patient. Surely this was gradualism to suit the most technical interpretation, but what happened when the Court, on February 1, 1956, ordered Miss Lucy's admission to the University of Alabama?

The whole world knows of the rioting, the mob rule on a university campus, and the threats of lynching when she applied at the beginning of the semester in February. We ask, who were the gradualists in this case? Who were the unreasonable, precipitous groups? The incitement to mob action, the stirring up of racial ill-will, the hasty actions were all on the part of the whites, not on the part of Miss Lucy or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peo-

ple. Or let us take the case of segregated housing in the United States. The Negro ghetto, offspring of segregated housing, is one of the most flagrantly prejudiced and unconstitutional practices leveled against Negroes. Though Negroes had long been segregated in housing, it was in 1917 that Louisville, Ky., passed an ordinance to perfect housing segregation. This led to the famous case of BUCHANAN vs. WARLEY (1917) and the United States Supreme Court decision declaring the ordinance illegal. But it was thirty-two years later before the Supreme Court outlawed the restrictive covenant in 1949. Again the NAACP and Negroes were patient, relying on the orderly processes of the courts.

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A DEVASTATING BLOW TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF SEGREGATION

Probably the most devastating blow that has been dealt that segment of white southerners who contend that it is possible in a Democracy to have two different sets of laws governing Negro and white citizens was that of the U. S. District Court in New Orleans last month. In its ruling on the question, the Court said in part:

"The magnitude of the problem (integration) may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, free-born Americans, with a right to make our way, unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God."

While the Court's ruling was doubtless shocking to many white southerners who wish to perpetuate the right to tax Negroes without giving them the full benefits derived therefrom, it should be encouraging to those of both races who believe in Democracy for all citizens without regard to race, creed or color. Since members of the Court were all southerners, it proves conclusively, that in spite of the ranting and raving of organizations, like the Patriots, White Citizens Councils and DUPECE there is in the South a segment of white people who are willing to take a stand for the principles of a democratic government what-

ever the cost. We would encourage Negroes in every community of the South to search high and low for such white persons, cultivate their friendship and stand by them whatever the circumstances. Many of them, who are not members of a federal court, are in business, are candidates for public office and without your support, will suffer untold reprisals from their own people. Negroes can make the burden less painful by spending their money with those who are friendly and registering and voting for them whenever they are candidates for public office.

WELCOME KROGER STORES

Since the opening of the new Kroger Store here in the Forest Hills area, citizens of Durham have had the opportunity to see Twentieth Century merchandising at its best and to secure first hand knowledge of what a modern gigantic super market and grocery store is like and how it operates. The management of the vast Kroger chain has left no stone unturned to make every item attractive and accessible to Mr. and Mrs. Shopper. The store, at present the largest of its kind in the

state, is in reality a wonderland which has enhanced considerably the city of Durham as a shopping center for people of the entire trade area as well as the city. The Negro citizens of Durham join with others of the city in extending a hearty welcome to the Kroger Chain. The very hospitable atmosphere which is in evidence throughout the entire store has set a high standard here, which we trust will encourage the kind of patronage that will warrant the opening of a

super market in the Hayti section and other areas of Durham. It is our sincere hope that the Durham Committee of One Hundred and the Chamber of Commerce will do everything they possibly can to encourage the Kroger Store to make Durham one of its district headquarters. A Kroger warehouse here would, to our mind, help considerably in the efforts of the committee to bring to Durham new industries.

APPRECIATION FOR N. C. COLLEGE

We watched with much interest the efforts of several cities and towns in North Carolina to secure the location of a college in their respective communities. So keen has become the competition that several cities have not only offered free sites, but have also guaranteed the raising of several million dollars if a school will adopt them as its domicile.

Sometimes in the course of events, a city like Durham, that already has two large educational institutions, will become so accustomed to their presence that it will lose sight of the benefit to be derived

and therefore will fail from time to time to show the proper appreciation for them. While this may not be true in the case of Duke University, we are wondering if the average citizen of Durham has stopped to consider just what the location of North Carolina College actually means to Durham.

According to information which we have obtained, the annual operating budget at N. C. College amounts to over \$1,700,000. That's a lot of money to be spent by a school in any city and is bound to mean much to the economic welfare of all its citizens. If removed from the other payrolls of the city, that of the

N. C. College would certainly be felt by not only the merchants, but the average citizens as well. While it is certain no official, faculty member or student at N. C. College desires any special recognition or favor, it is our feeling that at least equal recognition to that given other educational institutions in and near Durham should be shown. Such should come from directives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants Association, the Durham Business and Professional Chain, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, the Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs and other civic-minded organizations.

Life Is Like That By H. ALBERT SMITH MAN AN ETERNAL BEING

The only abiding and eternal reality in the total realm of existence, aside from God and the world of invisible realities, is the soul of man, individual personality, that indefinable something in man that makes a man a man and places him high above all created beings that we know and makes him the crown and glory of God's creation. Everything else is destined to pass away and belongs to that class or category of realities which the poet styles as "perishing things of clay." Only the spirit or soul remains untouched by the demolishing forces of time and the corroding chemistry of age.

Brevity Of Life
Dr. George A. Gordon, late minister of the Old South Church in Boston, Mass., has a passage in the story of his life that calls attention to the frailty of our mortal bodies and the brevity of our present existence, a passage which, if read without faith in the Christian revelation of man's immortality, adds nothing to one's peace of mind and makes our existence here a sort of a hollow experience, a short march through time into eternal nothingness.

Mere Shadows
"In the old South Church, there are two black marble tablets on which are dimly inscribed the names of fifteen ministers who, having finished their labors here, have gone to their rest. To the unaided eye, these names are invisible, mere shadows on the wall, fitting symbols of the shadows that these ministers and their congregations have become to the men and women of today, pathetic and at the same time humorous tokens of the fate awaiting the present minister and his people, shadows on the wall—all are destined to become in due season."

No Escape
From this fateful extinction, this complete removal from the scene of our earthly life and activities, nobody escapes. The great and the small share it alike, the rich and the poor. Even the corporate immortality of creative geniuses in the field of thought, religion, invention, etc. will at last come to an end because it is tied up with the fate of this time-bound planet; and their very names and works will finally rest in a common oblivion with those of the least among forgotten humans.

Have Crumbled
For many many years, archaeologists, with spade and shovel, have spent labor, time and fortune in search of ancient civilizations which have completely disappeared. Magnificent temples, once crowded with serious minded worshippers seeking the favor and blessings of the deity, and vast arenas, the scene of bloody gladiatorial combats and stirring athletic events witnessed by thousands of cheering, pleasure-loving spectators, have crumbled into dust.

Mute Evidence
Streets once thronged with

moving, pulsing multitudes, homes, palatial and stately homes, less pretentious and humble, once the scene of family gatherings as real as ours today; family groups that shared in life and death, joy and sorrow, laughter and tears have vanished without a trace. Nations that once waxed great and powerful and gloried in their might and splendor are no more. Here and there, we find broken relics in crumbling marble that mutely point to their former existence, but providing meager or scant historical information.

Must Succumb
Such total extinction awaits our present civilization and others yet to come. Even this old earth with its majestic mountains, snow-capped and sun-crowned with its forested hills and verdant prairies, with its awe-inspiring oceans and tumultuous rivers—must succumb to the devastating impact of time.

Spirit Survives
But surviving the destructive fury of these forces of annihilation is the immortal spirit of man, individual personality. Man's body, the abode of the spirit and the temple of God, will perish in the wreckage of the cosmic order. But the spirit, the essential you, the essential me, will live on untouched, unharmed, beyond the forces of disruption and corruption, decay and dissolution. And this because man's spirit is consubstantial with God's and the ground of individual personality is in the spiritual nature of God.

Paul Mindful
The apostle Paul was evidently deeply appreciative of this basic truth. And, because he was, we do not wonder that he could contemplate the destruction of the natural order with perfect serenity and divine composure. For he knew that the essential, living Paul was a child of eternity and would live with God forever when his life on earth was done. That's why he could calmly, and yet ardently, say, "We look not at the things that are seen, but the things that are unseen; for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are unseen are eternal."

Not Strange
Neither is it strange to hear Paul declare, though conscious that the evening shadows were already falling upon his brief day of life on earth, "But though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed from day to day." And it is good to hear his words, "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

And we find that no man's faith in the immortality of the soul has ever been expressed in mood more triumphant than that indicated in the words, "Death is swallowed up in victory, 'O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory.'"

Timing Of Civil Rights Legislation Brings On Charges Of Politics

Editor's Note: The following comments represent the thinking of Mr. Baker, whose views are sometimes aired on these pages. These views are not necessarily those of this newspaper.

By Alfred Baker Lewis
More than three years after his election, and as another election approaches, the Eisenhower Administration has finally come up with a program for civil rights. It is a good program, as far as it goes. A proposal for a Federal Fair Employment Practice Law, with enforcement powers, which President Truman advocated, has been omitted. However, any person who favors civil rights should hope for the adoption of this measure.

The measures proposed duplicate similar bills which a bipartisan group of civil rights advocates had already introduced, except for a new proposal which would give a person denied any of his civil rights the right to a civil suit for damages against the person responsible. This is of somewhat doubtful value since, in the South where a Negro's rights are most likely to be denied, the chance of getting a jury to award damages is very poor, judging by the inability to convict white men

who have killed Negroes.

What makes the whole thing look like a purely political maneuver is the timing of the introduction of the program. If President Eisenhower and his Cabinet had really wanted these measures passed, they would have introduced them in the previous Congress when Republicans controlled both houses of Congress, and a Republican was Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee which has to report out these bills. Or, if they had introduced these measures earlier in this Congress, when the head of the Senate Judiciary Committee was Senator Kilgore of Virginia, a supporter of civil rights, there would have been a good chance of having them reported out and possibly passed. But instead the Eisenhower Administration has acted after Kilgore died, so that by the operation of seniority Senator Eastland, a determined opponent of civil rights legislation, has become Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Consequently, the likelihood of any civil rights legislation being reported out of Committee is now very little.

The Republicans must think that Negroes have very little political intelligence if they (Continued on Page Seven)

A New Group Has Been Formed To Carry On His Work



Spiritual Insight "HARD BUT GLORIOUS LIFE" (SALUTE TO REV. T. C. GRAHAM) By REVEREND HAROLD RAND

"We must prove ourselves genuine ministers of God whatever we have to go through—patient endurance of troubles... We bless many with true riches..." II Cor. 6:4,9.

We salute this week a noble representative of the hard but glorious life of the Christian ministry—The Reverend T. C. Graham. We honor one who has placed his life on the altar of sacrificial service in this community now for thirty-five years. We pause for a word of honor and encouragement for this servant of God in the Christian ministry. It is so easy to take for granted those who serve us. Indeed, to serve the same people for so many years calls for the graces and virtues of the Christ in a rare degree. Among contemporary ministers, this our beloved brother holds the record in terms of years of service of God for his blessed ministry of thirty five years.

Such a record of service calls for spiritual qualities of a rare

degree. He had to have that power which the Christ himself ordered the apostles to wait for in the upper room. Why? For thirty-five years will bring many hardships, trials, tribulations, criticisms, oppositions, hindrances and discouragements. In a long ministry like this you learn what Jesus was telling his disciples under the shadows of the Cross. "In Patience ye shall possess your soul..." Understanding is essential for a ministry of such duration. He had to have the gift of resolving misunderstandings. And to stay this long as a minister of one group you must have that quality of the Christ called forgiveness. In thirty five years, he had to forgive many and forgive much. And to stand one place for Jesus this long, one must have genuine love of people.

We salute him for that rare soul quality called humility. He has humility, that symbol of true Christian greatness. The Master commends and requires this noble quality of soul. To

know him and associate with him is to see and recognize in him the Christian virtue of humility. There is little of the showmanship of pride and arrogance. His human contacts and relations are seasoned with the GRACE OF HUMILITY. His words and actions are set within the framework of humbleness. He seems to have learned well by a rare spiritual discipline the wisdom of the Master's words... "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall..." Humility was essential for his long ministry in this community.

One is readily impressed by the quiet dignity of this minister of the Gospel. There is a halo of holy graciousness about him. This dignity has been a dominant trait of his personality. This dignity gives him ministry a jury to award damages is men. This dignity must have carried him through many ordeals and turned the tide in many a battle for him in his ministry here for the past thirty five years.

Capital Close Up . . .

"Honest Ike"
After the President's veto of the Cooley farm bill, loaded with unimpressive, long range implications of "Farmers in a Changing World," we can say "Honest Ike," with heartfelt sincerity and thankfulness. For in this election year the President has stood fast in his position on the two principal issues which in large part will determine how the voting goes in November—civil rights and farming. On both he has refused to be stamped into promises or actions which he was convinced were ill-advised. He has done so, not obstinately, but thoughtfully.

Cutting through the Catch Phrase
We are not "for Ike" because he leads "the Party of Lincoln." We know that the GOP is cluttered and impeded with "Party of Lincoln" babblers, and "Party of Eisenhower" lip-servers, who, as we have said elsewhere of the local GOP "machine" now meeting its first challenge in the District of Columbia, "neither follow the pattern, think the thoughts, nor speak the language." Both parties, regardless of catch phrases, have within them meaningful leadership, but it is once in a very long time when leadership in either major party (and we are concerned with the major parties) acts on the facts of national life, rather than on the facts of vote-getting, on a critical issue.

In a Changing World
In civil rights we have the changing world of desegregation laws posing grave problems for "the North" as well as for "the South." In agriculture we have the changing world of rapidly accelerated mechanization forcing new economic and social

problems on urban as well as farming areas. Sooner or later, as Walter Lippmann has correctly pointed out, the social security principle will have to be applied to farming, to cancel the need for easing the shock of change with artificially supported prices for which we all pay, just as we all pay for the kind of action taken in the field of civil rights.

CR Omnibus Leaves Sub-Committee
On April 18, the Civil Rights Omnibus Bill, HR-627, again before the House Sub-committee on Judiciary, was reconsidered by that body, which recommended it favorably, amended by Administration proposals for the creation of a bipartisan civil rights commission, and action authority for the Attorney General in civil rights threats or violations. As approved and moved on to the full House Judiciary Committee, where it is expected to pass, the CR Omnibus used the language of the Brownell proposals in spelling out the creation of a Civil Rights Division directly under an Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice, and in protection for voters in the exercise of the franchise. The Celler provisions for CR violation penalties, outlawing school and transportation segregation, and setting up a joint Senate-House CR Committee were incorporated.

Eastland Committee Limbo
The Eastland Committee in the Senate, which received the Brownell (Administration) proposals, last week, has voted to hold hearings on them, but has consigned them to its limbo with other proposed CR legislation, pending, it may safely be

assumed, build-up for a fight-to the finish filibuster on the Floor of the Upper House.

Burroughs on Political Support
We jotted down these comments made by Miss Nannie Burroughs, a year ago, in casual conversation, because we thought that they were pithy, pertinent and timeless:

"Any national party must state its policy in race relations, unequivocally, and make local political organizations know that it means what it says. Such policy must be uncompromising, unbiased and without color."

"I will be a part of anything constructive, but I will not be a thing apart."

"The Negro vote is not in anybody's pocket. Anyone who tells you so is deluding you."

DAR's Up One Ring
The Resolutions Committee of the DAR, in national convention here, last week, refused to consider a resolution urged by Southern State delegates in support of segregated schools.

"After our experience with Marian Anderson we wouldn't think of doing anything along the line of opposition to the Supreme Court ruling. We don't want to get into that," said Resolution Chairman, Mrs. Throckmorton of Des Moines, Iowa.

Neither, however, did "the Daughters," voice support of the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions. We'd say that the ladies are up one rung of the ladder on their hard climb toward progress.

Omega Head Deplores "Catfish Culture"
For many weeks we have marked "Catfish Culture" for (Continued on Page Seven)

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