

Recognizing the Right Negro Leadership

NAACP Secretary Roy Wilkins observes that President Eisenhower's suggestion that bi-racial conferences be held in the South in an effort to settle some of the civil rights problems now facing this area comes six years too late. While we agree for the most part that an earlier appointment of such committees would have been better, we cannot agree with Mr. Wilkins that it is entirely too late to institute such a program, provided the right kind of persons are called in. So far efforts made in this direction have circumvented or endeavored to sidestep the very persons who are in position to make commitments for the Negro community. This type of action has only created suspicion that those in control of the efforts or appointments are determined to handpick Negro representatives or select those that are considered safe and harmless.

Any bi-racial committee of any community that omits representatives of the NAACP, Negro ministers, labor and the Negro press is in for hard sledding. Whether certain white people like it or not the NAACP and the Negro press are considered by the Negro masses, as well as the classes, the chief guardians of their rights. When they are deliberately overlooked in the appointment of a bi-racial committee the effort already has two strikes against it and is doomed to fail.

A concrete example of the truth of this matter came a few days ago when several persons were called on to help negotiate matters in the sit-down protest here in Durham. Conspicuous by their absence were representatives of the NAACP, the students participating in the sit-down protest and the Negro press. Just why any sensible person or persons would conceive the idea that they can successfully negotiate without such representation is hard to understand.

long time, white people have selected from among the Negro people, those with whom they would deal and called them leaders. That day is gone. New leaders of the South are here and we must now deal with these people. During these last ten days, an effort was made by a white leader to communicate with the Executive Committee by contacting what our present structure calls "Negro leaders." It was a tragic mistake. Because the leaders they contacted to deal with the young people were the very ones who turned down their request for the use of the Community Center. They are not their leaders. New leaders have come on the scene. If this problem is solved, and I think it can and should be, it will have to be worked out with those who are deeply involved and courageously committed and not with self-designated or white-appointed Negro leadership. We cannot by-pass these new leaders. These young people have longer to live than their elders. They are more impatient. The older people have had their spirit numbed a bit by the constant adjustment to this humiliation, and that's sad. The older people, some of them, have gotten places of security and that satisfies them, and that's sad. We shall make a grave mistake if we fail to see new leadership arising in the South. With them we must deal—decently, honestly, as equals, fairly and justly, there is no by-passing them.

Through the years this newspaper, for the sake of harmony, has endeavored to go along with certain efforts in Durham, other cities and towns in North Carolina, only to discover that about the only thing we received for originating progressive moves was a swift kick in the pants after the victory was finally achieved. We would like to here and now serve notice on all concerned that from now on in that we expect the NAACP and this newspaper to be on the inside when any bargain or commitment is made in the future about the rights of Negroes.

Whether President Eisenhower's suggestion is heeded or not heeded is not our part of the bargain, but we do feel we owe it to our readers to know and look into any effort on part of Negro leaders or so-called leaders to chart the course or destiny of Negroes on the question of their civil rights. This newspaper's phone numbers are 5-0671 and 2-2913.



Like Pilate, the Little People in the Middle Must Take Stand on Protests, Fla.'s Gov. Collins Says

Editor's Note: Following are excerpts from a state-wide radio broadcast made on Sun. March 20 in Florida by Governor Leroy Collins on the lunch counter demonstrations.

... What is the legal situation about these so-called demonstrations?

Now under our free enterprise system and under our laws a merchant has the legal right to select the patrons he serves. And certainly he is going to be protected in that legal right.

The customer, of course, has the legal right to trade or not to trade with any man he wants to—and, of course, there is the right to demonstrate and the people should be protected in that right, too.

But I want to call your attention that the right to demonstrate in all cases is limited by the fact that if there is any clear and present danger that that demonstration will incite public disorder, it is unlawful. And, of course, a situation of this kind could bring about that kind of condition in one community and not in another.

But actually, friends, we are foolish if we just think about resolving this thing on a legal basis. In the first place, our merchants have much involved so far as their business prosperity—not to have racial tensions of this order. Boycotts can be extremely damaging and will be extremely damaging to their businesses. And, of course, any racial tension brings about depression in business and depresses generally the business spirit of any community.

SPIRITUAL INSIGHT



"The crowd joined in attacking them . . . Acts 16:22."

The crowd can be easily turned into a raging inferno of a destructive, emotional explosion. We must never forget the fickleness of the crowd. The clever designs of evil men can so easily turn the mob into a riot or a lynch party. The greedy men whose play house had been broken up by the preaching of Paul and Silas poisoned the mind of the mob. They cleverly turned the mass hysteria of the mob to advance their evil schemes against Paul and Silas.

This is one of the oldest tricks of the oppressor when his evil privileges are threatened. Yes, he poisons the mass mind for his own evil plans. The greedy gang in Phillippi used the fickleness of the mob to get back at Paul and Silas . . . "The crowd joined in attacking them . . ."

Any clever strategist in evil

And so far as I am personally concerned, I don't mind saying that I think that if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, I think that it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department though and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department.

Now he has a legal right to do that, but I still don't think that he can square that right with moral, simple justice.

Friends, we must find answers. There is absolutely nothing that can aid the Communists more at this time in establishing supremacy over the United States—and that is their ambition—than racial strife in this country.

I made that statement the other day and somebody said to me, "Yes, I think you are right about that. We understand how that injures our nation for the word to be passed along about our racial strife, but all this could be eliminated if the colored people would just stay in their place."

Now friends, that's not a Christian point of view.

That's not a democratic point of view.

That's not a realistic point of view.

We can never stop Americans from struggling to be free.

We can never stop Americans from hoping and praying that some day in some way this ideal that is imbedded in our Declaration of Independence is one of these truths that are inevitable that all men are created equal, that that somehow will be a reality and not just an illusory dis-

tant goal.

How are we going to work and what are we going to do? Next week I am going to announce the appointment of a bi-racial committee for this state to succeed the so-called Fabian-ski committee which has been working with race relations, but you will recall the unfortunate loss of Judge Fabian-ski.

And I want local committees formed in this state. I appeal to those communities—all communities—here and now to establish among your citizens bi-racial committees that can take up and consider grievances of a racial character and that can honestly and sincerely and with a determined effort try to find solutions to these difficulties.

Now that fact that your community has not had any difficulties should not deter you in moving to form this committee because sooner or later you will be confronted with a great need in our state to intelligently and reasonably act and to do that I must have the cooperation of the people.

About two years ago the distinguished playwright, Robert Sherwood, wrote a play for Robert Montgomery and it was presented on television. The title of it was "The Trial of Pontius Pilate." The title intrigued me because I had always thought of the events of those fateful times as working around the trial of Jesus and I never had thought in terms of Pontius Pilate being on trial.

And they did see it themselves. They crucified him.

Friends, we've got mobs beginning to form now, in this na-

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By REV. HAROLD ROLAND

Those Who Stand Alone for Right In Company with Heroes of Past

can exploit the fickleness of the mob for evil purposes. We must beware of the pitfalls in the mass mind. The crowd seems to be for you today and against you on tomorrow. Thus we must keep our balance amid the surging tides of human emotion or feelings. Take the praises of men lightly and you won't be too sorely disappointed by their hostilities.

Yes, we all must take the flatteries of men with a grain of salt. Walk the way of right and truth and be not too easily swayed by the praise nor the blame of men. There is a safety: THE RIGHT WAY. And we can stay in this way with a sense of honor and duty. Walk, this way in the main, guided by the golden rule. It will save you from the disappointing shocks of the fickleness of the crowd.

Right will abide beyond the raging fury of the wreckless mob.

In the cause of right we may be called upon to suffer the piercing, hurting darts of the insulting mob. Do right amid the raging mob. Stand for what is just in the face of the angry milling mob. And when the smoke of battle has cleared what is true, honorable and right will be vindicated.

Paul and Silas suffered much. They were arrested unjustly. They were physically mangled and mistreated. They suffered from the hands of the police and the courts. Right was made triumphant beyond the confusion of the howling mob.

Too many of us are afraid to stand alone. These daring men of God stood against the mob and the evil men who moved the mob against them for their own selfish purposes. It is wonderful to have the good will of the crowd. But if you must lose your

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Editor's Note: This is the eighth and final installment in a series of articles dealing with the relationship of organized labor and the Negro worker. The article was presented by Herbert Hill, labor expert, and first appeared in Commentary magazine.

This is not the only obstacle the Negro worker faces, of course. Because there is a disproportionate concentration of Negro workers in the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled, there has already been a high rate of Negro displacement and employment as the result of automation and other technological innovations.

Periodic recessions, too, have had a devastating effect on the Negro community; during several months in 1938, non-white unemployment was more than two-and-a-half times as great as un-employment among white workers. Inevitably, then, in the face of these developments, and the continued inability of the AFL-CIO to curb discrimination in its ranks, the Negro worker has turned to governmental agencies, and to the courts, for protection.

In several cases, discriminatory unions have invoked the legal doctrine of "voluntary association" to justify their exclusion of Negroes. In the Wisconsin Supreme Court, for example, the Bricklayers Union in 1936 challenged the Wisconsin Industrial Commission's recommendation that it admit two Negroes to membership. The court upheld the union; it declared that "membership in a voluntary association is a privilege which may be accorded or withheld, and not a right which can be gained and then enforced. The courts cannot compel the admission of an individual into such an association, and if his application is refused, he is entirely without legal remedy, no matter how arbitrary or unjust may be his exclusion . . ."

NEW LAW EVOLVING

Nevertheless, the body of law that has been evolving over the last two decades has tended to forge new protections for the Negro worker. In these cases, the principle of "voluntary association" has been no defense to the charge of racial discrimination. In the 1958 case of Sam H. Clark v. Norfolk and Western Railway Company and Brotherhood of Locomotive Trainmen, a Federal District Court granted a permanent injunction preventing the union from halting promotion of Negroes into certain job classifications; the Negro plaintiffs were also awarded compensatory damages.

In a case last March, C.iphant v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Supreme Court refused to review a ruling of the Circuit Court in Cincinnati, which upheld the union's refusal to admit Negroes; but the Supreme Court clearly hinted that it would welcome reviewing, in some other cases, the basic constitutional question: whether a union has a right to respect membership because of race.

Negro workers have placed so

many of their hopes in the courts, and in state and local Fair Employment Practices Commissions, because organized labor seems incapable of overcoming its habitual discriminatory practices. On the level of the small shop and local union, the traditions of discrimination have often been institutionalized. A form of caste psychology impels many workers to regard their own positions as "white men's jobs" to which no Negro should aspire. These workers and, often, their union leaders regard jobs in their industries as a kind of private privilege, to be accorded and denied by them as they see it.

Often, Negroes are not alone in being barred from such unions, which attempt to maintain an artificial labor shortage. This is especially true in the building and printing trades, which have much of the character of the medieval guild. On the local level, the inertia which sustains discrimination is to be found among skilled workers in big industry as well as among craftsmen, and in the North almost as commonly as in the South.

LEADERS DUCK ISSUE

The national labor leadership, for its part, indignantly explains that it is besieged at this time, by too many enemies to risk internal conflict over discrimination. The presence of a Republican in the White House since 1953, the Congressional exposures of union corruption, industry's more aggressive attitude in the last two years—all of these have caused labor's leadership to adopt a defensive posture. Within the large unions, automation and technological progress have stimulated new tensions between skilled and unskilled workers; the struggles between unions in various jurisdictions, and in va-

rious parts of the country, continue unabated. Because of these pressures, the very AFL-CIO leaders who oppose bias in other institutions have been reluctant to combat it within the labor movement.

"We don't want to be torn apart," is their argument. They fear that any militant decision to ban discrimination, no matter how gradually it was applied, would split the AFL-CIO wide open, and thus weaken the liberal cause.

However, for the Negro seeking employment, union discrimination is a cruel fact which these other considerations can hardly be expected to make easier. Given union control of the hiring process and of apprenticeship programs in the building trades, the printing trades, on the waterfront, on the railways, and in so many other industries, labor bias is no longer the private matter of a "voluntary association"—as Robert M. Hutchins describes American labor today.

Such discrimination is a fundamental social barrier to the Negro, hardly less serious than segregation in the public schools. The intervention of the larger community may, it seems, be necessary to remove that barrier.

HEALTH HINTS

BY
 DR. ELDEE L. BROWN
 Chiropractor
 Little Strokes — The American Crippler

What is a stroke? It is a brain injury caused by a sudden interference with the blood supply to the brain. This interference is most commonly due to a clot, leak, or hemorrhage. Such interference can result in symptoms like partial paralysis or difficulty in speaking.

A great number of people suffer what are termed "little strokes," from which they fully recover and go on to lead long, useful lives. The little strokes sometimes have minor and rather baffling symptoms. The person suffering such an attack may experience a thickness of speech, dizziness, or numbness of and arm or leg. The symptoms may be so slight as to be hardly recognizable. Little strokes commonly occur in persons in their fifties or sixties; at times, even in the later years.

It is not generally recognized that even younger persons often suffer little strokes. Such attacks come to persons in their 30's and 40's, too. In many instances, the little stroke serves as a warning and helps the person to avoid fatal attacks.

Persons most susceptible to

strokes in their younger years are those with high blood pressure or those who have suffered a heart attack. The younger person who has had no previous difficulties might not even know he had experienced a small stroke.

Because of the minor nature of the symptoms, they are hard to diagnose. A little stroke might occur as a brief moment of confusion, a passing dizziness, a thickness of speech for a few hours, a sudden stomach upset, or an arm that becomes weak and then completely regain its vigor, or temporary numbness of one side of the face. A number of ailments may be confused with a big or little stroke because the symptoms are similar. In both cases, prompt treatment is called for.

A healthy nervous system, with each nerve carrying out its proper function, is the best insurance against strokes, big or little. It is the special field of the doctor of chiropractic to maintain a smooth working nervous system free of any nerve irritation. When there is no interference to the transmission of vital nerve forces to the brain, especially in the case of strokes, such difficulties are not likely to occur.

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