

Did Gov. Wallace Sleep Well?

BY ALFRED DUCKETT
HOW LONG?

We wonder how the Governor of the sovereign state of Alabama slept on a certain September Sunday night. We wonder if he lay awake in his bed, tossing and turning, and seeing in a waking dream the twisted, lifeless bodies of six Negro kids from Birmingham, Alabama.

Four of these kids were baked in a hot cauldron of intense flame. We wonder if the Governor of Alabama realized that he had lit the match of inflammation which touched the fuse of the bomb that reduced a great and noble Negro church to ruins.

Two of the kids were gunned down on Birmingham streets. We wonder if the Governor realized that he loaded the hate weapons of death with the ammunition of bigotry.

If they ever apprehend the maniacs who hurled the bomb we wonder if he will be true to the code of all rat pack hoods and refuse to admit that he was encouraged in his foul deed by an official nod, urging the white people of Alabama to remain standing adamant against the tides of history.

We wonder if Governor Wallace reflected upon how it would feel to be a black man and the father of one of those slain girls whose charred bodies lay in the rubble, mute and

damp testimony to the savagery of Twentieth Century civilization in America. The Governor has a small daughter named Lee, named after the noted rebel General who fought the Civil War which the Governor still fights. Could he imagine this kind of brutality happening to his Lee? Probably not. Probably the Governor, in his sunny innocence, would be perfectly content to entrust his Lee to the tender care of a black mammy.

Little girls like Lee may not always be safe with black mammys in the kind of world Max Wallace would create. The assumption, long-held, that you can do anything to the Negro and still find him grinning is a dangerous assumption. If the hell which sought to break loose from the breasts of black people in Birmingham and across the nation — if that hell ever does break loose, Max Wallace and Lee and lots of other people may be consumed in its terrible fires.

We want to pray that the devil within the souls of men like Wallace and the bomber and the murdering police will not call forth its twin from the stricken hearts of our people. We want to pray this — but with fevered brow, with stomachs that want to make up the sickness and veins beating strongly from our temples, we cry from desperate lips — how long, Lord, how long?

The Proper March on Raleigh

We find it hard to fully approve the proposed "March on Raleigh" announced by a representative of CORE last week. Even in the face of the admitted wrongs suffered by North Carolina's more than one million Negroes we are at the present time unable to master a semblance of enthusiasm for such a project as a means of solving the problems or even dramatizing them before the state's population as a whole.

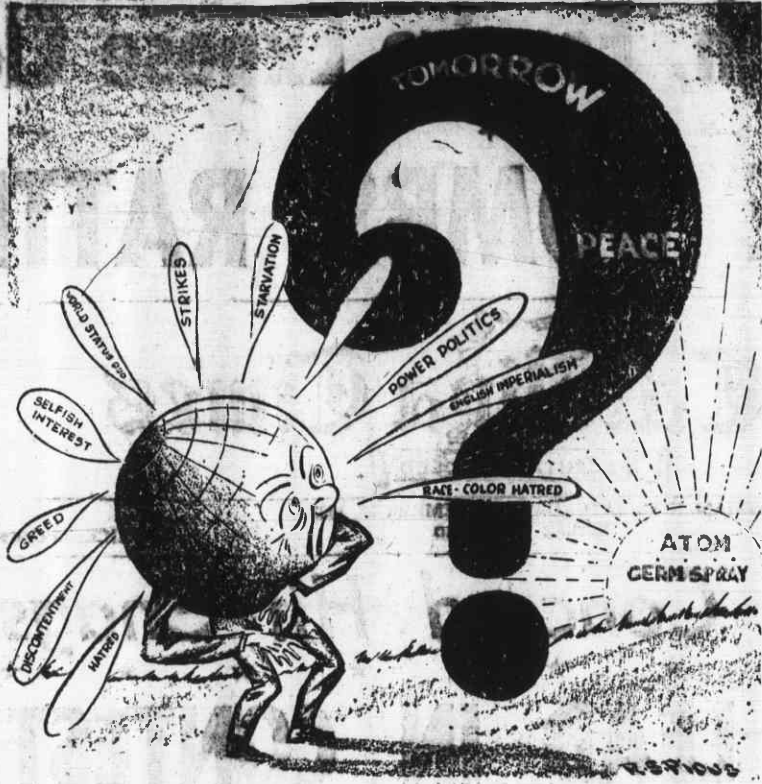
In the first place, to organize a March on Raleigh, any other state capital or city, requires more experience, know-how, time and money than appear available among CORE officials or any other group now in the forefront of the civil rights struggle in this state. With echoes of the very favorable reports of the March on Washington still being heard around the world, there is too great a chance that a "March on Raleigh" would not measure up numerically as well as in quality. To promise to put into Raleigh ten or twelve thousand people in such a project and come up with only two or three thousand, on account of cold or inclement weather, would result in an unfavorable reaction that it would take years to erase.

In the second place we are willing to admit that North Carolina is by no means a befitting example of the democratic dream. Facing the Negroes in this state are too many cases of inequalities, injustices and other evidences of

discrimination to even think about quitting the struggle for our rights as American citizens. We think, however, that it must also be admitted that North Carolina as a whole is far out in front of a majority of the southern states in facing up to the question of discrimination and making an honest effort to eradicate it.

We are also not exactly ready to pin an arch on the lapel of Governor Terry Sanford but one is compelled to admit that among southern governors he has done more than any other in an effort to remove some of the injustices faced by the state's Negro citizens. To march on his office or the governor's mansion appears to us, therefore, to be somewhat farfetched and lacking in good or mature judgment.

What we would like to see CORE, other organizations and individuals now in the forefront of the civil rights struggle do instead, is to organize a march to the door of every Negro home in North Carolina urging members of the race to register and vote. If the number of Negro voters can be increased a hundred per cent in this state many of the wrongs now suffered by the race will automatically disappear. We are for a march at night, but we are for a march (or preferably a sit-in, stand-in or lie-in) at the home of every unregistered Negro man and woman until he or she is registered.



REV. HAROLD ROLAND

Regrettable But Understandable

While the expulsion of Cleve McDowell from the University of Mississippi and the reasons for it are regrettable to every Negro in this country, they are understandable. It would be hard to find a sensible man or woman, whatever his racial identity, if placed in a similar position to that which prevails on the University of Mississippi campus, who would not look for his own protection by carrying some kind of weapon. The most regrettable part of the entire incident is that a situation such as that at the University of Mississippi can prevail at an educational institution in this country.

We think the five-member student judicial council of the university did only what was justly expected under the circumstances. Cer-

tainly, no well operated school can afford to allow students to carry concealed weapons, however provoking the circumstances may be. In our book however, McDowell is the victim of circumstances over which he had no control but one in which he endeavored to adjust himself.

Intelligent Negroes want no special favors and the University of Mississippi will be given the benefit of the doubt in the case of McDowell. We think, however, that every effort should be put forth to find other Negro students who are willing to undergo the ordeal of pioneering at such schools until all of them are willing to accept students on the basis of academic qualifications and not on the basis of race, creed or color.

God Has Offered Universal Remedy for World's Troubles

REV. HAROLD ROLAND

"Here is revealed God's way of righting wrong." Rom. 1:17.

God has offered a remedy for the thing that is basically wrong with this world. What is this fundamental condition of wrongness is the one thing that is God's Holy word, calls it sin. This man's condition of sinfulness is the one thing that is really wrong in this world. Man's soul seems incurably warped or depraved according to the word of God. Some would deny this basic condition of man's nature. But in making a very careful study of man's nature and actions we must conclude that there is something radically wrong with man. Call it what you will it is there. God, in Christ has given the remedy for what is wrong in man.

The redeeming love as revealed in Christ is God's way of setting right what is wrong in man. A Savior was needed for a spiritual moral corrective of what is basically wrong in us human beings. This thing has made man sick

And consequently man is critically in need of healing. This healing power is not in man as such. The healing power comes from God. Christ is "Here Revealed as God's Way of Righting Wrong." All human remedies have fallen short of healing man's sin-sick soul. God has come in love to do the job. Christ Jesus, the Savior of the sin-sick souls of men, is God's solution to the problem of man's sinfulness.

Man, the sinner, needs to be saved. What is the remedy? Christ is the key to man's salvation. Men are fearful of being lost in these critical times in which we are living. Our fears and anxieties about our future must be of necessity originate in the undeniable fact of man's sinfulness. God out of the abundance of His gracious love for the creature made in His image and likeness sends His Son to be the Savior of the world. Man needed a Savior, and in the fullness of time a Savior was born. They

found the Savior in Bethlehem's Manger. We must bring the burdens of our sins to Christ our Savior if we would be saved and made whole. We must come to Christ the Savior in repentance for our salvation.

The Holy One must make the sinner whole. The sinless Christ turns sinners into saints. Christ met all the requirements of redeeming man the sinner and bore him back to God. Christ heals and restores the sin-marred image in man. If you are suffering from the sickness of sin or your soul, then you can find healing in Christ. Christ will remove the burden of sin and guilt. Christ will forgive your sins. This Christ, the Savior, brings the matchless peace of God to the soul of man the sinner. Then why not accept this free gift of salvation and peace for your soul.

Christ is God's answer to man's problem of sin—the thing that is basically wrong with us as human beings.

Letter to the Editor

JUSTICE AND SOCIAL STATUS

White supremacists point to the highest crime and delinquency rate among Negroes as an excuse for racial segregation and discrimination.

Crime and delinquency rates are higher among Negroes than whites on an average because such rates are higher among low income groups. Negroes have an average standard of living substantially lower than for whites, because of their usually poorer education in segregated schools and because of prejudice against them in hiring and promotion.

This how it works. If five white boys from wealthy families steal a car, go on a joy ride and smash it up, the police detain them and phone the fathers, who come to the police station and offer to pay for the damaged car. The owner probably puts up the price a little, withdraws the charges, and the boys go free except for parental punishment. But if five Negro boys do the same things, the fathers probably cannot afford to pay, the charges are pressed, the youths are fined and/or jailed, and all have a police record.

This is not just imagination. After a coming out party in Southampton, New York for Fern and a Wanamaker Wethe'll more than one hundred young

See LETTER, 4-A

Heroes of the Emancipation

DAVID WALKER

"The John the Baptist" of the anti-slavery crusade, as David Walker came to be known was born free in Wilmington, N. C., in 1785. To Walker this slaveholding community was oppressive and degrading. He said, "If I remain in this bloody land, I will not live long. . . . As true as God reigns, I will be avenged for the sorrows which my people have suffered. This is not the place for me — no, I must leave this part of the country. . . . Go, I must."

He travelled extensively in the South during his youth and finally worked his way to Boston where he became the proprietor of a second hand clothing store. It was during this time that Walker first learned to read. He read widely in the literature of human slavery, steeping himself in the history of resistance to oppression.

In 1828 he made his first public appeal against slavery. A year later, he published Walker's Appeal. This pamphlet, which marked the transition from the earlier period to the militant anti-slavery movement, exploded with shattering force. Into his slim volume Walker poured the accumulated bitterness and disgust of his people. He scornfully dismissed the slaveholding Christians of "this Republic of Liberty" . . . and urged slaves to "cut their tormentors' throats from ear to ear. . . . Kill or be killed," he wrote. Walker's Appeal struck fear into the hearts of the slaveholders. Benjamin Lundy condemned it as injuring the anti-slavery cause, even Garrison said it was injudicious.

Walker's mind was neither trained nor disciplined. According to historians, this is what made his Appeal one of the greatest pieces of anti-slavery literature. It was, in historian Dwight Dumond's words, "A primitive cry of anguish from a race oppressed which would have come from a million throats could they have been articulate and have been heard." This became the most

widely discussed book yet written by a Negro.

Two increasingly radical editions followed Walker's first Appeal. He wrote "we colored people of these United States are the most degraded, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began." He stated that this was the result of slavery and not of racial inferiority as (Thomas) Jefferson had said in his Notes on Virginia. "The whites," said Walker, in the third edition of his pamphlet, "want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us. . . . as true as the sun ever shone in its meridian splendor, my color will root some of them out of the very face of the earth. . . . They will have enough of their blacks, yet, as true as God sits on his throne in heaven."

After the publication of his Appeal, Walker was not permitted to live in peace. The governor of Georgia requested Mayor Harrison Gray Otis of Boston to suppress the booklet. Otis, a strong advocate of a free press, refused to do so. A group of men in Georgia then offered \$1,000.00 for Walker's head and \$10,000.00 for him alive. In 1830, three months after the publication of the third version of the Appeal, Walker died mysteriously in Boston. Rumors that he had been poisoned were persistent enough to make a martyr of him. After Emancipation, his stature as a hero increased and thirty-six years after his death his son was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature. Walker's Appeal was again published in 1848 by Henry Highland Garnet together with Garnet's own appeal for every slave to cease work and walk away.

Historians now attach great importance to his contribution, especially because of its timing. Walker left a legacy of raging hatred for slavery, for the degradation, wretchedness and ignorance of his people. It was in this stage that Nat Turner strode.

these glooms and punks keep meaning with our children. There's a line, the most delicate human beings draw — and this is it!

The So-called Durham County Negro Fair

For the past several years the Carolina Times has winked at the so-called Durham County Negro Fair that has been held here annually. We did so more out of sympathy for the late president of the Fair, who was incapacitated from the loss of both his legs than we did because of respect for the owners or operators of such a project. We assumed the attitude that if a person without legs had the courage to attempt a project that would be the means of his earning a few dollars we might do a little good to and for him by doing a great harm to our group in general. We had hoped, therefore, following his demise that plans for continuance of the Durham County Negro Fair would end. To our regret that was not the case however and instead this city and county were again the scene of the project that is as much out of date for these times of struggle for racial equality as a mule and wagon would be on Main Street.

In the first place the Durham County Negro Fair falls short of what such a project should be because it does not exhibit to any great degree agricultural or other products usually

seen at a first-class project of the kind. In short the so-called Durham County Negro Fair appears principally to be more of a scheme for some one to make money than the purpose for which fairs are generally operated.

In the second place we are opposed to our young people, either during or after school hours, being given another brainwash treatment in second-class citizenship, even though it be at the hands of one of their own race. As we see it if Durham County is to have an annual fair it should have one for all citizens without regard to race, creed or color. To do otherwise is to turn the clock back to the days when such projects, although accepted, were undermining the self respect of Negroes.

We serve notice on the owners or operators of the so-called Negro Fair now that if it is continued as such next year we shall do every thing in our power to oppose it. We appeal to them to not make it necessary for us to take this unpleasant step by discontinuing it before the season rolls around next year.

A Negro Assistant Commissioner of Public Welfare

The vacancy now existing in the State Welfare Department makes available once again the position of Assistant Commissioner of Public Welfare, which from every sensible reason should be filled by a qualified Negro.

From a practical standpoint a member of the race constituting the major portion of the welfare cases of the total population would have a better insight into such problems than one of the opposite group. We think a qualified Negro in the position of assistant commissioner of public welfare would add considerably to the efficiency of the department as a whole as well as to the service it renders the Negro citizenry.

From a political standpoint we also think the time has arrived when the party in power

ought to offer its Negro constituency something more than the crumbs which fall from its political table. It is, therefore, our feeling that the one million or more Negro citizens of North Carolina are entitled to something more than honorary appointive positions such as trustees of Negro state colleges, other Negro state institutions and small salary posts.

With the exception of positions in the educational institutions, Negroes are always left on the outside looking in when the fat salary jobs are handed out. We are of the opinion that the citizenry as a whole is ready for the upgrading of the political rewards to Negro faithfuls of the party in power. If such is not the case we think it is high time for Negro voters to begin looking around for another ship to board.

As it now stands, it is our feeling that Governor Sanford is aware of the urgency of the situation and either knows where to look for the type of Negro to fill the post of assistant commissioner of public welfare or he knows of the race position to put him on the right track. The only thing the governor now needs is the courage and the foresight to make the step. We urge him to furnish the leadership in a move that will give encouragement to Negro democratic voters and whole faithfuls as well as the race as a whole.



BLOWN IN THE WIND

How many roads must a man walk down — before they call him a man? How many seas must a white dove sail — before she sleeps in the sand? How many times must the cannon ball fly — before they're forever banned? The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind. The answer is blowin' in the wind."

"This is the way the famous song goes.

How many bombs must fall on Alabama — how many churches must be bombed? How many helpless, unoffending children must die — before this nation comes to realize that the answer to all this injustice and brutality is blowin' in the winds. The winds are not soft, pretty, swirling winds. The winds of the wrath and resentment of the Negro are churning into what came become one of the worst storms which ever hit this so-called land of the free.

How many years must a mountain exist — before it is washed to the sea? The mountain of segregation. How many years must some people exist — before they're allowed to be free? Our people! How many times can a man turn his head and pretend that he just don't see? The segregationists. The Wallaces, the Ross Barretts! The stubborn old bosses in Congress.

The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind. The an-

swer might well be borne in on a cyclone which will change this nation into a land of bloody battlefields.

How many deaths will it take 'til it's known — that too many people have died? If I had a hammer, I'd hammer in the morning, I'd hammer in the evening all over this land, I'd hammer out danger. I'd hammer out a warning. I'd hammer out love between my brothers and my sisters — all over this land.

If I had been a parent in Birmingham on a Sunday morning which was shattered by a detonation more vicious than any ever released by Hitler in Nazi Germany — and if, in the ruins of that bombing, one of my children had been found crushed to death, I know what I would have done with that hammer.

God bless Dr. Martin Luther King! But, I'm afraid he would have lost me as a potential disciple of his credo of non-violence. I am afraid that his pleas will fall upon deaf ears unless some strong, decisive, immediate action is forthcoming from our Government. The Negro's patience has worn thin. Everywhere I go, I hear people talking in terms of retaliation. This kind of atmosphere reflects the fears we all have. But when the lives of four helpless young children can be snuffed out by some sick, rotten, half-crazed dog, it is high time that

we have more than just fancy words from the President. It is fine for the President to praise the Negro leaders who are calling for non-violence and calm. But, Mr. President, this non-violence and calm is not going to last much longer unless the Government finds some way, somehow to halt the reign of terror which is threatening the Negro.

I don't know who to blame more — the maniac who violated the sanctity of a Christian church and murdered four girls who had just begun to live — or that seeming madman in the state capitol who, in my opinion, is an accessory to the fact of murder. Governor Wallace, a big-mouthed, political pique which makes loud speeches, has proven he doesn't have the guts to back them up when it comes to jeopardizing his personal liberty. He cannot escape the responsibility for having set the stage for one of the ugliest, most cruel crimes which ever disgraced the United States and the South.

I can only fervently hope that by the time my column appears, President Kennedy has moved the strength and power of the United States Government to Birmingham, a city which has defied the law of man and spat upon the law of God.

The Governor of Alabama had the gall to offer a \$5000 reward for capture of the bomber. Mathematically, this means he believes the life of each of these kids was worth a little more than \$500. He should pay the \$5000 and turn himself in. If it hadn't been for his audacity and perverted campaign to keep Negro ministers out of school and to defile his Government, these children might be alive today.

Washington had best realize

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