

"Violence and Non-Violence"

Do not be surprised if the speech made by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Washington last Sunday, brings down on his head the full fury of the "Black Power" advocates of this country. We expect to hear or see Wilkins referred to as an "Uncle Tom" and otherwise lambasted by leaders of the "Black Power" movements, simply because he advocated a non-violent approach to problems confronting Negroes rather than one of violence.

Wilkins' speech on the solution to problems facing Negroes in this country is similar to that advocated by Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in his annual report to that organization last August. Both Wilkins and King, we think, are qualified by training and experience to chart the progressive, as well as a sane and safe, course for Negroes to pursue in the struggle they are waging for human dignity in America.

Quotes from Wilkins speech will be found in an article appearing on the front page of this week's issue of the CAROLINA TIMES, concerning the address delivered by the NAACP director. Below we quote from the above mentioned annual report of Dr. King on the question of "Violence and Non-Violence."

"Now, let me say briefly we must reaffirm our commitment to non-violence. I want to stress this. The futility of violence in the recent Negro riots. Yesterday, I tried to analyze the riots and deal with their causes. Today I want to give the other side. There is certainly something painfully sad about a riot. One sees screaming youngsters and angry adults fighting hopelessly and aimlessly against impossible odds. And deep down within them, you can even see a desire for self-destruction, a kind of suicidal longing.

Occasionally Negroes contend that the 1965 Watts riot and the other riots in various cities represented effective civil rights action. But those who express this view always end up with stumbling words when asked what concrete gains have been won as a result. At best, the riots have produced a

little additional antipoverty money allotted by frightened government officials, and a few water-sprinklers to cool the children of the ghettos. It is something like improving the food in the prison while the people remain securely incarcerated behind bars. Nowhere have the riots won any concrete improvement such as have the organized protest demonstrations. When one tries to pin down advocates of violence as to what acts could be effective, the answers are blatantly illogical. Sometimes they talk of overthrowing racist State and local governments and they talk about guerrilla warfare. They fail to see that no internal revolution has ever succeeded in overthrowing a government by violence unless the government had already lost the allegiance and effective control of its armed forces. Anyone in his right mind knows that this will not happen in the United States. In a violent racial situation, the power structure has the local Police, the State Troopers, the National Guard and, finally, the Army to call on — all of which are predominantly white. Furthermore, few if any violent revolutions have been successful unless the violent minority had the sympathy and support of the non-resistant majority. Castro may have had only a few Cubans actually fighting with him up in the hills, but he could never have overthrown the Batista regime unless he had the sympathy of the vast majority of Cuban people.

It is perfectly clear that a violent revolution on the part of American blacks would find no sympathy and support from the white population and very little from the majority of the Negroes themselves. This is no time for romantic illusions and empty philosophical debates about freedom. This is a time for action. What is needed is a strategy for change, a tactical program that will bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the non-violent movement. Without recognizing this we will end up with solutions that don't solve, answers that don't answer and explanations that don't explain."

The Howard Fuller Case

The employment of Howard Fuller by the University of North Carolina as a part-time lecturer has brought exactly the reaction from exactly the sources we had suspected—the anti-Negro element in the officialdom of the state. Had Governor Moore or any other high state official approved the action of UNC in employing Fuller in any capacity, except as a janitor or some other characteristic job held by Negroes at UNC, we would have been delightfully disappointed.

Because of his practical experience in the field of sociology, as well as his qualification from an academic standpoint, Fuller will be able to expose those who hear him to firsthand knowledge or the truth about certain

sociological questions they would not be able to obtain from sources less qualified. We think UNC has proved, that as an educational institution, it is about the business of searching for the truth instead of the false conception of matters, so often observed in persons in positions of great responsibility in North Carolina.

We commend the officials of UNC for having the courage to exercise the privilege of academic freedom that should be the portion of all educational institutions. We are satisfied that Fuller will measure up to the full responsibility that has been trusted into his keeping and that his employment at UNC will be of untold value to the strenuous times in which we now live.

Things You Should Know

Atty. Edwin J. COX ...

... OF COLUMBUS, OHIO; WHO


BECAME CHIEF COUNSEL OF COLUMBUS'

LAW DEPT. ON JULY 29, 1953 / FIRST NEGRO

EVER TO HOLD THIS POST, HE HAD EARLIER SUCCESS DE-

FENDING THE CITY IN A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SUIT!

CONTINUOUS FEATURES



Steady Hands Needed At The Helm



SPIRITUAL INSIGHT

By REV. HAROLD ROLAND



The World Calls for Messages Of Healing and Wholeness

"One who has the gift of stirring speech should use it to stir his hearers."

—Rom. 12:8

Speech, as a gift from God, should be used for healing and constructive purposes. Many have been guilty of the abuse and misuse of this gift of speech. We have known many in the past generation to use this gift from God to add to the frustration and confusion of the times. The gift of speech has been used to inflame in the direction of fear, suspicion, hatred and prejudice. The gift of speech has been used for disruption and divisiveness. It has been used to add to the sum total of man's unhappiness and misery. It has even been a major contributing factor in human suffering. But here is a gift from God that should be used for creative purpose in these times.

The world is now calling for messages of healing and wholeness. Men are weary and sick of the evil, health-destroying powers of those who misuse this God-given gift of speech. Messages that are constructive and healing are the great

needs of these times. The lack of such messages in the inner city is one of the factors in the senseless, irrational riots we are having in our times. I know there are many uncorrected, long-standing powers of evil. Thus we need to get down to the grassroots and bring to bear the healing and wholeness that we have in the Christian religion at its best. Well it means that those of us who represent the voice of healing must be heard. We must hurry with the messages of spiritual healing. Time is running out. Unless the voice of healing can hold sway, the forces of destruction will explode.

Evil with its health-destroying powers must be uprooted. And love and the resources of the spirit must take over in a hurry. Blind greed must listen. Injustice must give way to a new sense of acceptance and dignity. Those caught in the darkness and misery of the ghetto are tired of being crushed and stymied by blind ruthless forces. There must be creative, healing, words and deeds. Promises will not stay the violent, surging tide of the

forces of evil. Love must become active. Kindness and consideration must prevail. Those long-trampled humans must have their sense of dignity restored. We must live and preach a redemptive love. Where sin and evil now dominate the blessed fruits of the spirit must take over. We need a creative, healing use of the gift of speech.

Men still can be swayed and transformed by the power of a love inspired use of God's gift of speech. Our prayer is that God would give a whole new crop of the sincere preachers of love, forgiveness and grace. Men still will respond to those who speak in genuineness and sincerity. But they are fed up with wolves in sheep clothing. Too often have their hopes been built up and dashed. Christ in the beauty of His redeeming love will change men and reclaim society. Hearts must be changed—redeemed—and then we are on our way to the transformation of society.

Your gift of speech should be used for the redemption and the transformation of the individual and society.

—Brown

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body of this church. Should the deacons find evidence sufficient to convince it that any of the foregoing provisions have been violated, any and all unpaid balance shall be forfeited.

And that effective August 19, 1967, all utility bills for the parsonage shall be paid by Rev. Brown as long as he resides in the parsonage.

The recommendations were passed by a count votes of 94 for and seven against. We trust that you will respect the will of the church—that we might strengthen the fellowship which is now not what it should be. May God's richest blessings be with you.

Howard Williams, Chairman, Deacon Board Mrs. Lillie McIntyre, Clerk

The discharge of Rev. Brown as pastor of Ebenezer fairly rocked church circles of Durham where he is considered one of the city's leading ministers.

In addition to his pastoral work, Rev. Brown has taken an active part in civic affairs of the city, especially matters pertaining to the advancement of his race. Just recently his address before the Durham City Council on the question of "Black Power" was hailed by many as expressing the full sentiment of the entire intelligent segment of his race.

—Mayor

Continued from front page to campaign for the principles of freedom for all citizens of Youngstown, regardless of race, creed, color or religion."

A ten letter man during his college years, Frost is something of a sports hero in Youngstown as a result of two post-college bids from the L.A. Rams and Cleveland Browns.

—Educators

Continued from front page

Morgan State College, Jackson State College, Fort Valley State College, Mississippi Valley State College, Grambling College, and Texas Southern University.

"The authors developed no research design that would be impressive to scholars in their field," lamented Dr. Mays.

Dr. Mays also complained that in comparing Negro colleges with the most prestigious white universities, Jencks and Riesman were unfair. In this connection Dr. Mays asked, "Do they not know that possibly 90 per cent of all white colleges are not in a league with Harvard, Oberlin, and Berkeley?"

—Humphrey

Continued from front page

of the reception for Hatcher. Co-sponsors of the event included Senators Edward and Robert Kennedy, former Senator Paul Douglass, Rep. Charles Diggs, and Indiana Senators Birch Bayh and Vance Hartke.

Also attending the reception from Indiana were Lt. Gov. Robert Rock and Democratic State Chairman Gordon St. Angelo.

Assistant Secretary of Labor George L. P. Weaver was chief organizer and chairman of the reception, which attracted several hundred people and a large delegate of Washington press.

—Fuller

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ductory course in community organization as part of the School's social work curriculum.

During the summer, Fuller was criticized publicly after he led demonstrations protesting public housing in Durham. Owing to his involvement in these demonstrations, OEO Director, Sargent Shriver ordered The North Carolina Fund to suspend that portion of Fuller's salary that derived from OEO grants to the Fund. The Fund, apparently feeling criticism of Fuller's actions were not justified, continued his employment with the organization, and made up the difference in his salary with monies of its own. Fuller's salary for teaching at UNC will be paid by the University.

—Wilkins

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will build up resentment that will impede the progress of the Negro in America. Wilkins stated that "we didn't get anything by being peaceful... but when we threw the bricks through the glass windows we got the attention..."

"And they say to me, 'Wilkins, you never got any attention like that.' And they're so right," Wilkins said.

—NCC

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Continued from front page search Development Program (CORD), \$90,000; an experienced teachers fellowship program in educational media, \$123,200; a college library resources program (Title II), \$9,655; a community building education program for certain disadvantaged areas of Durham, \$32,489.85; and a cooperative arrangement and national teaching fellowship program (Title III), \$63,375.

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Guide Or Misguide

ARCHIE MOORE POINTS WAY

Editor's Note: Archie Moore, internationally known San Diegoan and retired light heavyweight boxing champion of the world, told friends yesterday he feels that "everybody must take a stand in this time of internal crisis. A man who stands neutral stands for nothing." He then wrote the following statement and submitted it to The San Diego Union, which is printing it verbatim.

By ARCHIE MOORE

The devil is at work in America, and it is up to us to drive him out. Snipers and looters, white or black, deserve no mercy. Those who would profit from their brother's misfortunes deserve no mercy, and those who would set fellow Americans upon each other deserve no mercy.

I'll fight the man who calls me an "Uncle Tom." I have broken bread with heads of state, chatted with presidents and traveled all over the world. I was born in a ghetto, but I refused to stay there. I am a Negro, and proud to be one. I am also an American, and I'm proud of that.

The young people of today think they have a hard lot. They should have been around in the '30s when I was coming up in St. Louis. We had no way to go, but a lot of us made it. I became light heavyweight champion of the world. A neighbor kid down the block, Clark Terry, became one of the most famous jazz musicians in the world. There were doctors, lawyers and chiefs who came out of that ghetto. One of the top policemen in St. Louis came from our neighborhood.

We made it because we had a goal, and we were willing to work for it. Don't talk to me of your "guaranteed national income." Any fool knows that this is insanity. Do we bring those who worked to get ahead down to the level of those who never gave a damn? The world owes NOBODY — black or white — a living. God helps the man who helps himself!

Now then, don't get the idea that I didn't grow up hating the injustices of this world. I am a staunch advocate of the Negro revolution for the good of mankind. I've seen almost unbelievable progress made in the last handful of years. Do we want to become wild beasts bent only on revenge, looting and killing and laying America bare? Hate is bait, bait for the simple-minded.

Sure, I despised the whites who cheated me, but I used that feeling to make me push on. If you listen to the professional rabble-rousers, adhere to this idea of giving up everything you've gained in order to revenge yourself for the wrongs that were done to you in the past — then you'd better watch your neighbor, because he'll be looting your house next. Law and order is the only edge we have. No man is an island.

Granted, the Negro still has a long way to go to gain a fair shake with the white man in this country. But believe this: if we resort to lawlessness, the only thing we can hope for is civil war, untold bloodshed, and the end of our dreams.

We have to have a meeting of qualified men of both races. Mind you, I said qualified men, not some punk kid, ranting the catch phrases put in his mouth by some paid hate-monger. There are forces in the world today, forces bent upon the destruction of America, your America, and mine. And while we're on the subject, do you doubt for a minute that communism, world communism, isn't waiting with bated breath for the black and white Americans to turn on each other full force? Do you want a chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the land of your birth, or do you want no chance at all under the Red heel?

Africa's A Great Place To Visit

There are members of the black community who call for a separate nation within America. Well, I do not intend to give up one square inch of America. I'm not going to be told I must live in a restricted area. Isn't that what we've all been fighting to overcome? And then there is the element that calls for a return to Africa.

For my part, Africa is a great place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there. If the Irishmen want to go back to the Emerald Isle, let them. If the Slavs want to return to the Iron Curtain area, OK by me. But I'm not going to go to any part of Africa to live. I'm proud of ancestry, and of the country that spawned my forefathers, but I'm not giving up my country. I fought all my life to give my children what I'm able to give them today, a chance for development as citizens in the greatest country in the world.

I do not for a moment think that any truly responsible Negro wants anarchy. I don't think you'll find intelligent — no, let's rephrase that — mature Negroes running wild in the streets or sniping at total strangers. God made the white man as well as the black. True, we haven't acted as brothers in the past, but we are brothers. If we're to be so many Cains and Abels, that's our choice. We can't blame God for it.

Teach That 'Any Boy Can'

Something must be done to reach the Negroes and the whites in the ghettos of this country, and I propose to do something.

As a matter of plain fact, I have been doing something for the past several years. I have been running a program which I call the ABC — Any Boy Can. By teaching our youth, black, white, yellow and red, what dignity is, what self respect is, what honor is, I have been able to obliterate juvenile delinquency in several areas.

I would now expand my program, change scope. If any boy can, surely any man can. I want to take teams of qualified people, top men in their fields, to the troubled areas of our cities. I know that the people who participated in the recent riots, who are participating and who will participate, are misguided rather than mad.

If some bigot can misguide, then I can guide. I've spent too much of my life building what I've got to put it to torch just to satisfy some ancient hatred of a man who beat my grandfather. Those men are long dead. Do we have to choke what could be a beautiful garden with weeds of hate? I say NO! And I stand ready to start "Operation Gardener." I invite the respected Negro leaders of our country to join me.

Also for the current year are Urban League and Roy Wilkins two U.S. Public Health allocations for a public health nursing traineeship program, \$12,800, and for research by Dr. Nell Hirschberg, professor of biology, \$7,200.

It was estimated that if the billion dollars is wholly invested in rent-supplement housing, over 80,000 units could be constructed. Secretary Robert C. Weaver had announced earlier that his department was doubling the number of public housing units to be built this coming year upon the request of President Johnson for immediate action. This would result in 70,000 public housing units in addition to the 80,000 units of rent supplement housing projected by the support coming from the insurance industry.

President Johnson urged the insurance officials to meet with business leaders in other industries and sell them on the program of cooperation between business and government in meeting the challenge posed by the urban crisis in America.

—President

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rata basis among 348 insurance companies throughout the country.

President Johnson invited leaders of local and state governments and members of Congress to the bipartisan conference which was attended by Whitney Young of the National