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A Word To Moderates

All would be well on the racial front if various pressure groups took Scotty Reston's advice and recognized that gradualism makes sense even though extremism makes news.

The sad part of the story is that tokenism and gradualism, no matter how beautiful in theory, have not managed somehow to move as rapidly as Negro hopes and aspirations.

Indeed, they have not moved at all except following the application of massive pressures--such momentous nudges as the Supreme Court's Brown decision or a Little Rock or Ole Miss or explosive street demonstrations utilizing Gandhi's civil disobedience.

To attack gradualism and token integration, Mr. Reston of the Times says, as some Negro leaders are doing is "to attack law, for all law is gradual in a democratic society, and law is the Negro's only hope. He dare not give up on the slow processes of the law as if he were a Negro majority among a handful of white governors in a Portuguese colony, or invoke federal law when it suits him and defy municipal or state law when it doesn't."

All this may be true, but it seems to us Mr. Reston has not listened closely to the new militancy stirring among American Negroes North and South, or the dialogue Martin Luther King, writing from the Birmingham jail recently, sought to begin with a group of Alabama ministers who deplored the inauguration of street demonstrations in Birmingham.

It may be worthwhile to hear the Rev. Mr. King out--at least so we may understand something of the motivation behind this rising tide of Negro impatience.

In answer to the very point Mr. Reston poses, the Rev. Mr. King replied that the Birmingham demonstrations were repeatedly postponed until the defeat of "Bull" Connor was assured and a new "moderate" administration was elected. Why, then, the ministers asked, did the demonstrations begin against the new administrators? "You may well ask," Martin Luther King replied, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, et cetera? Isn't negotiation a better path?"

Why are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored...

My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals...

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First I must confess that over the last two years, I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' Council or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to order than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a more convenient season...

While Martin Luther King may be endowed, in the minds of many, with the "vice of too-positive thinking", he has somehow captured the imagination and loyalty of a broad segment of Negro America. These words written from a Birmingham cell (one can recall earlier spiritual leaders who wrote from a similar location -- St Paul, Gandhi Nehru) may strike many as abrasive.

But they have intrinsic power. They represent an idea whose time has come. Unless the white moderates -- and those in authority everywhere -- recognize their power, then America is in for a period of unending trouble.

The words of Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte, as he announced a "voluntary" breakthrough in Charlotte last week, stand as a model of what the moderate everywhere can do to make sure the power of decision remains in his hands:

The community is voluntarily facing up to what it thinks is right and in the best interest of continued progress, prosperity and racial harmony. This action represents acceptance of the principle that discrimination based on the color of a man's skin is legally and morally wrong and economically unsound.

--GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS

Now there is the word that Highsmith Hospital may be about to close. On the hospital subject, as on the subject of human relationships, we here appear to be willing to wait until the situation becomes critical before we do anything.

Scars

100 YEARS AGO



Lee Enters Maryland; Vicksburg In Agony

By LON K. SAVAGE
The Civil War raged on two fronts 100 years ago this week, moving swiftly toward what would become the war's turning point: the battle of Gettysburg in the East and the simultaneous fall of Vicksburg in the West.

In Virginia, General Robert E. Lee's army of 80,000 swept rapidly northwestward heading for a fateful invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Lee's men outdistanced their enemy, smashed into the Shenandoah Valley town of Winchester and captured it from the Federals and then moved on to the north.

But if the Confederates were happy over Lee's successes, their happiness was stilled by the events in Mississippi. There Federal General Ulysses S. Grant tightened his grip around the trapped Confederate city of Vicksburg until his trenches were at places within 100 yards of the Confederate lines. Inside the city, Confederate General John Pemberton looked on in dismay as the city's starving inhabitants began eating mules, then cats and finally rats to keep alive.

IN VIRGINIA
Lee's movements met success at every turn, however, as his army stretched itself out through the Virginia farmland toward Maryland. On June 9, Lee's opponent, "Fighting Joe" Hooker, sent a band of cavalymen across the Rappahannock River. They surprised Lee's cavalry commander, "Jeb" Stuart, and caused a fierce skirmish at Brandy Station. But Stuart finally sent the Federals scurrying back across the river.

Next day, Richard Ewell, commanding one of Lee's corps moved swiftly through the Blue Ridge to the northwest, attacked Winchester on the 14th and thoroughly routed Federal Gen. Robert Milroy, capturing both

troops and the town. Next day his men moved on to Martinsburg, W. Va., and began splashing across the Potomac into Maryland.

Hooker, meanwhile, began moving northwestward too, trying to stay between Lee's army and Washington. He received a typically humorous instruction from President Lincoln: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail off on the plank road between Frederickburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?"

No. Hooker had to admit, he could not without running too great a risk. Instead, he slipped northwestward toward a town called Gettysburg.

AT VICKSBURG
At Vicksburg, the war was misery. Federal shells rained on the city day and night and women and children moved into caves for their protection. Water, as well as food, was in short supply.

Outside the city, Confederate troops manned their defense under a burning sun, living in dugouts, continually ducking Federal shells, slowly losing strength simply for lack of food. Ammunition too, was running out. The Federal siege inched closer to the city each day -- so close that Federals and Confederates often spoke to each other across the lines at night.

The Vicksburg Confederates had only one hope: that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston would bring an army down from the northern part of the state and rescue them. But Johnston dilly-dallied, and gradually those in Vicksburg began to realize that their last hope was dimming. The end for Vicksburg appeared near.

NEXT WEEK: WEST VIRGINIA BECOMES A STATE.



GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS

PUPPY CREEK PHILOSOPHER SAYS:

He's In Favor Of Graduates Who Won't Set The World On Fire

Dear editor:

As you know, this is the time of year when graduating classes get to hear a lot of advice and I've been reading some of it from around the country and so far I haven't heard something mentioned which I'd like to bring out myself.

I don't mean to say the advice isn't sound. It is, regardless of how little of it will be taken. In the world's entire history there never has

been a shortage of advice, and like everything else we've got a surplus of, the price has never been high.

Most commencement speakers, especially at colleges, exhort the graduates to work hard and achieve and amount to as much as the speakers, but they've got to do better than that if the world's going to hold together. Right now, we're at the point where a disarmament conference feels safer if it's meeting close to a bomb shelter.

Now the point I'd like to bring out is that in nearly every graduating class, except of course the one in Raeford, there's always a certain number about whom some folks predict, with about the accuracy of a weather forecast, "Well, they won't set the world on fire."

I tell you, that's exactly the kind of young people I'm looking for. If this world needs anything, it's somebody who won't

set it on fire.

Go to the moon, orbit the earth, invent a tail pipe that won't rust out, perfect a drip-dry car fender that straightens out its own dents, eliminate racial strife, abolish slums, lower taxes, bring television to Africa, shave Castro, control the weather, grow food in a test tube, de-salt the ocean, eliminate flies and mosquitoes, write more books, find a funny comedian on TV, eliminate crime, make honesty convenient, outwit the Russians, bring peace on earth, but don't set it on fire.

Yours faithfully,

J. A.

Cliff Blue's Tar Heel People & Issues

STRIDES . . . Say what you please but it is pretty apparent that the Negroes are making tremendous strides in their campaign to break down racial barriers through their demonstrations. All over North Carolina in the larger cities in particular, the racial barriers appear to be crumbling.

EARLIER START . . . Rep. George Wood of Camden County has introduced a bill in the General Assembly which would change the convening time of the General Assembly from the first week in February to Mid-January. This bill will appeal to the farmers and many of the non-lawyers in the Assembly. The lawyers seem to prefer the February convening, and about a third of the legislators are lawyers. Personally, we prefer the earlier meeting time as Raleigh is a hot place in the summertime.

CUT AND SAVE . . . State Senators Gordon Hanes of Forsyth County has proposed a plan to encourage cutting government expenses. Hanes last week told a Senate committee that as an incentive program he would favor doubling the salary of any administrative head of state government who reduced the staff of his department by half. This thought certainly has merit.

TRAGIC . . . The death of one man and the shooting of another at Lexington on Thursday night of last week was tragic. But, it has been rather surprising to us that a much larger number have not been killed.

SAXON . . . Opinion seems to be that Rep. Herman Saxon of Charlotte will be selected to succeed Robert Gavin of Sanford as GOP State Chairman and that he will go on to run for Charlie Jonas' seat in Congress when the latter runs for governor in 1964. Saxon was a registered Democrat before changing over to the GOP side to run for State Representative in 1962.

DEMOCRATS . . . Right now C. B. Deane of Rockingham appears to be the most likely candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the

8th district come primary time in 1964. Among others being mentioned are W. E. Graham, Jr. of Charlotte, Dr. Bill James of Hamlet, W. P. Saunders and Voit Gilmore of Southern Pines.

Reports are that Jonas' decision to run for governor would have no bearing on Deane's interest in running. Deane is not one who believes Jonas can't be beat.

POPE . . . While being a protestant, we always held Pope John in high regard and consider him one of the great leaders of the Roman Catholic faith and of Christianity.

The story goes that some men were discussing who would be the successor to Pope John when one spoke up and said: I hope they will name a protestant this time as it seems like the Catholics have had it long enough. It should be passed around.

VETO . . . A governor of one political faith and the General Assembly of another in North Carolina would find the governor with but little constitutional authority since he does in North Carolina and in North Carolina alone among the 50 states the governor does not have the veto authority.

HENRY JORDAN . . . Last week Mayor Robert L. Reese of Asheboro and Chairman R. Lynn Albright of the Randolph County Board of Education mailed out reprints of a feature article appearing in the Chapel Hill Weekly a few weeks ago on Dr. Henry W. Jordan and his probable gubernatorial candidacy. In their note accompanying the article, Reese, and Albright said: "There is a lot of talk over the State about our friend and neighbor, Dr. Henry W. Jordan, running for Governor. We people in Randolph County like the idea, and we thought you would be interested in reading the enclosed article from one of North Carolina's most highly respected newspapers about Dr. Henry and the speculation about next year's election."

Dr. Jordan is quoted in the articles as saying: "I get a lot

of invitations around the State, and I try to get to most of them. Let's just say I've been accepting invitations, and I'm interested."

The Chapel Hill Weekly has been running a series of articles on Democratic gubernatorial possibilities.

This Is The Law

NEED OF A WILL

What is a will?

A will is a written document in which you state who is to own your property after your death. By it you name the persons whom you wish to benefit or protect. An executor is named in it to collect your assets, pay your creditors and funeral expenses, and in general to wind up and settle your estate.

If you make a will, you may be a very large extent designate just how your property is to be used after your death. You may, for example, give the use or income of property to your wife for the term of her life and upon her death the absolute ownership to any one or all of your children.

What is the difference between an executor or administrator?

An executor is the person a testator has named in his will as the one he wants to administer his estate. An executor is not generally required to give a bond. This is because the testator must have had confidence in the honesty and integrity of the person or else he would not have selected and named him.

An administrator is a person appointed by the clerk of the superior court to administer the estate of a decedent when there is no will. He may also be a person appointed by the clerk of the superior court when there is no executor named

SENATOR SAM ERVIN SAYS



WASHINGTON-- The Senate last week passed the mental health bill almost unanimously, 72-1. A House committee has completed hearings, but has not acted on the bill. There is much to recommend bold action by the Congress in this neglected area. The National Institute of Mental Health annually reports increases in mental hospital admissions; and, according to medical prognosticators, the mounting stresses of our modern society portend even greater increases in the future.

One of the barriers experienced in combating mental illness and retardation has been that the nation's number one health problem does not command the type of great public appeal that polio, cancer, and heart disease have marshalled.

In the will or the person named in the will has died, resigned, or is incompetent. An administrator is required to give a bond. Both an executor and an administrator receive a commission for services rendered.

What happens to the property of a person who dies without will?

After the debts and funeral expenses of the decedent are paid, the balance is distributed in accordance with a rigid formula prescribed by the General Assembly. In other words, if you have not seen fit to make a will, the law will dispose of your property for you. This disposition may not be in accordance with your desires. The failure to make a will may bring hardships and added expense for your immediate family or those that are closest to you. Occasionally a portion or all that a person owns will go to a distant relative that never knew the decedent. The "intestate laws" which provides for the disposition of the property of persons who have not left a will, are not the same in all states. They are changed from time to time in North Carolina.

Is it cheaper to die without a will?

No. The administrator of an estate without a will has limited powers of action, whereas an executor may be given broad powers of action which will effect a substantial saving to the estate. A carefully drawn will can and often does reduce taxes and other expenses.

One vital reason is that old attitudes toward mental illness have changed at a snail's pace over the years. A prime purpose of the mental health bill is to promote with Federal assistance the construction of community centers to treat mental disorders in or near the person's own home area. This is regarded as a worthwhile approach in bringing better understanding and better treatment in early stages of mental illness. Moreover, the measure would grant Federal assistance for the construction of research centers and facilities for the mentally retarded.

Congress began its study of mental illness needs in 1955 when it enacted the Mental Health Act. At that time it directed the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health to come up with a report on the mounting problem in this field and report to the Congress on the needs for a national mental health program. The Commission's study formed the basis of Senate action last week.

Part of the story told by the Commission was outlined in national statistics which stated that there are now 800,000 patients filling our mental institutions. 600,000 of these suffer from mental disorders and over 200,000 are being treated for mental retardation. Every year nearly 1 1/2 million people are being treated for mental problems of some nature. It is estimated that one-half of the hospital beds in the United States are occupied by patients afflicted with mental disorders. Congressional action in the field of mental health under the terms of the Senate bill will proceed along the lines of public health measures now using Federal funds to treat tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and polio, and the Hill-Burton Act which assists hospitals. The legislation will not preempt State action in the field. North Carolina already has done outstanding work in the treatment of mental illness and retardation. Senate debate last week revealed that our State has expended \$224,629,775 in the last ten years in this area of care and treatment.

I am hopeful that the passage of this bill will now pave the way for Senate consideration of legislation which will cope with the equally important facet of constitutional rights of the mentally ill. The hearings conducted earlier this session by the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee reveal the need for this companion legislation.