

# Editorial Viewpoint

## WORDS OF WORSHIP

We know that God is better than most people suppose. In fact, this was a part of the message of Jesus—that God is supremely better than anybody dared to believe. Not a petulant Creator, who had lost control of his creation and, in wrath, was determined to destroy it all. Not a stern Judge dispensing impersonal justice. Not a vain king, who

must be flattered and bribed into concessions of mercy. Not a rigid accountant, checking up the sins against the penances and striking a cold hard balance. Not any of these . . . nothing like these . . . but a Great Companion, a Wonderful Friend, a Kindly Indulgent, Joy-Loving Father.

## King Must Consider Boycott Wisely

The proposal of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to lead the non-violent movement into an economic boycott against the State of Alabama may be similar to "cutting off the hand that feeds."

The Negro has a magnanimous "buying power," but he has almost no "productive power" in the sense of manufacturing goods. Therefore, if he cuts off his buying power, whites could—if they wished—lay off Negro workers, both domestic and industrial. It must be remembered that the Negro's buying power is largely dependent upon money earned from jobs provided by white employers.

Thus the massive effectiveness of an Alabama economic boycott could be reduced to a matter of inconsequence by the simple procedure of firing Negro employees.

Miami Herald's columnist, Robert C. Ruark, has stated the situation wisely when he commented that "the burden of it is that you can stretch a sit-in too far, you can make a freedom march too long, and when you start boycotting things—people or places—it's apt to boomerang in unworthy causes once the precedent is set."

To us, it seems that Whitney Young, director of the Urban League, has viewed the problem more practically. He understands that thousands of Alabama Negroes would suffer terribly from an industrial boycott. At the same time, we must not punish "the good with the bad Alabamians" inasmuch as large numbers of white citizens in Alabama do not side with the governor, nor are they members of the White Citizens' Council and the Ku Klux Klan.

To initiate an economic boycott has led Whitney Young to say, "We will live together as brothers or perish as fools."

## A Different Image From Alabama

Congressman James D. Miller, (R-7th district Ala.) brought a new image of Alabama and a new approach to the political status of the South when he spoke to a Wake County Republican Fund Raising Dinner Saturday night in Raleigh.

The congressman acted more like a statesman than a politician. Of course he was partisan and told the party faithfuls how to organize for victory in 1966, but he went beyond party lines in the discussion of current issues.

Mr. Miller began by saying that he got into politics because of the bad image that Alabama was creating in Washington. It is to be remembered that he kept Senator Lister Hill up all night when it appeared that he had lost to Miller in the race for the U. S. Senate. Miller let it be known that he did not ride into office on Goldwater's coat tail.

He said that the South was in its own way, due to the fact that most of its representatives in Congress were out of step with the times. He was not the rip-snorting type of politician and at no time used the worn out approach of the "tradition of the Old South" and made no effort to fight the Civil War over again.

The congressman let it be known that he was not in accord with all of the things that were being done in his state and he also disagreed with Governor Wallace's approach to the racial situation. He was not at all satisfied with the injustices that the Negro suffered, not only in Alabama, but throughout the nation. He was conscious of the fact that there were other groups that suffered indignation due to the fact that there was an element in our society that wanted to live by the philosophy of white supremacy.

## Reynolds Scholarships For Negroes

Twenty-four Negro students of North Carolina, entering colleges in the fall of 1965, will receive Z. Smith Reynolds scholarships valued at \$100,000.

It was announced by the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation that \$24,000 in scholarships would be four-year grants to six finalists in the National Achievement Scholarship Program.

The remainder of the money will go for four-year scholarships for nine young women entering Bennett College in September and to nine male students entering Livingstone College.

The Reynolds scholars were nominated by their high school principals around the State of North Carolina.

## Legislators Must Acquit Themselves

The largest number of Negroes since the Civil War Reconstruction Period is now serving in State legislatures throughout the nation, according to an Ebony magazine survey.

Ninety-four Negroes are serving in 24 State legislatures. Among the list are two State senators in Georgia, and this is indeed a healthful sign of political progress.

More Negroes are expected to join the 18 senators and 76 representatives now serving following the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling on reapportionment becomes fully effective.

**THE NEGRO PRESS**—believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords to every man regardless of race, color or creed, his human and legal rights. Hating no man fearing no man—the Negro Press strives to help every man on the firm belief that all men are hurt as long as anyone is held back.



## Just For Fun

BY MARCUS H. SOULWARE

### GO-GO-GO!

This is the fifth weekend that I've been away from Tallahassee; but this time, I am not visiting practice teachers. In session is the Florida Speech and Hearing Association at the Robert Meyer Motor Inn in Orlando, Fla.

I got here in time for the Executive Council meeting which began at noon in the Spanish Room. We met from noon until 6:30 p. m., and then resumed our meeting at 7:30 p. m. until ten o'clock. Boy, was I tired from sitting down.

The session got underway at about nine o'clock on Friday, April 2.

The delegates of our racial group are being housed this time in the convention hotel. This is luxury, but our institution does not allow enough per diem payments to take care of the expense. So the delegate "winds up" digging into his

pockets and coughing up extra dough over and above what he will be reimbursed.

Our major consultant at this meeting was Dr. Joseph Wepman from the University of Chicago. He is a specialist in the disorder of aphasia—a language disorder, traceable to brain damage.

**WRONG TURN:** In Richmond, California, three passengers said they would tell the cab driver, David Hager, where to go.

It was raining hard. It was pre-dawn dark on Saturday. Hager's windshield wipers had more than they could handle.

"Turn right here," one passenger said.

Hager did—and water flowed into the cab.

Angry, the passenger sloshed ashore without paying.

Hager, 27, and on the job only a month, had driven down Cutting Boulevard's boat ramp into the bay.

(Tough luck, kid, — eh?)

## ONLY IN AMERICA

BY HARRY GOLDEN

### THE CITY OR THE COUNTRY

The never-ending debates in the elementary school classes on the Lower East Side of New York City, "Resolved: The City is a Better Place to Live in Than the Country." The contra always lost since so few of us had ever seen the country.

The Supreme Court of the United States has sided with all those junior debaters. It has ruled that representation in the State Legislatures must be on the basis of population. If there are those who would lose pitch with the Supreme Court, let it be said the Supreme Court exercised great patience with those legislators from rural areas who certainly showed themselves loath to vote against the job they held.

There are those, of course, who will call a murraine upon the Supreme Court no matter what it decides, but I think on this issue their voices will be feeble. While the Supreme Court decision no doubt disadvantages one group it advantages equally another. Thus, the rural legislators in the North will no longer be able to vote inordinate appropriations for rural highways along which clank solitary milk trucks while the law-makers in the South will finally have to stop lordling it over the growing metropolitan centers of the section.

It is a felicitous ruling. One of America's problems has been for the last three decades that it is an urban nation governed by rural administrators. Thus we may, by reapportionment, lessen some unendurable tensions. The State Senator from eastern Connecticut couldn't care less about the New York

commuters in Fairfield County made savage by the inadequacy of the transportation.

We have seen the United States Senate, whose Committees are dominated by rural Southerners, halt operations and tolerate dismal delay while these men satisfy a constituency that, in combined numbers, are less than the population of any one of the big cities in their respective states.

When John F. Kennedy proposed the creation of a new cabinet post for the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing he was sadly aware that the House of Representatives was controlled by rural and small town legislators. He foresaw that these rural representatives would in all probability defeat his request.

He made therefore a public announcement that he would appoint a Negro to this cabinet post, Dr. Robert Weaver. Everyone said he was playing politics which was certainly true, but he was aware that this cabinet post would have rough going and he wanted to make its defeat as costly as possible for the opposition. If the opposition beat down a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, they would have to vote against the appointment of a Negro, too.

Yet there is something sad about the Supreme Court's decision too. We all pride ourselves upon being a democracy. More and more, however, we have to look toward the Supreme Court for the salvation of democratic principles. While I am a strong advocate of the enlightened minority, it would be even better for America if once in a while we could depend upon an enlightened majority.

## In This Our Day

BY C. A. CHICK, SR.

### "TOO MUCH TAXES?"

Even though Tom, Dick, and Harry are paying taxes almost each day of their lives, apparently they do not become tax conscious until the time arrives to pay their income taxes. Even though the amount of taxes individuals pay in the form of sales tax, luxury tax, and hidden tax, no doubt amount to far more than their individual income tax, they seemingly do not get "mad" about the problem of taxes until time comes to pay individual income taxes.

That no doubt is caused by the fact that the individual income tax bill is stated in one lump sum, although the individual may have paid it on the installment plan— withholding tax. The average individual seldom, if ever, thinks of taxes as being too high until he pays his income tax and maybe also when he pays his property tax.

Of course as to whether or not taxes are too high depends upon a thousand and one different things. Does the various levels, local, state, and national, of government, spend the tax dollar wisely, honestly, and efficiently? Are simple a few of the questions that would have to be asked in any attempt to decide whether or not taxes are too high. Believe it or not, we will say out one corner of our mouths "let the government do this or that." But out of the next corner of our mouths, "taxes are too high." What is the government doing with so much money? We often forget that regardless of who does it, the

cost of production must be borne, or paid. A government, no less than an individual, cannot produce for less than the cost of production.

The question we need to ask ourselves regarding taxes is whether or not our tax dollar is getting us a dollar's worth of whatever it is spent for? Another thing we need to consider is whether or not my dollar does me more or less good when it is spent collectively with other tax dollars? For example, the average individual's tax dollar would purchase him a very poor school system. And, moreover, assuming that an individual was able to build himself a schoolhouse for his children, and to employ teachers for the same, how many people would want to do that? Not many. How many people are able financially to build and maintain roads for their personal travel? Not many, and few would want to do such were they able. The foregoing are simple examples of how that an individual's tax dollar, put with other people's tax dollars, secures for the individual things and services that he would not be able to purchase alone.

So let's pay our taxes with a big smile. And when taxes are increased let's assume that the increase is needed to secure for us goods and services we need and want on a collective basis. But on the other hand, let's exercise our civic duties to the end that people who get in public office and thus handle our tax dollars are both honest and efficient.

## Other Editors Say . . .

### FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

Southern Governors were told in no uncertain terms that the Federal government intends to pursue with speed and vigor all of the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, especially the one that requires that racial discrimination end in all programs receiving Federal financial assistance.

School districts by the hundreds have been issued desegregation compliance forms. They must sign them or lose Federal funds.

There are eleven Dixie states that collect every year \$350,000,000 in Federal money. U. S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel read to the six Southern governors who attended President Johnson's breakfast briefing, the formal statement of compliance on desegregation.

Requests for Federal budgetary support in 1965-66 are now being prepared for submission by local school authorities throughout the South.

Except for the few districts under court-ordered desegregation a detailed integration plan is the only acceptable way of qualifying for continued aid, Keppel emphasized.

Some Southern districts, however, are not complying with that provision. In Birmingham, Ala., the Bessemer School board filed the first Federal court challenge to the desegregation portion of the Act.

The board asked that Title IV of the act be declared unconstitutional on grounds it is vague, and an illegal delegation of legislative powers to the Executive branch.

Gov. George C. Wallace has asked all Alabama school boards

# The Little Men Went One Step Beyond



Sherwood Ross

## ONE WORLD

### IF AMERICA WAS THE WORLD

The other night I dreamed that the entire world, with all its peoples and problems, had been somehow crowded into the United States. And this is what I saw:

Every person living west of the Mississippi River went permanently hungry. Most would do anything for a loaf of bread. Each day we buried 10,000 victims of starvation, most of them children under five years of age.

Plague and smallpox epidemics broke out regularly in a dozen States, including Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, North and South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. Malaria was common to every State south of the Ohio River.

One out of every six Americans suffered from trachoma, many impaired to the point of blindness. One of 30 persons was wracked by yaws, a disease which covered their bodies with sores, open wounds. And one in 60 was afflicted by filariasis, an invasion of parasitic worms in the blood or tissue.

Water-borne diseases took a high annual toll. One out of 15 Americans lacked sanitary drinking water.

Of every three American families, one lived in unspeakable slums. Countless millions of people slept each night in the streets of our cities. Outside of the prosperous New England and Middle Atlantic States, and Texas, poverty and hopelessness was man's daily lot. There were too many mouths to feed; too little food, and no family planning.

Population was growing faster than food supply. 1964 became the first year in recorded history when America's per capita food output dropped—an ominous turn of events since, by 2000, our population would number 400,000,000 souls. One out of every four Americans was illiterate. Three out of every five American children suffered from illiteracy, hunger, or disease—or all three.

Seventy percent of the public did not have access to a radio, TV set or newspaper.

About one-third of the people had only the

clothes on their backs, although, in all fairness, the typical man often owned an extra shirt.

The average family lived on \$10 a week. Unemployment stood at astronomical levels. Disease-ridden men couldn't lift a peck; millions of willing workers couldn't read or write well enough to be useful.

Nearly four-fifths of all workers outside of New England and New York worked the land using crude, primitive tools. They reaped barely enough to feed their families, perpetuating the poverty cycle.

Only in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Texas did people eat well, drive cars, spend princely sums on luxuries and live to the age of 60.

Unhappily, much of their wealth was squandered on arms. The governor of Texas had threatened to "bury" the State of New York, Alaska was threatening to invade California; New Jersey and Virginia had about come to blows over Staten Island, etc., etc.

The public was unprotected by a standing Federal army; the States ignored the Supreme Court and imposed fantastic tariffs on "foreign" goods. Congress had no power to pass bills regulating commerce, or anything else; the White House had no power, whatsoever, the President was a figurehead, the Treasury was bankrupt and the threat of thermonuclear incineration hung like a shroud over the country from coast to coast.

Every now and again, the governors of the rich states would lend the people in the poor states a little money to help keep them alive—but this aid was not equal to what the poor states lost because the rich states had them at a trade disadvantage. Consequently, this "aid" was bitterly resented.

The last thing I recall was that about a dozen states were about to declare war on each other and an apocalyptic conflict looked inevitable. I awoke bedded with sweat. "What an insane nightmare!" I exclaimed to my wife. "Let's thank God it wasn't real!"

"Wasn't it?" she replied.

## ALTAR CALL

BY EMORY G. DAVIS, D.D. (For Negro Press International)

"THANKS! VIOLA, JIMMIE LEE AND JAMES" Several years ago, the Rev. Howard Thurman of Boston University gave the world a classic word for those being slain in Alabama's Golgotha.

He said: "They die, but we must face a far greater problem. For we must live, and their ghosts shall drive us onward."

Viola Gregg Liggio, now joins the honored dead—Jimmie Lee Jackson and the Rev. James J. Ray, victims of savage inhumanity inflicted upon them and those who dare to live not for themselves alone but for others as well, that through them, we might have life more abundantly.

It is by no means sacrilegious to suggest that crucifixion in Alabama is equally as dramatic for our age as that of a carpenter's son named Jesus from the village of Nazareth in his story. The only difference is in the aftermath.

Jesus of Nazareth rose from the dead to "drive us onward."

Now we have the "ghosts" of Viola, Jimmie and James doing the driving.

To feel a sense of this drive, one must talk to a white person from the North who has been to Selma and Montgomery. These whites are not the same persons they were before they went "down home." Whatever theological concepts they had about man and God; whatever sociological ideas they had about human relations; whatever psychological pre-concepts they had about human behavior have been altered for all time.

Now they are being driven by a force that demands of them a new course for their lives.

A white college chapel dean came to my home asking what he could do to further the cause of civil rights in our city.

A white assistant minister, a veteran of the Korean conflict, said that he had never known the fear he experienced in Selma.

A Jewish rabbi was stunned in Selma when he was told, "Go home, kike."

A white college coed got up out of her convalescent bed, following an operation, to call her parents and beg permission to go to Alabama to march.

The white hatred seen and felt in Selma, a white minister said, was the same as that he saw and felt at a city council hearing on an anti-block busting ordinance in a Northern city.

This is the tidal wave of white reaction and response that, in ever-widening circles, is sweeping our nation, driven by the "ghosts" of those who have died.

There is yet bitterness and hostility in the minds and souls of Negroes North and South. It's like the bitterness felt by Saul of Tarsus, when he tried to join forces with the disciples in Jerusalem, after his "conversion" experience on a Damascus road. The disciples wondered if Paul was the same Christian-killer of recent days.

For the Negro to continue to view all whites with suspicion, bitterness and hostility is to believe that conversion is impossible. Many whites are no longer what they were. They have been truly changed, and the Negro must accept this as fact.

However, these whites do not know what to do or how to do what ought to be done. Having insulted themselves for over a century, they have no conception of Negro feelings of the intensity of the very segregation to which they have silently given support.

Now that they have joined hands and locked arms with Negroes in Alabama demonstrations, they must and they will join hands and lock arms with the Negroes in their home towns and cities.

The Negro of the North, who has grown comfortable and met these ghost-driven whites at the point of their concern, join hands and lock arms in attacks upon the bastions of discrimination and segregation—housing, employment—that we must overcome in these regions beyond Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Georgia.

The Altar of the Black and White Clashed Hand is here. We are driven to it. The problems of our personal prejudices and sensitivities will be overrun if we are to live. And, live we will, with God-felt and reverent thanks to the "ghosts" of Viola, Jimmie and James.

not to sign until the Bessemer case is decided in the courts. The school districts that elect

to follow Wallace's advice will be without Federal funds for quite some months. In fact they

may have already forfeited their claims to Federal aid. — THE CHICAGO DEFENDER.