

Editorial Viewpoint

Words Of Worship

Most men are afraid of criticism and especially public opinion. However, all successful men have a sublime disregard of criticism. It is said, if one does not get criticized, he is not doing anything. No man can expect to accomplish anything if he stands in terror of public opinion. People will talk about you

no matter what you do. John the Baptist came neither eating nor drinking and they said he was a devil. Jesus came eating and drinking, and what did they call Him? "A wine bibber and a gluttonous man!" The motto of a great Englishman was "Never explain; never retract; never apologize; get it done and let them howl."

Racial Demonstrations Overworked

Read the daily newspapers, if you please, and you will note some groups in certain towns and cities are threatening to "demonstrate" against some racial grievance, or to demand something they want. We are afraid, however, that this technique has been overworked to the point of becoming ineffective or trite.

Much of the effort that goes into the organization of these demonstrations is wasted, because of the lack of complete information concerning: what are the actual facts? how strong is the enemies' resistance? what are the enemies' advantages and disadvantages? what are the possibilities of the Negro group winning in the cause? what repercussions can Negroes expect? and what are some other solutions to the problems of the local Negroes?

Jesus urged men to use foresight, think straight and count the cost. He told two parables: one dealt with the planning that goes into building a tower, and the other told of a king who sizes up his strength with that of his enemy's before going to war. The point of these two parables is that we must not count on an introductory enthusiasm to finish the job. And in our demonstrations, there is a lot of enthusiasm, but this alone is not enough.

When the Children of Israel were about to enter the Land of Promise, spies were sent out to get the lay of the land and its inhabitants. Many great armies have sent out an advance task force for the purpose of sizing up the enemy. The task force consisted of highly-trained soldiers, taught to operate behind the enemy lines, living in the country, speaking the language of the people who live in the congested area, counting on dissatisfied citizens of the enemy country to give them support, and sneak back, if they can, to the army's main headquarters with the information needed to win.

Our civil rights demonstrators need to model their procedures after that of the great military geniuses who had foresight and counted the cost before going to battle. But, sometimes even then, they failed to use effectively the advanced information they had. What happened? They were defeated. We have had a number of victories, but do we have a statistical summary of victories, defeats, and partial vic-

tories? In the few victories we achieved, what were the factors that assured the winning?

Time and time again we have mentioned the great power of good public relations and persuasion in the civil rights fight. Some Negroes rely only upon demonstrations which have in many instances become "laughing stocks." George S. Schuyler, journalist, recently stated this idea succinctly: "The well-established principles and practices of public relations were never used during the entire revolution by those directing it. Every public relations firm knows full well that in order to win customers or 'sell' an idea, you strive to intrigue people, not repel them. You offer people something, you don't threaten them. To claim favors, you don't instill fear. You don't woo people by calling them 'beasts instead of beauties.'"

Not long ago, a Negro public relations firm received \$3,000 for negotiating racial peace in a small Alabama city. Immediately, Negroes accused the firm of practicing a form of blackmail, and they said none of the firm's fee went to the civil rights movement. The public relations consultants were not obligated to contribute to the civil rights movements, for they were doing a legitimate business for profit. What they achieved should stimulate wider use of public relations.

Great as we think Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is, in the role of a demonstration leader, he has not used the public relations technique. He has seized the public conscience, of course, but has yet to test the power of persuasion.

Our various civil rights organizations like CORE, SNCC, and so on, need a business and accountant staff to keep up with the finances, raise funds, and keep the organizations out of the red. No one has much respect for an organization that is in great debt as has been reported of CORE.

In summary, the big civil rights organizations must, from now on, have a department of public relations, a department of finance and accounting, and an advanced corps staff to get the facts about the opposition and size up the possibilities of winning against defeat. Otherwise, there is a waste of effort and human resources.

The Right To Be Dissenters

The appointment of I. Beverly Lake to the State Supreme Court will call forth some criticisms and objections on the part of Negro citizens. The reason: In running for governorship of the state in previous elections campaigns, Lake ran on a segregationist platform. If you want to know why he was appointed, *The News and Observer* says it is a political pay off in an editorial in the Friday, August 27 issue.

Regardless of what you may think about the appointment, regardless of whether he is anti-Negro, we must admit with *The News and Observer* that Lake's qualifications can stand the test. "He is a scholarly lawyer. He should make a good associate justice, reflecting credit" on our state. Give him time to prove his worth.

Lake has the right to dissent and express publicly his opinions, even though they be opposed to ours. One must admire the man for, in the words of the N&O editorial: "His political ambitions have always been asserted with clear independence from special interests. His fervor has never been mistaken for anything other than manly commitment to his own conscience."

Will Southern Schools Lose Aid?

One fourth of the school districts in the South and border states were warned recently they face loss of federal school aid unless they have desegregated plans accepted before the start of this school year. This is more than fair.

Out of 5,135 school districts in 17 states, 1,278 have not submitted plans which have been accepted. Some 930 submitted plans are still being processed and nearly all of these are from the South and border states.

Here is the picture: There are 25,000 school districts in the nation and 24,826 have submitted compliance data. Of this total 23,890 have been accepted and 930, all but 15 from the 17 Southern-border states area, are being processed.

We hope no school district is going to

be stupid enough to try and violate the items in their approved plans. We also want to congratulate North Carolina for having the State Bureau of Investigation alerted for any violations that may occur.

It has been stated that several small school districts in Oklahoma and Texas have no interest in federal aid and are not expected to participate. But happily the Office of Education is trying to reach all those it can identify. Imagine the stagnation of the educational process in such sections of the country where the school officials are unconcerned.

The time has come when Southern school officials must demonstrate educational integrity in the handling of federal funds.

The Good Lives After Her

Somewhere in the Bible there is a statement to this effect: "Study to show thyself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." This has been true of the late Mrs. E. B. Andrews, a retired Martin County teacher, who departed this life on June 21, 1964.

Memorial services were held recently under the auspices of the Edna B. Andrews Parent-Teachers Association, which paid tribute to a woman and teacher who worked more than 40 years in the same county as both teacher and principal. Mrs. Andrews' immortality will be realized

whenever an individual sees the 10-room elementary school built in 1960 and named for her. Her name will span eternity as long as a single pupil of hers live.

The teacher is the mold of young lives, and when she is dedicated to her task, when she is willing to walk the second, undemanding mile, when she is willing to begin at the bottom and work to the top, the good she does will live long after she has gone to her heavenly reward.

We bow our heads in reverence to the memory of this beloved and dedicated teacher.

Only In America

BY HARRY GOLDEN

THE MAKING OF A PRESIDENT, 1964

BY HARRY GOLDEN
The opening chapters of T. H. White's book, "The Making of the President, 1964" (Atheneum, \$6.50), which concerns the assassination of John Kennedy and the succession of Lyndon Johnson, constitute the best writing on this subject I have ever read.

Mr. White's chapters on the social revolution reveal a deep concern as well as an informed mind describing a phenomenon without parallel in our country. There is no question but that Mr. White knows exactly what is at stake and that he has studied the problem for a long time.

All in all, "The Making of the President, 1964" is a brilliant book, with one important exception. Mr. White leans backward when he tries to have us believe that Barry Goldwater lived up to an unofficial agreement with President Johnson not to inject race as an issue in the campaign.

It was obvious in the summer of 1964 to most reporters that Barry Goldwater and his closest supporters were bedazzled by the showing Governor George C. Wallace had made in Alabama and in the Presidential primaries in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland. If an unpopular Southern nullifier could achieve this support in the North, what couldn't a fine-looking, eminently more respectable candidate, backed by a major political party achieve?

Mr. White obviously was not at the Greenville, S. C., airport on Oct. 29, 1964, if he says Barry Goldwater did not use the race issue during the campaign. Now mind you, the Republican candidate visited New York and Ohio once and Connecticut not at all but he went to South Carolina, 8 votes in the Electoral College, three times. His 27-minute speech at Greenville is the key to Barry Goldwater's bid for the "white" vote of the South.

The warm-up speeches were delivered by former Governor James F. Byrnes

and United States Senator Strom Thurmond, who had just bolted the Democratic Party. What Barry Goldwater told that crowd at Greenville is what gave him Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina in the election.

"I am unalterably opposed," said the Arizona Senator, "to the discrimination in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which treads dangerously in the area of unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men. I know the Government can provide no lasting solution, that no law can make one person like another if he doesn't want to. Government can do little more than offer moral leadership and persuasion. The ultimate solution lies in the hearts of men."

Goldwater had to know better. The issue was never whether or not one man liked another; the issue was whether American-born Negroes can vote, move about the society as free men, participate in public facilities, and compete in the employment market on a fair basis.

Government and law can guarantee all of this, and this is all the Negro struggle has involved. Today, there are Negroes working in Southern cotton mills doing a white man's job for the first time in history because a presidential directive insists no government contracts can go to factories which discriminate against Negroes.

Barry Goldwater's 27-minute speech was telecast over 38 television stations in 14 Southern states. It was rebroadcast the next day over every radio station in the South.

It was a segregationist plea, pure and simple, designed to attract the intransigent, hardcore segregationists. The speech succeeded.

I would not cavil about a book of such obvious excellence as White's save on important matters. Mr. White himself would admit, if my facts are correct, I have every right to call him down.

Just For Fun

BY MARCUS H. BOULWARE

OFF ON THE JOB
It seems just like yesterday, when we got off for a short vacation. This week, the

Letter To The Editor

HATE PERPETRATORS
To The Editor:

In view of the recent riots that took place in L. A. and other sections of the country, I feel compelled to voice my concern. Although not taking an active part in what happened, I feel greatly ashamed and humiliated because these are my people, and whatever their motives or underlying causes may have been, did not justify the violence, looting, and wanton destruction of personal property. I cannot speak for the greater majority of Negroes, but I feel that there are those who share my concern.

It is easy for some of us to say that riots of this nature does not affect us because they are not happening in our city, but it does affect us all, both Negroes and whites. The basis of most of our troubles stem from hate and ignorance. We have to many perpetrators of hate and violence among both Negroes and whites. I believe that we must maintain law and order, but I also think that it should be applied fairly and impartially to both races.

I think that law abiding citizens of both races should work together to create goodwill and understanding, to prevent any atmosphere of tension and hostility. I also feel that exercising certain freedoms, there are also equal responsibilities that accompany them.

Sincerely,
Wilbert M. Sanders
Raleigh, N. C.

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PERHAPS AN INVENTORY IN LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED.



Altar Call

BY EMORY G. DAVIS, D. D.

WHERE TO NOW?

A retired Negro Pullman porter asked the other day, "Where do we go from here?"

He went on to evaluate the struggle as he saw it at this point, describing in ominous tones the seeming increase in violent white opposition to Negro rights progress and becoming the apathy of Negroes who are yet doing nothing in or for the struggle.

This reaction is not unique. There are thousands of Negroes in this same quandary. What they must realize at this point is that this is the darkness that precedes the dawn. The length of this darkness cannot now be calculated.

One of the facets of the non-violent movement is that things tend to get worse before they get better. This is largely because the resisters to change must make a last-ditch effort in opposition.

They must try their slowly-fading strength. They fear to release hold on their old idols. The future, for them, is uncertain and foreboding.

The future is problematic for both Negro and white. It calls for active implementation of new racial concepts by both.

The Negro must strive for excellence in every possible area of life. This begins with the Negro recognizing his own humanity. He must achieve a positive image of himself.

He must ask himself, "Who am I? What am I here for? What am I to become?" He must begin to learn to trust the white man whenever the white man acts trustworthily.

Answers to these questions ought give the Negro something for which to live and to achieve. And then, with the naval captain's attitude of yesterday, "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead."

The white race must rid itself of the myth that while is right. It must recognize that it is no better or no worse than the Negro race.

This begins when the white man recognizes he is NOT super-human but that his humanity is the same as the Negro humanity. As a white person, he must achieve an honest image of himself—not an exaggerated or over-rated one.

Regrettably, the church has done little to explain or come to firm grip with this dark period that precedes the dawn of integrated life. It has held onto old idols of worship and old icons of superstition.

Both the Negro and white church have labored to maintain their racial characters. Negroes joining former all-white churches is just another form of tokenism.

Negroes and whites are NOT different. The basic tenets of religion are not racial. If religion has a racial character, it is man-made. And man will have to change it.

The U. S. Congress has passed a Civil Rights Law. What Law has the U. S. church passed?

The Law for churches and church people was passed when God created man. Heaven awaits the implementation of this Law of Love. When it is implemented—actually—such man-made barriers as denomination, ritual and race will crumble.

Then we will know where we will be going. We will be moving en masse to the Altar of One God—One Humanity.

News And Views

BY J. B. HARREN

HUMAN RIGHTS AT STAKE

ROCKY MOUNT - The world is being sorely troubled about the issues of whether or not to grant Civil Rights (Human Rights, if you like that term better) to all Americans; to citizens of all the world; of all color or shades of color; just to so-called "white" people?

And don't you forget it. This world is going to shake a lot more - (the people, I mean) if they don't start trying to treat all men and women as equals in this world!

Our way of life is at stake unless and until we find the "common denomination" for racial harmony and start applying it real soon! Love and consideration of all people is first step in removing racial distrust.

The Negroes who have "been down so long until being down doesn't bother them", have reached a point of desperation which has caused many of them to ignore the calm leadership of their "moderate" leaders when they do not see results coming fast enough in this right's fight. "Mr. Charley" could tell many of us older Negroes to "Wait" for a little piece of rights, and we'd wait and wait. But not so, the young Negro, whether he be educated or uneducated. He knows that he is an American who has been or will be as subject to death in Viet Nam as the Southern white man who opposes his full freedom. Therefore, the Negro is now willing to fight some here to obtain his rights.

The answer to all this is to grant basic Human Rights now to all people. You hear of threats of eminent racial friction from the have-nots (of all races) everywhere. But, America must wake up and stop heeding the voice of the segregationists who still believe they can rule with an iron hand and continue to dish out just a little bit of freedom to the Negroes as they have over the past century. They need to "get the message" - some of their "uncle Toms" and Thomasins" should tell their "Mr. Charleys" that there is a "new" colored man on the scene today who is tired of all the delay. He wants to be a good citizen and help build America into a greater Nation than it is. Tell them they just must give us a chance to get the training for the jobs to make us better citizens.

It's the whites, themselves, who are 'not ready for integration.' We are ready to give it a try. We are willing to act as brother to all whites who will accept our friendship. And we assure him that we'll never, never, treat him as bad as he has us. How can any of us love God and not love our black and white brothers and treat him so?

When we learn and practice these things we will lessen the incidence of tragedies like Los Angeles, Calif. riots; Chicago, Philadelphia and Selma, Ala.

Other Editors Say . . .

"VOTING RIGHTS," --FOR BETTER OR WORSE
The Civil Rights Act

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the supplemental voting rights law of 1965 now obtain in spirit (widely) and letter of the fundamental law of our nation. Contrarily, over the Southland disciples of pre-Civil War traditions and fellow-travelers elsewhere are crying "too much, too soon."

However, the cry of "too much, too soon," was first widely heralded in 1870. In that year a majority of the several states ratified the Fifteenth Amendment granted the right to vote to the former slaves and all their posterity. The Amendment declared, "... Congress shall have the power to enforce this article..."

Notwithstanding, over a period of almost one-hundred

years, members of the legislative branch of the federal government elected from "rotten boroughs of the Southland" stayed the tide of enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment. As a result of the denial of the voting right to a vast group of people, the nation in our times enjoys "manners of a banal legacy."

It follows that in spirit and fact our nation heretofore has never been committed to the evolution of the highest form (republican) of government. Contemplating the reactionary cry of "too much, too soon," the realistic evolution of universal suffrage (right to vote) poses as fundamental in the ordination of "our new order of human affairs." Eventually, it is an inescapable historical fact that the Founding Fathers of the Republic conceived of affording identical hopes or aspirations for all people within its bounds. Seemingly they

were motivated by the misgivings and "trial and error" in the long course of human events behind them.

The power structure of the Southland has repressed, or denied the right to vote to a vast group of people for almost one-hundred years. But a denial of the right to vote, encompasses the denial of social justice. This manner of things has resulted in the spiritual or ideal contamination of the total populace, and it has overflowed (contaminated) from the Southlands into all areas of the nation.

"Voting rights" in the Southland for all people, for better or worse and/or as of the present are a triumph for prophets over the long way behind us of those perfections which are yet to be. Whereas, we contemplate in the spirit of an innumerable caravan, and yesterday as it were, the spirit of these pre-

ceded; "Today is a triumph for freedom as huge as any victory that's ever been won on any battlefield. This act (Voting Rights Act of 1965) flows from a clear and simple wrong. Its only purpose is to right that wrong."

"Millions of Americans are denied the right and can transform THE VOTE INTO AN INSTRUMENT OF JUSTICE AND FULFILLMENT..."

We submit in regards to the voting right for the total populace of our nation, or the cry in 1870 of "too much, too soon," still prevails in the Southland. Yet the retarded moral or spiritual and material development of the total populace of the Southland involving this "instrument of justice and fulfillment," has visited singular iniquities upon the Southland overflowing over the nation as a whole. -THE INDIANAPOLIS RECORDER.