"Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of hate and bitterness"—MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN

May we let our light so shine that it will illuminate that which is good and beautiful and magnify our Father which is in heaven. May we stand strong and firm against despair, falsehood, rudeness, hatred, pessimism and prejudice.—Carl Murphy, Editor-Publisher—1889-1967

4 DECEMBER 17, 1968

Nixon's Cabinet

President-elect Richard M. Nixon launched his "Forward Together" administration with a television spectacular on Wednesday night.

Maybe it was Mr. Nixon's repeated emphasis on the need to bring Americans together, to build bridges and to inspire new dedication to progress that caused our twinge of disappointment with his show.

Or, maybe it was Mr. Nixon's reported desire to boot GOP chairman Ray Bliss because of blandness that built us up for that let-down feeling.

Mr. Nixon has not made a discernibly bold or even lukewarm, move toward togetherness in the highest level of his administration.

Millions of Americans had expected more of the President-elect.

Only time will tell if Mr. Nixon's key men will measure up to the foreign and domestic challenges at hand.

They deserve time to show what they can do.

But it was not too harsh an assessment of the cabinet that came from Rep. Henry Reuss, D-Wis. who commented:

"The cabinet is capable, honest, somewhat bland and is a little short on what we Democrats call soul.

"I'm disappointed that it is both lily white and all male. I would have thought that one lady, or one Japanese-American, or colored American or some nonwhite could have been found."

While Mr. Nixon did not continue the precedent set by President Johnson of naming a colored American to the cabinet, he did reappoint Mayor Walter Washington in the District of Columbia.

At this writing his only other colored appointee is Robert J. Brown of North Carolina, a public relations man named a special assistant to seek ways of developing black capitalism.

Colored voters went almost solidly for Vice President Humphrey in the last election.

They have been waiting to see how right or how wrong they were.

At this juncture we expected they could have been more confident about the future under Mr. Humphrey as President-elect.

But it is impossible to say now that Mr. Nixon's administration will not be a great one for all Americans.

They deserve time and cooperation.

In Integrating Your Staffs, Do Better Than I Did Here

Wilkins Speaks

• By Roy Wilkins

Troubled And Frightening Times

The times are troubled and frightening, not alone because of the war in Vietnam, or of the tension in the Middle East or of the running argument between the Vatican and sundry priests throughout the world.

ROY WILKINS

It is, perhaps, because of some or all of these, plus the student unrest in every country and of what, in our own country, are loosely called the black militants.

Something seems to have gone out of the relations between men. There is a cruelty there now, a lack of regard for basic humanity. This is the frightening thing. The black militants, who include in their number many who do not believe in violence, suffer unjustifiably from imposed judgments. There is a selfishness, too, which has an ominous, rather than a scheming, air. It says, "I'm for me and the devil take you." It says, "Don't get in my way or I and my pals will beat you down — even kill you!"

It is this throwing of the basic rules out the window that is chilling. No amenities are observed. Muscle is all. Murder is scarcely an interruption. One may be killed for a mere difference of opinion or just for "kicks."

Some young people go off on unbelievably savage rampages. They have substituted fists and knives and guns for brains and they are riding high, wide and handsome. Amnesty instead of punishment. Adulation instead of contempt.

What's happening

This holiday season will not be the same for the family of a Harlem man who lies in a fresh grave. He helped a woman whose purse was being snatched, the purse was recovered and she went went on her way. But the young toughs surrounded him, berated him for interfering and fatally stabbed him.

A school principal for 10 years in one Brooklyn school received a threatening note which ended with a reference to the possible rape of his daughter. Despite vehement, point-blank denials which seemed to come too quickly, the story persists that there was a knife threat at one of the embattled New York City schools. And then there is the widely published report that a brief case, temporarily abandoned in one of the numerous clashes at San Francisco State College, contained a loaded revolver and an electronic device.

A man who has been robbed so often he can no longer get insurance on his shop is just waiting for a buyer of any color, race or religion. People who ride the New York City subway trains can expect hooliganism and insults at any time. No matter what the neighborhood, people in big cities restrict their night activities. Black people are afraid and stay behind padlocks in their homes. White people are afraid in their homes and luxury penthouses.

Might will be right

And the fears are not alone of slum dwellers. A small band of hoodlums, including some students, broke up two meetings on the campus of New York University, driving the speakers from the platform. This is their brand of free speech: don't let the other fellow talk.

Unless the trend is checked by a dual liberty under law, the jungle is firm policy that will preserve individual liberty under law, the jungle is here. There will be no organized government and no authority. Might, indeed, will be right. Any tactic will be justified, not by the goal sought, but by the ego, the muscle and the ignorance of the seeker.

If solutions fail, the knife will be in the scabbard and the rifle at the ready on tomorrow's journey through the underbrush that was once a shopping plaza.

Justice Black's Second Thought

Justice Hugo L. Black voices our view when he suggests the Supreme Court made a mistake in 1955 when it ordered desegregation of public schools "with all deliberate speed" as the enforcement guide for its historic 1954 edict ending the separate but equal doctrine.

It has been our observation that both court rulings and new laws involving the rights of colored Americans have been enforceable only in the most vague indefinite and roundabout manner.

Only colored citizens of this country still are trying to win clearly established constitutional rights.

"Looking back on it now, it seems to me that it (the deliberate speed phrase) delayed the progress of outlawing segregation," Justice Black told the nation in a television interview.

The 82-year-old jurist added: "It seems to me . . . that it would have been better maybe—I don't say positively — not to have had that sentence, to treat that case as an ordinary law suit and force that judgement on the counties it affected that minute."

It occurs to us that justice Black's thoughts add new dimension to the view taken by former NAACP lawyer Lewis M. Steel, who was fired for writing an article on the Supreme Court in which he argled that most of the victories in the civil rights field had been symbolic rather than substantive.

While it is our view there have been substantive rulings, there certainly has been considerable symbolism and leniency about enforcement in civil rights areas.

The value of Justice Black's remarks, we hope, is that they will be applied in future rulings where enforcement of decisions such as fair housing, come before the Supreme Court.

Mr. Shores of Birmingham

The naming of 56-year-old Arthur D. Shores to succeed the late R. W. Douglas as a member of Birmingham, Ala.'s nine-man city council says considerable about the changing times.

Personally, the council seat marks a triumph for this brave and strong-willed individual who in 1963 twice saw his home hit by bombs. He has been a spokesman for racial justice in Alabama when it not only was unpopular, but dangerous.

Politically, it means that the voter registration campaigns in the city and state are beginning to pay off Councilman Shores stayed with the regular Democratic Party in Alabama during the recent election and was a Wallace elector.

Politicians in Birmingham, which the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once called the "most segregated city in America," are not forgetting that in this Democratic stronghold weight of the colored vote was able to elect a Republican mayor.

This was an unheard of thing for Democratic Birmingham.

Democrats have not failed to see that the Republican mayor George Seibel has made hay by appointing colored persons to unprecedented jobs in Birmingham. He did not forget that with the help of Lloyd Smith of the GOP's minority division staff, he won 41 percent of the colored vote and the mayor's job.

Politicians hear voters the way they hear nothing else.

Birmingham no longer is as bad as it was when T. Eugene (Bull) Connor was enforcing segregation with police dogs and water hoses.

It cannot be said either that Birmingham is yet an All-America city.

But the appointment of Councilman Shore is another indication Birmingham is moving in the right direction.

Those who have known Councilman Shores over the years are not surprised that he continues to play a prominent role in the change.

Encouraging Steps

The federal government has slammed another door in the face of hospitals that seek to maintain racial discrimination but still get U.S. funds for treating patients.

It has been no secret that some Dixie hospitals failed to qualify for the medicare patients under an emergency treatment loophole in the law.

Though they don't qualify for the medicare program conducted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, some of these same Dixie hospitals are anxious to get paid for treatment under the Pentagon's Civilian Health and Medicare Program of the Armed Services, known as Champas.

It was set up to allow families of servicemen residing great distances from military medical facilities to get subsidized treatment in other hospitals.

The Pentagon has barred eight hospitals in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina from taking part in the program.

Colored Americans are first class citizens and should be treated so.

It is good to see the Pentagon, which does not discriminate on the front-lines where the shooting is, take a leading role.

HEW, also has been taking encouraging steps. In a North Carolina school segregation case it was able to refer to a city's application to participate in another program in helping make its argument.

We suspect there will be progress in many more areas when it becomes clear involved federal agencies mean business.

The Education Gap

While we watch the mistakes pill up on both sides of the school decentralization dispute in New York City it again becomes necessary to observe that it's the students who are being cheated.

What is most troubling about the New York situation, and that elsewhere across the nation, is that the answers brought forth by the school board fail to tell what is going to be done about giving every child in the school system a quality education.

This is why parents are so adamant in New York and why other areas may as well brace for similar disputes.

Inner-city, poor students don't get the same education other pupils get in the same public school system.

Ebery local, regional or national test shows this in reading, math, etc. there is the educational gap.

What more and more parents have come to see is that their children face the same tests as the privileged when they try to get in college, get a job or get a promotion.

The present systems are failing to bridge the educational gap.

That's why parents are willing and anxious to try something else.

Teachers strike for better salaries but not for equal education. School boards offer excuses but no answers that bridge the educational gaps.

Add to our problem the fact that tests generally are designed for those with middle-class exposures and it is easy to understand the importance of at least an equal break in the training process for the poor, innercity child.

From the ghetto view it looks this way: the establishment fails to provide equal education, sets up tests that take advantage of the education gap then advises using a bootstrap to make it.

AFRO READERS SAY

I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right of say it. — *Voltaire on Helvetius*

Chancellor On Washington U.

Let us put this into the larger, nationwide context. America has a race problem. We have had one for many years. Events in Watts, in Washington, in Detroit, and in Newark testify more forcefully than can the statements of any professor.

But the important thing is the feeling of black awareness, and the opportunity which this gives our universities to enlarge their horizons of human understanding.

Many black students coming to a predominantly white university like Washington University are thrust suddenly into an almost totally white community. Despite all the good will in the world it is difficult to find on most university campuses a faculty or administration that grasps what it means to be black in America or that has a deep and sensitive awareness of black history, black culture or black outlook.

Social customs of white American students seem alien and cold, perhaps even degrading to black students.

Thus American universities that pride themselves with being all-encompassing have for a long time overlooked the vital black culture at our very doorstep. We are the poorer for this omission.

Just as the university hopes to broaden the outlook of the black student and offer new opportunities to him, so we white people in the academic community have an opportunity to broaden our outlook and to increase our sensitivity.

Black students here are demonstrating for what they believe to be right. In a real sense, so long as there is no disruption, they can be said to be demonstrating for us all, updating us to a new level of understanding and awareness.

Their demonstration thus far has been peaceful, restrained, and courteous. Occupancy of a basement office has caused minor inconvenience, but has not disrupted the business operations of the university.

Many in our community have demanded quick and severe punishment. The university has well defined rules of conduct. These rules are the same for all students. Disciplinary action is taken and will be taken whenever necessary.

Order in university procedures has been and will be maintained. The rights of the great bulk of students will be protected from infringement by any vocal or organized minority, with the full force of this administration. To the extent of our capabilities we will act with justice with understanding.

Whatever else these demonstrations may have done, they have shown the need for better communication between black students and white administration. The university has much to teach its students and much to learn from them. It is the university's business to be universal.

Since the university has much to gain from increased understanding of black students, and the large black experience, I am asking the Board of Trustees to constitute a committee of trustees, faculty, and students both black and white, with community advisers, to develop ways for Washington University to broaden its appreciation of and receptivity to minority groups and minority cultures in the United States.

THOMAS H. ELIOT
Chancellor
Washington University

A Different Dream

Aronamink, Pa. — Last night I dreamed I was in a large camp. The boundaries were marked by water and electrified wire. And everybody was there but none could leave.

We worked, slept, ate and died in the camp. Sirens screeched regularly and the guards tramped freely through our bedrooms.

Just after I was herded onto a bus one morning to go to work, I looked carefully at the Thurmond Barracks where I lived. It was the old Sheraton Cadillac Hotel.

Other things confirmed my conclusion that Dearbornvale used to be called Detroit and that the Pelly Motor Co., my employer, had been Ford's River Rouge plant.

I remembered that it had been impossible to go South last night. The bridge was gone and the center of the tunnel was sealed with a concrete wall.

Radio Free America had invited Northsiders to its studios to talk about conditions across the river.

The scene shifted to that night in Daley Hall. (They abandoned Cobo to honor the new vice president.) Speaker after speaker railed at the provocations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and its Windsor stations.

But the main fire was reserved for Radio Free America and its "lies" about conditions in "harmonious Dearbornvale" and other parts of this "great and free Nation."

At the close of the meeting, it was announced that we had between 15 minutes and an hour to get back to our barracks. Reveille would be at 5:30 instead of 6:30 because the plants were behind in their schedules.

We then formed into companies and marched to our quarters or transportation.

MARCUS M. MORGENTHAU

Appreciates Minister Stories

APO New York — Thank you very much for the excellent write - ups printed in the minister's contest concerning the votes coming from Europe for my mother, the Rev. Mrs. Esther R. Matthews. I was so very happy to see that the AFRO prints the small and less important things for the small people of Baltimore.

The AFRO has always been a fine paper even back 16 years ago when I sold it and sat on the curb and read it before selling it. Yes, the AFRO - AMERICAN is an excellent paper and is good for everyone in every walk of life.

The only thanks I know to give is to keep reading the AFRO and then passing it on to a friend. Continue to publish sech an excellent paper. Good luck and many sales.

Sp 4 CHARLES O. BARNEY

Male hegemony

New York — As a woman, I find myself incensed that a celebate should decide whether or not birth control information shall be available to me or not. I am equally furious at the thought of a group of male legislators trying to decide whether to update the archaic abortion laws. In the end it is the moment of truth that a woman faces alone. A woman should have the final decision to make about her own body and her own life.

SHELLEY MILLER

Endorses Howard

Wilmington, Del. — I want you to know the reliance I place on Charles Howard's UN column. I use it very much in my classes on black history.

MISS PAULINE YOUNG

The Weather

Dec. 18	fair and cold
Dec. 19, 20, 21, 22	snow or rain
Dec. 23, 24	unsettled

DECEMBER 1968

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31	-	-	-	-

Full Moon	Dec. 4	6:08 p.m.
Last Quarter	Dec. 12	7:50 p.m.
New Moon	Dec. 19	1:19 p.m.
First Quarter	Dec. 26	9:15 a.m.
	Sun Rises	Sun Sets
Wed., Dec. 18	7:16 a.m.	4:37 p.m.
Thurs., Dec. 19	7:17 a.m.	4:37 p.m.
Fri. Dec. 20	7:18 a.m.	4:38 p.m.
Sat., Dec. 21	7:18 a.m.	4:38 p.m.
Sun., Dec. 22	7:19 a.m.	4:38 p.m.
Mon., Dec. 23	7:19 a.m.	4:39 p.m.
Tues., Dec. 24	7:20 a.m.	4:40 p.m.

To Be Equal

• By Whitney M. Young Jr.

Urban League's New Project-Work Replaces Shouting

Last week's announcement by the National Urban League that it was starting new action programs in 21 black communities has led many people to ask just what we mean when we call such programs "ghetto power."

WHITNEY YOUNG

Ghetto Power means the creation of economic, political and social strengths within the black community to enable it to compete and to take its equal place in an open society.

When the Urban League says it's for ghetto power, it means that it intends to place its know-how and its professional expertise at the disposal of black people locked into the racial ghettos of America.

That does not mean telling people what they want or what they ought to want. On the contrary, it means that the Urban League will first find out what the community itself says it needs and wants, and then the League will help it to develop the resources and leadership to achieve its own goals. We're not imposing our own will on the community, we're helping the black community to speak more effectively for itself.

This approach has nothing in common with separatism, nationalism or any other "ism." The legitimate needs and aspirations of the ghetto are all too often subordinated to someone else's ideological goals, or even to headline-grabbing oratory.

In this case, however, the black ghetto will be able to use the Urban League's professional experts in planning, education, housing, welfare and other fields to make its own voice heard and to change ghetto conditions through mobilization of the strengths of the black community.

How it will work

The action program covers a lot of ground. Here's how we are going about it. Armed with grants from foundations who are serious and sincere and private donations, we asked all of our 93 affiliates to find out what their community's main concerns were, and to devise action programs to deal with them.

The proposals poured into our headquarters — proposals for economic development, housing rehabilitation, community and non-partisan political organization, decentralization, police relations and a host of others.

Because of our limited funds, we had to restrict the first wave of approved programs in 21, but more will follow. I think you'll agree that some of these are quite exciting.

One is in Hancock County, Georgia. This is a rural county in which four out of five residents are black. But it wasn't until this Fall that blacks gained political control. Unlike their predecessors, the newly-elected leaders are anxious to serve all, both blacks and whites.

They asked for help in planning for community organization and for drafting programs to help relieve the grinding poverty that afflicts the people of this county. Hopefully, we'll help the people of Hancock County to make it a model for the rest of the country — a demonstration of what poor people in the rural South can do to help themselves.

A similar effort will take place in Alabama — statewide — to mobilize the political and economic power of the black people there.

Rolling up sleeves

Most of the new programs, however, will take place in cities like Rochester. There, the Urban League will attempt to build a network of tenant organizations and parent groups; developing the community leadership and political influence to bring to black people a measure of control over their own destinies.

I'm hopeful we will get the support that allows us to expand this first wave of action programs to all cities with Urban Leagues. This is a time of crisis, a time when actions, not words, are called for.

We will roll up our sleeves and do the hard work that has to be done, leaving the shouting to others.

Thoughts Of The Founder

What is Christmas? Christmas is the birthday of our Lord Savior Jesus Christ, who was truly God as well. Christmas therefore is purely a religious and distinctively Christian feast. The natural way, therefore, to keep Christmas is along religious lines of devotion and benevolence.

John H. Murphy, Sr.
Dec. 23, 1905

Strength For These Days From The Bible

And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. (St. Matthew 3:11)

Afro Credo

I measure a newspaper not by buildings, equipment and employees — those are trimmings.

A newspaper succeeds because its management believes in itself, in God and in the present generation. It must always ask itself —

Whether it has kept faith with the common people;

Whether it has no other goal except to see that their liberties are preserved and their future assured;

Whether it is fighting to get rid of slums, to provide jobs for everybody;

Whether it stays out of politics except to expose corruption and condemn injustice, race prejudice and the awardice of compromise.

The AFRO - AMERICAN must become a bi-weekly, then a tri-weekly, and eventually, when advertising warrants, a daily.

It has always had a loyal constituency who believe it honest, decent and progressive. It is that kind of newspaper now and I hope it never changes.

JOHN H. MURPHY SR.
December 25, 1920

December 1968
GOODNESS! There are 4 fewer Christmas shopping days this year!
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