

(LOMAX, from page 1)

year (1964) of the Birmingham bombings," the Lomax Poll found in its 10th monthly survey of Negro opinion, released here Jan. 17.

"The white man showed his true face in 1967," and that face was "uniformly anti-Negro", in the North as well as the South, poll respondents felt.

"Dropping of the masks" by both races was the most marked characteristic of 1967, with whites held to have revealed that they "fear Negroes as equals and intend to keep them down as long as they can" and Negroes bent on showing that they "don't like and don't accept" the way white people treat them.

As of 1967, Negroes are no longer intimidated by whites, although some reluctance about confronting them remains, resulting both in backwardness, or shyness, and in over-aggressiveness and hostility. The "naturals", or bushy hair-dresses, were described by one highly educated respondent as "the mask of angry negritude, hiding a fear of being unable to measure up in the black-white confrontation."

But in the language of the street, white people have shown that, "They bite" (bite the dust). This was shown, Negroes are agreed, by the way Negro rioters stood off "The Man" (white authority) in Newark and Detroit, also, "Those little brown men in Vietnam are showing them", and by the general breakdown of the quality of white life, despite the fact that "they are on top". In brief, white people are no longer regarded by Negroes as invincible.

OUSTER OF POWELL FIRST DEFEAT

The year's defeats for Negroes led off with the ouster of Congressman Adam Powell from his seat in Congress. Although more than usually willing to acknowledge Powell's faults, Negroes considered that Congress used a "double standard" of ethics in judging the Harlem congressman and Connecticut Senator Thomas Dodd, and "stole" Powell's seat, mainly to gain control of his powerful House Labor and Education Committee.

An equally severe blow was suffered by Negroes in the stripping of the heavyweight boxing

crown from champion Cassius Clay, or Muhammad Ali, as he prefers to be called, because he refused to submit to the draft. While questioning the legitimacy of Clay's claim to being a Muslim minister, most Negroes feel the government pushed its effort to draft Clay as a punitive measure because he thumbed his nose at the white establishment after winning the title and joined the Muslims, and they also feel it was unfair of the National Boxing Association to strip Clay of his title and deprive him of his right to earn his living while his case is still being appealed.

KING PRESTIGE DROPPED

Negroes consider that Dr. Martin Luther King suffered loss of national prestige in 1967 although many felt it was, in part, his own doing. The failure of the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and Floyd McKissick, of CORE, the ineffectiveness of King and his distraction by the Vietnam issue, and the silence of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, all created a leadership vacuum in 1967 which is sorely felt.

The election of Carl Stokes and Richard G. Hatcher as Mayors of Cleveland and Gary, although heartening evidence of what an aroused and unified Negro vote can do, are not felt to promise Negroes much in the way of national leadership and were not felt to have compensated for the diminished leadership and spokesmanhip of Dr. King or the sense of mass movement toward definite goals conveyed by the civil rights movement over the past decade.

Negroes parted company with Dr. King over non-violence and civil disobedience, in neither of which are they interested, and with Carmichael, Brown, and McKissick over violence, which they are equally disinterested in, but they express a fever to "get going again" in some kind of organized effort, whether at the polls, in community betterment programs, or in some type of missionary or rescue work for beleaguered southern Negroes or the Negro poor in urban ghettos.

MARSHALL APPOINTMENT LITTLE NOTICED

The appointment of former NAACP counsel-

former federal judge, former Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court was looked upon as "great--for him." The Supreme Court was regarded as "already all right", and respondents who recalled Marshall at all did not see where his contribution would advance the Negro cause particularly. Marshall, appointed to the federal court by President Kennedy and then Solicitor General by President Johnson, has been almost 8 years away from the civil rights struggle.

Overall, Negroes said they sensed increased hostility by whites in their day to day relations, increased difficulty of individual Negroes to advance because of white rivalry and repressiveness, despite more money in circulation among the bedrock poor because of the War on Poverty, and a deliberate attempt by the news media and national figures such as California Governor Reagan and former Alabama Governor George Wallace to capitalize on this "backlash mood" of whites and "low-rate" and denigrate Negroes and make them appear to be cripples in American society, untrained, ignorant, criminal, bogging down welfare roles.

On the credit side, in addition to seeing an increasing lack of fear of whites on the Negro's part, 1967 saw a deepening of "black consciousness", which was defined as "acceptance of one's race or color as as good as the next person's."

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