EDITORIALS

POLITICAL CROSS-CURRENTS

So many motives figured in the opposition of various members of the Senate to Aubrey Williams that one should avoid any easy explanation of the rejection by that body of his nomination to the post of Rural Electrification Administrator.

It cannot be interpreted as strictly party behavior, as both Republications and Democrats voted against his confirmation, and both Democrats and Republicans supported him. It was not purely a division by section, as some Northern Democrats voted against confirmation, and several southern Democrats voted for it. Both senators from South Carolina, for instance, supported Williams.

In general the line-up was the same as in the case of the Wallace nomination—economic conservatives, partisan Republicans and anti-Roosevelt "Democrats" on one side, and economic liberals, non-partisan Republicans and New Deal Democrats on the other. Some of the Republicans were also economic conservatives, and so were many of the anti-Roosevelt Democrats. Those who identify their own economic interests with those of the big power companies were against Williams, regardless of other considerations.

The race issue was really a minor one. Certainly if Williams' racial views had been the chief point, Ellender of Louisana and Maybank and Johnson of South Carolina would not have been among voting for his confirmation. The racial views of Williams, like his religious views, were dragged in by the ears as supplementary weapons. His connection with the Farmers' Union, and his advocacy of fair play for the common man, regardless of race, would naturally not endear him to a large class of Southerners; but what made him really undesirable to them was more a matter of his general economic sympathies than his racial views.

It is is interesting to note that unconsciously, and purely incidentally, the southern Democrats who are really interested in a square deal for the common man, find themselves supporting men whose attitudes toward the Negro are relatively liberal. Liberals are almost necessarily not anti-Negro. The southern politician of generaly liberal views still finds it expedient to cover up pretty carefully any real approval he may feel for any considerable departure from the usual attitude toward Negroes. Not only does he find it expedient to deny any deviation on his own part, but he also feels it incumbent on him to deny or explain away, or ignore if posible any real sympathy for the Negro's proper aspirations on the part of those whome he supports in the national political arena.

Thus, the editorial writer of the News & Observer says that there was no evidence to justify the belief that Williams "did not hold the prevailing Southern view on the race problem."

The time will come when men like Bilbo will be openly and frankly repudiated for their fanatical and bigoted racial views, and when it will not be regarded as necessary to apologize in the South for a candidate for office who may have expressed or demonstrated a belief in the right of Negroes to enjoy the normal status of American citizens.

KENTUCKY MAKES SIGNIFICANT MOVE

The educational authorities of the State of Kentucky have taken a significant forward step in adopting two books by and about Negroes for use in all public schools. The books, "A Child's History of the Negro," by Jane Shackelford, and "Negro Makers of History," by Dr. Carter Woodson, have been officially adopted by the State Texbook Commission to be placed on the "multiple list" for social studies for the fifth and sixth grades, according to a news story.

Since the books were not adopted as basic texts their use in any school will be voluntary. But the very recognition in an official way ,that exposure to Negro history written from the viewpoint of Negro writers is a proper and desirable thing for public school pupils, black and white alike, is of great significance. It is to be expected that many Negro schools, and some white schools, will be influenced by this action of the Text book Commission, to make use of the material endorsed.

If white people are to acquire a better understanding and appreciation of the Negro and his past in American life, and a sounder attitude about his proper place in the future, insofar as these ends are to be obtained from systematic factual instruction, the sooner it starts in the life of the individual the better the results.

Repeated testing has shown that where attitudes have become crystallized as the result of years of misinformation and unfavorable impressions, presentation of facts often has little efect. Beginning with the children is the sound procedure.

Many Negro children also know far too little of the facts about their own people, and amazing and depressing ignorance in this line often turns up in unexpected places—among college students, for instance. Under those circumstances Negro History Week is too short. We need Negro History years. Many a Negro who does not realize it feels inferior, because he doesn't know enough about himself, his people, and their history, to feel any other way, and because he has unwittingly adopted attitudes made popular by his detractors.

SIDE BY SIDE

The cautious experiment recently inaugurated in the First and Seventh Armies by which Negro volunteers from service units are being integrated into infantry units, is one of the biggest happenings of this war. The process has been carried out so far on a very small scale; but that the military leaders should have got up courage enough to try it at all is extremely important.

Considerable pressure for such an experiment has been applied by Negro leaders and their friends from the beginning of the war, but the deciding factor was probably the resentment expressed by white doughboys over the fact that Negro troops were enjoying the advantage of the relatively much less hazardous behind-the-lines services. A few Negro battalions have been in combat service since the opening of the Western Front, mostly as tank battalions, anti-tank battalions, anti-aircraft units and artillery batteries. But no Negroes were on the front as riflemen.

The account these Negro volunteer infantrymen give of themselves will be a much better indication of the Negro's general fighting ability under conditions of modern warfare than has been the much-disputed performance of the 92nd Division in Italy.

No attempt can be made here properly to evaluate the record of the 92nd, because all the facts obviously are not available. For the same reason no alibis can in good faith be offered in these columns. Nevertheless we believe that the 92nd has operated under several disadvantages, whatever its accomplishments may or may not have been. Some of these have been revealed in the recent report of Truman Gibson.

In the first place, the performance of a single division, the only Negro infantry division in Europe, whether good, bad or indifferent, should not necessarily be regarded as typical. Some white divisions have performed badly. There is only one Negro division, and therefore no possibility of comparison. Again this division has performed on the hardest of the European fronts, where the whole allied force has suffered many reverses, and has remained stalled months at a time.

More specific points about the handicaps of the 92nd were brought out in the Truman report. In general they have to do with factors mitigating against high morale. And that is the key to the high value of the integration experiment. No proper evaluation can ever be made of the Negro's fighting ability until he is under a system which treats him as an Amercan fghting man, no more, no less. This system must so operate from the time the man inducted right on through. Equality of treatment, equality of training, equality of opportunity for advancement, recognition of individual differences rather than lumping men together or keeping them apart according to the color line — all these are necessary parts of the system.

Many whites as well as Negroes long ago advocated the formation of a mixed division on a purely voluntary basis. This division would have included Negroes and whites who avowedly had no objections to fighting side by side. No one can tell how great such a division might have been in itself, or what miracles it might have performed in the way of boosting the morale of the entire Negro population of this country, soldier and civilian alke. The Army did not have the vision and courage to try it. The present experiment is little and late. But let us hope that it is not too little and too late.

THE CAROLINIAN
118 East Hargett St., Raleigh, N. C.
Telephone 9474
Published by The Carolinian Publishing Co.
Entered as second-class matter, April 6, 1940, at the Post Office at Raleigh, N. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
P. R. JERVAY, Publisher
C. D. HALLIBURTON, Editorials
Subscription Rates
One Year, $2.00; Six Months, $1.25
Address all communications and make all checks payable to The Carolinian rather than to individuals. The Carolinian expressly repudiates responsibility for return of unsolicited pictures, manuscript, etc., unless stamps are sent.

"THE U.S.E.S. CAN PLACE HIS SKILL"

Second Thoughts

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

In the February number of **Manpower Review**, an official publication of the War Manpower Commission, Lawrence A. Oxley, well known to Raleigh and North Carolina, has an article entitled, "Negroes in the Post-War Period." Lieutenant Oxley in the performance of his duties as senior technician in the Bureau of Placement, Minority Groups Service of the War Manpower Commission, has had unusual opportunities to study the situation of Negro workers in wartime industry, and his observations and predictions are therefore highly pertinent.

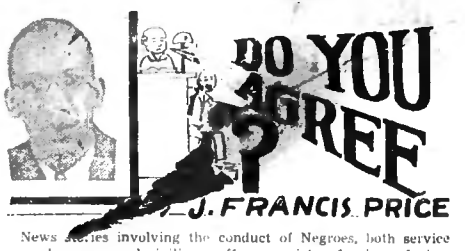
Mr. Oxley naturally expects the Negro worker to be in a hazardous position when reconversion begins. Although he recognizes that in readjusting their personnel to post-war conditions "management will undoubtedly be guided to a great extent by its current experience with Negro workers," and although that experience on the whole has been highly satisfactory, he points out that Negroes will not necessarily and automatically maintain all the gains made in employment under war-time conditions.

One important factor in this extra job insecurity for Negro workers has been and is, says Mr. Oxley, the withholding of training and upgrading opportunities from them. The Negro has always been regarded as a great labor potential, just as he has always been a large proportion of the actually employed; but actually and potentially Negroes have figured largely on the level of menial and unskilled employment. Consequently when unusual conditions have created a demand for more workers, as in this war and in World War I, the Negro has gained in total numbers employed far more than he has gained in the matter of occupational status.

Mr. Oxley points out that some gains have been made during the war years in placing Negroes in skilled jobs, but by and large the Negro still remains preponderantly in the category of the marginal worker—"the last hired and the first fired." When the cutbacks start, therefore, (here and there they have already begun) the Negro worker faces a gloomy outlook. Thta is the situation even before job competition, anti-Negro propaganda, and all the adverse forces which will be put in motion by a really serious oversupply of labor, actually begin to work.

One essential measure to combat this situation is the opening of training opportunities for Negroes, so that as many of them as possible may be lifted out of the marginal class. Free access to training opportunities, now and in the post-war period, is absolutely essential to give the Negro worker anything approaching an even break in industry during the post-war period. Skill is not a guarantee against the forces of bias, but it will certainly place the individual possessing it in a better competitive position than that occupied by the unskilled.

One advantage that many Negroes will have after this war will be that of union membership, especially in the CIO, which was not even in existence in the period following the first World War. The CIO unions have shown a generally strong tendency to stick by their Negro members, and to defend their job rights more or less impartially. If this same policy is continued in the CIO ranks after the war, it will make a lot of difference.



J. FRANCIS PRICE

News stories involving the conduct of Negroes, both service men and women and civilians, offer a variety of points of view and are singularly sensational because of the fact that Negroes are the subject of discussion. It is as if Negroes were an adjunct to to the United States and not an integral part of the Nation.

When the 92nd Division failed to reach its objective in Italy a few weeks ago the idea conveyed was that the efforts of all of the Negroes in the country had been fruitless in the war and that Negroes had lost a private war. Ignored and forgotten were the facts that units of the armies of all countries in this war had met success or failure, had withdrawn or advanced as the situation required.

The British soldiers regardless of color retreated almost across a continent in Africa. No one attempted to discover the cause of the lack of success because a unit was composed of Australians, New Zealanders, or English. Further, investigators were not sent out to find out why an English unit advanced in one place and a South African division advanced in another. They were not instructed to examine the pigment of the troops' skin as if to say that a white man should succeed in one place and fail in another, or a brown unit should advance where the white had failed but should have failed where the white moved on.

This examination of troops on the basis of color seems to be a part of only the high military strategy of the United States. Other soldiers are weighed by their performance irrespective of race, color, or creed.

Three recent reports on the activities of the American Negro service man make an interesting study of the attitude shown in handling the Negro news and the Negro in the war.

As a result of the failure of the 92nd Division in Italy Truman K. Gibson, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, was sent to Italy to analyse the causes for the poor showing of the Negro. Mr. Gibson accomodated his superiors by seeming to confirm an earlier statement reportedly made by the Secretary of War to the effect that Negroes are "too dumb to fight". His pronouncement after much study was padded by high sounding "literacy ratings" terminology applied particularly to the 92nd Division. In short he apologized for the withdrawal of the Negro 92nd. The matter was not treated as just another division having failed in its mission.

In reporting on the Army's breaking its long established policy of segregation by integrating Negro soldiers into formerly all-white combat units Don Whitehead of the Associated Press said in a news release appearing on March 23 in the News and Observer of Raleigh that "reports made by white officers say that the Negro troops have given a good account of themselves in their initial action alongside white troops." The article continues by quoting one Sgt. Casper Koch, white, who stated that the Negro troops "worked perfectly" in a difficult situation which was at first underestimated as being a job not too tough for their first fight.

In contrast to Mr. Gibson's apology the comments of the white officers quoted by Mr. Whitehead seemed condesendingly patronising. Here were Negro troops. They did in routine fashion what white troops would have done in routine fashion. But for a Negro to do well what a white soldier has done well on numerous occasions deserves in the minds of some people a special compliment. And that is a subtle way of calling the Negro different and inferior.

But Lt. Commander Carlin Skinner's comment on the conduct of the Negroes in the mixed crew of the Coast Guard's Sea Cloud under his command at sea as recounted in Drew Pearson's Washington Merry-Go-Round column appearing in the Washington Post Tuesday, March 20, was more in keeping with regarding the American Negro as a man and a citizen whose successes require no greater praise and whose failures require no greater blame than those of any other citizen anywhere.

According to Mr. Pearson the Sea Cloud made every patrol on schedule although the Sea Cloud's "duty was unusually tough" and she rode out one North Atlantic hurricane where the wind blew 90 miles an hour. But the report says that "the Negro members of the crew were just like the members of any other crew."

Lt. Commander Skinner is reported to have said that it would be nice to say that his ship with the mixed crew was an outstanding ship and that "the Negro members of the crew were all bursting with energy and could be seen at all hours of the day and night wiping, and cleaning and studying."

"Actually it wasn't so," the report continued. "The Negroes were just like any other group of officers and enlisted men. Some were bright and quick and some were slow and lazy. Some wanted to advance and be promoted" and others did not care.

This report receives welcome. As the facts are true of all men so are they true of the Negro.

If the Negro must be reported as a separate group. If his activities must be examined separately and reported upon in that way, he needs and should want no special measuring rod provided because of his color even if there were no other reason than the rod would have to be collapsible in order to take care of the varying hues in the race. For himself the Negro wants honor for his achievements when they earn it and damning for his dereliction when that obtains—but always in a measure according to the merits of his performance as may be in the case of every other citizen in the land.

This he fights for in the time of war and this he hopes for in the time of peace. No buffer between him and the powers that be and no fatuously patronizing informant need believe otherwise.

DO YOU AGREE?

Lest We Forget. . .

By W. L. GREENE

We must choose wisely whether we shall remain in the native land of the South and struggle upward or migrate to freer atmosphere of North and West and seek a broader experience than is possible in the South as a whole. Recently we have new stories of election subterfuges to discourage registration of colored voters in a neighboring county. The political bosses, the big ones, carrying on the tradition of red-shirt-ism have asked for ways and means of keeping colored registrants off the books. The ways and means are extra-legal and unlawful under the laws of North Carolina even, as bad as our election laws are applying to the powers of registrars.

When we look at the constitutional aspect of the suffrage situation in the Old North State, the picture becomes disgraceful. Many rural communities are so steeped in red-shirt tradition that he colored people are expected to have no interest, except selfish bread-and-butter interest, in public affairs. No matter how corrupt an aspirant to office may be, many colored leaders have the technique of playing up such a candidate and hopping on his band wagon to be sure of his favors when and if he is elected. They are not expected to be concerned about the qualifications of candidates. They are expected to be loyal to the local political machine, no matter what its character. Any dissenters are classified as unsafe and such persons are not expected to be registered, no matter how well qualified they may be educationally or otherwise.

The metod of token representation employed in this country is essentially the same as the old rotten boroughs of England. A few colored persons, considered safe, are registered and pointed out to the others as leaders. It is openly admitted that the bosses think large scale voting on the part of the colored people to be bad for race relations. The such leaders agree too often and the old pattern of token representation guarantees static policy and political backwardness in the region.

The colored people must devise ways and means to get more than token representation in the voting population of the State. Statewide organization for the purpose is the only technique which offers strength to succeed.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

By Rev. M. W. Williams

Subject: The Author and Perfector of Our Faith. — Matt. 27:57-62; Matt. 28: 1-10.

Key Verses: Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the Author and finisher of our Faith. — Heb. 12: 1, 2.

The triumph of the Lord Jesus Christ over death and all of his enemies occurred early Sunday morning, April 9, A. D. 30, near the city of Jersualem. To those who desire a detail discussion of this lesson, it might be derived as follows: (1) The Entombment (Matt. 27:57-61); (2) The Futule Precautions of Christ's Enemies, (Matt. 27:62-66); (3) The Testimony of the Angel and the Evidence of the Empty Tomb (Matt: 28:1-7); (4) The Meeting of the Women and Jesus (Matt. 28:8-10) and (5) The Author and Finisher of Our Faith (Heb. 12:1-2).

Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians, I Cor. 15:19, states "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable, but his statement in verse 57, "Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ," is most assuring. Faith in the immortality of the soul dispells pessimism and gives peace and asurance to the individual who has accepted Jesus Christ as the Author and Finisher of Faith.

Faith in the resurrection of Christ is the ground floor on which millions of homes stand today who have received messages that their loved ones have passed from existency in this life only to experience a fuller and happier life.

We have just read of a 22 month old child dying after the best medical care our government could provide. The father went overseas 3 months before he was born — has never seen his child. But the Resurrection of Christ makes it possible for this father to so LIVE in CHIRST that he can see his child in the great beyond.

When we look at this lesson and note the ravabes of death and destruction sin leaves in carrying on of war our faith is liable to weaken. This is especially true in our morale life. This Christian Church should exert its whole influence today to strengthen the faith of the weak. If individual members would do more individual work — telling other that Jesus Christ died for our sins and rose again and lives that our souls may live, many who have not believed would be saved. For after all your joy comes in helping others to see what you have seen and experienced.

Then too, if the Christian Church believes in the immortality of souls (We believe it does) it must use every source of its power (as it runs the race) to remove restrictions and evil conditions which crush the human souls of men. It may seem dark and remote, but if we exercise love, patience and faith the glorious dawn will appear and we shall finally triumph "As I live ye shall live."

EASTER, 1945

BY RUTH TAYLOR

"LORD, make me an instrument
of Thy peace;
Where there is hatred, let me sow
love,
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is sadness, joy."

The prayer of St. Francis of Assisi — which I copied from a religious calendar a Methodist friend of mine sent me —in itself is one of the finest Easter messages.

For what is Easter but the feast of resurrection? The raising of the spirit above the trials of the flesh—the fulfillment of the law of love. It was the resurrection in the body of Him who said: "And the second and greater commandment is like unto it — 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'."

To bring peace we must do as St. Frances prayed. "Where there is hatred, let me sow love." Let us keep our own thoughts clear of hatred and anger. Let us look with eyes of love upon our brothers.

"Where there is injury, pardon." It is hard to forgive an intentional wrong done. Yet — few people are meaningly cruel. Ignornace and carelessness are back of most of the evil men do. And cannot we try to say as He said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

"Where there is doubt, faith." We say "In God we trust." But is that enough? Must not we, if we truly trust God, learn how to trust our brother man?

"Where there is despair, hope." There is always tomorrow — and the sun will shine again no matter how deep the midnight seems. He, whose heart has faith, can never be without hope — without the light of belief in a beneficient God who in due time will show the pathway to a better day.

"Where there is sadness, joy." Easter is the promise that "weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning." No matter how great the sorrow, the promise of resurrection brings strength to the failing heart.

All these things we pray this Eastertide — but not for ourselves alone. We pray "OUR Father" and our prayer must be for all men everywhere. Only in this way may we keep Easter.

"Save the Barnyard Babies" thru sanitation and good care during early weeks of growth. The shortage can be helped thru saving baby pigs, calves