

# EDITORIALS

## PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

President Truman continues to move slowly but steadily toward setting up an administrative organization of his own, to replace the one inherited by him. In doing this he is entirely within his rights, and is following well established precedent and sound executive procedure.

The real question is whether or not he is choosing good and capable men to be his helpers and advisers. So far it would seem that the answer is in the affirmative. He is doubtless amenable to advice and suggestion from party leaders and other advisers; for he is both a good party man and a man who can listen to advice. But it is also true that he is not being dictated to, either by party leaders or by personal friends. His re-appointment of Lillenthal to head the TVA was doubtless a great disappointment to Senator McKellar, both a personal friend, and a powerful figure on the Democratic side of the Senate.

His recent cabinet replacements, though they introduced into the important offices of secretary of agriculture, postmaster-general, and attorney-general persons not too well known to the public at large, appear to be sound. There are of course some qualms among Negroes and others over the naming of a Texan to the attorney-general's post, for fear that the relatively good record made by Attorney-General Biddle for prosecuting civil rights cases affecting Negroes will not be sustained. But as a matter of fact there is nothing in the new cabinet member's previous record in the Department of Justice which warrants undue pessimism. As in the case of the President himself, judgment must be suspended until the new attorney-general has had time to prove himself.

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Mr. Schwollenbach, a federal judge, and former senator from Washington, has a fine liberal record. When he was in the Senate he was among the vigorous New Deal leaders. Coming from the West Coast area where thousands of Negroes and hundreds of thousands of other workers have been called in to man the war shipbuilding and aircraft industries, he is familiar with many of the conditions out of which serious post-war industrial problems will arise. As secretary of labor, he will have the initial backing of all major union groups, and he will be mindful of minority problems.

As time goes on, other changes will be made in the administration's top personnel. There is good reason to believe that such changes as the President will make will not on the whole be for the worse.

## COMPROMISES AND RESERVATIONS

As the San Francisco Conference approaches the end of the all-important business of writing the charter for the world organization to ensure peace, it becomes obvious that many things will be left out of that document which would make it far more effective could they be included. The charter which will finally emerge will be a patchwork compromises. The platform will be full of planks too short to cover the issues properly. There will be cracks between the planks, some of them, to use the homely expression, big enough to throw a cat through.

Within limits all this is to be expected. Neither this war, nor the threat of future wars, has purged nations and men of

selfishness, mistrust, bigotry, or cunning. If the world has got far enough along the way toward international accord to eliminate even the grosser forms of international injustice and aggression, we may hope for a charter which will represent the foundation for what we want.

It is helpful to think in this connection of the drafting of the U. S. Constitution. The assembling delegates to the Constitutional Convention were agreed on only one thing—that the thirteen states needed a closer unity; just as the delegates to the San Francisco Conference came agreeing only that world war must somehow be abolished.

Out of the Constitutional Convention emerged a charter which was admittedly imperfect. It also was a patchwork of compromises. There were big gaps here and there between its planks. But many of those gaps have been filled up—some of the repairs, like the Bill of Rights, having been added almost immediately. If the World Organization charter is fundamentally sound, and if the nations of the world really have the will and the faith to build and maintain a new kind of world order one may reasonably hope that the way will have been opened for a steady improvement and refinement of the principles on which nations deal with one another, and even with their own people.

There is of course the obviously grave danger that one or more of the powerful nations will impose a compromise or a set of reservations which will either make the charter impossible of acceptance by the rest of the world, or else render it so impotent that its acceptance will not matter. Russia's stand on the Council's veto, or the position of Britain and France on the World Organization's relation to mandates and colonies, or the position of the United States and the other American countries on regional security pacts—any one of these may prove to be so fundamental as to make the charter an empty shell.

The hope of the world evidently lies not wholly in what is being done in San Francisco now. A great deal depends on the modifiability and the flexibility of the

can countries on regional security pacts—any one of these may prove to be so fundamental as to make the charter an empty shell.

## LAST HIRED AND FIRST FIRED

It has often been said that the Negro is the last hired and the first fired. But it appears that the U. S. Army is going to change that. Negroes were inducted into the army from the very beginning of our preparedness plan long before Pearl Harbor, and the quota system has been meticulously followed as to the order and proportion in which they have been accepted for service. There has probably never been a more scrupulous respect paid the Negro's rights as a minority in this country than has been the case of his rights to be properly and proportionately represented in the armed services.

Unfortunately this punctilious regard for proportional representation stopped with induction. Among other things, Negro soldiers are not being released from the army in numerical proportion. They are not being included in large numbers, for once, among the "first fired." Since Negroes are predominantly in the service forces, and since the service forces are among those most and first needed for transfer to the Pacific Theater, a goodly proportion of them may look forward to continued service.

Most of them are doubtless ready and willing to serve their nation when and where needed; but the fact remains that they are in an unlucky position. In addition to the fact that a disproportionate number will be delayed in their discharge and return home, they are more likely than the others to arrive when peacetime re-employment will be at a low ebb. In other words, they may be really, on that end, the last hired.



## Second Thoughts

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

That wise and liberal southerner, Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, is in the vanguard of progress, as usual. In an address a few days ago to the North Carolina Society of Jacksonville, Fla., he outlined a 12-point program for post-war progress for the South, and called upon "the southern people, regardless of party, race, creed, or economic program and state support of the program."

The majority of the twelve points were concerned with economic matters of vital import to the welfare and progress of the South: tariff reduction, elimination of discriminatory freight rates, diversification of industry, state minimum wage laws, diversification of agriculture and conservation of resources. Other measures advocated by Dr. Graham are: establishment of statewide medical care programs and state supported rural health centers; Federal aid to states for public schools, and increased and equal pay to teachers of equal competence;

state aid for countywide libraries, workers' education, and other projects for cultural improvement of the masses; all-out support of the war and the world peace organization; development of real university centers.

Of special interest and significance was his "plank" on the suffrage. Not only did the distinguished educator declare for the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, but also for "equal suffrage rights for ALL CITIZENS IN PRIMARIES AND GENERAL ELECTIONS. A firm believer in education and democracy, Dr. Graham added: "The disfranchisement of Negroes on grounds of illiteracy carries with it the moral responsibility of the southern states to provide equal opportunity for literacy and an equal recognition of literacy as the basis of equal suffrage."

Dr. Graham thus comes out as plainly and unequivocally for a just and unbiased basis for the suffrage as any Negro could. For instance, his plea for equality at

the polls applies not only to the general elections, but also to the primaries. Note also that though he does not propose to abolish literacy requirements for the ballot, he charges the South with the responsibility of providing means by which the whole potential electorate may become literate, and thus meet the requirements. His insistence on education for demagogues, as well as democracy in education. The people must be made capable of exercising the ballot, and the ballot must be made available to all capable of exercising it.

As the South comes more and more under the influence of such true statesmen as Dr. Graham, (and that process is going on,) the South will cease to feel and act as though it were inferior. It will be able to give up its defense mechanisms, as it comes to have less about which to be apologetic, defiant or hypersensitive. Those

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## Lest We Forget. . .

By W. L. GREENE

A recent incident in the affairs of State should remind us of a sore need among the colored citizens of North Carolina, that is, organization for collective action—bolstered by the backing of the truly democratic people of the state as a whole. The incident was this:

The vice commander of the American Legion, representing all the posts whose membership was exclusively colored veterans, set in motion a request to the Governor that he appoint a colored member on the Veterans' Commission authorized by the 1945 legislature. The cooperation of other colored groups and individuals of influence was asked and received. Letters and telegrams were sent to His Excellency and their receipt politely acknowledged. BUT NO COLORED MEMBER OF THE VETERANS' COMMISSION WAS APPOINTED. His

Excellency stated in his letters to some that he was "sorry that I was unable to make such an appointment from the chief magistracy." In this THE GOVERNOR TOLD THE TRUTH. He was a helpless people for the statement from the chief magistracy of our state.

Mr. C. C. Spaulding commented in a letter after the newspapers carried the personnel of the commission that a witless people is a helpless people. Mr. Spaulding also told the truth. He pointed out the need for a State-wide Veterans' Organization in North Carolina to remedy our helplessness. Mr. Spaulding was eminently right. Let's remember the need and seek the remedy.

The big question is, "What is the remedy?" The answer is not simple but there is an answer. Here it is:

We need a State-wide organization with strong backing which cannot be silenced or set aside by threats of local reprisals from local politicians under the advice of reactionary higher ups who work secretly to keep colored people from registering as voters. Because of our former commitments in this State, we need another generation to produce leadership for a State-wide organization which can stand on its own without NATIONAL BACKING. A STATE-WIDE NAACP IS THE ANSWER. It must be organized in county-wide branches to be effective politically. Such an organization will have three essentials, LEADERSHIP, MOTIVATION, and most important of all, STRENGTH. Under our state laws the "registrars can refuse to be satisfied." National law forbids discrimination. Set up a county-wide branch in 100 counties and watch the result.

While the plight of the so-called white-collar Negro is similar to that of the white person in that classification, too much emphasis has served to belabor a vexing situation in which the Negro masses, those who work mainly with their hands, are left to shift for themselves.

Of course, there is much lip service paid to the Negro masses, canting, ostentatious professions of this and that by the top laborers in the industrial vineyard; much newspaper space devoted to reporting long-winded speeches made to exclusive white groups in some lilywhite hotel from which Negroes are usually barred as a tradition, and an excellent

## SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

By Rev. M. W. Williams

Subject: Between The Testaments — Malachi; Matt. 2; Luke 1: 2-4; Gal. 3. Printed Text: Matt. 2:1-3; Luke 1:68, 72-77; Gal. 4:4, 5.

Key Verse: "I am the way, the truth and the life." — John, 14:6.

In the city of Jerusalem nearly four hundred years before Christ, Malachi wrote or ministered to the Jews. He was the last of the Old Testament prophets. There is a peculiar significance about this prophecy — The opening of a New and the closing of the Old. "The New is a fulfillment of the Old. Let us note some of the happenings between the two Testaments. Alexander, the great, had conquered the known world (at that time) and he had encouraged the Greeks to settle in the East. Origin Plato, Aristotle was read and even the Greek translation of the Old Testament called the Septuagint, was made. The Macabean period as known in Hebrew history, which ended the wicked rule of Antiochus Epiphanes and gave the Jews rest from mass murder, the divine libraries were opened and in many cities and towns Synagogues were built. The Word of God was read

During this period, Herod the Great, appointed by Julius Caesar governed Galilee and requested the wise men to return and let him know where they found the King of the Jews (Matt. 2:8). During the period of Malachi's prophecy he said: "Behold I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me and the Lord whom ye seek will suddenly come to you." — Mal. 3:1. And "Mark 1:2-3) We have the same quotation and in the third verse

"The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord." — John the Baptist is spoken of as the forerunner of Christ in Isaiah 40:3-5. The Birth of Christ then is a fulfillment of the promise which was made in a pre-eminent significance of God's Redemptive Purpose. In (Gal. 4:4-5) In the fullness of time — God was not ready to give his Son for Man's redemption until man was ready. Law was man's schoolmaster, it had to deepen man's conviction of sin and even today man's conviction is not sufficiently convicted — There are those yet who persist in acting, if not believing that they can be saved without regeneration.

The Roman empire had sunk to such a state of despair that the rich and poor alike were shackled in sin, without God and hope — their philosophers and scientists had failed them. In the fullness of time Christ came. He paid the debt. He not only gave those between the two Testaments hope, but he opened the way for all men. What will we do with Christ? He is the way, the truth and the life. John 14:6.



THE CAROLINIAN is on solid ground when it argues that a Negro should have been appointed to the five-man North Carolina Veterans Commission authorized by the 1945 State Assembly. The fact that the law of the State of North Carolina calls for segregation should suggest in a democracy that those segregated against should be represented by one of their own.

It is equally true as indicated by the CAROLINA TIMES that had the subject of a Negro appointee to the Commission come to the attention of the Governor the Governor would have assigned a Negro to the Commission. This fact does not relieve the Governor of his responsibility to all of the citizens of the State. It does suggest that Negro leaders were asleep at the switch when they did not make representations to the Governor in this connection since they know how easy it is for those in authority to overlook matters which involve official recognition of the Negro in the general scheme of things.

In spite of the fact that there is no Negro on the Commission there are still Negro veterans whose interests need to be protected and whose welfare must be considered. The job remains to be done in some way.

While we cannot compensate entirely for the absence of a Negro representative we can choose one of several ways of seeing that the interests of the Negro will not be ignored. In the first place Negro leaders of the State can ask the Veterans Commission itself to appoint with the blessings of the Governor a sub or adjunct Commissioner to make special recommendations concerning Negro veterans' affairs at the regular meetings of the Commission. This sub-commission would receive a proper budget from the Commission, work out of that office, make surveys and investigations which would and the Commission in the proper performance of its duties.

The late President Roosevelt did a similar thing in his administrative organization when he created his own special group of advisors and agency heads although some of the functions of the special groups had been normally considered a part of cabinet offices already duly authorized. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the War Production Board and the War Labor Board had duties in an unusual situation which under normal conditions would have been assigned to the Department of Commerce or to the Department of Labor.

A second way to have the Negro point of view considered would include the creation of a position as racial advisor to the Commission. It is recognized that there are many who will regard the racial advisor position as a supernumerary—a sort of glorified Uncle Tom. Many experiences with the Negro racial relations officers in Washington give weight to that contention. But there are some experiences which say that some of the racial advisors are making a real contribution and are doing a job which actually benefits the Negro as a whole.

The Commission itself with the proper encouragement could appoint a Negro consultant with the function of advising on Negro veterans' interests.

Another method would involve Negroes throughout the State in every community could be setting up committees—a kind of watching post—to discover the needs of the Negro veteran, to interpret for him the GI Bill of Rights, and to inform the Veterans Commission of any irregularities pertaining thereto. Raleigh is especially fortunate in having two privately supported institutions of higher education with men who have the training and the inclination to understand the GI Bill of Rights and to counsel with the veteran who may not know what might be his rights and privileges under the law. There are of course the high schools

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It is certain and just that definite attention should be given to the Negro veteran. Already his return home is being delayed because of the fact that the War Department has set up a point system under which Negro veterans in large numbers may not qualify for the privilege of returning home soon. Under this system much credit is given for combat service and combat awards. Negroes are for the most part denied the opportunity of serving in combat units. Whereas a soldier in a combat unit may have five points for each combat award and five points for actual combat the soldier who is in a non-combat unit cannot hope for such credit because he is not permitted to fight. It is reasonable to suspect that Negroes who are not generally assigned to combat units will be a long time coming home under the point system.

Meanwhile the white soldiers with combat opportunities will be demobilized and will have every chance to pick over and take the jobs by the time the Negro returns. For this reason, if for no other, some special attention of the Veterans Commission and all other agencies concerned with veterans should be well informed about and well disposed toward the Negro who comes back from the war.

It does not follow that because there is no Negro on the Commission now all will be lost. Enterprising Negroes who want to see justice done in the State of North Carolina have yet further recourse in this very important matter. Some good may still be done.

DO YOU ARGEE?

## Plain Talk By Dan Gardner

There is reason to believe that too much emphasis has been placed on white collar Negroes and not enough on the Negroes whose color bars are open in front and who want the sweat of honest labor to trickle down their chests as they perform tasks from which they draw a living wage.

While the plight of the so-called white-collar Negro is similar to that of the white person in that classification, too much emphasis has served to belabor a vexing situation in which the Negro masses, those who work mainly with their hands, are left to shift for themselves.

Of course, there is much lip service paid to the Negro masses, canting, ostentatious professions of this and that by the top laborers in the industrial vineyard; much newspaper space devoted to reporting long-winded speeches made to exclusive white groups in some lilywhite hotel from which Negroes are usually barred as a tradition, and an excellent

But the actual work that must be done to lessen the pressure on the Negro farther down the ladder has hardly begun. In other words, there seems to be a desire to use the Negro masses (with whom the average Negro intellectual or white collar classman is distinctly unfamiliar) as a cause celebre for gaining personal points, such as advanced one's own selfish aims, feathering one's own nest, etc.

Strange as it may seem, most of the real, honest-to-goodness work among the Negro masses is being done by the Negroes themselves. (Continued on back page)

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