

EDITORIAL VIEWPOINT

Hard Decision

President Eisenhower recently stated a plain truth about himself and his future. It is a truth which must have been obvious to every unbiased observer acquainted with the facts and willing to face the truth. He said:

"It would be idle to pretend that my health can be wholly restored to the excellent state in which the doctors believed it to be in mid-September."

That is and should be a foregone conclusion, and all considerations as to whether President Eisenhower will be the Republican candidate for the presidency next November should start from that premise.

It appears that President Eisenhower may consider it his duty to be a candidate if the doctors will certify that his health is good enough to take the chance with his own future and that of the country. Mr. Eisenhower has a high sense of duty. It is doubtful that he would retire for purely personal considerations, though of course he will take into account the feelings of his family.

The political advisers on whom he will depend for help in making up his mind are likely to be practically unanimous in urging that Mr. Eisenhower stand for re-election; for whereas there may be ample ground for questioning the conclusion that Mr. Eisen-

hower or any other man is indispensable as president of the United States for the welfare of the country and the world, an excellent case can be made for the indispensability of Mr. Eisenhower at this time as the presidential candidate from the standpoint of the Republican party and the interests which feel that their best welfare depends upon a Republican administration, since no other possible candidate of the party would have anywhere near the advantage Mr. Eisenhower would enjoy as the party's standard bearer, to use a tired expression. The party leaders and others here referred to are using and will use their best efforts to convince Mr. Eisenhower that it is his duty to do so, that the prosperity of the country and the peace of the world demanded his personal sacrifice. This appeal must carry weight when made to a man with a fine soldier's sense of duty; nor is it unflattering to be told how necessary one is.

The fact remains, however, that the President is nearly 65 and that he has had a heart attack. He has frankly revealed that he is not unmindful of these serious facts, and he is doubtless also of implications which may be drawn from the history of the presidency.

Everything points to the conclusion that it will not be an easy decision for Mr. Eisenhower to make.

"... Accept The 20th Century"

The Hartford (Connecticut) *Courant*, one of the better known of U. S. dailies outside the biggest cities, has, like the *Christian Science Monitor*, published in Boston, never been overly critical of the South. For that reason an editorial quoted from it recently in the *Raleigh News and Observer*, is of more than ordinary timeliness. We take the liberty to quote excerpts:

"The southern states, still shaken by the Supreme Court's decision nearly two years ago, are casting about for any device that might enable them to escape the 20th century."

The article goes on from there to mention the 2 to 1 vote in Virginia favoring the Gray plan which would make possible the use of public money for private education of white children in that state and continues:

"The adjustment to desegregation is one that the North still has a bit of adjusting of its own to do—does not face. There is no occasion to cast stones at the South. For all that nothing can keep this country from marching forward until at last it ends the system of having two classes of citizens, a superior one and an inferior one, divided by color. At home this division is an evil. Around the world it is doing the free world incalculable hurt in its struggle with communism."

"Blind to all this, the South talks as though the Supreme Court, in its 1954 decision, had illegally amended the Constitution itself to change the foundations of our government. Actually the Supreme Court merely looked at a 19th Century issue with 20th Century eyes, and then stated a self-evident truth: Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

After some discussion of the Gray plan, characterizing it as "inevitably . . . unconstitutional," if only because under it "Negroes will be taxed to support private instruction for white students," the editorial essay reiterates the crux of the matter:

"There is no way out but to accept the 20th Century."

One naturally stops to wonder what would have happened had the Supreme Court re-

affirmed two years ago the outmoded "separate-but-equal" doctrine as established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which decision the South pretends to have enshrined as if it carried the authority of one of the Ten Commandments. As long as the Supreme Court was making decisions of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* type, the Court was revered in the South as a collective Daniel came to judgement. It was only when the Court got into the 20th Century, so to speak, that we began to hear of nullification, interposition and the like, along with complimentary references to the lack of intelligence, probity, and loyalty to American principles of the judges of the Court, and their susceptibility to crackpot sociological theories and their glances toward the northern Negro vote. (The judges include men from both political parties; they have lifetime appointments, and three of them are southerners.)

Interposition, nullification, and so on were not thought of for nearly 100 years. Previous reversals of the decisions of the Court, as conditions changed and the personnel of the Court with equanimity hitherto; even those outlawed or altered by replacements, have been accepted in the white primary and opening state graduate and professional schools to Negroes (the latter except in Georgia, South Carolina, and of course, Mississippi).

The *Courant* is right. The hullabaloo will subside. The South will haltingly and grudgingly accept the fact that 1896 patterns are inadequate for sixty years later, in matters of race as in other matters. We look back with amazement on the fact that less than 100 years ago the ownership of the bodies of human beings by other human beings was not only permitted but vigorously defended in one part of the country, with arguments and devices surprisingly like the arguments and theories being dragged out today in an attempt to defeat desegregation.

Nullification and interposition have been dead longer than chattel slavery, and no attempt will succeed in breathing any life into the dry bones.

More Than This Needed

Sir Anthony Eden's visit to the United States to talk with President Eisenhower seems to have been barren of any very significant results. No vigorous plan to meet and counteract the Soviet offenses launched some months ago to get ahead of the free West by adopting methods a bolder American foreign policy worked out a few years ago was forthcoming, insofar as the joint announcements after the meeting revealed.

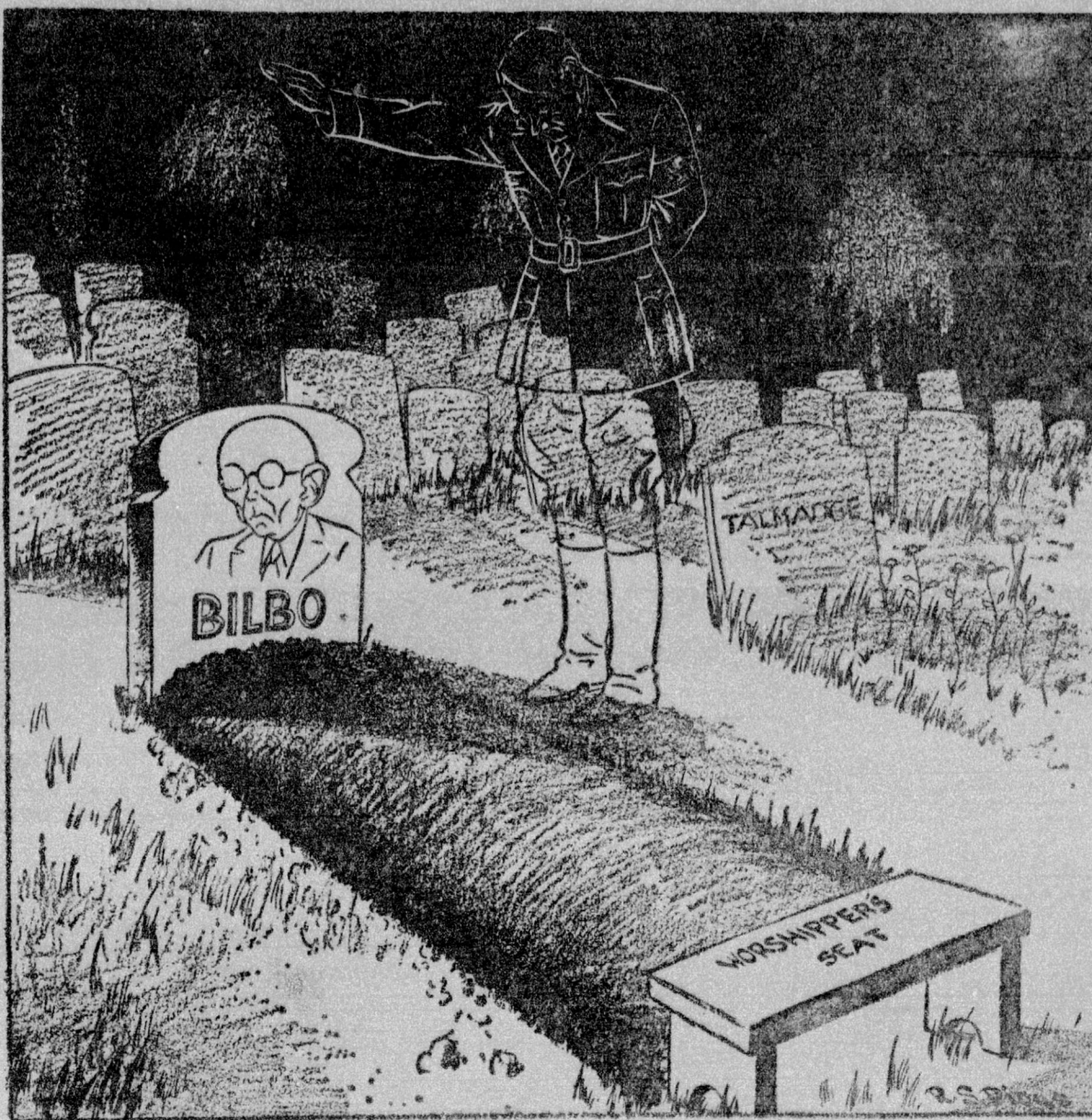
The Eisenhower-Dulles strategy seems to be to try to outtalk Russia while Russia offers concrete plans to assist nations she is trying to sway to her side in their economic development.

Meanwhile our Administration points out that the storing of surplus food stocks owned by our government is costing the American people a million dollars a day. Meanwhile, also, our political leaders in the Administration and Congress wrangle over which plans to

insure more production and therefore more surpluses or how to pay farmers not to produce so that they may make money.

As long as the Communist leaders can make peace offers which President Eisenhower logically and rightly rejects, while at the same time they steal our own plans to offer help to nations which need help and are understandably not too particular about the ideological name tag attached to the extended hand, things don't get any better for the democracies. Add to that the hazards created by the statesmanship of people like Senator Eastland and the four southern governors, not to mention the southern state legislature now in session, and one can see that a pronouncement such as came from the meeting of the heads of the two leading western nations may not have too much effect, especially in the countries populated by non-white people.

"And Now, Senator Eastland Of Mississippi Pays His Respects"



— C. D. Halliburton's —
SECOND THOUGHTS

The columnist Drew Pearson reported recently, maybe accurately, possibly not, that "Ike has a secret, self-appointed board of strategy of New York including some of his closest friends . . . They have determined that Vice President Nixon shall not run with him." Pearson says that these advisers feel that in the event that Mr. Eisenhower does run, which is a question still undecided, of course, so far as the public knows, Mr. Nixon might well be a liability as the second man on the ticket. The well known political columnist expresses the opinion that these particular advisers "feel that if Ike does run, most people, remembering his statement about his own health, would be voting for Vice President Nixon, they feel, would beg down the ticket, might even defeat it."

It may be a little indelicate to bring this out into the open, as Drew Pearson did. But it is a really important and weighty consideration, whether talked about openly or on a hush-hush basis.

There is little point in bringing up the subject, however, before President Eisenhower makes and announces his decision on whether or not he will be a candidate. If it should turn out that he will not, it is

fairly certain that Mr. Nixon will be in there seeking the first place on the ticket. It is that case the people concerned would know without question what they wished to do, as to his nomination, and if nominated as to how to vote. On the other hand it will certainly be interesting, if President Eisenhower decides that he will accept the Republican nomination to see what will happen to Mr. Dewey.

It is quite possible that the Democrats would like to see Nixon the nominee. Of course they would rather see him as the presidential candidate, since he is highly unpopular with the Democrats, who know he could not possibly match Eisenhower's appeal to the large body of independent voters which concededly holds the balance of power in the election. Unpopular with the Democrats because of his attacks on that party and its leaders in the last election and since, he would be a very acceptable Republican candidate to the Democratic leadership. To a lesser degree they would also be glad to see him again the vice presidential candidate if Eisenhower runs for president.

Drew Pearson has given, as quoted above, the very good reasons for the Republican

Gordon Hancock's BETWEEN the LINES

THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

The Governors' Conference recently called in Richmond was not exactly a "howling success." It was called by Virginia's Governor Stanley as a huddle for southern governors wherein they could together find better ways and means of circumventing the momentous Supreme Court decision of '54.

In the first place the South was poorly represented, there being only five governors in attendance. Everybody who understands the current hysteria in the South knows that the conference was an incipient secession and was called to "sound out" the South on how far it was willing to go in open defiance of the nation. There were two key words on the lips of the conferees, interposition and nullification. Interposition merely implies a delaying action in the final compliance with the Supreme Court's mandates. As some of the conferees sensed clearly, it did not "have teeth" and was therefore constructed as the protest that it really was. On the other hand nullification implied a willingness to go all out, and stop at nothing, in resisting the Supreme Court's decision. It implied fight and force if necessary. Nobody except the governors themselves knew what was said and done in the meeting, but the same governors who went into the conference hot for nullification came out warm for interposition.

It can be truthfully said that it was in this conference that the backbone of the South's resistance was broken. Governor Hodges of North Carolina who did not attend as a delegate, was quick to add since the conference that North Carolina would not be stampeded into anything that looked like defiance of the United States. He made it clear that his state would not be bound by the actions of other southern states that wanted to defy the nation and resist to the uttermost its mandates.

Florida's governor did not put in his appearance and has since said that it is just as well that he did not; for Florida would not be stampeded into some hasty and radical action. He made it clear that Florida needed no assistance in working out its own program and that he would not be a party to the incipient seces-



SENTENCE SERMONS

By REV. FRANK CLARENCE LOWRY For ANP

MARY AND MARTHA

1. What a similarity in names, buy my, what far and wide differences in dispositions and aims . . . Mary over mindful of the Master's comfort and wishes, while Martha, giving special care to temporary things, even to washing dishes.
2. This is a necessary part of life, we cannot deny, but should not hinder our progress when spiritual things we are about to pass by.
3. Many persons would not detect a diamond in its first stages in the rough, but would allow Satan with his imitations and cunning to pay them off with such cheap stuff.
4. He has super-products for those in higher brackets, and for folks not easily swept off their feet—for he is an Artist at hypnotism and a Past Master of humbuggery and deceit.
5. Such evil influences as those could not upset the wisdom of Mary for among material things she did not tarry, but hurried and stayed at the feet of Jesus; safe and secure from impending harm, unmoved by conditions that would cause alarm, cool and protected from every storm.
6. But quite the opposite, the temperament and spirit of Martha who was careful and troubled about many things obviously temporal, but lack-

ing the one thing needful.

7. This, to be sure, is the sad state of the peoples of the world today, cumbered with many things and busy; the minute delighting to stay at Jesus' feet, while the majority in Satan's camp contented selfish, greedy and lazy.

8. The church people for the most part, are luke-warm and self-centered, having Martha's saint on service, feeling she should be especially favored.

9. Mary indeed, had the right idea of giving Christ the very first place, for this is truly the starting point for every individual and the Rock of Defense for every Nation and Race.

10. For the way things look now from Martha's book, Mary's early example and precepts, those the Nations have forsaken. . . . substituting their own way-of-life, they are spearheading into turmoil and constant strife.

11. CHRIST is the answer, and to all Martha's His reasoning is clear . . . He is in full agreement with Mary, and calls a gainsaying world to draw near.

12. Foot-sore, tear stained and weary, poor hungry souls still languish in fear, while the God-of-all-Grace still blesses the Mary's and humbly pleads the the Martha's to draw near.

CAPITAL CLOSE-UP

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

The President and the Powell Amendment

President Eisenhower has made it clear, we think, that he favors the content of the Powell Amendment re refusal of Federal funds for education in non-conforming areas, and is for it, providing that it does not block passage of an Education Bill that would put schools where they are critically needed by educationally-starved Americans. By way of comment we offer this bit of personal research re the recent South Carolina speech of the Senator from Sunflower.

Senator James O. Eastland, of Ruleville, Mississippi—population 15 hundred—recently attacked the President of the United States and desegregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia, on the basis of lowered average scholastic performance in the District schools, resulting from the integration of Negro and white pupils.

The fact of lower performance by Negro pupils in or from segregated areas is not debatable, and members of the teaching profession who are a part of this unhappy situation, should face the fact, forthrightly. But we are in disagreement with the Negro principal quoted by Senator Eastland as saying that sharing the experience of living together is more important to American cultural progress than scholastic standing, because educational integration is not a matter of "either, or," and there should be no assumption that the integration of educationally disadvantaged Negroes with educationally privileged whites will mean continuing "sacrifice of scholastic standing."

The lower performance will disappear along with the disadvantage, since it reflects not "the intelligence level of the Negroes," as stated by Senator Eastland, himself a product of Mississippi, Alabama and Vanderbilt Universities, but the Delta-plantation pattern of the Senator's Sunflower County, which is, by and large, the pattern of the segregated Deep South—a pattern which helps to drag down the national average of educational performance. Sunflower County, Mississippi

Sunflower County is in the heart of the Delta country along the Mississippi. It has a population of 56,031, of which 21,159, or 38 percent, are Negro and 17,872, or 32 percent, are white. Roughly, 19,000 Negroes and 10,000 whites are of voting age. The school-age census shows 17,035 Negro children, and 4,244 white children. The school enrollment shows that 3,258 Negro children (eighty under one-half of those school-age) and 1,541 white children (just over one-third of those school-age), attend the county schools. But expenditures for instruction, only, are 197,665 dollars a year, or \$23 per child, for Negroes, and 146,995 dollars, or \$93 per child for whites. This is the pattern of education in the Senator's "neck of the woods." It is the background from which he speaks.

We All Pay

Selective Service had to deal with the results of this pattern—which has, of course, no bearing on intelligence potentials. The whole country, including the District of Columbia, has suffered from it, with the migration of the disadvantaged into areas of relative economic and educational advantage. The overcrowded and understaffed schools of the Federal City's old Division Two (Negro), were simply an extension and refinement of the Deep South pattern. Wherever we live, we all pay while the leveling-off is in process. There is no point in Pollyanna-ing the issue. So now, "as might have been expected," we have the "intelligence level" of Senator Eastland, demanding "stern resistance" to the Supreme Court decision, in terms of the "legal and moral right" of the South to perpetuate the pattern of Sunflower County.

Howard Jenkins to Labor Post

Howard Jenkins, Jr., well-known member of the Howard University Law School faculty, took office, last week, as Legislative Attorney in the Office of the Solicitor at the Labor Department. A law and liberal arts graduate of the University of Denver, he served, during the war, on the legal staffs of the OPA and War Labor Board, and has been an Associate Pro-

Letter To The Editor

You know, of course, that this type of glorification is particularly rewarding to delinquents and potential delinquents. This is all the more surprising in view of your role in a recent "campaign" to combat delinquency in our community. To me glorification promotes rather than prevents. Certainly in our democratic country you have a right to select news you desire to print. I will not quarrel over this point. However, it does seem to me that the right to freedom of press carries with it certain obligations—certain moral imperatives—to always work constructively for community improvement. But this rash display shows social irresponsibility at its zenith! It seems to me that irreparable damage has been done to youth, to organized education, and to the good citizens in our community who sincerely work to improve relations and promote the common welfare.

I believe in a free press—a responsible free press. Moreover, I feel that only with newspapers are aware of their obligations and responsibilities should they deserve the protections afforded in a free country.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM JIMMERSON HOLLOWAY

202 Heck Street
Raleigh, N. C.
February 5, 1956
Mr. P. R. Jarvey, Editor
THE CAROLINIAN
DEAR EDITOR:

I was shocked last week to see your paper carry a red headline on page one publicizing an act of youth delinquency. Such an elaborate coverage was decidedly out of proportion to the true magnitude and social worth of the event.

fessor at the Howard Law School for the past ten years. Mr. Jenkins is one of the hard-working group around Dean George M. Johnson, that has done yeoman work in the preparation of briefs and memoranda on cases coming before the U. S. Appellate Court and the Supreme Court.

The new appointee, now on leave from Edward, is a native of Denver. His wife, the former Miss Elaine Brown, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Russell S. Brown of Chicago, General Secretary of the AME Church, is also a graduate of the University of Denver, with a Master's degree from Ohio State. There are three Jenkins children. The senior Mrs. Howard Jenkins and a sister, Miss Doris Jenkins, are in Winston-Salem, N. C., where the latter is teaching.

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