

EDITORIAL VIEWPOINT

"SAVE" Has New Meaning

The public school mess concocted by Governor Hodges, Mr. Pearsall, Mr. Rodman and friends becomes more and more of a Hodgepodge. The latest angle is the Governor's statement to the effect that the people (meaning the white people, of course) of North Carolina will be willing to pay whatever it takes to operate private schools which may have to replace the public school system.

This may be true but it hardly seems likely, and whether or not it is so remains to be seen, for the people have not yet indicated, though there is a good chance that they, having been misled by their leaders are ready to jeopardize their school system by changing the state Constitution to open the way for private school tuition grants and the closing of the public schools.

More and more commentators are coming forward to point out that educational chaos is likely to follow if the Hodges-Pearsall-Rodman plan is adopted by the people of North Carolina. It becomes more evident that it is not necessarily true that the people will swap their present system, of which they are justly proud and have been for a good many years, for something which no one has yet denied will be inferior for the purpose than the type of school system North Carolina already has and which North Carolina pioneered in working out and adopting. It is not at all certain that the maintenance of complete racial segregation in the schools, which of course most of the white people would prefer, is as valuable as that to them.

One of the more transparent tricks of language being used by the Governor and his supporters to sell his plan to the people is the one of calling it a plan to "save the schools." This is certainly patent mislabeling, for one of the main features of the proposal is to provide for the closing of the schools. The slogan cannot be referring to saving the private schools, for there are practically none in the state.

For the sake of honesty the Hodges plan should be plainly and clearly labeled for what

it is: an attempt to detour around the Supreme Court decision, and if that fails, to give up public schools rather than consider complying in the least degree with that decision. The white people of the state have the right to know what is in the offing if the amendments are adopted. The Negroes already know, for they got the tip-off away back when the Governor first advanced his ludicrous proposal for voluntary segregation, pretending he thought it could work. You haven't heard anything about that brilliant idea lately.

Governor Hodges and friends worked out their later plans on the assumption that the white people would give up public education if necessary before they would permit any Negro children in a public school attended also by white children anywhere in the state. Maybe Governor Hodges is right in that assumption but it remains to be seen. The Pearsall Commission worked on the assumption that the white people of the state would not support a public school system which permits any Negro children and white children to attend a school together, not only in 1956 or 1957, but in any foreseeable future. We think this assumption is an ill-founded one. The vote coming up in September may give some concrete evidence that it was not an ill-founded assumption, but only if the people know what they are doing; and they cannot know if they are taken in by the "save-our-schools" dodge of Governor Hodges and his meet-in-the-woods buddies while a state superintendent of schools collaborates in a plan which provides for the closing of the schools he is supposed to superintend.

The Governor says that the woods meetings will have saved time. It took a hundred years, or nearly, to develop the school system of which, until recently, North Carolina was so proud, and justly so. The people of North Carolina may just possibly feel that what it took a hundred years to build with so much sacrifice and labor and thought is worth taking some time to think about before deciding it must be junked.

Not Bidding

We believe our government was right in canceling the offer to the Egyptian government to help finance the building of the Nile River dam. The original offer involved \$1,300,000,000. But it is not the saving we think of, unless it is saving the dignity of the United States.

It is not only unnecessary for the United States to bid against Russia in trying to buy the friendship or favor of good will of other nations. It is true that withdrawal of our offer may leave the Egyptians free to accept any

Russian proposal without interference, but that is a risk that must be taken. But we know already that good will cannot be purchased. The offer of the United States was in good faith, even though frankly our self-interest was involved. We proved this by making clear that we stand ready still to help Egypt; but it was made clear also that we are not trying to outbid Russia. We know that what we could so obtain could not possibly be worth the price.

Further Explanation In Order

The Raleigh News and Observer in an editorial note appended to a letter to the editor in which it was alleged that the newspaper "favors integration" explains:

"The News and Observer has not said it 'favors integration' for the simple reason that it does not favor it. It believes that the separation of the races in the public schools can be maintained substantially within the law, without closing the schools.

"The News and Observer is, however, opposed to present proposals in attempted evasion of or defiance of the law which would endanger public education in North Carolina..."

The writer of the original letter probably wonders how the two paragraphs above can be reconciled. So do we. The editor's note did not go far enough.

Students Getting Ready

Encouragement is to be found in a recent report on tendencies of North Carolina youths to continue their education beyond high school graduation.

The report, released by the State Department of Public Instruction, dealt with results of a survey conducted by Nile H. Hunt, coordinator of teacher education and brought out, among other things, that the percentage of Negro high school graduates entering college in 1955 was greater than in the previous year while that of white students dropped.

The figures (28 per cent for Negro and 32.3 for white students) are less than ideal among either group, but the margin is narrowing; and this, in face of the customarily greater economic difficulties faced by most of the former, seems to indicate a growing determination to acquire the preparation necessary for successful competition in the integrated life that today's youth almost certainly will live through. It is to be hoped that the trend will continue.

Special Session Has Bright Side

However sternly we may oppose the program dealt with by this week's special session of the General Assembly, the manner in which it was handled has at least two heartening aspects.

One was the forceful and courageous manner in which reasonable minded white North Carolinians came forward to express views which run counter to the highly touted "Southern way of life." One of the greatest handicaps to progress in the field of Southern race relations heretofore has been the reluctance of liberal-minded white persons to risk public criticism by taking the leadership in a just approach to the problem.

Worthy of special mention in this connection are Prof. Douglas B. Maggs, Duke professor of constitutional law; P. E. Bishop

Richard H. Baker of Greensboro, representing the North Carolina Council of Churches; the Rev. Morris Kidder of the Chapel Hill-Carrboro Ministerial Association, and the 200 women of the PTA Congress who came from all sections of the state to lend moral support to the anti-Pearsall proposal presented by their president, Mrs. John Crawford of Raleigh.

Whatever effect their pronouncements may have on the pre-committed legislators, there is little doubt that the thinking of many thousand citizens has been turned to more reasonable channels.

Opponents of both races were accorded free opportunity to voice their criticisms of the Hodges-Pearsall program—even when some of them overran their time allotments—and the lawmakers are to be congratulated for their courtesy and patience.

"But Africa Has Plans Of Her Own"



— C. D. Halliburton's —

SECOND THOUGHTS

The consumer boycott is a device of limited effectiveness. This is especially true when those employing it are not in a position to exercise a very considerable control over the effective demand of the commodity or service offered by the person or persons to be boycotted.

The unprecedented success so far of the Montgomery bus boycott has attracted much attention, and the similar refusal of Negroes to patronize the buses in Tallahassee seems to have been as productive, at least, as the Montgomery action, since it forced suspension (which may turn out to be temporary) of all the local bus service in that city.

But no less an authority than the Rev. Martin Luther King, one of the principal leaders of the Montgomery boycott, recognizes the limitation of the boycott technique even in the lone field of local public transportation. Speaking at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University recently, Mr. King and other experts expressed grave doubts

that a transportation boycott could be effective in larger southern cities such as Birmingham or Miami. The greater travel distances in these larger cities and the much more formidable problem of organizing and operating adequate car pools were mentioned as among the factors which would practically rule out the kind of results in the bigger cities that were brought about in Montgomery and Tallahassee.

Thinking of the boycott and its possible application beyond the narrow limits of transportation facilities in small cities in which the majority of the patronage is Negro, one does not see many possibilities, except in isolated instances in which it may be used against individual businesses depending heavily on Negro patronage; as for example, a neighborhood store.

A more serious limitation on the usefulness of the boycott in general is the risk of reprisals in a situation in which the initiators of the boycott are the economic underdogs, generally speaking. Obviously it is a game at which the generally weaker side can be beaten.

These times are peculiarly fitting ones for the Negro to use his really great economic powers in a positive way, as has been pointed out by George Schuyler and others. This does not imply that this power should not be used negatively when and where indicated, in a punitive way; but more emphasis can certainly be placed on supporting economic enterprises owned and operated by Negroes themselves, and those which are fair to Negroes in all aspects of their operation.

Not to be neglected are the vast opportunities available for the investment of money which Negro individuals and organizations control as capital, in enterprises which would furnish both profit for their owners and employment for Negroes. Too much of the Negro's growing economic potential is not being positively used to his own advantage in a society in which money talks very loudly.

CAPITAL CLOSE-UP

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

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Crump Front
William E. Gerber, former Boss Crump ax-man and Shelby County (Tenn.) prosecuting attorney, imported by Congressional segregationists to probe the question of integration in your Capital, has started his operations with a bang.

First-off, last week, Gerber called for the names and addresses of the four thousand District school employees—teachers and officers—so that they could be questioned. Two days later, he announced that the questioning, which, in fact, had already begun via D. C.'s appointed Commissioners and Education Board members) would be extended to include officials of the District PTA (now very successfully integrated), other citizens group representatives, and two former Board members, including Dr. Margaret Just Butcher.

Unofficial adviser to Gerber is a former long-time head of the Citizens Federation, here, (white parallel of the Negro "Civic" Federation), a northern-born segregation leader in the Federal City.

Questions Asked
Questions asked of Commissioners and School Board members included the effect of integration on the schools, its possible effect on juvenile delinquency, comparative efficiency of white and Negro teachers, classroom crowding and proposed construction.

Probe Staff Expanded
Gerber's Staff Committee (probe) staff has been expanded to include a Florence, S. C. high school teacher, now studying at the University of Maryland, who was named by District Committee Chairman John L. McMillan, also of Florence. No hearings are to be held before September. The Federation of Civic Associations (Negro by exclusion from the other body) will seek to testify.

Anti-Integration Line-Up
The anti-integration line-up now appears to be John L.

McMillan of S. C., chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, John Bell Williams of Mississippi, District Committee member who proposed the school-probing subcommittee, James G. Davis of Georgia, subcommittee chairman, Thomas Abernethy of Mississippi, and Gerber, hired to conduct the probe. One Republican member, Joel Broyhill, of Virginia, signed the Southern manifesto opposing civil rights legislation.

On the "Senate side" the District of Columbia Committee is chaired by the veteran Matthew M. (Matt) Neely of West Virginia, an outspoken friend of civil rights. Senator Joseph Frear of Delaware, the only other Southerner on that Senate Committee, is titled as "friendly" to CD legislation. No integration inquiries are anticipated from this source.

N. Y. Rep. HIS CR BILL
The embattled South rose and cheered on the floor of the House, last Thursday when a New York Republican sponsor of the CR bill offered a motion to strike out the bill's exciting clause—life-line of all proffered legislation.

The Congressman, William E. Miller of Niagara County, N. Y., who served as an assistant prosecutor at the Nazi war criminals' trials in Germany, declared that he was acting "in utter sincerity." His switch was promptly parried by Minority Leader Joseph Martin, of Massachusetts, who warned his Republican colleagues against the consequences of "following Southern Democracy into the defeat of the bill," already weighted down by serious and facetious amendments—most of them irrelevant.

As we went to press, later than usual, it seemed likely that debate in the House would continue into Saturday, with death in the Senate Judiciary Committee, or filibuster on the Senate Floor, a foregone conclusion.

Gordon Hancock's BETWEEN the LINES

For ANP
EDITOR'S NOTE:—After several months of illness, Mr. Hancock returns to writing his column, which has been a regular ANP feature for 15 years.
THE OLD SOUTH SECEDES AGAIN

The Old South is again in secession and what will be the end results is not yet clear. We know, however, that dire things are in the offing. And although it may not be another War of Rebellion, which the South has succeeded in having called a "War Between the States," there is serious trouble ahead.

The bitterness so apparent in the current situation cannot but bring forth serious trouble sooner or later, some how or other. Nothing could be so unfortunate as for the Negro to underestimate the travail through which he will be called to go. But such is the way of those who seek liberty.

The way of liberty-lover has been a Via Dolorosa through the centuries and it will not be otherwise for the Negro.

The current fight for full citizenship must be a fight on all fronts. Soon the Negro must fight on the political front during the presidential election and the choice will be a grave one.

Just whether the Negroes will support parties or men is the question. Too long the Negro committed himself to parties and thus supported the Republican Party because it was under this party that he received his emancipation. And it was right and fitting that he should have been grateful for the gift of freedom, which was his through the instrumentality of the Republican Party.

But long after the Republican Party had lost the spirit of the Emancipation, the Negro slavishly supported the Republican cause with the emphasis on party rather than personality.

Then came Franklin Delano Roosevelt who, by his sheer genius and vision, wrested the Negro from the Republican Party and made him into a thoroughgoing Democrat with all the rights and immunities thereof.



It so happened that the Negro made as faithful a Democrat as a Republican and since the coming of Roosevelt, he has stood staunchly by the Democratic standards with telling results.

But with a presidential election in the offing, it is a matter of serious concern whether the Negro will support the Democratic Party with its seceding Old South; or whether he will rally to the Republican standards with Eisenhower as its chieftain.

This is a time of the closest political calculation by the Negro electorate and the Negro must evaluate the situation by personalities rather than parties.

The Old South is again in secession and a bitter and nasty secession it is turning out to be. And the end is not yet.

The Negroes must not lose sight of the fact that a vote for the Democratic Party is a vote for the leadership and domination of Eastland and Harry Byrd, who will soon be joined by Herman Talmadge of Georgia.

These men are committed to the eternalization of the subjugation of the Negro. They are the Pharaohs who have sworn unto death that they will not let the Negro go.

Who knows but the Republican Party must be the plague upon the house of these modern pharaohs?

A vote for the Democratic Party is a vote for the domination of the Eastlands, the Byrds and the Talmadges. A vote for the Democratic Party is a vote for obstructionism in the Congress of the United States.

In a time of great stress and emergency, every issue coming before our Congress must be tested in the light of its bearing on segregation. No issue can be discussed and debated upon its merits alone.

Just whether it is to the liking of the prejudiced Old South's representatives becomes the main question. It is finally a vote for another secession, which lacks nothing but a Fort Sumter!

Along The Colonial Front

By A. J. SIGGINS, BRITISH JOURNALIST

QUO VADIS?—A Question Addressed to the American Negro

LONDON, Eng. (ANP)—One reads Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma," "Black Metropolis," by Horace R. Clayton and St. Clair Drake and scores of other books and articles by experts on the American Negro without actually discovering the most important fact about him.

That fact is expressed in my title: "Quo Vadis—Whither goest thou?"

From all that one can gather from most books, magazines, articles and the newspapers, the Negro is going all-out for integration.

From Ebony I learn that 90 per cent of Afro-Americans have white blood in their veins.

From writer Faulkner comes the view that within 300 years the Negro race will be absorbed into the white race.

That seems to be an end similar to that of the lemmings, these guinea-pigs like little animals of Scandinavia which periodically and for no apparent reason rush into the ocean and perish by millions.

IS THE AMERICAN NEGRO CONSCIOUSLY RUSHING LEE-RINGG-LIKE, TO DESTRUCTION IN AN OCEAN OF WHITE BLOOD OR DOES HE HAVE A PURPOSE AS A NEGRO?

That the question I want to see answered. And it seems to me to be an important one not only for the Afro-American but for Africans everywhere.

One reads of near-whites "passing" into white society in South Africa as well as in U.S.A. Is that the aim of every Negro? "Get seven shades lighter in seven days," "straighten your hair in seven days," and eventually "pass"?

Is the Negro ethnic group the Negro race—important to American Negroes? And by "American," North, South and Central Americans.

I know a little about Africa. Some of my knowledge I gained through first-hand contacts, some by hearsay and some by reading.

My knowledge is limited, but I probably know more about Africa than the majority of Negroes in North, Central and South America.

Africans in Africa are convinced they have a destiny. That there is a purpose behind all their efforts to advance. They do not wish to become integrated with white society in the same sense that they desire to lose their color and natural physical characteristics as if Negro-Americans are deliberately trying to do.

Africans in Africa are seeking the origins of their race, and looking to prove that their origin can be compared with those of other races. Indeed when the original inhabitants of Britain were pagans, clad in skins and with little culture, there were tribes in Africa much more advanced.

The question now is whether Afro-Americans are deliberately planning a lemming-like integration through gradual submergence of their race, or do they wish to perpetuate it?

Are we to see a Negro couple in U.S.A. hoping their daughter will have a child by a white man, and that that child will have a child by another white and so on until every trace of a black parentage disappears, or are we to see Negroes proud of their race and hoping that their children will stay black and not "pass white"?

This appears to be a question that has to be answered now!

SENTENCE SERMONS

By The Rev. Frank Clarence Lowry... For ANP

DO YOU BELIEVE?

1. DO YOU BELIEVE that God created man, the trees, birds, flowers and bees, insects and the mighty elephant; and, especially made it possible for man to reach his highest development?

2. DO YOU BELIEVE God scooped out places in the earth to give rivers lakes, and seas their required birth, and gave vegetation a place to spread so that every living creature could be amply fed?

3. DO YOU BELIEVE God hung the earth out in open space, giving it water from fleecy clouds that resemble embroidered lace; also fingered the Sun, Moon and stars by Divine arrangement that, both day and night, man with his sight have perpetual light and contentment?

4. DO YOU BELIEVE then, that while He did all of this for others, He did it also personally for you, and as your Master promised always to be true and left you a book of rules to guide you safely through?

5. Yes, it is hardly believable what He did place in store to cure all human ills and His riches explore; then paid the price that all men might live... only demanding that to be truly successful, men must learn to freely give.

6. If then you truly believe God is real, and that no one can really succeed who cheats

Other Editors

The Nashville Tennessean

WHAT'S WRONG WITH JAZZ

Members of the Senate appropriations committee have carried an apparent dislike for jazz music and musicians too far by proposing a ban on government sponsorship of any more jazz tours abroad.

News accounts of the committee's action say the senators were "alarmed by the impression of the United States conveyed by officially sponsored tours of such performers as Louis Armstrong, Dizzie Gillespie and the like."

Yet reports that came back from these tours were that the performers were enthusiastically received wherever they went. A New York Times correspondent in Europe even went so far as to call the jazz artists American "atomic weapons" in cold war because of the good will they were creating.

If they created a bad impression anywhere they went, that news escaped us. Certainly there is nothing about jazz itself for the senators to be ashamed of or alarmed about, for even though it may not suit every musical taste it is an indigenous American product that many people—including tens of thousands of Europeans, obviously—find enjoyable.

There is nothing wrong with sending "choral groups and miscellaneous sports projects" abroad, which is the senators' idea of what the special international program administered by the State Department ought to do. But what is wrong with sending the jazz musicians, too? The idea of the program is to win friends for this nation, and the cats who hit those hot licks have proved they can do just that.

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