

Let Them Not Die In Vain

At Tifton, Georgia and Wrightsville, Arkansas, last week, the nation got a first hand but gruesome picture of the awful price that is sometimes paid for being a Negro in certain sections of the South. At Tifton, nine Negro school children died in a 54-seat bus that was overloaded with 80 pupils. The children were drowned when the bus plunged into a pond after the driver had lost control because of a bumpy road. At Wrightsville, 21 teen-aged boys died in a locked dormitory of an industrial school that at the time had no adult attendant because the one and only person hired to supervise the 68 boys in the school had been hospitalized on account of illness.

We point our finger at the damnable system of segregation in the South and charge that the 30 Negro children of Tifton, Georgia and Wrightsville, Arkansas paid with their lives that the South might have the right to force Negroes to endure inferior schools, inferior and overloaded school buses, inferior streets and roads, inferior jobs, abandoned school buildings, that are out of date and menace to the health, lives and safety of Negroes, and other second hand facilities.

We know that if a school bus has to be overcrowded, it is the one carrying Negroes that is first overloaded; we know that if there are children to go without proper adult supervision and attendants that it is the Negro

children that are first called upon to make the sacrifice; we know that if there are dilapidated school buses with inferior brakes, it is most always the Negro children who get such buses; we know that if there are streets to go unpaved and sections of the city to go without ample fire and police protection, it is the Negro sections that will have to go lacking.

Here in North Carolina we have seen in the same town a segregated school system that provided a steam-heated building for whites and pot-bellied stoves for Negroes. We have seen the county board of education send truck loads of coal to the white school to be thrown into a furnace by a hired janitor or fireman. We have seen loads of green wood sent to the Negro school by that same board of education to be cut by students, carried into the building and placed into the pot-bellied stoves by them.

Because we have seen all this and more under the system of segregation we rededicate these columns anew to fight it until every child, irrespective of creed, race or color, shall have the right to equal opportunities and human dignity all over America.

If the nine Negro pupils in Tifton, Georgia and the 21 Negro boys in Wrightsville, Arkansas died that this nation might be aroused to the hellishness of segregation, they have not died in vain.

Congratulations for the N.C.C. Youth Council

We congratulate the members of the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at N. C. College for the forward step they have taken in attempting to arouse fellow students against patronizing segregated theaters. It has been somewhat distressing to progressive alumni and citizens of Durham to see students of North Carolina College humiliating themselves and their race by patronizing theaters that deny them equal accommodations.

There may be a few instances when it is expedient to accept a segregated necessity, but we think it is never expedient to accept a segregated luxury. For the most part, theater-going for the average Negro college student is a luxury so far as time away from his studies is concerned. For some, it may also be a financial luxury.

Members of the Youth Council at N. C. College have taken a stand that should be supported by their fellow students, the faculty and citizens of the community. It is our sincere hope that students at A & T, St. Augustine's, Bennett, Shaw, Johnson C. Smith, Livingstone, and Elizabeth City State Teachers College will fall in line with their efforts until students all over the state will refuse to submit to the indignities that go with segregation.

Added strength would be given the efforts if students in our public schools would fall in line and refuse to spend their money in segregated theaters. Certainly, if Negroes in Africa and the deep South are willing to risk their lives for freedom, we here in North Carolina ought to be willing to sacrifice segregated entertainment in theaters.

On the Right Track In Chapel Hill

Last week, at a meeting of the Chapel Hill Fellowship for Integration, Dean Henry L. Brandis Jr., a member of the Chapel Hill school board and dean of the University of North Carolina Law School implied that Negro schools in Chapel Hill were inferior to white schools. He quoted figures published last year which showed that seventy-five per cent of the children in white schools ranked in the top twenty-five per cent of the nation in ability and accomplishment. Said he: "the courses in the white schools are geared to this highly accelerated group. This is not true of the Negro schools."

This implication, that the white schools are superior to Negro schools, came when Miss Vivian Foushee, only Negro member of the panel, questioned Dean Brandis as to why he objected to having white pupils attend Negro schools.

If the implication of Dean Brandis is true—and it seems feasible—then we think this is more reason why Negro citizens of Chapel Hill should join the movement for integration. We do not believe that all Negro pupils would rank below the white pupils if they had been exposed to equal educational opportunities. To accept this philosophy is to surrender to the theory that one's intelligence is governed by his race or color. Most of those who are qualified to speak on this subject are in agreement that intelligence has nothing to do with skin color or any other anatomical attributes.

Said Dean Brandis further: "We have no application from white parents—either members or nonmembers of your organizations—to transfer their children to Negro schools. In your question . . . you ask why Negro parents have not made application. Presumably, you

are not in doubt as to why there have been none from white parents. From this I would assume that you would not favor board action resulting in the selection of a few white children—whether yours or not—to be assigned to Negro schools."

Certainly, we see no reason why white parents, however liberal, should choose to send their children to schools that are admittedly producing pupils below the rank of those produced in white schools. It appears to us that these parents are on the right track when they insist that all children of Chapel Hill, without regard to race or color, have a right through integration to attend the best schools which the Board of Education provides.

MORE IMPORTANT

"Our public schools are more important than our custom of separation of the races and the schools must be maintained even if the only way means desegregation. . . . We have repeated God's will that 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' without doing much to bring brotherhood about."

The Reverend Leon Smith
Pastor, Atlanta
Park Street Methodist Church
Quoted in Atlanta Constitution

OLD SOUTH SHRINKING

It (the South) is the last great economic frontier; it has the largest reservoir of unused labor and the largest undeveloped consumer's market. But all of this is promise unless the focal problem of race is met with integrity and principle. The old South which our demagogues, politicians, and courthouse boys remember with such nostalgia is shrinking. Once it was 16 states, then 13; now it is five hard-core resistance states. The future will pass us by, that is, the five hard-core resistance states."

The Reverend Edward Cahill,
Pastor, Atlanta United Liberal Church,
Quoted in Atlanta Daily World

NO DIFFERENCE

"There are no very significant mental differences between races and color is only the wrapping paper of your personality."

Dr. George Crane
Quoted in Miami Herald

Helping To Carve Up Our National Strength



WATCH ON THE POTOMAC

By ROBERT SPIVACK



The New Strategy Of Southern Congressmen

SOUTH'S NEW STRATEGY

Washington—There is no doubt that the collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia was a psychological damaging blow to die-hard Dixiecrats who refuse to recognize that the 20th Century is here.

Their forces are scattered, divided and they are unsure of the smart course to follow. They don't like their "leader," Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas. His studies at Communist-infiltrated Commonwealth College, while many years ago, still leave the veteran segregationists more than a little suspicious of him. Men such as Talmadge and Eastland regard him as a Johnny-come-lately to their ranks.

Despite the confusion in segregationist circles, the determination to fight school integration or enactment of any new civil rights legislation remains firm as ever. But now the segregationists, under the direction of their brainiest strategist, Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, are using a new resistance technique.

In many ways it's much smarter and much harder for the civil rights advocates to brush aside.

Essentially it's a plea for time. What's tricky about it is that the Dixiecrats don't explain time "for what." If they wanted ample time to adjust to the Supreme Court School decision, none of the civil rights leaders would stand in the way. But if it's simply time to devise more plans for

obstructing the high court's decision, then that's something entirely different.

The Russell plan is to appeal to as many Republicans in both houses of Congress as possible, in the belief they are not really too concerned about civil rights unless they happen to come from New York or the East.

The new Southern "line" was laid down by Congressman Richard H. Poff, a Virginia Republican, at the opening session of the current House Judiciary subcommittee hearings on civil rights. He was asking for time—and making it sound like a plea for mercy.

Mr. Poff States His Case

Congressman Poff's testimony before the civil rights hearings merit critical examination, because it was the reasoned expression of a Southern viewpoint and not the words of a blow-hard.

"I proceed from the premise that it is, or by right should be, the policy of the Congress to foster racial accord," he said. "Stated in the negative, Congress has, or should have, no purpose to incite racial discord."

He then went on to say that no man "willingly submits" to those who "gratuitously attempt" to impose upon him their own private notions of proper social behavior. . . . Then he closed his prefacing remarks with the observation that "neither this Congress nor any other legislative body can legislate tolerance."

Later he got down to his specific "remedy" for civil rights strife.

"If this premise and these corollaries be valid, then what good cause can be served by new legislation spewed into the anxious atmosphere the South must breathe? Can it change men's hearts? Can it counterfeit tolerance? Can it manufacture human harmony?"

To these rhetorical questions, Poff's answer obviously was "no." He proceeded to review the situation in Virginia. She "fought honorably" and finally yielded "reluctantly but gracefully and without violence."

In view of this experience, he asked, should there not be a "legislative moratorium" so the South can "bind up our wounds?" Finally Poff said: "In government as in private life, sometimes the best action is no action at all. . . . This problem, which is only much aggravated by much talk, does not require new legislation. . . . it requires on the part of the Federal government patience, forbearance and self-restraint. Never before has the Congress of the United States had such an opportunity to accomplish so much simply by doing nothing."

WADE MARR'S OPINION ON:

Outrage In Bessemer, Ala.

Editor's Note: Following is discussion by Wade Marr, newspaper columnist for the Fuquay Independent. Marr's discussion is devoted to the recent jailing and beating a Bessemer, Alabama Negro labor union leader.

A few weeks ago in Bessemer, industrial capital of Alabama, Asbury Howard was arrested without warrant, jailed without bond, charged the next day with violation of nothing more than a city ordinance controlling the use of literature dangerous to the public peace, convicted of a misdemeanor in magistrate's court, and, on notice of appeal, refused his freedom from jail as provided by law.

A similar series of legal steps, no matter how regrettable, can happen in any section of the United States except New England and such a series has happened what did follow in Bessemer's magistrate's court.

Howard was mobbed by a gang of whites, beaten to the floor, stomped and spit into near senselessness while some 15 oath bound officers of the law looked on in merciless benediction while mercifully withholding their own blackjacks from the body of a defenseless human.

A note on Howard's crime: he hired an artist to make a poster from a nationally distributed cartoon. The cartoon pictured a Negro, hands shackled and in the posture of prayer, asking God to show all men that all men share a common humanity. Howard was fined \$105 and sentenced to the roads for six months. The artist, white, was fined the same but, presumably, he did not receive an unsuspended sentence.

North Carolina may not be free of citizens whose impulses remain savagely in an Alabama jungle but in no court in North Carolina shall any human be mobbed or molested. Our Wake Court recently offered a striking example of standard procedure in our courts: Matt Bass, evil looking commissioner of the vilest of crime, was at all times held securely within a protective ring of bailiffs and deputies, not to restrain his escape but to risk their own lives against any violence that might explode as his acts unfolded telling of his purposeful stalking of a white woman alone in an office building, hurling himself brutally upon her person until the sanctity of her being was violated in terror, slashing her until he knew she could not live, and then fleeing, doubtless in a terror all his own.

We in North Carolina are disturbed with violence as we are disturbed by bomb hoaxes but this Alabama is a whole lot farther away than Korea is from the famous Haw River. Of more weight, Tar Heels have not yet reached general agreement on how to approach racial solutions but we are solidly united in the insistence that violence shall not be a part of our thinking let alone our acting. We share a sophistication that sees clearly that Alabama, as a Virginia Governor said there recently in another matter, hurts our own chance to that freedom from outside tyranny we deeply believe we need, and can responsibly use, in meeting our difficulties on terms helpful to the many sides to our basic problem.

Until you recall that high school students at Little Rock are still locked out and that no moves have been made in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and other areas even for token integration, Mr. Poff's argument seems quite persuasive.

Toward A Way: The First Step
Negroes and Whites who share in common the belief that these two extremes are had public relations do also share the attitude first required in common sense approach to needed adjustments.

The reason is of special significance: the white is not reacting as a human being to an inhuman situation and vision; the Negro is not preaching his doctrine of freedom from binding chains by judicial decree, he is responding as a human being to an inhuman situation and vision. Neither responds by racial identity; either must respond by his identity as the real situations of a real world are faced, but the hopeful fact may be that each has a capacity to respond in basic human terms. There lies the starting point; there, too, lies finally the end of a long and necessary mission.

Debates between rival ideologies is not the way of approaching mutual adjustments in matters of mutual concern. Labor and management, for instance, are often in flagrant conflict of interest and theology but, in most cases, each side, sometime, retreats from oratorical efforts to convert sinners and get on with the business at hand: deal with actual situations in search of the best possible adjustments at that time.

It is high time that North Carolina, proud as we are of our ability to do what some others are not yet doing, began using her ability mutually to bring about mutual adjustments in real situations.

SPIRITUAL INSIGHT

By REV. HAROLD ROLAND



The Righteous Will Always Find The Going Rough

"Herod laid violent hands on some who belonged to the Church. . . ."—Acts 12:1.

The righteous soul has a tough way to go in a world like this we live in. This has been the story of those who have chosen this path. Those who decide to do what is right have a tough row to hoe. The bible is full of the struggles of such souls. Right finds the going tough at times; but it must keep wearily on in its appointed way. This has been true since the day Abel made the choice of God's way. You remember his own blood brother in envy slew him.

Righteousness, however, goes marching triumphantly on in spite of the hindrances in its pathway. There is a blind, cruel Herod in every age who would persecute the righteous. The Herod's efforts are wasted in a vain utility to stay the cause off what is right. In the blindness and stupidity of evil they never learn their lessons. They reach out with falling hands of violence to stop the onrushing parade of the right. They strike their blows but the righteous go on under God's conquering banners.

God backs those who are persecuted for righteousness. The way of righteousness carries a Divine Guarantee. This great truth stands out in the life of Jesus. Jesus kept on in the way knowing that he had the backing of God's eternal power. Thanks be to God that we can count on him in this way. He promised to be with us. His word has never failed. . . . "The Lord knoweth the way of the Godly, but the way of the ungodly shall perish. . . ." Herod's feeble efforts failed to halt the onward march of God's Kingdom.

The unrighteous fight a losing battle. The efforts of evil may stall the cause of right for awhile but such efforts are doomed to failure. Many times the way looks dark for those who stand in the cause of the right. Thus, many crusaders are overwhelmed by a kind of hopeless despair. And, then mysteriously the light breaks through and the tide of battle is turned for the righteous. God in his power gives an Easter beyond a dark Calvary. Yes, the promised to be with us. His

Outrage The Second: A Reaction
The world of Newton begins with every force exciting an equal counter-force; Einstein reveals a world of such forces that this near balance, on which many of our institutions are based, loses importance. Forces run loose, crazy with threat of pell mell destruction.

The events climaxed in a Bessemer courtroom joined to the forces of reaction belong to an inhuman world of classing forces far beyond the reach of reason or the hope of humanity. Some such world as Einstein's might provide a basis of understanding, but that is not the world we can live in nor yet the world we actually contend in. This unreal world of mutually prohib-

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