

EDITORIALS

THE ITALIAN ELECTION

Democracy won a victory over totalitarianism in the Italian elections, a victory gratifying to all who still believe that democracy as a political system is essential to the future peace and progress of the world and the development of the fullest potentialities of all its people.

But winning an election is not enough. Democracy must continue to demonstrate, and must demonstrate more and more conclusively, that it is superior to Communism or any other form of totalitarianism in bringing to the people of the world the peace, prosperity, security and opportunity for the "pursuit of happiness" which Thomas Jefferson declared to be the unalienable right of all men.

Unless subsequent events in Italy and in the rest of the world which professes democracy and Christianity clearly prove that Italy's choice was a wise one, there is no assurance that the Italians will not switch later to dictatorship. Unless democracy can demonstrate in any country in which it theoretically prevails that it serves the people better than any other system available, there is no security against the invasion of some other system which appears to offer advantages to the discontented masses.

Democracy will not win out because of its high sounding tenets. It can win only to the extent that it actually works to convince the people that it offers at least the surest road to freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of conscience and freedom of expression.

WHO IS AN "OUTSIDER"?

We had a talk recently with an official of the North Carolina NAACP who has been investigating several cases involving the refusal of registrars to admit to registration obviously qualified Negroes presenting themselves for entry on registration books. We got a lot of first-hand information, not only about registrars and their practices, but about the attitudes of officials associated with elections, all the way from county election boards up to the Chief Executive of the state.

It seems that all, or nearly all, of these officials have been polite and urbane, but none of them want to do anything to bring about the enforcement of the letter and spirit of the Constitution of North Carolina, or even its statutes regarding the duty and responsibility of registrars. They all, whenever they can be found, imply that nothing can be done by any higher authority to require registrars to register Negroes who are qualified under the law.

One of the great difficulties experienced has been that of finding the persons supposedly having higher authority. They are out of town when the NAACP interviewers show up. They will not be back until Monday. Nothing could be done without a meeting of the entire election board, etc. In other words the letter and spirit of the law are being nullified by that old-fashioned and time-tested device known in vulgar parlance as the runaround. It begins with the registrar, who will not refuse to examine a Negro candidate for registration, but who cannot be "satisfied" as to the literacy of a person who has been a school principal under North Carolina's excellent school system for 20 years. And it goes right up to the State Board of Elections. It is a lovely system, and only prosecution of the registrars in Federal courts, since only the registrars seem responsible for enforcing the election laws, will break it up.

That action will be loudly decried as bringing in "outside interference," but it is the same old story. Nothing happens

at home, and the fellow who appeals to the U. S. courts is characterized a bad fellow for "stirring up trouble." When our governor, our senators and congressmen, our state judges and others speak of an "outsider" in regard to anyone trying to secure justice under the very laws of North Carolina itself, they do not mean always a northern white person; they may mean state officers of the N. A. A. C. P. who are not residents of a township where qualified colored voters are barred from voting with the same effectiveness, even though not by the identical tactics, used in Mississippi or Arkansas. One of them accused the NAACP of "stirring up all the trouble" about voting. It is not the registrars, mind you, who are responsible for the "trouble," it is the NAACP officials, who in the most orderly and peaceful manner possible, are trying to help put a stop to illegal practices used to keep qualified citizens from voting. And these NAACP people are North Carolinians.

When these same high-placed public officials say that there is no friction between the races in this state, when they proclaim that there is no dissatisfaction among Negroes with their role as citizens, when they say there is no "trouble," what they mean is that all is well if and when and because North Carolina's Negroes accept unquestioningly whatever brand of citizenship the local community deigns to admit them to. And if there is any demurrer at this acceptance what they want everybody to do is for God's sake to keep quiet about it, for fear the rest of the country will have some facts which show that not only has the millennium failed to arrive in Mississippi, but that it has got stalled in some of the red clay mines of North Carolina.

NOTHING SETTLED YET

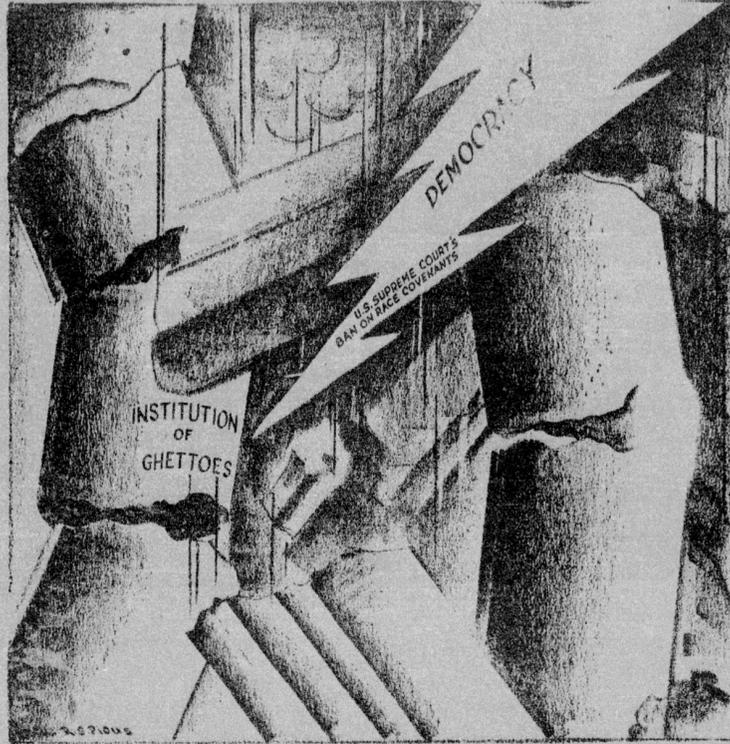
Superior Court Judge Grady non-suited the Rev. Mr. Pridgen's case against the Carolina Coach Company on the ground that the dispatcher who had Mr. Pridgen arrested was acting beyond his authority as a representative of his employer, and therefore the employer could not be held liable for damages. There was some question as to Judge Grady's conclusion, considering various circumstances, one of which of course is that the dispatcher was probably following the company's orders.

But the North Carolina Supreme Court upheld Judge Grady, and went him one better. The Superior Court judge did not rule on whether or not the attempt to force Mr. Pridgen to change his seat on the bus was in violation of the principle established by the United States Supreme Court in the celebrated Morgan case. Our North Carolina high court did go into that matter, however, and in effect reversed the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, or so it would appear to a humble layman unequipped to deal with the intricacies of legal reasoning.

As reported in the daily press, our State Supreme Court, in a case which almost exactly parallels the Morgan case, held that requiring a Negro to take a back seat in the bus because he is a Negro, represents no discrimination against a passenger in interstate commerce. This opinion would appear to give either state law, which at the most can apply only to intrastate passengers, or the rules of the carrier, or both, precedence over the interpretation of the Supreme Court of the United States in a case involving interstate commerce.

Another peculiarity in the North Carolina court's decision is that it held that Pridgen did not offend by committing "disorderly conduct," and that he should not have been taken to the City Hall and placed under bond. The question is, what should he have done, or what should have been done with him? Does the court mean that the bus dispatcher was wrong in having him arrested? Does it mean that Pridgen, as a fare-paying prospective passenger, had only two lawful choices — that of being assigned to a seat he regarded as undesirable when other seats were available at exactly the same fare, or else being forced to give up his seat?

It would seem that either Pridgen was right or else the bus company and dispatcher were right. Both sides could not be. The main points in the case have not been clarified by the North Carolina court's decision. Either the bus company has no right to require passengers paying equal fares to occupy seats by an arbitrary pattern based on color when the passengers are interstate passengers, or it has. On the basis of the Morgan case, the former is true, and neither state law nor the rules of the carrier can intervene. The CAROLINIAN hopes that there will be an immediate appeal from the North Carolina Supreme Court's decision so that the U. S. Supreme Court may make a decisive and unequivocal ruling.



"POWERFUL—WHEN IN USE!"



Second Thoughts

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

Governor Fielding B. Wright of Mississippi, in a radio broadcast involving Negro citizens of Mississippi to leave the state if they were not satisfied with the segregation practices of their home state and communities, was gracious enough also to assure them that he is their friend. He also assured them that should they elect to stay they would get "fair treatment" and "equal and exact justice" in the Mississippi courts.

Governor Wright's statement calls for a minimum of comment, and any which might be attempted in this column would likely be ill-fated. We do not like to be ill-fated, so our comment will be very brief. Yours is as good as ours, anyway.

But we cannot refrain from expressing some slight cynicism over the great statement's assurance of equal and just treatment in the Mississippi courts. We can explain it only by presuming that the statement is for the consumption of those who don't know Mississippi and the section in which it is located.

Equal and exact justice has never obtained in Mississippi or anywhere else in the Southland, in the courts or elsewhere, under the very system which Governor

Wright swears will be maintained in his state, in spite of anything the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, and presumably hell or high water, can do. Why should Brother Wright expect that now?

There is no reason to doubt that he believes that segregation should include barring Negroes from participation in the election of governors, judges, district attorneys, sheriffs, chiefs of police. It has so far. There is no ground for thinking that what Governor Wright thinks of as segregation does not include exclusion of Negro citizens from jury service; if these assumptions are true, and they evidently are, there will be no exact justice in Mississippi's courts for Negroes. There can be only a remote approach to justice at all, much less the exact variety, in a sovereign state the chief executive of which makes a radio broadcast to inform half of its alleged citizens that they must seek it elsewhere and does so, according to his own interpretation, kindly but firmly.

"Let me discharge my duty to your race I always shall go to the limit in meeting my personal and

official obligations according to the dictates of my own conscience," the newspapers quote Governor Wright as saying. We hate to appear mean, but in the light of other statements and acts of Gov. Wright, we don't entirely trust his conscience, and we doubt that Negro Mississippians do either.

He doesn't want a civil rights program "forced on" the South. "There is no need to undertake to drive me," he said.

Mr. Wright asks only to be left alone with his conscience. He and the South must have the exclusive privilege of deciding what rights a citizen has the right to have, and then of conferring them at their own will and at their own good time. Anyone who suggests any variation from this program is interfering, and just for that, Governor Wright says, he won't play.

The tragedy is that the white South, however it may differ in details of program, with Mississippi and her governor, generally agrees to the principle that the South has the exclusive privilege of deciding what civil and political rights non-whites are to have. That is, if the non-whites insist on remaining in the South, the South's Rights.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

By Rev. M. W. Williams

Subject: The Temple. In The Nations' Life. — Ezra 3:10-13, Ps. 84: 1, 2. Ezekiel 11:17, 37:26-28. Key Verse: O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the Lord our Maker. — Psalm 95:6.

Our lesson today brought with it implicit suggestions, inspiration and information on how our presentistic world with its problems may turn to God and live, the key verse in the lesson which the church, where God meets His people may pay and learn of Him. There is no doubt about His love for man (our business). It has shown that love down through the ages by His never changing purpose to dwell in their midst. The tent in the wilderness, the ark of the covenant, the sanctuary at Shiloh, the sacred house during the period of the Judges and the Jerusalem Temple built 1,000 B. C. and watched 586 B. C. are mute but convincing proof of God's determined purpose to dwell among His chosen people, despite the wayward and sinful ways.

THE SECOND TEMPLE
The post exile period of the Jewish nation is less a history, exclusively in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Certainly to about 430 B. C. Zerubbabel, under Cyrus, King of Persia, led the

captive Jews back to Jerusalem for the purpose of rebuilding the temple. (Ezra 4:28) It is significant to note that their first work upon their arrival was to set up an altar for burnt offerings. As we read Ezra 3:10-13 and note the astounding joy which followed the laying of the foundation, both by the old and young shouting and praising God, only mental picture of what these children had suffered during those long seventy years of captivity can give us a sense of appreciation of their deep feeling of gratitude. God had heard their cries, their house of worship, even though dimly, were spiritual blessings may once more flow like a river into their yearning hearts as seen by faith in the distant future.

In Ezra 3:17 we find opposition by the enemies of God sufficiently strong to delay the work for more than 15 years. However, we find Haggai, Zechariah and Darius God's friends, who strove the people and even the adversaries to complete the temple. "And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the King (Ezra 6:15).

DOES THE CHURCH MEET OUR NEEDS?

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Registration Fights

early Wednesday to make a more detailed study of the situation. When asked to name the counties in which such violations had been reported, Mr. Springs listed Brunswick, Nash, Catawba, Bladen, Craven, Camden, Pamlico, Henderson, Robeson and Transylvania.

In some of these counties, he indicated, "token" registration of Negroes has taken place since the original complaints were made, but that the NAACP Board feels in accord with the State Board of Elections and Governor Terry that all qualified persons should be permitted to register.

FLAGRANT CASE

Of the scores of individual cases reported during the recent registration period, the NAACP officials cited that of a registrar at Oriental in Pamlico County as being one of the most flagrant.

According to an affidavit signed by a group of 20 would be registrars, Registrar Carraway of Oriental told them:

"On August 2, 1948 people went to the ballot box and voted to disfranchise Negroes. Since then, some lawyers for reasons of personal gain have made other laws that allow Negroes to vote, but the law of 1901 has never been taken off the books."

"Until that law is taken off the books, I cannot register you. If

Whatever we may say about the Church, one thing is certain it is God's institution. We are men made for inspiration and soul satisfaction. How amicable are the tabernacles, O Lord of hosts; My soul longeth year even faintly for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh cry out for the living God." — Ps. 84: 1, 2.

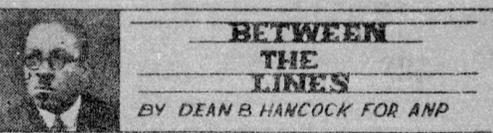
We need the Church as much today as the children of Israel needed the temple in Ezekiel's day. Secularization is making inroads in our national and local life too fast for our national good. Our church attendance is below par in regularity, Midweek prayer service is waning; not enough emphasis is put on the place of God's law in the life of young people. There is a Christian fellowship which comes with a closer fellowship with God. We might improve on our worship service too in meeting our needs. Too many of our songs are taking the pattern of the jazz instead of the simple music of spiritual hymns which appeal to the inner longings of the soul. Yes, God's Church is the symbol of His presence to help us in our need, in every walk of life. He and to finally lead us into His presence. Do you love your Church? Do you go and fall down in heart before your Maker?

On someone examined my book. I would get in trouble, I personally have nothing against you and I do not want your ill-will, but I cannot go around the law."

While declining to state how many cases might be filed, Mr. Springs said that in view of the failure of state and county election officers to order all registrars to register all qualified person no course had been left other than the filing of court action against each registrar concerned.

BISHOP MATTHEWS

have the tip off when he attempted to file charges after the Bishop.



BETWEEN THE LINES

BY DEAN B. HANCOCK FOR ANP

PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGES AT THE CROSS-ROADS

It is fervently to be hoped that the presidents of the participating colleges of the United Negro College fund were not high-pressured by the higher-ups as has been recently alleged. It is further hoped that our educators did not take to cover as has been intimated.

Even the casual student of interracial affairs knows how easily Negroes who try to cooperate with whites are suspected and this is that drives a large sector of Negro thought to minimize and disparage all interracial efforts. These Negroes cast suspicion upon all interracial efforts except their own. It becomes all the more understandable that certain moral stamina and convictions are necessary when dealing with a matter as vital as that of the establishment of regional schools for Negroes of graduate aspirations.

Even more regrettable than an attempt to high-pressure the Negro college presidents would be their failure to "come clean" on the matter. If a regional graduate school is established for Negroes in spite of their opposition, nobody will blame the Negroes just as no intelligent person blames southern Negroes from living in a segregated economy. When segregation is forced upon one against one's will and efforts it is no disgrace to those who are its victims.

Segregation becomes a reproach to Negroes only when they accept it without protest and resentment, either inner or outer. From the very beginning of the regional school talk this column has strenuously objected to the plan and its implications. But there are times when an educator must have convictions and act upon those and that such times may coincide with another United Negro College fund drive need not make much difference.

Some years ago efforts were made to launch among white friends a financial campaign, in Richmond, during the presidency of Dr. William John Clark. The organization had been perfected and workers had been assigned their several duties and the kick-off was impending, when of a sudden we are reliably informed, one of the workers arose in the meeting and interrogated President Clark thus: "Dr. Clark, do you believe in segregation?" Whereupon President Clark replied sharply in the negative. He was on the spot, where he might have talked a bit without saying anything, until he got himself together. But he spoke what was upon his heart and would not back down.

The campaign did not materialize, but through the years I have admired the man and his courage. Virginia Union missed some money but it gained what is even more important, a certain self respect. After the aforementioned incident, President Clark's financial way was hard and so was Virginia Union's but its head is still above the water. Better a thousand times not to have a United College fund than to have it at the expense of a race's pride and manhood.

Before me lies a statement made by the representatives of the land-grant colleges before the senate committee. They met the issue squarely and left no doubts in the mind of the committee where they stood on the regional school plan. If the land-grant college presidents who must serve at the will of southern whites can speak up there is no reason why the presidents of the private college cannot take their stand come what may. The regional school may be forced upon the Negroes, but it certainly will not be the fault of the presidents of the land-grant colleges.

This whole matter of accepting or declining the regional set up brings into sharp focus the question of how much will Negroes invest in their opposition to segregation. Perhaps, after all, if we supported more adequately our private colleges out of our own funds, our college presidents would have less reason to quail before the challenge such as was allegedly thrown to them recently in New York. Booker T. Washington saw clearly 50 years ago that "back talk" without something to back it up amounts to little more than sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

The Negro private college is at the cross-roads and if we are in dead earnest about relief from segregation and the burdens thereof, we must make up our minds to pay our way. The "Richard-Alleization" of this race is imperative! Let's go all out in support of the United Negro College fund campaign.

finished reading his report, but the presiding officer related to permit the filing of the charges.

The preachers and laymen exclaimed after the reading of the offending officer: "we are going to file these charges if we have to stay here until the middle of next May," and at the next session he succeeded in getting the charges filed.

MET TRIAL
The law of the Church prohibits a bishop from presiding or taking part in the activities of the General Conference, while he is under charges. In an effort to expedite the trial, the bishop informed the General Conference that he was ready and would meet the committee upon proper notification.

Attorney Charles C. Houston, Washington, D. C. they have a defamed the prelate, but due to the fact that he is not a member of the A.M.E. Zion Church he could only advise the Bishop to the best possible offense.

The committee, composed of Elders, was selected and both sides sounded off for the battle. Attorney S. A. Burnley, representing the Bishop, and Lawyer-Minister C. E. Eubanks Tucker, representing the trial lasted for almost two days and the Bishop was forced to defend himself on two counts. He was charged with falsifications of age thereby deceiving the 1944 General Conference and marrying a woman whose marital status did not comply with Church policy.

The committee took the floor, Wednesday morning to make its report. Bishop Matthews, asked for a point of "personal privilege" but was denied the floor because of pending charges. The committee reported that they had found him guilty on both counts and turned him over to the Conference for sentence. It was at this time the presiding officer, recognizing the Bishop and after a passionate plea, asked the convention to permit him to retire with all the rights and immunities of a retired bishop.

The Conference was not that lenient with him, however, and he is now a Bishop without portfolio. He was retired upon half salary but cannot act or perform or preside at any time as a bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church.

BISHOPS NAMED
Dr. Raymond L. Jones, Pastor of Broadway Temple, A.M.E. Zion Church and host to the 33rd Quadrennial Session of the General American Conference was elected Saturday morning as the new president of the conference. An airline window designed to help plane navigators see the stars in flight has been completed by an American manufacturer to flying safely.

The speaker was introduced by President Robert P. Daniel of Shaw University. Other speakers were Dean W. R. Swanson, representing Phi Lambda Chapter, Walker B. L. Flowers, General Chapter of St. Augustine's, and Jonathan G. Brown, Beta Rho chapter of Snow. Music was furnished by the University Choir, directed by Harry Gil-Smythe, and included a vocal solo by Yarborough Williams.

Following the service Attorney Lawson was entertained by members of the fraternity at a get-together held in Chesnut Building at St. Augustine's College. General President Lawson spoke informally to members at this time covering a wide range of fraternal matters.

George F. Newell, served as master of ceremonies. Presented in greetings were James Walker, president of Beta Rho, Walter Armstrong, president of Phi Lambda chapter. Remarks were made by President R. P. Daniel of Shaw and President H. L. King of St. Augustine's. A solo was offered by Quentin Miller with Theodora C. Mayo at the piano. Refreshments were arranged and served in the direction of Peter Taylor of Beta Rho Chapter.