

EDITORIALS

LET THE SOUTH PROVE IT

One of the South's and the nation's most distinguished journalists, Virginius Dabney, of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, in a lecture at Yale University recently, expressed an opinion that the South could solve its own inter-racial problems satisfactorily. That is, he said, according to AP, "if it isn't pushed too hard by well-intentioned persons or professional agitators from the North." Mr. Dabney went on to say, "If the North insists on complete abolition of segregation overnight, it is only stating the obvious that the South is far from ready to accept such a step."

Mr. Dabney's language is much more urban and restrained than that of many others who have expressed essentially the same views, and that is all to the good. One must also concede, if facts are to be faced, that ultimately the South must be the preponderant and deciding factor in the solution of the southern inter-racial problem. It could not be otherwise. Nonetheless there are obviously sources from which the South can and will receive assistance in solving the problem. For instance, the Richmond editor himself said in the course of his Yale address: "Candor compels the admission that many of the advances made by the Negro in the South have been due to court action." And among the gains he listed the large increase in Negro voters and "the entry of more than 1,000 Negroes into formerly all-white universities without untoward incident."

Other gains mentioned by Mr. Dabney, such as the reduction of lynchings "almost to the vanishing point," the employment of Negro police officers in 80-odd southern cities, and the more enlightened attitude of the press, are largely home-grown. But the opening of the universities and the extension of the ballot, to the extent that each has been accomplished, have been due almost entirely to Federal court decisions. One wonders how long it would have taken the South to solve these problems with any degree of justice to the Negro, without "aid."

The South can solve its problems "satisfactorily," but satisfactorily to whom? For many years it has insisted on being left alone, to proceed on an if-and-when basis, with the white South making all the decisions and the Negro in the position of a mendicant or a ward; with the Constitutional guarantees of his American and state citizenship nullified when and where it pleased the white South so to do.

Of course the South can solve its own problem. All that is necessary is to accept the principles set forth in the U. S. Constitution; to recognize that all discrimination as to the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens because of color is not only immoral but contrary to the express law of the land.

What has happened in the past decade or so is that some real pressure has been brought to bear to enforce compliance with the law of the land. It has also happened, as Mr. Dabney points out, that this compliance has been accomplished with smoothness and without untoward results. As this fact is more and more realized it may not be too much to expect that the South will more and more take the initiative in bringing about the needed reforms.

There are evidences that southern people are beginning to think along those lines. The voluntary compliance of Kentucky with the spirit of the Supreme Court decisions regarding graduate and professional education; the repeal of the poll tax requirements for the suffrage by the legislature and the people of South Carolina; the introduc-

tion of a bill in the South Carolina legislature which would broaden the definition of lynching and increase the severity of punishment for mob members; the anti-klan law passed by the legislature of Georgia; the repeal of the obsolete travel segregation law by the Maryland legislature—all are hopeful signs.

NOT POSITIVE

Nobody seems sure of the practical significance of the University of North Carolina's recent statement on admission policy. In the first place the action taken so far is not final, and will not be in effect unless and approved by the board of trustees as a whole. In the second place the statement as it stands is vague and equivocal. But granting favorable action by the full board of trustees (which is not by any means assured), at least it is possible that the door has been opened sufficiently to give Negroes the privilege of applying for admission to schools of the Greater University which have no counterpart in the state institutions for Negroes. That in itself is a gain. If the full board ratifies the resolution.

IT HAPPENED IN GEORGIA

It seems that they were investigating the State Welfare Department of Georgia not long ago; "they" being a legislative committee.

Some of the committees of Congress have turned up some pretty bad looking stuff recently; but the Kefauver committee's exposes are nothing as compared to what this Georgia legislature's committee turned up. They found a Communist! The person who turned out to be a Communist is Miss Loretta Chappell, head of the Child Welfare Division of the state department. Or so it was charged by Representative Bush Mills, the committee chairman.

"The questioning was going along smoothly when Mims suddenly asked Miss Chappell, 'Are you a Communist?'"

"Miss Chappell snapped, 'No.'"

The chairman then inquired as to whether or not the lady was a fellow traveler. Again the reply was, "No."

"You're Red from the top of your head to the sole of your feet," the chairman told the lady.

It develops that the basis for the accusation had to do with (1) the fact that a book entitled "New Russian Primer," published in 1931 and some other books viewed with suspicion by the head of the Georgia welfare department and the legislators, had been found in the library of Miss Chappell's division, and that (2) poor Miss Chappell had once signed a petition in favor of FEPC.

Now the New Russian Primer, which is a discussion and exposition of the Russian Five-Year plans of twenty or more years ago, was doubtless in many hundreds of American public libraries, and many more private ones. It is as obsolete as the dodo. But along with it in the library of Miss Chappell's division were some other books. E. B. Reuter's old "The American Race Problem," Arthur Raper's "Preface to Peasantry," and "Class and Caste in a Southern Town," by John Dollard. All American books by earnest American citizens, but all dealing with aspects of the race problem.

There is hardly any doubt that every one of them can be found in the library of every college in Georgia, except the one by Reuter, which may have been discarded outdated in fact and outlook.

Well, maybe they could have let the matter of the American race books pass. But she was also an advocate of FEPC! It ought to be obvious that anyone who both possessed a book about Russia AND had signed an FEPC petition was Red from tip to toe, as the chairman said. Ask Congressman Rankin.

The lady said on the stand that she wouldn't sign the petition if she had to do it over again, without "further study." We don't know what happened to her, but we're very much afraid that that won't get her off. Her boss in the welfare department said he had been trying to fire her for some time, and when asked if that FEPC signature had anything to do with it replied: "I don't like that either. I am opposed to FEPC and everything connected with it."

Moral: It is not always to one's advantage to be able to read and write.



"The Way The Governor Of Georgia Would Have It...?"

C.D. Halliburton's
SECOND THOUGHTS

In the concluding chapter of his book, "The More Perfect Union," in which Professor R. M. MacIver proposes a program for the control of inter-group discrimination in the United States," he sets forth certain fundamental principles of strategy to be applied in the fight against discrimination. Two of these principles have been discussed briefly in recent issues of this column. Another of these principles, and one of which is of particular significance now is stated thus by Dr. MacIver:

"It is the primary business of strategy to expose and attack the weaker points in the position of the discriminatory forces, the line of least resistance."

In my humble opinion this very important and common-sense principle was by passed or ignored when a suit was brought in South Carolina ostensibly aimed at getting a decision in Federal court outlawing segregation in the public elementary schools of the South.

As has been said here and elsewhere, it is not highly probable that those who planned and brought that suit are really aiming at the abolition of segregation on the elementary school level at this time. Of course it is a legitimate goal which will some day be achieved. It has on its side many sound points, including the very recent one of non-compliance.

But why start at the toughest end of the segregation-education front, and in South Carolina, too, one of the divided-line number of southern states which has so far not had a Negro to any state-operated graduate or professional school?

On this basis of other abstract reasoning, or the experience of the past five years in other states it is clear that on the graduate and professional level are to be found the "lines of least resistance."

Says Dr. MacIver, and I believe he clearly has common sense on his side:

"The mores are always imperceptibly changing. Good strategy will seek to discern and to take advantage of the trends of change. Good strategy will at the same time endeavor so to frame its policies that they will not, then or later, arouse latent antagonisms or increase actual ones so as to endanger the objective it seeks. For this reason, and all others, when the mores are strongly resistant to them, are often dangerous."

It is worth that Governor Byrnes in his now famous address to the white teachers of South Carolina had not been allowed to align himself with the cause of the issue of admission of Negroes to graduate and professional schools, an eventuality which he probably viewed with distaste, but to which he could probably have resigned himself when push came to shove. Whatever you think about it in the abstract, it is a concrete fact that resistance to even the threat of abolition of segregation all down the line at one fell swoop in the Deep South at this time is something that is inevitable. Strong resistance, too, from many sources, and evolving possibly a variety of strong counter-measures.

We believe a strategical error has been made, one which may well result not only in defeat, in the courts or elsewhere, but which may slow down the march toward the more easily attainable objective of opening the graduate and professional schools, and the ultimate goal of the disappearance of the dual system.

SENTENCE SERMON

DO YOU KNOW WHAT YOU ARE?

1. A positive answer to this question if God you love and fear, is also a definite challenge to Satan that he better not dare to come near.

2. But he just will not take "NO" for an answer and will defy the most alert, even to employing expert services to keep watch and a double check.

3. All he wants is a bit of attention long enough to view his slight-of-hand tricks, then with magic touch and witchcraft leave his victims in a terrible fix.

4. He even caught David off balance one day and caused him to be God and man unmercifully to betray.

5. He made Ananias and Sapphira make a \$64 question then floored both of them to the mat so a twin funeral could be set.

6. The brothers of Joseph he led to do a most inhuman trick: cut up and all of his God-blessing brothers could not little Joseph, out of his neck.

7. The Hebrew children knew themselves, so that even fire, their clothes could not burn, and they defeated old deceitful Satan at every creek and turn.

8. What a difference between Judas who betrayed Christ for 30 pieces of silver, and Daniel who, with faith in God, even subdued lions with a peculiar stip.

9. It is all in knowing one's self in the midst of heavy trial, to be assured that your strength is sufficient not to yield to Satan's bewitching.

10. A lion's den and a fiery furnace, over against wealth and sweet repose is not the route chosen by the majority. Satan boasts — or he well knows.

11. But he also knows that Christ has some followers who before his shrine will not bow, being well versed in his chicanery, and equally trained in Heaven's "Know-How."

12. Yes, these are the people who really know themselves and boldly stand up in any test, who have the courage of their convictions, the kind which Heaven delights to invest.

E. C. Lawrence's MY OPINION

PREJUDICE
Webster defines the term prejudice as a bias of the mind by holding unfair opinions; let us say by encouraging unfair attitudes towards ideas, things or persons.

The writer appreciates the risk in attempting to discuss the subject of public opinion, that is, a subject which though constantly aired both orally, and in print, is always liable to arouse suspicion, resentment and hate. And by the way, this is no apology for this attempt.

Prejudice takes its highest form and reaches its highest tension when the question of class, race, or nationality is under consideration. It becomes doubly offensive and sometimes nasty, when the question of color is involved. Both education and religion have helped to tone-down the rampant spirit and attitude which becomes manifest on the part of some persons, at the mere mention of the term, race-relationships.

In America, and perhaps to a less degree in some other countries, the fact of color has greatly exaggerated the over-biased symptom of race prejudice. It is obvious, that there is neither virtue nor vice in color as such in the vegetable kingdom—we find a wide variety of colors, and we pronounce them all beautiful. The same is true in the lower animal kingdom. There the average person would prefer a sleek black horse to an iron gray, or creamy white. But in either case, it is simply a matter of personal fancy or choice. We live in a day of prodigious mechanical production. In this field, automobiles are well to the front in value. Certainly here, one of the standard colors is black, and no one would ever think of expressing prejudice against an automobile because its color was black. Here again, color is only incidental and a matter of personal preference.

Why should the same people put a different and adverse count into the fact of color when it comes to individuals, or races? It was said of Abraham Lincoln, that while in a casual conversation one day, he remarked, "God certainly must have loved poor people, because he

made so many of them." The same could be said of God with reference to the color of races; he certainly made many more of different hues of color than he made of the white. And but for the fact that race and color prejudice is present the world over, more rampant and nauseating in some countries than in others, one might easily dismiss the whole issue of race and color by a single vow. But obviously, society does not rid itself of long ingrained social attitudes by the simple pronouncement of a noble theory.

Race prejudice becomes a convenient tool with which one may outdo other and more desirable qualities are lacking, brush aside all competition and opposition, and drive head-on into public office. This is one of the regrettable facts which keeps American democracy in a state of change before the races, and nations of the world. I make use of the term race in this discussion in its popularly accepted sense, knowing full well that there is but one race, the human race.

Race prejudice will never die as long as there are unjust laws, vicious customs, and unscrupulous politicians. Legal segregation is definitely contradictory to the concept democracy, not to speak of ethical and moral laws. It makes possible and convenient, some of the most vicious and inhuman practices to be found anywhere in the world. It subjects the whole of the recognized minority group in America, to the whims of the least scrupulous members of the majority white group. And one need never imagine that the number of whites who take advantage of the social position given to them both by law and custom, is small.

And but for the fact that in this heterogeneous mixture of class, race and nationality, there are in each, liberal-minded, cool headed and honest-hearted individuals, hell could easily break loose tomorrow, as it now rages in other parts of the world. We are counting heavily on education and religion (not politics) to save our present world order. If these fail us, as at times it almost seems that they will, our modern world order is doomed.

Between the Lines

BY GORDON HANCOCK for ANP

SQUABBLING A BAPTIST'S SYMPTOM

Squabbling has its possibilities and its limitations. Squabbling with the common foe is essential, but squabbling with our comrades may prove fatal. This writer has taken serious account of squabbling on the athletic fields through many years.

There is no surer sign of weakness, than when a team begins to squabble among itself. When a team goes to pieces in the face of an opposing attack, it is usually indicated by squabbling of teams among themselves. Squabbling may be ominous on the athletic field but is more ominous in the arena of life, where issues must be fought to a conclusion.

The Republican party has been on the outside looking in for so many years because in the critical stages of the political campaign, squabbling sets in and that usually portends their political downfall.

Today the Democrats are beginning to squabble among themselves and this should bring glad tidings to the hearts of the faithful Republicans. When an opponent becomes rattled and squabblesome well might we take hope and press the issues.

This article is inspired by noting in the current news that there had been a shake-up in the AME bishops indicated in their administrative dispositions. Somebody or other my heart has always been with the AME Negroes, because of the integrity of Richard Allenism which it espouses. As a Baptist and the son of a Baptist and to the Baptist manner born, this writer has outgrown the AME as he has no other religious sect and this includes the Baptists.

This is no sign of lack of faith in the Baptist cause, but because of an overmastering pride

and originators, never did a more effective job.

Here is some good news from Jeanetta Welch Brown. She will not leave her post as executive secretary of the National Council of Negro Women soon.

The all time high in political delusion, trying to "sell" the administration on matters pertaining to Negro patronage (despite, that is, without clearing with Cong. William L. Dawson.

Tennis star Althea Gibson may turn out to be one of the best in spreading the feeling of brotherhood around. She is an extremely versatile young lady in the art of eliciting goodwill.

Soul-searching, joined the NAACP and Urban League yet?

WASHINGTON SQUIBS

By PETER MOFFETT

WASHINGTON (ANP) — Negroes in the administration no longer are hiding their displeasure at the failure of the White House to appoint representatives in the top echelon of Civilian Defense and Offense of Defense Mobilization. Some politicians are sore, and are openly saying so.

The style show to be staged by NAEP (National Association of Fashion and Accessory Designers, Inc.) in the plush Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York is being touted as one of the best. Top fashion snobs will attend to view the originals.

Visitors already are pouring into New York from all over the country for this glamor special. Freddie Henderson and the girls are working hard to make this tick.

Four of the nation's prettiest little look-alikes are the Fultz quadruplets of North Carolina.

Folks are still talking about that career conference at Tennessee State college. The National Urban League, co-sponsors

IN THIS OUR DAY

A WOMAN'S WORLD

Some several weeks ago, I attempted to point out, in this column that, due to a series of world wars constantly interrupting the college education of our young men, to say nothing of the number who lose their lives or are made invalids for life, the leadership of the world may fall into the hands of women. Since writing that article, I happened to read a book, the title of which is "How To Lay a Nest Egg" by Edgar Scott. As I was reading through the fascinating book, the thought came to me that already the financial leadership of the United States has about fallen into the hands of women.

The author of the book points out that 70 percent of this nation's private wealth is owned by women. They own half the shares of American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, and the Santa Fe Railroad and nearly half the Pennsylvania Railroad. U. S. Steel, and General Motors. Moreover, he points out that women control 47 percent of all the stock of our railroads and 40 percent of all public utility issues. Of all the stockholders in the United States 43 percent are women. They hold the title to 40 percent of the nation's homes, and to 75 percent of all suburban deeds (either singly or jointly) and they are beneficiaries of 80 percent of the 174 billion dollars of life

THE CAROLINIAN
Published by The Carolinian Publishing Co.
118 East Harrett St., Raleigh, N. C.
Entered as second class matter, April 6, 1940, at the Post Office at Raleigh, N. C., under the Act of March, '379.

P. R. JERVAY, Publisher
Subscription Rates
One Year, \$3.50; Six Months, \$2.00
Address all communications and make all checks payable to The Carolinian rather than to individuals. The Carolinian expressly repudiates responsibility for return of unsolicited pictures, manuscript, etc., unless stamps are sent.