DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

EDITORIALS

THE WHOLE PICTURE

In an editorial some weeks ago the News and Observer quoted and commented upon a statement made by C. C. Spaulding in his address at the Washlington High School commencement ex-

"We are making progress. The State of North Carolina spends more on Negro education than it spent on all of its schools, both white and Negro, thirtyfive years ago."

The editorialist went on, very sensibly, say, and incidentally to pay a real and rare type of tribute to Mr. Spaulding

"As a very successful Negro Carolina and one of the most successful business men of his race anywhere. Mr. Spualding has no felling that his race has teached any point where discrimination in schools and other matters does not exist. There is nothing subservient in his nature. He can, however, see the clear facts of advancing fairness in all racial dealings in North Carolina. He believes it is important that his people reognize the fact of the advance which benefits

In all this we believe that the News and Observer is right. It is important to recognize the progress that has been and is being made-progress that in retrospect is often little short of amazing. It is important for the morale and spiritual health of our people, and for the a voidance of undue pessimism and feell ings of fustration, that we be always a ware o the gains that haev been made The sortcomings are all too obvious and omnipresent.

Men like Dr. Spaulding and the late Dr. Shepard have owed their popularity, which is based on genuine respect, partly to their ability to see and interpret the whole picture, neatly balancing the ' emphasis on the brighter and darker phases of that picture, and always finding more reason to hope than despair from what they see and interpret.

The CAROLINAN has consistently y searched for the good an race relationships in North Carolina and all over, always happy to find and publicize in both its news and editorial columns the good.the hopeful' the commendable in our white neighbors and on the interracial scene. We believe that whatever is inspiring and productive of a sound sense of gratification and eptimism should be publicized at least as much as those things which are bound to produce indignation, discouragement, self-pity and a sense of frustration.

The CAROLINIAN comments on the good in order to inspire and encourage It omments on bad only to further and promote the elimination of the bad, by calling attention to it so that a sane and sensible program for attacking it may be formulatd; so that those who can do something about it may be aroused to action. Every word is weighed with always to avoid feaming at the mouth or those ends in veiw, and the purpose is stirring feelings which could only promote hate, despair or frustration.

The News and Observer editorial goes on to say, . Too much is heard from the · very impatient in all racial matters." To

THE CAROLINIAN

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this we say only that criticism of impatience does not come with good grace from those who already have what others whom they call impatient are striving for. The counsel of patience, if it is to be given-and it sometimes needed-comes properly only from inside the group which is being deprived of what who has, to advise patience for the man is justly due It is too easy for the man who has not, and it is relatively wasted counsel. Let the white man of good will urge upon his fellows to move faster toward justice. Let the counsel of pat ience, when needed by Negroes, come from Negroes.

McCARTHY OUTDOES HIMSELF

Senator McCarthy, who has already establised a sinularly unsavory reputation for mudslinging and smearing, may have reached the height of his performance in these respects when in a long speech on the Senate floor he accused not only Dean Acheson but Secretary Marshall of disloyalty to the United States. His accusations if true would make these two patriots practically traitors to their own country.

The absurdity of such irresponsible charges is so obvious that they connot harm the two men at whom they were aimed. If anything their position has been strenghtened by these latest fulminations of McCarthy.

Long before he finished his speech he was almost alone in the Senate chamber, which shows how his senatorial colleagues felt about him and what he was saying. There was a time when the Republican leadership was egging Senaade against the State Department and tor McCarthy on and supporting his tirother agencis as being politically good for the Republican arty. Well, they got him started and helled him along, openly or behind the scenes. Now they can't hut him up. He has become a liability to the party. No one wil now give any heed to a man whose statements are so wild as to make it painfully evident that there is no self-imposed limit to what he wil say about any member of the Demoratic administration. He was overreached himself to the point where his sayings are either openly or secretly deployed by all sensible people, and only te most confirmed crakpots will lend an ear to him.

NO DIME UNIVERSITY POSSIBLE

Dr. Alfonso Elder, president of North Carolina College at Durham, did himself proud in resenting an unequival ase a gainst the proposal that N. C. College at Durham attempt to offer work leading to the Ph. D. degree. Both be and the members of the board of trustee of North Carolina College who supported him should be congratulated for their forthright scotching of the desperate scheme to keep qualified Negroes out of the University of North Carolina by setting up what would have been a farcical situation in Durham

By pointing out that it would take two milion dollars to bring North Carolina Colege up to the level it should be for undergraduate work and the graduate work it is now offering, Dr. Eider exposed most effectively the absurdity of tring to add the highest graduate degree to the offerings of the college.

It is time for the University authorstop kicking against the pricks; to stop ities and the State of North Carolina to trying to fool themseives They are not by the remotest hance fooling anybody else. The sooner they accept what is right, just and inevitable, the sooner they will get the problem solved in the hope that with less than a quater of a only way that is left open-

There is something pathetic in their million dollars they could mae a Ph. D. granting institution out of one which needs \$2 millinn more to do properly what it is supose to be doing already. Dr. Shepard told them years ago that segregation homes high They ougt to be finding out by now that it comes very high---so high that it is out of the question on certain levels and for certo types of education. It is bad that it is tain taking so long and costing so much

JUIN 4, 1776 When a long train of abuses and usurpations evidence à desión to reduce people under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw of W such Government Guards for their future Security

CD: Halliburtons SECOND THOUGHTS

Robert S. Allen, the wellknown Washington syndicated correspondent who used to be a partner of Drew Pearson in producing Washington Merry-Go-Round," has recently given in his column what may be an interesting sidelight on President Truman's present attiude on civil rights legislation. This legislation has definitely been in abeyance since the beginning of the Korean War, but so have most of the President's "Fair For instance, quite recently the president of the American Medi cal Association told the membership of that body in effect that it might relax a little in its anxiety concerning compulsory health insurance or "socialized medicine." since legislation on that subject has little chance for a while

But back to the subject. Mr Allen was telling about conferences President Truman has had tately-eight of them-with congresional leaders of his party, in an attempt to bring about unity within the Democratic family. In these conferences, says Allen. "President Truman is giving no ground on either the civil rights program or Secretary of State Dean Acheson." Concerning the former, Mr. Allen reports:

"The civil rights issue was raised (in one of the conferences) by Senator Richcard Russel, chairman of the Sen ate Armed Services committiee and the MacArthur in. vestigation. Rated one of the ablest men in Congress, Rus sell sounded out the President on the dynamic-loaded issue "

Senator Russell agreed. save Alien, that unity is a vital necssity. "Kowever I'm sure you are aware that one of the major factors leading to disunity within the Democraite party is your insistence on an extreme program of so-called civil rights." the columnist quotes Mr. Russell.

The Georgia senator then proposed the idea that a compronise on FEPC might be acceptable to the South-a compromise that would create, in line with the proposal a few years ago of Represnetative Hays of Arkansas an advisory FEPC commist on a non-segregated basis get anywhere as far as the South Senators INVOVLED (Capitals ours) but the one million mark. in these days there are other con He added: I deem more important.

Russell. Washington correspondent has Jim Crow. it. may show that Mr. Truman look for which his critics inside lieve in gradualism. the party have never given him credit in criticizing his civil

"Yes, ther are political considerations, but not the kind you are talking about -domestic. The political considerations I'm thinking about are worldwide. Have you given any thought to the simple fact that globally the white race is a minor ity I don't have to tell you what the Russians are do ing with their propaganda on racial discrimination in No. Dick, I am America . not going to back up on my civil rights program, can't because it's right and just I realize that there are many people, like yourself, who believe that now is not the time to insist on compulsory

FEPC that it should be done some other way. I respect that opinion when it comes from people like you who believe it honestly. But I disagree wth that opnion and I am standing pat."

If Mr Allen's report is accurrate, it's the same old Truman: maybe not the smartest president we ever had but one possessing strong convictions and the persistence and courage to stick to them once they been formulated and tested to his satisfaction.

IN THIS OUR DAY

C. A. CHICK, Sr THE HAND WRITING ON THE

WALL Without any doubt the upper most public question in the minds of the people in the South is the question of segregation or nonsegregated schools. And especially is the question a potato" so far as it pertains to the public elementary and se-

condary schools This writer does not regard himself enough of a prophet to dare attempt to state just how or when the foregoing questions will be setted. However, he does believe that the practice of separating people solely on the basis of race is an inherient violation of the laws of God as well as an inherient violation of the principles and spirit of de ocracy. Then, it follows that if the practice has in it certain inherlent evils and is fundamentally wrong, it certainy some day will be discontinued It futher seems to this writer

continue its dual school system, it certainly will need fewer teachers (Negroes and whites) than it needs under a dual system of shools. The purpose of this article is to ask ourselves (Negroes) "what are we doing individually and colletively that we may be ready for the change when it does come?". "Whet are aur schools, churches, lodges, any and all institutions touching the lives of lare numbers of Negores, doing to et us ready for the change? "Are we still put ting the larger part of our emphasis and time on preparing our people to become teachers. preachers, doctors, social workers, and lawyers?" It is not my purpose to reflect disparagingly the foregoing professions. However, worthy professions tough though they may be, they cannot furnish employment to all of us who are now securing higher education. And in that connection, it should be pointed out that under a dual system

NAACP See **New Voters**

ATLANTA - (SPECIAL) A eader predicted this week that by 1956 there would be 2,000,000 Negro voters in the South.

The prediction came from Roy Wilkins, administrator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

Wilkins' address keynoted the opening of the 42nd annual convention of the NAACP being held in the local Municipal Auditorium

mission without enforcement "Armed with the ballot," Wilpowers, which would propose kins said, "the Southern Negro will methods of bringing about fair- be in a position to solve many of er employment practices and use his local and state problems and persuasion instead of penalties, without a doubt his activity at the But as long as you insist on a polling place will alter the temper compulsory FEPC you will not and activity of Congressmen and

is concerned. Disunity will con- The NAACP official remarked iue. I realize CERTAIN PO- that next year the number of Ne-LITICAL CONSIDERATIONS gross voting was expected to hit

A nile it nger accurate to lump all white Southerners to-So Mr. Allen quotes Senator gether in discussing the race problem, it is still true that as yet the The President's reply, as the dominant opinion in the South is

"Some of this" he said, "is apolhas not changed his views, and ogetic and some shameless and arthat he still has the broad out- rogant. The apologists say they be-

"How can anyone give to a group gradually those rights which berights stand. Allen has President long to it by the very nature of its Truman's reply to Senator Rus- being human. These rights are not for the gradualists or others to hold or dispense.

of schools, there is a over sup-

ply of Negro teachers. Thus it would seem to me that it is high time our bestiring ourselves towards preparing for fields of economic activity other than those mentioned above. Our schools need to con duct some workshops pertaining to something other than teacher education. Not only do need the know-how in other fields economic activities than those listed above, but we also need to buld up attidues on our part to venture into those fields. For example, quiet often as 1 ride along the highways, I people on side of the roads with lare quanities of such things as a watermelous, fruits and vegatables for sale Very. weldom do I see Negroes engaged in such activities Ver a large number of Negroes are en. gaged in farming That is ther are living on farms. I am positive that my readers will come with me that it does not require a degree in business administration or a great deal of capital for a farmer to place on the side of the roads such things as listed above for sale. It is simply a matter of not having an attitude for such conomic endeavors In the city in which I now reside. I very soldom see Negroes bring anything to the market other than cotton and tobacco Apparently many No. grose think that such things po chickens, turkevs, cows hors ein are to be raised for marketing by white become only.

It would seem to this writer that it would be especially fitting for our pricate schools and colleges to take for their special tacks the project of preparing Medines in onto- in in hirocher fields of economic activities than they are now engaged. Our private schools and colleges are from to pinneer into new fields than are our rublicly supported schools and colleges And it should be pointed out

that there are many other povernment notifions other than teaching school and doing sor tal work Governments on all are enlarging their scene of services to the peorle Covernments ha la-s then private institutions council render corriece without employees - people to do the E. C. Lawrence's

MY OPINION

GRIND SLOWLY :.. BUT THEY GRIND EXCEED-INGLY FINE

This old adage is as true today as when first expressed. As we think of time in terms of history, eighty-six years represent a comparatively short period. It was exactly eighty-six years ago April 9th just passed, since the close of the War between the States, which still represent America's greatest tradedy. And yet it is quite impossible to protuary ago would have been changes, which even a half centhought impossible Today, most of them are common-place. And looking backward, we wonder they could have been thought how less than fifty years ago to be altogether impossible.

Sciene and scientific discoveries have worked miracles They have been so numerous and so marelyous, as to multinly the nation's productivity and wealth many, many times Today America boasts, and with measurable justification, over the fact of her ability to produce This has put our nation in a class all to itself. And lacking the skill and materials the eventualities of a third world war: they would speak softly, and move less confidentvantage in know-how, and quan even with a commanding adlv. And the writer feels, that tity of materials with which to do, too much hoasting might not prove the wiser policy. For if history has any one lesson to teach, it is the fact that as vet no nation has ever become so well prepared so completely fortified, that successful attacks could not be made from without or disintegration under mine within During the stirring events of world history man important victories have been won desnite great odds

Changes equally marvelous and spectacular have taken place and are still in avidence in the sociial and moral realms of our world order. Whether of not in these realms the changes have been equally progressive and exciting the writer will Jears the indgement of his readers One fact is evident that race, and national tensions are hom to become without more dis. thout as high as in possible for astorour explosions than are taking place at the precent This is not a prophecy that worse more serious distrubances are in the offering I at me come Mefinitely and equarely to the noint for the last decade the sa-called problem of rana pela tions (meaning of course, tha

white people of the South) has been much in evidence; many shoughtful individuals and social groups have given it much thought, planning and elaborate discussion. In other words, they have been kindilng a fire underneath a caldron; and to their apparent surprise, it actually began to boil. Now that it is boiling, many citizens seem to be highly excited; so much so that some who were more or less active in starting the fire, seem now to shy, "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine.

It has always puzzled me as

I listened to supposedly wellmeaning citizens and christians, when they talk democracy and religion, and immediately when faced with the fact of applying, or both, they either gracefully side-stepped, or brazingly came out in bitter opposition. Every sane person who believes in the principle and practice of justice andfair play, knows that imposed segregation, for any reason other than conduct is ethically and morally wrong; that it is intended to discriminate against mad otherwise humiliate the inglividual or group, without rea sonable or just cause And therefore, no law or custm under heaven matters not how long in pratice, can ever make it ifght, or normal And her. as in industry, as in education. and as in government, change is inevitable indede, is already in process. So the vital question is not whether our long honor. ed sacred social customs may undergo change but rather how rapidly, and how completely Indeed, hance is divinely deread and although it may fraanntly face stiff apposition it cannot be normanently thwart ed or nulified. The recent excitament and his

buh over the thought of Negroes enterine graduate departments of the University of North Caroline makes all that the name of America have to ear shout christain democracy soam less downright decention and heno gostinas mes Norman man he intigrated into eracy. Inst how the American the common life as fullfledeed nitions the writer does not he is very certain that if right instine and truth ever got on honest hearing that change will incritation follow the holiars that night instice and touch and distinct of their and man ha some the common heritats of



THE BINES

BY DEAN B HANCOCK FOR AND

I TOLD YOU SO:

It is difficult to run across a more hackneyed and sickening colloquialism than "I told you People at sundry times make unwarranted predictions that mean practically nothing: but when such predictions are accidentally fulfilled they acclaim gloatingly, "I told you so'

Of course, psychologically this means a temporary inflation of the ego and nothing else They fail to remember how many times their predictions hitherto had failed. But the writer of this column really has a genuine warrant for saying "I told them so" that was based not upon hunchees but upon a close and serious study of a serious situation.

When the Durham conference through great travail was a reality and was soon allowed by the Atlanta conterence composed wholly of whites to answer the Durham Manifesto, a collaboration conference was held in Richmond composed of eminent Negroes and whites of the south, who sought ways and means of mapping out a course of procedures in race relations for the south.

The situation was so tense a Durham, with uninvited "guests' who patently were spying on the southern brethren, the was given the difficult task of making the opening statement After this statement failed to elicit the bitter condemnation of the northern brethren, he was assigned the further critical task of making the opening statement to the Richmond collaboration meeting which he made with not a little fear and trembling. Strangely enough neither the Durham statement nor the Richmond statement drew fire from the rabid opponents of the movement It began to dawn upon the Negroes of the nation that southern Negroes were not out truckling and frembling but to face up to critical situation and that in an emergency southern Negroes could acquif htem. selves like men. An excernt from the Richmond statement follows.

Again the Neoro leadership of the south must be coved! For botter or worse, Nesrnes are fined up behind Negro leadership and the earning of the couth and nation resides in the vision and wiedom of this instorehin

The prime reason Negroes are inveriable joval to this nation in times of war and peace is found in their lead. prehin and a less spearing diagratical handsir reals would have precipitated untold trouble throughout the south and nation. The pronounced and in nmendable general lack of open conflict between the races is due far more to the leadership of the Negroes than to the

might of the whites. The Negro leadership of the south that has hitherto counselled patience and loyatty is today being mercilessly maligned and misrepresented and unless it. is speedily strengthened, it is only a matter of time when it will pass forever. The mistakes that the white wouth has made in weakening its Negro leadership must not be reneated if the south is to be spared griev-

ous tribulations. "One of the south's gravent mistakes is best epitomis in the question of the equalization of teachers' salaries. -While Negroes and interracialist whites of the south were counselling pa tience and the elusive consolations of social evolutine, daving Negroes of the North and South took matters in charge and are achieving

decirable results. "These elements appealed from the decision of overcautious Negroes and whites and won in the courts of the land notable advances and what is more the opposition to these advances are conspinnoue for their weakness. ... The Negro masses are thus trust in that Negro leadership that gets results and are disinclined to pin their faith in too conservative leadership.

"It the leadership of the southern Negro is to survive. it must be strengthened but withholding from it advances that are granted into others is not a good wav to strengthen it. If the leadership of the south is to survive the south must cease waiting for outside sources to extort from it in the courts concessions that should be made without a

"If Negroes are forced to lank elsewhere for leaderwhim in critical times. then ther are going to be inclinad to look elsewhere at all

"There is only one safeguard against this and that is a more advanced policy on the part of the white south towards Negroes of the south. The Negro lead-(Continued on page 5)