

What Other Editors Say

From the Nashville TENNESSEAN, one of the South's leading dailies.

THE PROBLEM IS NOT EXPELLED

Technically speaking, University of Alabama trustees may have grounds on which to expel the Negro student a federal court has ordered readmitted to the school.

As a practical matter, however, their action dodges what President O. C. Carmichael has correctly called the real issue confronting the university: " . . . not segregation versus integration but law and order versus anarchy."

The trustees may be able to make their expulsion of Miss Autherine Lucy stick. Or the court might rule that such action was a subterfuge and order them to readmit her or face contempt proceedings. But even if the trustees do succeed in expelling this one Negro student, they cannot hope to expel the problem she

It may be said that the NAACP could have been wiser in its choice of a student to test the ancient racial barrier at the University of Alabama. For more than Miss Lucy's race sets her apart from the vast majority of Alabama students. She is 26 years old. She has already had a college education. She arrived on the campus in a Cadillac and was dressed as if she were going to a tea instead of to class. None of these things made her entry any easier to accept.

And it may be further said that her charges that university officials conspired in the dem-

onstration against her were extremely ill-advised, regardless of whether they originated with her or with NAACP attorneys.

But when all this is said, the fact remains that Miss Lucy is a symbol-even if an unfortunate one-of countless other Negroes who want to exercise the educational rights the Supreme Court of the United States has said are

And, unhappily, nothing the University of Alabama or the officials of that state have done indicates that the situation would have been-or would be-different in respect to any. other Negro student.

The issue has been correctly defined by Dr. Carmichael. But so far there is no evidence that the university is prepared to prove by deeds as well as words that law and order instead of anarchy will prevail.

It was, after all, a capitulation to anarchy that created the circumstances leading to the charges on which Miss Lucy has now been expelled. And now, after imploring the student body to respect law and order, the university itself not only takes an action of dubious legal status but demonstrates a striking unwillingness to submit the anarchy-versus-law is-

The problem facing the university, therefore, has not been solved. It perhaps may be delayed for a time, but inevitably it must be faced forthrightly. And confidence in the way it will be handeled is not enhanced by the course the trustees are now following.

Where Is It Coming From?

Attorney General Rodman, in pursuance of his picayune policy of trying to embarrass and harrass the NAACP under the North Carolina law requiring foreign corporations to register if they do business in North Carolina or sim to influence legislation or public opinion, has asserted that the NAACP is raising "stupendous amounts of money" in North Carolina. "Stupendous" is a very big word, implying quantity almost impossible for the human mind to grasp,

What this newspaper would like to know

is where is all this money coming from? High officials in North Carolina have said they are convinced that most North Carolina Negroes are not at heart in sympathy with the NAA-CP's program. Surely the Negroes of North Carolina are not paying into the NAACP treasury these "stupendous" sums, in membership fees or otherwise, because all contributions to NAACP are entirely voluntary, and people don't contribute voluntarily to organiations whose programs they are out of sym-

Listen To The Grand Jury

about the concern expressed by the grand jury which indicted more than 100 Negroes on a charge of conspiracy and illegal boycott over the state of race relations in Montgomery. The grand jury piously deplored the deterioration of race relations and expressed fear of violence at the same time it was indicting persons concerned in a peaceful protest action pledged to non-violence. The "legal" action itself might well have been an incitement to violence, but the fact is that the only violence prepetrated so far has been against Negroes, in the form of bombing of the property of some of the protest leaders. This actual violence, already committed, did not lead to any indict-

The concept of "good race relations" is not always, but far too often, tied to the assumption that Negroes will always be acquiescent in the white community's interpretation of race relations. In the end this quite frequently presupposes a supine attitude on the part of what it takes to bring about and maintain good Negroes, promoted by Negro leaders under pressure of reprisal or infulenced by not too subtle blandishments. These seem, happily, not to be an operation in the present Montgomery situation.

The position of the grand jury was made more clear by its statement indicating that though a settlement of the bus issue was de-

There is something eminently spurious sirable, any settlement "must be made within these laws" (referring to the existent inequitable segregation laws and ordinance) "which reflect our ways of life."

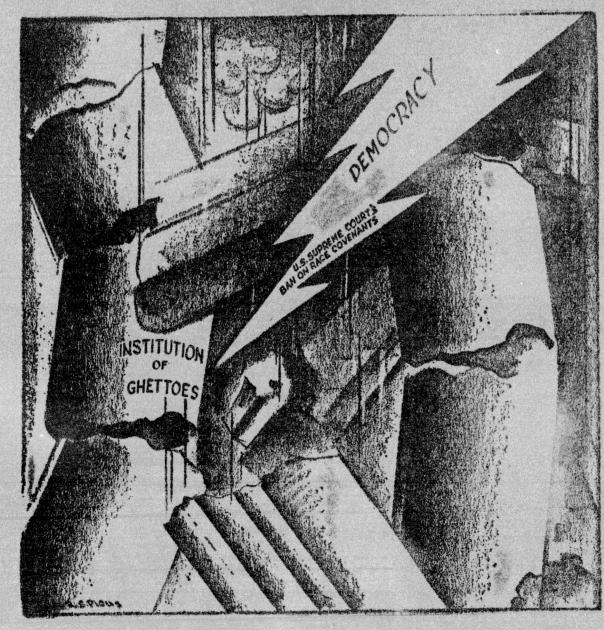
It is the typical attitude, operating under the assumption that whatever is is right, and if it is not right it is going to stay that way

The bus boycotters' terms are modest. They have asked only that the bus driver be required to be courteous, that seating on a segregated pattern be divided on an equitable basis, with no requirements that Negroes stand to reserve seats for white passengers who have not yet boarded the vehicle, and that Negro drivers be employed on lines serving predominantly Negro neighborhoods. These are the things which would violate the "ways of life" so precious to the grand jurors, and which must be preserved at all costs, the preservation of which would insure the continuance of

"good race relations." Not only have more than a hundred participants in the boycott been arrested and indicted under a flimsy law in an obvious and mean gesture of pressure and reprisal; similar police state tactics have been applied in wholesale arrests of Ngroes in the motor pool for alleged traffic violations.

But the boycott, started early in December, continues. It is a great thing.

"But The Ghettos Still Stand In Defiance Of Democrary"



SECOND THOUGHTS

- C. D. Halliburton's -

Every thoughtful and unbiased citizen welcomes the prospect of a thoroughgoing investigation of the use of money in the election of members of Congress. The Senator Case episode, revealed by the senator himself, was relatively unimportant in itself: Senator Case's reaction to the offer of the \$2,500 gift in \$100 bills from the representative of a gas and oil firm on the eve of the vote on the natural gas bill was certainly not unimportnat. He revealed the offer. Had he failed to do so the chances are that the bill would have been law by now. Not only did the Case reaction lead to the yetoing of the bill by President Eisenhower; it paved the way for an effective senate investigation of lobbying and the influence exerted on elections and on the votes of those elected by those who help senators and representatives finance

their election campaigns. Present laws governing campaign expenditures and the reporting of such certainly need overhauling. The investigation to be headed by Senator Gore of Tennessee should make this fact clear, and should serve as

a basis for some new laws. Money will continue to be spent in election campaigns, of course. Except in the southern states, where nomination in the

Democratic primary is tan-tamount to election, and where incumbent senators and representatives often have no opposition even for nomination, and in various somewhat similar situations regularily or occasionally in other parts of the country, getting elected to Congress is an expensive proposition. Especially is this true of senators, who must make a statewide campaign, or two of them if opposed in the primarise. The result is that often only rich men can personally finance their own campaigns for election. Getting elected often costs several times the amount of a senator's salary.

This condition is not one of the candidates' own making. Nor is there anything inherently wrong in a candidate's receiving contributions from persons interested in his election. It is inevitable, nevertheless, that contributors, and especially contributors of large sums, will expect some deference from those to whose success they have contributed, and that the beneficiary will give some consideration to the expectations of these large contributors, especially if he is or

will soon be up for re-election, What is really important is that publicity shall be required by law on who contributes how

CAPITAL CLOSE-UP

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

Joseph and Stewart Alsup, the political commentator

team, recently wrote: "It is impossible to wage a winning campaign under the limitations laid down by the present Corrupt Practices Act. Thus there is propably not a man in the senate outside the safe seats in the South who has not connived at circumventing the act by the accepted techniques. A candidate, especially in the big industrial states, who did not so connive simply could not be elected."

The present state of affairs is therefore an unhealthy one. What is needed is recognition of the high cost of getting elected, so that what is now "under the table" acceptance of contributions could be above board, with full publicity on all contributions, from whatever source, then everyone could know who got what from whom, and when. Even that is not easy to accomplish, nor can croowed money be ruled out as long as their are crooked or weak men in political office and crooked men with money to spend for votes. But the light of regular publicity on lobbying activities and lobbyists, and on contributions made to officeholders and candidates would help a lot.

Gerdon Hancock's

Segregation has failed! For over half a century, the forces of segregation have been active, and the spirit of segregation has been to the Southern white man an obsession that at times carried him to pathetic extremes. Entirely too much of the South's energies have gone into a studied attempt to degrade, discourage and disparage the Negro, Today we are in a death grapple with Russia, in the mad race for world

Whereas Russia is united in its efforts, we are divided in ours. In this country there is being made a serious attempt to overmatch Russia, as it were, with one hand, and hold the Negro down with the other, a point the Old South is slow to grasp. As these lines are written, our newspapers are sounding a grave warning that in the field of science, Russia is outstripping us in the important area of producing scientists for tomorrow. From the statistics produced there seems to be the gravest probability that by 1960 Russia will have wrested from us scientific leadership of which we boast

This is a serious matter, and becomes more serious when the Southern states are in open rebellion against the law of the land by reason of their defiance of the ruling of the Supreme Court. United we stand but divided we fall. We are divided into two groups, the Southern States and the United States; and just whether we can handle Russia in such divided state, remains to be seen. It is the earnest prayer of this column that we may be able to maintain world supremacy, in spite of our current

state of disunion.
Of course there are certain elements of the Old South who would rather see Russia in charge of the world than to see the Negro liberated; but here is hoping that there is not a Negro in all these United States who would, under any circumstance, wish to see Russia the greatest power in the

Twentieth Century world. Segregation has failed. It has failed to reassure the white man and it has failed to cower the Negro. The Negro is standing where he has stood

ing at the door of first-class citizenship. What is more, he is knocking with greater insistence. Notwithstanding segregation as a device for strengthening his racial ego, the white man seems still in doubt about his superiority. If seg-regation fails to establish without and beyond a reasonable doubt in the mind of the white man his own superiority, then it has failed in one of its most

vital points. Segregation has failed to thus establish to his own sat-isfaction the white man's superiority. Segregation has failed to establish in the heart and mind of the Negro race a feeling of inferiority. The hum-blest impoverished Negro in his heart feels that the superiority which the white man holds in matters economic, social and political is not based upon race but upon circumstances. Why should the Negro feel inferior with the daily press revealing that no field of crime and degragation is foreign to the white man and that there are no depths of sin and degration where the humblest Negro finds himself that is not peopled with whites and Negroes alike. At the upper and lower levels of human existence whites and Negroes are pretty much alike and hence there is no need to assume white superiority and Negro inferiority. At any rate segregation has failed to generate the "superior feeling" in whites and the "in-ferior feelings" in Negroes. It has thus failed in one of its fundamental assumptions.

Segregation has failed! It has failed to make the Negro afraid of the white man. The late Mary McLeod Bethune said in one of her speeches that whereas there might have been a little rabbit in Negroes prior to World WarI, that was took most of it away; but World War II took away the last vestige of rabbit that was in the Negro. This was another way of saying Negroes are not afraid of whites any more! When segregation fails to make Negroes afraid of whites, it has failed ingloriously. What is currently happening in Alabama proves the point in question. Segregation has failed! It has failed to hold the Negro

By REV. FRANK CLARENCE LOWRY For ANP

How Are Your Brakes?

1. If a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, then a faulty car brake can do more damage than one can think. 2. Despite the price, appearance and power of a car, it certainly won't safely get far if

the brakes are bad; but there

will be at least families on

either side that will be made 3. But bad brakes on cars aren't the only destructive means that hurl individuals

into unhappy scenes; unguarded hands, mouth and feet can work as destructively to one's 4. To be sure, it is when these important members get out of control, that storm clouds rise and billows roll, and

then misfortune with a heavy Be it far from human thinking that these physical instruments have no brakes: God saw fit that every means

of protection was granted his creatures for their sakes. 6. Man, the highest of God's creation was not brought to earth for unrighteous speculation but to glorify and mag-

nify his Maker, making life worthwhile and his neighbors, happier. 7. Surely such a task could not be accomplished if men failed to use their moral brakes;

hope would seem almost ban-

Why Jesus Went To The Cross

ished, and the world cluttered up with fakes.

8. But thanks be to God a

Savior did come, to bridge the chasm between God and man, and did give him the power thru His healing stream to overcome fleshly ills, how ever stubborn and mean. 9. All mankind therefore, be-

ing recipients of this Grace need fear no evil in the trials or tests to be faced, for Christ came down here to teach you and me, how to control our God-given members and keep our souls free.

10. Our bodies having many members, but every one a dif-ferent office, is none the more mysterious to God, for He is no Novice; He does not operate by remote control . . . if His Kingdom is within you. you enjoy His spiritual balance that never grows old.

11. Yes, we must have a connection with God who is the source of power for all human motivation, and He will keep one's spiritual mechanism in control who glories in His Plan

12. Air-Ships and airplanes rank among our latest inventions, but are still getting out of control . . . but ah, the heirship with God and joint-heirship with Jesus Christ, is the only everlasting investment for a human soul.

Adlai Clarifies

Someone must have advised Adlai Stevenson that his earlier pronouncements on the desegregation issue were not much good. Anyway he has made a new statement which is much more straightforward and sound. The later statement was to the effect that there should be no slowing down of the desegregation effort, but that "we must recognize that it is reason alone which will determine our rate

of continued progress." The Democratic presidential hopeful added

that to him freedom means that "man may advance to the limit of his natural endowment without hinderance because of race or religion," and that equality means that "each citizen shall be judged by his own merits,"

No candidate for the Democratic nomination can say less, and the party will not nominate a pussyfooter on civil rights, regardless of the wishes of the southern wing of the party.

Moderation is certainly in order, but principles must be stood by.

No More Messiahs!

When Mary McLeod Bethune died, last May, we wrote in this column—"a magnificent character has left the American scene . . . a strong hub for the wheels of much progress. Few of any political faith failed to feel the force of her drive, in the Roosevelt-Truman era. She became a near-fabulous figure, with an emotional following seldom equalled by any leader of her time . . . She was probably the last of the

That was as much, and as little, as we felt that we had a right to say, for as a leader, she was neither a deep nor analytical thinker, and, consequently, could not be independent-a fact, which, generally speaking, she recognized. But, by virtue of constant and almost unlimited support from Administrations whose cause she promoted indefatigably, she was able to surround herself with experts and professionals in many fields, who pooled ideas and developed programs, which she forthwith "sold" with all her natural flair for the dramatic, her powerful personality, and the techniques of the thoroughly-trained evangelist that she was.

In all probability no one aspiring to a like role of leadership will ever have such in-tellectual and material resource. With all respect for what she helped to accomplish (and devout thankfulness that some well-intentioned ventures failed to click) it is to be hoped that Mrs. Bethune was, in fact, "the last of the Messiahs"

-the symbol of an era ended This, in spite of the fact that many who lean toward emotion rather than reason, in seeking a way out of their distress, would revive the torchbearing era if they could, and substitute mass action, dictated and led by a spectacular personality, for carefully-considered planning and decision.

Walk Hard, Talk Loud Walking very hard and talking very loud, but minus the Bethune aura of sanctity, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the current "spectacular personality," strode across the political stage, on Friday, February 24, with the usual distracting flourishes, thundering a "call" for a nation-wide work and school stoppage, by Ne-groes, on March 28, on which date "no Negro of any age would attend school or work, between 2 and 3 p.m.", in protest against the gestapo-like arrests of Negroes in the Mont-

gomery, Alabama, bus boycott. Congressman Powell staged his "call" outside a New York Baptist Ministers' Conference, at which members were dis cussing (1.) a suggestion that each church hold a day of prayer, and (2.) that each send a contribution of money, directly to the Montgomery com-

But Mr. Powell's "call" was presented, first, not to his fellow-pasters, in session, but outside the meeting to "30 or 40 newsmen who arrived, opportunely, out of a clear, blue sky. and met with Mr. Powell who had just withdrawn from the meeting, in an adjoining room. The Ministers Say "No"

The press promptly picked up the obvious implication -- that the Conference was supporting the "call," with statements in the news services releases such as "Powell and a group of New York ministers called for the Nation's Negroes to stop work for one hour, the Wednesday before Easter." NAACP's Wet Finger

As soon as we discovered that things were not what they seemed, we set to work to find out what they were. What we found is summed up in the NAACP's Public Relations Director Henry Lee Moon, in the absence of Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins from the New York office, and in his replies, as follows:

(Daniel to Moon): Since I know that the proposal did not come from the New York Ministers' meeting, where, according to some releases, it appears to have come from; since, as I know, it did not originate with the NAACP; since, as I know, it did not originate with the Rights Bloc in Congress, is the NAACP backing this call,

(Moon, Mon., Feb. 27, be-fore 12 o'clock) "No official position, pro or con, has been taken by the Association, as

of noon, today."
(Monday, Feb. 27, 6 p.m.) "The Association is making no statement until the proposal has been further clarified, and plans studied-possibly by the last of the week. Congressman Powell will probably restate his

THE PULPIT VOICE

By REV. HAMILTON T. BOSWELL for ANP

Jesus had that amazing ability to see God in everything. To Jesus, God is involved in every circumstance, event and person, Nothing happens anywhere or in any place without the spirit of God abetting or in judgment against it. Jesus saw the image of God in the face of a child, and compassionately spoke of people as being the children of God. In the beauty of a Judean flower. He saw the etchings of the Father's hand and told us that none could compare, not even King Solomon and all His ar-ray. In the fury of a wind-swept sea, His disciples was whose glories shine on land and be still, and there was a great Our love and loyalty we yield. sea and said to the wind, peace calm. In the raging of

girds faith. Everywhere He went, on the in the strife of the city's slums, He saw always as background, God. In this his life reflects the words of the psalmist who "Whither shall I go from thy spirit or whether shall I flee from thy presence, if I ascend up into Heaven, Thou are there, if I make my bed in hell, behold Thou art there! And in our better minds, we too see God in everything. We

secular, as though man could really make some aspects of life off-limits for God. But though we foolishly try, underneath we know that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein." God is just (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Poet's Corner

4-H INVOCATION

came forth and spoke to the Maker of beast, and bird, and

storm. He saw not only the Grant us a keen and noble mind impersonal power of the ele- To learn—to love—to lift manments, but more the personal power of God which under-To make our farm and home lives

quiet of the mountain side or Lord, guide our hands that they may do Each day some service kind and true. Help us to do better day by day Tasks—small and great—which

come our way. Teach us to love right-to hate wrong; May we grow ever wise and strong. Grant from above guidance di-

won't always face up to it. We have rigged life with artificial boundaries, in that we call

-MILDRED B. PAYTON somethings sacred and other

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