

EDITORIAL VIEWPOINT

"But The Ghettos Still Stand In Defiance Of Democracy"

Gordon Hancock's BETWEEN the LINES

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...

As a practical matter, however, their action dodges what President O. C. Carmichael has correctly called the real issue...

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...

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...

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

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

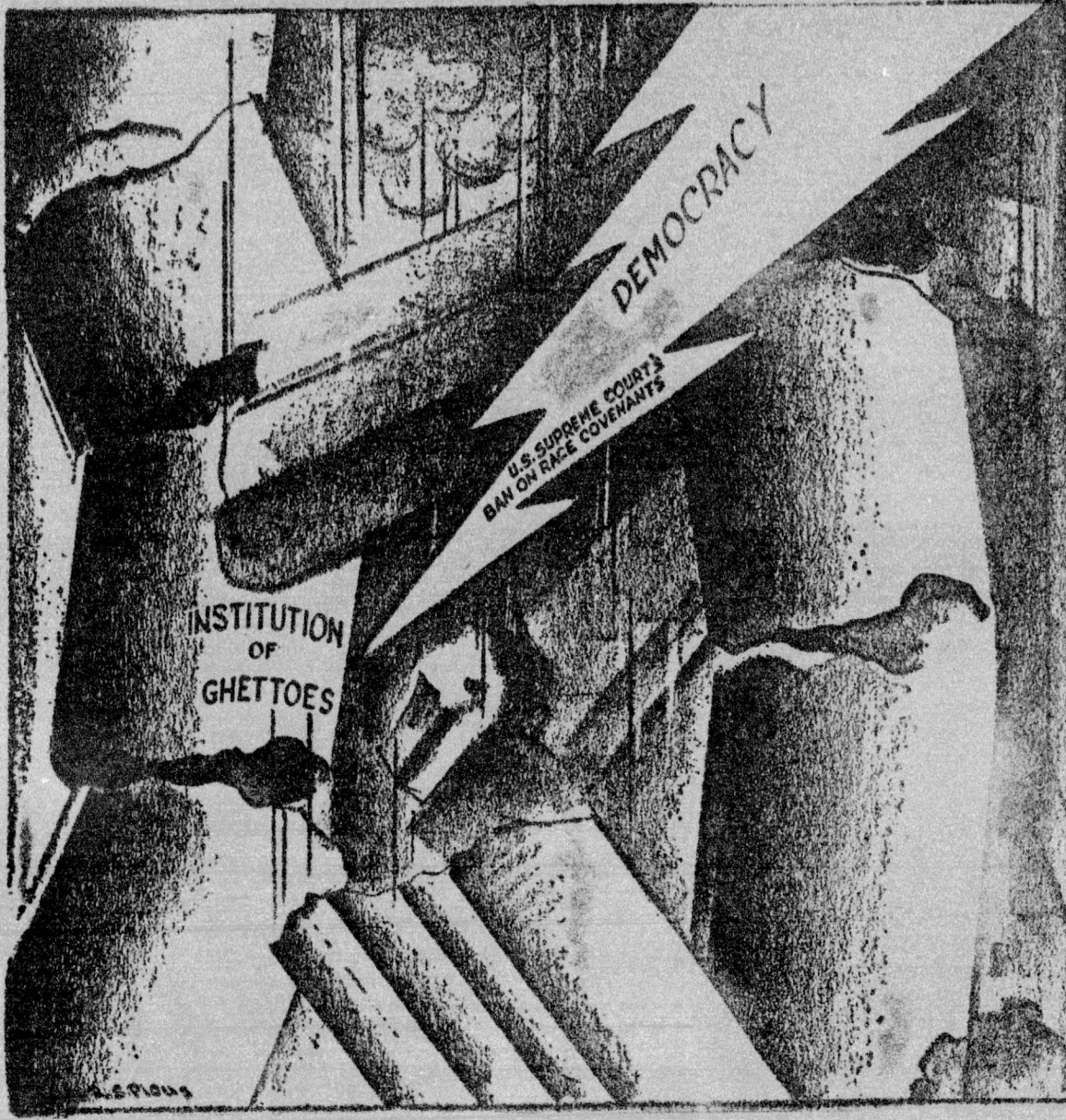
But when all this is said, the fact remains that Miss Lucy is a symbol—even if an unfortunate one—of countless other Negroes who want to exercise the educational rights...

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 issue to a test.

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 handled is not enhanced by the course the trustees are now following.



Where Is It Coming From?

Attorney General Rodman, in pursuance of his picaresque policy of trying to embarrass and harass the NAACP under the North Carolina law requiring foreign corporations to register if they do business in North Carolina or aim to influence legislation or public opinion...

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 NAACP's program. Surely the Negroes of North Carolina are not paying into the NAACP treasury these "stupendous" sums...

Listen To The Grand Jury

There is something eminently spurious 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...

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 right, and if it is not right it is going to stay that way anyhow. 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...

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 Negroes in the motor pool for alleged traffic violations.

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

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."

that to him freedom means that "man may advance to the limit of his natural endowment without hindrance 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 pussyfoot 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.

THE CAROLINIAN

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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 unimportant. 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 vetoing 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.

Democratic primary is tantamount to election, and where incumbent senators and representatives often have no opposition even for nomination, and in various somewhat similar situations regularly 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 primary. 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 inherent in 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

much to whom. Joseph and Stewart Alsop, 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. This there is probably 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 crooked money be ruled out as long as there 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.



SENTENCE SERMONS

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 very sad. 3. But bad brakes on cars aren't the only destructive means that hurt individuals into unhappy scenes; unguarded hands, mouth and feet can work as destructively to one's defeat. 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 toll. 5. 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 fruitless speculation, but to glorify and magnify 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-

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

CAPITAL CLOSE-UP

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

No More Messiahs!

When Mary McLeod Bethune died, last May, we wrote in this column—a magnificent chapter 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 equaled by any leader of her time. . . . She was probably the last of the Messiahs. 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 Administration, she was 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 following seldom equaled by any leader of her time. . . . She was probably the last of the Messiahs. In all probability no one aspiring to a like role of leadership will ever have such intellectual 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 torch-bearing 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 resting like Bethune aura of sanctity, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the current "spectacular personality" strode across the political stage, on Friday, February 24, with the usual distasteful flourish, and thunders a "call" for a nation-wide work and school stoppage, by Negroes, 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 continuing arrests of Negroes in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. Congressman Powell staged his "call" outside a New York Baptist Ministers' Conference, at which members were discussing a suggestion that each church hold a day of prayer, and (2) that each send a contribution of money, directly to the Montgomery committee. But Mr. Powell's "call" was presented, first, not to his fellow-pastors, 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 released such as "Bethune 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 the things were not what they seemed, we set to work to find out what they were. What we found is summed up in the question which we asked, later, of 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, as issued? (Moon, Mon., Feb. 27, before 12 o'clock): "No official position, pro or con, has been taken by the Association, as of now, today." (Monday, Feb. 27, 4 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 proposal."

THE PULPIT VOICE

By REV. HAMILTON T. BOSWELL for ANP

Why Jesus Went To The Cross

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 abiding 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 array. In the fury of a windswept sea, His disciples awakened Him in great fright. He came forth and spoke to the sea and said to the wind, peace be still; and there was a great calm. In the raging of the storm, He saw not only the impersonal power of the elements, but more the personal power of God which undergirds faith. Everywhere He went, on the quiet of the mountain side or 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 wrote: "Whither shall I go from thy spirit or whether shall I flee from thy presence, if I ascend up into Heaven, thou art there, if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there! And in our better minds, we too see God in everything. We won't always face up to it. We have rigged life with artificial boundaries, in that we call some things sacred and other

secular, as though man could really make some aspects of life off-limits for God. But though we feebly 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

(For National 4-H Week) Lord of the Universe, to Thee Whose glories shine on land and sea, Maker of beast, and bird, and field, Our love and loyalty we yield. Grant us a keen and noble mind To learn—to love—to lift mankind; And may we strive with all our To make our farm and home lives bright. 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 divine. May 4-H ways be ever thine. Amen. —MILDRED B. PAYTON