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#### WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1956



#### All For Nothing

It seems that Governor Hodges and his friends have said, apparently with a straight face that the purpose of the proposed constitutional changes on which the people will vote in September is not to evade the U.S. Supreme Court's decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools. Officeholders and politicians will say anything it is well known. They do not hesitate to declare that black is white and white is black, no matter how transparent their deviousness may be. It is a cynical old trick that no one pays any particular attention to, so accustomed is the American public to it. And we like it so well that it is not too easy for a frank and straightforward statement to come from an officeholder.

Hodges and his friends have declared that their purpose is to save the schools, though among the main provisions in the proposed constitutional changes is one providing for the closing of the schools. This apparent contradiction does not worry a politician or an officeholder for double talk is a part of their stock in trade. Southern politicians have had special training in this art, since from time to time they find it necessary to prove that the federal Constitution means what it does not say, or does not mean what it says, as the case may be.

On the other hand there are those who realize the threat to the continued existence of North Carolina's public schools and are alarmed by it. At the same time they do not want to consider desegregation, or if they do they are afraid to say so. So they claim to believe in another insincerity; the one of depending on the already existing North Carolina statute which gives local school boards the authority to assign pupils to specific schools; not, mind you, on the basis of race, for that is contrary to the U.S. Constitution; but on other grounds, purportedly to be judged by the local school authorities.

The Hodges-Pearsall plan was brought forward evidently out of distrust of the school assignment law, and rightly so. The assignment law was drafted with the idea of evading the spirit of the Supreme Court decision, if not the letter, and a second look probably con- It will sooner or later.

vinced the powers-that-be that it might down the road meet the same fate that the "grandfather clause" met years ago.

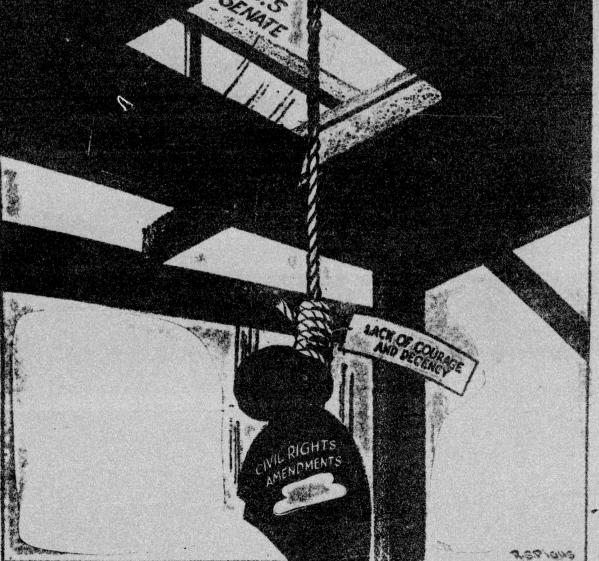
Meanwhile Dr. Maggs, the Duke University constitutional lawyer, made it pretty clear to all who would listen that the paying of public funds to operate private schools open to some citizens but not others would almost certainly prove to be unconstitutional.

The state finds itself moving toward greater dilemmas. There will in the end be a choice betwen desegregation and no schools supported by the State of North Carolina. All the rest of it is simply sound and fury, backing and filling, chasing rainbows, and jumping up and down in the same spot. It is ultimately either

The people of North Carolina might have gone on and accepted the Court's dictum of desegregation, trying to work it out on a gradual basis, or according to some scheme to provide the least friction and dislocation. We believe that North Carolina could and would have embarked on such a scheme had not Mr. Beverly Lake scared the socks off Governor Hodges last year, therby setting him and his appointed brain trust to figuring some way to beat right and the Supreme Court.

The example of Virginia had its influence also, added to the stir that Mr. Lake created. North Carolina has always been humble in the face of aristocratic (and reactionary) Virginia. But the problem remains. It's either public schools and desegregation or no schools. The legislature cannot help that, neither can a referendum.

Of course the best thing that could happen, though with the people bemused it is likely not to, would be for the people to reject at the polls the Hodges-Pearsall concoction and refuse to alter the public school system. Then we would be back where we started. The pupil assignment plan would be given a trial. It would be declared unconstitutional as a subterfuge to maintain complete racial segregation. Then North Carolina could clear the decks and begin desegregation in its public schools.



"Buried Again, By The Threat Of A

Southern Filibuster"

- C. D. Halliburton's -

# SECOND THOUGHTS

The bill introduced by Rep. J. A. Speight, of Bertie, in the special session of the General Assembly proposing to abolish the state's Negro colleges had some logic behind it. Although it died in committee, it may be reintroduced at the regular session in January. But it is not likely to be passed.

Assemblyman Speight's point is that since the University of North Carolina and State College in Raleigh have both accepted Negro students, there is no reason for the maintenance of the "corresponding" colleges designated for Negroes. His measure also envisions the closing of the three Negro state teachers' colleges if the corresponding white institutions should accept Negro students.

Of course there is little likelihood that any of the Negro institutions will be closed. The the white people of North Carolina want is the abandonment of Negro colleges operated by the state, since to close those institutions would obligate the other state colleges to accept all qualified Negro applicants who have rights to higher education at stateoperated institutions of higher learning-that is, all who might apply and meet the entrance

#### requirements.

What's Behind This?

One wonders just what Mr. Speight's point really was. Southern legislatures have passed so many measures out of pique and spite in the past year or so that it is hard to tell what was in the back of the North Carolina assemblyman's mind. He correctly pointed out that Northern states are not supporting institutions of higher education especially for Negroes, and in his public statement implied that there is no good reason why North Caorlina's taxpayers should be burdened with a dual higher education system. Again he had logic on his side .But our guess is that very few will take seriously at this time the idea of eliminating all of the state's colleges and institutions of higher education for Negroes.

It would be strange indeed to see the Uni-

The election year 195 may not prove to be a particularly trying year for the average voter committed to one party or auother by loyalty to a party or an individual figure I think it will be somewhat more difficult for the average independent voter. (They say the independent voters in general hold the balance of power in presidential elections and indirectly in determing whether the Congress will be a Republican or a Democratic one. But it will be an especially difficult decision for the Negro independent voi-

who now seem likely nominees. except for Harriman, who, I think, will not get the nomination. (if he does, my problem is solved.)

The Negro who likes the Democratic philosophy of government and the general policies of the national Democratic Party is likely to be frustrated by the thought that a Democratic victory is likely to continue the control of Congress in the hands of southerners. Some of these southerners are men of decent instincts, no doubt, as witness Senator Kefauver, of Tennessee. At the other extreme, though, you have such worthies as Eastland, a midcentury Bilbo and currently head of the very powerful and important judiciary committee of the Senate. In between are men who might be O. K. if they lived somewhere else, but who must needs, as they see it, follow the typical Dixie party line whenever the "race question" is involved. Here we are thinking of men like Smathers, of Florida, and Sparkman and Hill, of Alabama. A Negro who is by temperament a Democrat in his leanings must consider the fact that a Democratic president is naturally under more obligation to work with and practice giveand-take with the congressional leaders of his own party than a Republican president would be. He cannot be independent of his own party's leaders, inside or outside of Congress. Except where the "race issue" is involved I am much more in harmony with Hill and Sparkman than with Eisenhower and his Republican supporters. I do not believe in the poli-

cies of the Republicans as regards public power and resources or excessive catering to big business interests. But then I think of Eastland, And Stennis. And anticipating next elec-

tion, Gene Talmadge

# Gordon Hancock's **BETWEEN** the LINES sands of Negroes have gond

TRANSPLANTED TROUBLE Some weeks ago the writer became interested in the question of the wealth of the antebellum South-the Old South if you please. The study took me to the Virginia State Library where there are various treatises on the economic status of the Old South in its halcyon days of slavery.

One volume was especially glowing in its treatment of the South of slavery days. The author painted a beautiful pictime of the prosperity of the South during slavery.

He was especially glowing in his description of the contentedness of the slaves. He threw about brutal slavery an air of charm and satisfaction. He pictured slavery as a happy lot for all concerned and especially for the slaves.

The thing that struck me with greatest force was the fact the author was a professor in a great Northern university. Here was, as I thought, a Northerner attempting to justify the slavery of the Old South and then it occurred to me to seek out through "Who's Who" the antecedents of the author; and there was revealed the illuminating fact that the author was born in Georgia. In reality it was not the

opin on of a Northerner at all; it was the South's opinion of itself. And this led to the conclusion that whenever the Old South seeks the approbation of the North for the justification of its undemocratic treatment of its Negro citizens, it can always come up with a statement of a "Northerner" to justify its ways with the Negro.

Today there is a studied and determined effort of the Old South to get the approbation of the North for its state rights stand and for its current efforts to nullify the Supreme Court's decision. Such approbation is assured in advance: for southerners are in the North and quite ready to support the contention of their motherland, the Old South. The Negroes, therefore, need

not be too greatly exercised when there coms from the North an agreement with the South's determination to eternalize the subjugation of the Negro. Such sentiments as will be expressed will be only the sentiments of the Southerners speaking from the North

Just as hundreds of thou-



By A. J. SIGGINS, BRITISH JOURNALIST

Nothing more demonstrative boy king of Iraq and his uncia HOLL DITES were received in London ha has sunk than the pomp and been seen since Britons wer magnificence with which the led through the streets of Rome.

forth, Negroes need not be too greatly discouraged: for it is the way of the Southerners of the Old South. And let it not be forgotten that there is a New South that thinks otherwise Even as this is written the Virginia Legislature is being called into session to openly defy the mandates of the United States. Yet there are white

North within the last fer

years, more hundreds of thou-

sands of Southerners of the

Old South have been scattered

over the face of the earth, the

North included. And wherever

we find a Southerner of the

Old South we find a defender

of the "South's position" on

Just as the South had in the

author hereinbefore mentioned

a strong defender, such defend-

ers are scattered throughout

the world and when therefore

anti-Negro sentiments are set

race relations.

Virginians openly defying Virginia's position and asking for integration in spite of all that is being done to oppose it. The old South and the New

South are battling, with short time odds stubbornly in favor of the Old South: but long time odds, surely with the New South.

God and Time and Right are with the New South, whose voice for the time being is muffled sadiy.

Just as the Old South has defenders transplanted in the North to echo its sentiments, the Old South has defenders who incite riots and interracial trouble. There is no sweeter morsel for the press of the Old South than to headline interracial troubles of the North The effort is always made to

show that the Old South is not by itself in its attitude toward the Negro. But when the situation is reduced to its last analysis, it will be found that the interracial troubles that break out in

the North were conceived in the South and hatched in the North. When some of our contem-

porary research students go into the matter it will be founda that the bad race relation trouble was transplanted from the South to the North by Ne groes and whites of the O' South who are settling Southern issues with the North a the battleground!

versity at Chapel Hill, State College, Raleigh Woman's College at Greensboro, and the "white" state teachers colleges facing the necessity of enlargement so as to be able to take care of an influx of Negro students caused by the closing of the state's "Negro" institutions of higher education.

## Changing Complexion

Things have certainly changed. Who could have visualized thirty years ago that poor and impotent Egypt would in 1956 defy Britain and France and grab the Suez Canal for its own?

As a matter of fact thirty years ago there wasn't any Egypt, that is, as a sovereign and independent self-determining nation.

We think that Egypt is all wrong in this instance. Egypt did not build the canal. The right and just thing is that the canal should be international. It is no more just and proper that it should be owned and controlled exclusively by Egypt than by Britain or Britain and France in collaboration.

Farther South in Africa there has been an election, in which N'Krumah has maintained his power by popular vote and will probably be the first Premier of the Gold Coast as an independent Negro state in the British Commonwealth as he is now the prime minister. In a matter of two years or so the Gold Coast will have that status.

There are changes in the complexion of world affairs, and we use the word "complexion" advisedly.

# **Political Football**

It could be foreseen far ahead that the Civil Rights bill mildly sponsored by the Republican Administration would not become law.

Attorney General Brownell and the Republiean high command are doubtless hoping and expecting that the introduction of the bill and its passage by the House of Representatives will prove to be sufficient demonstration of Republican good faith to serve vote-getting purposes among the Negroes of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and other such states, especially after President Eisenhower himself included the legislation on his list of things he wished Congress to accomplish before adjournment.

But the truth is that Brownell and the Republican leadership got the bill to Congress almost too late to expect its passage, allowing for the inevitable opposition to it in the Senate, with the possibility always of a filibuster if "necessary." Democratic Tom Hennings of Missouri brought out the fact some time ago that the Attorney General had not only failed to exercise vigorous leadership in the matter of getting civil rights legislation before Congress, but might well be accused of dragging his feet, and specifically of failing to assist Democrats in the Congress who were interested in such legislation.

Both parties are guilty of cynical attitudes. and behavior here, though there are individuals in both parties who are genuinely desirous of some good and much-needed federal legislation on civil rights. There is the callous and bigoted attitude adopted by most Southern congressmen that any civil rights legislation is per se to be opposed as an insult to the Southern states and the white South. They are opposed on "principle" before they even hear the bills. On the other hand many Republican leaders care very little whether such legislation is adopted or not, so long as they can show that they voted for it (or would have had they had a chance), for the edification of their Negro constituency.

### THE CAROLINIAN

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#### P. R. JERVAY, Publisher

Alexander Barnes		motion
Chas. Jones		lation
	Plant Superinte	
	Office Mc	
	hed in this newspaper are not necessarily those of the	

mancipated from the Republi. can party under the Franklin D. Roosevelt regime, and large numbers of them withdrew from allegiance to the Democratic Party after F. D. R. and helped to elect Ike, the Negro vote is highly problematical these days.

Speaking for my own self. I can say that as of now I do not know for whom I shall cast my vote for president.

"CARMEN JONES" DE-

LIGHTS CAPITAL

everyone knows, is a 20th Cen-

tury musical version of Bizet's

"Carmen" - 80-year-old opera

favorite -- arrived in the Na-

tional Capital just ahead of

drenching rains and a mad

Congress-closing on Capitol

The Civil Rights bill was pass-

ing the House on its way to

death in the Senate, D. C.

School probers were hard at

work building a case against

Federal City integration to use

back in the States - people

were tired. Then the liming

show from New York City Cen-

ter reached the Carter-Barron

Amphitheater in Rock Creek

Park, where a first fine per-

formance overcame several days

of rain-outs. and delighted this

tension-weary Capital with a

week and a half of fine enter-

tainment before Congress ad-

CRITICS VIE IN PRAISE

with each other in praise of the

opera-musical, "fairly throbbing

with vitality", in its World War

II setting. Muriel Smith, actress-

singer who created the title role

in the original Broadway pro-

duction, in 1943, was variously

hailed as a "lusty, hipswinging,

raucous, smoldering earthy Jez-

ebel," and, more discriminating-

ly, as "a first-rate artist who

handles her role with ease and

"Cindy Lou", won acclaim from

one critic as the show's "sing-

ing star." pointing out that Bi-

zet's best "Carmen" music (used

unchanged in the musical) was

William DuPree, Howard Mu-

sic School-trained and now in

the "Jose" of "Carmen", was

reted "at all times a fine sloger

the Air Force. who sang "Joe"

that written for her part.

Reri Grist, second soprano, as

Critics, here, actually vied

Hill.

journed.

competence'

"Carmen Jones", which, as

ers, of which there are a great

many. For since they became c.

Of course the Democrats have not nominated their candidate. out as I see it, the decision of the Convention will have little weight, since there is little to choose as among the candidates

CAPITAL CLOSE-UP

#### By CONSTANCE DANIEL

and competent actor." EVERETT LEE SCORES AGAIN

est, this time, was youthful conductor Everett Lee, the show's musical director, trained in violin at the Clelevand School of Music and the Juilliard School, New York. Lee, a former head of Columbia University's Opera terested in conducting when he was engaged as a violinist to

"Carmen Jones," and remained as an assistant conductor. Since then he has conducted Leonard Bernstein's "On the Town" and other musicals, and has made an enviable reputation as a symbony conductor, making his Town Hall debut as conductor of his own Cosmopolitan Symphony, in 1947. In 1953, he guest-conducted the Louisville Philharmonic Orchestra, and has since toured South America and guest-conducted Spanish symphonies in Barcelona, Madrid and else-

minded "Evie", age 10, a ballet pupil and miniature Tallulah Bankhead, and her brother, Everett, a year older -- will be off for a European year, making their home in Munich The senior Everett has guest-conducting engagements in Germany, Spain, Italy and Israel. Mrs. Lee will teach the fall session at the Metropolitan Opera Training School, where she is

How can I vote to continue such people at the head of the legislative branch of our government?

Eisenhower has some fina qualities, and a good record in many respects, on first class citizenship for Negroes. He could have been much more positive than he has been, and exercised a more active leadership. Had he been as positive and forceful and forthright as Truman was (and remember, he was not hobbled to the extent that Truman, a Democrat, was, by party complications), he could have done a lot more.

(to be continued.)

while the family is abroad.

"RIGHTS" BILL PASSES

Y.) was off to "all of Europe

and North Africa" as a one-man

subcommittee to inspect troops

and air bases for the House

Committee on Education and

Labor, when the roll was called

on the Civil Rights bill - on

which he had pressured Cong-

ressmen from Wherever to

'The air on "the Hill" is still

obscured by smoke from the

sizzling solons he left behind.

Some pointed out that the New

he had been scheduled as a wit-

ness, and the Committee had

Said his New York colleague,

Judiciary Committee Chairman

Enumanuel Celler, "He should

have been turning handsprings

to get here." Other Celler com-

ments can be found in the

Congressional Record for July

20, page 12,529. Bitter remarks

about "leaving others to do his

dirty work," were being made

on the record, as the bill moved

on, after a House vote of 279 to

There is much talk of a "deal"

Members of both parties, who

128

waited balf an hour for him.

stand up and be counted.

Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.

SENTENCE SERMONS

> BI THE REV. FRANK CLARENCE LOWRY, for ANP

Do You Want To Know Jesus? 1. There are some certain individuals other persons desire to meet, and hoping some day to have the chance, they look with eager delight to that high moment, far in advance. 2. It is not alone the casual

meeting of such characters that count, but their gifts of fine spirit that are so pronounced that one gains incentive to do his best and excel in many ventures above the rest.

3. This is why it is most fortunate to meet and know Jesus who came especially to give life with a new spiritual emphasis, and lift man morally to a high peak, so that with power and authority he could always speak 4. This is the life He sought

to give the Samaritan woman at the well, who soon found that she had more than her weak heart desired to tell: but Jesus' dynamic personality and conversation put her under a magic spell.

5. This is the power He has over all mankind, none are too Yorker, similarly, had failed to brilliant or spiritually blind, appear before the House Rules that His holy unction can't dis-Committee, at the June 20 hearsipate sins' terrible gloom, and ing on the "Rights" bill, where in heavy hearts make plenty of room

6. Yes. He can break every fetter and soften every heart He is sure of every victory right from the start: what in this earth could puzzle Him, when He made everything and now rules supreme

7. Such an acquaintance every man and women ought to make, for Jesus has never been known to deceive or forsake. never fortuitous, always secure. His love everlasting and eternally pure.

8. Youth is the time to meet Last December, this column this Master and sit at His feet noted Mr. Powell's absence from to avert all disaster, and drink the first strategy meeting , of from His fountain of inexhaus-"his" civil rights bloc, when he tible knowledge, no where else also stood up his own widely to be found, in university or college.

9. Who is there that would with non-supporting Democrats. denv himself so rich a treasure as this, with everything at his disposal, even eternal bliss: what an unbelievable arrangement . . , let none fail to enjoy this

10. You need not make any special appointment, God the Father and Jesus the Son. stand instantly ready with holy (Continued on page 3)

Oil is not King as far as Britain is concrned-oil is God And in their anxiety to secure supplies of that precious ligthe British government will stoop to almost any depths. \* But what they forget is that by completely reversing their attitude to coloured races bit

cause of their own insecurity. those white races have lost the respect they formerlyy' had for what appeared to be the strength behind their claim to be a master race

One can imagine what is being said now in the bazaars the Middle and Far East. One could visualize what the old pukka-sahibs of generals, admirals and air marshals were thinking when they were led like lambs to make obeisance to the Arab boy whom they would have sent their subalterns to receive had he not represented a state which possessed huge supplies of oil

What I wrote about the im. morality of the oil stategy and also about Cyrus, Israel, the Baghdad Pact and NTA is now confirmed; there has never been any other policy but the protection of oil supplies and the mainteneance of colonialism as far as Britain. U.S.A.

and France were concerned. Now Marshall Juin has resigned, he hopes to be given , command of an Eastern Mediterranean and African force! to protect the twin Gods of Oil and Colonialism to which Wesern nations have pledged themselves.

Admiral Radford, who wanted to bomb China a short time ago, now realizes that the last citadel has to be in U.S.A. JUST AS I SAID. 400,000 French troops have

not only failed to subjugate the Algerian Nationalists, but the: are threatened wilth anothe: war by Tunisians and Moroc cans. In order to hold North Africa France would have to find two million men and replace a high casualty rate Then they might hold North. Africa for two years at most. Lord Radcliffe, 57-year-old Lord of Appeal, has been given the thankless task of interviewing Cypriotes and then drawing up a new constitution which will safeguard the rights

of all peoples concerned. Now, however, the Cypriotes refuse to discuss their case with Lord Radcliffe without Archbishor Makarios, who is in exile it

Soychelles. And with France too weal to fight her way out of a pa per bag, as they used to sa in the prize ring; Germans re luctant to pay occupation cost let alone join NATO, and Bril ain on the verge of bankrupte; it does look as though the "da tense" of Colonialism. Oil ant Israel is pretty shaky.

where. With his wife, the former Sylvia Ward Olden, of Washington, Oberlin and private tutor trained, he studied in Eurcpe - both on "Fulbrights." He leaves, at the close of "Carmen Jones," here, for a second South American tour to The Argentine, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil. TO EUROPE AND ISRAEL In October, the talented Lee which includes stagefamily

advertised press conference. have been bearing the heat of the CR day, mention words to the effect that "You can't fool all the people all the time.' **Drive Safely!!** 

a voice coach, and will be on leave for the spring session,

Particular point of our inter-

Department, first became inplay on-stage in the original