

### More Ways To Kill A Cat?

A series of editorials in the columns of our listinguished contemporary, the Raleigh News and Observer, has made it very clear that that newspaper is opposed to the Pearsall plan, hough it takes pains to maintain a respectful ttitude toward the promoters of that plan, But whether as part of its strategy to influnce voters in the September election on the constitutional amendments or for some other reason, the more recent editorials have more r less openly indicated that the newspaper's olicy on the general principle of avoiding deegregation does not differ too fundamentally rom that of the Hodges-Pearsall group and he vast majority of the General Assembly, udging the General Assembly by the way it

Bluntly, the News and Observer's line as of now seems to be that just about as much could e accomplished in avoiding or blocking deegregation by the state's already adopted oupil assignment law as by a private-tuitiontrant-plus-emergency-closing-of-the-schools amendment, with the added advantage of not opening a way for the disappearance of the public school in North Carolina.

The News and Observer's stand seems to us o be as cynical as that of the Pearsall-Hodges boys. Maybe more so, since it sems to be based on the implication that North Carolina can obey the Supreme Court by continuing to practice racial segregation while naming it something other than racial segregation, and so maintain the public schools intact with segregation as ironclad as ever, or nearly so. Or it appears that the News and Observer's advice is that more drastic measures to fight desegregation should not be adopted at least until it is seen how much segregation can be maintained by the pupil assignment law, the purpose of which was obviously to maintain as complete racial segregation as possible as long as possible within the framework of the present public school system as far as possible.

The most charitable interpretation which can be made of the News and Observer's position is this: That it is strongly opposed to endangering the present public school system: that it places preservation of the school system intact above other considerations: that it believes that if people of North Carolina can be convinced that they can keep the public school system operating substantially as it is now by application of the pupil assignment law, it is the newspaper's duty to try to do so.

#### The Other Side Of It

New York is not the only locality in which Negroes trained and qualified for teaching in public schools have been welcomed to apply or positions. Some time before the Supreme Court decision created a crisis for Negro teachrs working in states affected, a definite movement had begun in many non-southern loalities to employ qualified teachers regardless of their racial background. The plight of teachrs displaced only because of the progress of desegregation has speeded up this process.

Earlier in the segregation-desegregation debate throughout the nation southern apologists for continued segregation used to point out that segregation was beneficial to Negroes in the eaching profession by citing how many more Negroes were employed in the public schools of North Carolina or Georgia than in any Northern state, or possibly in all of them combined. This argument neglected the movement going on in many parts of the country outside the South to add to the number of colored teachrs already in service, as well as the other fact that Negroes in northern communities who are employed in the public school system hold their iobs on their merits in general, and not by virtue of a system which rigidly restricts Negroes

to schools for Negroes only and mans those schools entirely, as a matter of policy, with Negro teachers. (It has not been too many years, however, since the principals of the Negro schools in Richmond, Virginia, were all white.)

The South has no ground for pride in the number of Negro public school teachers working in the South, since the policy is part and parcel of the general segregation pattern.

On the other hand, the apologists for segregation should be reminded that the relatively small number of Negroes teaching in the nonsouthern public schools, even if it were not being steadily increased, is to an undetermined but large extent offset by the many other avenues of employment open to educated Negroes which are absolutely closed to them in the South. Opportunity in public employment is hermetically sealed to southern Negroes except in the limited area in which segregation makes way for Negro workers in public service of a professional or clerical nature to be employed in serving other Negroes. This is to say nothing of the infinitely wider opportunities for employment of Negroes in the North in privately operated industry and business.

### Light Punishment

As this is written the court martial has just handed down the sentence of Sergeant Matthew C. McKeon, amounting to nine months at hard labor, reduction to the rank of private, and dishonorable discharge.

This sentence is subject to review, and Mc-Keon's counsel had previously declared he would appeal any sentence involving dis-

onorable discharge.

It is not easy to arrive at exact justice in a ease such as this one. The sergeant should not be judged by the bare fact that six men were frowned in the course of the march he ordered. His legal guilt is necessarily to be determined not by the fact that men die, but rather by the extent to which Sgt. McKeon was responsible by his actions for the deaths of those in his charge. There is no question of murder. No one has charged that McKeon deliberately brought about the deaths of the six marines who perished so tragically and so needlessly.

To some extent the Marine Corps itself has been on trial along with Sergeant McKeon. There seems to be much evidence that the illfated sergeant was following disciplinary practices which were common in the Marine Corps, and these have been vigorously defended in the testimony given by witnesses. At one point in the trial it appeared to observers that an attempt was being made almost to imply that the six young men who died did so deliberately just to get their sergeant in trouble. . We believe the public will think that Sergeant McKeon got off very lightly in receiving the sentence handed down by the board. In view of the fact that he was found guilty by the board of neglegent homicide and drinking on duty, though acquitted of manslaughter. The sentence is quite gentle. But in any case we think it will be some time before a marine sergeant disciplines a platoon of recruits by marching them into a creek at night.

#### A Savagely Earnest Protest

The Georgia chain gang has a long and unsavory history. Not much had been heard of it lately, however, until a few days ago, when some thirty of Georgia's allegedly toughest criminals broke their own legs or had a leg broken by one or more of their ringleaders, in protest against what they described as intolerable conditions in Georgia's special prison for he toughest customers.

There is no reason to doubt that the men whose legs were broken by their own choice were troublesome and hard-boiled convicts. They had to be a pretty desperate sort voluntarily to break a leg or have it broken with a

#### But Is It In

ment was adopted by coercion; some allege that it was adopted as the result of fraud. It is quite possible that it would not have been adopted except under unusual circumstances existing at the time. So we may be glad that it did become a part of the law of the land. It would have rough sailing if it were up for

The purpose of the 14th Amendment was to make citizens put of people who had been

sledge hammer. By the same token, their protests is guaranteed as absolutely authentic, and it is certain also that they had ample grounds

One is amazed that the commissioner of correction for the State at first said that there was no need for an investigation and therefore there would be none. Of course he quickly changed that tune People don't bust their legs. or have them busted voluntarily just for fun, or to get a vacation, or just to make trouble for someone; and no one but an arrant fool would

think so for a minute.

Some oritics are saying that the 14th Amendslaves. History may show that there were punitive elements in its proposal and approval by some; but it is certainly true that it was aimed by accident or design, to bring about an eminently worthy objective; and if it was joined to the Constitution of the United States at the only period of our national life when adoption now, we fear. that could have been brought about, there is all the more reason to be thankful that it did

## THE CAROLINIAN

Published by the Carolinian Publishing Company, 518 E. Martin Street, Raleigh, N. C. Entered as Second Class Matter, April 6, 1940, at the Post Office at Raleigh, North Carolina, under the Act of March 1879. Additional Entry at Charlotte, N. C. Payable in Advance-Address all communications and make all checks and money orders payable to THE CAROLINIAN.

Interstate United Newspapers, Inc., 564 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 17, N. Y. National Advertising Repre-

This newspaper is not responsible for the return of unsolicited news, pictures, or advertising copy unless necessary postage accompanies the copy. P. R. JEBVAY, Publisher

Alexander Barnez ...... & Promotion Chas. Jones ........ News & Circulation E. R. Swain ......Plant Superintendent C. Washington ...... Department Mrs. A. M. Hinton ......Office Manager Opinions expressed in by-columns published in this newspaper are not necessarily those of the pub-

## "Our Failure In Civil Rights Legislation Makes The World Doubtful"



- C. D. Halliburton's -

## SECOND THOUGHTS

(Continued from last week) It is true that a vote for the Democratic nominees for president and vice-president would not so much be a vote to send to or keep in Congress the white supermacists who are there or may go there. If that were so only a very few Negroes would cast votes for the Democratic candidates for the two top executive offices in our government. But it is true that should the Democrats win the national election for president they would likely maintain and very probably increase their majority in one or both houses of Congress, and that would intrench in their positions of legislative influence and power the southern Democratic members of the Senate and the House, who by the seniority rule have influence and power disproportionate to their numbers whenever the party to which they belong, actually or nominally, has a majority in Congress. A lot of Negroes are soberly considering that fact. It will not keep those who live in the right places from voting for individual Democrats as members of the House and the Senate. But

of the same party as Hastland and Talmadge.)

On the other hand (speaking for myself), I feel that voting for Eisenhower is voting against TVA, is voting against the policy of conservation of our natural resourcs for the benefit of the people as a whole. A vote for Eisenhower is a vote for the philosophy summed up in Secretary Wilsons' famous pronouncement that what is good for General Motors is good for the nation, while GM is under suspicion of being a trust. I feel that a vote for the Republican candidate for president is a vote in support of a tax policy which will be angled as much as is plausible in favor of the rich individuals and corporations. I also believe that it would be a vote in approval of an administrapolicy which is against participation of the executive in any positive way in promoting legislative action in the civil rights field, though he will be ready to follow a moderately progressive civil rights program within the strictly executive

So we still weigh the pros and cons of voting for Eisenhower, But there is still another question, and an important one. Eisenhower seems at least as worthy of trust in the matter of civil rights alone as any of the Democratic hopefuls that have any chance of nomination. But what are the odds that Mr. Eisenhower, if he defeats the Democratic nomince ' (and I believe he will, granting he is the candidate and on his feet at the time of the election), will be the president the four years following January

I could vote for Eisenhower. Under no circumstances do I wish to vote for Nixon for president if and when I mark my ballot for Eisenhower, though. Harold Stassen is trying to help out. If he succeeds, maybe one of my mental conflicts will be solved. If Nixon is Eisenhower's running mate I shall certainly want to hear more from the President's physicians before I cast a Republican vote. Should Harriman somehow

win the Democratic nomination, it is possible that I shall not need to hear more from the physicians. But there is Eastland, and both Harriman and Eastland belong to the party in which the latter has too much influence, which cannot possibly be diminished too much if there is a Democratic president. (It cannot be dimin-

ished but so much no matter how the election goes.)
What to do? Well, anyway, I don't have to make up my mind

# CAPITAL GLOSE-UP

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

"The biggest problem, now, is to get over the river betwen the two races so that there can be better understanding. --Thurgood Marshall Liberia's 109th "Declaration"

it will have its effect on the

presidential balloting, (it is a

striking fact that all three Ne-

gro members of the House of

Representatives are technically

Year On July 26, the Embassy of Liberia marked the 109th anniversary of Liberia's official request, (July 26, 1846) to the nations of the world for recognition as a free and indepen-

dent sovereign State, with all

the rights and privileges of

such a State. This request-Liberia's Declaration of Independence-unlike that of former subject nations, including the United States, is not a declaration of political independence, since Liberia has been "free, sove-reign and independent," since the first American Negro immigrants landed near Caps Mesurado and took possession of territory ceded to them on December 15, 1821, by six na-

tive West African kings. The anniversary of the Declaration of 1846, Liberia's manifesto of membership rights in the Family of Nations, was the occasion of the Embassy's recent observance, of the Declaration since Ambassador George Padmore took office. here, as his country's envoy to the United States.

Secretary Mitchell to Address 36th Insurance Confab Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell will address the 36th Annual Convention of National Insurance Associations, at the Statler Hotel, here, on August 30, when the President's Banquet, honoring the presidents of 58 member companies and associations is held in the hotel's Presidential Ballroom

Some 600 or more delegates

and guests from 20 States and

the District of Columbia are scheduled to attend the convention of the Insurnace Associations, which were incorporated here in 1921, but have not met here, since Everyone's Victory

The Arlington, Virginia

decision, which was everyone's victory and no one's victory. was significant to us as it quite precisely reflected the analysis of integration situations as discussed by the Negro educational hierarchy (as close as we're getting to names) sexeral years back, i.e., that area conditions are the controlling factor in how and how fast. Federal Judge Albert Ryan's ruling to end racial segregation in the schools of Arlington ,a few minutes drive from Washington, was underscored by the Judge's statement that in granting an injunction ending racial bars as of January 1957, he had taken into consideration the fact that only 7 percent of Arlington County's pupils about 60 boys and girls, all told-are Negro. But the judge also maintained that his ruling did not nullify any state or local rules for assingment of pupils to schools so long as the assignments were not based on color.

The case was about as untypical as any case South of the "Line" could be. But is should be helpful for purposes of evaluation.

Meritt Employment and the Quakers

"Merit Employment, Why and How" is the title of a 16page illustrated pamphlet recently released by the American Friends Service Committee, which is calculated to quicken the interest of average Americans in the manner in which the employment of their

fellow-Americans of minority origin affects the Nation and themselves as well as the minorities involved.

The ten pags of thoughtprovoking findings, moderately but attractively and effectively offered, are a question and narrative-answered synopsis of the Service Committee's ten-year experienc in the promotion of merit employment in key industrial centers throughout the country.

At the conclusion of its brief introduction the pamphleteers state that visits by Committee representatives with a wide variety of employers and employers' representatives in all sections of the country, lead to the conclusion "that the majority of employers believe in merit employment-but need help in implementing a policy they know is right --

Interviewers report that "many employers have asked the Committee's job opportunity staff for how-to-do-it suggestions." The pamphlet is offered to outline "some successful techniques and procedures" for employers seeking "to implement their convictions," but cautions that "there is no detailed outline applicable to every situation involving minority employment"-simply a broad framework within which each employer "may tailor the complete plan to fit his needs."

The pocket-sized publica-tion—wise and unpedantic—is much needed in these times when the all-important matter of minority employment has become a controlling factor in the health and education of the Negro-and, less urgently -of other minorities in Ameri-

Gordon Hancock's

## BETWEEN the LINES

The adjournment of Congress without the passage of the civil rights bill was a great victory for the state righters. The working agreement between the representatives of the Old South and the conservatives of the North is an effective obstruction to civil

rights legistation.
The defeat of civil rights legislation is a defeat for the cause of righteousness; it is a defeat of the democratic forges of the world. It is an invitation to communism, and he is poorly informed who does not see how the communists will take full advantage of the situation.

It becomes more and more a puzzle how this great country can play such dangerous politics; how the Old South is sitting so pretty in Washington.

We hear from the past how Nero fiddled while Rome was burning. We wonder sometimes if our great democracy is not on fire while the Old South fiddles and Congress vacillates in times of great danger. Is it really later than they think?

The whole nation in general and Congress in particular, seem to be afraid to irk the Old South and the amazing thing is, that the Old South is not worse than it is. It is no won-der that the Old South holds the Supreme Court in contempt instead of the other way around.

One of the brightest aspects of the whole ugly situation is the way the state righters are trying to be decent in their appeal for public approbation. They do not appeal in the name of white suprmacy but in the name of "state rights;" this appeal lends an air of respectability to a dangerous and diabolical objective.

The fight the Old South has chosen to make for the perpetuation of white supremacy is not made in the name of white supremacy, but in the name of state rights which in its last analysis means the right of the Old South to hold the Negro down and to hold him down perpetually. In other words, state rights are none other than the rights to eternalize the subjugation of the

Negroes of this country When we see our fond hopes of civil rights legislation blasted in the Coagress of the nabyism. It is no time for weeping and gnashing the teeth. It is time for the Negro to gird his armour on and prepare to renew his determination to fight unto the bitter end for the rights and opportunities vouchsafed unto him by the Constitution of the United States.

The Negro is not going to be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease, while others fought to win the prize and sailed through bloody seas. The road to freedom is rough and rugged and thus it has been from ancient days.

When the white man came to America he faced the Indians with their tomahawks and if the Negro cannot face the Negrophobes and outlast them then there is some question as to our worthiness for the citizenship we seek.

It has been said that "you cannot whip a man who comes back for one more round."

The Negro must keep coming back until every foe is van-

All of the responsibility for our advancement does not rest upon the Congress of the United States, with its effective coalition between representativestive of the Old South and the reactionary North. A great responsibility rests upon Negrae themseives.

There is an answer to the Dixiecrats and demagogues; there is an answer to the Talmadges and the Byrds and all the rest who are committed to massive resistance to the edict of the Supreme Court. These enemies of Negro advance are all elected at the ballot that has been placed in his hand.

The ballot is power! It has put the Negrophobes in their place of power and it will take them down.

There is sill an answer for the very discouraging situation made by the side-tracking of the civil rights bill, which died on the steps of the Senate -killed by the adjournment of

The Negroes' indifferent employment of the ballot is one of the greatest mysteries of the current situation. Throughout the nation there are millions and millions of potential Negro voters who could turn the tide of Negrophobism which is now running at full swell, State righters win temporari-

# Along The Colonial Front

By A. J. SIGGINS, BRITISH

Big Fight In Nigeria

kiwee, prime minister of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, whom everybody calls "Zik", is the central figure in a fight which may retard Nigeria's progress to self-government.

As there is on action for libel due to be heard shortly, many things are not being said by both sides. But you can take it from me that plenty will be said before the fight is over.

In articles which I wrote when in Nigeria in 1952, I hinted at what was going on But I realized that quite a few good nin-both Europeans and Africans-were striving hard to do right in the midst of great difficulties.

I stayed some months with my ear close to the ground. I got enough material rot a and many articles

might have caused a sensation but would have done little if any good at all I did not write any sensa-

tional articles or a book for the reason I have given above. What I did predict, however, was that none of the leaders of that tim would survive and that many splits in existing political parties would take And I saw then that the

Great African Rift was widening and, under existing conditions and with existing machinery, was unbridgeable. Zik was moving between Catholicy and Moral Re-Armament in an endeavor to find allies and financial backing. He sought also Moslem help and get some. But Zik was committed irrevocably to hope in the East Western ways and could see no

That is where we split. I LONDON (ANP - Dr. Azi- realized that the Western nations could not help Africans to gain the full stature of man-hood while the present world set-up was maintained as the possessed neither men no money enough

Many Africans accepted my plans for a new alignment, th Pacific and Indian Oceans Peoples' Federation, United States of Oceania as the dynamic core, linked to a United States of Africa between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn and to a Mediterranean Peoples' Federation but others firmly believed that Western nations could give them all the capital they needed to become independent. And Zik was among those.

I remember at one meeting at the Niger Club I was asked whether I thought Nigeria was ripe for indepndence. I replied that no country could be independent. I then asked how my interlecuter hoped to find the capital necessary for Nigeria to become independent. He said that thy hoped Britain would give it-or lend it-to

"That," I replied, "would be a funny kind of independence." Strange as it may seem, however, it was exactly the kind of "independence" many Nigerian laders, including Zik, visualiz-

One wonders whether Africans will learn by the lesson Now the fallacy of such "independence" is being exposed.

though Capital for the development of all undeveloped countries must be created, as no nation or group of nations can find

th vast sums needed so urgent-

THE OVERCOMING SPIRIT 1. The English language is very descriptive, a word or phrase to fit every case, nothing so vague to be beyond expression and no type of thought beyond its embrace.

2. The term "overcome" covers a multitude of things, such as bad dispositions, bad tempers and many other destructive aides to sins; sins of commission and ommission of the head and heart combined. bringing unhappiness to someone, out of a thoughtless or evil design.

3. Every rational being with his right of choice can overpower and overcome this evil flow, that some times strikes with vehement strength and inflicis a shattering low blow

4. These moral and spiritual deficiencies, all men should strive to overcome; for the gamut of life with such impe

diments cannot successfully be 5. The Adversary of men's souls is ever watchful for a chance to inveigle and entrance, and if prospective victims aren't watchful every moment, they will soon find themselves over-balanced with a lot of Satin's torment

6. The most powerful force at man's command is his "WILL' and with this every law of God he can fulfill; but what a travesty to allow it to commit fraud and with diabolic duplicity rob his God 7. This faculty with which

only mankind is endowed should cause every human being to be exceptionally proud, for he can willingly grow in the likeness of his Maker and continue to advance in His highest favor

8. The OVERCOMING spirit then becomes his delight, for gladly for his God and Master will he courageously fight; and think not of self as he enters the fray, but desires only to be

found faithful each successive