

## WHAT PRICE POLITICAL OFFICE?

It is a reflection on the leadership, statesmanship, intelligence and morality of North Carolina that only in a very few instances is there a candidate running for public office in the 1956 political campaign in this state who has not indicated that he considers segregation the main issue and therefore finds it necessary to violently declare himself in favor of it. In spite of the fact that there are many issues such as schools, roads, atomic energy, foreign policy and farms, the average North Carolina candidate for public office has found only one to scream about, and that is keeping the Negro a victim of segregation.

It is a sad commentary that candidates running for public office in North Carolina find it more important to bow to the will of the Patriots, DUPEC and such organizations instead of that of the U. S. Supreme Court and the Constitution. The state has sunk to a low level when the

only way in which one can be assured of being elected to public office is to lambast Negroes. Even when three North Carolina Congressmen failed to sign such an outrageous document as the Manifesto authored by a group of southerners, it was a signal to set machinery in motion to get their political scalps. Thus, in the May primary, you may see the only three men now running for public office who have shown evidence of having moral courage politically slaughtered.

This newspaper wonders if white supremacy is what it claims to be if it has to strike down a man simply because he has a conviction that is in keeping with Christianity and the U. S. Constitution which he has sworn to uphold. Is any man or group of men free who are such slaves to tradition that they have to deny the right of other men a free conscience and the right to express it? As long as these

## WHERE ELSE CAN NEGROES GO BUT TO THE NAACP?

**Editor's Note:** The following editorial was published by the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide on March 24, 1956.

Where, indeed, does the Southern Negro have to go except to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

It is the only legally influential instrument that is able to get the case for the Negro's legal rights heard before the bar of justice. It is the only instrument for preventing those who would destroy these rights from doing so. It is the only means of protecting those rights.

All but 27 of the 128 members of Congress from eleven Southern States signed the Southern Manifesto against the Supreme Court. Among the twenty-seven who did not sign is REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD D. COOLEY of North Carolina, who described the document as "dangerous, calculated to aggravate the situation."

MR. COOLEY also said that he believed it "holds out a false hope that there are legal means through which the Supreme Court decisions can and may be reversed." MR. COOLEY is a lawyer.

Some people wonder why, despite the sound and fury raised by reactionaries, the NAACP is growing in stature and influence among colored and white people in the South. One reason for this is that colored people in the South have no representation in government, except at times a man of MR. COOLEY's experience and judgment, will come forward and express a word of caution when the anti-Negro majority appears to be going overboard. There were a few such men in the recently adjourned session of the Virginia General Assembly.

## "THE COURTS HAVE NOW BROKEN THEIR GRIP. NEXT STEP . . . ?"



## Spiritual Insight

"ANGER: A DEADLY SIN"  
By REVEREND HAROLD ROLAND

"Sanballat . . . was angry and greatly enraged." Neh. 4:1.

Anger, a deadly, poisonous explosive feeling, has been rightly classed among the seven sins. We have here the story of a man who exploded in a fit of anger because a good work was going on. This is anger at its worst. Such anger is the root of much of man's unhappiness and misery. What is anger but a blind, unreasonable and explosive emotion or feeling? And, as such, anger is an enemy of Man's spiritual life. It has an adverse effect upon the whole man—his body, mind and soul. It upsets the normal body functions. It warps the mind. And above all it hinders noble soul growth. All of us have had angry outbursts followed by a sense of shame and guilt. When anger takes over reason and judgment go out of the window.

Thus anger seen in the light of its tragic results of unhappiness, tears, regrets, heartaches and sufferings is one of the deadly sins among us human beings.

Anger is the root cause of so much unhappiness. That fit of temper makes you unhappy. And it spreads its poisonous influences to those around you. Yes, it affects you and those with whom you have vital relations. The husband has a fit of anger; the unfortunate after-effects spread to the wife and children. A fit of anger at home may upset the teacher in the classroom. That explosive fit of anger spoils many a day's work. A fit of anger may affect all those we touch during the day. Let us then beware of anger, one of the deadly sins.

Anger hinders soul or spiritual growth. Yes, it hinders soul growth because it is childish immaturity. Anger is a sign of weakness in your anger you say to the world I do not know how to manage or handle life's little difficulties. Anger is a sign of littleness rather than nobility of soul. An angry outburst is a signal of spiritual weakness. Anger strangles the soul and puts it in a crippling straight jacket. If we are to grow spiritually, we must guard against the deadly sin of anger.

Anger has defeated many a human being in his or her aspirations or aims. Many have stumbled and failed at this point. We all know people whose temper is forever getting them in trouble. Too many lack patience and lose their heads too easily. We can bring that anger under control with a process of spiritual discipline. Anger keeps many of us from the noble spiritual achievement of self mastery. I know a man who has been running from place to place. Why? Because of his explosive fits of anger. He has never remained on one job long because of his explosive fits of anger.

We can overcome this sinful slavery. How? Pray to God's help in subduing it. If you are tempted to anger, count to ten.

## A DISSERVICE TO NEGROES

Colliers, nationally famous magazine, publishes an article in its May 11 edition entitled "Segregation Is Not Confined to the South." As we see it, the article can have but one purpose in view, and that is to defend southern segregation and take some of the heat off the South that has been focused on it by the unavenged murder of Emmett Till in Mississippi, the Autherine Lucy affair in Birmingham, Alabama, the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott and the Nat King Cole episode.

**THE CAROLINA TIMES** hates segregation, whether it be North or South, East or West. But when a magazine such as Colliers attempts to convey the idea that segregation above the Mason-Dixon line has a similarity to that in the South, we think it is stretching the truth a little too far. Even the article itself belies the fact when it refers to comments of Borough President Hulan Jack, a Negro. Whoever heard of a high municipal office as that of Mr. Jack in a state of the deep South where he would not even have

the opportunity of protesting or commenting on racial ghettos.

This newspaper does not intend that this editorial should defend segregation in New York or anywhere else. We have seen conditions in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, New York City and other northern and western cities that are revolting. The vast difference, however, is that the law offers no protection in the north to such and will not uphold the right of men to crush others under their heels.

We admit that there are sections of Harlem that are bad. We also know that in a majority of instances these sections are inhabited by Negroes from southern states who have gone North in an attempt to escape from the toils of segregation in their native homes where they were the victims of inadequate schools, poverty-stricken incomes, poor housing and other vicious southern practices. Here they have found to their disappointment that the damage already done is too great and has made them

unable to cope with the broader life in a northern city. They however, at least have the satisfaction of knowing that the law protects them from murder, the bombing of their homes and other threats of bodily injury.

In many cities and rural sections of the South, Negroes are fired from jobs, intimidated and even killed for joining the NAACP or asking for equal educational opportunities. Yes, the riots in northern cities are disgraceful as well as the often suave methods of segregating Negroes. We think, however, the difference lies in the fact that such is not deliberately upheld by the law, and a Negro is not shot down in cold blood simply because he attempts to use the ballot to better his lot.

We think Colliers has taken a backhanded slap at Negroes of this country. Its article does them a great disservice and was apparently written with the deliberate hope of alienating northern white friends from helping further in the case of securing human dignity for Negroes.

## LIKE NOT THE MAN, SAYS LETTER TO THE EDITOR

**By DR. A. H. GORDON, Salisbury, North Carolina**

It seems to this writer that Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and others have made a serious mistake, showing lack of political astuteness in advising Negroes to vote for the Republican presidential ticket in the next general election. Although many Negroes and others give Eisenhower credit for doing something for Negroes in his administration, it is the contention of this writer that the President has done far less than his duty to guarantee the rights of minority citizens of this country, including the Negroes. I hold that Eisenhower is due no credit for the great decision of the United States Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice Warren because Eisenhower appointed the great Chief Justice merely as payment of a political debt for Warren's aid to him in carrying California, and Eisenhower has done absolutely nothing as chief executive to implement the Decision.

Some say that the Negro should support the Republicans this time because when the Democrats are in power, or have the presidency, the Democratic reactionaries from the South, men like Senator George

## YOU GET WHAT YOU PAY FOR --- POLITICALLY

Of late, there has been considerable, earnest discussion and soul searching among thoughtful Negroes as to which way we should vote in November. Should we cast our ballot in the traditional way, with the Democrats, or should we align with the Republicans? This question has become a burning one in Durham since a fortnight ago when Val Washington, director of Minorities of the Republican National Committee, addressed the April meeting of the NAACP. It had already been ignited by statements attributed to Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP and its usual spokesman, who advised Negroes in a recent speech to consider "swapping the known devil for the suspected with." The "known devil" has been widely interpreted as the Democratic Party and the "suspected witch," of course, the Republicans.

It cannot be denied by the most casual observer that the subject of which party holds the most hope for the race has aroused more interest among Negroes lately than at any other time in the past thirty years. In Durham, as an indication, some 500 persons turned out to hear Val Washington at the NAACP meeting. That attendance has been

excelled only by the appearance of some national NAACP figure, like Thurgood Marshall. Washington, a high Republican party official, said it was the first time he had been invited to the state. And, a man of Mr. Washington's long years of political experience does not make trips for the fun of shaking hands only.

Notwithstanding Mr. Wilkins' disavowal of urging partisan support, the predominance of power of southern reactionary representatives in the Congress has given Negroes a bad taste in the mouth for Democrats. If one would take the trouble to look around in North Carolina, for example, he would discover that in most cases the loudest voices in defiance of the Supreme Court's decision, from the Governor on down, belongs to Democrats. The elevation of the violently anti-Negro Senator Eastland to chairmanship of the vital Judiciary Committee has become the symbol of the party's double-cross of Negroes and is, in the minds of some, the last straw.

It is well that Negroes give thoughtful consideration for the manner in which they use the ballot. For under our form of government, it is the

## LABOR, THE NEGRO THE SOUTH

**DURHAM LABOR JOURNAL**  
(March 22, 1956)

The South today is in a state of frenzy caused by the May 17, 1954 decision that segregation is unconstitutional.

Many people recognize the problem brought about by the decision. This group can be divided into several groups. The lead in the battle is being taken by hot-headed extremists and ambitious politicians rather than the cool level-headed citizens who believe that racial differences can be worked out in every community by responsible white and Negro citizens.

This decision naturally creates a strain upon organized labor in the South. Labor has had a bitter struggle to get what little organization they have in the South. A great many large industrial companies have used Negroes to break strikes, and a vast majority of them use the racial issue to hold down wages and working conditions.

As a result of Big Business using the racial issue to hold down wages and working conditions, many unions have instituted educational programs to show its members these bread and butter facts.

Organized Labor and the Negro in the South have made remarkable progress because they have understood the fact that

both must co-operate in order to survive. Big Business has found it harder and harder to turn the white worker against the Negro worker, but the Supreme Court decision is reversing this trend.

Now another development is taking place. It is almost election time in the South, and from every nook and cranny appears a savior. The story is the same from all of them and it is I am against segregation and will resist it as long as I am able to stand—Most of these Johnny come lately's are against all social advances which the working people gained under Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Labor has not, can not and will not endorse any candidate because of his stand on segregation. We are aware that almost all the candidates in the South are for segregation. The things that interest us are the bread and butter facts and the candidates' past record if any. By bread and butter facts, I mean we want to know how the candidate feels about unemployment compensation, workman's compensation, the minimum wage, the loan shark problem, taxes, child-labor laws and the thousand and one things that go into making good wages better.

(Please turn to Page 7)

## Capital Close Up . . .

**BY CONSTANCE DANIEL**

**Black Middle Class—Again**

We appreciate a letter to the Editor of the Journal and Guide (Norfolk and points East), written from Virginia Union by a Mrs. Olive Layton Harris, in which she disagreed with our comment on E. Franklin Frazier's "Bourgeoisie Noire" and Fred Morrow of the White House staff—Fred had taken the North Carolina "Guardsmen" to task for spending money on a vacation cruise. He thought they should have used it for a more worthy purpose.

**Critic's View**

Most of Mrs. Harris's long and interesting letter set forth her views—which are shared by many—on what could be accomplished, economically and civically, if only Negroes pooled their resources as a group, and spent less for non-essentials. And, as often happens, she pointed to the respect which Jews as a people command by virtue of their financial competence.

**Jewish and Negro Backgrounds No correlation**

There is, of course, no correlation between the basically agricultural background of the Negro, and the historically Jewish people, forced off the land, through the centuries, by proscription. By way of the figures, which, unfortunately, will not "substantiate her observations," we have asked Dr. Frazier to send the lady a copy of his Alain Locke Conference address (1955) to which we referred. She will find in it much of the data she seeks.

**"Rising" People**

It happens that we're Yankees from "way back" and were reared integrated, in "Old Cambridge," around the corner from

Harvard, where ostentation is still considered one of the seven deadly sins. We agree completely that it has no place in culture, but know that this is a lesson which must be learned by all "rising" people, black or white—and there are as many kinds of Negroes culturally speaking, as there are of any other group.

**Intellectual Ostentation—Just as Bad**

Personally, we're "agin" ostentation in all its forms. Therefore we are "agin" the kind of pedantic self-righteousness which demands that Negroes as a group go around in sack cloth and ashes, doing penance for any pennies they may acquire, or for any relaxation not tagged "educational," in which they may be disposed to engage, whether that happens to be painting, music, dancing, boat-racing or what-ever-according to purse inclination.

As it turned out, Mr. Morrow's "Guardsmen," like many other citizens of the "black middle class," had been giving generously and participating actively in important organized effort—local and national. We think that the manner in which they and thousands like them choose to relax, is their own affair. They'll all probably be better and less tense citizens for "letting off steam," without a prescription. Must we be obviously virtuous?

From where we sit, our need, as a "rising" group, for avoiding intellectual and "do-gooder" ostentation is just as great as the need for avoidance of material display. All ostentation is equally outside the realm of culture. As the Lady from Virginia has so well said, "We have a long way to go!"

**Snowden Is Liberal Arts Dean**

The appointment of Dr. Frank M. Snowden, on leave from Howard University as Cultural Attache at Rome, to be Dean of Howard's College of Liberal Arts, succeeding retiring Dean St. Clair Price, is occasioning much rejoicing in the Capital. Dr. Snowden, Harvard all the way through, is as popular on Howard campus as he has been abroad—the kind of educator who will attract up-and-coming students.

**"The Negro" Summer Theme at Michigan U.**

Each year, Michigan University programs its Summer Session around a central theme. This year the theme is, "The Contribution of the Negro to American Life."

**Jumping the Bus Decision Gun**

Faces all over town were red, last week, as desegregation-happy reporters, rushing too fast on the Supreme Court's order dismissing the South Carolina bus company's appeal, jumped to the conclusion that another nail had been driven in the transportation-segregation coffin—and put every paper in town on the spot.

What the Court did, as its reference to a similar case (non-racial), *Slaker v. Connor*, was to rule the appeal "frivolous" because it had been brought before the Supreme Court before a lower court decision had become final. At this point—as lawyers here unanimously agree—all else is assumption and wishful thinking. In all likelihood, however, the Fleming Bus Case will work its way back to the Supreme Court, properly channeled, before long. In the meantime, bus companies (Please turn to Page 7)

## BE SURE TO REGISTER AND VOTE

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