

The Negro Vote In The 1956 Election

The attempt of a Durham Republican official to minimize the affect of the Negro vote in the Presidential election is not surprising to this newspaper. Negro voters did not switch their votes from the Democratic to the Republican party because of the type of leadership furnished by local Republican leaders, but in spite of it and because of the anti-Negro attitude of the Democratic party, locally and nationally. Local Republican leaders have failed just as miserably to tune in on the new wave of freedom now sweeping the world as southern Democrats of the lowest type. You can't change an anti-Negroophile by merely changing his political party membership.

Last Thursday at his news conference, Governor Hodges, in answer to the question of what he thought about Negroes in certain North Carolina communities changing their vote from a Democratic presidential candidate in 1952 to a Republican candidate in 1956, said, "I told the press I knew nothing about how the Negroes voted, but that it was high time that all our citizens, regardless of whatever race or economic group, think in terms of what good they could do for their state and nation rather than vote just to serve their own selfish interests."

We think there is a bit of irony in the governor's statement, in that it has been his

influence principally that has insisted that North Carolina citizens oppose the nation's highest tribunal by supporting the Pearsall Plan. The governor called the special session of the legislature before which there was paraded an array of anti-Supreme Court individuals who not only attacked the court for its decision on segregated schools, but every individual who dared raise his voice in defense of the court. Certain such action cannot be interpreted as being for the good of the state and nation.

Unless we are sadly mistaken the Negro vote, which is not getting any smaller in the South, is going to be heard from in all future elections. This, coupled with the up and coming young white progressive southerners, is destined to change the color of politics in the South, which in the end will make possible a two-party system in these parts. Both Republican and Democratic officials will need to reshape their tactics if they hope to retain the Negro vote in the South.

The idea that the Democratic or the Republican party can overlook civil rights in their quest for Negro voters is out the window. Negro voters will weigh with serious minds the actions of both parties in an effort to determine the lesser of the two evils in all future elections. That is what took place

in North Carolina, other southern states and to some extent in northern and western states. Although there was little to choose between the platforms of the two parties, action of southern Democrats in starting the ridiculous investigation of integration in the public schools of Washington, D. C., the attempt in this state to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on segregation in public schools with the Pearsall Plan and Governor Hodges' continued antagonistic attitude toward the race were among the factors that drove many North Carolina Negroes to vote the Republican ticket in the presidential election.

Another question that both parties are going to have to face in future elections is that of employment in municipal, county, state and national governments. Negro leaders will not ask their people to remain loyal to any party with a policy that prohibits them from having employment as other citizens. They will watch what the Democratic and Republican parties do about this and not what they say. The day when either party can uphold a policy that marks any jobs "for white only" and then be sure of securing the Negro vote is over. That was proved in the presidential election, and it will be even more pronounced in the election of 1958.

A Distinct Honor To Durham

The Carolina Times has just received a copy of the 1955 record of 65 life insurance companies operated by Negroes under the supervision of insurance departments of the various states in this country. It is interesting to note—and a singular distinction for the entire city of Durham—that approximately one-fourth of the total amount of insurance which these companies carry on the lives of their policyholders is with the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company's Durham's largest home-owned and operated corporation. Citizens of both races in Durham should take great pride in the fact that there is domiciled in this city a company that has not only the distinction mentioned above but is the largest owned and operated by Negroes anywhere in the world.

Sometimes when we are so close to individuals and institutions we lose sight of their real worth to the community, the state and the nation. It is with this in mind that we wish to focus the attention of our readers on some of the benefits which redound to the economic and social life of Durham because of the presence here of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. Let us forget, it has been this company that has mothered and nurtured through the years many of the other corporations and institutions owned by Negroes in this city.

Durham is proud and boasts of the fact that it is a city in which Negroes own more

homes per capita than anywhere else in the United States. It has not occurred to many of us, though, that had it not been for North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company such could not have been achieved. An overwhelming majority of the homes owned by Negroes here can be traced directly or indirectly to the fact that here is located an institution that not only gives stature to the business ingenuity of the race, but is providing the financial means by which its members may become home owners. This cannot be easily traced in dollars and cents what it means to Durham's lumbermen, electricians, plumbers, steamfitters, electric appliance dealers, furniture dealers, etc.

We think such a contribution deserves far more recognition locally than it has been the tendency of Durham to bestow upon its Negro businessmen and women. It is no accident that Durham Negroes have from time to time been the recipients of national honors and recognition while being overlooked by their fellow-citizens right here at home. It was rather ironical that during the life of the late Dr. C. C. Spaulding, a former president of North Carolina Mutual, that he could qualify as an active member of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York but could not do so in Durham. It is also interesting to note that here of late another official of that company has within the course of 12 months been twice singled out to represent the nation in foreign coun-

tries while being overlooked by his fellow-citizens right here at home.

The report of the 65 insurance companies which we have received disclosed that North Carolina Mutual had over \$29 million worth of insurance in force with a premium income of over \$11 million and nearly \$50 million dollars in assets at the close of business December 31, 1955. It is certain that the company by the end of this year will have exceeded by far the above figures. This means that as North Carolina Mutual grows it is contributing its part to the economic and social life of the city, and those who are responsible for its growth and development

We think Durham's Chamber of Commerce is missing the boat in not including in its active membership some of the men who are the top officials of several of the city's major corporations as well as North Carolina Mutual. A majority of them are men of training in the nation's best colleges and universities as well as high achievement in the field of business. They could make a distinct contribution to Durham if given the opportunity, and Durham through them could make a distinct contribution to its Negro citizens in making for a better understanding of the aims and aspirations of both races. This newspaper would welcome the suggestions of its white readers as to how we may promote more interracial exchange of ideas on how to make Durham a bigger and better city.

FACING THE ISSUE

By DR. A. H. GORDON

A DISHONORABLE VICTORY!



It is the contention of this column that the victory of President Eisenhower in being re-elected to serve another term in the high office was a dishonorable victory. It is also true that this victory is really not anything like the great "landslide" that the propagandists have tried to make it appear. This so-called "overwhelming triumph" consisted in the President getting about fifty seven percent of the voters to say that they were willing to give him another chance provided he would take it with a Democratic Congress to hold him in check and see that he does not prostitute the power of his office to altogether liquidate the "little man" in the next four years as he tried to do in the four years he has already been allowed to work toward that end. We must not forget that about forty three percent of the voters declared that they did not want any more of "Ike" under any circumstances.

The People's Choice

One reason why we think that the victory was dishonorable is that Eisenhower secured the office, in part, by trying to be popular with voters in all sections of the country by giving the impression that he would not insist on compliance with the Constitution by the rebels of the deep South in the matter of desegregation. It seems clear to this writer that Louisiana, Virginia, and Texas would not have supported Eisenhower if he had come out plainly and strongly for enforcement of the school desegregation mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court. We hold it is dishonorable for the President of the United States to refuse to enforce the Constitution for the sake of being popular with the voters and thereby keeping in office.

Eisenhower also acted dishonorably when he appeased England and France in connection with their aggressive invasion of Egypt by refusing in the United Nations to kindly condemn them as aggressors. If the President had stuck by his guns in the meeting and strong-

ly condemned aggression of England and France as he did for her action in Hungary and elsewhere, he might have saved the lives of many soldiers on all sides and served the cause of peace by increasing the prestige of the United Nations.

H Bomb Tests

Eisenhower acted dishonorably in taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses of the people and claiming that the further tests of "A" and "H" bombs was necessary and useful as a matter of defense if this country. He also acted dishonorably in claiming that doing away with the peace-time draft would weaken America defensively. Eisenhower knows perfectly well that no great standing army is of any use in defending this country against any possible enemy. He knows that the draft is a senseless waste of American tax-payers' money. He was not honorable enough to agree with Stevenson because he knew that doing so would lose some votes and cause Stevenson to run stronger.

On account of his own inordinate cupidity and the ignorance of the masses of the voters, Eisenhower was able to pile up a large total of votes coming to a great extent from women who do not understand the economic problems involved which may make it impossible for Eisenhower to keep his promise to keep the United States out of war in the Middle East. Since Eisenhower is largely supported by the "Economic Royalists", he will have to drag the people of the United States into war if they think it is necessary to protect their vast oil interests in that region.

Finally, Eisenhower has not been honorable enough to admit that the appearance of a great victory by him is due to the outmoded use of the Electoral College method of election. This method of election gives the false impression that the loser got practically no support. This is obviously false.

A. H. Gordon

New York Post Reads Message In Dramatic Negro Vote Shift

What Democrats Can't Forget The following editorial was published in The New York Post on Nov. 8, 1956:

One of Tuesday's biggest stories may be the message that Negro voters finally got through to the Democratic Party. It was as clear, as simple and as dramatic as some of the events which caused it.

Segregated wards and precincts, so grim all year around, have an ironic advantage on Election Day. A holding operation, such as occurred in 1948 and 1952, cannot be obscured. But neither can a big historic shift such as Ted Poston described in The Post yesterday.

The most lame and empty explanation of the vote in Negro precincts comes from the Democratic Party leaders in Chicago. Some great political brains of Cook County have frantically blamed the shift on the dispersal of thousands of Negro families by slum clearance projects.

National Democratic Party leaders will echo this materialist theory of history at their own peril.

Many Elements Involved Many complicated elements were involved in the upheaval of Negro voters, including the weak Democratic civil rights plank. But many of the immediate causes may have been compressed into a brief period of history last winter.

Senator Kilgore died on Feb. 28; the shameful succession of Sen. Eastland as chairman of the Judiciary Committee came soon thereafter. It occurred almost simultaneously with the unfolding of Atherine Lucy vs. the Southern mobs. And it was just at that moment that Adlai Stevenson, speaking in California, had the misfortune to use the inflammatory word "moderation."

This sequence of events remained unforgetting and unforgetting by thousands of Negro voters. Stevenson's eloquent ensuing pleas for civil rights—delivered in the South and North alike—never could banish the shadow of Eastland or the memory of Miss Lucy, perhaps partly because little of the press heralded his words, and the

President's equivocations on the Supreme Court decision were rarely headlined or underlined.

Exception In Michigan

The exception to the Negro shift seems to have occurred mainly in Michigan, and it serves to highlight the key point. It was the Michigan Democrats who led the revolt against spokesmen for the Southern Democratic rotten boroughs in the Democratic convention. It was Michigan's Democratic Governor who broke traditional diplomatic relations with Southern state houses over such life and death matters as the extradition of fugitives.

The tragedy is that Adlai Stevenson, who spoke so well and so often during the campaign on the "unfinished business of democracy," ended with Talmadge's Georgia and Eastland's Mississippi in his thin electoral column while great Negro defection ruined his hopes in so many states.

It has been said rhetorically on so many occasions that the Democrats cannot forever hold the liberal franchise if the Eastland-Talmadge gang maintains its power in the Democratic Party. Tuesday clinched the case.

The Democrats must remain a national party. But they can do so successfully only by joining hands with the liberal forces of "the new South" and finally turning their backs on the racist demagogues who have so long dishonored the Democrats cause.

Alert and vigorous at 88, Mr. Williams was disturbed, that day, by the action of a Negro mother in his block, who had ordered a white child seeking to play with hers to "Go away!" "I've got no use for white folks!"

"We have the same country, the same institutions, the same language—but separation has taught white Americans to sneer, and has left many Negroes, like this woman, with chips on their shoulders," he observed, adding, "Where you come in contact there is much less prejudice."

Texas, Kansas, Capper Three years after "the war," Charles Williams was born in Texas, and the eldest of nine children of a father who, as a slave, had vowed that "if he was never free, he would never

marry." Fifteen years after freedom—rejected until the war's end by the Lone Star State—the elder Williams had married and migrated to Burlington, Kansas with his family. Young Charles was then 10. By the time he was 12, he was already at work, there, as a printer's devil. Charles Curtis, later elected to Congress from the 4th District, and publisher Arthur Capper, later U.S. Senator, had become friends of the family. There were discussions about "separation."

"Separation Bad"—Casper "Casper always said that in the long range, separation was bad—so he was against it," said Mr. Williams. His father, who had denied himself marriage as a slave, now refused to accept separate schools in Kansas to further the employment of Negro teachers. When a "vested interest" teaching post for his own daughter was held out as a bait, he refused to let her accept it.

D.C.—17 Years Before Wilson The younger Williams came to Washington to work in the Printing Office as a compositor, in 1898, when the Capital, except for its segregated schools, was relatively open, race-wise. For 17 years after he arrived, it remained that way. Then, he related, came the Wilson regime; the orders separating white and Negro government employees—at their machines, at their desks, in the cafeterias, in the lockers, in the rest-rooms. And outside government, the curt,

Hope At Last For The Victims Of Colonialism



Spiritual Insight

"GOD'S MERCY"

By REVEREND HAROLD BOLAND
Pastor, Mount Gilead Baptist Church



"Put the mercy seat on the ark... there will I meet you." Ex. 25: 21-22.

Mercy flows out of the graciousness of God's nature. And this mercy flows out to us mortal creatures in our sinfulness. The Mercy Seat was a beautiful symbol of the forbearance of God towards us in our unworthiness and wretchedness. You remember the Mercy seat was in the most Holy Place in the Tabernacle—it rested on the Ark which contained the Law. Mercy is God's answer to the sinfulness of man. Man's evil nature calls for God's mercy. God in mercy is ever ready to heal and restore us even at our worst. Mercy is God's passionate concern for a sinner. Mercy pleads compassion when we have done violence to God's Holiness.

Honestly, where would you be without the mercy of God? Mercy is God's willingness to spare us when we have done our worst. Yes, God's mercy is

man's great hope. God's mercy finds, heals and brings us back to the fold in our sinfulness. The Prodigal thought of God's mercy and said, "I will arise and go to my Father's house..." God's mercy gives us a second chance. Mercy forbears with us when we have offended the beauty of the Divine nature. We all should be thankful for God's mercy. Mercy is a fruit of the infinite loveliness of God, John plumbed the depths of God's nature when he said, "GOD IS LOVE..." And mercy naturally flows from the inner beauty of God's graciousness. Mercy forgets our sins and mistakes. Mercy brings us back that we might start anew to work on our infinite possibilities under God. John seemed to have been thinking about God's mercy when he said, "God sent his Son into the world not to condemn the world but that the world might be saved..." This is mercy at work in all of its spiritual beauty and power in the

midst of our human sinfulness. God in his mercifulness came in Christ to give us sinners another chance. Every soul is an object of God's mercy. In spite of the vileness of your sin, mercy wants you to have another chance. Mercy calls us to be healed. Mercy calls us back for fellowship and communion with God.

The redeemed should be merciful. But all too many of us would condemn and crush. Too many would be cruel in our self righteousness. Let us ever remember what God in mercy has done for us. Be careful about hasty condemnation. Whatever you are it is not your goodness. If there be any loveliness in you, it is the work of God's love and mercy. Love and mercy met at Calvary to redeem you and give you another chance.

God in Christ offers himself in mercy that we might find the rich spiritual beauty of our souls.

Capital Close Up . . .

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

"No Use for White Folks"

Last week we were talking with one of this Federal City's real "town elders," Charles Williams, who came here from Kansas as the protégé of Congressman Charles Curtis, later Vice-President, to work in the Government Printing Office, before McKinley took office as President.

We looked him up to talk about his recollections of the "unsegregated" inaugural balls, held prior to the administration of the Great Segregationist, Woodrow Wilson. We remained to listen to his penetrating comment on nine decades of the interracial scene.

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"We don't have niggers here any more," at the ticket-window of his accustomed movie house; the "Negro-baiters" on the street cars, taunting, "We're going to have Jim-Crow cars, here, soon!"

I thought I was in the South!" Mr. Williams exclaimed.

All along he has worked hard, through the organized effort of civic groups, to help build a strong, unseparated community. He subscribes to and reads, eagerly, all the Capital's daily papers, and several weeklies, and tunes in on all commentary programs on radio and T.V. Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower

Of "FDR" he says: "I can't give him any credit. He wouldn't touch the Armed Services situation. He was made by circumstances and was forced into FEPC action by Phil Randolph's March on Washington."

Of Truman: "I'll give him credit. He's an ordinary, shrewd, ward politician, who talked more than he did—but he did something."

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