

WILKINS CANNOT SEPARATE HIMSELF FROM HIS ROLE

It is regrettable that Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, found it necessary to publicly state his acceptance of the Senate version of the civil rights bill. His well-intentioned attempts to dissociate the official NAACP position from his own is just as ineffective as the jury trial amendment will make the bill. A former newspaperman himself, Roy Wilkins must know that any importance attached to his comments on national affairs do not derive their significance from the position which he as a man — as merely Roy Wilkins — holds but rather from the fact that he is not just Roy Wilkins but Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. It is perhaps unfortunate but no less true that in our highly Romanticized culture, no individual can successfully separate himself from the role he assumes. Thus, it is impossible for Mr. Wilkins to completely divorce his position on any important issue from that of the NAACP.

If it were possible for the NAACP executive secretary to speak simply as Roy Wilkins, Negro American, it is probable that his statement would have gone unnoticed by the nation's press, just as any off the cuff comment of a "barbershop" politician is ignored.

REALITIES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS SITUATION

Roy Wilkins' stated reasons for announcing his acceptance of the Senate version of the civil rights bill are apparently backed up by sound and reasonable conclusions. The facts which he has marshalled in support of his position are certainly formidable, and given access to the vast experience and information of the Washington legislative bureau, Mr. Wilkins is certainly in position to speak with some authority on matters of legislative strategy.

For Mr. Wilkins, the issue became one of choosing between whether to have a weak bill or no bill. His announced acceptance of the weak bill apparently stemmed from the conviction that such an alternative was forced upon the country. His major contention is that a stronger bill is not possible in this session of Congress nor in the next. In explaining his position, he said:

"The realities of the political situation suggest strongly that the politicians now calling so loudly for a 'strong bill' are not able to deliver the votes for it in the Senate. Our feeling is that if their policy is followed, no bill at all will be enacted. They will have an issue in the next election campaign but we will have no bill.

"Our position is that there is some good in the admittedly weak bill and that it would be better to have that good than to have no bill at all."

Obviously, by announcing his acceptance of the weak bill before the Republican leadership—and liberal Democrats—indicated a willingness to quit the fight for a stronger bill, he has put these men in an awkward position, in effect sawing off the limb onto which they had been urged to crawl by the NAACP in the first place.

Though Wilkins, and possibly others with

But the nation's press — and the nation — knows that Roy Wilkins has been inseparably identified with the NAACP and that he cannot speak as Roy Wilkins without somehow also speaking for the NAACP. Thus, despite the fact that he has emphasized the notion that his position does not represent the NAACP's, the effect of the statement is pretty much the same as if he had been speaking with the full sanction of the organization.

In the view of all except the pro segregationists and white supremacists — and even in Mr. Wilkins' own estimation — the Senate bill represents so far reaching a compromise that it really amounts to almost nothing. (In an earlier statement, Mr. Wilkins himself pointed out how the amendments crippled the bill and rendered it ineffective.) Those who describe it as "half a loaf" are really generous. Thus, what Mr. Wilkins has done has been to commit the NAACP to compromising one of its basic objectives. This represents a drastic departure by the organization from its long history of maintaining a policy of no compromise. And for an organization like the NAACP, this certainly must be a novel position.

in the organization, feel that the Republicans, making political capital out of the issue, are running the risk of destroying chances for the enactment of any measure, it appears to us that the basic reality of the total situation has to some extent been ignored.

It is a patent fact of American legislative experience that a political issue which bodes favor for one party or politician will be played to the hilt, all other considerations secondary. In withdrawing from the Republicans the base on which they formulated their stand for a stronger bill, Mr. Wilkins has denied them the opportunity to make political capital out of the issue.

Although we are opposed in principle to the practice of eking the last bit of political juice out of the issue, we accept the reality that it will be played for all it is worth. Having been denied the political opportunities of the issue, it is highly likely that the Republicans are going to look with some coolness on the future NAACP proposals for action. And with the southern Democrats in virtual control of the congress, one wonders where the NAACP expects to exert its influence for legislative action.

It is just possible that the same motives which brought the Congress this close to an effective civil rights bill could have conceivably brought it, during this session, to the enactment of a strong, effective measure. The mere fact that the bill got this far this time is a direct concession to politics. One wonders if in the long run Mr. Wilkins was dealing with the strong reality of the whole situation or had he become so engrossed with the specific details of the moment that he allowed his usually good judgement to elude him.

A MAN WHO CHANGED DURHAM

On Wednesday night of this week, one of Durham's smallest men was to be honored. He is Philmore Hall, for over a decade director of the Hillside high school band. Though Mr. Hall is small in physical stature and though he is really an adopted Durhamite, his profound influence for good on the city could not have come but from a very big man.

Philmore Hall strode into Durham back in 1945, and on first glance appeared to be an arrogant, cocksure little man. He boasted he would make the Hillside band, then a motley crew of inept stragglers, the best in the land. There were many who doubted him then.

Now, 12 years later, Mr. Hall is about to depart from his familiar haunts. No one who doubted his confident assurances of 12 years ago would dare dispute him now. For in those twelve years he proved that his air of confidence was no mere pose and actually made

the high school band one of the best in the region.

But Mr. Hall has done more than put together a good group of scholastic musicians. In the process, he has helped to mold countless young people into fine young adults. His work in creating an abiding interest in music in youngsters of the city has no doubt gone a long way toward curbing delinquency, by guiding the raw energies of youngsters into creative and constructive channels. But what is of even more importance is the fact that by his sometimes fanatic insistence upon perfection, he has instilled into a generation of students a genuine regard for standards of excellence, an indispensable quality.

Durham is not the same for the presence of Mr. Hall, and it will never be the same again. We reluctantly say goodbye to this dynamic little man and hope for him success in his new position.

Survey Of Nation's Press Shows Civil Rights Bill Pleases None

NEW YORK — An NAACP survey of newspaper comment on the civil rights bill indicates that no one is really happy about the measure as it emerged from the Senate. Some papers call for a veto of the bill—the southern press because it is too strong, the Negro and northern papers because it is too weak. Others, while dissatisfied, express the opinion that it should be enacted because it is the best that can be passed at this time.

Following are excerpts from editorials published in some of the nation's leading newspapers and magazines.

Southern Press
JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS: Even if passed in its present emasculated and watered-down form, the proposed civil rights law means that an army of Federal bureaucrats will descend upon Mississippi and other southern states like a plague of locusts to intimidate the people and demand that all Negroes, regardless of illiteracy, be allowed to vote... That is the reason why Senator Eastland says he is unhappy about it and why he does not favor passage of the bill in its present form.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT: Legal opinion is that a court could keep registration rolls open or hold ballot boxes until the Negro's name or vote was included. Results of all this could be that many Negroes who have not been voting in the past will vote in 1958.

RICHMOND (VA.) TIMES DISPATCH: The civil rights bill, as passed by the Senate, is still a bad and dangerous bill... a veto by President Eisenhower of any "civil rights" measure on which the House and Senate might manage this year to agree is eminently desirable.

CHARLESTON (S.C.) NEWS AND COURIER: Even if the present form, which may not stand, the Civil Rights Bill in fact is a force bill full of dangers to American liberty.

WINSTON-SALEM (N. C.) JOURNAL: Contrary to the token, last-ditch argument of some Southerners against any civil rights bill at all, the bill passed by the Senate stops short of an "intolerable law." If those who have been determined to pass a civil rights law in 1957 will compromise along the lines of this bill, the South would be wise to try to carry out its provisions in good faith.

The Negro Press
NORFOLK (VA.) JOURNAL AND GUIDE: We hope that President Eisenhower will veto the civil rights bill if the House-Senate conferees should decide to let it go to the President as it is.

PITTSBURGH (PA.) COURIER: We think the changes sought by the President to preserve the strength of the courts under other statutes are necessary and wise. However, if such changes are made, we believe the bill should be signed. We do not accept it as the full order for civil rights. It is a civil rights minus bill. But it is unquestionably a step in the right direction. It is a grudging surrender to the demands of the times. These demands are insistent and continuing.

BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN: With the phony jury trial amendment extracted in confer-

ence committee, as we hope it will be, this bill though limited solely to voting rights, represents a belated advance—in fact the first such step taken by the Congress in 85 long, weary and agonizing years. Certainly it is too important a step to be thwarted by political stalemate.

CALIFORNIA EAGLE (LOS ANGELES): Frankly, we think the present Senate legislation is worse than no legislation at all because its enactment will tend to keep down agitation for another genuine law. It seems to us that supporters of civil rights legislation would be well advised to vote against it in its present form, as amended by the Senate, and that the President ought to veto it if the Senate version is sent to him.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS: We therefore call on President Eisenhower to veto the bill in any form which it will be placed before him. For no one, no matter how sincere, can make civil rights out of this mess of batter which Congress has mixed up for his signature.

Northern Press
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR (BOSTON): The more the Senate bill is studied the harder it becomes to oppose it as ineffective... Precisely because it would enlist in essential degree of consent we believe the Senate bill is strong—in terms of actual effectiveness.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE: It would be a severe blow to American prestige and distinct failure of Congress to meet its responsibilities if the House of Representatives meekly accepted the civil rights bill as amended by the Senate... From every standpoint including that of its own integrity, the House must do its very best to improve the civil rights bill.

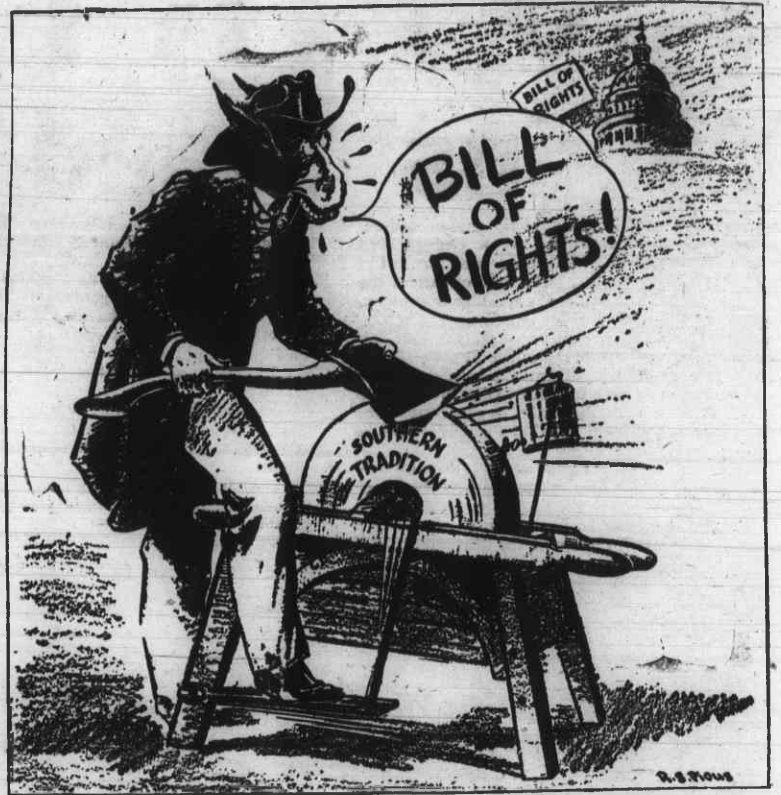
SEATTLE (WASH.) POST-INTELLIGENCER: The angry disappointment voiced by President Eisenhower at the 51-42 Senate vote that killed the heart of the administration's civil rights bill, was justified... While it is true that legal subtleties confused the issue, especially in lay minds like ours, we think the President is right in his position that the jury trial amendment makes right-to-vote protection "largely ineffective" and that "many Americans will continue in effect to be disenfranchised."

NEW YORK TIMES: Let us see what can be done: If the prospective law does not improve an unhappy situation, let us study how that law can be strengthened and improved.

NEW YORK POST: In any case the situation has deteriorated to a point that presents only a choice between lesser evils. In the absence of any fighting Presidential leadership, there is clearly no prospect of reviving Part III at this juncture; all that remains is the question as to whether a flimsy bill is better than no bill at all. To that question it seems clear that the answer must be yes.

THE NATION: Time alone will tell how much the toothless Civil Rights Bill, if President Eisenhower permits it to become law, will help the Negro citizens exercise his rights. But anyone can see right now that, come 1960, it will painfully hurt the Democratic party; whose senators, for a variety of reasons, extracted the bill's bite.

"THEY MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO SABOTAGE IT'S ENFORCEMENT"



Spiritual Insight "Togetherness"

By REVEREND HAROLD ROLAND
Pastor, Mount Gilead Baptist Church

"All these with one accord devoted themselves together to prayer..." Acts 1:14.

A little band of believers achieved the rare spiritual quality of togetherness. This was very essential for the spiritual blessings of the Holy Spirit they were waiting to receive from God. The inner harmony of their souls and of the group made them ready for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Their spiritual togetherness achieved through prayer crowded out all corrupting evil influences. In their togetherness disunity never had a chance. In the unity of prayer they had qualified to receive the rich spiritual blessings of the Almighty God... "these with one accord devoted themselves to prayer..."

Through the unifying power of prayer we, too, can be made ready for the rich spiritual blessings of God. God's blessings can be ours. How-

ever, we must be ready to receive God's blessings. We must prepare to receive God and his blessings. We can have God's blessings through the discipline of prayer, meditation and fellowship. It comes through making the right choices. You must give up something to get it. What must I give up to achieve this inner harmony of togetherness in my soul and in the body of Christ? Jesus set forth the price... "if any man will come after me let him deny himself..."

Rich spiritual blessings will come to you, when you are in fellowship with God and man. Sin had been overcome. Thus the little band achieved full fellowship with God and one another. They had found the spiritual beauty and power of Togetherness. Sin and its disruptive power keeps so many of us from this rich spiritual unity in our souls and in the fellowship of

Christ. Sin, with its pride, selfishness and disobedience broke fellowship between the creatures in Eden and their God. Yes, these things estrange, isolate and break communion with God and man.

Through faith in Christ Jesus our sins are forgiven and we have fellowship and peace with God and with men.

There is a rich spiritual blessedness when we are living in harmony with humanity. The little band had overcome things that build barriers between men and groups; they had overcome envy, fear, jealousy, dishonesty and useless competition—these things divide and keep us from the rare spiritual quality of togetherness or unity.

In our deep longings for human and divine fellowship we must be freed from the disrupting powers of evil through giving ourselves fully to God.

By Robert Spivack

Watch on the Potomac



LOOKING BACKWARDS
It's fun sometimes to pause in this helter-skelter capital and ask yourself, "Where am I going?" and "Where have I been?" Life here often resembles a merry-go-round or a treadmill. There's lots of action and a great deal of energy expended, but when day is done it's often difficult to add up the results and see what you have accomplished.

What makes me so introspective at the moment is that we have just finished our annual office clean-up and in the course of moving things around I came across a 10-10-year-old copy of "The Progressive", that lively monthly published at Madison, Wisconsin by the spiritual descendants of old Bob LaFollette.

I took a hasty glance at the this new law calculated to overthrow a pattern of life that had existed for generations.

In some sections, this anti-integration activity has increased in tempo. It involves even threatened use of force to prevent integration and to maintain a segregated society. Distinguished and able men have shouted, "never shall the races mix, the law to the contrary notwithstanding."

That integration is of the warp and woof of the Christian doctrine of brotherhood and segregation an evil that degrades men and is a foul smelling putrefaction in the nostrils of God makes no difference to these leaders. In (continued on page 7)

cover and noticed a cartoon. It was a drawing of Lincoln as he sits at the Lincoln Memorial. Underneath were these words:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves. There are many such things."

The cartoonist, a man named Tom Gray, then pictured a little man who looked like a politician wearing blinders, carrying a "Lincoln Day speech" under his arm. Scattered around were newspapers bearing headlines, "Food Costs Up", "Housing Shortage" and "Steel Shortage". But the politician was oblivious to what was going on as he hurried to make his speech. Lincoln just looked on sadly.

For a moment I thought it was the latest issue of the magazine and prepared to read it from cover-to-cover, as I usually do. Then I noticed the date. It was February, 1948.

I thought to myself how little things have changed. Here is the President talking about the rising cost of living. Here is George M. Humphrey moving in as head of a big steel company. Only a few weeks ago a national housing conference warned once again of the nation's "housing shortage."

It was the old merry-go-round, going round and round.

INSIDE THE COVERS
KIKKK

Once I got past the cover I looked inside to see what the Editors considered newsworthy 10 years ago. There was an article by Wayne L. Morse of Oregon entitled "Crisis in the Republican Party." There was an article by Hobart Rowen, now of Newswark, that bore the heading, "Will the Marshall Plan Break Up?"

About the only thing that dated the magazine was a symposium on Henry A. Wallace's presidential aspirations. The book reviews dealt with conservation of our timber resources, several volumes of Lincoln biography, and one on civil and racial issues.

There was an advertisement by Americans for Democratic Action announcing a new booklet entitled "Toward Total Peace". The Daily Worker called it "an elaborate apology for the world policy of U. S. big business" while a newspaper in Peron's Argentina denounced ADA as an organization promoting "nightclub democracy". Everyone else thought it was pretty good.

Have we learned anything in all this time? I guess the answer is "a little". As I look back at the headlines, though, I'm reminded of the conversation between a proud father and his son, who had just been graduated from college.

"What was the toughest thing you had to learn?" the father asked.
"How to uncap a beer bottle with a quarter," the bright lad answered.

The Carolina Times

The Truth Unbiased

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Phones 5-0671 and 2-2913 — Durham, North Carolina.

Published At Durham, North Carolina Every Saturday By
THE UNITED PUBLISHERS, Inc.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Durham, North Carolina under the Act of March 3, 1879.