

Two Of Our Colleges Moving Ahead

This newspaper is aware it has been in the past critical of college administrators and, at times, may have impressed our readers as leaning a bit too heavily on the educators. But because we feel that the big hope for the eventual freeing of the race from the shackles of second class citizenship to a large measure lies in the hands of those who train our youth, we feel justified in our inclination to point out shortcomings in performance of school administrators. However, we are pleased that on this occasion we are able to speak of college officials in phrases of compliment rather than censure.

The recent action of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in accepting two predominantly Negro schools in this state, along with 16 others in the region, to full membership is a tribute, we think, to the quiet, painstaking and undramatic labor of their administrators. The action by the rating and accrediting organization is tantamount to saying that Bennett and N. C. College are not just good colleges for Negroes but that their programs of instruction and their standards are on a par with any college in the region. Their acceptance by the association literally removed, to some degree, the stigma of "Negro education" from these two schools. And, as any Negro can attest, the stigma in itself can prove a sizeable handicap for anyone who tries to make his way in our country.

Though acceptance by the Association may not be an earth-shaking achievement, it certainly speaks well for the men and women

to whom direction of the two institutions are entrusted. In the case of North Carolina College, a state-supported school, it may not have been a heroic task for President Elder and his associates to build the type of institution which could gain recognition from the Association, especially in view of the fact that many of the things necessary for qualification as a member of the organization—things like physical equipment—are much more readily obtainable from the state than they were a few years ago. But many schools similarly situated, schools which can draw upon state treasuries, were not able to meet the Association's requirements.

One thing which pleases us most about the Association's action was the spirit in which North Carolina College's President responded to the news of that institution's acceptance. "Now that we have been accepted," President Elder said, "we have the responsibility of maintaining from year to year the standards of excellence required by the Association." He went on to say that the college must not be content to simply meet the requirement of today's world, but must look ahead and plan to cope with the needs of tomorrow.

When more of our school administrators and teachers can begin to feel the mighty responsibility which is theirs to prepare Negro youth for a world which moves at an often bewildering pace, we will have come a long way toward realizing the rich promise of a modern democracy.

Trial Leaves Many Unanswered Questions

The disposition of a few days ago of a case involving the fatal shooting of a young A. and T. college student by a special Martin County deputy sheriff did very little to strengthen the faith of Negroes in the workings of southern justice or their faith in the ultimate establishment of full equality before the law for both races in the South. An all-white jury took only fifteen minutes to return a verdict of not guilty for the deputy who had been charged with murder in the slaying of the 24 year-old student.

The verdict exonerating the deputy of any blame in the slaying left many nagging questions unanswered which will undoubtedly be resolved by Negroes of the area and throughout the state in favor of an explanation which lists "white supremacy and the old double standard of justice as the cause for the acquittal."

In this particular case, the all-white jury which rendered the verdict should not take the major blame, for given the evidence which it had to consider, it is inconceivable that it—or any other jury, for that matter—could have reached any other valid conclusion.

Only three persons really know what happened on the night of September 7 when young Joseph Cross was sent to his death. They are Sheriff Raymond Rawls, special deputy Dallas Halliday, the accused, and Cross, the dead man. It would be too much to expect the sheriff to give damaging testimony against his own deputy, especially since such testimony would tend to indict the sheriff of laxity or malfeasance since he had jurisdiction over the apprehension of law breakers in the county. Miss Polly Roberson, the white waitress over whom the whole business got started and who was at the scene, said she fainted, and therefore could not properly be considered by the court as a witness to the shooting.

The sheriff's testimony stated that after several attempts to capture a caller who had

requested dates with Miss Roberson and who threatened her if she didn't comply had failed, they set a trap to capture him on the night of September 7. Miss Roberson was to obey his instructions to meet him on highway 64, observe his blinking lights signal and follow him to a rendezvous. At the appointed spot, the Sheriff and deputy Rawls, previously hidden from view, got out of the car, attempted to arrest the man and shot him as the two of them grappled. The man then fled to his parked car, drove away rapidly and crashed 150 yards away at a bridge.

Perhaps the sheriff's testimony is a true report of what happened that night. Nevertheless, his story failed to answer many questions which still haunt the crowd which heard the "not guilty" verdict read at the trial.

and questions which still plague people all over the state. Among these questions are the following:

1. Why would Cross, a junior at A. and T. College whose reputation was so good that it merited a special commendation from a school official at his funeral and whose standing in the Williamston community earned his respect of both races, jeopardize his future by dabbling in such a potentially dangerous relationship?
 2. What about the girl friend whom Cross was reportedly on his way to see when the shooting took place?
 3. How could he, after absorbing four fatal bullet wounds, get back inside his car and drive it 150 yards into a bridge?
 4. Why couldn't the deputy have held him or prevented him from getting to the car after he had shot him four times if they had been close enough to grapple?
- Miss Roberson may have been molested by a Negro man, but as far as Martin County residents are concerned, the sheriff's deputy shot the wrong man and was freed from blame because of the South's infamous double standard of justice for the two races.

Alabama's Form Without Substance

The success of the movement to gerrymander Macon county Alabama is one more example of how desperately southern whites wish to hang onto the symbols of supremacy when the real basis for that supremacy has vanished. White Alabamians voted overwhelmingly on Tuesday in favor of a proposal to abolish Macon County and divide its heavy Negro majority among counties which will be assured of white majorities. The action is an obvious flaunting of the spirit of the United States Constitution and one of the worst examples of government by the white majority.

of Macon and many other Alabama counties can be traced to two Negroes, George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington. Without the city of Tuskegee, Macon county could hardly exist as a self-sustaining economic unit. And Tuskegee Institute, which was founded through the labors of Booker T. Washington, is the source from which that city draws its growth. The Veterans hospital at Tuskegee, which services many white residents in the outlying county, is Negro staffed and operated, and was situated at its present location because of the presence of Tuskegee Institute. Together, these two institutions on the red clay Alabama hills. Thus, the rural con county.

In addition, it was through the discoveries in peanut growth and processing by George Washington Carver that white and Negro dirt farmers in Macon and surrounding counties were enabled to eke a livelihood from the red clay Alabama hills. Thus, the rural population of Macon, like its brother town poulace, owes its economic heritage to a large extent to a Negro. It is ironic that the latter-day whites, who have undoubtedly forgotten Carver and Washington, chose to repay their Negro heirs by depriving them of a basic democratic right.

The financial and intellectual wealth of Macon County—or what was Macon County—belongs largely to Negroes who are—
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The Meaning Of Little Rock

(Editor's Note: Following is the first portion of an excerpt from the Monthly Review, dated November 10. The excerpt will be presented in two installments, the second of which will follow next week.)

There is probably no politician in the United States who has a more highly developed propensity to compromise than President Eisenhower. The principles he believes in are all much too vague and general to define a specific course of action, and he seems to be temperamentally opposed to taking a strong stand on anything. It was thus in a spirit of unlimited compromise that he approached the school integration problem.

In response to a question at a press conference on July 17th, he said: "I can't imagine any set of circumstances that would ever induce me to send Federal troops into any area to enforce the orders of a Federal Court, because I believe the common sense of America will never require it." When, less than two months later, Governor Faubus, taking Eisenhower at his word, began for the first time to put into practice the infamous doctrine of interposition, the President shilly-shallied, begged the Governor not to do it, received him as an official guest, and issued statements conveying a totally misleading picture of the real situation—all presumably in the hope that he could somehow muddle through without ever facing the issue squarely.

And yet when the showdown finally came, Eisenhower acted quickly and decisively. Federal troops, complete with bayonets, were sent into Little Rock where they have since remained giving living, tangible protection to the long-proclaimed rights of Negroes to equality before the law. Never have soldiers had a more honorable task; never has a President acted with greater legal and moral justification. But why this sudden change in the President's behavior. Why didn't he continue the search for a way out—which from the Negro point of view could only be a sellout?

In terms of the immediate situation, the answer, of course, is that Governor Faubus gave him no choice. Faubus is apparently not only a narrow-minded

whatever his motives—and it makes little difference whether they were personal or political—he deliberately backed Eisenhower into a corner from which the only escape was an honorable one. If Eisenhower had refused to act every state in the South would have "interposed." The South would have reversed the verdict of the Civil War without so much as firing a shot. Faubus, in short, violated the first result of war and politics which says at all costs to avoid a showdown with a stronger opponent. In so doing, he made a man of Eisenhower, at least for a brief moment, and opened up for the Republican Party a political oilfield of vast but as yet unmeasured dimensions.

The reason for this are well known but too little appreciated. The central fact of the American Negro's life, North as well as South, is humiliating inferiority forced upon him by superior white power and the ever-present threat and frequent use of violence. Whites can never fully comprehend what it means to be in this position, but if they want to understand what is now happening, they had better make the best use of their imagination. The best can. To a Negro, there can be no more satisfying or reassuring picture than that of United States soldiers accompanying Negro children to school in a Southern city. Here, for the first time in the lives of most Negroes living today, is concrete, irrefutable evidence that the law is on their side and that it can protect as well as oppress them.

Ironically enough, Eisenhower and the Republican Party wanted nothing so much as not to have to provide the Negroes with that evidence. But the deed is done, and if the Republicans are prepared to maintain the advantage thus unwillingly gained, then Little Rock could be made to have profound effect on every thinking Negro citizen in the country.

By contrast, the Democratic Party is hopelessly compromised by the events of Little Rock. There is nothing new or surprising, of course, in the stand of Faubus and his fellow Southern "extremists." But what Little Rock has done as nothing else could have is to show up the "moderates" in both the Southern and Northern wings of the Party.

Southerners have in practice aligned themselves on the side of segregation and an indefinite continuance of the status quo. The Northerners have shown themselves to be unprincipled cowards, afraid to split the Party lest they be cast out into the political wilderness. To be sure, there are a handful of Democratic exceptions, but they are a minor element in the Party as a whole and helpless to mold its actual policies (as distinct from its campaign promises). After the spectacle of the last three months, it would seem that no Negro could possibly trust any Democrat in power. Federal troops are all that stand between the Negro and the fury of the Southern mob, now aroused as never before. Who, Negro or white, could feel hopeful, let alone confident, that a Democratic president would not quickly find a formula to withdraw troops as the only possible way of preserving Party harmony and the spoils of offices. It would be the formula of a Faubus, of course, but it would be on that account more, not less, deadly to Negro aspirations.

Why, then, was this reasoning not reflected in the local and state elections in New York and New Jersey, where the Negro vote went to Wagner and Meyer, and not to their Republican opponents? There are, we think several explanations.

Most important was the awareness on the part of Northern Negroes that Eisenhower was backed into a corner at Little Rock and did what he did out of necessity, not principle. When and if the Republicans commit themselves willingly to the principle of enforcement of judicial orders against segregation, when and if they become increasingly sensitive to Negro demands, then perhaps the memory of the marked gains under Roosevelt and the New Deal will fade.

It is clear, too, that the elections came at precisely the wrong time for the Republicans: the rising cost of living; the growing fear about the end of boom and the possible onset of a depression; the dramatic advent of sputnik which increased the number of those who were becoming more and more critical of Ike's lack of leadership—all these undoubtedly had their effect.

(To be continued next week)

This Vicious Curse On U. S. World Leadership Must Be Removed



Spiritual Insight

"WHAT THEY SAW AND HEARD"

By REVEREND HAROLD ROLAND
Pastor, Mount Gilead Baptist Church

"For we cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard."
Acts: 4:20

They had seen the Son of God aflamed with the power of Holy love. They heard the noble, sublime words of love and compassion fall from the lips of Jesus. They had seen this same love give itself fully in the sacrifice of the cross.

This Holy flame of love and had hallowed and consecrated them. There burns in them the Holy passion of Divine love, a love that would not let them go. Thus, when they were warned not to speak again about Christ and his love, they cried out fearlessly: "...for we cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard."

Human beings really in the grip of the consuming passion of Divine love are unable to keep their peace. The flame of this love burns in the heart,

and you just cannot keep your peace. Under the influence of this love, men speak and act.

In its very nature, it is dynamic. It must find expression and action in the midst of human need. True love must reach out to embrace some object. This love is not contented to stand in a static state. If he has whispered his love in your soul, you must tell it. It's true nature is fulfilled in gracious words and deeds. Thus, we must tell those under the power of this love saying, "We must tell of what we have seen and heard."

This love of God must reach out to save and redeem. Thus, in them, this love goes on its creative way amid the lostness of men. This love finds the lost. It saves from sin, it heals the sin-sick soul. This love with its magnetic power awakens the soul and brings it home to God.

This same love had drawn

them from their past and the old way and had lifted them to a higher plane. Now they are used by God in holy consecration. Now they must tell of the wonders of God's grace. Now they become channels for this love with its power to find men in their ruins and rebuild their lives with the Divine Plan of salvation revealed in Christ and His Cross. Nothing now can move them from their determination to tell men about the love shown by Christ and the Cross. The world needs this story today in its simplicity, beauty and power. I mean the story of salvation through Jesus. The story that never grows old. The story of Good News of salvation through Jesus Christ.

Every redeemed soul should have this same urgency to tell what it has experienced, seen and heard in Jesus Christ, the blessed savior.

Press Comment

Population Shifts And Political Power

GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS
December 16
North Carolina and the South cannot fail to note the political implications of population changes which have been projected for the 1960 census.

Western states to which these Southern emigres largely go. On the North Carolina level, the outlook is for a congressional redistricting in such a manner as to make sure that Tarheel's loss is a Republican representative. The squeeze will undoubtedly operate against Rep. Charles R. Jonas if he runs again. Thus the likelihood grows that he will not seek re-election but will accept the third, or roving, federal judgeship contemplated for North Carolina if it materializes and he should desire to remain in public life.

The Baptist Suit

THE AFRO-AMERICAN
November 30

Ten ministers, members of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., filed suit last week asking that President Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, be enjoined from occupying the convention presidency.

He took over the office of the presidency for his fifth term and now occupies it in violation of the constitution which restricts a president to four consecutive one-year terms.

The National Baptist Convention, with its 2,500 churches and 4,500,000 members, is chartered in Washington and the suit was filed in that city.

Under quo warranto procedure, the action against Dr. Jackson is brought in the face of the United States.

Petitioners include ten pastors of the largest churches in Philadelphia, Washington, Los Angeles, Detroit, Atlanta, Memphis and Little Rock. These men are all responsible persons.

The election at the Louisville convention in September was characterized by disorderly procedures, violent protests and the

arrest of some persons. The suit of the ten pastors indicates a desire to transfer the adjudication of this matter from the noisy convention floor to the quiet and orderly chambers of the Federal court.

Under certain circumstances we should believe that a church denomination ought to solve its own difficulties, but it is manifest that no convention can act properly if its sessions are boisterous, disorganized and disorderly.

Alabama Gerrymander

THE WASHINGTON POST
December 20

Alabamians don't seem to realize yet how embarrassingly they undressed themselves by the cynical gerrymander they rigged to deprive Negroes of the right of self-government in Macon County. They voted overwhelmingly on Tuesday in favor of a state Legislature to abolish Macon County and divide its heavy Negro population among counties with white majorities. Here is one form of integration which, apparently, they are quite willing to embrace.

It pretty well shatters the Southern pretext that segregation is not discrimination—that Negroes may enjoy equality so long as they don't seek to mix with white persons. The effect of the Macon County gerrymander will be to diminish for Negroes the concept of government by the consent of the governed, to take away from them the means of asserting their interests through orderly political expression. What the white majority of Alabama has done affronts the spirit if not the letter of the United States Constitution.

It reveals on their part, at the
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'FROM THIS HUMBLE BEGINNING'

