Growing Glorious In Defeat

More and more Rep. Brooks Hays of Arkerias is beginning to loom glarious in The noted Baptist leader was repertedly defeated in the November 4 election for his "moderate" stand on the question of integration, but he is standing by his guns and is gaining in respect and admiration for

In an interview and an address in Winston-Salem Tuesday Congressman Hays said he is a "southern moderate" and a "Christian- moderate." Whether it is possible for one to be both at the same time will not be discussed here and now. Mr. Hays went on further to say, "If I am an integrationist it's because I'm a constitutionalist. I don't believe in forced mass integration. I do believe in integration to the extent of complying with court orders and with the reasonable demards of the minority "

Already censible leaders in Arkansas ap-

pear to be awakening to the fact that mer like Gevernor Faubus have done almost irreparable damage to the school system of the state to say nothing about the promotion of interracial goodwill. The movement to contest the election of Dr. Dale Alford, an avowed segregationist who defeated Con gressman Hays, may be the straws that show the way the wind is beginning to blow in

Another indication is the recent defeat of three segregationists in another election by "moderate" candidates. It may be by 1960 that the people of Arkansas will have come to their senses enough to undo some of the damage that has been done their state by defiance of the federal courts and the closing of several schools to avoid compliance with their orders. Congressman Havs may vet live to see his "moderate" stand on the question of integration vindicated.

Has Time Caught Up With The Klans?

Has North Carolina finally caught up with the Ku Klux Klan? The State Supreme Court listened to remarks last Tuesday from Assistant Attorney General Claude Love that the Klan might fall in the category of a secret political organization which is outlawed in this state.

It was only a little more than 35 years ago, following World War I, that the Klan, hooded and attired in white robes, paraded in towns and cities all over North Carolina with approval of state officials and law enforcement agencies. At that time the principal object of the organization was to intimidate Negroes. The objective not only had the approval and sanction of state church. wal and sanction of state officials but

It took more than 25 years for intelligent while people of the state to realize that the Klan could not be a menace to Negroes without eventually becoming a menace to white people as well. The eyes of some of our white citizens did not become fully opened until the Klan started attacking white cit izens. It was then that the state enacted laws outlawing secret political organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan.

We call our readers' attention to this fact because we know now that many of the accepted customs of race prejudice, inequalities will within the next 25 years be looked upon by white people as wrong and will be outlawed. Right will triumph over wrong the same as it has triumphed over the Ku Klux Klan. Segregation with all its abuse: will one day become a thing of shame because sensible and fair-minded white mer and women will not endure nor sanction a custom that encourages one man to look down on another and take advantage of him

The Democrats Intra-Party Brawl

Efforts of the southern segment of the Democratic Party to hold the line against its northern and western liberals on the question of civil rights may or may not be what they appear on the surface. Too many times in the past quarter of a century we have seen these intra-party and before-convenes brawls over the same queson only to discover after Congress is in session that some kind of deal has been made behind the scenes which causes legislation favoring the Negro's cause to be pigeonholed or defeated.

We intend to wait and see before becoming too enthusiastic about the Democratic Party pessing any kind of civil rights legislation that will mean much to Negroes in the South. It should be remembered that many of the important congressional committees are still headed by southerners and that any legislation, civil rights or otherwise, can be killed in a committee session

before it ever has a chance to get to the floor

The decisive victories that liberal democratic candidates won in the November election, which in turn gives the Democratic Party an overwhelming majority in both the Senate and House of Representatives, leaves little if any room for an excuse if it fails to pass civil rights legislation, provided such can be forced out of committees onto the floor of Congress.

We will not believe northern and western democratic congressmen are ganging up on the South until we see it in the flesh. With such men as Senator Byrd from Virginia Senator George from Georgia and others holding down strategic chairmanships, we are afraid that after the smoke from the first skirmish is cleared in the next session of Congress the South will still be found sitting in the saddle

Civil Rights Investigation In Alabama

vestigation by the Federal Civil Rights Commission now going on in Alabama to the effect that not one out of a total population of 13,000 Negroes living in Lowndes County is registered. In Dallas County, having a total oath and answer questions relative to accusations that Negroes are denied the right

Action of state and county officials in exhibiting little or no respect for commission will surprise none of us who have lived in the South for even a short time. Where the rights of a Negro are concerned, a certain segment of southern whites will not only defy a federal commission but the courts and lews they have established and enacted elves in their own states.

atherners will probably attempt to justify their action on the ground that states

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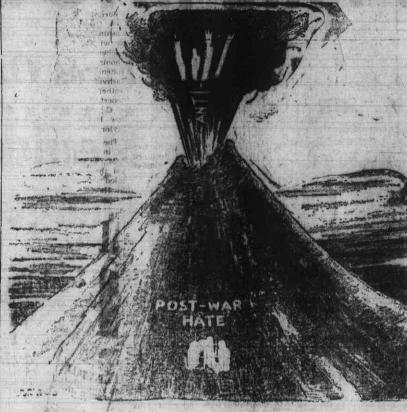
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Evidence has been uncovered in the in-rights gives them the right to defy the federal courts, commissions and everything else when it comes to Negro rights. On the other hand, defiance of the commission investigating the denial of the ballot to Negroes will be made to shield the sordid conpopulation of 8,000 it was revealed that there dition that exists in many sections of Alaare only 128 Negroes registered. In five other bama. We think, however, that this is prima have refused to take the faicie evidence that state and county officials have deliberately denied Negroes the use of th ballot, and the commission should be giv en whatever authority it needs to expose the

What the average southerner means by states rights is not the right of a sovereign state to govern itself or conduct its own af fairs. He means he wants the right, without federal interference, to lynch or shoot down a Negro who attempts to vote, to maintain a lower salary scale for Negro teachers in the public schools and for Negro workers in industry, on the farm and elsewhere. In short, he wants the right to exploit and take advantage of Negroes wherever and whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Even though the Civil Bights Commission's sutherity is limited in its investiga tions, we think the mere fact that state and county officials have been forced to admit before the nation, by their actions, that they have denied Negroes the use of the ballot has done untold good. Alabamans at least now know that their dirty deeds are nation-





SPIRITUAL INSIGHT

By REV. HAROLD ROLAND



Call To Leave The Darkness

"And there came a voice to him, rise, Peter, kill and eat.." Acts 10:13

God called his man to leave the darkness. Peter is en-trapped in the awful, terrify-ing darkness of his past. He is caught and paralyzed in the dark shadows of the old life. Thus entrapped, he was un-able to enter full into the spiritual wonders of the new life. God now calls him out of the old life with its darkness to enter the light and freem of the new life in Christ Jesus.

God Calls Peter to leave the

darkness of the old life and enter into the Light and power of the new life. The darkness of the old cancels the powers of the new. Thus God calls for a move: A
MOVE FROM DARKNESS INTO LIGHT

There is a charm and lascination about the old that we are reluctant to surrender. But we must take a step from

But we must take a step from the darkness if we would really find the light.

The little seed encased in the robe of its own nature and resting in the darkness of the catth must break out of that darkness for the great new life that awaits it. All life must pass through the agony of the birth pangs.

There is pain involved in breaking out of the darkness into the light. This is a law of things physical and spiritu-

of things physical and spiritu-al. The seed must break out of the darkness to find light and

life.
And the soul, too, must in ageny break out of the darkness of sin that it may find spiritual light and life.

light. Through pain the em-bryo breaks out of the womb into light and life. Through pain, in its dark agony, we must pass that we might find the light of renewed health. There is the dark struggle be-fore we reach the light and

joy of freedom. Yes, the call comes to some soul bound in darkness to take the step that leads into the light. You must leave the darkness before you are fully prepared for God's service. God calls! Arise, move into the light of hoy consecration.
I hear God calling us above

the babbling confusion of voices of the times. What is God saying to us? God calls us from the darkness that we may find the light and life that he offers us in Christ

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC By ROBERT SPIVACK



Has Idealism Become Passe?

Is Idealism Passe? Why is it that men in politics are so often afraid to display their inner feelings—to admit that they yearn for a better society and a better life?

I have known a great many politicians, even some from Tammany Hall and other lower levels, whose instincts lines I am thinking of such hard boiled backroom politicians who, in private have often told me of the disand shame they have about day-by-day political operations. Yet both men will never say out in the open what they consider to be the ingredients of good govern ment. For a tough political perator, they admit, the worst thing that can happen is to become known as dreamer or idealist.

This contrast between politi cal idealism and alleged real-ism was vividly demonstrated have the other day by two separate-but not entirely dis-connected-political events. The Democratic National Committee held its first post-election political conference. ricans for Democra tic Action made public its program for the 86th Con-

gress.
On the one hand, there were a collection of political per constities who pride themselves on being iner of action.
On the other hand, ther were

are admittedly thinking men; the ADAera take pride in their ability to beyond today and into

Much of the Democratic Party conference was devoted to arguments over whether National Chairman Paul But-ler should stop talking about convention should and who was going of dispose of that \$700,000 deficit left over from the 1956 Stevenson-Kefauver campaign. All these, of course, are important problems and had to be dispsed with, in one way or another.

But they took up so much time and underscored so many rifts within the party ranks that almost no time was left to think sheed to the

was left to think shead to the kind of record the new "liberral" 86th Congress ought to try to make for itself.

Some of the Democrate seemed almost shamed to say out loud what the party victory meant—or should mean. They acknowledged that it was an important "liberal" triumph. But they left it to others to fill in the details on just what to do with their 1958 political prize.

1958 political prize.
Standstill Or Move Forward
Robert R. Nathan, a gentle
and courageous man who happens to be ADA national chairman, missed in to fill the void. He called for a "New

What he outlined was a pro-gram to realize the huge economic potential of this nation and to avoid stagnation. The present Administration, and the President in particular. have become so "budget-blinded by this year's reces-sion-caused deficit" that they are thinking of how to re-trench at a time when we ought to be expanding Nathan said.

Unlike the political "pros Nathan was not afraid to de lineate the over-all objectives of this "New Deal" nor fearful of outlining the mean of achieving them. What did he ask? Nothing very radical, but his words were words we do not hear very often these

"End poverty in the United States; eliminate slums provide a decent home every American family: offer American child; bring the miracles of modern medical secure equal rights and opportunities and civil liberties for every American; provide, in concert with other developed nations...our share of the 'seed capital' and 'know-how' required to help underde-veloped countries on the way to self-sustaining economic

growth."

Is this so much to ask in
1958? Nathan, who is a first-

Attitudes, Historian Tells Audience

ANN ARBOR, Mich.
The U. S. has imperited
some of its world leadership
because it has fallen into patterns of 18th Gentury nationalism, Henry Steels Commager, noted historian, declared recently at The University of Michigan.
Commager, professor of history at Amherst College and
Columbia University, spoke
at an International Week lecture sponsored by the Student

ture sponsored by the Student Government Council. He cited these indications of

1) The growth of statism which levies and controls science for national security. life by the military. "This is not done in a deliberate fashion, but because it no longer

3) The aggravation of national ideological antipathies.
"There is nothing in our own past history like the U.S. fear and hatred of Russia and

tween the military and the

Communist China."
4) The growth of cultural chauvinism. One example, he noted, was undue concentra-tion on the teaching of Ameri can history

5) The growth of nativism. This is exemplified in the current official immigration policy which shows a preference for certain types of peoples. These developments are con-trary to the U.S. tradition, he 'emphasized, and have "cost us

minds and hearts of the Western world. "Europeans no longer look at us as the champions of demo-cracy and liberalism as they

did in the 19th Century.
"Our indulgence of McCarthyism, treatment of the Negro rigid passport policy, and our packing of Chaing Kalshek make it increasingly difficult for us to maintain a stand against chauvinistic na-

ionalism
In order to regain some of the U.S.'s lost leadership, he said, we must:

1) Institute a better policy toward China. "We'll have to accept Communist China in the long run."

2) Accept India as a leader of Asian opinion.
3) Abandon nuclear tests and respect the use of atomic bombs even for tactical pur-

4) End our scandalous treatment of Negroes, not in the South alone, but in metropoli-tan areas of the North, as

3) Revise our foreign aid program, which now is pre-dominantly military rather than economic.

6) Cease to harrass scholars and scientists. As an example, he noted the Oppenheim case and the Gray Committee's statement: "He exercised the arrogance of judgment."

We are going to have to live

with nationalism, at least for have to do to humanize and civilize it." We must recover the American tradition of invention so that we can invent down nationalism, he con-

"Learning antidates and will outlast nationalism. The university is the best place to link up the past and the fu-ture, the East and the West to overcome nationalism

"We also need faith in the power of man to solve the problems of the world. We that is particular, privy or

NAACP Christmas Seals Provide Way To Put Meaning In Season

cating satisfactory outlets. The high demands of the Christmas spirit are actually so exciting that this will probably always be the case, no matter what we do. For what is asked of us exceeds our capacities to respond adequate-

One minor-but highly significant--outlet for this con-dition is suggested by the annual letter which over the signature of Horne. This is the yearly seal campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The request is that individuals, who are interested in scoin more brotherhood prevai among men, buy and NAACP Christmas Seals.

The NAACP, of course, is the organization which

rate economist, says it is a 'moderate" approach "It is dangerous nonsense to counsel inaction on the grounds that action is 'infla tionary!," he said. "The rising national output can increase government revenues, at present tax rates, by some \$4 to \$5 billion each year (\$5 to \$6 billion a few years from

In those few sentences it seems to me Nathan was profor which the nation yearns. At the same time it was utterly realistic and within the realm of possibility. In short, it is this combination of the practical and the ideal that can win for some candidate in 1960-if the public is con-



The Lord is my helper: I will not fear what man shall do to me.—(Hebrews 13, 6.)

when we know, in the com-preteness of our faith, that the Lord is beside us every minute of every hour, ready to help us in all things that are right and good, we find courage and strength beyond imagining, to win over evil and despair. How wenderful is the firm conviction that we are not alone—that He is ever

NAACP Holiday Seals

A

1958 The NAACP's 32nd annual Hollday Seals campaign has been launched with a letter of appeal from Miss Lena Horne, star of the Broadway musical hit, "Jamaica." Proceeds from the sale of seals at \$1.00 for a sheet of 100 go to help the NAACP carry on its Fight for Freedom. The seals come in two color combinations—green, yellow and white, and red, yellow and white.

wrung from the U.S. Supreme Court a series of notable de-cisions extending civil rights among all Americans. They have carried cases to the land's highest court which have outlawed racial segregation in the public schools, public transportation, state colleges party primasies juries, and the like.

Today, when people in our town wish to relate them-selves to the current struggle over racial segregation here is a small practical way to do so. Buying NAACP seals helps finance the great court costs which are involved in this organization's judicial battles Drop a card to Miss Lena Horne, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York. Your seals will be on the way, and you may send in your contribution

Actually, this isn't quite as sacrificial an act as might first appear. To support the NAACP at this stage is to serve the interest of all of us.
For as long as racial discrimination remains anywhere in America, this nation will be handicapped in winning the minds and hearts of that two thirds of the world's people who happens to be colored.
Thus the impact of the
NAACP's activities is to neares activities is to cleanse our country of a mon-strous evil and, by doing so to increase our effectiveness in resisting the spread of com-

munist tyranny in the world.
From Bloomfield (N.J.)
Independent Press, Nov. 27