

The Daily Tar Heel

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For This Issue

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THIS IS ARMISTICE

(Ed. Note: This is November 11 and you know what that is supposed to mean in the way of holidays and history. But the tone of this particular day is noticeably new: today is no Glorification Day throughout America; today is a Peace day.

With the new surge of purpose in our immediate observance of Armistice there ought to be no small amount of serious thought given to the matter of program and policy. What must America do? Agreeing that dead babies are a sad sight is not enough.

Below are communications, from several recognized American leaders, which reached Chapel Hill and the local "Y" Armistice committee yesterday and last night.)

CHARLES A. BEARD

New Milford, Conn., Nov. 7, 1937.

My dear Questioners,

In my opinion, there are two things that students can do to promote peace for the United States right now. The first is to combat the reiterated assertion that the United States cannot stay out of any major war in Europe. The spread of that defeatist faith is preparing the way for surrender to European war mongers. Presidents Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, for sixteen years kept the country out of European wars. The weak-kneed Madison surrendered. The second thing that students can do is to blast and blow up the fiction that the United States will automatically do good to suffering humanity by taking part in the wars of Europe and Asia. Assuming that the United States always has noble and disinterested motives of good, there is no reason for believing that war will produce good rather than evil. Hammer away on these two things, I say.

Yours sincerely,
Charles A. Beard

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

November 8, 1937

To the Peace Committee of the
Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Replying to your request of November 6, I send the following statement for use in connection with your Armistice Day program:

(1) It is important to desist from mere emotional appeals against war and from mere emotional demonstrations on behalf of peace. The time has come to substitute definite action for these rhetorical appeals.

(2) Public opinion must insist that governments keep their pledged word when given to each other in formal treaties and must require the bringing to an end of the present policy of permitting a government to denounce or renounce a treaty whenever it feels disposed to do so without any regard to its pledges and commitments to other nations.

(3) Public opinion in the United States should require the Senate to ratify without farther delay the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. It should no longer permit a small minority of senators to prevent this action, which has been time and again endorsed by both great political parties and definitely promised to the people. We shall thereby greatly strengthen the movement to substitute judicial process for the use of force in the settlement of international differences.

(4) Public opinion should support the Government of the United States in its recognition of our share of responsibility for world conditions. We should recognize our national interest in relieving those conditions and in substituting peace and prosperity for the present rule of fear and distress. This means that we should join in building an effective world organization of international

conference and international cooperation. Unless and until this be done, the economic nationalism which is now ruling the world, to the ultimate undoing of every nation which participates in it, will go its way unimpeded and unchecked.

(5) Until mankind reaches perfection, there will be as much need of an international police as there is of a municipal police. Only by an effective international organization of cooperating nations can such an international police be brought into existence.

In carrying out these policies, there is no time to be lost.

Very truly yours,
Nicholas Murray Butler

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK

Dear Mr. Miller:

Your letter of November 5 was received, asking that I send comments to you to be used in connection with an Armistice Day Program. While I appreciate your interest in this subject, I do not feel justified at the present time in making any comments for publication.

Sincerely yours,
Hugo L. Black

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Dear Miss Perry:

As I see it the immediate peace problem today is to prevent the Fascist Dictatorships from starting a world war. This could be done if there was a genuine agreement in the democratic nations, but those democratic nations happen to be also the most powerful capitalist nations, and capitalistic interests are at best ambiguous in their relationship to the struggle. Their class interests incline them to sympathize with the Fascist nations, and they try to prevent any kind of rigorous action. Hence the equivocation of British politics and our own. I believe therefore that students can make the largest contribution to peace if they strengthen the forces of genuine democracy in their own country and support every effort to bring pressure to bear against aggressors, whether this pressure expresses itself in terms of unofficial boycotts or official agreements among the democratic powers. The latter can only be achieved if a tremendous force of public sentiment is set against the natural inclinations of the capitalistic interests. If the cause of democracy and peace is lost it will be due to treason in the household of democracy.

Sincerely yours,
Reinhold Niebuhr

JONATHAN DANIELS

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I am as much for peace as the preacher was against sin, but I can not help but feel that a great deal of foolishness has been recently indulged in in the name of peace.

You ask me my position with regard to peace. Stated simply, it is: Peace is a positive condition and not the mere absence of war. It depends, therefore, upon a world will for peace conditions and greater justice for all. I feel very strongly that the United States can not secure peace by running from war, but as a great nation we must be willing to assume our responsibility in the creation of peace. It gives me a mild belly-ache to see the nations that have already gotten theirs be not particularly nice-Nelly shouting in moral indignation over the thuggery of Italy and Japan. Of course, Italy and Japan are thugs and thieves. By what other method did any great nation ever rise?

Fortunately, my interests in this matter are hardly academic. I've become the middle-aged papa of three girls, but to you who may find this matter rather swiftly one of a personal nature, I send you my best wishes for a whole hide.

Sincerely yours,
Jonathan Daniels

HERBERT AGAR

Dear Mr. Miller,

I got thinking about your request and ended by writing a piece on it for my syndicated column. I enclose it in case it is of any interest to you.

You may think from the first paragraphs that I am taking a defeatist attitude. That is not at all what I intend, as I think you will see from the rest of the article.

Very sincerely yours,
Herbert Agar

HOW TO PROMOTE PEACE?

The joint committee of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. on a college campus writes to ask me for suggestions as to "two or three specific things American students can do to promote international peace."

The first thing that occurs to me is to wonder whether it may not be a mistake to assume that American students can do anything at all to promote international peace. They may be able to do something to keep America out of war; but that in itself would not promote international peace unless we assume that America might be an aggressor nation, might provoke a war herself.

Since there is no likelihood that America will become an aggressor nation, a peace-loving attitude here at home may be of great use to us but will be of little use to other nations. And there is no direct contribution, so far as I can see, that American students (or American citizens of any sort) can make to peace in Europe or in Asia.

It is a fallacy to assume that there must be something which men of good will can do to make other nations less

warlike. Those nations are warlike not because they are more stupid than we, not because they are more wicked than we. They are warlike because they are more unlucky than we.

They are less rich in natural resources, less isolated by geography, less self-subsistent. And for these very reasons they are less free than the United States. They are also caught in old hatreds and old injustices.

We do not understand the background of those injustices, so we can do nothing to cure them. We do not share the hatreds, so we cannot help to soften them.

The peoples of Europe and Asia do not need us to tell them that war is evil; they know that fact already. They do not need us to tell them that war is painful; they know far more about its pain than we have ever known. They do not need us to tell them that war is useless, and that even a victorious nation may lose more than it gains. All that has been said many times, and with much eloquence, by writers and preachers in the old world.

War continues to plague the world because life is unjust, and because injustice tends to breed violence. But can we do anything to diminish the injustice in Asia or in Europe? I do not think so.

We cannot make those nations more rich. We cannot give them oceans for boundaries. We cannot make them less dependent on the supplies controlled by other nations. We cannot improve the quality of their leadership. We cannot teach them a patience under injustice which we ourselves have shown no sign of possessing.

We can, however, make a powerful indirect contribution to world peace. It will not be easy; it will not be quick or dramatic; but it might very well be decisive.

In the United States we believe that free democracies are bound to be more peace-loving than the tyrant states of Asia or of fascist Europe. Suppose we undertook to prove that faith? The first step would be to make ourselves a genuinely free democracy.

Most of the people in the world today believe that democracy is a lost cause, that the nineteenth century dream of a free society has been proved impracticable. It is out of this disillusion that the new tyranny of fascism takes its strength. Suppose we were to prove that the disillusion is unjustified? That democracy is possible? That freedom can be made real?

One such example in the world—if it were a real example, which could not be denied—might undermine all the tyrannies and set men everywhere to the task of building just societies. And it is only when the nations have won justice at home that they can have peace abroad.

I would urge every young man and woman who wants to work for peace to work for a more just and a more democratic America. It is easier to give advice to foreigners and to form societies for putting other people's houses in order. But if we really want to make war less probable we must spend out idealism and our energy in seeking to make ourselves an example of a free country. That will not be an easy task.

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DuBOSE HEYWARD

Dear Miss Perry:

A year or so ago I was all for disarmament and active pacifism. Today I pick up any paper and see what is happening to Spain and China at the hands of Fascism, and I swing for the moment toward preparedness. A short while ago Russia was "A Red menace." Today what they have to offer looms as possibly the best way out, and I feel safer for having their vast war machine on guard in Europe.

With this complete confusion in my own mind, how could I possibly presume to suggest any course of action to others. But I am sorry to be of so little use as a quotable authority.

May I add to this letter warmest regards and every good wish to you personally.

Most sincerely yours,
DuBose Heyward

From The President's PROCLAMATION

"WHEREAS lawlessness and strife in many parts of the world which now threaten international security and even civilization itself, make it particularly fitting that we should again ex-

press our wish to pursue a policy of peace, to adopt every practicable means to avoid war, to work for the restoration of confidence and order among nations, and to repeat that the will to peace still characterizes the great majority of the peoples of the earth."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Quarantine War In East, Says Suma

(Continued from first page) time by the arranging of settlements by officers of both governments.

It was not long after this, though, that "the Nationalist Government at Nanking 'upset the apple cart' and deliberately took steps which turned a minor incident into a major clash."

Conflict within the Chinese government halted things for a while. Chiang was captured by a group of Chinese communists and with "a gun pointed at his head was forced to come to terms. He agreed to abandon his anti-red campaign and to cooperate with the Communists in a joint attack on Japan."

"In this fashion the 'United People's Popular Front Against Japan' became outrageously real."

These facts Suma attributed as the causes for war.

In explaining Japan's present attitude he went on to say: "Japan's policy toward China is essentially as it has always been. Japan's desire is for a close partnership with China on a basis of eventual equality."

Mr. Suma was introduced by Dr. Buchanan of the Economics department.

"Y" Will Sponsor Student Meeting

(Continued from page one) the World War armistice.

Speakers

"Handy Andy" Bershak, Carolina's choice for All-American end, Jack Macphie and Anne Perry will be speakers on the morning program.

This afternoon the same committee, headed by Miss Perry and Ralph Miller, will present a broadcast over station WDNC at 5:45 o'clock. Scott Hunter, Jim Joyner, Drew Martin, Bill Campbell, and Jim Joyner will take part in the broadcast.

The WDNC program will be given in cooperation with the Emergency Peace campaign, of which Admiral Richard E. Byrd is chairman. Consisting of a round-table discussion on "War-Makers of the World," the program will be based on the assumption that vested interests are partly responsible for inciting war.

Student-Faculty Tea To Be Held Today

(Continued from first page) uniforms and serve refreshments.

Faculty

The gathering will act as "warm-up" for Student-Faculty day to be observed soon. All faculty members were sent written invitations, while all students were urged to attend by memorial officials and through the DAILY TAR HEEL.

No program is being planned for the gathering. "We want everyone to have a good time, so we aren't planning on any speeches," declared Ivey.

Magazine Gets National Acclaim

(Continued from first page) widely. The Nation and the New Republic, of course, ought to see it, and in fact, I think they ought to reprint it. . . . I urge you to publicize it as much as possible, as it certainly deserves it," the letter closed.

Send the DAILY TAR HEEL home.

On The Air

By Walter Kleeman

- 3:00—CBS Armistice Day Program.
- 4:00—NBC-Club Matinee, Harry Kogen's Orchestra, WPTF.
- 5:00—Golden Melodies, WPTF.
- 5:15—Veterans of Foreign Wars Program, WJZ.
- 6:00—Del Casino, WBT, WDNC.
- 6:30—Eddie Dooley's Football News over WBT, WDNC.
- 7:00—Poetic Melodies, songs of Jack Fulton with readings by Franklyn MacCormick, WBT.
- 7:30—We, the People, directed by Garbiel Heatter, WHAS.
- 8:00—Rudy Vallee's Variety Hour, WPTF. Kate Smith Hour over WBT.
- 8:30—The March of Time, NBC system. Wayne King, WGN.
- 9:00—Major Bowes Amateur Hour over WBT, WDNC. Good News of 1938 with Spencer Tracy, WPTF. Kay Kyser, WGN.
- 10:00—Kraft Music Hall with Bing Crosby, Bob Burns over WPTF.
- 10:30—Red Cross Drama, WDNC. Henry Webber's Orchestra, WGN, WOR.
- 11:00—News, Dance music over WBT.

WORLD NEWS

tonight. Advance information on the constitution indicated it was modelled closely on the Portuguese constitution.

Imperial Wizard To Come Here

(Continued from page one)

Carolina Political union, the Imperial Wizard quickly consented, and although the subject of his talk has not been announced yet, it is definitely known that he will speak on some phase of the Ku Klux Klan work.

Interest in the doings of the Invisible Empire has recently been revived by the alleged part that it played in the past of Associate Justice Hugo Black.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

To:—

- Anne Miller Holman
- Bennett Haskin Hunter
- Herbert Victor Karp
- Edgar Hobert Kobak
- Charles A. Leonard, Jr.
- William Lawrence Maudlin
- Walter L. McBride
- Joseph T. McCullen, Jr.
- Joseph Robert Nixon, Jr.
- William Alston
- James Boxhen
- Henry Fitts
- Paul Reynolds
- George Stratton

(Please call by the ticket office of the Carolina theater for a complimentary pass.)

STYLE TRENDS

WEEK-ENDS

Have you ever stopped to think that 130 days of each 365 fall on weekends. This increase of leisure time has turned the weekend into an important factor in the wardrobe. With this many days it is no mean argument to refute those who wrongly consider weekend apparel of minor importance. Sports wear and semi-sportswear are major categories when viewed from the proper angle.

Carolina Cooperative Store

"Styles of To-day with a Touch of Tomorrow"