

## 'Proceeding Calmly' On Segregation

The sounds on segregation from Raleigh remind us that the University, as well as the public schools, must soon face the issue. Negro students are sure to apply for admission here next fall, and the next year, or the year after that, Carolina must open the doors of the General College to Negroes. If qualified Negro students are denied admission solely because of their race, the University is then standing against the law; and by law, if not by our will, the barrier that has kept Negroes from becoming undergraduates here will be removed.

One hears, from responsible public officials, a good deal about "meeting the issue calmly" and "progressing slowly." It is good advice, and, in fact, North Carolina has followed it. Except in isolated corners, we have experienced none of the wild rebellion of Louisiana or South Carolina.

On this campus, however, the issue has been somewhat obscured through the months under a stack of letters to the editor—calm and otherwise. One thing needs to be recalled: that if the University is to meet the issue "calmly" it must meet it soon. For the attempts of the Negro to gain the rights the Supreme Court has declared are his as a citizen will first be focused here.

So there must be an end to the silence that was typified by the over-cautious tip-toes of this week's presidential candidates and that prevails, by some impromptu rule of etiquette, in polite Y-Court conversation.

It is possible for students to put off discussing many of the moment's momentous affairs—the draft, the H-bomb, the threat of war, the guaranteed annual wage, the stock market situation; it is no longer possible to decline comment on segregation at the University. For with or without student approval, it seems clear that today's freshmen will be going to class with Negro students before they are seniors.

"Let sleeping dogs lie," we were admonished in a friendly argument on the subject yesterday.

But the dog is no longer sleeping. He is coming wide awake.

The student's decision is not "shall we go to school with Negroes?" but "in what frame of mind shall we go to school with Negroes."

The Daily Tar Heel's oft-repeated contention this year has been that students should not passively wait for the year or two that remain before Negroes may attend Carolina by Supreme Court direction; they should say—and say now and say loud enough so that the state might hear—to Negro high school graduates: We welcome you here. For this is your University as much as it is ours.

We believe that is so; we can find no reason in the human law or in the human heart that says it is not so.

A welcome by Carolina's students to Negroes would be heard around the world. It would be heard farther: it would reach the ears of a senior at Lincoln High School who all his life has walked down Franklin Street, believing that he can never turn onto the brick walks of the campus with his books under his arm and be at home, and at peace.

"Proceed calmly" we are told. What calmer or greater procedure is there than this: to tear down barriers built on the flimsy foundation of bigotry, to do it voluntarily, to do it now?

## The Daily Tar Heel

The official student publication of the Publications Board of the University of North Carolina, where it is published daily except Sunday, Monday and examination and vacation periods and summer terms. Entered as second class matter at the post office in Chapel Hill, N. C., under the Act of March 8, 1879. Subscription rates: mailed, \$4 per year, \$2.50 a semester; delivered, \$6 a year, \$3.50 a semester.

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## Carolina Front—The Ghost Of J. C. Calhoun In Raleigh

Louis Kraar

A GOOD name for this spring's election might be "The Rise and Fall of the Student Party," for the liberal SP appears to have lost where it hurts most—everywhere.

Manning Muntzing, the SP presidential candidate, found himself a lonely man after Don Fowler left the party to run for President, taking with him almost half of the SP.

The student Legislature, in SP hands since three years ago, is now in the hands of the University Party. Jack Stevens, the new vice-president will head it as speaker.

Even the class officers, with one exception, went to the University Party. In short, it's a sounding beating for SP people.

IF DON Fowler takes the runoff election next week, most of his supporters—bolters of the SP—will find themselves with pretty good jobs. And the SP will almost certainly be in worse shape.

Dave Reid, the biggest Fowler supporter, would probably get the attorney-generalship. A third party, either official or unofficial, would probably spring forth to include the Fowler camp.

If Ed McCurry wins in the runoff, the University Party can throw out its political chest at sweeping the entire election—major executive posts, Legislature, and class officers. Actually, from the Student Party standpoint, a McCurry victory would be a better thing for them.

With a University Party student government, the SP could take the role of an active opposition, instead of being a fragmented group.

WORD FROM Wilmington that the Azaleas are in frozen shape will have little effect on the mass migration of Carolina students to the coast this weekend.

Chances are most attenders of the weekend festival don't even see azaleas—or much of anything else after the partying.

"RED-BLOODED legislators and citizens should take their stand, shoulder to shoulder, to preserve Southern civilization."

No, that's not a quote from John C. Calhoun, the venerable South Carolina Congressman of a century ago who stood for Southern rights—even if it meant doing away with the idea of majority rule. That's a statement made this week by a North Carolina legislator, Byrd I. Satterfield, speaking against the "local option" school bill.

Although I am personally opposed to the local option bill—or any other measure that tries to dodge the Supreme Court's segregation decision—speeches like Satterfield's reflect a narrow view of the South.

Southern civilization, if there's such a thing, is United States civilization. The age of Southern nationalism passed with the glitter Civil War, which settled the question of states rights in permanent and painful fashion.

Now the question of integration in the public schools is appearing a painful one in the South. This tradition-bound part of the country has been asked to change its way of thinking, and this is difficult—particularly when the thinking isn't very logical.

The hope of the South is this problem lies in quiet, clear thinking—not shouting to tones of John C. Calhoun.

One would expect to find the thinkers in the General Assembly, but instead I see politicians more interested in the sentiment back home.

As for the "local option" law itself, which allows city and county school boards the authority to assign pupils to public schools, this reporter is confident that it will be swept aside by the U. S. Supreme Court as a diversionary tactic.

# Poor, Maligned, Fangless 'Radical'

Ed Yoder

Among the plethora of political statements, sound and unsound, that flood the campus during election time a few always survive in the memory because they are marked off from the others by some particular point of originality. Sometimes good, sometimes bad.

An example of the latter slid quietly under my door one day last week. The statement was to

be found in a handbill for one of the political aspirants running for Legislature. It read, in part: "But (the candidate) is the type of boy who will sincerely do his best for our district—without any 'give-away' programs, or radical or sensational statements that are embarrassing to the entire student body."  
**THREE LITTLE WORDS**  
 Three little words—which may or may not be laughed off as political enticement or claptrap

—interested me from this excerpt: "give-away," radical," and "sensational."  
 "Give away," and "sensational" can immediately be weighed for their political value and motive and discarded. "Give-away" possibly goes back to criticism of national economic policy, perhaps to campus economic policy which brought the somewhat controversial television sets to the dorms. Otherwise, the phrase has no real meaning.

"Sensational" is likewise a political catchword. Everyone wants to appear unsensational during an election, even those who go in occasionally for what others call sensational.

Take, for example, Senator Hubert Humphrey, a good example since he's to speak here Friday night under the auspices of the Carolina Forum. Senator Humphrey is widely known (and respected by those who agree with him) for his liberal views on civil liberties. Yet, when the vote to outlaw the Communist Party came up in the Senate last summer, Senator Humphrey jumped on the careening and unsensational bandwagon and voted for the bill. He knew ballot-marking time lay right over the horizon.

"Radical," so cleverly hidden between the other two meaningless words, is the word which stopped me and started me thinking about the statement. The statement avowed that the candidate in question would not make "radical" statements which would "embarrass" the entire student body. If people are embarrassed by the "radical" why is it? It is a perfectly good English word and, at least up until the time of Chaucer, its equivalent had perfectly clean status; in other words, it wasn't breathless in hush-hush tones and didn't, I'm sure, embarrass anyone. At the risk of boring the reader with semantics, let me defend the word "radical."

### PRESSED WORDS

The trouble with "radical"—like the trouble with "left wing," "right wing," "liberal," conservative—comes from the stains pressure groups have put on it. Words change meanings, of course, but no semanticist ought to recognize the blinding plunge taken by so good a Latin word as "radical"—and especially when propelled to that low position by the most unlettered of pressure artists.

There's no reason why "radical" sentiment should prove embarrassing to anyone except the unlettered—especially in a university where students should dedicate themselves to learning the proper depth of words. The tragedy of word-pejoration is that when words are stigmatized they can lead to all sorts of bad and far-reaching consequences.

The truth is that everyone who has any convictions which reach beyond the immediate circumstances is a "radical." "Radical" comes from the Latin noun *radix*, meaning "root." Students who know their Chaucer will recall that one of his clergymen preached repeatedly on the text: "Radix malorum est cupiditas"—"Desire (or greed) is the root of all evil." So "radical"—"deep-rooted"—is, in a matter of belief, that which has come to be believed deeply and strongly.

### HOW 'RADICAL' IS RADICAL

Everyone nowadays is aware that "radical" usually associates with what the anthropologists call "radical opposition"—that is basic opposition to the deeply rooted set of beliefs of a society. But the person who affirms these beliefs as strongly (or bitterly) as another challenges them is, at the same time and by all rights, a "radical."

Looking at any situation objectively—as all people engaged in politics claim they do—one must admit that there is just as much ground for "radical opposition" as for "radical affirmation." The preamble to our Declaration of Independence—a "radical" document if people ever wrote one—makes plain that the revolutionaries who snatched this country out of the colonial sphere of Great Britain believed in the right to radical opposition.

### IT WON'T BITE

In any society where the people rule the right to "radical" statements—whether they affirm or challenge—goes without saying. We ought to be able to assume, though maybe that would be rash, that everyone who feels himself firmly allied with a society will have "radical" sentiments; being the ultimate, high-flown, finer sentiments, they should be rampant. But a visitor from Mars might deny that this is true of Americans, in light of what has been happening to the word "radical."

There's nothing dark or shady or evil about "radicalism;" it belongs to all who take thought about ultimate things. And to say that individuals have the right to hold deep commitments and then to turn around and slander the word "radical" is to engage in contradiction.

Let's welcome the word "radical" into our vocabularies. It won't bite!

# Should Student Fees Be Raised?

Gordon Gray

(The following statement on student fees was made by President Gordon Gray to the University Board of Trustees recently.—Editor.)

In the present situation of the State's finances and of our needs, it is necessary to look at the matter of student fees. For it is entirely possible that we will be faced someday, in a quite bald way, with a decision either to raise fees, or to cut back our program.

Well before that day arrives, I want to report to you on our present situation with respect to student fees, and to lay before you our best thinking on the matter.

Fundamentally, that portion of the cost of the student's education not met by the fees he or she pays is met by state appropriations. Information presently available to us indicates that the portion paid by our students is equal to the national average of comparable institutions. In terms of absolute amounts, a recent study of fees charged by state universities and land grant colleges throughout the Nation shows that among all these colleges and universities, only ten charge the home state student higher fees than we do at our three institutions. Of this ten, only Virginia is in the South, and Virginia's charges are less than one dollar per student more.

This is no more than an introduction to the matter, though. For the question of student fees involves basic educational policy and philosophy, and



I doubt that we in North Carolina will be content to measure ourselves merely by what our neighbors do. The decision must be made as to the level of cost at which we shall set our university education, with respect to the ability of the great majority of our young people to pay.

There is no absolute magic figure for student fees, nor even a relative one. Both have varied greatly over the years. But there is a constant principle involved. This principle, I believe, is that we are firmly committed to the proposition that it is desirable to have as many as possible of our young people, from all economic categories, obtain a college education. As I think about this problem, the figure that stays in my mind is that college and university education is as important to the individual, and to the State, as was high school education a generation and more ago. Clearly, then, our aim should be to maintain fees as low as possible, and to raise them only as a last resort.

We do not know what effect a small increase in student fees would have on our enrollments. We will begin some studies of this during the current year. However, in all realism, we know that current family income in North Carolina is such as to make sending a son or daughter to college a major undertaking for the great majority of our families. We ought not to increase the obstacles unless absolutely necessary.

Should we be forced to raise fees, an increase in tuition would be the fairest way, for this would apply to all students alike. An increase in dormitory rates only would affect a great many who can least afford greater expenditures.

## The Outer Meshes Of Musical Criticism

Walter Pritchard Eaton

(Mr. Eaton, a seasonal resident of Chapel Hill, wrote this piece for The Gazette of Pittsfield, Mass.—Editor.)

Early in my professional life I became tangled in the outer meshes of musical criticism. Not that I knew anything about music, but there was so much going on in the musical world of New York that the music critic couldn't possibly attend all the operas and concerts. He had to have a leg man to keep reportorial tabs on them, and what he wanted was a reporter who knew so little about music that he wouldn't be tempted to butt in on the critic's province.

I was just the man for this job. Sometimes on a Saturday I looked in on the Manhattan Opera House, matinee and evening, at the Metropolitan matinee and evening and at concerts matinee and evening at Mendelssohn Hall and Carnegie Hall. Almost never was I even tempted to write more than the bare report.

A young violinist played at Mendelssohn Hall, and I was so fascinated that I remained in my seat for the entire recital, and wrote a flowery review. My boss, H. E. Krebbiel, was infuriated, not only by my insubordination, but by the fact that I had he said, "stultified the paper." He would have to go to the young fiddler's next recital, and set the record right.

He did go, and later towered over my desk, glared at me with all the malevolence he could summon to his sweet old German countenance, and thundered, "God damn it, you were right!"

That young fiddler is now a summer resident of the Berkshires. His name is Fritz Kreisler.

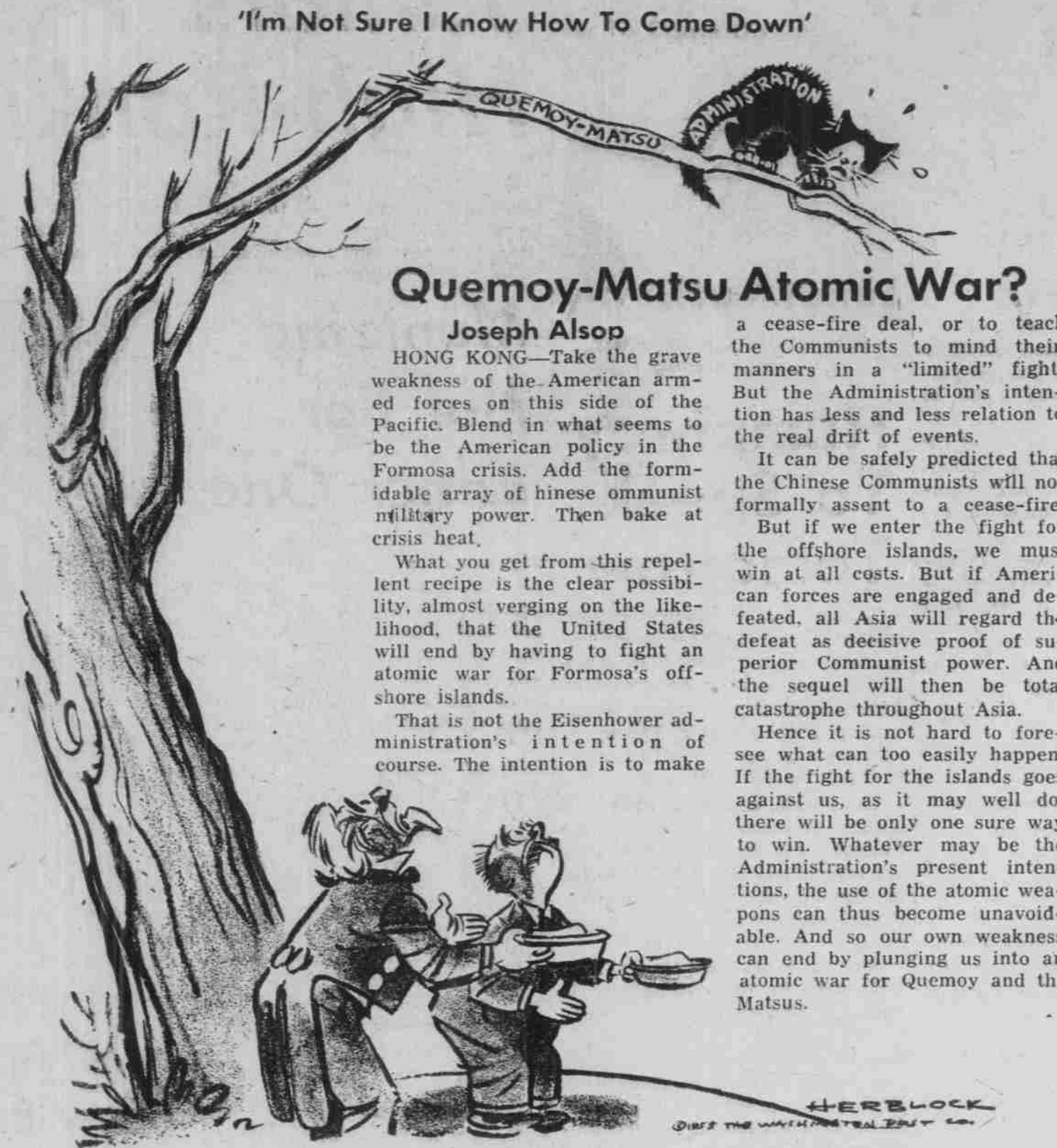
## Quote, Unquote

Puritanism, believing itself quick with the seed of religious liberty, laid, without knowing it, the egg of democracy.—James Russell Lowell.

East is East and West is San Francisco, according to Californians. Californians are a race of people; they are not merely inhabitants of a State. They are the Southerners of the West.—O. Henry in a Municipal Report.

Consistency is a paste jewel that only cheap men cherish.—William Allen White in the Emporia Gazette, 1922.

The one certain thing which we know about Shakespeare is that in his will he left his second best bed to his wife.—Stephen Laccock.



## Quemoy-Matsu Atomic War?

Joseph Alsop

HONG KONG—Take the grave weakness of the American armed forces on this side of the Pacific. Blend in what seems to be the American policy in the Formosa crisis. Add the formidable array of hinese omunist military power. Then bake at crisis heat.

What you get from this repellent recipe is the clear possibility, almost verging on the likelihood, that the United States will end by having to fight an atomic war for Formosa's offshore islands.

That is not the Eisenhower administration's intention of course. The intention is to make

a cease-fire deal, or to teach the Communists to mind their manners in a "limited" fight. But the Administration's intention has less and less relation to the real drift of events.

It can be safely predicted that the Chinese Communists will not formally assent to a cease-fire.

But if we enter the fight for the offshore islands, we must win at all costs. But if American forces are engaged and defeated, all Asia will regard the defeat as decisive proof of superior Communist power. And the sequel will then be total catastrophe throughout Asia.

Hence it is not hard to foresee what can too easily happen. If the fight for the islands goes against us, as it may well do, there will be only one sure way to win. Whatever may be the Administration's present intentions, the use of the atomic weapons can thus become unavoidable. And so our own weakness can end by plunging us into an atomic war for Quemoy and the Matsus.

## Tradition May Be A Foe

# Nixon: Most Likely To Succeed

The Charlotte News

The wreaths Dwight D. Eisenhower has been piling on Vice President Nixon have some Republicans as worried as those presidential excursions to Gettysburg almost every weekend. Wasn't Mr. Eisenhower giving the vice president some kind of green light when he commended him for "courage and honesty which have earned him the respect of all who seek a better and stronger America?" Is the White House starting a 1956 buildup for the controversial Californian?

Mr. Nixon himself added fuel to the flames of suspicion when he proclaimed that "someday . . . we have to have a presidential candidate (other than Eisenhower) strong enough to get the Republican Party elected."

If the President has any ideas

of not accepting a second term draft, he might like to pass the latch key to the White House along to his vice president. But what he is really doing is making a marked man of Mr. Nixon. Party stalwarts with ideas of their own about the presidency can now team up to meet the distant obstacle of the vice president's growing figure by whittling it down before it's too late.

There are plenty of Republicans, too, who are not at all happy about the type of campaign speeches Mr. Nixon made in 1954. Considering the controversial status of the vice president as a result of those speeches, praise a little too glowing. For instance, the Ikeism quoted above could be read to imply that those who withhold their "respect" for Mr. Nixon do not "seek a better and stronger America."

## Ike: Can He Be Beaten?

Joseph C. Harsch In The Christian Science Monitor

Democratic Party leaders have decided to sit up and challenge the current and widely accepted theory that Dwight D. Eisenhower is a sure winner if he decides to run again in 1956.

Whether they really believe down deep in their hearts that "Ike" can be beaten is something none but themselves can know, but they have worked out an elaborate and detailed set of reasons to support their proposition that they can win not only the Congress but also the White House in 1956 even if Mr. Eisenhower runs again. It goes like this:

1. 1952 was an unusual political phenomenon in United States political history.

2. 1956 will be a very different story. Both conventions will do the expected and renominate the candidates of 1952. The candidates will be familiar. The campaign will be less acrimonious.

3. The Democratic Party is the stronger and more numerous party. As a party it has more appeal. Even Republican Vice-

President Richard M. Nixon agrees with this. If the campaign were to be waged exclusively between the parties, the Democrats would win.

4. There will be more Republican unpopularity rubbing off on Eisenhower than Eisenhower popularity rubbing off on the party. This will be so because the Republican Party as a party has been losing ground in many and important sectors of voters.

5. The decline of Republican popularity in the Old South is obvious and axiomatic. No "confederate" states will go Republican in 1956.

6. Decline of farm prices continues to erode the traditional Republican position in the Midwest Farm Belt.

7. The Democrats have seized the popular side on taxes, and stand to gain widely.

8. Organized labor is becoming more organized and more anti-Republican.

9. Adlai E. Stevenson will be a "happy warrior" in 1956 instead of being a reluctant one, as he was in 1952.

For these reasons the Democrats say they can beat even Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956. Is it reason or rationalization?

But tradition may be Mr. Nixon's strongest foe. Not since the days of Martin Van Buren in 1836 has a vice president advanced directly into the presidency except as the constitutional successor of a chief executive who died in office. In Van Buren's case it was Andy Jackson himself who paved the way.

The vice presidency has been the trap door to obscurity for many a party warhorse. Others have used the office merely to mount raucous attacks on their presidential superiors. Mr. Nixon has so far neither dropped from the public eye nor bucked his boss on any major issue.

Not all of his predecessors have been so wise or so fortunate. What some political writers have called the "Throttletbottom tradition" is represented by such forgotten men as Daniel D. Tompkins, William R. King, Henry Wilson, Levi P. Morton and Charles W. Fairbanks. All were U. S. vice presidents; all knew oblivion.

This is not always the case however. Vice presidents who have risen to fame include John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

Vice presidents Jefferson, John C. Calhoun, Millard Fillmore, Hannibal Hamlin and John Nance Garner all had well-publicized fights with their chiefs. Vice president Chester A. Arthur once complained that "President Garfield has not been honorable nor square nor truthful. It is hard to say that of the President of the United States," he added, "but it is, unfortunately, only the truth."

From the other side of the fence, there are the words of Woodrow Wilson, speaking of the office of the vice president: "The chief embarrassment in describing it is that in saying how little there is to be said about it one has evidently said all there is to say."

Mr. Nixon, then, fits no mold of the past. But that does not necessarily mean that he is destined for greatness—or the White House.