

## Appomattox Shadows Linger In Southland

At Appomattox, Virginia these days you can look down the winding country road up which General Lee rode his horse to meet Grant and see the McLean House standing as the site of the South's surrender and a shrine to Confederate pride.

The old Southern house and village atop Clover Hill are being restored by the National Park Service. And soon tourists will flock to the hillside where the hungry and worn men of the South waited with fading hope ninety years ago.

Like our slave-owning, Mint Julep-sipping forefathers, we in the South still embrace the gracious living tradition as if we were all gallant gentlemen courting the drawing belles of a century ago. Only today this living means drinking Cokes (a multi-million dollar industry in the region) and watching television, living in cities like Atlanta and Charlotte and Richmond instead of on plantations.

### They Raggle The Region

In the midst of all these changes in the South, shadows of the hungry and worn Confederate soldiers at Appomattox ramble about the region in a disgruntled manner. And as they perform with this New South as a backdrop, they remind us of old silent movies. These shadows are grotesque and antique.

In Louisiana, we see the shadows convening in a secret group called the "Southern Gentleman's Organization." This group is attempting to rally Louisiana white persons who are determined to keep racial segregation. It is much like another group of shadows in Mississippi known as the Citizens Council.

What the "Southern Gentlemen" and the Citizens Council and similar groups forget is that they are shadows in this age of atomic plants in Oak Ridge, Tennessee and Aiken, South Carolina. In the late 1860's, similar Southern groups roamed under names such as the Knights of the White Camellia, the Constitutional Guards, and the Knights of the Rising Sun. But that was the South of Radical Reconstruction and Federal troops stationed to ensure Republican control—not the South of atomic plants, booming industrial progress, and urbanization.

### An Old Voice Is Outdated

Another voice coming recently from a figure resembling Lee's broken army about Appomattox says that it will "champion the Southern viewpoint at all times." This shadow spoke from Georgia; he is Governor Martin Griffin.

And again he is speaking the words of 100 years ago, words appropriate for John C. Calhoun—but not suitable for a region that is producing men of the Jonathan Daniels, Frank Graham, Richard Russell, and Ralph McGill caliber.

Other shadows darken the New South. They are about us each day in segregated schools and the mental block that exists about trade unions. We all know what they are—ideas we still haven't outgrown, traditions that have outlived their usefulness.

University Professor Rupert B. Vance of the Sociology Department, writing in the Virginia Quarterly tells us that today's South is one of urbanization and industrialization, a region in which sharecropping and tenancy are disappearing. In short, Dr. Vance and other thinkers see this region as a different one, a dynamic one.

That is why we must look for the light to lift the dark shadows of Lee's men from the New South. Let them live in history as a lesson for Southerners bent on sectionalism—not in our factories, schools, and lives.

## The Daily Tar Heel

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## Carolina Front Of Fame And Air Raids And Hell & Things

J. A. C. Dunn

WE HAD AN interesting conversation with a first-semester freshman in the Pine Room the other day. He said he had observed several little literary groups sitting around over stacks of empty coffee cups and settling the world's hash; in fact he had not only seen them, he had joined some of their conversations.



Of course they were very intellectual, and frequently over his head, but all the same he had managed to come to some conclusions about highly literary people and the intellectual barages to which they daily subject each other. He said he gotten the impression that the "illuminati" who sit around and discuss the emotive word at interminable length seemed to think that by talking about the fame and greatness of other people they acquired a certain amount of fame themselves; that if they acquired a fame they would to a certain extent be able to enjoy it after death; and that the ones who aspired to be writers, if given a sufficiently large sum of tax-free money, would never write another word.

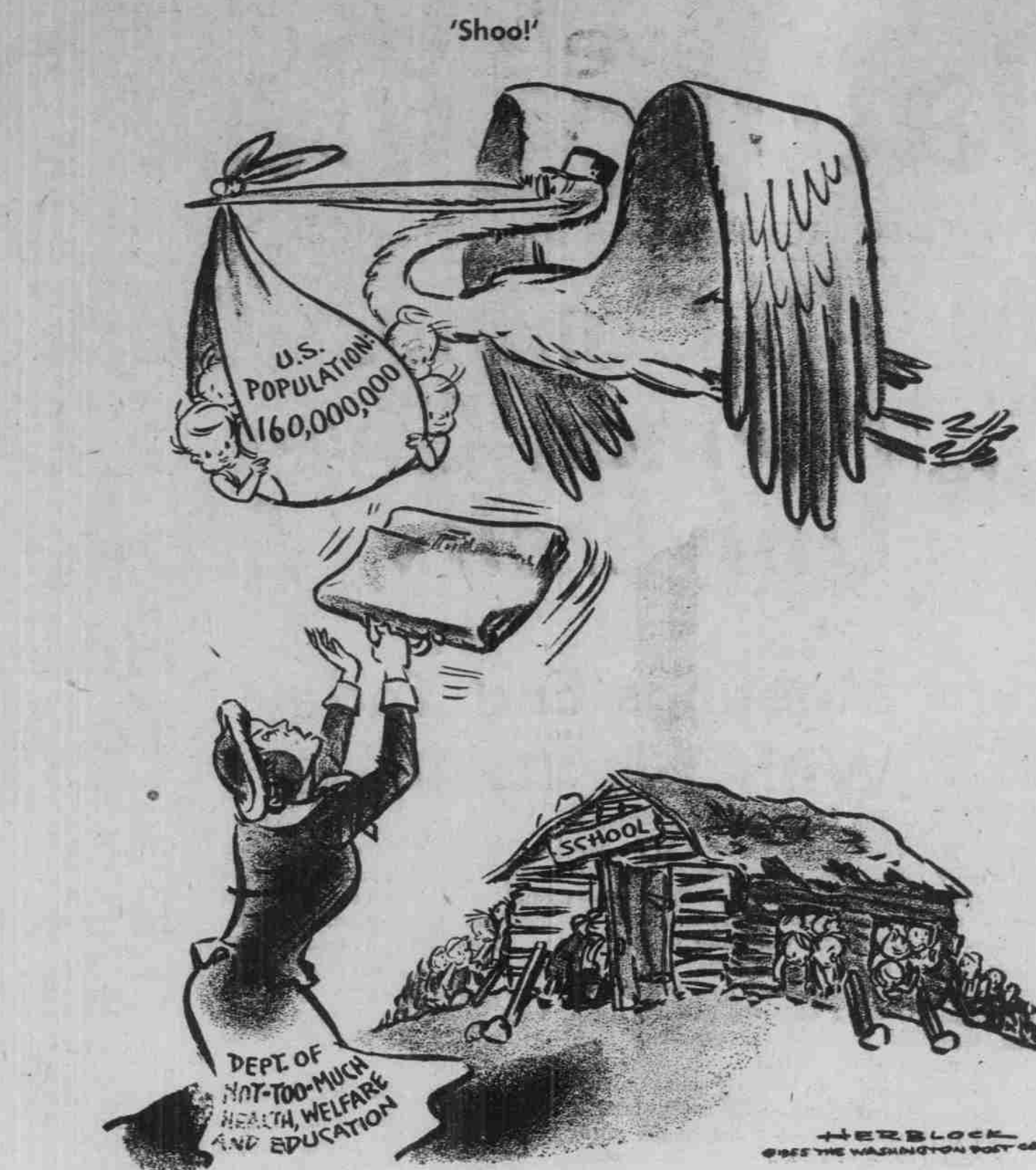
THIS IS INTERESTING thinking. We are inclined to agree with his first remark; digging into our subconscious (a job which can only safely be done with rubber gloves and an oxygen mask), we find that at times we too have felt that in talking of the fame of Faulkner we were enjoying a certain modicum of fame ourselves.

We do not agree with the freshman's second comment. No normal person, we believe, ever consciously thinks he can actively, personally enjoy fame after death. It is however, more plausible to ascribe what the freshman was talking about to an attitude expressed by Kipling when he said quite simply that "no young man thinks he is ever going to die."

And as to the prediction about writers, we see a certain paradox in the freshman's observation; if a person is a writer he will write no matter how much money he has; if he stops writing as soon as someone gives him something to live on he is not a writer. He is, rather, a typist.

ANOTHER INTERESTING REMARK was made to us last week, when the storm over the budget was at its peak. Our informant said that in his opinion, with regard to the hassle between The Daily Tar Heel and the Legislature, the legislature never really understood the Tar Heel and that the Tar Heel never really understood the Legislature, consequently the Legislature never learned to respect the power of purse strings; all with the result that the two groups went right on snarling at one another and leaping at each other's throats year after year.

Every time this highly potent war between the government and the press becomes inflamed and springs into the headlines, or at least the sub-headlines, we imagine the faculty, that is those members of it who have been around here long enough to see a few cycles go through their recurring routine, must laugh rather wearily to itself and sigh, "Oh, there they go again trying to commit journalistic (or legislative) homicide," and retire stoically into an academic air raid shelter until the clashing issues stop exploding, the search lights of self-righteousness are flicked off, and the final siren or dying interest or diversionary events sounds the "all clear."



### MATTER OF FACT

## Matsu, Quemoy And Politics

Stewart Alsop

WASHINGTON—Maybe there ought to be no connection between domestic politics and the crisis in the Formosa Strait. But there is. The connection is very much on the minds of politicians in both parties. At least in part because this is so, American intervention in case of an attack on the offshore islands, which looked very probable a few weeks ago, looks much less so now.

Instead, an all-out attempt by the Administration to extricate itself from the Quemoy-Matsu dilemma is looking more and more in the cards every day. The attempt could take the form of the kind of Anglo-American deal recently described in this space. Or it could be a simple warning to Chiang either to evacuate or to prepare to fight alone. Extermination may quite conceivably be the purpose of the sudden visit to Formosa by Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson and Adm. Arthur Radford, a pair it would be hard to accuse of appeasement-mindedness.

At any rate, one thing is certain—there is strong and growing political pressure on the Administration to avoid a fight for Matsu and Quemoy. The Democrats are clearly beginning to see the Matsu-Quemoy issue as, potentially, the "gut issue" to use against the Administration that they have so far lacked. And many Republicans fear they may be right.

### BITTERLY AWARE

The Democrats are bitterly aware that the "peace issue" has been used effectively against them by Republicans in the past. Many Democrats believe that the Quemoy-Matsu crisis may provide them with a golden opportunity to seize the "peace issue" for themselves, meanwhile hanging the "war party" label on at least a section of the Republican party.

In fact, politicians in both parties sense—or think they sense—a strong movement of opinion against intervention to save Quemoy and Matsu. Congressional mail on the subject has not been heavy. But it has been steady, and anti-intervention by a wide margin. The press has also been surprisingly anti-intervention. And experiences like that of Minnesota's Sen. Hubert Humphrey have impressed other politicians.

Humphrey recently invaded California, home stamping ground of Sen. William Knowland, chief advocate of the view that the offshore islands must at all costs be defended. Humphrey made a whole series of speeches opposing intervention. He even committed the near-sacrilege of proposing that Nationalist China should be replaced by India on the United Nations Security

### Council.

### ENTHUSIASM

Humphrey has reported to fellow Democrats that he was enthusiastically received everywhere, even by audiences he had expected to have Knowland's views. This sort of thing leads politicians to suspect that they have found that pearl beyond price—a winning issue. It has also led many Democrats to complain privately that they made a terrible mistake when they did not fight the Formosa resolution, as former President Truman urged when the resolution was being debated.

For the Formosa resolution makes any effective exploitation of the issue difficult. The resolution committed the Democrats in advance to rely on the President's judgement—the more partisan declare that they were "mouse-trapped" into approving whatever the President might do.

Moreover, if the Democrats adopted an outright party position against intervention to save the islands, as some Democrats now urge, the party would certainly be accused of softness on communism. It would be accused, with more justice, of extending to the Communists an open invitation to attack. Yet if President Eisenhower subsequently decided not to intervene, his hand would be strengthened, and Democratic criticism forestalled.

### FORMULA

In this political dilemma, the most effective formula seems to be Adlai Stevenson's charge that Administration bungling has given the nation a "choice between another humiliating retreat or else the hazard of war... unleashed not by necessity... Neither retreat nor unnecessary war is particularly popular politically.

All this is not to suggest for a moment that either Democratic criticism of the Administration's Asia policy, or the Administration's increasingly visible tendency to back away from intervention in the face of this criticism, are wholly politically motivated. There are honest arguments, which have nothing at all to do with domestic politics, both for and against defending the offshore islands. Men's motives are always mixed, and patriotism and even simple common sense are by no means unknown in either party.

Yet it is of no use pretending that the Quemoy-Matsu dispute, and indeed the whole crisis abroad, are not deeply charged with domestic political meaning. In this situation the danger is clear. The danger is that both parties will begin to compete feverishly for the "peace party" label. This is by no means a

'Shoo!

## Suspicious Of Southerners In Congress

Doris Fleeson

WASHINGTON.—A suspicion exists in Washington that the Southern leadership of the Senate and, to a lesser degree, of the House would manage to be brave if they could be sure that after 1956 they still controlled Congress and President Eisenhower still ran the Executive branch.

It is a reasonable prospect. Congressional margins are already narrow, many Democrats coming up next fall are in the Solid South while some Republicans coming up are from doubtful states and districts or have failed to make impressive records here.

In an extraordinary burst of candor, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas, speaking at the Rayburn dinner, called the roll of states where he expects to pick up Senators next fall. Experienced politicians are great claimers, but the rule is to be general rather than specific lest you be embarrassed as a prophet or discourage the party faithful in the places you omit to name.

But Johnson said the Democrats would oust Republicans in Maryland, Indiana, Ohio, Connecticut, Illinois, Pennsylvania, California, Colorado and Idaho. The House rarely fails to follow the Senate.

### COMMATID

Such victories would still leave senior Southern Democrats in commanding positions. In the Senate, Southerners are chairmen of eight of the 15 standing committees and of two special committees, the latter two being Democratic Policy and the Select Committee on Small Business. Every Southern-controlled committee ranks as a major committee. In fact, the only truly prized post not in Southern hands is chairman of the Appropriations Committee, where Carl Hayden of Arizona ranks Richard B. Russell of Georgia, who is second in command.

In the House, 13 of 19 standing committees and both the two special committees have Southern chairmen. Again, Appropriations is an exception, with Clarence Cannon from the border state of Missouri as chairman and a Texan, George H. Mahon, ranking second. These Southern-directed House committees are very important, indeed. They include Rules, which controls the flow of business, and the tax-raising Ways and Means.

It is being suggested that the Southerners perceive the usefulness of having a Republican President to whom they can pass the buck. When this is added to their obvious disinclination to attack President Eisenhower, the reason is seen for the existing suspicion that their slogan is: "Time for not too much change."

Possibly they are influenced by the fact that the next Democratic Presidential nominee is unlikely to be chosen from their number. It was demonstrated again at the Rayburn dinner that Adlai Stevenson can have the nomination if he wants it. He does want it. So that's that.

### DEPTH

Adding depth to the current suspicion is the fact that President Eisenhower has accepted the New Deal framework in very large part, including foreign policy. True, his administrators of the independent agencies are not aggressive defenders of the social philosophy which brought their agencies into being and there has been some sabotage. But the framework stands.

Another factor, which perhaps induces a certain relaxed mood among Southerners, is the almost-total disappearance of the Eisenhower Democrats in their states. James F. Byrnes is no longer governor of South Carolina, and President Eisenhower deliberately chose not to be offensive to Speaker Rayburn by staying away from a testimonial dinner to Byrnes given in South Carolina the same Saturday night. Governor Shivers, the Texas Dixiecrat, is in trouble with a land scandal at home, and Louisiana loyalists say that pro-Ike Governor Robert F. Kennon is on his way out.

Suspicious regarding the Southern leaders' true feelings about 1956 will only be dissipated by generally energetic partisan action on their part.

## Y-Court Corner

Rueben Leonard

THIS IS praise to the student Legislature day. Just one year and seventeen days ago the students at Carolina went to the polls and elected the largest group of "political nymphomaniacs" this campus has ever seen. This past Thursday night the majority of that same power starved Legislature stepped down from office.

What have they done while in office? They have held investigation, inquisitions, and deliberations. They have played the role of big-time politicians but their complete lack of student desires and their colossal stupidity has overshadowed any good that they might have done. As they say in the old country: They fought a good fight, but they loused.

I will say this for the old Legislature, when they went out of office Thursday night they performed their greatest service to the students in their political career.

WHERE DID the Legislature goof? In the first place, they cut The Daily Tar Heel budget by 19 per cent. How in the hell can they chop \$5,000 in appropriations from the newspaper, the backbone of campus affairs, just because they realize they don't have enough money to please all the organizations of which they are members?

In the second place, when they found out that there were not sufficient funds to meet the budget did they forget their student government-executive secretary brainchild?

No. They went right ahead with an allotment of \$1,300 for a permanent secretary to keep student government files. Boy, oh boy, those lazy politicians who are elected to offices by the students, turn around and spend student money to hire a secretary to do the jobs they are elected to do.

Personally, I think more girls should be in campus politics—their hands are smaller and they can't steal as much.

DID YOU know that the chairman of the Carolina Forum gets \$400 travel expenses to book speakers? I always thought that the invention of the telegraph and the telephone had cut out the necessity for hopping in a big Buick, filling it up with gasoline, and going on a sight-seeing trip, with the booking of a speaker as a mere incidental. I'm just an old fogey I guess.

PREXY DON Fowler might find a permanent secretary a very time saving device. He can hand her his rumored black list and say, "File these names under 'D' m'am. 'D' as in dead—politically, that is." I don't blame you Don, go ahead and keep some of those who campaigned against you from using their know-how and ability for the good of the students. You're running the show—or are you?

LEWIS BRUMFIELD, that pompous drawl from the left bank of the Yadkin River spent Thursday morning in Y-Court bumming cigarettes and announcing over the public address system that the "Tennis Ball" was going to be held Friday night. "Y'all come on down to the asphalt tennis courts tomorrow nite," he said, "We are really gonna have a bawl."

"What if it rains," interrupted an observer. "By God, it better not rain," answered Lewd-Mouthed Lewis.

THE OPERA "Vigoro" has finally ended. The aria is no longer filled with the putrid perfume distributed by Grounds-Keepers Incorporated. That is one good thing about Chapel Hill, you never know what is going to happen next. Your fraternity brother might be a Commie or your roommate might buy a pair of Bermuda shorts. It hasn't been proved by any of the investigating committees that Bermuda shorts and Communism are correlated, but you had better not take any chances. The card you hold may be your own.

SENIOR WEEK starts Monday. After four long years the seniors are going to be kings and queens. Let's hope that none of them live it up so thoroughly that they won't get their share when that old sheep is sheared.

IF ANYONE is interested in learning the new game on campus called "panty-ante" they can get a complete list of the rules from Ray Jeffries. Be sure to get the list of prizes offered by the Honor Courts also.

MR. JOHN C. Whitfield has written a letter to the editor concerning the paragraph in this column of April 16 pertaining to "feelies."

I am awfully sorry that I did not give Mr. Huxley credit for originating the idea of "feelies," mainly because I have never read "Brave New World." Actually, I got the idea while rereading "1984" by George Orwell and not once is the word "feelie" used. If you bother to read any more of the columns from the News & Observer, title it Y-Court Corner, and put my name under it.

All kidding aside, I appreciate your letter very much, and I hope you continue to read Y-Court Corner and criticize it any time you please.

## Quote, Unquote

Honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on—how then? Can honour set to a leg? no; or an arm? no; or take away the grief of a wound? no. . . . What is honour? a word. What is in that word honour? what is that honour? air. . . . Who hath it? he that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? no. Doth he hear it? no. It is insensible then? yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? no. Why? detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon. And so ends my catechism.—William Shakespeare, King Henry IV, Act V, Scene I, Line 23.