

# Moderation On Quicksand

For evidence that in the Deep South the moderate on segregation walks on quicksand, look no farther than The Reporter's recent interview with novelist William Faulkner.

Mr. Faulkner has declared himself against the stone-throwers on both sides, from the cave men who believe in killing those who oppose Negro bondage to crusaders who believe that an obstinate prejudice can be eradicated from human nature overnight.

"I grant you," Faulkner told the interviewer, "that it is bad that there should be a minority people who because of their color don't have a right to social equality or to justice. But it is bad that Americans should be fighting Americans. That is what will happen because the Southern whites are back in the spirit of 1860." And while we wished the distinguished Mr. Faulkner would speak for his own state and not for all

"Southern whites," we sympathize.

But here are the words that brought us up short; here is the plight of the moderate in Mississippi:

Q. How is it for a man like you to live in Mississippi?

A. I get a lot of insulting and threatening letters and telephone calls since I established my position. The tragic thing is that some of them come from Negroes. At least they say they're Negroes. It isn't just a solidarity of race—you get doctors and lawyers and preachers and newspaper editors and some Negroes, too, all grouped against a few liberals like me. People phone me to threaten my life at three or four in the morning—they're usually drunk by then.

Q. Do you carry a gun?

A. No. My friends say I ought to carry a pistol. But I don't think anyone will shoot me, it would cause too much of a stink. But the liberals in my part of the country carry guns all the time.

# Hollywood's Come-On

Although we were happy to see a homey actor win an Academy Award, the whole presentation ceremony—as shown over television Wednesday night—had the air of a cheap carnival.

The movie industry needs some prodding, and it's inspiring to see the backstage people win awards for such things as special effects, costume design, and editing.

But the curious coincidence that most towns have some of the winners playing the week of the awards suggests another award—one for the best job of press agency.

For after all, what are the so-

called awards but a big publicity stunt aimed at puking up the box office?

They can be little else when such maudlin sentimentality as "Interrupted Melody" wins the story and screen play award, when such corn as "Love Is A Many Splendored Thing" wins an award for the best motion picture story, and when the whole presentation has the air of a big come-on.

However, we're still glad about Ernest Borgnine's award for the low-budget, high-type movie "Marty." Perhaps there's hope yet for the stereo-phonics soundings and wide screening of Hollywood.

# Roast Elephant, Anyone?

A headline in The New York Times:

EARLY AMERICANS SEEM TO HAVE DINED ON ROAST ELEPHANT.

Which may be quickly altered

to an ideal headline for a certain day this coming November:

LATE AMERICANS SEEM TO HAVE DINED ON ROAST ELEPHANT.

# For Posterity's Sake

Carolina Symposium Chairman Manning Muntzing says he's looking for a tape recording of Monday night's speeches.

We don't know why, exactly. But we hope he needs it because he and his staff are compiling the Symposium proceedings for printing. The Weil Lectures, we understand, are automatically printed by The University Press. The same should be true—in some form, if not by the Press—for the other glittering sessions of the Symposium.

# The Daily Tar Heel

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## LONELINESS AS A PENALTY

By Edwin C. Palmer in The Torch

In establishing citizenship in the life community, man profits in many ways. He grows and integrates his life by the increasing circumference of his social responsibilities. Instead of measuring the universe by himself and making all things including his gods in his own image, he begins to measure himself by his universe. He thus achieves a valuable humility without being humbled, for the universe lives in him. His satisfaction in life issues in no small part from the wideness of his comradeship, from the inclusiveness of his interests, love, and understanding.

Loneliness is a kind of social illiteracy, an ignorance of the community that exists among all living things, a failure to develop skill in communication with words and without words. Loneliness is a penalty for tolerating inequalities, for harboring inferiority-superiority attitudes. Snobbishness can be found on both sides of the tracks and prevents fellowship wherever it exists. Loneliness is a protective pain, warning of a condition needing correction; it is a benevolent toothache which, if heeded, saves the tooth. There is a cosmic maturity by which a man finds himself at home in every land. But the conquest of loneliness is more hopefully fought within the limits of our own horizons.

## REPORTER

"A girl met an old flame and decided to high-tail him.  
"Sorry," she murmured, when the hostess introduced him, "I didn't get your name."  
"I know you didn't," he replied, "but it wasn't your fault; you tried hard enough."

"Our best chance for survival lies not in our courage or our resolution as much as in our modesty and patience. We cannot master the forces of history, but we may be able to beguile them."—Reinhold Niebuhr

'What Was In This Bag, Pop?'



# Gerrymander Is Charged

By Doris Fleeson

WASHINGTON—Liberals in both parties are receiving a study of present proposals for reform of the Electoral College which charges that they are no more and no less than plans to gerrymander the Presidency.

The beneficiaries, according to the study, would be the Midwest and right wing Republicans and the Southern Democrats. These forces already are in informal coalition in the Congress, where they have put an effective brake on social and economic legislation since 1938.

The basis of the gerrymander charge is that the new proposals, which would change the method of counting votes in Presidential elections, transfer decisive power to state legislatures. That is, the votes would be divided according to Congressional districts which have been fixed by the state legislatures.

## METHOD

The predilection of state legislatures for the gerrymander is well known. The gerrymander is a method of arranging electoral districts so that one party will be enabled to elect more representatives than they do on a fair system.

The result over the country has been that everywhere the influence of the rural voter has been magnified at the expense of city dweller. This has remained true despite the drift to the city from the farms, which has been vastly accelerated since the beginning of the last war.

In a new survey, "Rural Versus Urban Political Power," Gordon E. Baker of the University of California states that "in 1955 inequality of legislative representation is solidly entrenched in all but a handful of the 48 states. Most urban areas are discriminated against in at least one house of their state legislature and in many cases in both houses."

## STUDENT PARTY COLUMN

# What Is Student Government?

By Norwood Bryan

We are launched upon a venture yet unproved. The course of student government can take one of two turns in the future. The history of student government can now be seen as a development in stages.

The controlling principle of the first stage can be viewed as that of self-policing, of and by the students. This is the first grant of autonomy, which served as the basis for what we now know as student government. This was the era of the honor system.

The second stage could be properly labeled the amorphous stage. It was in the years prior to and during World War II that local autonomy in specified areas was granted as the students grew into it.

## CONSTITUTION

The third stage is the era of the constitution, which formalized the pre-existing structures and added a more stable framework in which student government could operate. We are now in the latter part of this stage,

thereby creating maturity. We can go either forward or backward. The very dynamic nature of youth, students, and thereby student government requires this.

One may ask, and rightly so: just what is student government? Our answer is simple: student government is an instrument of education, an instrument working outside the classroom, but dedicated to the same end.

Student government is an instrument of education in that it allows students to help determine the conditions under which they live and in the very determination aids in the creation of mature and responsible citizenship. Only viewed this way can student government make sense. The honor system is an excellent example of this. How better than presuming honesty can one evoke it? The appropriation of \$100,000 per year by student government is dramatic testament to the validity of the same operating principle which, granted responsibility to the student, offers the student a challenge which is usually fulfilled,

## POINT

He goes on to make the point that "interests that have greater influence in constituencies with inflated power possess an obvious advantage over those whose support comes from areas that are under represented."

Liberals do not need to have that point driven home. They have not failed since 1932 to elect Presidents who were liberals. But, except in the early New Deal days, progress along those lines had been slowed down in the Congress until now it is at a virtual standstill.

The study being circulated examines the present plans against this background. It says to Republicans that only their most conservative members can hope to be elected President. It tells Democrats to expect that the South will be strengthened within the party but that the party's chances to elect a President will be greatly minimized.

## RESULT

The obvious result would be to weaken the big city states at the nominating conventions and in the election. This is, indeed, by part of the appeal of the so-called reforms which have been pressed by conservatives in Congress but which some liberals have adopted.

Once the Congress amended the Constitution to pass Presidential electoral power to the state, the matter would be entirely out of its hands.

There is no constitutional check on state legislatures; they can do as they like. A federal statute dealing with apportionment was once on the books, but it was not enforced.

The conclusion offered in the study is that while the new plans purport to dilute the influence of minorities in Presidential elections, they merely will transfer disproportionate influence to conservative minorities in the one-party states. In the Midwest, these are Republican; in the south, Democratic.

# Dr. Lapp's Atom Scare Hits Dunn

By J. A. C. Dunn  
Chapel Hill Weekly

I sat in Memorial Hall on Wednesday night last week and listened, still as a stone, to nuclear physicist Ralph E. Lapp talk about the power of atomic weapons. It is not often that I am able to sit still on those horizontal modern versions of the iron maiden that serve in the rather miscast role of seats in Memorial Hall but Mr. Lapp made me sit still. Nothing is much more awe-inspiring than being told how close one is to extermination, and that was what Mr. Lapp was forcibly drumming at the audience—the long after-effects of radio-active strontium, the wide area contaminated by radioactive fallout, the destruction of which atomic bombs are capable. I listened to Mr. Lapp describe the force of atomic explosions and measure them by the thousands of tons of TNT (how much more subtly dangerous TNT seems, if one calls it by its full name: trinitrotoluene).

I began to grow slightly afraid, with the sort of fear that one forgets after the spear-inspiring speech, or movie, or lecture, or whatever, is over and one is circulating securely and chattily in a roomful of small-talking people. Mr. Lapp kept right in hammering out the grisly facts.

"120 miles away from Bikini those Japanese fishermen on the 'Lucky Dragon' (which Mr. Lapp, with caustic irony, subsequently referred to as the 'Fortunate Dragon') were burned by radioactive fallout from our test explosion," he said.

At that point it occurred to me, since it is always reassuring to find someone else in the same boat with oneself, that perhaps some other people were just a bit afraid of what Mr. Lapp was talking about. I looked around.

Now I admit that my search for fear on the part of other people as well as myself was somewhat biased, simply because I specifically was looking for fear; but I thought I could discern it on the faces of others. The whole room was dead silent; no rustles, no coughs. An old gentleman in the row ahead of me put his arm around his grey-haired wife's shoulders with a tired, sad look on his face. I could picture him, (with my pre-conditioned point of view) thinking to himself, "God help the people who will keep on living for a while." A University student sitting not far from the old gentleman glanced around the room, apparently like me, looking for someone else who wasn't too happy about having an outline of the end of the species thrown at him in one gulp, as Mr. Lapp was so expertly doing. Another student two rows ahead had a hard look on his face. A professor and his wife, both nearing middle age but not quite there yet, looked a bit wide-eyed and shifted ever so slightly in their seats, as if each subconsciously wanted to move a little closer to the other but had been-married too long to still feel with any urgency the necessity of moving closer together before another minute was over. Mr. Lapp kept right on measuring destruction by the thousands of tons of trinitrotoluene.

I met Mr. Lapp at the reception afterwards, and he smiled and talked pleasantly as if there was absolutely no question of the sun's continuing to rise and set for hundreds of years to come. Heartened by his behavior, I circulated securely and chattily.

"The radio has just announced that an atom bomb was exploded over Japan. What does that mean?" "It means," I said I said, "that I am scared to death."—Joseph Wood Krutch

"In the nineteenth century the problem was that God is dead; in the twentieth century the problem is that man is dead."—Erich Fromm

## Quote, Unquote

"The radio has just announced that an atom bomb was exploded over Japan. What does that mean?" "It means," I said I said, "that I am scared to death."—Joseph Wood Krutch

## Reader's Retort

# Offers Answer On Constitution

In the rebuttal that follows I take the position that the whole question of segregation does not rest primarily on this issue, nor is the legal question even primarily in the main a social, moral and ethical one.

However, since the segregationists are trying to maintain the "status quo" have taken to the banners of "interposition" as a staunch conservative state of Virginia would see what the Constitution does say. Also, as an unreconstructed liberal, I am in the inevitable failure of interposition, "rights of the states" which are worse on many other issues and properly so to the Constitution.

Historically this doctrine has not succeeded, but it has had an effect on public opinion and bids far to do so at the present time to discredit it in any future attempt to validly in a future constitutional issue "states' rights" where it could be very feel very strongly that an individual citizen just like an individual citizen should be heard and fully protected by the Supreme any other Court for that matter.)

## CENTRAL ISSUE

But the question in this matter devolves on a central issue espoused by the ardent interpositionists. Namely, that in the Bill of Rights (the Constitutional Amendments) and more especially the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, the States reserved the right to run their own internal affairs (including the public schools) and that in decisions the Supreme Court has upheld the principle as well as condoned the practice of segregation as meeting the requirements of "liberty" in the Fourteenth Amendment. This is historically correct and true, but only in part.

Let us refer to the words of the Constitution and see what the Tenth Amendment really says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people."

## EXCEPTION

This clearly and unequivocally says that the powers are those given it by the States Constitution and that the rest belong to the States EXCEPT WHERE THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF PROHIBITS THEM TO STATES.

I think from this we can see clearly that may be quite valid grounds for a state to case involving its constitutional rights, there were no place in the Constitution on these grounds.

Does the Constitution so prohibit the segregation in the public schools? This is the salient question with the principles of the Tenth Amendment understood.

## ANSWER

For the answer to this let us look again at the Constitution itself and in particular to the Fourteenth Amendment (Sec. 1).

"All persons born or naturalized in the States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the wherein they reside. No State shall make any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States (italics mine), nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It will be apparent from this that if equal public education as "a privilege," constitutionally be abridged (without respect to the Fourteenth Amendment). It may be separate but equal schools do not constitute a barrier and stigma of inferiority, actually applied. The "actual" is in the financial disparity among other forms. This disparity per capita expenditures per white and per black has steadily increased since the equally historic decision of 1894 (Plessy vs. Ferguson) in which it was found that separate but equal education is actually much more than a privilege. Since all of the states not to provide schooling and "allow" the attendance but in reality COMPEL attendance by law is self-evident and manifestly clear.

The right of the State, then, by the Fourteenth Amendment, to discriminate in education is prohibited to the States by the Constitution itself.

In citing the above references, I strongly feel that those who hold emotional judgments and against rational ones, will deny them and no amount of constitutional power can convince them. They're like the man, as Emerson puts it, "who proceeds directly to conclusion to the facts."

## Mencken Says

Of all the classes of men I dislike most those who make their living by talking—preachers, men, politicians, pedagogues, and so on.

To me the scientific point of view is not only satisfying, and it has been so as long as I can remember. It leaves a good many dark corners of the universe, to be sure, but not a hundredth as many as theology. It also fails on occasion, but so does theology; indeed, I am sure that man, in the last analysis, is intrinsically insoluble.

As I grow older I am unpleasantly aware of the fact that giving each human being his own bad scheme. He should have two eyes, one of observing and studying the world, and the other for formulating and setting down his conclusions about it.—H. L. Mencken in Atlantic