

# Battle Starts In Raleigh: There's Really No Reason

President Friday's appearance in Raleigh before the Legislature's appropriations committee marked the major point of a long, planned battle on the part of the University.

The battle, primarily, was to provide higher salaries for faculty members and more money for library books and journals.

It has been a most important battle, and it has not been without its victims. The University's resigning head librarian, for one, broke what the proposed library cut means to him.

We congratulate President Friday for the intelligent manner in which he has carried out the University's appeal. He has seen to it that friends of the University are well prepared, intellectually, to argue for more money, and he has done a lengthy and tiring personal job of politicking for more than \$1.5 million in extra appropriations.

But should a Consolidated University president be called upon to fight in a legislative body for money with which to run his university? We don't think so. William Friday has no more business in a meeting of the Joint Appropriations Committee of the North Carolina General Assembly than he does in a party raid.

The reason President Friday has to spend so much time in Raleigh is quite clear. It is the obnoxious line-item budget the University has to cope with.

The line-item budget specifies exactly how much money the University receives to use, and it specifies how to use it.

The General Assembly should abolish the line-item type budget; instead, it should make a blanket appropriation to the University and leave it up to President Friday and his business officers to determine what goes where.

Then the onus of fighting for a budget of certain proportions would lie on the State Board of Higher Education, which submits budgets anyway to the Advisory

## Budget Commission

And President Friday would be free to spend his time where he should spend it—in his office, in the classrooms and faculty offices, in the library and Graham Memorial.

Meanwhile, until the General Assembly sees the light and abolishes the old budget, we wish the University a hard fight and a sweet victory in Raleigh.

# Nada On Columbia: Expected

Says a news story: "No action has been taken by the fraternities affected by the recently reinforced S. Columbia St. two-hour parking ban."

Nothing could be truer. No action has been taken by the organizations involved, just as no action was going to be taken. The only "action" involved came when pledges were sent from the fraternity houses to spin wheels on their superiors' cars, and thus beat the parking ban.

The Town of Chapel Hill acted quite justifiably when it re-instated the ban. It gave the fraternities a chance to come up with answers; the fraternities were selfish and lazy, and they did not answer.

It is a good lesson in being a part of the community.

# Pogo Sticks Aren't Stable

While Presidential candidate Bill Baum's "Student Senate" promise appears to be a good one, it also appears to be the only one he is going to make in spring elections.

A man cannot be elected to an office here on the strength of one campaign plank. He must deliver many of his opinions to the campus, and he must at least promise to look into several areas that need repair.

If Baum, running for the presidency of the student body on the University Party ticket, has

made other promises he has not made them public.

His idea of a "Student Senate" is a good one—on the surface. But the students know very little about the idea besides its name.

The senate will be completely a policy-making body," says Baum. "It's work will provide the answers, as far as the administration's stands are concerned, to the problems now facing the campus. Where there is a need for action, the student senate will examine the need, using all the evidence and knowledge at hand, and its decisions shall be the goals toward which the administration will work during its tenure in office."

Baum has said his senate would meet twice a year, and it would be composed of representatives from dormitories, sororities and fraternities.

All this would be fine if the University didn't already have a student senate—the Student Legislature. Its members are chosen not only from fraternities, sororities and dormitories, but from town residents and married students as well. Its job is to meet once a week to form policy. There is no need for a student senate.

It is the executive's duty to act as spokesman and leader for the student body and to carry out legislation passed by the Student Legislature. He is supposed to form his own policy, either by himself or with the assistance of a cabinet. In this instance, such a senate would be good, but Baum should not promise—his decisions shall be the goals toward which the administration will work.

To do that would be to promise either the ineffectual or the impossible. Any decisions that would come out of such a mixture of people would either be obvious or so unrealistic as to make them impossible to act on.

And, candidate Baum, the students need some more planks. A one-plank platform is a pogo stick.

## FORMER CO-EDITOR SAYS:

# Southerners Never Really Move

Former Daily Tar Heel Co-Editor Ed Yoder, now a Rhodes Scholar at Jesus College in Oxford, below explains how a southerner can reconcile himself to the differences that set the South par.



ED YODER still a Confederate

OXFORD, England — Absence makes small loves less and great loves greater," the French ironist La Rochefoucauld once wrote.

My moving from the South to foreign soil has convinced me, not only that La Rochefoucauld knew whereof he spoke, but that the South falls under the second heading: The great loves which absence makes the greater.

We southerners find ourselves in the minority among Americans at Oxford. But we find that our pigheadedness has been borne before us, and that one thing cannot be denied the South: The mythologies surrounding it, all the thick catalogs of splendor and hokum, have carried far.

It brings a special glint to the Englishman's eye when you tell him you are from Dixie. You suspect that behind that glint may be the vision of a cotton field hoed by darkies in chains, a Simon Legree cracking his whip and calling up his bloodhounds, perhaps a Faulkner's Snopes, or a Tennessee Williams' Big Daddy—or even a hoghead being rolled down Erskine Caldwell's Tobacco Road. But in exceptional cases, the glint may have behind it a curiosity stemming from disbelief that any region can sustain "both Uncle Remus and Lak Ridge"—to borrow a phrase from the late W. T. Poik. All the same the glint is there.

This intense interest, found in foreign parts, has made me do more serious thinking about the South than I've ever done in one short period before, and I can't deny that those thoughts have been colored by a certain hue of nostalgia. In detachment, the insignificant things seem to fade away, the real landmarks to loom larger.

Being out of the South has different effects on different people. Through a few weeks ago, I received a letter from a friend who has left the South—if for different reasons, and if to go a shorter distance.

"If there's any real social problem for the educated white from the South," my friend wrote, "that is it—how to go home again."

The migration totals from the South, particularly among young college graduates, prove the wisdom of these words. It is a problem—going home; but for me it is not a problem without an answer.

To many contemporaries, I think, look on the South as retarded, as lagging behind, her aggressive neighbors to the North and West, without realizing that there is an opposite side to the coin. Certainly, her health is bad, she spends a paltry amount of money per capita on education, she commits more crimes of violence per square mile than any other region, and it can't be denied that something

must be done about her checkered backwardness. But it is mistaken to look on her slowness to act as a vice and nothing else, for in the South I think you find an illustration of the old truth that most vices are but virtues pushed to an extreme.

The problem, then, is not so much: How can the southerner go home again? But: How can the southerner reconcile himself to the differences which set the South apart and learn to appreciate what is good in those differences?

Southerners may move away. But the odd thing about those who leave is that in so many cases they look on their departure as a mere geographical change. No matter where he goes, the southerner never stops thinking of himself as a southerner. He may even try to keep his drawl, though that is only a superficial mark of being a southerner—if still one of untold significance.

The departed southerner does maintain his identity. But along with it he feels a certain guilt. I call it "guilt" because he somehow feels that he must apologize for having left. The migratory guilt complex is especially strange in a country where people move around as much as they do in the U. S. But there seems to remain an invisible magnet of tradition, fond memory, kinship, which won't be denied. The natural question is, of course, why southerners move anyway if moving makes them uncomfortable.

And it does make them uncomfortable. Robert Penn Warren, the southern novelist who has left to teach at Yale, gives an unmistakable sample of the guilt complex in his recent book, "Segregation." Penn Warren has toured the South, interviewing old and new friends, seeing old environs, and trying (and succeeding) to put the race problem on a human basis. As he leaves:

"Out of Memphis, I lean back in my seat on the plane, and watch the darkness slide by. I know what the southerner feels going out of the South, the relief, the expanding vistas... I feel the surge of relief. But I know what the relief really is. It is the relief from responsibility."

Penn Warren is at least articulate about his leaving. But you sense in his words the relief of a man who is not really relieved. He clearly feels that he leaves his native region in an hour of peril and need: Thus, the guilt complex.

I have talked a lot about differences, vices and virtues, but one of course wants to know where they come from, and why. The first temptation is to attribute the South's distinctness to the Civil War, to say: "Well, we are the only people who have seceded and fought the rest of the country."

But the Civil War only cemented a feeling of sectional identity which can be traced, not only in the years just before the war, but as far back as the beginnings of the Union.

Southerners are notorious talkers about tradition. But tradition can mean all things to all men. Many southerners, myself included, differ radically about that tradition from, say, Sen. Eastland of Mississippi. Sen. Eastland, to judge by appearance, believes the southern tradition has its stronghold in a powerful and noisy larynx and the intolerance of the Negro. If so, I think Eastland and others like him miss the irony and greatness of southern tradition.

That irony is that, in its greatest form, southern tradition is to be found more in the way people act than in what they say. Take our bothersome race problem, a field littered with follies for which the South must now answer. For all the things its errant statesmen say about the race problem, for all the vainglorious of the Citizen's Councils, and not least for all her Pharaaic outside critics say, the South does have much to be proud of in its person-to-person race relations. The way of a bi-racial society has never in history been easy, and the South has made as good a job of her own personal feelings between white and Negro as any region cursed with racial tension ever has.

To say this is not to apologize for legal discrimination, poll taxes, bombings of Negro churches, and similar acts of barbarism. But it is to say that while our red-galussed Talmages have screamed "Nigger" from the county courthouse steps, while our own bigoted declarations have made it hard for us to live civilly together, we have done so — if in an inevitably feudal way. Despite our advertisement that we consider the Negro an inferior human being, we have believed that advertisement in personal dealings and have been willing to judge him as an individual and friend. It is a paradox; but it is part of this ironic southern tradition of saying publicly what we don't really feel.

Southern demagogues have perverted the South's instructive concern for the states' rights, and bamboozled their constituents in doing it. But the southerner shouldn't forget

that this concern had important beginnings. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison started in the 18th Century what can be seen today in the political thinking of men like Sens. George and Byrd, both of them southerners in the tradition.

Jefferson believed in strict construction of the Constitution. He considered that it would lead to the protection of minority thinking in the federal system. Rightly or wrongly, for good or for evil for the South, some remnant of Jefferson's thought undergirds today's distrust of the Supreme Court in the South. Jefferson and his fellow southern Republicans despised the judiciary. For under Chief Justice Marshall it became the armory of the Federalist Party: The big government, weakened states' rights party, the "loose construction" party, whose political philosophy was hammered out in the anvil of northern industrial and merchant interests. The Federalists forgot that the South was an agrarian society which depended on the land, and insisted on the tariffs which contributed as much as the South's "peculiar institution" of slavery to the outbreak of civil war.

The South has borne many slings and arrows, much "waving of the bloody shirt" for its secession. But it is interesting to note that the first talk of secession did not begin in the South. It began in Massachusetts among the Federalists. The Supreme Court decision on segregation has brought renewed rattling of the nullification sabre but that sabre-rattling figures in the old pattern of virtue turned to vice, since the doctrine of nullification was first used by Jefferson and Madison to fight the Alien and Sedition Acts, a sort of 18th Century, early-American McCarthyism, which threatened civil liberties. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions embodying the doctrine of nullification were the result, the first real declaration that the new republic could not survive without the precious right of dissent. All of this generated in southern minds.

The South's concern for civil liberties has not died. McCarthyism gained no real sway in the South, partly because of the tradition handed down from men like Jefferson and Madison, partly because southerners are by nature distrustful of their neighbors and unwilling to think evil of them without proper evidence. It is noteworthy that Sen. McCarthy's Waterloo in the Senate was prepared with the persistent aid of southerners, notably Sens. Ervin of North Carolina, Stennis of Mississippi, Sparkman of Alabama, and Fulbright of Arkansas.

I can't resist adding that Sen. George has spoken sensible and vital words in the crises of recent American foreign policy which have been heard and admired abroad.

(Continued In Tomorrow's Issue)

## OTHER NEWSPAPERS SAY:

# Conformity In Fraternities

Cornell Daily Sun

Ideally, fraternity life provides a member with a handy opportunity for social and intellectual experimentation. Brought into the fraternity environment, the member may treat it as a microcosmic representation of "the great world," but one where mobility is greatly accelerated and testing out attitudes is the order of the day.

Thus, fraternities are said to encourage the development of the individual. The compact society of the fraternity membership is perfectly suited for experimentation with roles and attitudes. Through the simple process of day to day living, in a situation of quasi-democratic rules and intensified personal relationships, a member should be able to attain a level of maturity often impossible outside the fraternity system.

But although the fraternity system ideally fosters individual development and growth, in practice it encourages a group conformity.

When a student joins a fraternity it is agreed that he will give up a part of his individuality to the fraternity. He must consent to live under certain rules, perform certain duties and assume particular responsibilities. But all this is expected, and, indeed, necessary, if a society is to function effectively.

What is not necessary is the conformity of attitudes, ideas and ideals which fraternities impose on their members. And what is most dangerous is the conformity of anti-intellectualism, however subtle, which is maintained at this University largely because of the existence of the fraternity system.

Fraternities may encourage academic achievement; some go so far as to establish study tables, advisor systems and enforce study times for the benefit of the poor student. But in all cases such rules are essentially designed (1) to raise the house average; and (2) to keep members in school and thus maintain the revenue level. And few houses have programs aimed at creating an intellectual atmosphere for the bright student. In fact, there exists a lamentable dichotomy between the intellectual pursuits of the classroom and the social aspects of the fraternity house.

House bull sessions, although often fascinating for the participants, center around such topics as women, rushing, adventure and personality analysis. Seldom, we believe, can discussions on philosophy, art or politics be found on anything more than a superficial plane. And while such discussions would not, per se, classify a fraternity as "intellectual," their absence is perhaps indicative of a general lack of interest in intellectual problems which obtains throughout fraternity life.

Substantially, then, a member of a fraternity is more or less forced to forego the intellectual aspects of his college career. While this is not always discernible, many upperclassmen, especially seniors, look back upon their college years with considerable regret when they consider the neglected opportunities for intellectual growth.

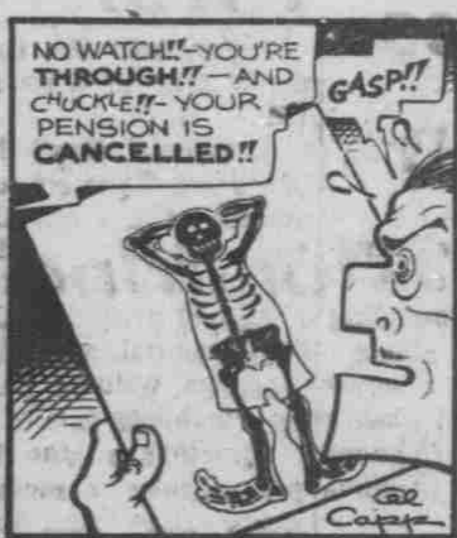
The loss of individual identity is also evident in many other ways. Perhaps the freshman rushee has already noticed the similarity in dress, conversation topics, attitudes toward campus affairs and reactions to controversial questions which may be said roughly to typify the "fraternity mind." This kind of conformity is perhaps minor in seriousness, but it is at least worth noting, especially if considered along with the picture of the freshman just entering the fraternity—often with a set of attitudes basically, if not superficially, dissimilar to those which he will shortly acquire.

As a fraternity mirrors the society in which it exists, so it is bound to take on that larger society's characteristics. But this does not mean that fraternities must include the destructive as well as the constructive elements in the society. As essentially a part of an educational institution, it would seem that a fraternity has a responsibility to promote not conformity but individuality, not anti-intellectualism but intellectual development. This the fraternities have been both unable and unwilling to accomplish.

And this, it would seem, constitutes the most damning charge which can be made against fraternities. Earlier in the week we mentioned the "good points" of fraternity life—the points on which fraternities rush the freshmen, and because of which freshmen pledge fraternities. It remains, however, for the rushee to measure the benefits he will receive from fraternity life—and they are many—against the disadvantages.

Many freshmen, probably a great majority, have no concern for the limitation on individual expression which fraternities induce. A small number will be troubled by the indifference to intellectual development. But for those happy—or unhappy—few, the time is ripe for careful consideration of the problem: How much of yourself is worth sacrificing to fraternity conformity? We have no set answer; and perhaps, the question itself is more important than the possible answers. But there will be no improvement if it is not asked.

## L'il Abner



## Pogo



## By A. Capp

## By Walt Kelly

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