

The Daily Tar Heel

In its seventieth year of editorial freedom, unhampered by restrictions from either the University administration or the student body.

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Aftermath Of Cuban Crisis: Must Remain Initiative

In the aftermath of the Cuban confrontation and the United States' apparent "victory" the nation has uttered a great sigh of relief. Americans generally are pleased with the Kennedy administration's decisive action and with the success of this action in forcing Khrushchev to back down and remove the Communist arsenal in Cuba.

There is a false emphasis, however, in the attitude of many who are looking back at the encouraging recent events, rather than looking forward to the difficult future. To think that the Cuban blockade and its results really solved anything seems very narrow, and almost silly.

The Cuban "victory" has given the United States more responsibilities than benefits.

Decisive action must lead to more decisive action and thence to more decisive action. The alternative is to withdraw into the action of reaction, whereby Washington reacts to whatever new crises Moscow has developed, whereby the initiative is forever left in the hands of the Soviets.

BY HIS action in the Cuban affair the President has assumed a great responsibility in other areas. He now must continue U. S. unilateral military and political actions where it is justified (in South Vietnam, for instance) — must take the economic initiative in foreign aid and trade areas where the Russians have failed or not yet entered — must do everything possible to aid India in its struggle with China — must solidify Latin American support for the U. S. actions toward Cuba and seek to broaden the base of that support by economic aid and political understanding — must continue working within the United Nations whenever conceivable, while recognizing that body's limitations in big power squabbles. . . . The President's responsibilities are great; he has assumed a terrible burden — the threat of thermonuclear war. The resultant threat of World-End (or according to some Pentagon strategists, only Half-World-End) is increased in every crisis, just as in every appeasement. And the consequences of such a war (if several days of all-eradicating misery could be called a "war") are on the President's shoulders alone, no matter how many political pundits dismiss the danger with, "The Russians fear war as much as we do. . . ."

IN THE WAKE of victory there are two dangers. One is that the United States will assume a super-militant pose, brandishing its newfound power with arrogance. The other danger follows from the fears of some that the U. S. pushed Khrushchev too far and that the Chinese thus may gain control of Communist foreign policy and make it more militarily aggressive. This view would lead to a United States foreign policy reversion to wait-and-see-what-the-Reds-are-doing-and-react-to-their-actions.

In proceeding to confrontation of the world's major problems, in Berlin, in Africa, in Asia, the United States temporarily has the initiative and support for that initiative which it rarely attains. The Soviets are no longer the supermen incapable of mistake, and the U. S. is no longer the bumbling, well-intentioned fool, afraid to take a stand and work for success. Pres-

idential advisor Henry A. Kissinger said in a recent magazine article that now is the time to "define what we stand for rather than go through a shopping list of Soviet demands in an effort to determine which of them may be tolerable." Now is the time to work for a settlement in Central Europe, for instance, not wait until another Berlin crisis has been thrust upon the West.

For this initiative to remain strong and firm, it must avoid the two dangers — that of backstepping conciliation and the danger of political and military sword-rattling.

AMERICAN behavior during and after the height of the Cuban crisis showed several disturbing aspects, leaning toward the danger of militaristic swagger and political bluster.

One was the instance of news "management" by the administration in its attempt to make the nation "speak as one voice." By any name or excuse, this is censorship — resulting in a public which reads of news about government, produced, manufactured and predigested by that government.

A second disturbing characteristic of U. S. thought was the seeming lessening of concern over a moral and correct foreign policy. (Perhaps this stemmed from a feeling of guilt that a policy of national self-interest could not at the same time be moral — a disheartening thought at best.) Objections that a naval blockade, such as the U. S. used, was illegal under international law, was overruled with scorn. Concern over the danger of a nuclear war took a new, frightening turn when such persons as Kissinger said, "The Soviet leaders did not dare invoke the threat of nuclear war against our blockade. If we believed the threat, even a nation like ours might feel compelled to strike pre-emptively." How long has it been since the United States calmly thought of launching an aggressive nuclear holocaust upon a foreign nation?

THE INDIAN border dispute, on the other hand, has provided a more encouraging view of future U. S. policy. The Kennedy administration has so far acted with calmness in an uncalm situation. Arms will be given to India — as many as she needs to hold back the Red Chinese — and this is being done without the "I told you so" attitude which the Gold-Walker fringe would have America throw at the luckless Indians.

The Indian problem probably will get much worse — it looms as a crisis of greater consequence than the Cuban affair, because the fate of India is the fate of all Asia and much of the other uncommitted world. The United States must, in India as elsewhere, meet the Communist challenge with confidence yet moderation, willing to take a stand but never fearing to negotiate.

The word "moderation" is important; it should have no taint of cowardliness. In its true meaning, it can be a cornerstone of America's foreign policy, precluding both appeasement and sword-rattling. As Kissinger, again said, "Moderation will appear an act of policy (henceforth), for it is a virtue only in those who are thought to have a choice." And the United States' invigorated initiative gives it such a choice. (J.C.)

"I Can't Come Out And Riot Tonight I Got To Study Civics"



Letters To The Editors

'Beat Dook' And Fall-Out

Apologies On 'Dook' Parade

To the Editors,

Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity wishes to apologize for the poor taste displayed by several participants in the Beat Dook Float Parade. Neither the themes of floats nor the floats themselves were reviewed by us, and as sponsors we had hoped that the entrants would be responsible to the community without our supervision.

To prevent further debasing of the event, and to re-establish the parade as an enjoyable spectacle and pep rally for the college and town, Pi Kappa Alpha passed the following rule on Wednesday, November 28, 1962.

1. All entrants must submit themes for all public displays in the Beat Dook Float Parade to the Parade Chairman in a manner and by a date to be announced each year.

2. A committee, to consist of the President of Pi Kappa Alpha, the Beat Dook Float Parade Chairman, and a faculty member selected by Pi Kappa Alpha, will review all themes and to prevent repetition and poor taste.

3. The above committee will review all floats immediately before the parade, and reserves the right to deny entrance to any participant for any reason.

Dr. Sam Hill, Chairman of the Department of Religion at U.N.C., has agreed to act as the faculty member on the committee for 1963 Float Parade.

Pi Kappa Alpha appreciates the energy and enthusiasm displayed in the parade, and hopes that this spirit will be manifested in a more responsible way. We also appreciate the concern for the parade shown by its critics, and will welcome further suggestions for effective administration of the traditional event.

—Ronald M. Butler
President
Pi Kappa Alpha

Shelters Falling Out Everywhere . . .

To the Editors,

As I climbed the steps, a sign posted high out of reach boasted the building's capacity as 3,160. Following the direction indicated by two other signs I found myself in the book stacks on the seventh level opposite the elevator where another sign stated simply 400. Further investigation yielded 320 for the sixth level, and 570 for the fifth. There was no sign on the tenth level.

This allocation of a specific number of students for each level would be more compatible for everyone concerned, if each student were assigned to that floor of the stacks containing material related to his

field of interest, i.e., students of Greek and Latin to the fifth level, Philosophy and Religion to the third, etc. Also, the two elevators, (each of which has a nice fan), have a capacity of eight people apiece, and could accommodate those students specializing in the mechanics of elevators. Regardless of one's major, however, some sort of priority system is necessary, since the people on the lower levels of the stacks will be much safer in the event of an emergency, than those placed higher up. The second level will thus be made to accommodate those students with a B average or better, and so on up, the tenth level being reserved for everyone with a D average or worse and those who would eventually flunk out anyway. Since the ladies Rest Rooms are provided only on the odd numbered levels 3, 5, 7, and 9, these floors will be reserved for women only, while male students will be accommodated on the even numbered levels 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10, each of which is equipped with a Men's Rest Room. Each student presenting his stack permit will be admitted to the seventh level, and then counted by a member of the L. S. C. C. S. E. S. L., the Library Science Committee for the Counting of Students Entering the Seventh Level, so as not to exceed the number of people designated for each floor. The students will then be redistributed to the various levels, those first in line having the advantage of being able to select the carrel of their choice, and sit out the raid in relative comfort.

Each level has a cold water fountain for your convenience, and there will be no lack of reading matter for the student who provides himself with two weeks supply of Library Cards. Although food is strictly prohibited in the stacks, the kitchentette of the Library Employees Lounge will be pressed into service for the duration of the emergency, or at last until everyone runs out of coffee money. Free ice cream and favors for those drinking the least amount of water daily will be made available to all, through the facilities of the L. S. F. D. F. I. C. F., the Library Science Foundation for the Distribution of Free Ice Cream and Favors. The Library Foundation will also make arrangements for friendly integrated touch football games of the Boys of the Eighth Level against the Girls of the Seventh, etc., which, in addition to providing wholesome recreation, will also help to keep everyone physically alert enough to stand the strain and time-consuming process of checking out of the stacks. As a final bit of information, I will pass on to you the fact that the only safe place in the whole library is Room 2-35, which is almost entirely below Ground Level. This room is entered via the second level of the stacks by those who are fortunate enough to possess the Pass-Key. This I learned from a member of the L. S. F. C. P. P. K. R. 2-35, the Library Science Foundation for the Continued Possession of the Pass

Key to Room 2-35.

(P.S. I understand that a few Girl's Dormitories are also available for Shelter, and I am personally holding Open House for those interested in the Positive Approach to the Cuban Situation.)

—T. Crane Jr.

Students Listen To WUNC-FM

To the Editors:

A recent letter to the editor stated, as if it were a truism, that no Carolina students listen to WUNC-FM radio. The letter writer is not to be entirely blamed for his erroneous statement, for this thought seems to be held by many. Indeed, many organizations, such as the Tar Heel, have been under the same impression and, quite properly, in that belief, have only rarely even printed the WUNC program schedule. The recent letter-writer and the editors of the Tar Heel (as well as the student body as a whole), will be interested in the following factual information on WUNC-FM listeners.

Last semester, in RTVMP 173 ("Research Projects in the Mass Media," taught by Dr. Hilliard), one of the class projects during the semester was a normative survey. The purpose of the project was to determine the radio listening habits of Carolina students in regard to WUNC-FM. The survey was scientifically structured with the interview sample accurately reflecting the Class, Academic Major, Age, Residence, Geographic Origin, Sex, and Marital Status of the entire student body.

Twenty-eight percent of Carolina students listen to WUNC-FM. Of the seventy-two percent who do not listen only twelve percent (or less than nine percent) do not listen because there are not enough programs on WUNC to interest them. The most popular programs on WUNC are classical, semi-classical and jazz and folk music presentations. Most students listen from Monday through Thursday evenings and the heaviest concentration of listeners occurs at the 8-10 p. m. time period (the classical music time.)

WUNC does have a comparatively large student listening audience, larger, in fact, than the audiences for sport events other than football, and basketball, and larger than the "observers" of many other campus activities. Of course, WUNC would like to grow, and as the station manager stated in a recent letter to the Tar Heel, hopes to establish an operative carrier-current system when personnel and funds are available. WUNC, like many prophets in their own land, is not fully known to Carolina students—at least not in terms of its national reputation, through which it is considered one of the finest university radio stations in the country, not only serving the students, but its

Wade Wellman

Fascist Principles: Duty & Authority

(Editor's Note: This is the second in a three-part series on "The Quintessence of Fascism" by Wade Wellman. The first part, in yesterday's DTH, dealt with the possible emergence of Fascism in Europe today; and Mr. Wellman's view that Fascism is considerably more democratic than Communism.)

Just as the human problem is twofold (that of mankind on the one hand and each individual on the other), so the Fascist solution also is twofold, based on the spiritual theory and the actual concrete state. But this is not to suggest that one level of Fascism approaches the problems of man, and the other level the problems of men. For one of the first tenets of this philosophy is that you cannot segregate man from the state; you might as well segregate the brick from the building. The problem of the individual can only be met when he is willing to identify his welfare with the welfare of his countrymen, and to realize that his own existence has its real importance in the continuation of the nation-state. He must understand that his actions and struggles have value chiefly as they promote the collective activity of the nation; the functioning of the citizen must be directly bound up with the functioning of the whole human aggregate. This means that the citizen must make an unselfish sacrifice of himself and see that his importance is in large measure his importance to others. And here we come to the first of the three outstanding Fascist principles: the principle of duty.

Now how is this duty realized? We may define it as responsibility to ourselves and to others, in the knowledge that duty to oneself is the same as duty to others in the nation-state. That is, by practicing duty to others, we serve our own interests alongside those of our countrymen. This duty to our fellow citizens is triple, manifesting itself first in the family, second in the profession one practices, and third in the promotion of the nation as

own and nearby states for a radius of 150 miles, and as the recipient over its ten years of operation of many national awards.

I hope this information may be of value to the aforementioned letter-writer, to the students in general, and to the editors of the Tar Heel, who, with this information now available, will, I am sure, wish to cover more fully the programs presented by WUNC-FM, at least through publication of its daily program schedule.

—Wayne Bryant
WUNC-FM

This Space

Is Dedicated

To Those Students

Who are Tired

Of Reading

Daily Tar Heel

Edits And Letters

—Enjoy Yourselves.

a whole. We must show a dutiful, altruistic service to our family, our vocational corporation, and our welfare depends on that of our compatriots in the nation-state. The organization of the people in a Fascist society is so intimate and so precisely outlined that duty to our fellow citizens and duty to our country soon become almost indistinct. A worker or businessman in the corporate state knows that his day-to-day work is a part of the life of the nation, and is not simply a means of perpetuating his own existence—the common attitude of American workmen.

Duty within the corporation, the responsibility shown by the workman and the professional person, is the spiritual basis for the corporate state, and duty to the country as a whole is the foundation for the other two main Fascist tenets—law and authority. So it can be seen at this point that the concept of human responsibility, divided into several compartments, is the Fascist answer to the double plight of man. And the practical Fascist state is built upon this solution, so that the theory of duty, in its broadest sense, is the center of the entire Fascist system.

I am eager to get into the workings of the corporate state, but the two main extensions of responsibility must be discussed before we have a full view of the spirit behind corporatism. The sacrifice of Fascism on the spiritual plane has been mentioned; there remains the question of this sacrifice in its visible form. In actuality, it takes the form of a surrender of some of the liberty and privilege which run wild in the plutocratic democracies of the west. Certain restrictions on the press and communications media are enforced, and our actions are subject to more control from the government than we usually experience in American democracy. This sacrifice is not a crippling one; indeed, man has no greater satisfaction than the knowledge that he, as an individual, can practice some self-denial for the sake of his friends. To a Fascist thinker one's friends are one's countrymen, and this self-denial consists of submission to the guidance of a strong government.

To the Fascist, government must be able to restrain the actions of a man and to make itself felt when certain groups decide that their welfare is not the welfare of the nation. And so we come to the second main principle of the Fascist system, the principle of authority.

We have seen that the concept of duty negates the concept of authority. Now duty or responsibility must function at every level of the Fascist society; so also must authority. But there is one main distinction. Whereas duty originates from all the interactions of human beings, and is just as much the obligation of the ordinary citizen as it is that of the head of state, authority must originate from above. And authority is manifested by the husband in the household, the employer in the office, and the head of state in the government—almost synonymous with the manifestations of duty. Authority of the government over the people is the binding force in the duty of the man to the country; the authority of the government must see to it that our obligations are fulfilled in the social interactions of citizens, employees. Widespread strikes, the continual plague and the threat of all democratic systems, can never occur in the controlled economy of Fascism. To enforce responsibility the nation-state must have authority, and this must be vested in the government; that is, it must come from above, not from below. This is the source of the name Fascism, which derives from the fasces—bundles of rods carried before ancient Roman magistrates as a symbol of authority. The prime philosophical defect of democracy is that it turns authority over to the masses, thus cheating it of its intrinsic purpose, which is to enforce proper behavior and restrain misdemeanor.

Incidentally, this principle finds some development in the writings of Dante, who believed in the empire as our guiding authority in temporal affairs, cooperating that Dante's appeal to the Fascist mind has always been profound. He felt, perhaps rightly, that the ideal political setup was the Roman Empire, and Mussolini, whose writings contain some of the most stimulating philosophy written in this century, openly proclaimed Fascist Italy and its African acquisitions as a revival of the Roman Empire. If the heads of the rising European Combine have the same feeling, we can hope for a Fascist revival that will reach far greater heights than the system ever attained under Mussolini.