**DTH Editorial Page** 

Opinions of the Daily Tar Heel are expressed in its editorials. Letters and columns, covering a wide range of views, reflect the personal opinions of their authors.

## Jubilee And The Booze

The statement issued yesterday by the Graham Memorial Activities Board regarding the removal of "Jubilee" to Kenan Stadium and the barring of alcoholic beverages is a straightforward, "no nonsense" statement of policy. As such, it may mark the beginning of the end for an outstanding UNC social event.

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From its conception, "Jubilee" has been an overwhelming success. The joyful, hand - clapping folk ballads and solubrious jazz renditions blended perfectly with the traditions of gaiety and light - hearted frivolity which are wrapped up in the words "Springtime in Chapel Hill," and thousands turned out to listen and to languish. Ironically, it is because "Jubilee" is so successful that it may not survive.

The basic problem is an old one alcohol, and its use and misuse. For when the thousands came to listen many of them also came to drink, and many a cooler shared a blanket with a Carolina gentleman and his date: In the beginning, there were few problems; the drinking went unnoticed officially and the gentlemen, for the most part, were gentlemen.

ternal few who respect no standards of conduct — became too enthusiastic, and on at least one occasion the inebriates shared the spotlight with the performers. Heaps of beer cans and bottles littered McCorkle Place following both to "bar the door." evening shows, and misconduct was apparent in other areas of the campus its statement a lack of ultimate confiduring the weekend

campus and its traditions by acting in a rowdy and occasionally obscene manner.

Tuesday, April 6, 1965

When "Jubilee" for 1964 had ended, the DTH assessed the situation editorially, noting that further misconduct could cause the ultimate demise of one of the campus' finest events.

Now it appears that the final appearance of "Jubilee" may be closer at hand than we suspected a year ago. If GMAB proceeds with its plans to move to Kenan Stadium and squelch all alcohol, it virtually will insure a decline in attendance. Anyway you look at it, a splintery seat in Kenan Stadium is far less desirable than a soft spot of Graham Memorial lawn, and the atmosphere evoked by the past "Jubilee" celebrations necessarily will dissipate.

This is not to say that something should not be done; the barring of outsiders, regretable as it is, seems reasonable, especially since many of them demonstrated last year their disregard for the welfare of the University community.

Neither is this a plea for the unpoliced consumption of alcohol. Those who disturb others and display their own lack Last year, however, a few - the ex- of standards should not be part of the "Jubilee" audience. But the function of regulating alcohol could be performed as well by hired students who would report offenders as by moving to the unlovely emptiness of Kenan Stadium just

# Racial Calm Deceptive The Ethics Of Anti-Communism

former ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, teaches at the Institute for Advanced Study and is visiting professor of History and international affairs at Princeton. This article is taken from the spring, 1965. issue of "University: A Princeton Quarterly."

By GEORGE F. KENNAN I suppose it's only fair that I should be asked to lead a discussion of "the ethics of anticommunism." The last 37 years of my life have been preoccupied mostly, in one way or an-other, with the problem of international communism. And it seems to be that I have stood pretty much in the center of the brickbats that fly back and forth in this connection.

I have a respectable collection of abusive and sometimes unprintable letters from people who think that I haven't been anti - communist enough. On the other hand, I am one of the few Americans who have had the distinction of being thrown out of Stalin's Russia on charges of being too anti - Soviet. And I can remember a cer-

tain week, in 1950, when the walls of Rio de Janeiro were decorated with hundreds of great tar inscriptions saying: "To death with Kennan." These were inscriptions put there by the local communists. I was buried repeatedly in effigy at that time, incidentally, by Brazilian communist students, who did me the moving courtesy of putting a white cross on the little black coffin they used for this purpose.

Nobody can be blamed for be- do, then the golden rule is obing exercised about internation- viously going to apply here: We al communism. There has been must agree to let Russians be plenty to be exercised about. I Russians, and not try to substithink a healthy capacity for tute our conscience for theirs. moral indignation is essential to understanding what communism the term "anti - communism" is all about.

In our Embassy in Moscow, theory and practice of govern- Do we really wish, by using when we got a new young offi- ment which you understand to the term "anti - communist" to cer assigned to us who had been prevail in Russia. You can't obscure all this: to leave the trained in the Russian language, mean, surely, that you are implication that falsehood, malif, on first comfrontation with against all the institutions and ice, cantankerousness, irresponpractices of the Soviet system. sibility, territorial expansionism, and aggressive behavior, There are a great many things either do not exist in the bethat take place under the authority of, and in the name of, havior of non - communist states or are reprehensible only when that system that are not at all they go by the name of comreprehensible: Schools are munism? If not, why use the taught, people heal the sick, scientists pursue the quest for term "anti - communist"? Why not be specific? Why not opknowledge. Perhaps these things serve communism to some depose these phenomena, as such, gree; the regime has often tried wherever we encounter them? Now how about anti - comto make them do so. But this is not all they serve. political forces within our own Teachers teach, as they do here. because this is their pride and national life? Never strong in membership their profession and they feel it important that young people or even in voter support, the should be taught. Doctors heal American Communist Party nevfor similar reasons. And scientertheless gained considerable ists pursue their research bemoral influence, especially in incause, like scientists everytellectual circles, during the where, they have learned the 1930's. This was primarily a result of the shattering effect of nobility and the excitement of the quest for knowledge. economic crisis and the loss of confidence in established Amer-Obviously, it is not all feaican values which that crisis octures of communism that we are against — only certain ones. casioned. But the sweeping term "anti-The communists were greatly aided by their ability to identify communism" does not suggest this. at that time with anti - fascist And if we take just those groups, generally, particularly in the case of the Spanish Civil things that we do definitely dislike in a communist system -War. They capitalized extensivesuch things as governmental ly on the revulsion to fascism hypocrisy, denial of civil liberwhich swept over the liberal ties, the deliberate use of the West. With the development of the

Editors' Note: The author, ism," you haven't made your- denigration of fallen statesmen - then we have to recognize that it is not in communist coun-

tries alone that such things are You cannot simply say "I am to be found; nor are they made against them all" because in any worse, just because they some respects the various outgo under the banner of com-

Yet this, too, the term "anticommunism" does not suggest. It is; in fact, definitely misleading in this case; because it seems to carry the implication that we think these evils are confined to a single political system in a single part of the world, and that all other civilizations are wholly immune to them. But suppose we turn for a moment to that aspect of international communism about which we do have a right to protest: But there are two things you to the behavior of communist could have in mind when you regimes as actors on the world express yourself this way: One,

scene. Here again, we come up against such variations among communist governments. We have our problems with the

Yugoslav government, but I am here to testify, after just spend-ing two and a half years in that country, that the way it conducts itself in international affairs is as different from the conduct of the Chinese Communists, or of Yugoslavia's Aldeeply as I have disagreed with banian neighbors, as night is these people, and profoundly as from day. The attitudes taken I have deplored the methods and towards us by such diverse retactics to which they were led to gimes as say the Soviet one, the subscribe, there have been many instances where I have Cuban, the Chinese, the Hungarian, and the Polish represent had more respect for them, in quite different problems for U.S. all their error and all their policy. To try to sum up our hopelessness, than for many response to all of them by saypillars of respectable American ing that our policy is one of society, vegetating in the smug-"anti - communism" is simply ness and selfishness and supernot meaningful. I can think of certain non-

of philistinism. communist governments whose To err, as we all know, is behavior towards us and toonly human; and there is not wards the international commuone of us who does not do it nity generally in recent years with the greatest of regularity. has been by no means superior To err with courage, with conto that of certain communist viction, with self - sacrifice, and to record your abhorrence of the governments I could name.

out of the agony of the soul,

so - called cold war in the late forces is often the beginning of. 1940's, the strength and influ- and a symptom of, mental illence of the American Commu- ness. In political life it is the nist Party began to decline rap- beginning of totalitarianism. idly. Even at the time of the which is only a form of mass anti - communist hysteria in the psychosis: the social equivalent early 1950's, it already was a of mental illness. So true is this, very minor force in our society. and so dangerous are the conse-Today it is a tiny and pathetic quences of yielding to this sort little band of people embracing, of escapism, that one ought to I suppose, not much more than reject such suggestions even five thousand members, if that when the available evidence or something less than one might seem to support them. hundredth part of one per cent I cannot warn too strongly of our adult population. It is no exaggeration to say that the in-

those of you who are students against associating yourselves. ever, with the suggestion that your personal troubles or those of the society to which you belong are attributable only to dimly - sensed conspiratorial forces, wholly external to yourselves, beyond your power of comprehension or influence, whose hostility you have done nothing to deserve. To accept such suggestions is a sure path to irrationality, to illusion, and to disaster.

Evil is an omnipresent substance of human life: around us and within us as well as without us. In a way, it is all of a piece, just as love and truth are all of a piece. When we struggle against it we must always regard that struggle as in part an overcoming of self.

We cannot for this reason identify ourselves self - righteously with all that is good and clothe whatever opposes us in the colors of unmitigated evil. But this we tend to do when we try to make out of an impermanent semantic symbol such as "anti - communism," the expression of a personal and political philosophy.

We all have in mind the events that have taken place in Moscow in the recent past. They have constituted in effect a third great crisis in the transfer of personal power from one set of hands to another in the history of a regime which has no ade-But to err out of cowardice, quate constitutional means of achieving such a transition. I have naturally had to think about this, and I have talked

looks that go by the name of communism are not just differmunism. ent but are actually in conflict with each other, so that you can't be against one of them in all its aspects without being, by implication, in favor of another one in those same aspects.

Suppose, then, you pick a certain communist country - let us say the Soviet Union - and say "When I talk about anti-communism, it is this country I mean and it is the communism of this country I am against."

the present reality of the Soviet

system with its internal institu-

tions and practices; the way the

regime treats its own citizens,

and so on. Or, two, its external

behavior: things it does on the world scene which affect ad-

versely our interests and those

of world peace, and which strike

us as unjust or deceitful or ag-

Now these two things are not

the same. We may not like the

internal practices and institu-

tions of the Soviet system, but

so long as they don't have ex-

ternal effects that damage our

interests, they are not really our

Unless we have such dreams

of grandeur that we picture our-

selves as fit to rule the world,

which I think very few of us

Perhaps you simply like to use

gressive.

business.

self very clear.

the situation was the presence of a number of servicemen and other outsiders who showed their lack of respect for the

Finally, GMAB has demonstrated by dence in the students of this University. One of the most unfortunate aspects of We believe that they can police themselves and allow "Jubilee" to retain its atmosphere. They should be given an opportunity to do just that.

### The Offs And Ons Of Television

The latest report of the Harris Survey (administered by UNC graduate Louis Harris)tends to reinforce a conviction held by several million bored Americans; namely, that disenchantment with television is growing, especially on the part of the affluent, better educated American adult.

The survey discloses that a majority of adults would like to see more news, musical - variety, live news specials, comedy and dramatic shows on television. They would like to see fewer soap operas, horror comedies, rock 'n' roll and detective programs.

Unfortunately, says Harris, this majority is not likely to get its way, because television executives are interested in what people DO watch, not what they say they will watch. And the regretful fact is that those who now watch longest and most regularly like what they see (an obvious conclusion if there ever was one) and can be counted upon to digest more of the same if it is served up.

Thus we have all the makings of a vicious video circle: the more shows there are for the lower income, less educated groups, the more they watch, while the college - trained, more affluent viewers drift away. "While the three networks are in competition," says Harris, "it is entirely possible to win the largest share of audience at any given hour by appealing to a minority which likes a particular kind of show."

### The Daily Tar Heel 72 Years of Editorial Freedom

Fred Seely, Hugh Stevens, co-editors; Mike Yopp, Ernie McCrary, managing editors; Pete Wales, associate editor; Larry Tarleton, sports editor; Fred Thomas, night editor; Mary Ellison Strother, wire editor; John Greenbacker, Kerry Sipe, Alan Banov, staff writers; Pete Gammons, asst. sports editor, Perry McCarty, Pete Cross, Bill Lee, Tom Haney, sports writers; Jock Lauterer, photographer, Chip Barnard, cartoonist; Jack Harrington, bus. mgr.; Betsy Gray, asst. bus. mgr.; Woody Sobel, ad. mgr.; Jim Peddicord, asst. ad. mgr.; Tom Clark, subscription mgr.; John Evans, circulation mgr.; Dick. Baddour, Stuart Ficklen, Jim Potter, salesmen.

That the Harris Survey appears to be highly accurate does not make it less saddening to read, for throughout its conclusions about television, the question of the majority's taste is left unanswered. This is not the fault of the Harris Survey: it is the fault of numerous Americans, including those who watch television and those who produce its daily fare.

The human sponges who watch television and soak up its offerings with neither criticism nor realistic appraisal must be assigned part of the blame; their lethargy and shameless conformity to anti - intellectual standards makes it easy for television's producers to "please" by sending down the electronic pipe an institutionalized heap of garbage that is seldom meaty or meaningful.

But if the docile audiences commit sins of ommission, the originators of the orthodox orthicon images falter at a much more responsible level. In deciding in favor of the narrow minority, they are deciding also in favor of the color which offers the greatest stimulus to their aesthetic sensibilities-greenback green. It is far easier to produce programs to suit an insensitive minority than to challenge the tastes and intellects of those who want to be inspired or stimulated.

If the cycle proceeds unchecked for too long, however, the producers' upkeep may become their downfall, for as the affluent and energetic leave television to seek entertainment elsewhere, they take their advertising market with them. It is ironic that the viewers who are most likely to be receptive to new ideas and who have the most money to spend are the ones that television's blight is driving away. If a sufficient quantity of them escape, it seems likely that the sponsors may become interested in where they have gone, and television will be forced to consider the majority. Unfortunately, however, the day of such a wonderful fusion of intellects and purchasing power is apparently far distant. In the meantime, those of us who feel we are being shortchanged will do best to leave our sets cold and unblinking except on those rare occasions when television rises above its own shoddy standards. Difficult, you say? Certainly - but after all, we're right, and a majority of Americans feel as we do. Just leave that button at the place marked "OFF."

the Soviet newspapers in the morning, he didn't rise from his desk and go storming around the office saving "Look what these so-and-so's have said today!" if he didn't do this, he was no good to us. It was a case where you had first to be capable of getting angry in order to understand what was up; and then you had to learn to control your anger.

The Soviet leaders obviously do not wish us well. Their ideaology forbids them to do so. If they had their way, little would remain, I am sure, of our world position or of the things we value here at home.

But despite all this, I must say that I find the term "anticommunism"a very misleading

First of all, if you are going to talk, today, about anti-communism, you have to begin by answering the question: antiwhose - communism? Karl Marx's, or Lenin's, or Stalin's, or Mao's, or Gomulka's, or even Tito's, since he himself insists on using the term?

These are by no means identical. Not even the communists themselves pretend any longer that they are. If all you say is that you are "against commun- big lie, automatic abuse and

"Campus Chest, Huh?"



can at least be said to be trag-1C.

> of complacency, of jealousy, of vindictiveness, or of greed, has not even this to be said for it: and I am not prepared to bewith friends, who, like myself, lieve that error of this sort is any more acceptable in the sight of God just because it clothes itself in "anti - communism."

fluence of the American Com-

munist Party today in our so-

ciety is negligible. If you were

to comb the country, you would

have a hard time finding a less

I have had many occasions,

in the past 40 years, to know

and observe people who were

communists. Some of them were

indeed brutal, treacherous and

dangerous people. But others

were idealists: people acting out

of the deepest bewilderment and

despair and misguided courage

and desire to find the right an-

I must confess to you that

ficiality of their particular brand

influential group.

The Marxist - Leninist ideology was based on some serious misconceptions; and the methodlogy embraced by its adhermunism as a term relating to ents, under Lenin and Stalin, was in many respects evil and inexcusable. But no movement of our time, I am sorry to say, has more to show in the way of dedication, hard work, and selflessness, than does the movement that goes by the Leninist-

Marxist name.

We should not forget this: and when it comes to the American Communist Party, in particular, we should not be too self-righteous in our condemnation of men who have been made what they are by the stamp of circumstances - and circumstances, in many instances, for which every one of us in my generation, at least, bears a share of the blame.

Now there are many people who, when they use the term "anti - communism," have in mind not the little American Communist Party of this day but a whole variety of tendencies and conditions they associate

have spent many years in the study of Russian communism. All of us, I think, have the impression that this recent series of events really marks the end of an epoch. It marks the final fading, as a political reality, of that aura of excitement and inspiration and authority which Moscow was able to radiate, in the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1917, over restless, discontented elements in the western world.

Russia remains, today, a great power, as she was before 1917. She remains a problem to us, as she would have been before 1917 had we then been an active participant in world affairs.

But the importance of Moscow as a source of inspiration and authority for the communist parties of the West, and even for the communist parties now in power in Eastern Europe, has been extensively and probably decisively shattered.

Whoever, then, tries to make anti - communism into a politieal or ethical philosophy is addressing himself to the past. He is talking about things that were, not things that are. This is, as we all know, an unbelievably endangered world in which we live. The ultimate problems created by nuclear science and by overpopulation - by man's new - found ability to destroy his habitat entirely or to make it intolerable by multiplying himself within it beyond the point of endurance - stare us in the face.

To neither of these problems does mere anti - communism even suggest an answer; and the morbid preoccupation with this term can scarcely be explained otherwise than as the reflection either of an inability to free one's self from the anxie-

ties, the seizures, or the nightmares of the past, or a lack of the requisite manliness to face the reality of the present

I think it is high time that we, all of us, threw off these shackles, emancipated ourselves realism and the honesty we can

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