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Changes That Have Followed the Great Revolutionary Change, Atomic Power

"Wherever there is talk of foreign policy nowadays the air is electric with a sense of change."

This is an introductory key line in the most discerning and most enlightening commentary on the country's military and diplomatic problems that I have read in a long time. The writer is Richard H. Rovere, Washington correspondent of the New Yorker magazine.

We all know of atomic power as the great revolutionary change of recent years, but probably most of us have not given much thought to important changes that have followed, not only in technology but in concepts of the nature of power as a factor in international relations.

"Under the impact of our dizzying technological advance," Rovere says, "the validity not only of military and political strategies but of basic ideas is often almost as short-lived as the design of a fighter plane. Concepts that once seemed as if they might endure at least through our epoch are ready for the mothballs a few years after they have been grasped and disseminated."

A startling example of this has been the discarding of the belief in what was called the "industrial potential"—that is, the belief that it was not what a nation had on hand that counted but what it could produce in the course of a conflict. In Rovere's words:

"By the time the war ended the idea had taken hold everywhere that the chief element in the political power of any given nation was the readiness with which it could lay its hands on raw materials and transform them into militarily useful objects. Diplomatic and political discourse became very largely essays on the measurement of factory floor space, machine-tool production, kilowatts generated, and the available supplies of coal, oil, and steel. These were, in the long run, the decisive factors, it was felt, and no policy that put them in a subordinate position was worthy of consideration."

"The whole Europe-first idea that has been fundamental to our strategy in the conflict with Communism has rested on the industrial-potential theory; the principle has been that while democracy could survive the conquest of vast, hugely populous parts of Asia, it could not survive the absorption of even a fraction of Western Europe, since the control of this area would tip the world balance of industrial power in favor of the Soviet system."

"But the development of thermonuclear weapons has made the industrial-potential theory obsolete, and, along with it, certain of the strategies it seemed to require. One or two hydrogen bombs can take a gigantic bite out of any nation's capacity to produce; a brisk day's work by the air force of one nation could start another nation on the road back to the Stone Age, and an extra day or two could finish the job."

"The nostalgic idea that our industrial power is our greatest military asset could ruin our military planning," Thomas K. Finletter, the former Secretary of the Air Force, wrote last fall in 'Power and Policy,' a critique of American strategy. He said: 'We must build our military force on the exact opposite of this industrial-potential notion.' In the view of many people here in Washington, however, Mr. Finletter's 'exact opposite'—in a word, airpower—has been rendered almost obsolete by stalemate as the industrial-potential idea has been by the hydrogen bomb."

Rovere does not accede to the view that airpower has been rendered obsolete by stalemate. It is essential to stalemate,

and stalemate is necessary as a deterrent of war. Winston Churchill invented the phrase, "balance of terror," for stalemate. Rovere, quoting Churchill's statement, "It is to the universality of potential destruction that we may look with hope and even confidence," says: "The 'balance or terror' is generally regarded as a fairly promising substitute for the balance of power. . . . Through the balance of terror, it is believed, airpower can prevent defeat and destruction. It cannot be the guiding or organizing principle for any sort of victory, but without it neither victory nor even survival would be possible. There is almost universal agreement today that the basic measure of military strength today is the speed with which a nation could, if sufficiently provoked, drop hydrogen bombs on its enemy."

Another change that atomic power may have brought about is the ending of the value of allies. "Our position in a general atomic war with the Soviet union," says Rovere, "would not be improved by our being able to count on the use of someone else's machine tools or rolling mills or skilled-labor force. In such a war we would be little better off with the whole non-Communist world ranged on our side than with it ranged against us. The last remaining use for allies in the kind of conflict we are armed for is to provide bases for our Strategic Air Command, and now we are assured the development of our bombers has very nearly reached the point at which bases outside this hemisphere will be no longer needed; with the coming of pilotless intercontinental missiles, bearing hydrogen warheads, the need will disappear altogether."

Rovere ends on a cheerful note. Relatively, that is: cheerful in comparison with the despairing predictions that were being voiced everywhere a year ago.

"In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising," he says, "that no one here in Washington seems to have any clear idea of where we are going next. Although the possibility of thermonuclear destruction will doubtless be with us more or less permanently, no one feels that it is, just now, a fate to be awaited from moment to moment. Despite the appearance of a flock of new dangers, there is, in a way, more relief than apprehension here today. There is ferment and uncertainty but no really deep sense of emergency."—L. G.

A Suggestion to the Planning Committee

In Chapel Hill there is no serious trouble about traffic on the eastern outlet toward Raleigh, the southern outlet toward Pittsboro, the western outlet toward Greensboro, and the northern outlet toward Hillsboro. The trouble is with, first, the local traffic on Franklin and Rosemary streets, and second, the Franklin street traffic to and from Durham which is becoming steadily heavier and is now overflowing into Rosemary.

The layout of Chapel Hill, with only one street (Franklin) running from end to end, causes a funneling of traffic. On the south is the University campus, with a single narrow thoroughfare (Cameron avenue) that is blocked at the east end by a park and, with its name changed to Boundary street, swings north to pour its traffic into Franklin. On the north is Rosemary, which is a dead-end street at the east and, like Cameron avenue, pours both local and Durham-bound traffic into Franklin.

Beyond Rosemary is North street, which has no outlet at the east and is separated into two sections which could be joined together only by the bridging of a deep ravine and the destruction of several homes.

Rosemary street is narrow and badly crowded. The proposal to widen it, for the accommodation of the traffic that has overflowed from Franklin, is probably a good one as far as the central block from Columbia to Henderson is concerned. But widening from that block in either direction is probably impracticable because of the closeness of the houses to the street. And the eastward extension of Rosemary, to bring it to a junction with the Durham highway, which has been suggested from time to time, would ruin one of Chapel Hill's most beautiful residential neighborhoods, one of the few that retain the secluded and tranquil atmosphere of the old village. The building of such a thoroughfare, making way for a day-and-night process of roaring, stinking automobiles, would be a dreadful calamity.

A suggestion I would like to offer to the planning committee recently created by the board of aldermen is that they explore the possibility of building a new street from the Airport road, down the ravine below Cobb terrace, crossing Hillsboro street, and running across the valley below Tenney circle to a junction with

the Durham highway somewhere near the new 4-lane bridge over Bolin creek. Such a street would take care of a large part of the traffic to and from Durham and would thereby relieve the crowding on Franklin and Hillsboro streets. Since it would run through an area that is not developed, the building of it would not necessitate the tearing down of any considerable number of houses.

It is certainly desirable for Chapel Hill to have a new outlet toward Durham and I can't think of a better place for one.—L. G.

Some Merits of Books

This is from a recent column of comment by Charles Poore, book reviewer for the New York Times:

"You never have to pay a scalper's scale to read the best books of the moment; the prices remain unchanged. You do not have to shoulder your way through crowds or wait cravenly for the headwaiter to notice you before you start reading. You do not have to have a repairman in from time to time to replace a book's tubes or tinker with its loudspeaker. You do not have to stop in the middle of a good story to hear a sponsor's melodious malarkey. No petulant neighbors ever ask you to tone a volume's volume down. The pleasure is yours!"

To this impressive list of the merits of books I would add another, one that appeals to the pocketbook more.

Mr. Poore speaks of the unchanged prices of "the best books of the moment." There are many people to whom these books, specially if they are history or biography or are in some other category in which timeliness is not important, are just as interesting when they are no longer "of the moment" as when they were new. When that time comes, when they are no longer being talked about in the reviews and proclaimed in the advertising columns, these books can often be bought at greatly reduced prices. Furthermore, if you don't mind taking a little extra trouble, and maybe entering your

name on a waiting list, you can get from a circulating library the best books, among them a good many books that have not yet grown old, without paying anything at all. Or you can rent new books, as at our Bull's Head shop here in Chapel Hill.

As Mr. Poore says, books sell at standard prices, but these prices are much higher than they used to be. A person of moderate means cannot afford to buy many new books in these days. I know people who solve the problem of their book-hunger by dividing their patronage; they buy from bookstores as many books as they figure they can afford and get at, free libraries, or rent, other books they are eager to read.

The thought that occurred to me, after reading the content quoted at the beginning of this piece, was: Why are so many people, not illiterate people but people in the class called educated, willing to endure the inconveniences and discomforts, the discourtesies and the insults to the intelligence, inseparable from addiction to the pastimes mentioned by Mr. Poore, when so much of entertainment and stimulation, such never-ending fun, are to be had by the reaching out of a hand in the peace and comfort of the home?—L. G.

Postscript

The upheaval in Moscow gives point to the main theme in the leading editorial above—that "the air is electric with a sense of change." The writer whom I have quoted, Richard H. Rovere, after telling of the changes that have come about since the discovery of atomic power, finds "stalemate" an encouraging condition and concludes that now "there is no really deep sense of emergency." The spectacular overturn in the Soviet government and Molotov's violent tirade against the United States confirm what Mr. Rovere says about the rapid changes in these days—and vitiate his conclusion. All at once "the deep sense of emergency," the absence of which he observes with satisfaction, is here again.—L. G.

League of Women Voters Gives Results Of Its Survey of Orange County Trade

The units of the League of Women Voters in Chapel Hill, Durham, Greensboro, and High Point have been cooperating in making a survey of export and import trade in the Sixth Congressional District. After the results are tabulated and analyzed the Durham unit will make them available to the public.

The Chapel Hill unit, under the direction of Mrs. W. W. Cort, devoted its attention to agriculture in Orange and Alamance counties and to trade in Orange county. At a recent meeting of the unit Mrs. W. Carey Sweet presented many interesting facts on agriculture in this county, which, with 34,435 inhabitants, has the smallest population of any of the four counties in the Sixth Congressional District. Following are some of the facts the Chapel Hill league members learned about Orange county:

The county's population of 34,435 (in 1950) is 49 per cent greater than it was in 1940, while the gain for the entire state in this period was 13.4 per cent. In 1954 there were 10,675 people living on farm tracts in the county. This was 700 less than in 1953.

Orange is the second smallest county in the district and has a land area of 249,000 acres, 80 per cent of which is farmland. Less than one half of the farmland is utilized for crops and pasture; the balance is in woods and waste land.

In 1953, listed in the order of their dollar valuation, the agricultural crops of Orange county were: tobacco, hay crops, corn, wheat, oats, soy beans, cotton, sweet potatoes, lespedeza, Irish potatoes, and peanuts. The total valuation of these 11 crops was \$4,384,270. Tobacco alone accounts for 63 per cent of the total valuation. Other agricultural products of Orange are animals for food, chickens, eggs, honey, beeswax, etc., but no valuation is available for these.

Four of the county's principal crops figure in the U. S. export list as exported in quantity: tobacco, wheat, corn, oats. Since no figures are available for exports from individual states, we do not know how much of North Carolina's tobacco is exported. One publication says "in 1949 roughly 30 per cent of the entire tobacco-leaf production was exported. . . . In addition to the tobacco exported in cigarettes and other tobacco manufactures," in that same year (1949) the value of U. S. exports of tobacco and manufactures amounted to \$251,000,000. In 1953 this figure had risen to \$404,000,000. Another publication says that 39 per cent of the flue-cured tobacco exported goes to the United Kingdom (our

best customer). Fifty-one per cent of farm income in North Carolina comes from tobacco alone. This state leads the nation in the value of its tobacco manufacturing. In fact, more tobacco products are made in North Carolina than in all other states combined. In 1950, of the 25 leading counties in the U. S. in the number of acres of tobacco harvested, 19 of these were in North Carolina. None of these 19 were in the Sixth District.

An organization in North Carolina called "Tobacco Associates" employs a full-time representative abroad to promote the sale of tobacco products—which points up the State's interest in export trade. A recent article in the Durham Herald said that "tobacco means 800 million dollars to North Carolina per year." Paul Gross of Duke University also said recently that the State's appropriation for tobacco research is \$250,000 annually.

At present there are no imports that affect adversely the production of agricultural commodities in Orange county. However, the county agent said this might be the case in the future with regard to dairy products. Sodium nitrate, used in the production of cotton and corn, and usually imported from Chile, is now being produced within the United States. Turkish tobacco is imported into North Carolina, and according to the latest figures (1953) total imports amounted to slightly more than one-fifth of the value of U. S. tobacco exports for that year.

Farm community leaders in both Orange and Alamance counties were interviewed on foreign trade issues. In general they were in favor of keeping tariffs as low as possible to allow a large amount of imports; of giving government protection to industries vital to national defense; of encouraging the sale of surplus U. S. products abroad by keeping the tariff low enough to allow foreign nations to earn dollars through exports to the U. S.; and of the establishment by the government of a stockpile of all raw materials needed for defense. They were also in favor, with limitations and adequate controls, of some governmental aid to depressed or threatened industries, in the way of money for research or subsidies, such money to be taken out of tariff receipts. This was better than raising tariffs, applying quotas, or extending the period of unemployment compensation to workers in industries curtailed by import competition.

Mrs. Rashi Fein presented a brief report on the survey of manufactured commodities in Orange county. The North

Carolina Almanac and State Guide lists 25 manufacturing firms in Orange county. Their products range from candy to textiles and furniture. Some of these factories depend on foreign trade for their existence. The furniture factory imports all of its mahogany woods and veneers from Africa, South America, and the Philippines. The woolen mill imports from Australia a large portion of the raw wool it uses. One cotton textile factory in Orange county exports much of its product to the Philippines. These factories compete both at home and abroad with similar goods manufactured in Japan. The woolen mill also meets competition from abroad in the sale of its product.

In the town of Hillsboro a complete cycle of foreign trade is completed. The furniture company pays American dollars to the Philippines in return for mahogany. With these American dollars the Philippines buy cloth from a textile factory in Hillsboro. This is a vivid example of how important foreign trade is to us in Orange county.

The three factories which were included in the survey employ approximately 800 people in the county. Many more people are affected indirectly.

Stoudemire-Hawkins

Mr. and Mrs. Sterling Aubrey Stoudemire announce the engagement of Mr. Stoudemire's daughter, Miss Marian Slate Stoudemire, to James Alexander Hawkins, son of Mrs. James Alexander Hawkins of Springfield, Mass., and the late Dr. Hawkins. Miss Stoudemire is the daughter also of the late Irene Slate Stoudemire. A June wedding is planned.

Miss Stoudemire's father is professor of Spanish and chairman of the Romance languages department at the University. Mr. Hawkins, the brother of Dr. David R. Hawkins of the University's Medical School, is associated with the Eastman Kodak Company. He was graduated cum laude from Amherst College. Miss Stoudemire is an alumna of the Woman's College in Greensboro and a graduate of the University here. The couple will live in West Virginia.

Roberts-Holmgard

Mr. and Mrs. Dudley D. Carroll announce the marriage of their daughter, Eleanor Holmgard, to H. Wallace Roberts of Memphis, Tenn., at their home on the Country Club road on Thursday, January 27. The Rev. Charles S. Hubbard officiated.

Hillel Women to Meet

The Hillel Women's Club will meet at 8 p.m. Wednesday, February 16, at the Hillel House. Mrs. Daniel A. Okun will show slides of her recent trip to Israel.

On the Town

By Chuck Hauser

WHEN I GOT TO RALEIGH for my first day of work covering the Legislature with the AP, I was told I would be assigned to the Senate. That seemed like a pretty good idea, since the Senate is a much calmer place than the House, and would be a little easier to handle for someone who was getting started a month late on the year's legislative doings.

But I regretted that I wouldn't get to see the two House Chapel Hillians in action—Representative John Umstead and Reading Clerk Billy Arthur. With this in mind, I walked into the Senate chamber Monday night and went to work. The Senate polished up its business early, and I turned my news over to the rewrite man in the AP capitol bureau, and decided to go take a look at the House. I walked in at the peak of an argument over whether a newspaper column from the Charlotte Observer could be printed in the House Journal at the request of a member. Since the column praised the action of the Legislature in providing for secret committee sessions, there was some protest against printing it in the Journal.

The speaker clearly stated that the vote to be taken on the matter would be a simple indication of whether the column would be put in the Journal, not whether the House approved or disapproved of the statements made by the writer. But several legislators seemed to feel that a yes vote would put them on record as condoning the secrecy actions.

Mr. Umstead's voice, booming from the back of the chamber, helped to clear the air. "This is much ado about nothing," he said. "I'm strongly opposed to secrecy, but I will vote yes because I believe any member of this house has the right to place anything he wishes in the Journal." Following the Chapel Hillian's remarks, two legislators asked that their votes be changed from no to yes.

PAUL DOUGLAS, the actor who made those uncompromising references to the South in general and to Greensboro in particular, was hissed when he appeared on the screen of the Carolina Theatre Sunday afternoon in "Green Fire." I wonder if the exhibitors in Greensboro will dare to show the film.

THERE ARE AT LEAST two bits of obvious nonsense in the secrecy rules recently passed by the two houses of the General Assembly in Raleigh:

(1) The Senate's pompous statement that its committees have an "inherent right" to hold secret sessions warrants close inspection. In this country, we have many rights, but we are not permitted to exercise those which infringe on the rights of others. The Senate, in proclaiming the "inherent right" of committee to meet in secret, is infringing on the inherent right of the people of the state to know how THEIR business is being conducted in Raleigh. Public business IS the public's business!

(2) The vacuous sop thrown to the public in the form of the requirement that no "final action" may be taken in secret session is the object of a great deal of ballyhoo by legislators who seek to justify secrecy. They say this provision protects the public's right to know what is going on. It protects no such thing. The public, under this system, knows only what the final vote is on a particular matter; it lacks the important information: WHY the vote went as it did. Unless the people know what arguments and facts swayed a committee to vote as it did, they cannot intelligently judge whether the legislators acted wisely or unwisely. Secrecy breeds suspicion and distrust of legislative authority, and that is not good business in any sort of government.

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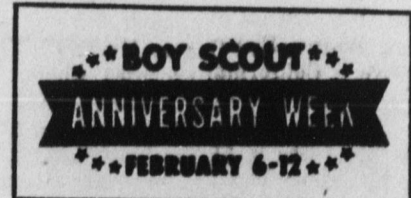
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