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MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1957

North Carolina: A Portrait In Focus

HOW IS IT being a North Carolinian? You don't have to ask. Almost any Tar Heel will tell you, connecting his own questions and answers to the most tenuous reference of an idle conversation. And for most of the tellers, it is like being in love—never blindly but with all the more passion for seeing and forgiving faults.

Perhaps because it is an old love some of the tellers toss in liberal seasonings of romanticism. They find pedestrian poetry in the flaked blue windows of textile mills, and patterns of grace in red-gullied clay. There is strength in this, but too much fancy for determined truth seekers.

Occupationally, being a North Carolinian is like being almost anything you want to be from a shrimper to a coupon clipper, a shepherd, or a harmonica-playing professor.

The Tar Heel honors all of these, and anybody else making his way either successfully or eccentrically. The fibre of love spins out of the building of great factories no more than from the gradual falling down of a deserted shack on a mountainside.

Tar Heels are busy people. On the coast they are pulling fish out of the Atlantic and dollars out of the tourists, although in this transaction the tourist gets fair value. In the mountains they are making money being themselves, practicing the old arts of weaving, basket and pottery making. In between, Piedmonters are busy changing things, proud of what they are but determined to be something else—something of the future, something prominent and something of value wrought from native energy and outside capital.

It is a lively landscape. But how is it, withal, being a North Carolinian? It is like being a member of a large family in which everybody is very busy prospering or trying to, everybody but Mother North Carolina herself.

* * *

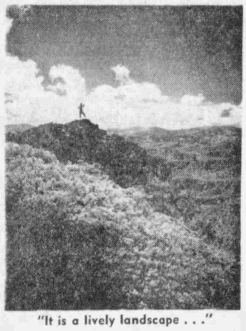
MOTHER is sitting, having her portrait painted. She is always sitting, having her portrait painted by some son—Tom Wolfe, Bill Polk or, in the current instance, Ovid Williams Pierce who has contributed a picture of occasionally intuitive truth to the February issue of HOLIDAY magazine.

Gazing at the state, Mr. Pierce felt the surge of romanticism that has blurred too many of its portraits. It scents but does not transfigure his writing. And at the end North Carolina emerges as herself, not as an extension of Virginia with Godheads of heroes rising through the moist mists of hero worship, nor as a subdivision of old South Carolina, peopled with swashbuckling statesman armed with eloquence and pistols.

Pierce's present-tense story, for example, notes the "final humiliation" of the proud Cherokee race in the pseudo "chiefs" selling trinkets and feathers to tourists, and existing in a gaudy vacuum, "belonging neither to the world of their forefathers nor to that of their neighbors outside."

He gets to the heart of the Chapel Hill myth whose magnetism is as strong as any force in the state:

> For 50 years the university has held the intense affection of its people, a fact suggesting that there no longer exists a single school but, perhaps, the myth of many, made out of the needs and the imaginings of different men.
>
> Old students not only want to return



"It is a lively landscape . . ."

to Chapel Hill to live but many of them do. Elderly couples, retired and well to do, have found the village charm. Writers have made there a considerable colony.

But the really important thing . . . is that the university has survived as a great liberal institution, in an area where one wouldn't expect to find it. No one man could do it, could make a university. The university was the sum of all its people living in pursuit of ends unseen and knowing the purity of freedom of search.

Taking the winding road downward, away from the town, was like returning to a everyday world which had — quite surprisingly — known how to protect its citadel on the hill.

* * *

WORKADAY Tar Heel writing is too long on description, too short of definition. The mountains the Piedmont and the coast all have their strolling poets, sensitive to obscure outcroppings of beauty and truth and quite capable of nourishing the people's long love affair with the face of their state.

But incisive journeys into the mind of the state such as Mr. Pierce conducts in HOLIDAY have been all too few. Perhaps this is because sharp geographical divisions have divided the Tar Heel mind and manner.

But besides the Chapel Hill myth there are other common denominators, other phenomena of strength whose influence reaches from mountain to sea.

* * *

THE flexible conservatism of North Carolina politics is one. There is a leanness in Tar Heel political thought, a relative freedom from the puffy fat of old prejudice, a pragmatic approach that is peculiar to the state.

The "different idea" is allowed a sympathetic hearing.

A rurally dominated, southern legislature votes appropriations in support of a state symphony and an art gallery, rather unterrified by the implications of such business.

Freedom of the press on a college newspaper can become a rather stirring issue when someone suggests a limitation.

North Carolina is more handsome by far than she is generally painted by her ardent admirers. But much of the stuff of her distinctiveness is behind the face of things, and it takes study and care to bring it to the surface. Among her strolling poets, she needs a few more philosopher types.

The Inauguration Of Ike's Reputation

THEODORE Roosevelt contemplated his second inauguration with ebullient boldness. "Tomorrow I shall come into my office in my own right," he said. "Then watch out for me!"

This was timely talk from Teddy, but hardly the text for President Eisenhower's thoughts as he, having been elected first as a popular general and then as a President with proved mastery of political techniques, comes into office in his own right.

For the President this comment by Grover Cleveland would better suit: "I am honest and sincere in my desire to do well, but the question is whether I know enough to accomplish what I desire."

That question indeed would haunt any man assuming the presidency at this time. The foreign scene is a frenzied kaleidoscope, and it is the President's awesome task to charm or conjure the fragments of a disintegrating order of things into orderly patterns of peace and safety. Other presidents have had the same task, of course, but it has grown in magnitude until it exudes an air of eternal desperation.

This problem events have set for the President.

But there is another which he has set for himself—the making of a "new Republicanism" — about which confident forecasts would be equally as idle. For old Republicanism is entrenched in the Congress to such an extent that he cannot really be upset by the fact that the opposition party controls the Congress. There will, in fact, be days when he doubtless will be grateful. Eisenhower Republicans are being elected to Congress with the President's help but they, in accordance with the seniority system, are going to the foot of the committees where they have only votes—not the veto power of their seniors.

It is altogether a strange situation that prevails in Washington. The President is more popular than either party, yet is somewhat suspect in both—in his own for philosophical, and in the opposite, for practical political reasons.

His popularity, both at home and abroad, is the only basic asset which he can use to carve out the presidential reputation which history will recognize as enduring.

It is a large asset, but he will have to use it to the fullest if the President is to move, rather than be moved, by the events which he faces on his second inauguration.

From The New Orleans Item

UNWELCOME WORDS

THE Age Center of New England, a Boston research and service organization, announces that after interviewing hundreds of aged men and women it has found that they don't like being called things like "senior citizen," "oldster" and "golden ager."

We aren't surprised. And we're pretty sure they don't like "old folks" or "elderly" any better.

Who the heck, for that matter, ever liked being called "middle-aged"?

People's Platform

File And Forget Peacetime GI Bill Of Rights

Davidson

Editors, The News:

IN THE Jan. 15 News I ran across a letter published in People's Platform signed by 11 young Charlotteans who are with the armed forces in Germany. The subject of this letter was the GI Bill of (so-called) Rights and their desire to have it reinstated.

To my way of thinking, this is not so much a bill of rights as a bill of privilege. Certainly it was justifiable to grant these privileges to men who served their country in time of national emergency. But since every young man has a military obligation to fulfill, the granting of these privileges to all peacetime servicemen would amount to saying that the federal government owes everybody four years of college.

As laudable as this idea sounds, it just isn't practical for the simple reason that most people won't get the least bit of good out of a college education, aside from four years of living at government expense. The postwar years were full of examples of the GI Bill being taken advantage of. Men who had the desire to get an education but lacked the ability to get one at a good school took advantage of the bill at second rate schools, teachers colleges and junior colleges, along with those who were just taking advantage of the giveaway.

It is easy to see how these colleges have grown since World War II. But what burns me most is that these men get the same bachelor degrees for four years of nothing as a student at a first rate college or university gets for four years of hard labor.

No, gentlemen, I don't want the GI Bill back. I don't think the government owes anybody four years of freeloading. College standards have been lowered enough in the last ten years to accommodate the influx of imbeciles and I don't think they should be lowered further.

— RICHARD M. HAMOR

Support Of Schools By News Saluted

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

AT ITS regular meeting on Jan. 9, the Board of School Commissioners unanimously passed a resolution thanking you and your staff for the splendid work done by The Charlotte News in helping the electorate understand the importance of and the need for the recent school bond election. The successful completion of that election was due in great measure to the program of education carried on by the newspapers, the radio stations and by other groups in our city. We deeply appreciate the help given by The Charlotte News.

—ELMER H. GARINGER
Superintendent
Charlotte City Schools

Queen City Needs Westside Bypass

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

I HERE place a proposal before the City Council in the interest of the taxpayers and the motor traveling public of Charlotte and Mecklenburg and those using the westside railroad crossings. The point of action I wish to place before it is a westside bypass for the long trains. Those long trains have been increased by the changes over to the many people who have given no thought to this. The changeover was too early. They say the west as well as the east should have been cleared.

What is the idea of the westside bypass first to do away with the blocking of crossings from Dowd Road to Liddell Street, just 12 of them as of now?

Second: To save the taxpayers from $1 million to $2 million to do this is to give the five men going to the state legislature Feb. 5 an okay on this proposal. This does not cost the City Council one dime to say yes; but to say no will cost the taxpayers millions.

Those men can take this to the legislature and on to the governor for action. This proposal is to get the necessary money from the state highway fund to secure the right of way for this westside bypass and grading. This will move the trains out of the public path for another 50 years. Now, then, the Southern Railway is removing sections of their double track so the rails and cross ties will be available to put in the track or tracks. To do this we do not need any high powered engineer. The Southern Railroad and the state have engineers that are on a regular salary and are plenty able to do any engineering job. The state engineers handle the highway jobs; so they along with the Southern men can handle this westside proposal from any angle.

This Miller plan has cost the taxpayers thousands of dollars and the plans were not accepted to begin with by the present Council and I see no need for this present Council having to load the taxpayers with millions that can and should stay out of the bond election plate. We have too many bonds for our own good. There are many points that should and could come in this plan as of now, but will leave them out for now to see what is in your choosing.

To clear the City of Charlotte and the Southern Railroad of mileage should be attractive as of this time and the future. You can close any part of a contract with notice and that will not put any of the City Council in a hot spot. There has never been a contract made that could not be cancelled or cut. So that is where the City Council stands today. You can win the public by leaving the millions in their pocket or in their bank account. Who loves tax when there is a way to save them or try and do so?

It doesn't cost any dollars to give this plan a try in Raleigh. So here is your move. You can win two ways or you can lose in another. So the five men for Raleigh in February can carry it through and we need some of this $27 billion to build the westside bypass that we are helping to build each time we drive up to a gas tank and say fill it up and get some of those pennies back into circulation in and around Charlotte.

This $27 billion is to remove congestion and we have plenty of it on the westside as of now and more coming. My plan of the past and present is to give the public relief and the future is in this up to the neck in congestion.

A copy of this letter will go to each City Councilman.

—S. C. VAUGHN

'—And We Take Th' Low Road—And They'll Get All Our Bonny Teachers'

A Stitch In Time

Moscow's No-Nonsense Line

By JOSEPH ALSOP

MOSCOW

AFTER A week in this drab, fascinating and singularly mysterious city, this reporter is not in the business of giving firm answers about the Soviet Union. But at least one thing can be said with great firmness. The Kremlin's walls really are not falling down at the moment.

It is a bit ridiculous that this rather simple fact should seem worth recording. Yet the disasters which have recently overtaken the policy and interests of the Western Alliance have inspired a very curious reaction in Washington and elsewhere. The highest American policymakers and their publicists monotonously chant, "The Soviets have their troubles, too," as though this excused our troubles.

The impression given has been ludicrously exaggerated.

But while it is vital to note that any current Soviet troubles are highly unlikely to prove crippling, it is also vital to note that the Soviet troubles have been and are very real indeed. Much the most serious, of course, is the trouble in central Europe, which seems to be approaching some sort of climax.

CHINESE ATTACK

Publicly, at least, the process began in Peking instead of Moscow. The Chinese government on Dec 29, issued its remarkable statement condemning Marshal Tito, attacking "small nation chauvinism," and above all emphatically recognizing the "leading position of the Soviet Union in the peace camp."

The Kremlin itself had previously announced the "fraternal equality" among Communist parties. But the Soviet party now turned out to be more equal than the others. And this claim for the Russians was made by the Chinese.

Thereafter, China's Premier Chou En-lai returned home post haste from an Asian journey and set out again for Moscow. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders attended a Budapest meeting of Eastern European Communist leaders from which Yugoslavia and Poland were conspicuously absent. In Moscow once more, the leaders of the Soviet Presidium met here at length with Chou En-lai.

MARSHAL ZHUKOV
An Anti-Explosion Device

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

On the last day of this meeting, although he had of course just seen Khrushchev and the others in Budapest, Hungary's harried Premier Kadar suddenly turned up in Moscow — most probably to give Chou En-lai a first hand, personal account of the grave menace of "counter revolution" in Hungary. After this briefing, Chou En-lai went on to Warsaw, where he almost certainly warned Poland's bold Premier Gomulka not to go too far on the road of liberalization, and urging him to be ready to stamp out any "counter revolutionaries" who may show their ugly heads at today's Polish election.

Budapest was next on Chou's itinerary.

The pattern of complex journeys and repeated conferences betrays the agitation which the ferment in eastern Europe has certainly caused. At the same time, the Peking statement (much more than anything which has been publicly said in Moscow) reveals the theme of all these meetings. The theme is that no nonsense will be tolerated.

VICTORIA'S METHOD

At all costs, Communist regimes will be maintained in Eastern Europe.

Those who wish to understand Moscow's mood need only go back to Queen Victoria's letters at the time of the Indian Mutiny. The old lady was unshakably confident of the beneficence of English rule in India, and her main fear was that her ministers would be too soft in teaching the mutineers a lesson they would remember for their own good.

For good or ill, the Western nations have largely lost the kind of ruthless self-confidence that Queen Victoria displayed. But that has not happened here.

ZHUKOV'S BOAST

The hardness of will was revealed to the foreign community here by Marshal Zhukov, after the dangerous crisis in Poland that brought Gomulka to power. It will be remembered that there were troop movements at that time. Afterwards, Marshal Zhukov frankly stated to diplomats here that a real counter-revolution could have and would have been rapidly crushed, if anything of the sort had occurred. The popular Washington theory, that the Red Army is more tolerant of "counter-revolution" than other sectors of the Soviet hierarchy, is in fact the purest nonsense.

Since this is the approach, Hungary may endure a long agony, but will not be permitted to get out of hand again. A greater danger is an election time explosion in Poland today. Yet the Poles have had their warning, and very stern anti-explosion devices have been clearly prepared.

GOP's Call To Arms

'Look Away, Dixieland'

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON

THE Republicans are headed toward the realm of political paradox and sectional tension in which the Democratic Party has lived long and uneasily.

In a parting message to Republican women, National Chairman Leonard W. Hall declared that "the real hunting ground of the Republican Party is in the South." He drew this conclusion from recent elections which showed the GOP slipping badly in the old Midwest heartland but carrying southern states for the national ticket.

Though Hall retires this week, he has had a hand in choosing his successor. He also looks ahead to a loud voice in party affairs in 1960 by way of the GOP nomination and election for governor of New York next year.

IKE'S HELP NEEDED

His "Look Away, Dixieland" sentiments coincide with renewed demands from Negro leaders, especially ministers, that President Eisenhower visit the South and spread oil on the troubled segregation waters there. Each day brings new accounts of violence and tension on the segregation front.

Hall's headquarters says, however, that no Republican leaders in the South have joined in demands for the President's presence. Those who advise the party here in such matters say they would not, as of now, favor such a visit.

They are confident that the new Congress will pass the administration's civil rights program with majority Republican support. They expect both the President and his party to get the credit. This, in their view, will be sufficient action for the many Negro voters who have switched to Mr Eisenhower both North and South after years of loyalty to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

PIVOTAL VOTING BLOC

It is certainly true that the Negroes, a pivotal voting bloc in many important states, have yet to learn how to put the double whammy on the Eisenhower Republicans as they long have put it on Democratic liberals. Sen. James O. Eastland, the Mississippi Democrat who heads the Senate Judiciary Committee, continues to be the Negro bogeyman, though for years it has been true that solid Republican support for civil rights would have swamped Eastland and his fellow-southerners.

Instead, Republican congressional leaders have clung to their alliance with southern Democrats, trading votes in behalf of cloture and against civil rights for southern support on tax and fiscal policy.

Chairman Hall's call to arms threatens this conservative coalition which has been in the driver's seat in the Capitol since 1938. It will be a momentous change in the direction of American politics if the coalition is now deemed expendable in the interests of the new Republicanism.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

President Likes 'Man Of Peace' Label

WASHINGTON

THERE are some changes in Dwight D. Eisenhower as he begins his second term as President of the United States. He's learned a lot in four years.

He's learned, among other things, not to be afraid of Congress. He's become a master politician. He's no longer afraid of the press, can play a press conference with the skill that a musician fingers a keyboard. And he likes the job—which at first he didn't like at all.

A Place In History

Finally, he's determined to make a name for himself in history — as a man of peace. Also, he wants to develop new political leaders, rejuvenate the Republican Party.

But in some other respects, Ike hasn't changed. Men don't change radically after they reach the age of 60, and the President is now 66.

He Likes People

He hasn't lost the personal touch, despite the pressing burden of the presidency. He likes people; likes to phone his friends direct without going through a secretary; likes to scribble longhand notes, still likes to be called Ike by his friends. He may interrupt the most important business session to do something personal; would much rather meet the champion truck-driver of the year than a group of congressmen.

Quick-Tempered

In other respects, also, the President hasn't changed. He still loses his temper quickly. He is still too trusting of friends and executives, still delegates too much to men around him without checking their operations. And he still likes decisions made for him.

Friend Of Business

But the President has come a long way from that famous evening at the F Street Club when he shocked Republican intimates by saying that, in wartime, business should be taxed proportionate to the sacrifice of the boy who gives up his life.

Today he feels completely at home with business advisers, who so criticized his views at the F. Street Club. He feels much more comfortable with them than with labor advisers. No labor advisers are close to him today.

More than anything else during these next four years, the President hopes he may bring about an era of peace. He is aware that big things have been stirring behind the Iron Curtain, and while he does not entirely know how he can take advantage of this ferment, he does have a certain reliance on his ability to be on the job at the right time.

Eisenhower Luck

The man on the street might call it Eisenhower luck. Historians might call it being a man of destiny. But just as Eisenhower was the right age when Pearl Harbor broke, just as the weather was right on the day of the Normandy invasions, and just as fate chose to let Stalin die while Ike was in the White House, so the President feels that he may be the man who came along at the right time to bring peace to the world.