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Is Censorship Inevitable In Tarheelia?

IN ITS ZEAL to protect the tender sensibilities of Tar Heels from "objectionable" literature, the General Assembly somehow neglected to justify its primary assumption that censorship is both desirable and inevitable.

The zeal was real, however, and the fears of dissenters were soon washed away by a tide of reasonably righteous indignation.

If censorship is inevitable the approach selected by the Senate is vastly to be preferred over the dangerously inept legislation offered in the House of Representatives.

The Senate's attack on "objectionable" material at least contained a definition of obscenity offered by Sen. Spencer Bell of Mecklenburg. It is from the American Law Institute's model criminal code:

> A thing is obscene if considered as a whole its predominant appeal is to the prurient interest, i.e., a shameful or morbid interest in nudity, sex or excretion, and it goes substantially beyond customary limits of candor in description or presentation of such matters.
>
> A thing is obscene if its obscenity is latent, as in the case of undeveloped photographs.
>
> Obscenity shall be judged with reference to ordinary adults, except that it shall be judged with reference to children or other especially susceptible audience if it appears from the character of the material or circumstances of its dissemination to be especially designed for or directed to such an audience.

But definitions themselves are subject to varying interpretations. The final test of the wisdom of such a law would have to await its application.

We weep not for the shoddy magazines that have flooded the news stands of late, with their off-color cartoons and smutty jokes. We do have some concern for serious literature.

Despite Sen. Bell's opinion that serious literature would not be threatened by his definition, good and honest books are always among the first to be attacked when all-out smut hunts get rolling. Frequently, the fly-by-nighters actually cash in on the publicity.

Many literary classics contain some fairly lusty passages which many readers might find shameful. That goes for Petronius, Apuleius, Defoe, Fielding, Sterne, Chaucer, Boccaccio, Joyce, Lawrence and the works of hundreds of other major writers down through the centuries. They have had their censors, too, but the censors have been forgotten while the writers have lived on.

It is possible that a basic distinction ought to be made between what is obscene and what is pornographic. The philosopher Abraham Kaplan has made such a distinction. For instance, it could be said that James Joyce's Ulysses and Lawrence's Women In Love contain elements of the obscene in the sense that they deal with the human body as a painted nude does. But neither book is pornographic, in the manner of French postcards. In the final analysis, it is the intent of the artist and the whole surrounding context that is the deciding factor.

In its actual application, will the obscenity bill make the necessary distinctions wisely and realistically? It must, or it will have to go.

Keep Lines Of Communication Open

AT A TIME when hopes for global peace rest largely on the ability of governments to maintain lines of communication between nations, Lt. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer's demand that the United States sever diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and its satellites is patently absurd.

As long as people are free to talk out their problems they will not shoot them out.

As long as there is a chance of reaching peaceful solutions to world problems, it is the responsibility of governments to explore that chance fully and conscientiously. To slam the door in the face of another power and refuse to talk would be an act of arrogance.

It is a fundamental assumption of United States diplomacy that maintenance of diplomatic relations with another power does not necessarily imply moral or political approval of that power, its form of government or its ideology. This has been stated many times.

The Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogota resolved in 1949:

> That the establishment or maintenance of diplomatic relations with a government does not imply an opinion on the domestic policy of that government.

The United States Department of State expressly stated in 1949:

> As has been pointed out previously, the maintenance or resumption of diplomatic relations with a particular government does not imply any judgment whatsoever as to the domestic policy of such a government.

The United States has good reason to disapprove of not one but many governments with whom it has to maintain normal diplomatic relations. It deals with these nations not because it likes them but because it serves our own best interests to keep the lines of communication open.

Old Grads Understand Commencement

ALTHOUGH commencement speeches have even less life expectancy than the fragile corsages girl graduates press between the pages of memory books, they continue to be a major part of community tradition.

By now, in school auditoriums across Tarheelia, most of these annual orations by local or imported wise men have been completed, and thousands of young people have gone forth with beribboned diplomas to grapple with the destiny they heard so much about during graduation exercises. Probably few of the graduates remember what the commencement speakers said.

The anticipation of beginning a career and the sadness of parting with classmates are conducive neither to intellectual contemplation nor to solemn attention to oratorical admonitions. Even such a minor concern as being certain that the tassel of one's cap is hanging from the correct side can be far more challenging on graduation night than the future to which the speakers always say the graduates hold the keys.

Yet the commencement speeches continue year by year, and it is good that they do. For if the graduates are too young or too excited to appreciate the speeches, there are others in commencement audiences who listen carefully and understand.

These are the parents. They have had some experience with destiny. They have watched their own futures become their pasts. They have traveled the road their children are just getting started on. And because of this, they understand the logic behind the commencement address. The occasion of graduation demands that something meaningful be said in an atmosphere of solemnity and new undertakings.

Furthermore, it is difficult to have a real ceremony without a speech of some sort. And parents who have brought a child to the cap-and-gown stage deserve the most impressive ceremony possible.

Even if it means more to the old than the new grads, the commencement speech is a fine tradition.

From The New Orleans Item

LADIES FIRST

THERE was recently a dispute in the Queens Borough of New York City about women getting on buses with loaded shopping carts. On one side were bus drivers, who first complained the bus drivers' union, and the bus company itself, which backed them. On the other side were just the housewives.

But in the end the little women won against the entrenched powers. An arbiter of the dispute said they could haul their carts aboard at will, except at the very peak of the crowded rush hour. His words have the ring of a modern Solomon's:

> He ruled in favor of "woman's ancient determination to sniff out and corral a bargain no matter how far she has to go to get it or how inconvenient it is to get there. . . . (And the) shopping cart is the indispensable accessory of American womanhood."
>
> Then the clincher. Bus drivers, the arbiter said, can't expect conditions at work "which they do not enjoy in their own homes." That is, laying down the law for women. As neat a way of phrasing the male surrender to female determination as we've yet heard.

If you can't sit near a little boy or girl at the circus you've missed the best act.—TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT.

Those comprising the 7 or 8 per cent which never has an opinion about anything may be in the most comfortable position today.—LAUREL (MISS.) LEADER-CALL.

How we admire the wisdom of those who come to us for advice.—ELBERTON (GA.) STAR.

Don't boast of your ability until you have successfully folded a batch of road maps.—BARTOW COUNTY (GA.) HERALD.

"Why is it that small towns have more gossips than big ones?" asked the sociology professor.

"Because," ventured a coed, "it's more fun watching a game when you know the players.—LAMAR (MO.) DEMOCRAT.

Formosan Riots Signal Failure Of U. S. Policy On China

By WALTER LIPPMANN

NEW YORK

THERE can be few left among us who do not have serious doubts about our China policy. For it is not possible to shrug off the anti-American riots in Formosa as if they were an unfortunate accident which has nothing to do with anything significant. Whether or not there was official complicity, the indubitable fact is that whoever incited, organized, equipped and directed the rioters knew he could count upon a deep and widespread popular resentment against Americans. This resentment shows that our China policy is not working well even among the Chinese whom we are protecting and subsidizing.

It is often supposed that the President is by no means an unqualified believer in our China policy but that for the sake of peace with Congress and inside the administration he has put the issues on ice. Thus in public at least, he has avoided a reappraisal which might be very agonizing to many of his friends.

There is, however, no way of postponing the reappraisal much longer. For it is becoming very evident indeed that our China policy has no future, that time is running out, and that the real question is whether there is still time and opportunity to save the things that matter the most.

DEFINING THE POLICY

What is our China policy? A good way to get at the inner principle of it is to ask and to answer the question, why are we uncompromising in our boycott of Red China and so much less uncompromising in our relations with Red Russia? The key to our policy is the fact that besides the Chinese in Formosa, there are some ten million Chinese in Southeast Asia. In Singapore, they are three-quarters of the population, in Malaya they are two-fifths of the population.

In those countries which have diplomatic relations with Red China, (Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia) the Chinese tend to look to Red China for guidance. In the countries recognizing the Nationalists, such as South Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, the Chinese tend to look for guidance to Formosa.

The object of our China policy is to keep the overseas Chinese separated from the Red Chinese government, and thus to prevent it from ruling and from representing all the Chinese.

SOME HOPE

Some years back when the Nationalist Chinese had been driven off the mainland, and were first installed in Formosa, the overseas Chinese were entitled to believe that eventually, with American help, the Chinese government in Formosa would fight its way back to the mainland and become again the government of all of China. Thus there was hope for the anti-Communists that they would go home triumphantly. For the neutrals there was some good reason to remain sitting on the fence. As long as the Red Chinese were weak and distracted by the problems of the revolution, while the United States, which then had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, was so strong, the China policy had a credible foundation.

PRUDENT ACTION

It no longer has a credible foundation. When in 1955 President Eisenhower asked Congress for a guarantee of Formosa and the nearby islands, he also took the necessary measures to prevent Chiang from making war-like moves against the mainland. Indeed, the President put an end to the idea that the United States would back an invasion of the mainland. He went even further and made it clear that the United States would not permit Chiang to attempt an invasion. All this was, no doubt, a sound and prudent diplomatic action to prevent dangerous and foolish adventures.

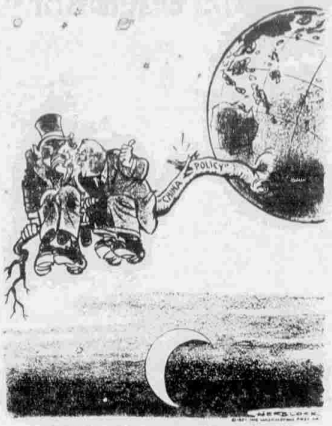
But it broke the back of our China policy. It deprived the Chinese in Formosa of any hope that they could return to the mainland except by coming to terms with Red China. Ever since then, our China policy has had no future, and has been no more than a holding operation, designed to put off as long as possible a deal among the Chinese themselves.

Our attitude toward trade with China and our attitude toward letting American newspapermen go to China, are part of this holding operation. They are a rather desperate and forlorn attempt to keep the Chinese in Formosa from coming to terms with the Chinese on the mainland. Thus we are trying to induce Britain, Germany and Japan, as well as Western Europe, to restrict trade with Red China more severely than they restrict trade with Red Russia. As this means merely that Russia becomes the broker through which China trades with the rest of the world, the restrictions is to make the overseas Chinese feel that all the world, outside of Russia, is the enemy of Red China. For the same kind of psychological reason, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Robertson, do not want to let American newspapermen go to Red China. They are afraid it would discourage the overseas Chinese and reduce their determination to oppose Red China.

RATIONAL SOLUTION

The rational solution would have been what is called the Two China Policy — to establish Formosa as an independent and neutralized state under the protection of the United Nations as part of the bargain which admitted Red China to the United Nations. Both Chinese governments are on record against such a solution. But it is still the best and indeed the only solution which corresponds to the whole reality of the Chinese situation—to the fact that there is a Chinese community which is opposed to placing itself under Communist rule, and that there is on the mainland of China a powerful government which cannot be ignored.

The question is whether it is too late to deal with the situation by a negotiated compromise, like the Two China Policy. If it is too late, then, unless the improbable happens and there is a counter-revolution on the Chinese mainland, we must look forward—with the Formosa riots as a warning sign — to the disintegration of our China policy.



"Notice How We've Got Them Isolated"

'Maybe We'd Better Start With Our Friends At Home'

Survivor Of Carolina Traffic Now A Confirmed Pedestrian

By ROBERT C. RUARK

WASHINGTON

WELL, I made it again.

I have been to some wars not of my making, and I have encountered angry cow elephants and irritated tigers, and I have even driven on North Carolina roads and survived.

I have ducked gypsy carts in Spain, and have attempted to stay even drinking gin with the Royal Navy. I have flown New Guinea in single-engined aircraft, ducking through mountain passes, and have invited the anger of large women.

But I have never known sheer terror as I have known it in Washington, trying to fight my way from the Daily News building to my wife's folks' home in Chevy Chase.

BUSY ASYLUM

It should be against the law in Washington for people to drive automobiles, especially automobiles with Virginia license plates. Just as this is the seat of government for the world, it is also a large, busy insane asylum peopled by maniacs in two-toned cars.

Nobody walks in Washington. Everybody has at least two cars, and I get the distinct impression that each man is driving both vehicles at once. Maybe they have laws here, but they haven't got any keepers. Three lanes of traffic weave and zig and zag and stop short and turn on dimes. They change the legality of the rights and lefts according to the hours, and trying to avoid murder while reading the fine print is a certain ticket to suicide.

BUY A MULE

Apart, it is impossible to get from here to there. You start out for a destination two blocks distant and wind up in Baltimore, because this arrow says go that-away, and the other arrow says stop, and the other says no turns at all, and the other says go straight up, and the other says burrow underground, and the final one says sell the car and buy a mule.

I remember as a youth in college that a flock of Cherokees came to Chapel Hill to indulge in the murderous sport of lacrosse in which the only house rule is against carrying weapons over .45 in caliber.

There were about 40 Indians, and as a lark the local jubilant set got all the Indians drunk off Orange County white corn likker. The Indians were killing each other in the streets and hurling each other through plate glass windows and uttering wonderful warwhoops through bloody faces.

That is how I feel about Washington traffic. The Indians are loose, and the horns made warwhoops, and the sidewalk does not insure safety. Occasionally you get the feeling of having been somebody else in another life, and I know my name. It is Gen. George Armstrong Custer, and my address is Little Big Horn.

I remember Paris in the spring, and the shrieks of the dead and dying as the taxis mowed down the pedestrians, and I have seen the joy with which Italians knock off friends and relatives in the Mille Miglia, but they are all a bunch of amateur assassins. Washington has the championship, and it's no wonder Ike needs a helicopter to get to the airport. It's the only way he can make it and live.

CHESS BOARDS

I have been generally confounded by traffic in such places as New York and the tiny Carolina towns which have made the roads into chess boards, so that you are so busy reading the markers on the concrete that you don't have time to avoid running over or into a peasant, who is tooling along in a large-wheeled agricultural machine, or embracing the back end of a mountainous truck.

But Washington is the top for confusion of traffic, as well as confusion of thought.

It is 5 o'clock and time to go home, and I don't think I'll go. I will just sit here and starve to death, which will be apt to lend me a longer life than braving Connecticut Ave., underpass or no underpass.

"Isn't The Rain Dreadful?"

Quote, Unquote

A "lady" is a woman so incompetent as to have to take refuge in a secluded class, like kings and idiots, who have to be treated with special kindness because they can't take it. — **Sinclair Lewis.**

People's Platform

Republicans Provided Top Civilian Payroll

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

OUR OLD friends the Republicans yell a lot about economy — in fact, they entered office in 1953 with loud war cries on this subject.

The trouble is that all they do is yell.

I call your attention to a news item in the New York Times from our nation's capital:

"Sen. Harry F. Byrd reported today that the federal payroll climbed to $1,000,000,000 a month in January . . . This was the highest monthly federal civilian payroll of all times," the senator said."

Where have the increases in the federal payroll occurred? Mostly at the top where the Republicans have created high-paying policy jobs exempt from civil service with which to pay off political debts.

This is economy?

Not in my book.

— A. P. FOSTER

Ike Deserves Prize For African Comment

Asheville

Editors, The News:

FOR THE prize for the most statesmanlike utterance of the year, I would select President Eisenhower's solution to the African problem — reported in Drew Pearson's column: "Send Billy Graham."

Need further proof of the President's omniscience be adduced, especially when you reflect that this remarkably simple solution to a problem which absorbs the life-long attention of a myriad of specialists in the social sciences was given to a Roman Catholic intellectual, Miss Barbara Ward, who, I dare say, stands in positive awe of the towering genius of Charlotte's own television celebrity?

— R. SCHALASNY

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON

REPUBLICAN senators aren't advertising it, but before they decided to reprove Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon for comparing President Eisenhower with Dave Beck, they held a Policy Committee meeting. The White House had phoned to ask that Morse be answered, and leading GOP senators met to decide what to do.

Among others, they queried Sen. Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, stanch supporter of Ike's foreign policy.

An Opening

"Do you think I'm crazy?" replied Wiley, when it was suggested that he make a speech. "You're a bunch of jackasses. You're just giving Morse an opening. He'll bang this right around your neck."

True to Wiley's prediction, Morse has now scheduled one full-dress Senate speech a week on "the morality of the Eisenhower administration."

Vacation Lands

With summer vacations looming for millions of Americans, Congressman Earl Chudoff, Philadelphia Democrat, is starting a congressional probe of Eisenhower policy regarding recreation spots.

Specifically he is looking into the fact that areas around the big dams and reservoirs owned by Uncle Sam are no longer set aside for recreational purposes, but kept by private interests.

Harold Ickes, the Old Curmudgeon who served as Roosevelt's secretary of the interior, and Oscar Chapman, his successor under Truman, acquired the land around federal waterways. Naturally when the government builds a dam or improves a waterway the land around it becomes more valuable, and the federal government took advantage of this increase.

Chudoff's preliminary probe, however, has found that on Oct. 12, 1953, nine months after Ike took office, this policy was changed.

Socialism Charged

He has also discovered that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was the prime instigator of the change. It claimed that the public playgrounds around dams and reservoirs were "socialistic."

From October 1953, therefore, the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army engineers have not purchased the land, but acquired "flowage easements" through land surrounding dams and reservoirs. Actually these easements cost about as much as the land would cost the taxpayers, little money was saved.

But here has been the result when it comes to vacation lands for the American public.

Three Building

Three big federal reservoirs are under construction: Garrison in North Dakota, Fort Randall in South Dakota, and Oahe, which straddles the border between North and South Dakota. In all three cases the Army has been barred from acquiring title to surrounding land for use by the public.

Another result of the policy has been a flood of demands from former property owners who sold land to the government prior to 1953.

They now want to buy their land back at bargain prices. Bills for this purpose have been introduced in Congress by Reps. Frank Ikard (D-Tex) and Phil Landrum (D-Ga); also by Sens. Henry Dworshak (R-Ida) and Strom Thurmond (D-SC).

Wiley Scorns Appeal To Defend Ike