

Dr. Frank: 'Carry The Truth To The People'

...Sharing In Liberty—
Faith, Hope Of An American

"In the fulfillment of her heritage of freedom and hope of brotherhood may America more and more be a land in which free people become brothers in the sight of God and in the human heart.

Here the autonomy of the human spirit, the freedom of the mind, the liberty of inquiry, speech, publication, association, enterprise, work, and worship, together with a personal sense of moral and social responsibility, are essential to the dignity of the free individual in whom are the security of the state, the welfare of the people and the progress of civilization. Here the best answer to the totalitarianism of the police state is not scrapping the Bill of Rights but keeping the faith of our historic Americanism.

In this land the equal freedom of people to organize for self-development, cooperation and creative participation in the agricultural, industrial, commercial, political, professional, cultural and religious life is now the moving frontier of our dynamic democracy. In the general life the daily toil of millions of men and women is above privilege and power, and the integrity of simple people is beyond price.

May this America be a land where the home, as the sanctuary of love, nurture and faith, is the source and measure of civilization, and the schools, libraries and playgrounds of the people are the chief hope of the equal opportunity of all the children in all the states to develop to the highest their individual capacities for a unified and useful life. In the cities, the

towns and the country may the multiplication and acceleration of mechanical contacts of civilization increasingly mean the enjoyment of leisure and recreation, the widening of information and sympathies, and the deepening of the cultural and spiritual content of the lives of the people.

The commonwealth not only means the common responsibilities for the conservation and development of the natural resources and cultural heritage for this generation and the generations to come, but also more and more means the common opportunities of the people for free information, sound knowledge, equal suffrage, fair employment, decent standards of life and labor, social security against the hazards of modern society, good health and medical care within reach of the people, and lawful agitation to broaden the base of the general welfare and lift the level of human liberty "in the pursuit of happiness" in America and the world.

In this land of liberty, for which our fathers died, and for which we would live, work and give our all, may America become a country in which the highest and the lowest and all the people equally together have the freedom to struggle for the higher freedom of truth, goodness and beauty; where democracy is without vulgarity, excellence is without arrogance, the answer to error is not terror and the response to a difference in color, race, religion, ideas, economic condition or social status is not discrimination, exploitation or intimidation.

Here is humility of repentance for our own wrongs, freedom of indignation against injustice and evil in places high or low, and courage in action for human decency and fair play. Our democracy is made fairer and stronger by the robust struggles of freedom, and life is made richer by the vigor and variety of the differences of the people.

Where and when men are free, the way of progress is not subversion, the respect for the past is not reaction, and the hope of the future is not revolution; where the majority is without tyranny, the minority without fear and all people have hope of building together a nobler America in a freer and fairer world.

These toiling and hopeful people, as pioneers along the free frontiers of the vast wilderness of our yet unmastered international society, seek to prevent both the destruction of human freedom and the self-destruction of civilization and to share their generous strength for peace on earth and good will among men. In a dynamic world, in which a depression or a war anywhere involves human beings everywhere, the people of the American dream against the lags of the conceptions of the absolute state, the superior race and the master class, patiently struggle in the atomic age through the United Nations, through regional re-enforcements of collective security, through economic cooperation and technical assistance programs, to end all wars and all depressions and to provide the basis for the self-determination and equal opportunity of all people.

On the fresh continents of abundant resources, fronting east and west on the two great oceans between the Old World and the New, the people of America are the grateful heirs of all the ages, races, regions, cultures, and hopes of mankind. With all their faults, frustrations and aspirations these people of this youthful nation would rise to the responsibility of their power and the opportunity for their greatness to help give fresh hopes to stricken peoples for food and freedom and to help organize justice under law and peace among nations.



Frank Porter Graham

"One World" Begins At Home

(Speech in the Senate of the United States—July 20, 1949)

... America and the other democracies, however, for the long run, must rely more on the ideas of freedom and the practices of democracy than on economic and military power. The freedom and dignity of the human being, democratic ideals and moral idealism are the ultimate weapons in the global struggle against totalitarian tyranny. Human society, with an atomic bomb in its bosom, cannot lag in adjustment to its explosive power. Equal freedom of assembly, speech, publication, and worship in our modern society needs the reinforcement of the equal opportunity to work, to know, to vote, and to bargain collectively. Increase of economic opportunity decreases social tensions. The widening of enlightenment and the humane spirit, the inculcation of the ideals of our democracy, and the teachings of our religion, make for the elimination of social injustice and international conflict.

... Idealism does not cringe before tyranny. Repressions is the way of a frightened power. Freedom is the way of enlightened faith. History teaches, beyond the denial of bigotry or the sneer of cynicism, that the answer to a difference in color is not the Ku Klux Klan, is not tomatoes and eggs, is not a concentration camp; the answer to error is not terror, but the cleansing power of the light and liberty of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States of America. "The one world truly begins at home, but without a federated world we may have no home in which to begin. With the lag of the idea of the absolute national state in the atomic age, we may have no world in which to struggle or even to live. With regard to the other dangerous lags we have the freedom to struggle for freedom and hope for a better day. The atomic bomb in the hands of an absolute state is the greatest threat which can come to man. The organization of the idea, under God, of the oneness of freedom and the oneness of the human family in the United Nations, is best defense and hope against modern civilization's power of self-destruction."

Need For Wisdom In The New South

(From Need for both Wisdom and Good Faith" Virginia Quarterly Review, Spring, 1955)

... on the 1954 desegregation decision

Resistance to fulfillment by evasions or stratagems of attrition not only would be damaging to the moral basis of our individual respect for law but would also constitute heavy blows against the moral power of free peoples in the struggle against both Fascist and Communist dictatorship. To fulfillment of the decision both in good faith and with wisdom becomes for ourselves and the world no less important than the decision itself.

Southerners like myself, who have been opposed to compulsory Congressional action not in line with the then existing constitutional law of the land in the Southern states, and who worked for accepting successive judicial decisions and for changing the historic customs of the people in one third of the states of the Union through the more basic influences of religion and education in the minds and hearts of the people, must now persistently work through the churches and the local communities for the implementation of the newly re-interpreted law of the land in the Southern states.

Confronted with the growing demand of millions of advancing people for the removal of the stigma of inferiority, the constitutional guarantee of the equal protection of the laws in the states, the lag of equalization in many communities in many states, and the onrush of totalitarian tyranny across the earth with false promises of well-being in the subversion of basic human liberties and denial of spiritual values, the Supreme Court made its unanimous decision. Yet the fresh hopes of submerged millions are not fulfilled nor the old ideas, fears and customs end suddenly with the sweep of judicial edicts or the compulsions of federal power. Segregation may die on the pages of the decision of the Supreme Court and yet live in the minds and hearts of men. The increasing spiritual power of more real religion, the unfolding of the deeper meaning of democracy, the findings of scientific and social research, the recent policies of labor unions, the opening of sports to all races, the growing sense of the moral damage of the spiritual exclusion both to the privileged and the disinherited, the currents of history, and the trends of an age are all working mightily to remove fears and develop a human spirit for the sincere and intelligent implementation of the decision of the Court.

CIVIL WAR

(From "The Meaning of the Civil War"—Va. Quarterly Review—Winter, 1962)

"The commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War has made vivid again to the people of the South and the North the glories, the tragedies, and the hopes variously associated in their memories with that fateful struggle. In the nostalgia for the glory, associated in the North with a victorious cause and in the South with a lost cause, the tragedies and hopes also associated with the struggle should not be forgotten. In our re-

membrance of these tragedies and hopes we would not gainsay the glory which "the red badge of courage" and the sufferings of millions of people have deepened in the familial and historical memories of the American people—most personal in the lives of the white and colored people of the South.

"Glimpses of the glory, the tragedy, and the hopes have fresh meaning for us today. The transcendent meaning for all lies that it is wiser to better without war and desolation what has to be done after war and desolation . . .

"In our centennial commemoration of the heroic men and events of another century, it is fitting that we in the South in remembering the Robert E. Lee of the Civil War years should also remember the spirit and example of Lee in seeking interracial bitterness and recrimination of Reconstruction times. Lee modestly raised his hat to a venerable Negro in return of his courteous dignity as a fellow human being. When some members of his church were hesitating to go to the communion rail with a Negro, Lee stepped forward in his simple but majestic dignity and knelt in humility and reverence beside his fellow communicant in the church of his fathers and in the house of their God, the acknowledged Father of all the sons of God as brothers of all men . . .

CREATIVE LEADERSHIP

(From Va. Quarterly Review—1962)

Most needed now is for the Southern people not to find themselves continuously and tragically isolated in their struggle apart from or against the mainstream of the modern world but to recover their great creative leadership in the nation and the world. Jefferson should be living at this hour! Virginia and the South have need of him to retranslate and interpret the authentic ideas of his universal declaration of human rights in the longer perspective of history across thousands of years and in the wider perspective of the present world."

SOUTHERN VISION

(From the Va. Quarterly Review, 1955)

"In the free minds and loyal hearts of millions of Southern people of both races will live and grow the unfulfilled teachings of our religion, the struggles to freedom for a higher freedom, and the faith of the American dream with a message of hope and brotherhood in this age of suspicion and fear.

"From the rebirth of freedom and the resurgence of the high loyalties of the Negro people, and from the rising sense of the intellectual and spiritual communion of all people, can come a more abundant production and the nobler creations of the mind and spirit in a new Southern Renaissance. This great adventure in creative cooperation of the different peoples will tend to preserve their racial identities and diversities to the enrichment of the South, release an undivided their highest energies in the upbuilding of America, and compose their interracial tensions in working together in equal freedom and opportunity in local communities and in world neighborhood."

(Armistice Day Address; Kenan Stadium—November 11, 1931)

"The colleges and universities, by virtue of their humane purpose and the very nature of their social being have the responsibility of helping to build a world in which the call to the idealism and heroism of youth shall never again be a call to war. It is their function to make realistically intelligent and morally heroic the aspirations and work of mankind toward a securer and fairer world, vivid with the unfolding possibilities of coopera-

On "Master Racism",

(Graham Speaks in "The American Forum of the Air," January 11, 1944.)

There is no magic formula for the conquest of prejudices. The three main ways to overcome group animosities are by (1) education, (2) equality of opportunity, and (3) a spiritual sense of the sacredness of the human personality. By education we come to understand the origins of racial, religious, and social prejudice, and, through that understanding, gradually overcome personal prejudices and group animosities. Group prejudices are deep in the psychological inheritance of thousands of years in the development of what anthropologists call subconsciousness of our kind of human being as opposed to their kind of human being with all the attendant fears of the strange and different, and with all the consequent antipathies toward differences in color, race, religion, culture, and customs.

Racial and religious animosities cannot be isolated in time or place. They are as complex as human psychology, older than history, and as wide as the world. History recalls the antipathies and discriminations in the relations of Jews and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Roman and Provin-

A Tribute

This is Frank Graham's page.

Today is his 76th birthday.

For the years he spent in Chapel Hill he has come to mean more than any other man to the students and faculty of the University of North Carolina.

On this page are some of the words, the words which expressed the feelings and thoughts for which he is respected.

—Editors

The Daily Tar Heel

'As In Life, So In College'

... mental discipline, mastery of content, and intellectual excellence, but also an attitude of mind, an intelligent response to heroic situations and an appreciative assimilation into the core of his own character the nobility in the lives of those whom he meets in books and in life. The liberal education would give both depth and breadth to the mind and would embrace in its deepening processes of integration the spiritual values of human personality.

"Above campus activities, curriculum and content, above intellectual power itself, is the spirit of culture, the integrated view, the understanding mind that sees in deep perspective and in wide relation. There is no magic in the liberal arts course to make the liberal mind . . . The teacher's opportunity comes in the opportunity to help the student develop not only

... mental discipline, mastery of content, and intellectual excellence, but also an attitude of mind, an intelligent response to heroic situations and an appreciative assimilation into the core of his own character the nobility in the lives of those whom he meets in books and in life. The liberal education would give both depth and breadth to the mind and would embrace in its deepening processes of integration the spiritual values of human personality.

"As in life so in college, subjects, ideas, and processes cannot be kept in separate departments. We should in college, if for no other reason than convenience, have departments of subjects, but not compartments of knowledge . . .

... The college's conception of the unity of learning, the unity of life and the unity of the universe makes for a sense of the spiritual essence of civilization, even in its gathered fragments transmitted more and more from age to age with the possibility of being transformed into the kingdom of God according to the pattern of Him who was the master teacher of the inner way of the integrated life.

"A college is so dynamic in its life that no occasion, however local or international, is outside the range of its radiation. The campus and the world interact upon each other with generative dynamic, it is spiritually organic with the life streams of the culture of the ages and the present hopes of the people . . . A modern university is such a vital and manifold institution, has been so integrated in the structure of western civilization . . . is so intimately a part of the context of every real problem of the modern world, that any life strand found at hand anywhere running through the life of the world enters into the texture of the modern university . . .

"It is the function of the State University not only to find its bits of truth and teach the truth gathered from scholars everywhere, but to carry the truth to the people that they may take it into their lives and help to make it prevail in the world of affairs . . . The state university comes from the people and should go out to the people. The intellectual life of the University should be quickened by contact and interchange with the people. They have a common destiny in the adventure of building a nobler commonwealth . . .

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

"Without freedom there can be no university. Freedom in a university runs a various course and has a wide meaning.

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CHAPEL HILL

"Here in Chapel Hill among a friendly folk, this old University stands on a hill set in the midst of beautiful forests under cathedral skies that give their color and their charm to the life of youth gathered here. Traditions grow here with the ivy on the buildings and the moss on the ancient oaks. Friendships form here for the human pilgrimage. There is music in the air of the place. Above the traffic of the hour church spires reach toward the life of the spirit. Into this life with its ideals and failures, frustrations and hopes, comes youth, with his body, his mind, and his spirit. Great teachers on this hill keep the first burning, fires that burn for him and that light up the heavens of our commonwealth, Chapel Hill and the University, culture and the commonwealth, research and society, would muster here with great scholars, library, and laboratories for the poorest youth the intellectual and spiritual resources of the race and make the University of North Carolina a stronghold of learning and an outpost of light and liberty along all the frontiers of mankind."

ON CONSOLIDATION

The coordination and consolidation of our three state institutions of higher learning, the cooperation of the State College and the Woman's College with the college in their neighborhoods and the cooperation of the University at Chapel Hill with its next door neighbor, Duke University, and in general, the cooperation of the Consolidated University with all the schools, colleges, institutions, departments, agencies, and enterprises of the people, will make possible the development in North Carolina of one of the greatest intellectual and spiritual centers of the world.

Cooperation, no abdication, is the advancing position of the Consolidated University of North Carolina. To this we give our hands and summon the people to her side for the great American adventure in creative cooperation. We take our stand with youth as, in the midst of a shattered world, they look beyond the wreckage of the hour and dream the commonwealth that is to come.

ON UNC

(To the Class of 1943—Commencement)

"Whether you came to Chapel Hill with the advantages of the greatest city or from the remotest mountain cove, we trust that it will always remain for you a home and community which gives deeper meaning to the old home of your family and neighborhood and nobler meaning to the new world of your dreams. While struggling to make fairer and more decent the neighborhood, state, section, and nation, you will also widen your neighborhood beyond the horizons of America to include all the peoples of the earth, regardless of race, color, nationality, religion, faith, or economic creed, beyond the poison of hate or the damage of fear in the world neighborhood of human brotherhood . . .

"In deep remembrance we muster here this morning for our University and all the precious things of the human spirit for which she stands, the spiritual worth of every human personality, a humane and liberal learning, the freedom of the mind and the future of freedom in the world."