

The Retreat From The Frontiers Of Freedom

An address delivered on June 29, 1963, at Appalachian State Teachers College, as a part of the North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration. Dr. Graham, former president of the University here and former United States Senator from North Carolina, is now a United Nations mediator.

By FRANK P. GRAHAM

This celebration of Daniel Boone's crossing the Blue Ridge, as a significant part of the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Carolina, comes at a timely hour. It will serve to awaken our people against a possible trend of reaction and retreat from the frontiers of freedom of the mind and equal suffrage for all.

TWO RECENT EVENTS

North Carolina, which under the valiant leadership of Bickett and Morrison, abolished the poll tax, has failed to ratify the Constitutional amendment, sponsored by Senator Holland of Florida,

which would abolish the poll tax in the remaining five states where its cumulative prohibition excludes many patriotic Americans, white and colored, from the right to vote. North Carolina, the historic home of complete freedom of political and ideological discussion, has suddenly shown a lack of faith in the robustness of our free American democratic institution by restricting the complete freedom of political and ideological discussion in our state colleges.

THE TYRANNY OF THE COMMUNIST LINE VIOLATES ACADEMIC FREEDOM

A member of the Communist party who is necessarily under the tyranny of the party line and therefore automatically without freedom of mind has no valid place as a teacher in a free university. Any speaker, while under lawful indictment for treason, has no valid claim to speak in a free university which might be found in violation of federal law if he were later found guilty of treason. Responsible student organizations should have freedom to invite and to hear speakers of unpopular views, whether to the right, the left, or in the middle.

It may be recalled that the President of the University was in the thirties admonished by a patriotic North Carolinian because Norman Thomas, an students' invitational, spoke several times from the University platform. When, again in the thirties, the President was attacked by some Democrats because the Republican candidate for vice president, in response to the invitation of students, spoke in Memorial Hall, the person who came most vigorously to his defense was the very man who questioned the propriety of Norman Thomas having that freedom. When reminded by his friends, he replied in characteristic good humor, "I am just beginning to get the idea. The University of the people belongs to

no one party but to all parties and all the people."

STUDENTS SHOULD HAVE FREEDOM TO DISCUSS AND LEARN

Law abiding students should not be dismissed from a college because of their political views, however mistaken those views might be. The best way for most of the usual handful of such students to learn the errors of their views is in the uncensored discussion of a decently free campus democracy.

It may be recalled that when the demand was made, during the depression and the recovery, that a handful of extreme leftist students at Chapel Hill be dismissed, they refused. Most of those few learned the error of their ways and later fought and some died for America and free-

dom in the world on the farthest frontiers of human liberty. In Chapel Hill they were known and in the open. In some other places, it has later been said, such handfuls of students—perhaps no less and may be more in number—were not in the open but were underground.

We need in these days to be reminded of, and to be resourced in, our Judaic-Christian, American and North Carolina heritage and hope. When some leaders in the Sanhedrin wished to suppress the views of followers of the radical Jesus, the wise Gamaliel advised them that if this new gospel be of God it could not be overthrown and if not of God it would come to naught. John Milton said to those who would repress freedom of print and speech that they would actually be suppressing themselves and

the free institutions of England. Thomas Jefferson said that he had "sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." With "the freedom to argue freely" he maintained that he had "no fear of the outcome." William Gaston of North Carolina made one of the great speeches in the national Congress in behalf of civil liberties. William L. Poteat of Wake Forest, Walter Murphy of Salisbury, H. G. Connor Jr. of Wilson, W. L. Long of Halifax, H. W. Chase, W. H. Odum, D. D. Carroll, H. H. Williams, R. B. House, H. V. Wilson, W. C. Coker, L. R. Wilson, Paul Ranson and others of Chapel Hill, stood as bulwarks for the freedom of scientific inquiry and discussion in our colleges.

THE HERITAGE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Let us recall that it was on North Carolina shores that those pioneering English families first landed with an adventuring hope, which was in time to become both the British Commonwealth and the American Union. It was from the valley of the Yadkin in North Carolina that Daniel Boone crossed the Blue Ridge on through the Cumberland Gap into what became Kentucky. He would remind us today of the meaning of the free individual and the untrammelled human spirit in the making of America. It was the people of North Carolina, in revolutionary convention assembled at Halifax, who first authorized their delegates to join in an American Declaration of national self-determination and the equal freedom of all people. It was at Halifax that Waightstill Avery of Burke inserted in the revolutionary constitution of 1776 the provision for a state university, which was to become the first university of the people to open its doors in the western world.

John Locke, Secretary of the Eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina, whose charter from King Charles II we celebrate this 300th anniversary year, led all the rest in his vindication of the right of the revolution of 1688 against the tyranny of King James II. Locke, however, did not, in the Proprietors' Constitution of Carolina in 1669, apply the principle of self-determination to colonial people. It remained for Thomas Jefferson, encouraged by the American victory at Moore's Creek in North Carolina and the North Carolina resolution at Halifax, to apply the principle of the consent of the governed to colonial peoples in what the President of Indonesia has called "the first successful revolt against colonialism in modern times." To make successful this principle the southern tide was turned by the men of these western hills at Kings Mountain and by the soldiers of Greene at Guilford Court House. Years before Horace Mann, Archibald de Bow Murphey inspired by President Joseph Caldwell, projected a program of public schools and commonwealth building, which, if it had been generally adopted, would have placed North Carolina foremost among the States of the Union. John Motley Morehead, under like inspiration, championed gradual emancipation of the slaves, the right to free Negroes to vote, humane institutions, a college for women and the railroad connecting East and West. It was a beloved North Carolinian, Governor Zebulon B. Vance, who, after the War Between the States, in the spirit of Robert E. Lee, worked

for the reconciliation of the sections and the acceptance of the duties of defeat. It was Charles B. Aycock of North Carolina who pledged his administration to "the right of every child to burgeon out all that is in him." It was Josephus Daniels who decisively helped to cement the Bryan and Wilson forces for the triumphs of the New Freedom, widened to include the cooperation of nations for the freedom, justice, and peace of all peoples on the Earth, prophetic of the New Deal, the Good Neighbor Policy, and the United Nations.

THE SOUTHERN YOUTH MOVEMENT

It was in Greensboro, North Carolina, in the ex-Confederate South, that the youth movement was launched for the equal freedom and dignity of all people. With the Bible and the Bill of Rights in their hands, religious hymns and prayers on their lips, non-violence and brotherhood in their hearts, they are not seeking to overthrow the Republic but to fulfill the promise of the Republic. This youth movement, willing to abide in trust but resolved, if necessary, against any long delays and deliberately planned frustration, to resume their non-violent petition for equal freedom under the law. This Southern youth movement is a contemporary expression of the unfulfilled but on-going idealism of the American Revolution and a local expression of the world revolution of the colonial and colored peoples of the Earth.

AN EXPRESSION OF FAITH AND HOPE

Freedom is the way of enlightened faith. Repression is the way of frightened people. The best answer to totalitarian tyranny is not fear and repression but loyalty to the principles of

light and liberty, equal freedom and open democracy of our historic Americanism.

Now is the time for the youth and people of North Carolina to rally to the side of President Friday, Chancellors Aycock, Caldwell, Singletary and the president, faculty, and students of all our state institutions.

May this great heritage of our Judaic-Christian faith and our commitment to light, liberty,

and human dignity in this historic anniversary year, become a part of the structure and substance of man's unending dream of building on this earth a nobler home of the family of man in the eternal adventure of the human spirit for equal freedom, justice and peace under law and human brotherhood under God in these years of mortal peril and immortal hope for all mankind.

Letter From Papa D

The first thing which strikes you on the Vienna street is the traffic. There are still the good old electric trolley cars which rumble noisily on their tracks in the center of the street. Long, narrow and very vibrant, they still have overhead wire connections which make the street covered with wire nets. The motors and their drivers are the same as 50 years ago and they still use the foot operated bell which they sound furiously if the tracks aren't clear. In the older model, you enter or leave at any door you choose. In the newer model, you can only enter in the rear and leave in the front. The conductors who hand you your ticket are polite and courteous, but their uniforms and appearance are rather on the shabby side and this is especially true of the girl conductors, whose hair and whole appearance is no credit to Vienna.

Next, the buses are the very popular means of transportation but you better hold on to the overhead straps as the combination of a rather light-weight vehicle with the cobblestone paved street makes this a rather rough ride, which is not too recommended after a good Viennese meal. Here the conductor sits behind a tiny desk at the entrance and you have to pass and buy your ticket before proceeding inside the bus. But, it seems as if the Viennese, despite the cheap fare on the trolleys and buses (10-20 cents) prefer to commute by car, and if you judge by the amount of cars which populate the streets you get the idea that everybody has a car. The streets are virtually covered with cars and you get the impression of a big army of ants busily going in every direction. The fact that these are almost all small compact cars makes the comparison with ants still more real. Every car you see seems to be a Volkswagen but on closer look you find a sprinkling of Mercedes (small model) as well as Opels, DKWs, Simcas, Hillmans, etc. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the VW is the car of the hour. Three and four abreast, they occupy the whole street, passing you right or left at a dangerous pace with no speed limit whatsoever.

There is no speed limit or regulation and the driver's manual tells you that you have to drive at a speed which will allow you control of this car on the highways at all times. Big American cars are virtually non-existent and you have to go a long way to find one. Standing on the street and observing this free-for-all race of cars you don't understand how they manage to get anywhere in one piece. There are plenty of light signals, traffic cops and all kinds of signs at each corner, but it seems to me that the authority here is more concerned with regulating the pedestrians than the cars.

There is here one method of doing this which is really to a certain extent the answer to the crowded condition of people wanting to cross the street on extra busy points at the same time. This method is to build passageways under the focal points, allowing the people to use an escalator on the other side. There are already 6 or 8 of these under-street passage-ways and more are being built.

These underground tunnels are not only built very efficiently but also with sound taste and adaptation to the surroundings. Also there are shops, cafes, offices, and exhibitions which make the tunnels not only practical but also points of interest and commercial value.

To anybody coming to Vienna, and wanting to get back alive, I can only say, don't bring your American car along. In Vienna, driving being already a very tortuous chore, parking is almost an impossible task. Like all large

towns, and especially old ones, Vienna has not been built for the thousands of cars that are on the street at all times.

Rule No. 1 is that on any street where a trolley is operating no car can park either day or night. With trolleys on every street this eliminates automatically 50% of the parking area. Consequently every empty place is loaded with cars. With no regulation, parking meters, or attendants on duty, people are parking with no consideration whatsoever, and you are lucky if at your return you can manage to get out of your place. To make things still worse, there are street repairs all over. Much has been done since the war, but more has to be done and you will find barricades all over, which is not much help to the parking problem.

Seeing all these thousands and thousands of cars, observing the unregulated and crazy speed of the traffic, the passing on either side, I figured that the rate of accidents must be terrific. I decided therefore, to visit the traffic department of the city and was more than amazed at the results. Here are some of the figures I was graciously given by the head of this department: There are today 300,000 registered cars in Vienna. From June 1, 1962 to June 1 of 1963, the number of registered cars has increased by 20,000. But, and this is unbelievable, in the same period, the accidents have decreased by 660 and the fatalities through car accidents by 16. In the first 5 months of this year the number of fatal accidents has dropped from 70 to 54, the amount injured has dropped in the same period from 3,500 to 2,900 and the total of accidents from 5,700 to 4,900. The only increase, from 80 to 1,100, was recorded for damage to parked cars which, if you report at once to the police, don't carry any fine or punishment; you are just responsible for the damage. If, on the contrary, you don't report the damage and are found guilty of damaging a parked car, you get fined. The increase of damage to parked cars is more than understandable and a result of the impossibility of parking or, if you are lucky enough to find a parking space, to be able to get out with your own and your neighbor's fender still in place. Finally, don't let us forget this "Pest of the Street," the motor bike and the scooter of which, at present, there are only 40,000 in Vienna. "Yes Mr. Danziger," the head of the traffic department says, "Only 40,000—you see not long ago we had almost 100,000 of these noise-monsters."

—Edward Danziger

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6:00 p. m.

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J. T. Gobbel
Executive Vice-President

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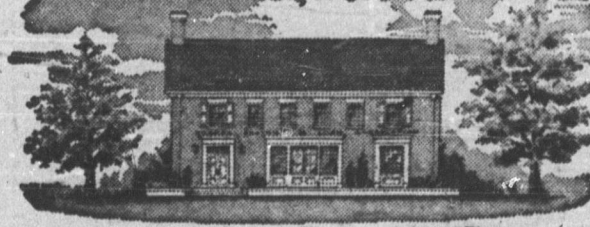
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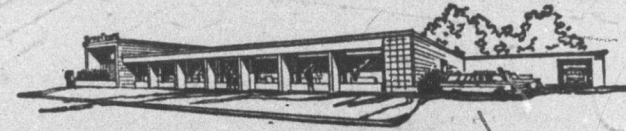


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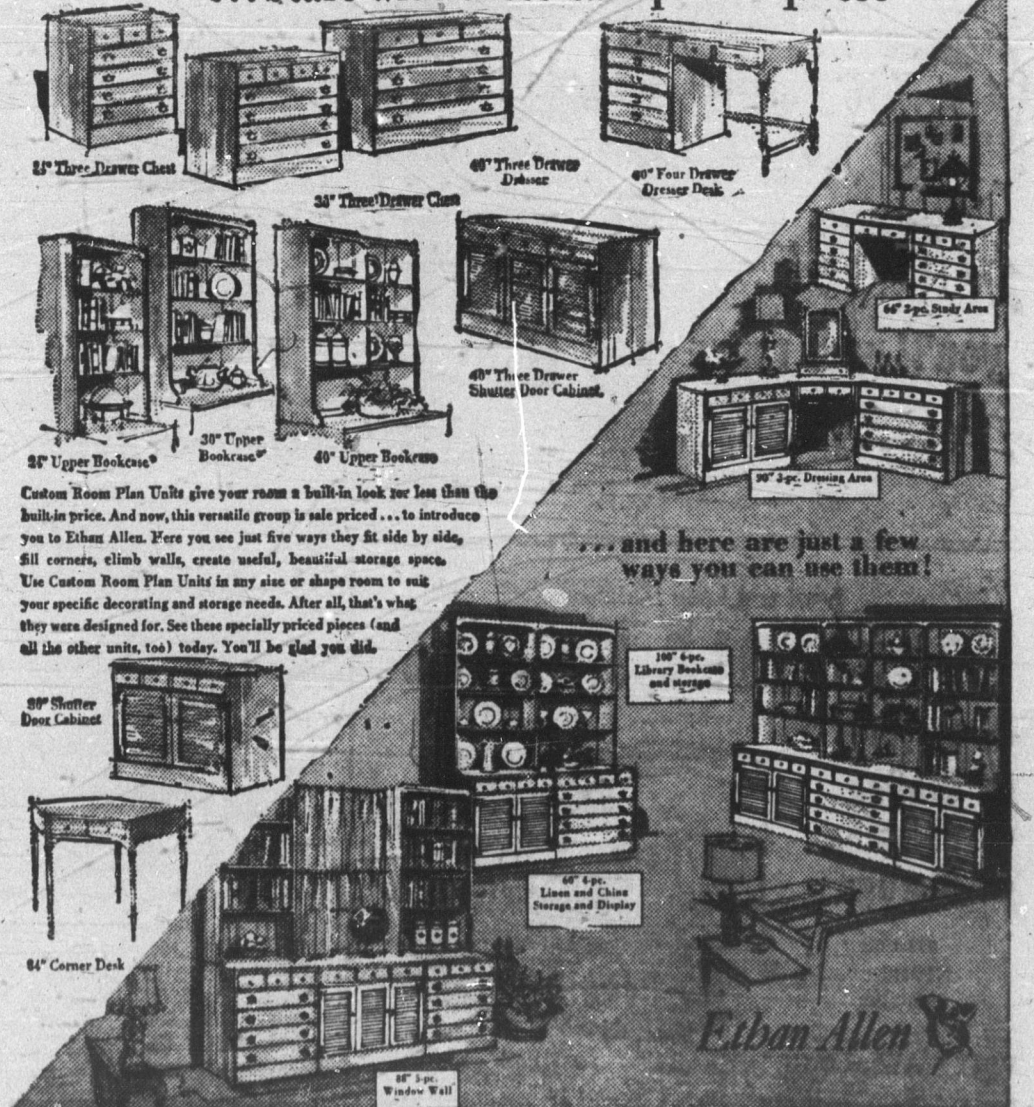
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