

Negro Students in Protest Against Segregation are Acting in Best Tradition of America, Says Graham

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Editor's note—Speech by the Hon. Frank P. Graham before the U. N. Model Assembly gathered in the hall of the Houses of Burgesses of the restored Colonial Capital in Williamsburg, March 11 at 6:30 p.m.

When human rights are conceived as trespassing on property rights it should be recalled that property rights are securer and individual rights are free when human rights are fairer. States rights, and honored heritage from Jamestown Plymouth Rock was unsheathed by Jefferson as the sword of liberty against the hysteria of the Alien and Sedition Laws, later became the shield of human slavery in the South, and later still in the North the weapon of corporate privilege and power against humane legislation, and in our time the armor of massive resistance against the revised judicial interpretation of human rights under the Bill of Rights.

America has taught the Negro youth the heritage and hopes of America and in her heart she would not have them forfeit that heritage of deny that hope. In their day and generation they are renewing springs of American democracy fresh and resurgent as they write a chapter in the fulfillment of the American Revolution with its universal declaration of human rights that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights and that to secure these rights gov-

ernments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Toward the fulfillment of Jefferson's dreams youth today find that in sitting down they are standing up for the American dream. America has a better answer than jails for those who in non-violence turn the other cheek while, with the Bible in their hands and prayers in their hearts, they simply ask for the same price, the same quantity and quality of service from those who sell to the public.

While America, because of her fear of subversion, stood aloof from the great Bandung Conference of Asian and African people, the eloquent Sukarno welcomed the conference with these opening significant words "We meet today on the 181st Anniversary of the midnight ride of Paul Revere as he rode forth in the beginning of the first successful revolt against colonialism in modern times."

We need to make clear to ourselves and to the world that the advancing faith of the American meaning of the American Bill of Rights are not only the historic and past but are also the present and living sources of America's faith in herself, the world's faith in America and America's moral influence and power in the world.

Without a Marshall Plan; with full responsibility in difficult decades for the pensions and rehabilitation of Confederate ve-

terans; with part responsibility for the pensions and rehabilitation of Union veterans; with the disproportionate loads of tariffs and discriminatory freight rates; and with the responsibility during recent decades of educating one-third of the Nation's children with one-sixth of the nation's financial ability, the Southern people, amid almost the universal poverty of the war's desolation, rose from the ruins as unconquerable in spirit in the duties of defeat as the were brave on the battlefields against the heavy odds of a long and exhausting war. As part of this story of the risen South is the fact that, though only one-tenth of the Negroes in the world are in the United States, more Negroes are in colleges and universities in the United States than in all the rest of the world.

As a vital part of the Southern people, the Negro people, despite all the wrongs to these people, compounded by centuries of slavery and discrimination, have in the recent decades of their freedom and labor, made a progress unsurpassed by any people in a like period on human history. In their spiritual faith and patient upward struggles, their zest for living and laughter, songs merry and sad, and creations of enterprise and spirit, they have revealed the innate capacity of a great people in their rich, various and enduring contributions to the making and meaning of America.

In the free minds and generous hearts of millions of Southern people of both races, who have long cooperated in human relations and works of personal loyalty and kindness, will yet live and grow the unfulfilled teachings of our religion, the principles of our democracy for the equal freedom, dignity and opportunity of all human beings, the struggles of freedom for a higher freedom, and the renewing faith of the American dream with its message of hope and brotherhood in this age of suspicion and fear.

The gospel of love and understanding preached by Martin L. King, who draws his inspiration from Jesus, his techniques from Gandhi, and his advice from his noble teacher, Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College, will yet prevail in our time over fear and hate. Violence is not the enduring way. The cross, warm with the blood of human brotherhood,

will triumph over all the burning crosses lighted with the hot oil of prejudice, privilege and power.

In the old South, where slavery made one of its last stands in the modern world, industrialism is making fresh beginnings on virgin soil. We have the lessons in the tragedies of one and the opportunities in the power of the other to work out together nobler human relations than have yet characterized the history of industrialization in either Europe or America. As the schoolhouses open wider their doors, and as the factories move into the waste places and the rivers come rushing from the mountains with the power for the electrification of our civilization, may we place in the center of it all, not the pleasures of today but the children of tomorrow, for their's is the kingdom of Heaven.

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