Civil Rights and the Republican Resurgence

Focus/Summary

The American Civil Rights Movement reached a turning point in 1965 when passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 officially ended legal segregation in the U.S. The victory was deceptive, however, because even at this critical moment where many Americans celebrated the triumph of democracy, others plotted to prevent enforcement of the law. In the face of this intractable opposition yet a third group reached the conclusion that the power structure in place was incapable of addressing the needs of the nation’s black population. Increasingly, frustrated Blacks abandoned the traditional civil rights movement with its emphasis on integration in favor of more radical organizations like the Nation of Islam, SNCC and the Black Panther Party, all of which supported Black Nationalism, celebrated Black Power, and boldly demanded a fair share of the political and economic power that up to this point had belonged almost exclusively to whites. The spread of these radical ideas exposed the institutionalized racism of the north, unleashed centuries of pent up rage among northern Blacks, shocked the white power structure and forced the nation to recognize something it had not yet fully understood: Politically, economically and culturally, civil rights for Blacks meant revolution for America. In this lesson, students will 1) compare and contrast the philosophy and strategy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with that of the Black Nationalists; 2) explore reasons for the radical shift which characterized the movement in mid-60s; and, 3) consider how the radicalization of the Civil Rights Movement during this period contributed to the resurgence of the Republican Party in the last quarter of the 20th century.

Vital Theme and Narrative

Values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions.

Point of view

Habits of Mind

1. Understand the significance of the past to their own lives, both private and public, and to their society.
2. Comprehend the interplay of change and continuity, and avoid assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more to be expected than the other.
3. Prepare to live with uncertainties and exasperating, even perilous, unfinished business, realizing that not all problems have solutions.

Objectives
1. Students will be able to explain the differences between the goals and the strategies of the traditional Civil Rights Movement as represented by Dr. King, and the radical movement as represented by Malcolm X.

2. Students will be able to explain important causes of the shift from the traditional to the more radical Civil Right movement which took place in the mid-60s.

3. Students will analyze the importance of the Civil Rights Movement in contributing to the resurgence of the Republican Party in the last quarter of the century.

4. Students will evaluate ways in which political expediency in can lead to dramatically different interpretations of events and can change history.
Procedures

Day 1

In advance of the lesson, for Day 1:
• Read Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from a Birmingham Jail”
• Read Malcolm X, “Speech to the Grass Roots” and the excerpt from Alex Haley’s *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*
• Prepare related questions for discussion

In advance of the lesson, for Day 2:
• Read “The McCone Commission Report on Watts”
• Read excerpts from “The Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders”
• Read Richard Nixon, “If Mob Rule Takes Hold in the United States”
• Prepare related questions for discussion

1. King v. Malcolm X Discussion
   • Discuss in groups of 3-4
   • Report back to larger group

   • In practical terms what rights do Blacks now have that they did not have in Montgomery in 1955?
   • The 15th Amendment gave Blacks the right to vote in 1970, yet in Lowndes County, AL in 1966 not a single black could vote. Given this, what concerns do you have about the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965?

3. Show photos of Martyrs of the Civil Rights Movement and read “Letters from Mississippi.”
   • Do these photos and readings better support King’s argument or the argument of Malcolm X?


Day 2

1. Review “The McCone Commission” and “The Kerner Commission” questions.
2. Read Nixon, and discuss
   • Do you think this is related to race?
4. Read “Southern Strategy.”
   • What do you think now?
5. Consider the following:
   • Is the use of race exclusive to the Republican party? Give examples where the Democratic Party has used race to enlarge its constituency.
   • Is the Republican use of the race since the 1960s legitimate? That is, do we have real issues surrounding race that the party seeks to fairly address?
   • Is the issue framed in an ethical manner or is it distorted?
   • Is the use of race, even when issues are distorted acceptable as a political expedient?
   • Is the use of race effective in capturing votes even today?
   • When we use race to capture votes what is the impact on our citizens? Our society as a whole?
6. Assignment: See below.

Evaluation

In the 2008 campaign the comments of Barack Obama’s pastor, Reverend Jeremiah Wright, became an issue that threatened to cost Obama the election.
1. Watch the clip of Reverend Wight’s most controversial sermon, “Goddamn America.” See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9hPR5jnjtLo&feature=fvw
2. See the conservative response
   • Rush Limbaugh at http://www.rushlimbaugh.com/home/daily/site_031308/content/01125106.guest.html
   • John Hinderacker of Powerline at http://www.rushlimbaugh.com/home/daily/site_031308/content/01125106.guest.html
3. Write a 3 page paper
   • Relate this controversy to the debate between Martin and Malcolm
   • Address the use of race in party politics in the 2008 election. Was it relevant? Was it fair? Was it necessary?
   • Support your position with direct quotes from Martin, Malcolm, and other sources used in our study of this issue.

Resources
Note: All documents are attached. Those available on line are identified with an asterisk.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” *
Malcolm X, “Message to the Grass Roots” •
Excerpt from Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X
Questions for Discussion: Martin v. Malcolm
From Ogbar, “Letters from Mississippi”
Martyrs of the Civil Rights Movement, photos
Malcolm X, “Address to the Oxford Union, on line at Youtube.com *
Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders *
From Ogbar, “If Mob Rule Takes Hold in the United States,” by Richard Nixon
“The Southern Strategy
Questions for Discussion: McConie, Kerner and Nixon
Election Maps found at
Reverend Jeremiah Wight, “Goddamn America.” See
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9hPR5ijnjLo&feature=fvw
Rush Limbaugh on Jeremiah Wright
http://www.rushlimbaugh.com/home/daily/site_031308/content/01125106.guest.html
John Hinderacker of Powerline on Jeremiah Wright and Obama
http://www.rushlimbaugh.com/home/daily/site_031308/content/01125106.guest.html
Questions for Discussion: McCone Commission and Kerner Commission

Read “The Report of the McCone Commission,” the Kerner Commission “Report on Civil Disorders” and Richard Nixon’s “If Mob Rule Takes Hold in the United States” and prepare the following questions. Be able to quote directly from the documents in support of each of your responses.

Regarding McCone and Kerner

1. What happened in Watts and other northern cities from the point of view of a Black resident? From an outsider’s point of view?
2. What were the causes of these riots?
3. Who is to blame?
4. What would Martin have to say about these riots? Malcolm?
5. How do you think the riots impacted Black people’s view of themselves at the time, pro and con?
6. How do you think the riots impacted most whites’ view of Blacks at the time, pro and con?
7. Was rioting a wise move on the part of blacks? How might they benefit? What might this cost them? In the short run? In the long run?
8. What were their options?

Regarding Nixon

9. What is Nixon’s argument?
10. Would most Blacks at the time have agreed with his interpretation? Would most whites? Do you agree?
11. What is the counter argument to Nixon?
12. How does Nixon’s speech relate to King’s philosophy as expressed in the “Letter from a Birmingham Jail”? To Malcolm’s arguments in “Message to the Grass Roots” and Autobiography
13. How does Nixon’s use of the race card affect your opinion of the logic and/or effectiveness of Martin’s approach? Of Malcolm’s approach?
Questions for Discussion: Martin v. Malcolm

Read Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” Malcolm X’s “Message to the Grass Roots” and the selection from Alex Haley’s The Autobiography of Malcolm X and prepare the following questions. Be able to quote directly from the documents in support of each of your responses.

Regarding King, “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.”

1. King’s letter rejects the proposition that he is moving too fast in his efforts to secure civil rights for African Americans. What are the formal steps his organization takes as it confronts civil rights abuses? What are the main points of his argument?

1. King states, “I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community.” How does he characterize these two forces and why does he disagree with their approaches?

2. What makes him think his plan is better? What does he predict will happen if people dismiss his approach to civil rights?

3. In three sentences or less explain King’s approach to gaining civil rights for all Americans as he presented it in this letter.

4. Do you view his plan as radical or conservative? Is King an extremist?

Regarding Malcolm X, “Message to the Grass Roots.”

5. According to Malcolm what is the difference between the Black revolution and the Negro revolution? Which one does he support?

6. According to Malcolm, what is the difference between the “House Negro” and the “Field Negro?” Who specifically is he calling a “House Negro?”

7. Explain Malcolm’s distain for the tactic of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.


Regarding both:

9. These speeches are often used to contrast the non-violent approach of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with that of more militant groups like the Nation of Islam who are seen often seen as condoning violence. Yet, in arguing in favor of direct action King acknowledges that, “We must come to see that, as the federal courts
have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to
gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence.”
How does this differ from Malcolm’s attitude toward violence?

10. Ultimately King embraces the term “extremist.” How does his definition of
extremist differ from Malcolm’s?

11. What are the pros and cons of each man’s position?

12. If you were a black teen-ager in 1965 which position would you support?
Which position do you support today?
The answers are in your hands. You've got the power to make a difference. Each small step we take, each decision we make, has a ripple effect on the world. Let's use our voices to raise awareness, to advocate for change, and to empower others. Together, we can create a better future. #Empowerment #Voices4Change
Would you ever take the path of least resistance and turn away from the hard work that lies ahead? Do you ever doubt whether you are doing the right thing for yourself and others? Do you ever question whether you are capable of overcoming the obstacles in your way? Do you ever wonder if you are on the right track towards your goals?

I do. And I think that's okay. It's okay to have doubts. It's okay to question whether you're doing the right thing. It's okay to wonder if you're capable of overcoming the obstacles you face. It's okay to feel unsure of yourself and your abilities.

But what if you don't? What if you continue on your current path without questioning whether you're doing the right thing or whether you're capable of overcoming the obstacles in your way? What if you don't take the time to doubt yourself or to question whether you're on the right track towards your goals?

I believe that it's important to doubt yourself and to question whether you're doing the right thing. It's important to be aware of your own limitations and to question whether you're capable of overcoming the obstacles you face. It's important to take the time to reflect on whether you're on the right track towards your goals.

And so, I encourage you to doubt yourself. I encourage you to question whether you're doing the right thing. I encourage you to question whether you're capable of overcoming the obstacles you face. I encourage you to take the time to reflect on whether you're on the right track towards your goals.
masses quiet until now."

Negro leaders, this preacher, and the educated Negroes began while men's heaven! The miracle is that the while man's puppet catching all the centripes of hell that they have caught here in American black people have remained a peculiar people, while heaven-for-you-after-you-die-philosophy? It is a miracle that the fiercely continued to believe in a win-the-other-cheek and traditionally it is a miracle that a nation of black people has so been justified by all moral criteria, and even by the democratic risen up against their oppressors—in which they would have violent. It is a miracle that 22 million black people have not is that the black man in white Christian hands has not grown is the greatest miracle Christianity has achieved in America.

The study to prepare for that one.

Negroes to violence, "I didn't mean have to do any special of them was walking their chance to accuse me of. In light of was never in one of those pleasant discussions without some just tell me where was I supposed to sit.

They would offer me coffee. I would tell them, "No, thanks." to please they had asked me here to try and beat out my brains. They
The Real Jeremiah Wright
John Hinderaker
Powerline
April 27, 2008 Posted by John at 9:49 PM

I had a busy weekend, and missed it when Hugh Hewitt posted extensive transcripts of the sermons of Jeremiah Wright on Friday evening. The transcripts are devastating to Wright. He is a despicable human being, and the fact that he has been ordained, apparently, is a disgrace. Wright has been claiming that he was quoted out of context, and Barack Obama has suggested that Americans would view Wright differently if they heard his whole sermons instead of a few sound bites. In fact, the context makes it worse, and the whole sermons are outrageous. It turns out that "God damn America" understates the baroque hatefulfulness of Wright's theology.
Still unexplained is what Wright's political screeds have to do with Christianity. I don't know anyone who would sit still for a minister who persistently abused the pulpit to preach hate instead of the Gospel. As a Christian, I am outraged that "Reverend" Wright has hijacked my faith to preach hate and to sow falsehood. How Barack Obama could have participated in this charade for twenty years, and then held himself out as someone fit to lead this nation, is inexplicable.
INTRODUCTION

The summer of 1967 again brought racial disorders to American cities, and with them shock, fear and bewilderment to the nation. The worst came during a two-week period in July, first in Newark and then in Detroit. Each set off a chain reaction in neighboring communities. On July 28, 1967, the President of the United States established this Commission and directed us to answer three basic questions: What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

To respond to these questions, we have undertaken a broad range of studies and investigations. We have visited the riot cities; we have heard many witnesses; we have sought the counsel of experts across the country. This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal.

Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American. This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.

To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values. The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society. This alternative will require a commitment to national action--compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted. Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot--it will not--tolerate coercion and mob rule. Violence and destruction must be ended--in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people.

Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans
have never fully understood but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens-urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group.…

PART I--WHAT HAPPENED?

Chapter I--Profiles of Disorder

The report contains profiles of a selection of the disorders that took place during the summer of 1967. These profiles are designed to indicate how the disorders happened, who participated in them, and how local officials, police forces, and the National Guard responded. Illustrative excerpts follow:

NEWARK

. . . It was decided to attempt to channel the energies of the people into a nonviolent protest. While Lofton promised the crowd that a full investigation would be made of the Smith incident, the other Negro leaders began urging those on the scene to form a line of march toward the city hall. Some persons joined the line of march. Others milled about in the narrow street. From the dark grounds of the housing project came a barrage of rocks. Some of them fell among the crowd. Others hit persons in the line of march. Many smashed the windows of the police station. The rock throwing, it was believed, was the work of youngsters; approximately 2,500 children lived in the housing project. Almost at the same time, an old car was set afire in a parking lot. The line of march began to disintegrate. The police, their heads protected by World War I-type helmets, sallied forth to disperse the crowd. A fire engine, arriving on the scene, was pelted with rocks. As police drove people away from the station, they scattered in all directions. A few minutes later a nearby liquor store was broken into. Some persons, seeing a caravan of cabs appear at city hall to protest Smith's arrest, interpreted this as evidence that the disturbance had been organized, and generated rumors to that effect. However, only a few stores were looted. Within a short period of time, the disorder appeared to have run its course.

* * *

. . . On Saturday, July 15, [Director of Police Dominick] Spina received a report of snipers in a housing project. When he arrived he saw approximately 100 National Guardsmen and police officers crouching behind vehicles, hiding in corners and lying on the ground around the edge of the courtyard. Since everything appeared quiet and it was broad daylight, Spina walked directly down the middle of the street. Nothing happened. As he came to the last building of the complex, he
heard a shot. All around him the troopers jumped, believing themselves to be under sniper fire. A moment later a young Guardsman ran from behind a building.
The Director of Police went over and asked him if he had fired the shot. The soldier said yes, he had fired to scare a man away from a window; that his orders were to keep everyone away from windows. Spina said he told the soldier: "Do you know what you just did? You have now created a state of hysteria. Every Guardsman up and down this street and every state policeman and every city policeman that is present thinks that somebody just fired a shot and that it is probably a sniper." A short time later more "gunshots" were heard. Investigating, Spina came upon a Puerto Rican sitting on a wall. In reply to a question as to whether he knew "where the firing is coming from?" the man said: "That's no firing. That's fireworks. If you look up to the fourth floor, you will see the people who are throwing down these cherry bombs." By this time four truckloads of National Guardsmen had arrived and troopers and policemen were again crouched everywhere looking for a sniper. The Director of Police remained at the scene for three hours, and the only shot fired was the one by the Guardsman. Nevertheless, at six o'clock that evening two columns of National Guardsmen and state troopers were directing mass fire at the Hayes Housing Project in response to what they believed were snipers.

DETROIT

. . . A spirit of carefree nihilism was taking hold. To riot and destroy appeared more and more to become ends in themselves. Late Sunday afternoon it appeared to one observer that the young people were "dancing amidst the flames." A Negro plainclothes officer was standing at an intersection when a man threw a Molotov cocktail into a business establishment at the corner... In the heat of the afternoon, fanned by the 20 to 25 m.p.h. winds of both Sunday and Monday, the fire reached the home next door within minutes. As residents uselessly sprayed the flames with garden hoses, the fire jumped from roof to roof of adjacent two- and three-story buildings. Within the hour the entire block was in flames. The ninth house in the burning row belonged to the arsonist who had thrown the Molotov cocktail.

* * *

. . . Employed as a private guard, 55-year-old Julius L. Dorsey, a Negro, was standing in front of a market when accosted by two Negro men and a woman. They demanded he permit them to loot the market. He ignored their demands. They began to berate him. He asked a neighbor to call the police. As the argument grew more heated, Dorsey fired three shots from his pistol into the air. The police radio reported: "Looters, they have rifles." A patrol car driven by a police officer and carrying three National Guardsmen arrived. As the looters fled, the law enforcement personnel opened fire. When the firing ceased, one person lay dead. He was Julius L. Dorsey.

* * *

. . . As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks
inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute of Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood. . . . When the riot broke out, the residents, through the block clubs, were able to organize quickly. Youngsters, agreeing to stay in the neighborhood, participated in detouring traffic. While many persons reportedly sympathized with the idea of a rebellion against the "system," only two small fires were set--one in an empty building.

* * *

. . . According to Lt. Gen. Throckmorton and Col. Bolling, the city, at this time, was saturated with fear. The National Guardsmen were afraid, the residents were afraid, and the police were afraid. Numerous persons, the majority of them Negroes, were being injured by gunshots of undetermined origin. The general and his staff felt that the major task of the troops was to reduce the fear and restore an air of normalcy. In order to accomplish this, every effort was made to establish contact and rapport between the troops and the residents. The soldiers--20 percent of whom were Negro--began helping to clean up the streets, collect garbage, and trace persons who had disappeared in the confusion. Residents in the neighborhoods responded with soup and sandwiches for the troops. In areas where the National Guard tried to establish rapport with the citizens, there was a smaller response....

Chapter 2--Patterns of Disorder

The "typical" riot did not take place. The disorders of 1967 were unusual, irregular, complex and unpredictable social processes. Like most human events, they did not unfold in an orderly sequence. However, an analysis of our survey information leads to some conclusions about the riot process. In general:

* The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods--rather than against white persons.
* Of 164 disorders reported during the first nine months of 1967, eight (5 percent) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20 percent) were serious but not major; 123 (75 percent) were minor and undoubtedly would not have received national attention as "riots" had the nation not been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.
* In the 75 disorders studied by a Senate subcommittee, 83 deaths were reported. Eighty-two percent of the deaths and more than half the injuries occurred in Newark and Detroit. About 10 percent of the dead and 38 percent of the injured were public employees, primarily law officers and firemen. The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians.
* Initial damage estimates were greatly exaggerated. In Detroit, newspaper damage estimates at first ranged from $200 million to $500 million; the highest recent estimate is $45 million. In Newark, early estimates ranged from $15 to $25 million. A month later damage was estimated at $10.2 million, over 80 percent in...
inventory losses. In the 24 disorders in 23 cities which we surveyed:
* The final incident before the outbreak of disorder, and the initial violence itself, generally took place in the evening or at night at a place in which it was normal for many people to be on the streets.
* Violence usually occurred almost immediately following the occurrence of the final precipitating incident, and then escalated rapidly. With but few exceptions, violence subsided during the day, and flared rapidly again at night. The night-day cycles continued through the early period of the major disorders.
* Disorder generally began with rock and bottle throwing and window breaking. Once store windows were broken, looting usually followed.
* Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single "triggering" or "precipitating" incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a reservoir of underlying grievances. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident-in itself often routine or trivial-became the breaking point and the tension spilled over into violence.
* "Prior" incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police actions in almost half the cases; police actions were "final" incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders.
* No particular control tactic was successful in every situation. The varied effectiveness of control techniques emphasizes the need for advance training, planning, adequate intelligence systems, and knowledge of the ghetto community.
* Negotiations between Negroes--including your militants as well as older Negro leaders- -and white officials concerning "terms of peace" occurred during virtually all the disorders surveyed. In many cases, these negotiations involved discussion of underlying grievances as well as the handling of the disorder by control authorities.
* The typical rioter was a teenager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, a high school dropout; he was, nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his nonrioting Negro neighbor, and was usually underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system.
* A Detroit survey revealed that approximately 11 percent of the total residents of two riot areas admitted participation in the rioting, 20 to 25 percent identified themselves as "bystanders," over 16 percent identified themselves as "counter-rioters" who urged rioters to "cool it," and the remaining 48 to 53 percent said they were at home or elsewhere and did not participate. In a survey of Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 residing in the disturbance area in Newark, about 45 percent identified themselves as rioters, and about 55 percent as "noninvolved."
* Most rioters were young Negro males. Nearly 53 percent of arrestees were between 15 and 24 years of age; nearly 81 percent between 15 and 35.
* In Detroit and Newark about 74 percent of the rioters were brought up in the
North. In contrast, of the noninvolved, 36 percent in Detroit and 52 percent in Newark were brought up in the North.
* What the rioters appeared to be seeking was fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority of American citizens. Rather than rejecting the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it.
* Numerous Negro counter-rioters walked the streets urging rioters to "cool it." The typical counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the noninvolved.
* The proportion of Negroes in local government was substantially smaller than the Negro proportion of population. Only three of the 20 cities studied had more than one Negro legislator; none had ever had a Negro mayor or city manager. In only four cities did Negroes hold other important policy-making positions or serve as heads of municipal departments.
* Although almost all cities had some sort of formal grievance mechanism for handling citizen complaints, this typically was regarded by Negroes as ineffective and was generally ignored.
* Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least 12 deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity:

First Level of Intensity
1. Police practices
2. Unemployment and underemployment
3. Inadequate housing

Second Level of Intensity
4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs
6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms

Third Level of Intensity
7. Disrespectful white attitudes
8. Discriminatory administration of justice
9. Inadequacy of federal programs
10. Inadequacy of municipal services
11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
12. Inadequate welfare programs. The results of a three-city survey of various federal programs—manpower, education, housing, welfare and community action—indicate that, despite substantial expenditures, the number of persons assisted constituted only a fraction of those in need.

The background of disorder is often as complex and difficult to analyze as the disorder itself. But we find that certain general conclusions can be drawn:
* Social and economic conditions in the riot cities constituted a clear pattern of severe disadvantage for Negroes compared with whites, whether the Negroes lived in the area where the riot took place or outside it. Negroes had completed
fewer years of education and fewer had attended high school. Negroes were twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to be in unskilled and service jobs. Negroes averaged 70 percent of the income earned by whites and were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty. Although housing cost Negroes relatively more, they had worse housing—three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard. When compared to white suburbs, the relative disadvantage is even more pronounced.

A study of the aftermath of disorder leads to disturbing conclusions. We find that, despite the institution of some post-riot programs:
* Little basic change in the conditions underlying the outbreak of disorder has taken place. Actions to ameliorate Negro grievances have been limited and sporadic; with but few exceptions, they have not significantly reduced tensions.
* In several cities, the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons. In several cities, increasing polarization is evident, with continuing breakdown of inter-racial communication, and growth of white segregationist or black separatist groups.

Chapter 3--Organized Activity

The President directed the Commission to investigate "to, what extent, if any, there has been planning or organization in any of the riots."
To carry out this part of the President's charge, the Commission established a special investigative staff supplementing the field teams that made the general examination of the riots in 23 cities. The unit examined data collected by federal agencies and congressional committees, including thousands of documents supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gathered and evaluated information from local and state law enforcement agencies and officials, and conducted its own field investigation in selected cities.

On the basis of all the information collected, the Commission concludes that: The urban disorders of the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequence of, any organized plan or "conspiracy."
Specifically, the Commission has found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local. Militant organizations, local and national, and individual agitators, who repeatedly forecast and called for violence, were active in the spring and summer of 1967. We believe that they sought to encourage violence, and that they helped to create an atmosphere that contributed to the outbreak of disorder. We recognize that the continuation of disorders and the polarization of the races would provide fertile ground for organized exploitation in the future. Investigations of organized activity are continuing at all levels of government, including committees of Congress. These investigations relate not only to the disorders of 1967 but also to the actions of groups and individuals, particularly in schools and colleges, during this last fall and winter. The Commission has cooperated in these investigations. They should
PART II--WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

Chapter 4--The Basic Causes

In addressing the question "Why did it happen?" we shift our focus from the local to the national scene, from the particular events of the summer of 1967 to the factors within the society at large that created a mood of violence among many urban Negroes. These factors are complex and interacting; they vary significantly in their effect from city to city and from year to year; and the consequences of one disorder, generating new grievances and new demands, become the causes of the next. Thus was created the thicket of tension, conflicting evidence and extreme opinions" cited by the President. Despite these complexities, certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are:

* Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.
* Black in-migration and white exodus, which have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.
* The black ghettos where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result. At the same time, most whites and some Negroes outside the ghetto have prospered to a degree unparalleled in the history of civilization. Through television and other media, this affluence has been flaunted before the eyes of the Negro poor and the jobless ghetto youth. Yet these facts alone cannot be said to have caused the disorders. Recently, other powerful ingredients have begun to catalyze the mixture:
  * Frustrated hopes are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the Civil Rights Movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South.
  * A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by the open defiance of law and federal authority by state and local officials resisting desegregation; and by some protest groups engaging in civil disobedience who turn their backs on nonviolence, go beyond the constitutionally protected rights of petition and free assembly, and resort to violence to attempt to compel alteration of laws and policies with which they disagree.
  * The frustrations of powerlessness have led some Negroes to the conviction that
there is no effective alternative to violence as a means of achieving redress of grievances, and of "moving the system." These frustrations are reflected in alienation and hostility toward the institutions of law and government and the white society which controls them, and in the reach toward racial consciousness and solidarity reflected in the slogan "Black Power."

* A new mood has sprung up among Negroes, particularly among the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."

* The police are not merely a "spark" factor. To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a "double standard" of justice and protection—one for Negroes and one for whites.

To this point, we have attempted to identify the prime components of the "explosive mixture." In the chapters that follow we seek to analyze them in the perspective of history. Their meaning, however, is clear: In the summer of 1967, we have seen in our cities a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless, none of us shall escape the consequences.

Chapter 5--Rejection and Protest: An Historical Sketch

The causes of recent racial disorders are embedded in a tangle of issues and circumstances--social, economic, political and psychological which arise out of the historic pattern of Negro-white relations in America. In this chapter we trace the pattern, identify the recurrent themes of Negro protest and, most importantly, provide a perspective on the protest activities of the present era. We describe the Negro's experience in America and the development of slavery as an institution. We show his persistent striving for equality in the face of rigidly maintained social, economic and educational barriers, and repeated mob violence. We portray the ebb and flow of the doctrinal tides--accommodation, separatism, and self-help--and their relationship to the current theme of Black Power. We conclude: The Black Power advocates of today consciously feel that they are the most militant group in the Negro protest movement. Yet they have retreated from a direct confrontation with American society on the issue of integration and, by preaching separatism, unconsciously function as an accommodation to white racism. Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity and separation, is reminiscent of Booker

Chapter 6--The Formation Of the Racial Ghettos[1]

Throughout the 20th century the Negro population of the United States has been moving steadily from rural areas to urban and from South to North and West. In 1910, 91 percent of the nation's 9.8 million Negroes lived in the South and only 27 percent of American Negroes lived in cities of 2,500 persons or more. Between 1910 and 1966 the total Negro population more than doubled, reaching
21.5 million, and the number living in metropolitan areas rose more than fivefold (from 2.6 million to 14.8 million). The number outside the South rose eleven-fold (from 880,000 to 9.7 million). Negro migration from the South has resulted from the expectation of thousands of new and highly paid jobs for unskilled workers in the North and the shift to mechanized farming in the South. However, the Negro migration is small when compared to earlier waves of European immigrants. Even between 1960 and 1966, there were 1.8 million immigrants from abroad compared to the 613,000 Negroes who arrived in the North and West from the South. As a result of the growing number of Negroes in urban areas, natural increase has replaced migration as the primary source of Negro population increase in the cities. Nevertheless, Negro migration from the South will continue unless economic conditions there change dramatically. Basic data concerning Negro urbanization trends indicate that:

* Almost all Negro population growth (98 percent from 1950 to 1966) is occurring within metropolitan areas, primarily within central cities.[2].

* The vast majority of white population growth (78 percent from 1960 to 1966) is occurring in suburban portions of metropolitan areas. Since 1960, white central-city population has declined by 1.3 million.

* As a result, central cities are becoming more heavily Negro while the suburban fringes around them remain almost entirely white.

* The twelve largest central cities now contain over two-thirds of the Negro population outside the South, and one-third of the Negro total in the United States. Within the cities, Negroes have been excluded from white residential areas through discriminatory practices. Just as significant is the withdrawal of white families from, or their refusal to enter, neighborhoods where Negroes are moving or already residing. About 20 percent of the urban population of the United States changes residence every year. The refusal of whites to move into "changing" areas when vacancies occur means that most vacancies eventually are occupied by Negroes. The result, according to a recent study, is that in 1960 the average segregation index for 207 of the largest United States cities was 86.2. In other words, to create an unsegregated population distribution, an average of over 86 percent of all Negroes would have to change their place of residence within the city.

Chapter 7—Unemployment, Family Structure, and Social Disorganization

Although there have been gains in Negro income nationally, and a decline in the number of Negroes below the "poverty level," the condition of Negroes in the central city remains in a state of crisis. Between 2 and 2.5 million Negroes-16 to 20 percent of the total Negro population of all central cities live in squalor and deprivation in ghetto neighborhoods. Employment is a key problem. It not only controls the present for the Negro American but, in a most profound way, it is creating the future as well. Yet, despite continuing economic growth and declining national unemployment rates, the unemployment rate for Negroes in 1967 was more than double that for whites. Equally important is the undesirable nature of many jobs open to Negroes and other minorities. Negro men are more
than three times as likely as white men to be in low paying, unskilled or service jobs. This concentration of male Negro employment at the lowest end of the occupational scale is the single most important cause of poverty among Negroes. In one study of low-income neighborhoods, the "subemployment rate," including both unemployment and underemployment, was about 33 percent, or 8.8 times greater than the overall unemployment rate for all United States workers. Employment problems, aggravated by the constant arrival of new unemployed migrants, many of them from depressed rural areas, create persistent poverty in the ghetto. In 1966, about 11.9 percent of the nation's whites and 40.6 percent of its nonwhites were below the "poverty level" defined by the Social Security Administration (currently $3,335 per year for an urban family of four). Over 40 percent of the nonwhites below the poverty level live in the central cities. Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto. Men who are chronically unemployed or employed in the lowest status jobs are often unable or unwilling to remain with their families. The handicap imposed on children growing up without fathers in an atmosphere of poverty and deprivation is increased as mothers are forced to work to provide support. The culture of poverty that results from unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto. Prostitution, dope addiction, and crime create an environmental "jungle" characterized by personal insecurity and tension. Children growing up under such conditions are likely participants in civil disorder.

Chapter 8--Conditions of Life In the Racial Ghetto

A striking difference in environment from that of white, middle-class Americans profoundly influences the lives of residents of the ghetto. Crime rates, consistently higher than in other areas, create a pronounced sense of insecurity. For example, in one city one low-income Negro district had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as a high-income white district. Unless drastic steps are taken, the crime problems in poverty areas are likely to continue to multiply as the growing youth and rapid urbanization of the population outstrip police resources. Poor health and sanitation conditions in the ghetto result in higher mortality rates, a higher incidence of major diseases, and lower availability and utilization of medical services. The infant mortality rate for nonwhite babies under the age of one month is 58 percent higher than for whites; for one to 12 months it is almost three times as high. The level of sanitation in the ghetto is far below that in high income areas. Garbage collection is often inadequate. Of an estimated 14,000 cases of rat bite in the United States in 1965, most were in ghetto neighborhoods. Ghetto residents believe they are "exploited" by local merchants; and evidence substantiates some of these beliefs. A study conducted in one city by the Federal Trade Commission showed that distinctly higher prices were charged for goods sold in ghetto stores than in other areas. Lack of knowledge regarding credit purchasing creates special pitfalls for the disadvantaged. In many states garnishment practices compound these difficulties by allowing creditors to deprive individuals of their wages without hearing or trial.
In this chapter, we address ourselves to a fundamental question that many white Americans are asking: why have so many Negroes, unlike the European immigrants, been unable to escape from the ghetto and from poverty. We believe the following factors play a part:

* The Maturing Economy: When the European immigrants arrived, they gained an economic foothold by providing the unskilled labor needed by industry. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro migrant found little opportunity in the city. The economy, by then matured, had little use for the unskilled labor he had to offer.

* The Disability of Race: The structure of discrimination has stringently narrowed opportunities for the Negro and restricted his prospects. European immigrants suffered from discrimination, but never so pervasively.

* Entry into the Political System: The immigrants usually settled in rapidly growing cities with powerful and expanding political machines, which traded economic advantages for political support. Ward-level grievance machinery, as well as personal representation, enabled the immigrant to make his voice heard and his power felt. By the time the Negro arrived, these political machines were no longer so powerful or so well equipped to provide jobs or other favors, and in many cases were unwilling to share their influence with Negroes.

* Cultural Factors: Coming from societies with a low standard of living and at a time when job aspirations were low, the immigrants sensed little deprivation in being forced to take the less desirable and poorer-paying jobs. Their large and cohesive families contributed to total income. Their vision of the future--one that led to a life outside of the ghetto--provided the incentive necessary to endure the present. Although Negro men worked as hard as the immigrants, they were unable to support their families. The entrepreneurial opportunities had vanished. As a result of slavery and long periods of unemployment, the Negro family structure had become matriarchal; the males played a secondary and marginal family role--one which offered little compensation for their hard and unrewarding labor. Above all, segregation denied Negroes access to good jobs and the opportunity to leave the ghetto. For them, the future seemed to lead only to a dead end. Today, whites tend to exaggerate how well and quickly they escaped from poverty. The fact is that immigrants who came from rural backgrounds, as many Negroes do, are only now, after three generations, finally beginning to move into the middle class. By contrast, Negroes began concentrating in the city less than two generations ago, and under much less favorable conditions. Although
Letter from a Birmingham Jail
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
April 16, 1963

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely...."

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in...."

I am in Birmingham because injustice is here.... I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds....

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations.... It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative....

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case....

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue so that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed...
violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. The purpose of our direct action program is to create a situation so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture…

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct action campaign that was "well timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five year old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross county drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and
your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs.;" when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"--then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? … Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority… Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful…. Thus it is that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong….

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Councillor or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says: "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection….
In your statement you assert that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But is this a logical assertion? Isn’t this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? ... We must come to see that, as the federal courts have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber....

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth concerning time in relation to the struggle for freedom. I have just received a letter from a white brother in Texas. He writes: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost two thousand years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." Such an attitude stems from a tragic misconception of time, from the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people. Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency, made up in part of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation; and in part of a few middle-class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad’s Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro’s frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil."
I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies--a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice.

If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides -and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. So I have not said to my people: "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist. But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever flowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the
preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. Perhaps the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists….

I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are at present misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence across the pages of history, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation - and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its dogs sinking their teeth into unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department….

I wish you had commended the Negro sit inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy two year old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feets is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders,
courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html
# Nine Martyrs of the Civil Rights Movement

Killed in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing in Birmingham, Alabama on Sunday, September 15, 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Denise McNair</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carol Robertson</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Addie Mae Collins</td>
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<td>Cynthia Wesley</td>
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Assassinated by Ku Klux Klan member Byron De La Beckwith in Jackson Mississippi on June 12, 1963

Medgar Evers
Shot by Klansmen in Philadelphia, Mississippi on June 21, 1964 and buried under an earthen dam. Chaney was castrated, Goodman was buried alive.

Michael Schwerner  James Chaney  Andrew Goodman

Beaten and shot to death by state troopers as he tried to protect his grandfather and mother from a trooper attack in Selma Alabama on February 26, 1965.
Jimmie Lee Jackson
...I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution. There's a difference. Are they both the same? And if they're not, what is the difference? What is the difference between a black revolution and a Negro revolution? First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, and the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program. You may change your goal and you may change your mind.... [Y]ou don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn—the—other—cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. [The] only kind of revolution that's nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution based on loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks on the toilet. That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world—wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution —— that’s a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia. Revolution is in Africa. And the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

A revolution is bloody. Revolution is hostile. Revolution knows no compromise. Revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, as Reverend Cleage was pointing out beautifully, singing "We Shall Overcome"? Just tell me. You don’t do that in a revolution. You don’t do any singing; you’re too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren’t asking for no nation. They’re trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that’s called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He
wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That’s white nationalism. The American Revolution was white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too —— yes, it was —— white nationalism. You don’t think so? Why [do] you think Khrushchev and Mao can’t get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that’s going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? Black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Reverend Cleage, pointing out why he couldn’t get together with someone else here in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you’re afraid of black nationalism, you’re afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

To understand this, you have to go back to what [the] young brother here referred to as the house Negro and the field Negro —— back during slavery. There was two kinds of slaves. There was the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes —— they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good ’cause they ate his food —— what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved their master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master’s house quicker than the master would. The house Negro, if the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That’s how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master’s house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What’s the matter, boss, we sick?" We sick! He identified himself with his master more than his master identified with himself. And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let’s run away, let’s escape, let’s separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that’s what we call him today, because we’ve still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He’ll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about "I’m the only Negro out here." "I’m the only one on my job." "I’m the only one in this school." You’re nothing but a house Negro. And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let’s separate," you say the same thing that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America? This good white man? Where you going to get a better job than you get here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain’t left nothing in Africa," that’s what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.
On that same plantation, there was the field Negro. The field Negro —— those were the masses. There were always more Negroes in the field than there was Negroes in the house. The Negro in the field caught hell. He ate leftovers. In the house they ate high up on the hog. The Negro in the field didn’t get nothing but what was left of the insides of the hog. They call ‘em "chitt’lin’" nowadays. In those days they called them what they were: guts. That’s what you were —— a gut—eater. And some of you all still gut—eaters.

The field Negro was beaten from morning to night. He lived in a shack, in a hut; He wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was intelligent. That house Negro loved his master. But that field Negro —— remember, they were in the majority, and they hated the master. When the house caught on fire, he didn’t try and put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze. When the master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he’d die. If someone come [sic] to the field Negro and said, "Let’s separate, let’s run," he didn’t say "Where we going?" He’d say, "Any place is better than here." You’ve got field Negroes in America today. I’m a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man’s house on fire, you don’t hear these little Negroes talking about "our government is in trouble." They say, "The government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "Our government"! I even heard one say "our astronauts." They won’t even let him near the plant —— and "our astronauts"! "Our Navy" —— that’s a Negro that’s out of his mind. That’s a Negro that’s out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, 20th century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent. That’s Tom making you nonviolent. It’s like when you go to the dentist, and the man’s going to take your tooth. You’re going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they’re not doing anything to you. So you sit there and 'cause you’ve got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don’t know what’s happening. ‘Cause someone has taught you to suffer —— peacefully.

The white man do the same thing to you in the street, when he want [sic] to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and don’t have to be afraid of your fighting back. To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, suffer peacefully. Don’t stop suffering —— just suffer peacefully. As Reverend Cleage pointed out, "Let your blood flow In the streets." This is a shame. And you know he’s a Christian preacher. If it’s a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

There’s nothing in our book, the Quran —— you call it "Ko—ran" —— that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his
hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That’s a good religion. In fact, that’s that old—time religion. That’s the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life: That’s a good religion. And doesn’t nobody resent that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He’s a wolf and you’re sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teach [sic] you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teach [sic] us not to fight the white man, he’s a traitor to you and me. Don’t lay down our life all by itself. No, preserve your life. it’s the best thing you got. And if you got to give it up, let it be even—steven.

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, and fed him well, and even gave him a little education —— a little education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and make [sic] him prominent, build [sic] him up, publicize [sic] him, make [sic] him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes —— and a Negro leader….

URL:
The Southern Strategy

Nixon strategist, Kevin Phillips, quoted in the NYT, 1970:

"From now on, the Republicans are never going to get more than 10 to 20 percent of the Negro vote and they don't need any more than that... but Republicans would be shortsighted if they weakened enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. The more Negroes who register as Democrats in the South, the sooner the Negrophobe whites will quit the Democrats and become Republicans. That's where the votes are. Without that prodding from the blacks, the whites will backslide into their old comfortable arrangement with the local Democrats."


RNC Chief to Say It Was 'Wrong' to Exploit Racial Conflict for Votes
Mike Allen

It was called "the southern strategy," started under Richard M. Nixon in 1968, and described Republican efforts to use race as a wedge issue -- on matters such as desegregation and busing -- to appeal to white southern voters. Ken Mehlman, the Republican National Committee chairman, this morning will tell the NAACP national convention in Milwaukee that it was "wrong."

"By the '70s and into the '80s and '90s, the Democratic Party solidified its gains in the African American community, and we Republicans did not effectively reach out," Mehlman says in his prepared text. "Some Republicans gave up on winning the African American vote, looking the other way or trying to benefit politically from racial polarization. I am here today as the Republican chairman to tell you we were wrong."

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/07/13/AR2005071302342_pf.html
Dear Pete, I hope you are well. We are writing to express our appreciation for the support we have received and the progress we have made in our work. We have seen significant improvements in our projects and are confident that we will continue to make progress.

Dear Nita, I want to express my deep gratitude for your continued support. Your encouragement and guidance have been invaluable to us.

Letters from Mississippi

I say to you, WHERE ARE WE NOW? Where we were and what we did was great. We have grown and we are stronger. We have overcome many obstacles and we are ready to face new challenges. We will continue to work hard and we will not give up until we achieve our goals.

Signed,
Chairman of the Board

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Dear Pete,

And we have gained, and we have gained.

Dear Nita,

Letters from Mississippi

I say to you, WHERE ARE WE NOW? Where we were and what we did was great. We have grown and we are stronger. We have overcome many obstacles and we are ready to face new challenges. We will continue to work hard and we will not give up until we achieve our goals.

Signed,
Chairman of the Board
Dear John and Cleo,

I'm glad to hear from you. How is life in your corner of the world? I hope you're both well and that your life is a pleasant one.

I've been thinking a lot about our conversations and the things we discussed. I believe that our discussions were meaningful and that their impact has been significant. However, I'm not sure if I'm the one who's learned the most from these conversations. Maybe it's you who have gained the greatest insights.

Regarding the question about the nature of our conversations, I think that our conversations have been fruitful and beneficial. However, I don't believe that our conversations have reached their full potential. There is still much to be said and to be learned.

I hope to hear from you soon. Take care.

[Your Signature]

P.S. I'm looking forward to our next conversation.
Testimony Before the Democratic
National Convention

In Metropolis, July 16, 1967.

In Chicago for all the bright lights, in Chicago for all the big business, in Chicago for all the glitter and glamour, in Chicago for all the ...
SOARING THE WIND

Violence in the City—An End of a

The McCone Commission Report on Watts

beginning?

Violent and the Aftermath

Paul Bullock

Dome's commission that investigated the riots attributed

To identify solutions to urban problems, we must discuss responsibility for

the Los Angeles Police Department's response to urban unrest and riots in the summer of 1965, combined with ongoing racial and ethnic tensions, resulting in increasing activity and disturbances. The resulting economic condition of blacks living outside the Deep South.

A decade's activity around questions of race had done little to improve the

in their neighborhoods. The resulting economic condition of blacks living outside the Deep South.

The Watts Riots

Rally.

The Los Angeles Police Department's response to urban unrest and riots in the summer of 1965, combined with ongoing racial and ethnic tensions, resulting in increasing activity and disturbances. The resulting economic condition of blacks living outside the Deep South.

In the aftermath of the riots, the commission attributed the causes of the violence to the conditions of the inner city and the lack of community involvement. The report recommended various initiatives, including community policing, economic development, and educational programs, to address the root causes of the violence. However, the recommendations were not fully implemented, and the violence continued to occur periodically.

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The Arises

Sadness:

Together, would have a notable opportunity to learn about our nation's past. The presence of this program would change the way we think about our country. A tour would be a valuable experience for the young people who would benefit from the program. The cost of the program would increase, and yet the cost of police protection would decrease, and yet the cost of police protection would decrease.

The Arises

The decision of the Los Angeles Unified School District regarding the policy of violence in the city is crucial to the future of the city. If we do not act now, the future of our community and its children will be at risk. We must take action now to ensure that our city remains safe and secure for all.

The Arises

In examining the situation in our city, what has depressed me is the lack of a well-run, well-funded school system. The schools in our city are underfunded and underperforming. This neglect is unacceptable. The students of our city deserve better. We must act now to ensure that our children receive the education they deserve.
The driver was Marquette Frye, a 21-year-old Negro, and his older brother, Ronald, 22, was a passenger. Minikus asked Marquette to get out and take the standard Highway Patrol sobriety test. Frye failed the test, and at 7:05 p.m., Minikus told him he was under arrest. He radioed for his motorcycle partner, for a car to take Marquette to jail, and for tow truck to take the car away.

They were two blocks from the Frye home, in an area of two-story apartment buildings and numerous small family residences. Because it was a very warm evening, many of the residents were outside.

Ronald Frye, having been told he could not take the car when Marquette was taken to jail, went to get their mother so that she could claim the car. They returned to the scene about 7:15 P.M. as the second motorcycle patrolman, the patrol car, and tow truck arrived. The original group of 25 to 50 curious spectators had grown to 250 to 300 persons.

Mrs. Frye approached Marquette and scolded him for drinking. Marquette, who until then had been peaceful and cooperative, pushed her away and moved toward the crowd, cursing and shouting at the officers that they would have to kill him to take him to jail. The patrolmen pursued Marquette and he resisted.

The watching crowd became hostile, and one of the patrolmen radioed for more help. Within minutes, three more highway patrolmen arrived. Minikus and his partner were now struggling with both Frye brothers. Mrs. Frye, now belligerent, jumped on the back of one of the officers and ripped his shirt. In an attempt to subdue Marquette, one officer swung at his shoulder with a night stick, missed, and struck him on the forehead, inflicting a minor cut. By 7:23 p.m., all three of the Fries were under arrest, and other California Highway Patrolmen and, for the first time, Los Angeles police officers had arrived in response to the call for help.

Officers on the scene said there were now more than 1,000 persons in the crowd. About 7:25 p.m., the patrol car with the prisoners, and the tow truck pulling the Frye car, left the scene. At 7:31 p.m., the Fries arrived at a nearby sheriff’s substation...

As the officers were leaving the scene, someone in the crowd spat on one of them. They stopped withdrawing and two highway patrolmen went into the crowd and arrested a young Negro woman and a man who was said to have been inciting the crowd to violence when the officers were arresting her...

Let me see, first night when it got started...we just saw a whole lot of people starting to run; I thought maybe somebody was fighting or something like that, or there had been an accident, so Henry and I went down to investigate. I saw a lot of police. I saw cars turned over on the street, and bricks, bottles, and a whole lot of glass lying around. I looked at Henry...and started laughing. So we decided to go on down further. I looked around, a whole big crew of policemen just ran by us. They were running opposite directions; I didn't know what was happening. I just turned back to Henry, and we thought we'd come home before we got killed...We passed by another group of policemen, and they stopped us. They asked us where we were going. Henry told him we were on our way home, and he asked us where we live, and we responded and told him, and he told us where we were going and where were we coming from. Of course, Henry and I were scared, so I said, “We just got off work...” We took a couple more steps, and he grabbed me by my shoulders, and I turned around and asked him what was wrong with him, and he swung at me with his night stick, but he missed. And I grabbed his arm and knocked his arm down, and I was going to hit him. Then a whole police gang got around him, and they had us circled. We just stood there, and he says, “Where did you say you was going?” I say, “I'm going along,” and he says, “Let me see you get along.” He swung at me again, and he hit me on the leg. Then immediately I knew what was he talking about, you know.
Violence in the City

I was born in the city, not just by chance, but by necessity. I came into the world in a world of constant violence. My parents were both police officers, and they had seen their fair share of crime and violence. They had dedicated their lives to keeping the city safe, but their efforts were not enough.

The city was a place where people were afraid to go outside. Gang violence was rampant, and the police were often powerless to stop it. I remember my father coming home late at night, covered in blood and dirt, with stories of violence and death to share. I would listen to his stories, wondering how such a place could exist.

As I grew older, I became more involved in the city. I started to see the flaws in the system. The police were not able to keep up with the crime, and the streets were a constant battleground. I saw people dying, not just in the streets, but in their own homes. It was a place where people were afraid to live.

I remember a day when I was walking home from school, and I saw a group of kids playing with a gun. They were laughing and joking, not realizing the danger they were in. I called the police, but they arrived too late. One of the kids had been shot.

That day was a turning point for me. I realized that I couldn't just sit back and watch the violence happen. I had to do something. I started to volunteer with a local charity that worked with at-risk youth. I helped them learn the skills they needed to stay out of trouble and become productive members of society.

Through my work with the charity, I saw the impact that small actions could have. I saw children turn their lives around and become productive members of society. I saw hope in a place where it was so desperately needed.

Violence in the City is not just about the police and the criminals. It's about the people who live there. We are all connected, and we all have a role to play in creating a safer, more vibrant community.
If mob rule takes hold in the U.S.,
a climate in which laws be ignored will be social disintegration.

In the United States, the Negro has the right to be an American citizen; the American Negro is entitled to equality of the law... 

The most common misunderstanding of Negroes' rights is that there is no respect for law. It is true that there is no respect for law. 

Respect for the dignity of every individual is absolutely essential. 

Just as the Supreme Court in the landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954 declared that separate but equal schools were unconstitutional, so it is in the case of discrimination in the workplace. The principle of equality in the workplace, which can be extended to other areas of life, must be upheld.

In the example set by the minority group, the de facto segregation of Negroes is shown. 

If there is a right to segregated in public places to protect a nation's tradition, and become the property of the people. 

It is the duty of the courts to uphold the law and protect the people. 

The people in power...
THE ABORTION 1967 STRIKE PROPOSAL

This is the first in a series of protest demonstration against the American Communist Party in New York. We seek to expose the Communist Party's false claims of a peaceful protest. We oppose the Communist Party's efforts to silence dissent and support the freedom of speech.

The Communist Party has a history of utilizing violence and intimidation to suppress opposition. We stand in solidarity with those who have been targeted and acknowledge the importance of peaceful protest. We call for an end to the repression of dissent and the protection of basic human rights.

COMMUNIST INFLATION

Inflation is a significant economic issue that affects us all. Communist leaders have used inflation as a tool to suppress dissent and divert attention from their own failures. We must stand up against this manipulation of the economy and work towards a future where basic needs are met for all.

LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT

This is a call to action. As members of the working class, we must fight against the oppressive forces of capitalism. We support the right to strike and demand an end to the exploitation of labor. Together, we can create a better future for ourselves and generations to come.

EDWIN WILTS

COMMUNIST INFLATION