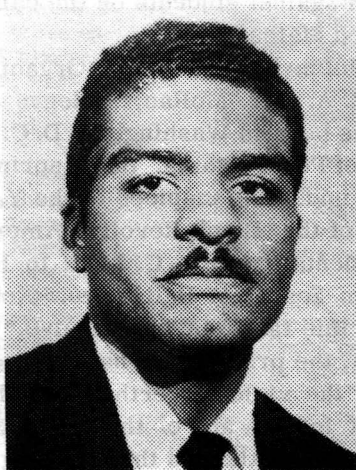


THE INDIANA "SUBVERSION" SPEECH



Transcript of the talk on the movement for Negro Civil Rights given March 25, 1963, by Leroy McRae, which is the basis of indictments against three Indiana University students. The defendants, who face up to six years in prison, are officers of the I. U. chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. This transcript has been verified by the Indiana State Police and was originally printed in the Bloomington, Indiana *Herald-Telephone*.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the official transcript of the Indiana "subversion" speech. On this basis three Indiana University students may go to jail for a sentence of two to six years. The three are: Thomas Morgan, a senior from Terre Haute, Indiana; James Bingham, a graduate student from Indianapolis; and Ralph Levitt, also a graduate student from Indianapolis. The students were officers of the Young Socialist Alliance, a nation-wide youth group, with chapters at most major colleges. This is the first sedition prosecution against students on the campus in the history of the United States.

Leroy McRae is the National Organizational Secretary of the Y. S. A. Mr. McRae, a Negro and a civil rights fighter, was born in Washington, D. C. and studied at the University of Pennsylvania. In the spring of 1963 he toured the country under the auspices of the Y. S. A., speaking on the subject of the "Black Revolt in America." He gave this talk to students from U. C. L. A. to Harvard; to young people from Seattle to Baltimore. Nowhere was it suggested that this talk was "subversive." But, in Bloomington, Indiana, the prosecution has charged that Mr. McRae advocated "the violent overthrow of the governments of the State of Indiana and of the United States." And, that because they had attended this meeting, the three student socialists were guilty of violation of Indiana's 1951 Anti-Communist Act. Over 125 other people—students, faculty members and Bloomington citizens—attended this talk. However, only the officers of the Y. S. A. have been charged with sedition.

The evidence is here for all to read and examine. Do you think that, in the following text, Mr. McRae advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence? As a citizen of this country, you can sit on the "jury" of public opinion.

Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students
P. O. Box 213 Cooper Station
New York 10003, N. Y.

Mr. Chairman and friends, tonight we are witnessing a struggle that began in this country over three hundred and fifty years ago. It is the struggle of black men to live as human beings and to have the rights guaranteed to every other citizen of this country. Many of you are closed in by the ivory tower and don't get the occasion to see oppression first hand. I thought I would bring to your attention some of the things that are causing what I call the black revolt in America.

Today, this country is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. It is said the Negro is evaluating how much progress he has made in a hundred years. I think this whole thing is somewhat of a farce, and we ask ourselves; how much progress has the black man made in this country of 180,000,000? How free do we feel? How much freedom do we have? Freedom to organize, to speak, freedom to participate as citizens of first class rather than of second class. Does America think in terms of black and white? I think we all realize it does.

Still, the question has been posed, to what degree? And I want to take that up tonight. I am going to talk a little bit about revolution, too. I understand that in this area of Bloomington, many people are interested in this question, including the state government, and I am sure they'll be interested in hearing what a black man has to say. The black man feels that the tide in America is a tide which says this country

must change. Why? Because we are upset, disturbed, just plain mad about this oppression that has lasted even after the social revolution took place in reconstruction. I know that we like to talk about a revolution in Cuba; we talk about one in South Viet Nam, undeclared war of the United States government.

We talk about a revolution in Laos and the fact that we might have made a mistake in throwing out one government and putting in another one, creating a crisis there. We talk about a revolution in the Congo, and some papers talk about a revolution in Angola. Yet certain people insist that we shouldn't talk about a revolution in America.

Now, this seems somewhat hypocritical to me, but I think it's perfectly understandable. Negroes in this country are in a state of revolt. Period. And, we are told, especially by liberals, that, Look, we don't want to create embarrassment abroad. We don't want a revolutionary situation such as is developing in Latin America, and by all means, we certainly don't want a black revolt in America.

So the government has instituted a policy which I would say began in the middle 1950's, of making concessions to the Negro people. If we take the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools, we can see that here is an example that America wished to give to the rest of the world of how progressive American capitalism is in the area of race relations.

This whole term, "creating embarrassment abroad," comes from that particular period. Yet

nine years after such a ruling, less than 8% of the southern schools have been desegregated. How much progress has the Negro made? The Negro parents who actually believed the clause "with deliberate speed" found themselves bogged down in concepts of token integration, in suits and countersuits, and of tokenism: token progress.

Now, this is the government's policy, this policy of gradualism, of making concessions over several generations.

I look and I see these revolutions taking place in the world and I can't help but think, Well, America is losing some of its power. And of course Bobby Kennedy, the national Attorney General, assures me that in spite of this collapse of American capitalism or the Free World democracy, that one of my kind can be President in thirty or forty years.

Now, he really oughtn't do us the favor. What are we going to be President of in thirty-four years?

I think these are some of the questions we should start asking ourselves. Gradualism means thirty or forty years from now, we might see a little more progress.

Well, we're sick of this. We want freedom now. This is the slogan of the southern movement.

Let's look, for instance, at what this challenge to gradualism is. This gradualism, which is not only government policy but is also the policy of liberals. The liberals disagree with the government, that's true, but only on the rate of the change. They say to the Negro people, "You wait, you ape." And they say to the white people, "Hurry up, they're getting restless," and it's only on the rate of change that they disagree. The basic policy is still one of gradualism.

Now in the 1960's, we had an upsurge among the youth all over the world. In Turkey, Turkish students overthrew, by

force and violence, the government of Menderes. The Korean students overthrew by force and violence the government of Syngman Rhee. French students began to declare their opposition to the unjust war in Algeria; the Japanese students united in opposition to the military pact between Japan and the U.S. Even our English co-thinkers in the academic world in increasing numbers joined the Peace Movement.

Well, America had its counterpart, too. We had the 1960 sit-ins. In February of 1960, a group of four Negro youths in Greensboro, North Carolina, got together and decided that they had had enough, and they went in, ordered a hamburger. Of course, Dick Gregory tells it that one of the students asked the waitress, "Excuse me, could I have a hamburger?", and she replied, "Why, we don't serve niggas here," and he said, "Well, I don't eat those either, I only want hamburger." (laughter).

And so we had the 1960 sit-ins. Now these sit-ins spread throughout the South.

They weren't an isolated phenomena; it wasn't just a pick in the dark. This movement spread throughout the whole South, including No Man's Land, Mississippi; and they were not organized by anybody. Now I am sure that many Prosecutors, per se those in the South, would like to say that these were Communist-inspired, too; but these were led by students of southern colleges who were simply fed up with segregation.

The fact that they occurred independent of organized movements, I think indicates something about the civil rights movement that you should be aware of. They were a de facto criticism of the old leadership. The students said, "Well, we've had enough of the conservative reformist leadership that has developed in the civil rights arena,

and we are going to organize independently as student youth." I think the history of the movement in recent periods bears this out.

In 1954 at the time of the famous Supreme Court decision on schools, the NAACP had a virtual monopoly on the civil rights movement. The old leadership restricted membership primarily to the middle classes, and it was not a mass organization by any imagination, but it was a membership organization of many white liberals, Negro liberals, and middle-class elements, and virtually no participation among the youth.

Now this situation since 1954 has been completely different. The NAACP has not led any of the major campaigns in the civil rights movement outside of the school desegregation issue. It has become, for all practical purposes, simply a legal defense arm. It has had to share its leadership now with other organizations. Why? Because the tactic of the NAACP was what I call the "Courtroom road to integration."

They felt that we could rely upon the Federal government and its agencies to get civil rights, and it was based on individual action, but in 1956, we see a completely different change in the movement.

Here, 50,000 Negroes united in Montgomery, Alabama, to combat segregation on the city buses, and the Montgomery bus boycott substituted mass action for the former NAACP-inspired method of individual action. We see here, too, another concept that came to the movement: non-violence.

Non-violence was utilized as a tactic by Negroes (1) to expose the terrorism of the racists; and, (2) to act in a situation where to do otherwise or to use any other tactic would have been fruitless.

Unfortunately, many individuals, such as Martin Luther King, have insisted that the only tactic that can be used is non-

violence, rejecting the Constitutional right of self-defense. My own personal feeling on this is that if we are going to be effective, we have to learn to utilize both tactics.

Now, I think that even Martin Luther King recognizes this. If we look for instance to the Cuban crises, which I am sure Bloomington remembers, we see that in the time B.C.—that's not before Christ but before the crisis, Martin Luther King said, "We either have non-violence or non-survival."

During the Cuban crisis, he came out with the general hysteria that plagued the country and said that we must have not only a moral offensive, but a military offensive as well. I am sure he didn't expect U.S. Marines to go down there with guns of love, so it's obvious that he was talking about violence. When his home and his church were threatened during the Montgomery boycott, he set up a defense guard which was armed. During the Freedom Rides, he called for the protection of Federal Marshals, who also usually come prepared with more than just the Boy Scouts' slogan of "Be Prepared."

So we see that the question is not violence or no violence, the question is, who utilizes violence? Our dispute with King is that he says to the black masses, "no violence on your part," but he is quite willing to give the Federal government this right. Now, what does he do in an instance, say, like in Mississippi, where the racist regime headed by Barnett, does not utilize state power for the protection of Negroes, but rather encourages the Vigilante tactics of the White Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klans.

You see here an instance where non-violence is ineffective. At any rate, these are some of the trends that preceded the 1960 sit-ins; and some of the criticisms which I have just given were the criti-

cisms that also arose in the student movement in the South. The leadership of these spontaneous developments gathered together in Raleigh in April of 1960 and formed the leadership of the southern youth group, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which those of us who are active in civil rights refer to as "SNIC."

Now, Snic is an action-orientated organization with roots not in the respectable community of ministers and doctors and what-not, but in the dispossessed community of the Negro masses: the Negro workers, student youth, and so on. This is somewhat different from the former pink champagne set that we used to see in the NAACP.

Furthermore, this action is orientated not just in urban areas, where you can all sit and sip tea and crumpets, but is also organized in the hard-core rural areas, among sharecroppers. We see that this is certainly more serious, aiming toward the section of the Negro population which really needs assistance.

One of the major campaigns that it is conducting now is voter registration. The purpose of this is to set up schools to help Negroes pass the rigid literacy requirements, such as, in a county in Alabama, for instance, we have the instance where you are supposed to count the soap bubbles on a bar of soap, and things of this sort.

In Mississippi, the requirement is that you be able to interpret all 282 sections of the Mississippi constitution. For many Negroes who haven't had the advantages of this University, such a task is pretty difficult to say the least. Nevertheless, they have been able to register quite a few Negroes. The racists were willing to let this go along as long as these idealistic youth weren't making any headway, but recently, we see with the confidence that has been inspired in the Mississippi Negroes, the racists have taken

reprisals and in the last eight months over twenty Snic workers have been shot. Why? Or, shot at. Why? Because they are attempting to give black men the right to vote. And why do they want this right? Why is it that Negroes in Mississippi are willing to forfeit the mortgage on their house, to run the risk of losing their job, to have credit cut off from them, to have even Federal surplus food denied them? For new dignity, and for political power.

Obviously, if the Negro gets the vote, he is hardly going to vote for Barnett, for Faubus, for Eastland and Company. What is involved here is putting up his own spokesmen, his own candidates, people who are going to articulate the demands of the Negro masses. That is what really scares the racists.

It is not a new phenomenon. If we look back at American history, we can see that a social revolution which we call Reconstruction had the same elements. Here, in spite of the fact that anti-Negro prejudice and slavery had been codified into law, sanctified by the church, taught in the schools, and influenced the thinking of all American men, it was suddenly smashed, abolished by revolution—revolution we call the Civil War.

And in the period following, in spite of the fact that the Negro was denied an education, denied the opportunity to express and develop his talent, he was able to show that he could participate as an American citizen. He won the respect of millions of whites, especially among the poor whites of the South.

We had a black government of Louisiana, eight black senators, and a number of black representatives all during Reconstruction. I am sure if I were to go through the history books here, as I have done in a number of universities. I would find that it has a completely different view

of Reconstruction. Your history books will say, "Ah, but don't you see, Reconstruction was bad for the Negro. Why, there was no master to clothe him in rags and to feed him the garbage of slavery, and to stand over him with a whip anymore, and he was deprived of all the benefits of this white Christian country, and the slave master's attitude, and so forth." Well, that's completely wrong.

The social revolution, reconstruction, was the beginning, not only of the abolition of slavery, but of the reconstruction of the new dignity for black men, and we had political power. That's what we're striving for when we ask for the right to vote. We had political power to elect our representatives, and I think the Senator from Mississippi, the state senator, who says, "Well, the reason we don't want those Niggas to vote down here is because in some places they're a majority. They're liable to vote us out of office, and get up there and pass a lot of laws that would be in favor of them."

That's completely true, Senator, and we intend to do this one way or the other.

That's what they're scared of, let's face it—power, political power. That's what we want, we want a little power.

People always ask me the question, and I want to answer it beforehand: Is the Negro out after power? Yes; why not?

Obviously, the people in power are the people who are depriving us of our rights—the southern regime. Look at the Meredith case: the governor's office, the mayor's office, the state legislature, the university administration, the state police—they were all opposed to Meredith's admission to Ole Miss.

Can we expect to say, yes, this government represents us? No. Obviously, we have to replace it—replace it with a dem-

ocratic government representing the masses. That's what the Negro is for.

And so, this is one of the contributions that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is making, and I think it might be very interesting to have some of their representatives give their own points of view. I am sure they would be glad to come up here and address you.

Another new phenomenon in addition to the southern movement, is the growth of black nationalism. Here, I think, it is very curious that most white Americans don't see all of the ramifications of black nationalism. Let's take the Muslims, for instance, who are the chief advocates of black nationalism. They have said . . . now, let me give the story that Malcolm X, sort of second in command of this movement, gave as to why the Muslim movement exists and what it wants. Two of the main things it wants are racial separation and separate territories. This is the way he tells the story. He says,

"Four hundred years ago in this country a marriage took place between black and white, and (that) it wasn't the best kind of marriage because it wasn't based on love; it was based on money. And the two partners haven't seemed—don't seem to get along very well in this country. After four hundred years of marriage, and even though the more submissive partner was emancipated and given suffrage, there is still an element of oppression here. So what we, as Muslims, are asking for is a divorce; and we're simply waiting for a property settlement."

Now, this, I think, explains quite clearly what the sentiment of the Muslims is. My own disagreement with them is, I think that the racial emphasis is a little off-kilter here. The problem of racism in the United States is not simply a question of black and

white, or a moral question. It's more of an economic question.

Slavery itself occurred because even though America had white slaves—yes, students, America had white slaves. Of course, I know American history books say “white indentured servants.” I just can't understand why historians can't say we had white slaves. That's what they were. They had Indian slaves, but Negro slaves were more plentiful. We had a scarcity of labor. They were also cheapest—didn't have to worry about paying them or having to pay back debts for passage over from Europe and what-not, and they were also the best adapted to this climate.

These are some of the factors that contributed to the enslavement of the Negro. Not only that, but the North had slavery, too — something else that American historians seem to gloss over. But after the War of Independence, we eliminated slave—or, abolished slavery in the North, and the southern system maintained it for its plantation production of cotton, tobacco, rice, and et cetera.

It was for economic reasons that we had slavery. Now, I know that it was given all sorts of moral justifications, like the fact that “Us good old southern plantation Christians, we're going to go up there and rescue those black heathens.” That's a bunch of bull. What they really wanted was to put money in the pocket of the labor—of their charity, and that was why we had slavery. Well, the same thing exists today. Uh, Negro labor is very cheap, the lowest paid and the least skilled. Negroes do the heaviest and the dirtiest jobs in America. We sort of belong to the three H Club — the hot, the hard, and the heavy. And that's pretty much what the status of Negro employment is. Automation, of course, has accentuated this problem. Twice as many Negroes unemployed as whites.

In places like Detroit six months ago, 44% of the Negro population was unemployed, and it is so deep in the economy of this country that we even think in terms of Negro and white jobs. How many Negroes would ever think of going to apply for a job that says “Help Wanted—Executive”? Or, “Management Training”, or “foreman—construction,” something like this? But if we see jobs for laborers and operatives in service industries, and domestics, which we acknowledge as Negro jobs, why, we think we stand a better chance. An economic problem.

Now, there are political ramifications of it, too. In order to enforce this, you've got to have some political justification: segregation laws, et cetera. We don't have political power in this country. We don't even have political representation.

We've got five Uncle Toms in Congress who say they speak for us, but I guarantee you, if you go into any ghetto in America, you couldn't get a majority vote for any one of them: Adam Clayton Powell from Harlem, Dawson from Chicago Daves from Michigan — it's just not true that they speak for us. They are not the voice of black America, in case you are under that illusion.

Now, this problem of the economy is something that the Muslims have taken up, by saying, well, we've got to have a separate state with a separate economy because it's economic exploitation that's keeping us down. They say that we've got to have racial separation because black and white just can't get along in this country. Well, we think that their emphasis on race rather than economic aspects is emphasis misplaced. We feel that if this country is not going to give self-determination to nations such as Cuba outside of the U.S. it's certainly not going to grant this right inside of the U.S.

Furthermore, I think it's an

illusion to feel that this country is ever going to make payments for unpaid slave labor. Christ, we have a hard enough time getting paid for the stuff we do. So I think that they're under an illusion here. But I think the Muslims do make one contribution. They point out to white America, and I think the term is very apt, that something must be done, and that the Negroes are going to do it. I was explaining to some students today that it's true, the Negroes are brain-washed, many of them; but whites, I think are more brainwashed.

We have no illusions about unemployment, for instance, or employment. We know that automation is going to eliminate jobs because we are the last hired and first fired, and we could tell you all you want to know about automation, what it does to American workers. We have no illusions about the trade unions. We know that this conservative leadership of the labor movement is not really fighting for us in the economic arena. White workers sort of have invisible chains on this question. We have no illusions as Negroes about the authority of the state, whether it's the state government or the federal government.

America, white America, believes that the state is the all-inclusive agency of the American institutions, with one exception: It doesn't include black institutions. We happen to be a part of America—one tenth; so we don't have that illusion either. We have no illusions about state power. We know that cops are not the protectors of women, children and orphans, so we have no illusions on this. So the question is, who's more brain-washed, white America or black America? I think the answer's rather obvious.

Now, at another level, the question of achievement. Whatever is really American as far as culture

is concerned, is also Negro. America has no songs of its own; it has maybe international songs—Polish, Irish people, and what-not, that have been fused into the American Melting Pot, but the indigenous American songs, the Negro spirituals, the folk tales, and what-not—this comes from us not from white America.

Classical music, the closest thing America has to its own form of classical music is jazz, which it doesn't even acknowledge as being a bona fide music many places. So, where's the culture of white America? It has none, for the most part. And these are the things that I think have to be pointed out. I think that our achievements as Negroes and contributions to America should be acknowledged. This is what we want when we talk about assimilation.

We talk about integration. I—I don't care about integration, as five Negro families moving into an all-white neighborhood, or nine kids in Little Rock caught integrating a school. That's not integration. It doesn't mean anything. What we are talking about is integration as it produces a process of assimilation, of mutual assimilation between the races. Now you should understand that integration is not the objective goal.

This, I think too many Americans have this illusion, well, what we're fighting for is integration. If integration were the goal, then we would have to say that token integration is progressive instead of an obstacle to real progress. The objective goal is human freedom, and we have chosen the strategy of integration to achieve this freedom. But many Americans, black Americans, now are feeling that this strategy is no good, and they want to try another one, called separation.

Now another confusion that arises here is that people say, "Separation! Why, that's the same thing as segregation. I won't have any part of it." It's not the

same thing. Segregation is a system imposed upon a minority people by oppressors. Separation is a voluntary association of minority people. I think this difference between the oppressed and the oppressor has to be made if you are going to talk seriously about what is separation and what is segregation. These are some of the things that the Black Muslims are confused on.

Now, I want to talk about why they are attacked. You see, attacks don't just occur to the YSA; they occur to the Muslim movement as well. People say they are Black Supremacists. Now, how absurd can you get? I mean, yeah, I've heard some brain-washing propaganda in this country, but this really takes the cake. How is a minority people who are so oppressed going to even talk in terms of black supremacy? What is the government, and especially guys who are in charge of the Senate Internal Security Committee, such as the noted Honorable Senator Giesler from Mississippi . . . uh, what does he mean when he says the Muslims should be investigated for black supremacy? What he means is that they want to introduce a little racial pride to the Negro people here, and he is opposed to that, you see.

Black supremacy, which he infers is racism in reverse . . . now, all I can say is this. We didn't come to this country . . . You know, we've got an Old Country, too. We didn't come to this country with any ideas of racial oppression, but we have had very good teachers in this country, and it's understandable that we should be charged with this thing of racism in reverse. Completely absurd.

The other charge made against the Muslims is that they are anti-Christian. Well, we didn't have that in the Old Country, either. We knew nothing about Christianity. As Baldwin says, the white missionaries gave the Africans the Bible and took his land. That's how we got Christ-

ianity. Now, regardless of whether there are Christians in the audience or not, I would say that the Muslims have a right of religious freedom. Supposedly one of the founding planks in this country's Constitution is religious freedom.

Now, people say, "Well, I'm disturbed by what they say of creation." The Muslims say, for instance, that the first men on this earth were black; that there were black scientists; that they were highly intelligent people. That they were experimenting one day and lo and behold they produced a monster: A white, blue-eyed devil! (laughter) Well, and that, in trying to get an antidote for this, why, they got the worst monster we've ever seen, white woman. (laughter). Now, what's the difference between this — saying this, — and the fact that women came from the rib of a man. I mean, one fairy tale is as good as the other. (laughter and applause)

So, I think we have to give them the right to have their own ideas and religious beliefs, and that if this is in question, then I think we should question some of our basic democratic tenets, as well.

Why are the Muslims being attacked? Obviously all of these reasons are absurd. The reason is that this country is now experiencing a reorganization of organization in the civil rights work. We are looking for alternatives. Black nationalism has always been one alternative, and it's on the upsurge now. This country is very scared of that; and so, they're under attack.

I think that should be understood: That black nationalism is a part of the black revolt in America, and I think that anyone who is really seriously interested in dissolving the Muslim movement should work with the YSA and the civil rights movement on eliminating racism. What better way to elim-

inate the Black Muslim movement?

Another phenomenon outside of the student movement and black nationalism has been the growth of a new radicalized element, sort of like my own development in response to the colonial revolution. Many Negroes are beginning to say, "Well, look, oppressed people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are getting their freedom now. Why can't we?" That's why we find that this upsurge is taking place in the 1960's, because this is when the upsurge, the revolutionary upsurge, has taken place in other countries. I want to take Cuba as an example, since I know that this is a favorite topic of Bloomington, and I want to indicate how it's had an impact on the Negro community.

By and large, I would say that the Negro community supports the Cuban revolution; and in that, I make this qualification: The overwhelming majority are neutralized; they're indifferent. But the most vocal section is pro-Cuba. This I know disturbs this country. It even goes to such lengths as to frame a Robert Williams of Monroe, North Carolina, because he took two trips to Cuba and began taking tours around the country talking about it.

They indict William Worthy, Afro-American correspondent, for writing about the positive aspects of the Cuban revolution; and I myself was indicted for opposing the U.S.-supported and inspired invasion of Cuba. So they're really out to get us black ones who have something to say about Cuba, and we recognize this. But why do we look to Cuba? Because we say that the Cuban revolution has eliminated race discrimination. Now, that — that one point gets a lot to say in its favor. Now, even this country's mass media which hampers and hollers and stampers about Cuba, undemocratic revolution, admits that there is no race discrimination in Cuba. But!! But.

You know, the New Frontier always has Slesinger to write an academic view of what really happened. What they say is that racism didn't exist in Cuba.

Well, I want to make the qualification that is more accurate. Discrimination didn't exist in Cuba in the same form that it does in the U.S., just as we see that discrimination and segregation are different in the North and in the South. It is different in southern America, and it's different in South America. The form that racial discrimination takes in sections of Latin America is on a strictly economic level and according to income. You see, in this country, some of this aspect is glossed over because we have discrimination in housing, we have discrimination in schools, people's mentalities are so warped that they think that white women are going to marry Negro men, and all this sort of thing.

But, in Latin American countries, lower class Negroes are discriminated against, economically, as far as employment is concerned, and this has an immediate reflection in the educational and living standard of the Negro population. They, too, have the worst jobs, the heaviest and the dirtiest, the least skilled and the lowest paid. They, too, are the largest section of illiterates in Latin America, and they, too, have invested rights in revolutionary struggles which they hope will uproot this sort of thing. That was the situation in Cuba before 1959. Cuba has eliminated race discrimination, has done this by (1) saying to the hotels and restaurants, for instance, "Either desegregate, or close down." Now, gee, wouldn't I like to see that happen in this country.

If I go into a southern restaurant, and I go in the front door, I can get kicked out, and even get kicked in jail. If that happens in

Cuba, the proprietor gets kicked in jail. Now, I think that would make a slight difference in America. Not only that, but the government officials themselves, by their own example, set the pace. They have hired in the top government posts not according to race but according to ability.

The head of the Cuban Army, for instance, is a Negro Cuban. Now, I know that America won't go to that extreme, certainly, and we sure would raise hell in this country on that basis, just as an example, the head of the Cuban Army is a Negro. And they have by their own example educated the population. Fidel was going on TV, for instance, and said that racism divides the revolution, that it tends to divide black and white, it tends to divide the poor from the middle class; and he has pointed out that anyone of Spanish ancestry has Negro blood, if we consider the fact that the Moors occupied Spain for 800 years. Couldn't miss. (laughter)

So this educational process has certainly played down discrimination. Think of what it would be like, for instance, if Kennedy, at the Inaugural Ball, tried to dance with a black woman, and it was televised. I don't mean one of these sort of light-skinned, light brown Negroes; I mean a black woman, one of our women! (laughter) Well, you know he wouldn't get away with that, such a thing. Couldn't do it, you see? That would have been part of an educational process.

Kennedy can't do such a thing. This racist government can't do it. Postmaster General Day after he is rebuffed in the Courts for trying to suspend the Savannah, Georgia, Chairman of the NAACP, issues a statement which is just filled with racism. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, in spite of the protests from all the civil rights movement, still goes ahead

and speaks before a segregated audience. The Secretary of Commerce . . . why, Big Business now has an official representative in the Cabinet of racism, ex-governor of North Carolina, Hodges, whose main answer to the 1954 segregation issue was, "Forget about what the Court says, and let's have voluntary integration," which also has . . . is reinforced by harrassment, intimidation, and terrorism. And, of course, Bobby Kennedy adding his indictments of William Worthy for reporting the positive aspects of Cuba, telling the Freedom Riders to cool off, and things of this sort, and not really using his Department of Justice to bring any justice to the voting procedures of the South, have all contributed, not to setting a good example, but a bad one. So Cuba has something to teach this country on how to eliminate race discrimination.

Now, this has impressed Negroes about the Cuban revolution, and we are very concerned about what this country does to Cuba, like invading it, and so forth. How do you think the Negro people feel, for instance, when it's southern Senators who holler the loudest about an invasion. Now, those of you who read the papers know that that's the situation.

The southern Senators are yelling the loudest about invading Cuba, about blockades, et cetera, and Kennedy has certainly had his share in relation to Cuba, sort of like a . . . we are beginning to adopt sort of a KKK mentality in this country: Kops, Klans, and Kennedy; (light laughter) and I think Cuba is a sticky issue for them when it comes to an alternative.

I think that some of these things have to be discussed. Groups like the YSA have to have the right to put forth its point of view, as well as any other tendency. But it doesn't surprise me when I think about all of the witch hunting,

Red-baiting, and what-not that's occurred in the civil rights movement, that it should also occur against the student movement. I remember the abolitionist days, for instance, when the abolitionists were subversive, when even in especially southern Indiana, southern Illinois, southern Ohio, the Underground Railroad, and its experience with the slavocracy.

But remember, we say that we need a fundamental change in the social, economic, and political institutions of this country; and the status quo says, "Why, you're out of your minds!" A hundred years ago, or a little over a hundred years ago, men like the abolitionists were saying the same thing. We had . . . 11 out of 16 Presidents of this country were slave owners. The whole system: Education, the church, law, the Constitution, everything, justified American slavery. Now, the Constitution justifies the pursuit of happiness, (but it) justifies capitalism, as well.

We don't think that this system is going to last. It's falling. It's collapsing. What alternative does the New Frontier have to unemployment? Nothing, except for Kennedy to get up and say, "It's America's number one problem." The best our Labor Secretary can do is to say, "Well, we must recognize a permanent level of unemployment." Nothing about eliminating unemployment. What can we do about automation?

For those of you who are in business and finance know that automation is an efficient means of production. But can we introduce it under capitalism on a full scale? No. If you eliminate the consumers, working, who is going to consume the products that you're producing? We cannot introduce this efficient mode of production. We've got to make a little money.

That's what corporations are for, so we've got to balance out

this whole idea of automation. We feel that we should introduce wide-scale automation. Why not? I don't know about anything else, and those of you who have disagreed with anything else I have had to say tonight I am sure agree that you don't like to work, so at least we can get some agreement before the meeting is over. Well, I think that we should take this into consideration and introduce full-scale automation.

We shouldn't be afraid of this. What alternative does this country have to the question of war and peace? None. We can't disarm. The one thing that impressed me in going to campuses on the West Coast was that if we were to disarm tomorrow, the West Coast might as well slide into the Pacific Ocean, because that's what the industry is founded on there.

We could not reconvert these war industries in time to prevent a major depression in this country, nor could we eliminate our standing army in peace while revolutionary explosions are taking place. I mean, what would we have done if we didn't have the specialized units and missions to go over and fight in South Viet Nam?

Very nice of us to do that for the Vietnamese people and the South Koreans, and, I am sure, if we had been on the ball, we would have done the same thing for the Kuwaitans. But, how can we eliminate our armed forces when we've got these problems of people wanting political and economic independence? Capitalism has no alternative to this.

We say instead of guaranteeing property rights, how about guaranteeing human rights? Why worry about whether you can make profit when you're considering building houses? Why not build houses because people need houses? Why do we emphasize production to make money? Why not just production for use: What we

need, we produce? That we think is a much better concept and philosophy for this country, and this is what Socialism is. I know that here it's quite a Boogie Man; but this is what we believe, that it's an alternative to the crisis of American capitalism and to American prestige.

Every program that America tries to introduce for the Negro people is certainly not in this line. Urban Renewal programs are actually Negro removal programs; slum redevelopments simply redevelop slums elsewhere. Desegregation of schools is simply another means of gerrymandering one school, turning it from an all-white to an all-Negro school, and certainly the educational opportunities that Negro students have are not the best in this country. We feel that all these things soar the Negro people; they're getting fed up with it, and we're sick and tired of hearing this "Wait" bit. We want freedom now. That's what we're talking about. That's why we're organizing. And we also feel that it's necessary now for us to organize our own organizations, under our own leadership.

White folks have come in and given us their support and their money, for all these years, a hundred years, and we still haven't got any. Yet, we look in a place like Cuba, and we see that in a matter of 30 months or so they eliminate racial discrimination. They didn't wait another hundred years. It took a revolution, revolutionary struggle.

And we're beginning to say, "Well, look, we don't want any more of your gradualism, your tokenism." And I notice something else. All these white liberals come in and say to us, uh, you ought to do this and you ought to do that. Why don't they go to the white community? They need some help, too. They're brain-washed; they're degraded. If we are degraded,

white America is degraded, too. White workers know this.

You get in the South, and the southern white worker says to his boss, "Hey, look, I'd like a dollar fifty an hour. This dollar twenty-five an hour is not enough to live on." The boss says, "Look, man, if you don't like a dollar twenty-five an hour, I'll go bring a niggah in hyere and pay him a dollar an hour!" Well, you see? We're exploited, yes; but we're keeping down your wages, too. Things like that we think are important, if you want an alternative. Support our rights, but don't have white liberals coming and telling us what we have to do anymore, because we've got our . . . we're developing our own leaders now, and that's a major change from what has gone in the past, and a lot of whites are very upset about this.

Well, we've been upset, too; and we think that the best support that can be given now is to understand our needs and our demands, and to participate in support of us, but don't insist on leading us anymore. We appreciate your money, of course, and we hope you give it generously; but don't say, "well, look, here's a hundred bucks, and I want this point in your program."

Why, you can keep it. We've got enough paper, enough meeting rooms to use, that sort of thing, and we feel that we can get along without it. So, I ask you, where do you stand?

We think that Socialism has an alternative on the Negro question, as well as some of these other problems I have outlined. I have indicated to you what I think the role of the southern students has been and what certainly a comparable role of northern students can be. I have cited what I felt was a role that whites could play in the movement and I think that you have to recognize that the struggle is on two levels. One is a day-to-day level to alleviate the conditions of the Ne-

gro, get reforms. A cripple isn't in a good position to fight.

But there's a major struggle, another level, to eliminate the Jim Crow system. Because Jim Crow is so intertwined with American capitalism, we feel that we have to revamp the institutions of American capitalism, that that's the alternative on a major level; and that's the way we have to fight it. We have to organize ourselves, and we have to act. By all means, this includes political action, independent political action.

We are not going to make it through the Democrats, who have their southern wing. We're not going to make it through the Republicans, which are allied with the Dixiecrats in Congress to give a majority we cannot participate

in Congress effectively with the seniority system which guarantees that all committee chairman will be southerners. So what's the alternative? Let's have a new political system.

We can't get it through the economic institutions which are geared toward exploiting us. Of course, the social institutions are all black and white: Negro churches, white churches; Negro schools, white schools; Negro neighborhoods, white neighborhoods; Negro dance, white dance. That's American. So these have to be done away with too. Where do you stand? This country says, "Let us make the world safe for democracy." I say, it's about time we made democracy safe for the world. Thank you.

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Questions And Answers

Q. . . . (question unintelligible)

A. The struggle . . . peasants and agricultural workers and Cuban urban workers, etc. Even though there was racism, this was eliminated during the major struggle. Now, I think that the labor movement in the North is going to recognize that its one ally in the South is the civil rights movement, and one main reason for this is that it's already organized, and it's got a whole cadre of organizers already based in the South, which could be used to organize labor unions.

The white workers are going to be looking for allies, too. A man doesn't mind dying on his feet, but he doesn't always like to live on his knees, either, and I think that that's a contradiction that's going to cause this change. But I think that the initiative that's being taken by the Negro population is going to deepen this contradiction even more.

Q. What is your point of view . . . Do you think that many movements can achieve any (results)?

A. Well, the American population is composed of many sections, which include the labor movement, the student movement, the Negro movement, and the Socialist movement.

The Socialist movement is small, a small part. What I think will happen is that the various sections of the population will begin moving at a different time. That's what is happening. Labor movement isn't moving today. I am sure that everybody here knows that. It's passive, conservative; one of the most backward working classes in the world right now, doesn't even have its own political party. Still thinks it's got

friends of labor in the Democratic party.

But that doesn't mean that when it does begin to move that it's not going to assert itself like it did in the 1930's. With the building of the CIO, we had the building of the strongest, most powerful labor movement in the world, one of the . . . and I think that that phenomenon will occur again. But that section is not even moving now. What sections are moving?

The Negro people and the students are the intelligentsia, nothing else. Nothing else. Socialists are possibly in motion, but their activity corresponds to activity of other sections. For instance, the YSA was organized in 1960, right after the student sit-ins, and was in response to a general upsurge in the student movement. You didn't have any . . . who here belonged to a peace movement before 1960 that was . . . corresponded to the student peace movement today? Who here belonged to any civil rights organization that really called for youth participation before 1960? None. It's a new phenomenon.

Picketing, for instance. Why, this country didn't see very much picketing during the 1950's, during McCarthyism, during the witch hunt, and it's been in the 1960's that this upsurge has come. That is something that Bloomington has a major . . . doesn't have a monopoly on picketing, anyway not right now. (laughter) This is something that is going on all over the country, the student movement that's taking this on. And it's a section that's moving.

Now, these sections are going to come into an alliance sooner or later. What I am saying specifically about the Negro move-

ment is this: We can't fall into the trap that we've fallen into in the past, that is, a couple of us have black and white unity, which is meant that a big white group, such as the labor movement, predominantly white, and/or the radical movement, or the student movement, that we are going to ally our ones and twos with this.

We'd have to unify ourselves first, and then we can have collective bargaining. We can bargain as equals. See, we have fallen for all this stuff about proportional representation and what-not. That's phony; that's as phony as this democracy for Negroes in this country. Why should we simply have proportional representation in a struggle like this? We should have equal representation. I don't mean in terms of numbers, but I mean in our organization in relation to white organizations. Now, I don't know if that relates to your question. I think that probably . . .

Q. Do you think that . . . (question unintelligible)

A. Now, wait a minute. I make no guarantee that . . .

Q. . . . What about the relation between your organization and the . . . organization and the Negro organizations?

A. Oh, well, we all—we say this. We say, our movement, for instance, supports the development of the Negro people toward getting their democratic rights, and we feel that the leadership of the Negro movement has to come out of its own movement and will support it. We feel that in a revolutionary situation, the unity between the Negro movement, and the Socialist movement and the nationalist movement will take place.

In the meantime, we have to see this as independent development. The Negro movement is not the Socialist movement. The Socialist movement is not the Negro movement. But this does not necessarily imply that they're competitors, either.

Q. . . . (question unintelligible) . . . which has managed somehow to have a multi-racial or bi-racial membership . . . (unintelligible).

A. Well, you probably don't have enough Negroes in there to ask. . . . Look at the Freedom March. It was Core (?) that initiated the Freedom Rides in New York. And after the bus burning six miles outside of Anderston and after the mobbings in Montgomery and Birmingham, abandoned the project. It was up to Snic (music) . . . "Stop, where you are, no more, etc." Well, this is . . . shows the difference between the two organizations.

Now, I don't know how much you know about Core, but I know that (laughs) . . . well, you say multi-racial. That's a polite way of saying it's black and white, with a lot of whites in it. It's not a Negro organization, and you know that the people in the ghetto don't look to Core and say, "yes, that's something that represents me and it's doing something," etc., etc.

Q. . . . This is one of the major . . . (question or statement unintelligible)

A. Oh yes, it's very . . . it's very good. Like in the paper, for instance, where it's . . . the Negro . . . New Orleans, where it has also . . . (unintelligible).

Q. Do you see any hope for . . . (unintelligible)

A. Yes; I hope that it changes. (laughter) I think that it has to recognize that it's got to carry actions to the limit. It cannot be intimidated by respectability. You know, respectable men have never made a . . . made your contribution to history. I know that this country likes to say, (ahem) (laughter), "Are you or have you ever been respectable?" (laughter). Sort of a converse. But that's not the major issue here.

We are for fundamental change, and we don't say anything else. We identify ourselves as revolutionary socialists and not as liberals. Now, how much more open

do you want us to be? That's where we stand. And we think respectability has to be of how much respect do you have for the demands of the masses of people, the majority of people.

You cannot have revolutionary change unless you've got the consensus of the majority. All this stuff about minority insurrections is something that you read about in palace revolutions in story-books. We're talking about something serious here, and I hope that especially this town learns something along that line.

Q. What do you think will lead labor away from its present conservatism?

A. New leadership, and I say that because I feel that the leadership that is presently running the labor unions is not democratic, is not responding to the rank and file of the labor movement, and I think that it, too, is too conservative with its sweetheart contracts between employers and employees.

Some willingness to really fight for a higher living standard, a feeling that "well, I can't deal with the situation." Well, you see, you're going to be saddled with that type of leadership until the workers decide they've had enough. You see, if . . . contrast this with the Negro movement as I have just given it. We were saddled by the NAACP which has an alliance, or had an alliance with the labor bureaucracy. But when we began to move, we had the development of the southern movement, we had the development of Negro radicals, we had the development of black nationalism. Why, it no longer had a monopoly.

That's what's going to happen to labor movement, and I feel that it's just a matter of time. An alternative, I think, is in new leadership. They cannot work with the Reuther and Meany's, and what-not.

Q. . . . of the leadership of Jimmy Hoffa?

A. Well, Jimmy Hoffa is under

attack by the government, right? Truck drivers like him, right? . . . and only international movement that supports the civil rights movement. That's what I think of Jimmy Hoffa.

Q. . . . (unintelligible question)

A. Well, let me point out to you something that America obscures about Fidel's history. Fidel ran in a parliamentary election and won. He was not allowed to take office. It was only after he found that the democratic functioning of the country had been so destroyed by Batista that only the alternative of guerrilla warfare could take place. Now the same thing occurred in this country a hundred years ago, with the dissolution of the Union, secession, and what-not.

All attempts were made to preserve the Union, preserve slavery in this country; but the country had a revolution. We feel that in revolutionary changes, we have to be prepared for violence, not from revolutionaries; NOT from revolutionaries, but from the state and from exploiters.

They are the ones who are violent in this situation; not the people who are for change and reform. If you take a strike, for instance, why is it that people on strike become violent? Because they just want to tear down fences, because they want to tear down the plant brick by brick? No, because the boss refuses to make concessions. He doesn't want to give them a higher wage. He wants to disrupt them; he wants to destroy them.

Look at the civil rights movement in the South. Is the force and violence from the people in Snic, or is it coming from the racists, who do not want to give up the status quo? So I think when you talk about are we for force and violence, that's absolutely absurd. We simply say that you have to be prepared for that sort of thing. That's what has been historically true.

I think I should also point out

in this regard where I talk about the Negro people. Many people have felt that when the Negroes take the initiative that they, too, are going to be forceful, violent; and you know white America has just simply bent over backwards to distort this.

You know, all Negroes carry knives; they all fight on Saturday night, all that kind of - junk. And they become so brain-washed with their own stuff that they feel, well, that that's what's going to happen.

But a people that has known oppression for so long, and their oppression has been so harsh, I hardly doubt that we're going to transform the same thing we're fighting against and use it for our own advantage.

Q. . . You said . . . that if a revolution took place right now, . . . and what you are saying of course is that . . . sort of serious . . . (unintelligible) as far as the racists are concerned. Well, you mentioned . . . what you're saying, uh, partial integration, and so forth, would take time. Do you think that the Socialist movement could take place to give the Negro freedom right now, I mean RIGHT now, without force?

A. The Socialist movement doesn't give anything to majority of people. It does not give them the means of force and violence, either. All that the Socialist movement contributes to the people are its ideas, program, its call for change indicating what is the cause of the present status quo and what we think the new society will be like. Now the alternative means of struggle will be decided by the people themselves. Uh, the thing I'm trying to point out to you, you see, is that we do not advocate the forceful overthrow of the government, and I think you understand that, and your attempts to suck the speaker into such a thing, I think should be recognized by the audience here.

I think you also realize what

our position on this is, that we are opposed to violence, we are opposed to bloodshed, and we think that all, ALL measures should be taken to eliminate any bloodshed in revolutionary change.

Q. . . . (unintelligible) . . . does the answer to the Negro question lie in Socialism?

A. Uh, yes.

Q. And then you tell us . . . the Negro question has . . . been solved . . . in Cuba, and then you followed that, logically it would seem to me that you would say, based on the few conducted tours you've had in Cuba, that the Cuban socialists have (got the problem solved.) Perhaps what you are asking for is a dictatorship, which could solve the problem a lot easier, by saying, "Segregate right away." This is a democracy, a democracy moves slowly.

A. Well, I'll agree with you if you are trying to say that revolutions work fast, but I think that you're bringing up an issue which is completely another subject, the dictatorship of Cuba. I'll be glad to discuss it with you. . . .

Q. No, I'm asking you, are you telling me that . . . (unintelligible.) . . . the socialism that you want in this country?

A. No, there is not . . . uh, Socialism doesn't exist from our point of view anywhere in the world. There are many countries that have had a Socialist revolution. We feel that so long as the world economic system is predominantly capitalist, that we cannot expect a Socialist country.

We think that Cuba is not a Socialist country, but a welfare state, and I think I can give you some very clear indications of this. Do you think that Cuba, while it's under economic blockade, has the most efficient allocation of its natural resources, that instead of trading with the United States, the nearest manufacturing country, that it should have to trade all the way on the

other side of the globe with the Soviet Union? That certainly is not Socialism. Do you think that it is an efficient allocation of natural resources that Cuba has to develop armaments so that it can repel an invasion?

That's certainly not Socialism, and I think that these two examples (I could point out many more) indicate, should indicate to you that this is not a Socialist country, but it has had a Socialist revolution.

Q. Do you think the general . . . left politics of all shades, uh, leaving out these liberal shadings that you talked about, uh, considering the kinds of forces that are being generated by the civil rights movement . . . will halt in the labor . . . organizations and so forth, reaching new contract areas . . . Do you think that left politics has a definite future, a kind of thing that it can grasp . . .

A. Well, I think . . . (the fact that) . . . the left movement has given an alternative to quite a number of areas in the world, indicates that it does have an alternative. I think that one of the primary tasks of the left in this country must be to have open discussion of its differences in views and to begin translating the views into actions to see who's correct.

Now, the differences among the radical left . . . or the left are somewhat obscure and remain for all practical purposes among the left and among students. I think that the best way to show who has an alternative of the different leftist tendencies is to have an open discussion of them.

As far as America is concerned, I think that American Socialism is going to have its own independent development, just like every other revolution. The Socialist revolution in Cuba, was quite unlike the Socialist revolution in the Soviet Union or in China and this country seems to be afraid that its democratic traditions are going to produce a dictatorship. I don't think so. I think that once

the status quo in this country is replaced by a new one of a society of abundance and plenty, no class conflicts, and what-not, that we'll see all the other revolutions that have taken place undergoing some change, too.

Q. I know that the Negro question in America is a problem of the minority against the majority, and that this is a problem that has started to be realized by the majority . . . with the answer being sought somehow.

And it also appears to me now that Socialism on which you are talking is also going to be a question of minority against the majority and I do not know if it has really got any significant minority yet, but if it's a minority question against . . . uh, how do you plan to tackle the problem of Socialism and the Negro question in America as two things related to each other? Do you . . . intend to stop the Negro question and first make the American public know that Socialism is the best way for him and then you get back to the Negro question, or how do you want (to do it) . . .?

A. Look, revolutionary change doesn't occur according to some blue print. It occurs at various times under various conditions. The Negro question in this country is one of the conditions which is propelling this country more in the direction of revolutionary change. Now you say that Socialism means replacing rule by the minority under capitalism by rule by the minority under Socialism. Now, you're obviously referring to the countries in the so-called Soviet bloc, the Soviet form of Socialism.

I want to point out something here. The development of the Soviet Union and its structure is no different basically from the structure and development of the trade union movement in this country.

Just as we feel that the leadership of the trade union movement must be replaced in this country if the workers are going to have real representation, we feel that Khrushchev and Company must be replaced in the Soviet Union, and now. This does not mean on the other hand, that Meany and Reuther are allied with the employers; nor does it mean that Khrushchev and Mac are allied with Kennedy.

We cannot say, for instance, that Walter Reuther and George Meany are not the representatives of American labor movement, no more than we can say that Khrushchev is not the representative of America. I think if you see that analogy as applicable, you'll see what is necessary to have democratic forms introduced into the Soviet Union. We supported, for instance, the Hungarian revolution, because we felt that here was a revolution which was a political revolution. It opposed Soviet occupation.

It wanted to introduce more democratic forms, and during the first stages of the revolution, it developed the so-called Workers' Council, to introduce industrial democracy. But the revolution was smashed. And we feel that it's going to occur again. It has occurred in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and it will occur again, and it will also occur in the Soviet Union.

This process of de-Stalinization, we feel, is a farce. It's an illusion. It's not really going to take place extensively. But it will take place when the ferment which is now being started by the intellectuals, just like in this country, reaches a pitch where it affects the Russian workers. So I don't think you can make the flat statement that Socialism simply means rule of a minority.

Q. You stated that Is based on the capitalist economic system. Isn't it also true that, I think you would probably

agree, that it is also based on (unintelligible).

A. First of all, let me make one . . . make sure everybody understands this. Racism is not a necessary component of capitalism. We look at England, Norway, Sweden, these countries, even England up until recently, until it got a West Indies problem. Racism was not an integral component of capitalism in these countries. It is strictly an American phenomenon, and it is peculiar to America because of the development of slavery which was a carryover of a semi-feudal form.

The plantation system, a very primitive agricultural production, slave labor. Now, at this point, a hundred years after the abolition of slavery, racism has become intertwined with America, with all of the institutions of America.

But, this does not mean that racism is ingrained. Anti-Negro prejudice is not an instinctive human reaction. It's taught. It's taught to people who live in this country. I am sure every sociologist will also tell you that little four or five year old kids playing in the South have no idea of black and white, or racism. This is taught to them. They learn it, from what they see, from what they hear, from what they taste of the American dream.

A revolution can eliminate this by the fact that what is necessary is class unity. You are not going to have Socialism in this country or a revolutionary upsurge until we have faced the race question square, and say, Racism divides the population, divides the majority of the people.

You need that majority consensus if you're going to introduce Socialism at all. So, one of the preconditions for Socialism or for revolutionary upsurge is a consensus among the majority that they want to do something about racism, and I am pointing out that America has no choice at this point about doing something.

The Negro people are demanding their rights.

Now, how are they going to be answered? How are they going to be answered?. They have rejected concessions; they have rejected tokenism, gradualism, Uncle Tomism; and we think that they might accept Socialism, in their own way, through their own struggle.

They're not going to struggle for Socialism . . . but just in struggling for their elementary democratic rights, they will confront the problem that they need an alternative to the status quo, and that is going to propel them in a revolutionary direction.

Q. What conditions do you see either actually present now in an incipient form or conditions that might get under way in the near future . . . are these going to propel labor unions in the direction of throwing off . . . the bureaucracy?

A. Well, automation, unemployment, wage freeze, cutting down on production, like in steel, fifty percent, and so forth . . . uh, the restriction of foreign markets by other revolution, cutting off, for instance, of Cuba, cutting off the Congo; South Viet Nam will be cut off because we'll lose that as a sphere . . . (of influence)? . . . probably Laos.

These things, I think, impinge upon the contradictions in the labor movement. What is the solution to unemployment? You certainly can't just keep shooting off tax dollars into the air and expect that the war economy is going to support capitalism or American economy; that's foolish. We're already coming into contradictions with that. Another development is the Common Market.

How are we going to compete with the Common Market? Does America have a solution to it? No. It doesn't have a realistic solution to the Common Market. Does it have a solution to the turmoil in Latin America? I haven't heard of a realistic one. Alliance

for progress? Huh. Even Kennedy doesn't believe that. (laughter). So these things impinge upon the labor movement in this country, and these contradictions are what propel American workers to say, "Look, man, you're not doing the job. We gotta get somebody else." And all the goon squads, or as the unions say, educational committees, are not going to save them.

Q. I believe you said that the President, and such people as Powell and the other Negroes that were in the uh, House of Representatives, I guess, do not — are really not considered as the Negro representatives, and yet, why is it that Powell receives such large majorities, and will continue to apparently, no matter what is brought up against him . . . ?

A. Because the Negroes don't have the alternative in the political action. There is still a concession made to the two major parties. Except for the South, this is still a two-party system, Republican and Democrat. Well, what difference does it make if Uncle Tom is a Republican or Uncle Tom is a Democrat? If you don't have another concept, another alternative, then what you have is apathy. And you see, you also have that as a trait among Negroes in Harlem, a very apathetic complacency.

Now, the propaganda or the underlying tone of this is, well, you see, they don't want to vote, anyway. They're not really serious about taking the lead, anyway, and so forth and so on. They're apathetic because they know that these politicians aren't going to do a darn thing for them once they get into office, anyway. That's where the "anyway" comes in.

Q. How . . . are they ready to accept another leadership and/or an alternative. Is there any — is — has — let's say the Negro population is susceptible at this point. Do you have (unintelligible.)

A. Yeah, I'm going to cite to you a few situations. The racists even had to make a concession this time, putting Uncle Tom in the state's legislature, in Atlanta, Georgia, Leroy Johnson. An independent ran in Mississippi, a minister, who lost; or, he lost because . . . couldn't register the voters.

I ran in New York State, and the vote, compared to the last time, we got a fourfold increase in Harlem and a twofold increase in the vote . . . Now this is very small, very small; but it's the trend that is beginning to indicate that an increasing number of people are getting concept of independent political action. I don't think they'll necessarily get it just from us, but I think that we will be able to translate situations which they understand, and which will propel them in the direction of independent politics.

Q. It seems to me that they have different meaning for the word "revolt". Ah, your . . . meaning is that your party don't believe in violence. Uh, the word "revolt" in . . . is to change, to change by force or by any means, I don't . . . actually, I don't . . .

A. Uh, what do you mean, we don't believe in violence. You mean are we . . . violence, or . . . (unintelligible) . . . degree or intensity or nature of violence would be, or whether there would even be any.

I can give you the historical precedents of revolutionary change. This country became a capitalist country through the Civil War. This country began to — made a first break with British Imperialism through the War of Independence. All of these produced major changes in the institutions of the American colonies, and the U.S. Constitution guarantees flexibility of the American people to engage in revolutionary change when they see it's fit. Does that answer your question?

Q. . . . (first part unintelligible) . . . It seems to me that the problem of the Negro (difficulty) is how do . . . practical way, . . . Black Muslims . . .

A. You mean, practical . . . Well, I think that every Negro will maintain his Constitutional rights, that if the status quo tries to prevent him from getting his rights and tries to use force and violence, that he will maintain his Constitutional right of self-defense. I think this is what has been done in Angola, in the Congo, in Algeria, and I think that this was also done in Cuba.

Now, if that's what you are referring to, I think that that's probably the situation. But I could not outline to you practical tactics, because they change from day to day. They change according to the objective situation. It may be that the ruling class thinks it's too weak to resist, in which case, that's it. They may think that they are very strong, in which case we run great dangers of much blood being spilt by the majority of people demanding a change. I don't know; I don't know what the objective situation will be like when the revolutionary upsurge occurs.

Q. One more question . . . been talking about wanting freedom now. All right. You say that Socialism is — will give this freedom now.

A. Umhmm.

Q. All right. When will we have Socialism?

A. If I knew when we were going to have Socialism, I could just go out and work and wait for that time. Uh, no one — what? No one knows when we are going to get Socialism. No one knows when we are going to get a change. You might not get Socialism. You might get Fascism instead. You might get a situation where the ruling class decides that the only way to resist is to smash things like the trade union movement like it did in Hitler's Germany, to stifle through, you

know — whatever way it can — any protests from students, to try to channel off the demands of the Negro people. So you might not ever see Socialism.

Besides, one of these nuts in the Pentagon might press the button, and then you won't see anything. (laughter)

So, I can't give you any guarantee. I'm simply presenting what I think is an alternative, and I think you probably listen to some of your professors with more eagerness than you're listening to me. Why? Because I don't think you believe in the necessity for change. You think that you can reform this system. You think that you can make it. But I got news for you. You can't. You cannot reform this system on the race question. It cannot be done. It will not be done.

The southern Senators will kick up their heels if you try to disturb their southern way of life through reform, parliamentary means and so forth. Not only that, but uh — so, some Negroes do make it. And uh — well, it depends on if you want to be one of those, that's all.

Q. You think Socialism might make it and it might not?

A. That's right.

Q. If it doesn't make it, as far as you're concerned the answer . . . (unintelligible).

A. Oh, Soc — oh, it would be much worse than Fascism. I mean, I think you recall the Jews under the Germans, how Hitler's Germans . . . and believe me, they'll have a much easier time identifying you than they did some of the Jews. (laughter).

Q. . . . Socialism going back to the uh, oh—early 1800's . . . but each one of these (Socialists) has left out one important thing, basically, and that's how. You have bandied the question around, quite artfully, I might say, on how. You have told us what. You have told us what our problem is, but haven't told us how. Now, in other words, what

you're trying to do is stir up enthusiasm, which is good; but, unless you can guide this enthusiasm, your movement will either peter out for lack of direction, or you will get a chaotic (fizzle). Now this is a classic, I think, example of perhaps fallacious thinking within Socialism. Now, can you give us definite things that we should strive for—definite goals— besides this, uh, shall we say, eradication of race, uh, —

A. Sure.

Q. Uh, eradication of unemployment . . .

A. Yeah.

Q. Tell us, tell us . . .

A. Let me — let me say something on the race question.

Q. Before you artfully cut me out as you have the gentleman over here, and a few other people, let me sort of finish the question. OK?

A. Sure. Quite. Thank you.

Q. Uh, it seems as though you want to give us something.

Someone. Is this a question, Mister?

Q. Uh, I am trying to uh —

A. That's all right (unintelligible)

Q. Uh, I would think that you could give us a better description. I don't think in the last hour of questions and answers you've given us anything more than you gave us in the first five minutes. Now, why don't you give us something definite, or admit that there must be more work done on this before we move ahead?

A. Well, this is one of the (fact) of logic that you've presented. I have already stated that Socialism doesn't give a blue print, no more than any other social movement does. We do say we have certain immediate demands, and we have certain concepts of struggle, and we have a certain program which we feel must be carried out if we are going to have certain guidelines for change.

You ask me about some things you can do immediately. First of all, you can find out more about what the southern movement is doing. You can invite some of the Snic people up to talk and go and listen to them. You can publicize what is really happening in the south, and I don't mean all this wild propaganda and garbage that you read in the daily press.

I mean, find out about some of the lynchings and the shootings that occur in the south. Find out exactly how oppressed the Negro people are, what their wage levels and etc. are. You don't expect — I am sure, expect me to give you all this in an hour's talk or an hour of discussion, but I think this is something that you can do, begin to do.

I think that financially, you certainly know about all the bails and legal defense and what-not that's necessary in the South. You can help raise money for the southern movement. You can begin to understand why a concept of black nationalism, with all of its deformations, occurs, in this unhealthy, sick society; and by understanding that, I think you become impelled a little more to look for an alternative, not to sit on your can and say, uh, "Well, you haven't given me a blue print. How?"

I'm giving you some concepts that you can use as guidelines. This country on the whole doesn't agree that we need a change, first of all. That's the worst part about it. You don't know how really sick we are. That's the first thing we have to do. Do we think that things are rosy, peaches and cream, that everything's going to work itself out all right, alliance for progress, concessions to the race questions, arm to disarm, uh — let's continue negotiations, uh, well, we don't like the inspection. Is this what you say? Is this situation all right with you? It's not all right with me. Even at this university, you can do something,

and I'll tell you how you can start — what's today? Tues — Monday? Monday? All right, this is Monday, so you must have classes tomorrow. Right? You can go into your classroom tomorrow, and say, "Well, for the first time," (I am sure this doesn't apply to everybody, but some,) "For the first time I am going to think on my own. I'm not going to go strictly by what my textbook says. I am not going to go strictly by what my lecturer says. I am going to think this thing out."

What is counter to this on campus is this thing of in parentis locos — you know, where all American students have to have a home, type of thing. And the only place where you get any independent thought is maybe in graduate school, but that's only because you've been in college so long it finally dawns on you that some of your professors aren't so smart, after all, (applause.) That situation — that situation is something that you can start tomorrow morning.

Now, I know, for instance, now let's face it. If I write a paper on the Cuban revolution and I say, "Cuba has certain aspects, and my paper is going to be about the other side — what has Cuba done positively." I'll give you a hundred dollars for every point over a C+ that you get on that paper, and the charges will be, inadequate documentation, lack of full content, or some wierd, vague thing like this. Why? Because you can't point to it in your lecture notes or in your textbook.

That's what you need if you're going to decide, am I for revolutionary change? You've got to do a little thinking. You talk about alternative, it means something other than what you've got. And, I think if you start right in these hallowed walls, you'll begin doing something. How many Negro faculty members do you have here?

You might ask that question. What's the percentage of Negro students on this campus? You might want to ask that question.

I'm not giving any answers, but I'll be willing to say that if you've got more than 10, or even 5 maybe, you're unlike most American campuses, as far as Negro faculty is concerned. Why is that the case? Why aren't there more Negro professors in this country? Why do the big universities have so few Negro students? I don't say, support my ideas on Socialism. One thing I'd like to get agreement on is that we all agree to do some thinking about this problem when we leave here. Now, if I have provoked anyone in the audience to think that even I may be a Red devil, why that's fine, because then you have to decide what's the alternative to Red devils (laughter) and then you might really be getting somewhere. See, that doesn't hurt, either.

Q. . . . (question unintelligible).

A. I know why you're defending yourself for what I just said. (laughter.)

Q. The previous question has been that you have told us what but not how. I don't believe you have told us what. What I would like is a definition of what you mean by Socialism, uh, what you mean by — uh, what your plans are, will be when Socialism is achieved in the United States. What kind of leadership . . .

A. Well, look, I think this is a rather big question, and I would suggest that on the literature table uh, since you are thinking for yourself, that you do a little

reading, too. Now we have some books back there that I think will **explain more fully than I can do** in a couple minutes, and I think we're going to sort of go into an informal discussion at 10:00 o'clock, and I'd like to get a couple more questions in.

Now, I — I've given you just a beginning of what I think the problem is, what I think the direction of struggle must be. I think that we (background noise) automation, we're for reducing the work week, we are for — and we think all of this can be done.

We are for — we are for introducing a revolution in science and technology which we think is being restrained by this emphasis on material needs, for instance, cars and what-not. We could have a revolution in transportation, if we didn't have archaic production of automobiles, and if we didn't have monopolies. But these are some of the things that I think Socialism would do. We'd have a different form of democracy. It would not simply be based on four-year elections, it would be based on the various institutions and interests of the people, such as your trade unions. Your trade unions would elect representatives straight from the shop to determine what we should produce and how it should be distributed, and since the majority of people are workers, we think that this is the most representative form of government. We think that students should have representation in government, and the Negro people. And this we describe in our — propaganda, if you please.

Q. This is all . . . (are there any) questions . . . ?



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