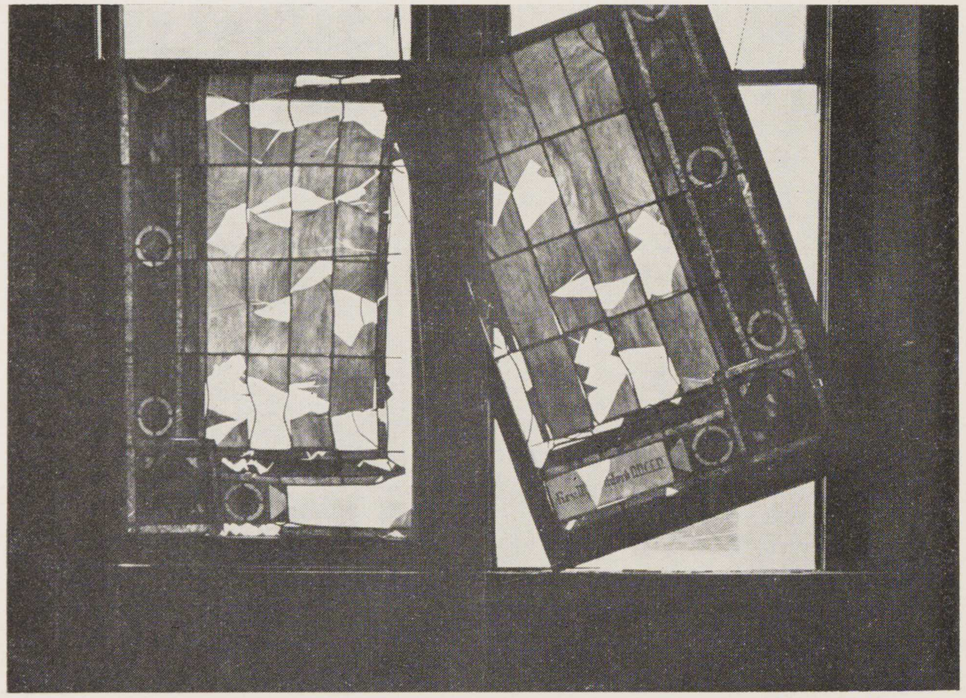
political power in a strong national or federal governmental system; and second, to effect the national economic unification of the country. Of course, at the very beginning these revolutions are designed to break the chains of serfdom and slavery, and to bring about a transformation of the serf or slave into a free and independent worker. Now, when you break the chains of slavery, the former serf or slave must be prepared to live in the new world. Consequently, there should be a free public school system, an integrated public school system. He should also be invested with the right of suffrage. And, as a matter of history, the revolutions of the past have provided some land for serfs and slaves.

But what happened following the Civil War? The Thirteenth Amendment abolishing chattel slavery was enacted in 1865. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 was designed to give Negroes the status of citizenship. The Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 sought to guarantee their right to vote. But promptly these amendments were enacted, a counter revolution set in, and this counter revolution was designed to nullify and negate the various achievements of the Civil War revolution.

In 1875 the great Civil Rights Act—outlawing segregation and discrimination in public accommodations—was passed as a result of the work of Thaddeus Stevens, the great commoner, in the House of Representatives, and Charles Sumner, the great leader in the Senate. But in 1883 this civil rights law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. And in 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the Supreme Court promulgated the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine, which established the legal foundation of segregation in America.



Four children died for freedom in this Birmingham church.

HERE, then, you see the rising tide of a counter-revolution breaking down the democratic achievements of a Civil War revolution, a revolution which had only begun.

As Negroes began to participate in governmental activities the nation was plunged into the historic election of 1876 between Hayes and Tilden. The result of this election was the great betrayal of the freedmen. The electoral votes of four states were in dispute. But beneath this dispute were contending political and economic forces. The Republican Party, which represented very largely the extension of the national revolution begun in 1776, sought control of the government in order to effect a strong national political organization in the interest of carrying forward the forces of American capitalism. To achieve their goal, it was essential that their candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, be elected.

The Republicans struck a deal with the Tilden forces. The terms were that the disputed electoral votes would go to Hayes in return for his promise to remove the last remaining federal troops from the South and to support federal economic aid for Southern "improvements." Hayes was elected, and when he withdrew the federal troops from the South, the freedmen were left to the mercy of their former masters. In other words, the Reconstruction Democracy came to an end. It died in 1877 as the result of a deal made between the Republican party and a rising, new industrial regime in the South.

But the road to 1877 had been paved in advance. By the early 70s, the Ku Klux Klan had arisen and began to drive the Negroes from the ballot boxes with shot guns. Why? For the purpose of enabling the former slaveowners to re-establish control over the state machinery throughout the South. President Grant and his successors failed to quell the violence of the Klan and other terrorist groups. Thus, the betrayal of 1877 only formalized the federal government's growing indifference to the Negro and its eventual abandonment of him to the Southern oligarchy. Instead of being transformed into genuinely free workers, the ex-slaves became sharecroppers, tenant farmers. The former slaves were landless, voteless, moneyless, and friendless. They had nothing, and con-