LABOR had its revolution, too, beginning around the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Nor did the labor revolution move along a path of particular niceties. Not at all. You had the Haymarket riot in 1886. You had the Homestead strike in 1892. Then you had the great railroad strike in 1877; the whole nation was in the grip of that strike. Then you had the Ludlow Massacre in 1913 and 1914. Why did these labor struggles take place? Because labor, seeking to win dignity and first class citizenship, demanded the right of self-organization, the right to designate their leaders without intimidation, coercion, or interference.

Thus the path of labor has been moistened with blood and tears. How can you expect a revolution of any other group under the heel of oppression and exploitation to be different?

Labor was not the only segment of American society to revolt. There was an Agrarian Revolt between 1870 and 1896. William Jennings Bryan was the standard bearer of the Democratic Party in 1896, but he was supported by the Populists, and the Populists were opposing the railroad rebates, high interest on loans, and so forth. As a matter of fact, the country was so split as a result of the contest between the Eastern bankers and the farmers of the West and South that the nation was shaken to its very foundation. This revolution of the small farmers made the first inroads in this country into the "free enterprise" system. They demanded government intervention to protect Americans from the abuses of freewheeling Eastern capitalists.

And so, our nation is no stranger to revolutions. Now you have the Negro stepping upon the stage of history to change his position. He believes confidently that this position will be changed, and he knows that he must take the leadership in changing this position. He must be willing to suffer. He must be willing temporarily to give up his freedom in a jail cell. He must be willing to give up his life in order that his children might live as a free men. This is the spirit of the civil rights revolution.

I want to express my appreciation for the observations made by Brother Reuther concerning the civil rights organizations and also for the comment made by Brother Meany that Communists did not inspire these demonstrations. Suffering and anguish, agony of heart and soul—these were at the bottom of the demonstrations. If there had never been a Khrushchev, if there had never been a Bolshevik revolution, there would still have been an uprising of black people in America against insult and humiliation, against discrimination and exploitation. These

The view from a Negro ghetto window.

great masses of black people are rising because they want to be free. They want to be free men in a free country. They will never rest until they are fully free.

I ALSO want to take this opportunity to say a word on behalf of the Committee of Ten that directed the great March on Washington movement, of which your distinguished president Walter Reuther was a member. Here was an organization of Negro leaders, Jewish leaders, Protestant leaders, and Catholic leaders—all concerned with mapping out and carrying forward a great program set out meticulously and analytically in the interest of achieving a great objective. And the labor movement played a tremendous role. Our good friend Jack Conway was a tower of strength in that committee. The UAW and ILGWU picked up the tab for the elaborate sound equipment needed for the great March.

And so, although labor did not endorse the March, labor certainly supported the March. For this we are grateful. The March on Washington was a great moral crusade in the interest of human dignity, not for black men alone but for all men—because the great masses of white