

interesting thing for me to observe, because as I think back to what I was saying awhile ago about de Tocqueville, and reflect that we are in effect developing in America a new civic religion, there again it makes de Tocqueville's insight a remarkable one. If he was right in saying that the continuance of our democracy would depend upon building a civic religion, I think we are achieving it.

Just a few words now on something I have kept for the end, because it is so important. It has to do with civil rights movement and the place of the Negro in American life. There has been continued discrimination toward the Negro. The civil rights struggle is an effort to resolve that discrimination and to end it. I want to suggest a point of view toward the civil rights struggle which is not usually given in the press. I suggest that the violence of the civil rights struggle--violence which perhaps could not have been avoided, for the struggle is a crucial one--is due only partly to the fact that the Negroes live in poverty and the slums. This is the usual liberal interpretation. Presumably if we were to do away with poverty and the slums we would be able to resolve the civil rights struggle. I do not believe it. I think we have to do away with poverty and the slums for many human reasons, both for poor Negroes and poor whites. But the problem is a much more radical one. The real struggle arises from the fact that the Negroes have begun for the first time in our history to win their rights. It arises as it were from the improvement in conditions. As the conditions improve there are rising expectations that the gap between where they are now and where they must eventually go--that gap will have to be bridged. In other words, as long as I am kept in subjection I may in part and for a time habituate myself to it. But once I begin getting my partial rights I can no longer tolerate not having the rest of them.

This is where we are in America today. The result is that the slow improvement in the conditions of Negroes, however important, is not going to end the struggle. Let us face it: the struggle will continue until Negro Americans are on a complete equality, legal and de facto, with white Americans. I am speaking not of his private personal relations but of his public position. I cannot imagine why it should be any different from that of the whites in any part of the country.

To me the outlook of a young Negro American today, whether in the South or in the North, is very bleak. True, he has been getting some of the things he has wanted; he has a better job than