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Nathan Hare

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Nathan Hare
"Address to Faculty and Students on the Black American"
February 12, 1970
Portland State University

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HOST: [...] is proud to present an outstanding Black intellectual of our time, Dr. Nathan Hare, who is also publisher of the monthly magazine *The Black Scholar*. Dr. Hare.

[applause]

DR. NATHAN HARE: Thank you. I want to give greetings to the Black students, such as they are, at Portland State University, and other members of the studentry and faculty of Portland State. The members of the FBI, the CIA, and... [laughter] the KKK. The cards have been stacked up against me. I just got off the plane from Dallas Texas at 3:30 this morning, waited for my bags until 4:30; they never came; I went home and got a couple of hours of sleep and came back with my mail, including a letter from a probation officer saying that I wasn't obeying the terms of my probation, so... I just got here. I had my notes in the bag, so I just have to recall what it was I was going to say to you.

I think that it's a good step you made in having a Black cultural week here at this very white university. I think, I hope that next year you will not just have a Black week, a Black culture week, but you have a whole Black year, and be Black every day of the year. [applause] Thank you. Because culture is very important, although we need to take care as to what kind of culture we are going to promote, the same as we have to take care about what kind of economics we will have. Some people reject culture or any use of it as an instrument for revolutionary change, but I think they ought to realize that it's just like rejecting, say, socialism, because some people have a reactionary economics. So if you reject culture just because some people use it in a reactionary way, then you are a victim of that same logic.

And of course, the institutions of higher learning are the most significant vehicles for transmitting culture, values; this is what education is all about, and... [adjusting microphone; some laughter in background] it's... it's white folks' technology here. So I believe that we need a new educational system;

we need new values. Not only have the white educators mis-educated us, but they've mis-educated themselves so that society as a whole needs a new education, instead of the education which was the legacy of the leisure class mentality, in the days when only the rich could afford to go to school and schools were private. They had this leisure class [...] and created an educational system where it was prestigious to be free from non-productive labor, I mean to be engaged in non-productive labor, to be free from remunerative labor, labor that any benefit financially about it. This seeped into their education so that you could get an "A" in all your major courses and then fail to graduate because you failed to pass a French test, even though most of you will never see Paris and those who go there wouldn't be able to communicate on the basis of what they have learned in French.

I used to walk in at Howard University and so demonstrate this by putting on the board some concept with a foreign name—German is a good one for that—and I'd say the *Zeitschoff* syndrome, I don't know whether that's German because I never took it. But I'd put it on the board and they'd write it down, and I would say that *Zeitschoff* is a concept which sociologists use to describe a condition of society which is characterized by alienation, lawlessness, and conflict. The way in which you measure the degree to which a society has been victimized by the *Zeitschoff* is by computing an index of facial response; you compute the index of facial response by observing a number of people crossing a street corner on a given day, tallying the number of smiles which they exhibit as they encounter one another, divide the number of smiles by the number of people encountering one another, multiply by 100, and divide by the square root of two. [laughter] They're writing all that down, and I stepped back to make sure that they could see, because I had made it all up. They weren't really getting educated just because they were memorizing the gobbledygook of their professors and parroting it back on a test, slobbering to get home to their roommates and have them call it out, all this heavy stuff, the *Zeitschoff* syndrome, [...] and all that sort of thing.

So I think that we have to begin to question these things and to search for a new kind of educational system, one which is relevant to the lives and experiences of the people who are being taught. We need an entire new culture, one which is not oppressive and ultra-competitive, and not so impersonal and cold as it is becoming now. We need a new family system, for example. I was a victim of that at Howard University, which is a predominantly Negro college in Washington, D.C., when I was standing talking one day in urban sociology about the impact of urbanization on social norms and got around to sex, the students appeared to be a bit startled, so I reassured them by telling them how the year before, I [...] to start an association of virgins on the campus, and one girl got sick and went home, the other one flunked out, and the third one was [...] all by herself. I see you don't have one in the classroom here but at Howard they have a... the clocks don't match. One says 10:20, one 2:40, one 3:10. And I said the reason why the clocks don't match at Howard is because every time a virgin passes a clock at Howard the clock stands still. [laughter] In about thirty minutes, the chairman of my department was calling me in excitedly to say that the dean had said that a student had said that I had said that I was the only virgin on Howard's campus. [laughter] That was an honor I wore with great pride until the day I left.

We need a new family system; we have an antiquated system inherited from the primitive Christians and Jews. Which, some of my best friends are Christians and I'll get into that later, but I don't like the

kind of system they have. Because no matter how much we become economically elevated or politically empowered, we will not be equal in terms of prestige, which is one element of power, until... so long as we have to adhere to the monogamous system, which assumes a one-to-one sex ratio, or one man to every woman is available. Whereas a product of the Moynihan report of the census figures: for every one hundred non-white males in New York City, for example, between the ages of 25 and 40, there are 33 extra females. This means that somebody will have to be working overtime or somebody will have to live a celibate life. Meanwhile, they're killing and sending the most vibrant young Black males to Vietnam, to kill and die in a foreign land in a war they never made, which means that five or ten years from now, the problem will be even greater; there'll be a greater shortage of Black males and people such as myself will help out all we can, but we're not getting any younger... [laughter] to be able to live up to that demand.

So, we need a new family system. I was in a classroom about a year ago where an anthropologist had divided the African tribes into the "primitive" and the "Westernized." And she had the institutions, [...] institutions, divided also along those lines. For the family system she had, in tracing one's ancestry, the matrilineal system for the primitives, where they trace their ancestry through the mother, while the Westernized tribes had the patrilineal system where they trace the ancestry through the father. And I pointed out to the students there that it's more accurate to trace one's ancestry through the mother, because you have to take the mother's word for it, and sometimes she doesn't know herself. In my community, a young fellow named [...] William B. Jackson came home from school one day and he was very happy because he was going to marry a girl named [...], and his father said, "Son, you can't marry [...]. I didn't tell you before. That's my daughter; she's your sister. Don't tell your mama, now." And he moped around and eventually his mother made him break down and tell her what was wrong. And then she said, "That's OK, son, you can marry [...]. Don't tell your daddy, but he ain't your father." [laughter]

We have to search for new values, new norms, new standards, new institutions, of an entire new culture, a new society. We need a new economics. We have a system... we live in a system now where less than 1% of the people own more than 74% of the corporate wealth, and the 98% of us ultimately are employees of the 2%. Yet, they say that that is not a problem of inadequate distribution of wealth, but a problem of overpopulation, the population explosion. Although the earth's surface consists of about 1/3 land and only about a tenth of that is occupied by about 2/3 of the people, which means that we have not learned to live in the desert; we have not learned to built gigantic raft villages at sea; we have many dozens of edible fish that we have not started using. Yet we are shooting the moon and trying to get there, although I'm told that it's 260 degrees below zero at night and 260 degrees above zero in the daytime, which means when you get out of your uniform, your suit, your astronaut suit, after the countdown and all, you freeze to death in the night hours and thaw out in the daytime. This is the kind of thing which we do. When you go to enroll at the University of the Moon, we'll have to have round-trip transportation back here to see your relatives, and I watched the [...] saying not long ago that what the whites are trying to do is to have them move to the suburbs and [...] Blacks followed them there, they are now trying to sneak off to the moon and leave us here. But certainly it seems appalling to me when I come across a book, as I did recently, called *Standing Room Only*, which means that if we keep going and increasing the population we will come to the point where there is only standing room.

It seems to me that at that point the situation will solve itself, because you couldn't very well do the things necessary to increase the population standing bumper-to-bumper with the next fellow. But I want to get away from these matters, because it's not my area of expertise.

We need a new economics, one which is not geared predominantly to the profit motive, so that we will not have the situation that we have now in major cities, where pollution is filling the air and they are predicting that we will need masks in 20 years to walk around on the street. We need a new economics because now, with the profit motive being supreme, we have beaches in Santa Barbara burning with oil where children used to play, and the children even of the well-to-do are both figuratively and literally going to pot. I see we've lost one white creature, and as soon as we get two, as soon as we get through the rest of them we can get down to business here. But we need a new kind of economics, which will provide new skills and new values to guide the use and possession of those skills. We need a new politics which will... not lead us by this myth of majority rule, which we now labor under, where they claim that the majority rules although the whites comprise the "majority" in the world at large and it doesn't matter how many we number among them, they oppress us no less. In fact, it might be that they oppress us all the more the more numerous we are. In Mississippi as against Maine and Montana, or in South Africa as against Sweden.

So I don't think that we need to bother with this "majority" business. They tell us that we cannot fight back even when attacked because we are too few in number, and yet the same people tell us that we can vote our way to freedom. Whereas I may be able to kill a [...], I can choke one, set another's [...] on a third, and drop a hand grenade in the midst of the and get twenty at one time, but I can't vote but once, and that's, as Dick Gregory would say, is between the lesser of two evils. So we need to not permit them to do this numbers game. In Rhodesia, the Blacks outnumber the whites 23 to 1. When Ian Smith took over, each of the 23 Blacks could have gotten around each white man, each taken a finger apiece, ten a toe apiece, and three any appendage that pleased him, and pulled each white man apart, but instead they groveled in the dark and tucked their tails when the white men passed by, because of mental attitude and conditioning which they had undergone and not managed to escape from.

We could also use our women. They have the cultural belief that women should not be warriors. Although we now have technology where push a button, it is not the days when you had to take a sword and go man-to-man. I believe that we can double our numbers, more than double them, by using our women as warriors, because if they can cut and shoot up us Negro men, they can cut and shoot up the white man. So we have to, again, to seek new means for liberation and use whatever resources we have.

So this is the problem which we face, the problem of the seizure of power. Some share of the power in this society think that we don't understand well enough this whole concept of power, which I take it to be the key concept in human encounter. We need to study power and the nature of its behavior and the way in which it is obtained. I was just listening on the radio on the way down here, where some students at some college in Texas called Bishop... Dallas Texas, called Bishop College had just sat in in an administration building. I thought that we had gone through that, but they are just now getting around to sitting in in an administration building, which means that they imprison themselves and eventually

they'll be arrested en masse, as was the case, 200 were arrested, because you have to come out of it eventually and they can just close the doors and get all of you at one sweep. This technique can be used to dramatize one's discontent if no other means are available, but otherwise it is a misappropriation of one's energy, because it means that you are seizing a symbol of power instead of an instrument of power. Many persons, many students seize the dean or the president and hold him hostage, a man who doesn't have self-determination; he has autonomy, and we hold him there hostage while he is not able to go to the trustees or the regents or the governor's office to get the wherewithal to grant the demands even if he wanted to do that. So we have to begin to center these things. We have to distinguish, for example, between power and authority.

At San Francisco State College, where I was chairman in exile last semester until I decided I was beating a dead horse and decided I could move to a broader level and hit them better from the outside through various projects which I'm getting together now, the higher power who runs all over the country sounding off was not able even to have the Black Studies faculty to assemble a meeting. He could not even hold a meeting all semester, let alone run the department, even though he has the authority to do so. He cannot find the department... he would not even meet with them because he didn't want me to meet whom they had chosen as chairman with the group. So he had the authority but not the power to run the department.

So this power, seizure of power, is paired up very intimately with the whole concept of culture. The position of obedience involves, ultimately, some choice of values. Patrick Henry—we are taught to honor him in school from the ground up because he said "Give me liberty or give me death"—whereas if a Negro says "Give me liberty or give me death" they try to give him death. It's a matter of values. If you value life above all else, above liberty, then it's a matter of your own choice. Nobody can make you do anything but die [...] you bought into a particular space, opposition for a given period of time. I never will forget how this fact came home to me during my brief stay in the Army when I was observing a young soldier who had gotten out of goose-step during a drill. His company commander called him over to chastize him before the troops, telling him to run over to the corner on the double, come back over here double-time; he ran back and forth obeying the company commander. Whereas I thought that what he should have done was walk up and knock the company commander down because he was getting himself into a choice of values. The same as strong men such as [...] and Nathan Hare who bow down to weak men such as Richard Nixon and whatever his other names are instead of exercising their own freedom of choice. Rousseau, as some of you may have come across, said that "Might makes right," but not for long, because eventually it is necessary to transfer that might into right or somebody will begin to question the right of that might. So this young gentleman I was discussing would have done better to have questioned the right of the might. Instead of obeying, he should have walked up and knocked the company commander down, in which case he would have been placed in the stockade and he would be alive today. But instead he obeyed, and that night when the troop went out on night [...] the truck in which he was riding overturned and smashed his helmet, and they never did quite find out what happened to his head. So I saw very clearly that we cannot have the rule without the rulers, we cannot have the oppressors without those who, for whatever reason, are willing to be oppressed, and that we

have to begin to question these things and do something about it beyond merely rolling our eyes. If our race, in fact if the whole country, is going to be free.

I guess I'll stop here, but I think before I do that I want to show, since this is Black cultural week, the plurality of Black culture. Although we have been denied access to the full development of our culture in the same way that we have been denied full access to economic and political development. This is why Fanon was saying that we can never realize our full culture until we have become liberated politically and economically. Some people who seize the instruments of culture for their liberation fail to stress as well, to take part as well in the political and military aspects of liberation, which we must not forget. Although we have not—we have been excluded from the cultural arena the same as in the political and economic arenas and educational arena, which is a part of culture, we still have more finesse and a little more [...] of what we have been allowed into. Take basketball, even such a thing so simple as basketball, where before the Blacks were allowed to play professional basketball, the white walks out with two hands and they did free throws like this... Maybe you all remember that. But when we got into it, we only shot with one hand; now they all shoot with one hand. We put a little more into it. They had to make a new rule for [...] and those guys. Same thing for boxing. You remember those pictures where those white guys [...], for good reason, they wouldn't let us fight, and they did it like that. But we got into it and we put a little finesse into it. [laughter] Like Sugar Ray and [...]. [laughter and applause]

I started to mention dancing, but nothing's so pathetic as a white person trying to dance. [laughter] Even the way in which we ask a girl to dance is different, with a little more... with more finesse. A white boy says, "Shall we dance?" "May I have this dance?" At best, "Let's dance." But we might see over there, we let them know we are checking out [...], let them know that we are checking them out. Then we get over there, "Hey, babe." [laughter] "Let's get this thing going, you know." [laughter] Walking... a white boy walks like this. [laughter] But we have more finesse. [laughter and applause] White boy comes up, sees you outside in the hall and says, "How do you do?" That "do" came out because I'm from down in the South and down there they say "Howdy do?" But they say "How do you do?" and I wonder, "How do you do what?" [laughter] We don't do it like that. We do it like this. [slapping noises; laughter and applause]

HOST: We'll now have a question and answer period if anybody in the audience has any questions for Dr. Hare.

[voices in background]

HOST: Excuse me. We have some microphones. If you'd speak into one of the microphones on the side so we can hear you.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Dr. Hare, from a sociological standpoint, what factors do you contribute to the Black man as not being equal to the white?

HARE: Well. That's quite a big question. It almost encompasses everything. From a sociological standpoint, [...] we have to go back through the history of the Black man's condition, our first encounter of Europeans or whites and Africans or Blacks, where white men who had few resources in his own land—Belgium, for example, cannot support itself without host countries such as the Congo, where they've got Lumumba. So they had to seek other means to get more out of the land; they had to get a greater medium of exchange of goods that they didn't have and services that they didn't have, so that when they finally found this impossible, inadequate, they built ships to go across the ocean even though they thought that you'd drop off into a pit of demons when they got on the other side. They were searching so much for new resources that when they came into contact with other peoples, they had two basic weapons which they used. One was ideological and the other was technological. So that they fought first with ideology in order to make you susceptible to their exploitation and if that didn't work out they used their technology on you. In Hawai'i for example they tried to convert the pagan chief to Christianity and failed, and then they gave a commoner some guns to overthrow the pagan chief. So this is what they did. They took up the sword and launched the holy Crusades while they told us to turn the other cheek, and while we were turning the other cheek they were kicking us on our other two cheeks. [laughter] So they used these means to keep us down. I'm not... I guess I don't have anything against Christians because as I said some of my best friends are Christians, and I got baptized early, but I did it at the wrong time during the so-called Lord's Supper which is a European cannibalistic white Christian ceremony where the Christians... the Lord doesn't eat anything at his supper but the Christians actually proceed to eat the Lord vicariously through his blood—drinking some grape juice; if you've got a hip preacher you can have some wine—he'll have the bread, some old bread crumbs made up to symbolize the Lord's body. I joined at that ceremony because [...] was the preacher. Then he took me out to the creek and a couple of deacons grabbed me, on each side, and escorted me out to the center there where the preacher was standing, and he grabbed my nose and he said, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son," and some kind of a ghost, and dunked me under. I almost drowned, but I still am not bitter about that. As a matter of fact, some of my best friends [...] they are Catholic, but I read recently where they have a million nuns in the world, and if they're going to take that many women out of circulation it needs to be questioned. [laughter]

I'm not bitter about that; I'm not bitter about anything. In fact, I... [...] could not be better in this society, and I went through all of their training. It is training, too, instead of education. So I adjusted to a maladjusted society, which is self-defined by the Kerner Report as racist, as maladjusted. I eventually came to realize that I myself was maladjusted, if I'm adjusted to a maladjusted society, and if we do not reject that society which rejects you then in a roundabout way you are rejecting yourself. Anna Freud wrote a book called *The Ego and its Mechanisms of Defense* and pointed out that it's normal to be bitter in a bitter situation. Even racist Rudyard Kipling, the poet, said that if you could keep calm while all around you is chaos, maybe you don't fully understand the situation. If somebody sticks a pin in you, in some portion of your anatomy, and you don't yell out, maybe there is something wrong with you, or that portion of your anatomy. If somebody is pointing a gun at you, having shot your mother at the count of five, having shot your brother at the count of five, and your sister at the count of five, and gets to you and gets to three and a half and you don't get emotional, then you're being unreasonable. [laughter] So, contrary to what psychologists say, emotion and reason can go together. In fact, they can

stimulate one another. I'm not bitter about anything, but I think that... you see that it's taken a very circuitous route and I've deviated all around here because it's such a long story how the Black person got to be unequal, and I could go on here all day on various aspects of that. You could go into the whole sociology of the "house nigger" and the "field nigger"; there's American racism [...] that [...] wrote about, and you could go into economics; you could argue the whole question which is being debated by historians. Although I do not claim to be a historian, but there's a debate as to whether slavery was merely a stage in the development of capitalism on the one hand, whether it was merely a lapse in the morals of the Christian democratic fathers; and we could go on into all that, [...]. [...] continues the study of history. He pointed out that... even before he died, he wrote a letter saying that people did not metamorphose... his historical analysis of the development of capitalism in Europe to a historical, philosophical system that all peoples would be [...], and he realized the mistakes about some of the non-white world such as India. And Mao and Castro in our own times have shown that you can skip some stages in his process.

So I think that the major problem facing the Blacks in the years ahead, who now seem to be in the [...] to remove inequality, they now seem to be in a transitional space between an early stage of revolution and the next. They don't seem to be able to make the leap into the next stage, the stage of combat, as [...] would say, because they are victims of conditions which typically occur in revolutionary endeavors where, when the people rise up and the oppressors come down, then they feel too weak to fight the oppressors and they turn upon themselves and fight among themselves and engage in vanguardism and engage in other kinds of symbolic quests for freedom, using, in our case, [...] to hide behind in some cases, and African costume and whatnot to symbolize [...] which we do not have. And I'm not saying that... I don't have anything against African costumes; I think that they should be used, we should have an identity worldwide. As a matter of fact I have one in my bag but I didn't have time to put it on. I thought that it's kind of cool up here anyway and the African brothers and sisters wouldn't mind me looking a little European today.

This is what we seem to be unable to come out [of], and we need now most of all a unification of the forces within our struggle, the Panthers, the Muslims, the Republic of New Afrika, and whatever you have, new groups which will come into being in the future. Back in the early sixties, they were toying with the idea of putting the Black Muslims on the subversive list, and I was speaking to the national capital area civil liberties union about that and I told them that one of these days they would wish they had the Muslims back. That's already come to pass. In '58 they were saying that the NAACP was a Communist front; now they wish they had the NAACP. We've had Black Power since the Muslims were being raided, their temples were being raided; we've had the Black Panthers, and eventually, if things don't change they will wish they had the Panthers back. We thought [...] would change, you see. Some people have a problem with keeping up with the times and changing with the times, like Roy Wilkins, for example, who was very well in his day but now should be retired like all [...], and [...] should be put out to pasture.

I once did an article called "New Roles for Uncle Toms," in which I sought to distinguish between the pathological Tom and the functional Tom. The pathological Tom is one who is sick with his Tom-ism, he

really believes in it, whereas the functional Tom, potentially functional Tom, is one who really desires freedom but does not have the courage or the commitment to do the things which some people who call themselves militants may do. I think that we need to begin to use the functional Toms; for example, we could apply for a \$2 million grant for the [...], and we'd hold a press conference and denounce him as a Tom; he could denounce us as extremists, and then we would pour drinks that night while he collected his \$2 million and gave us \$50,000 to buy our own operators with. We need Black history with a blond wig. In the Pentagon, for example, when the president, Nixon, [...] to Detroit or Watts or wherever, and mistakenly [...] make an error or something and send him to LBJ's ranch, and give us a little time to get things together. I think we need to use that, I think we need to even have a Tom of the year, have a banquet and choose a Tom of the year. It would be the best Tom that ever lived... [laughter] I think that we even need a hierarchy of Tom-ism. We could have a chief Tom, assistant to the chief Tom, associate Tom, assistant Tom right on down the line there. [laughter]

We need to unify all the forces, all the possible [...] for as much support as possible, because our practice is getting greater. As we escalate our struggle, they have moved on various Panther headquarters in Chicago and Los Angeles and elsewhere, and just up in Seattle, and mayor said that he resisted the idea which was put forth by the federal government; here they turned around and said that these simultaneous raids were not planned and that they were merely accidental. But anybody knows that when a thing happens once it's an accident but when it happens two times it's a coincidence and when it happens three times then it's a tendency. So we have got to get ourselves prepared, because even though they retreated now, when the Blacks unpredictably [...] the decimation of the Panthers, they attempted to decapitate the movement, to behead it with Ahmad Evans of the Republic of New Afrika, one of those groups in the East, waiting on death row, with Stokely and [...] driven out of the country and others in jail, we need to unify and prepare, because they'll be back as soon as they feel we have lapsed again into complacency and contentment, which is awfully easy for us to do.

I talked a long time on that; I won't do that next time.

[audience member asks question in background; off-microphone]

HARE: She wants to know what Nat Turner did after the oppression of Black men. I don't... what she means... I don't...

[audience member continues]

HARE: Yeah. Yeah. Well, Nat Turner was my favorite of the slave insurrectionists, because his name was Nathan, like mine. I used to admire him from the ground up before the white folks discovered him. I thought he would be all my own little secret, and I always wanted to write a biography of him one of these days and I still may do that; Styron doesn't preclude that, his novel, as you know. Because "Nathan" is Hebrew for "Gift of God," and there aren't too many gifts around of that nature. But Nat Turner was successful, compared to the others, because he did not fall victim, as I was talking about earlier, to this myth of a Georgia rule. The other guys, the major ones, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner,

could have been free, but he returned to help to free other people after he had run away. You'd find him to be a General Patton among slave insurrectionists; they had motives which were impersonal, which did not give them personal gain except of an indirect nature. Whereas the persons who... the Toms, the so-called "house niggers" who squealed on them, did so to get freedom, did so to get fifty dollars a year, in the one case, for the rest of his life, or whatever. But they were opportunists for reasons of personal gain involved there. But anyway, some of them, when they started to have a slave insurrection, would try to amass as many Black men as they could, and one guy—I forget which one it was—either Vesey or [...], somebody, went out to Petersburg Virginia, just outside of town one Saturday night, with some ten thousand Blacks, and the whites who had been accustomed to seeing Negroes going into Petersburg on Saturday nights to have fun, to escape, to get respite from their weeklong chores as slaves, were a bit curious when they saw these Blacks going out of town all of a sudden on Saturday night. So they followed them, and arrested them all there. So the same thing, every time they'd get people together, somebody would squeal before they even got going. But when Nat Turner started, he started with four. Four trusted persons, see. Just four. And he met in the woods, at that point in time, and there was one other fellow there with him named Will that one of the guys had brought, and he was concerned about that. He asked him what he was doing there, and he said he wanted to be free just like he did, and he asked him was he ready to die, and he said he was, and so he let him stay. Otherwise he would have had to kill him so he wouldn't tell, maybe, you see. But he went out with these five men, and as he came across the whites he would do them in and pick up the Blacks who wanted to follow him, so that at one point by the time they got [...] they'd picked up 70 Blacks.

He could have kept on going, but he made a mistake in that he seemed to—so far as I can get it through history—he had too much sympathy. Sympathy is a glorious thing, but it doesn't mix too well with war, and people who play with war and think they're playing a game of love will make a mistake, and of course we can profit from their mistakes. But he let off a poor white, there were some French people there who were also liberals, talking, and he also let off the house... the [...] Negroes, and one of them went and told the white man that he was doing that, killed off Master Tom, Master Joe, Missus, whatever. So they came with the militia that was there, troop forces, and got him. So I think that he certainly... he raised the level of consciousness on the part of people, although he failed in that specific act, because after that the oppressor, as is always his way, began to use repressive measures as he is doing today. We got into the Black slave codes and harsh measures of oppression, so that eventually you had not only them but white sympathizers rising up, the abolitionists and John Brown, who went out and killed and died in his efforts. This led to the Civil War. I think that you can trace the Civil War back to Nat Turner. That was his role in the struggle.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Dr. Hare? Are you through? I'd like to ask you a question.

HARE: OK.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: It goes back to the sociological... from a sociological...

HARE: [...]

[some voices speaking simultaneously]

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Well, so that there isn't any loss... Am I coming in clearly, Dr. Hare?

HARE: You're coming in quite clear now.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Fine. Very good. My name is Andre Johnson. While I'm not a student at the moment, I am speculating on a possible school program in the very near future. Now then, in direct relationship to escalation of war and tyranny both in Vietnam as well as in this country, and the Negro so-called National Liberation Front, in which they vilify the race conditions and [...] segregation which they contend to be up against, Lloyd Kelmer made a statement five years ago, 1965 to be exact, that out of frustration of despair, the Negro would ultimately align himself with the Black Muslim nationalists. Now then, my question simply is in terms of significant quarries, Dr. Hare, how do you see the integrity of a statement like that, and furthermore, how does it correspond with your immediate ideological future? Even more so in respect to the so-called conditions that the Negro is contending in the South, as well as up in the North?

HARE: Well, I believe that revolutionary action varies by time and place, and you might have a different thing in Mississippi as against in the West where there are many Mexicans and Orientals who are similarly oppressed, though not to the same degree maybe as in the South, the same way. So I think that the Muslims have taken a different approach and one which is less aggressive; this could be an effort on the part of that process that Blacks would take the same thing, and put all their energies in trying to become more... clean themselves up and become more middle-class and whatever, although I don't want to detract from the great impact which Elijah Muhammed has had on the movement. A lot of the things which we do now are taken almost verbatim from some of the things he was advocating in the forties. People take out what they want and leave the rest [...], which is of course the proper thing to do in any case. So I think that the future ideological success of the Black liberation movement will rest on some combination of class and color. This has not been worked out at the present time. Marx was aware of that; he didn't live to do it. He said in *Capital*, the first volume of the first edition, that labor with a white skin cannot be emancipated where labor with a black skin is branded. That means that of course you can't have class equality, economic equality, as long as you have racism, and vice versa. So we have to develop a new Black ideology, one which can combine the elements of class and color, and this is what we are trying to work on, some of us in San Francisco in the Black world foundation, the *Black Scholar*. Although we have it as an open forum for debate and discussion, so that anybody who has any ideas can let them clash there, because we don't have answers now, sufficiently, obviously. Therefore we have to work toward developing that. We have to begin to look toward our long-range goals. We live in a society which is of a push-button nature. We have instant rice, instant peanuts and whatever, and we have to begin to be more scientific. Instead of just wanting instant victory... we think that we picket one day and sit in the next that we will have freedom tomorrow, but that's not the way it's done. I'm not advocating gradualism, but we have to become more systematic and more scientific; we have the white [...] shooting the moon but they are also transplanting hearts, and the persons who live the

longest are the white persons who get Black hearts, the Black-hearted whites. I was reading where Billy Graham was saying that you can still see the Lord if you donate your eyes, and in [...] they had an article about a Dr. P.R.M. Howard of Chicago who was saying that they're now transplanting hands and arms and toenails and gizzards and whatnot. They're experimenting on transplanting... indeed, they're experimenting on transplanting sexual organs. And if they get that together, there won't be a Black male in this country who will be safe. [laughter] So we have to become more systematic, more scientific. The white man has his computers going, and he looks ahead and plans ahead thirty years whether the freeway will come through your neighborhood and break it up. And you run around yelling for integration and he's disintegrating you. Not integrating you, just moving you over and disintegrating what you have. You can't even hold on to what you've got, let alone get more. So this is what we have to do, to begin to figure out at the same time not letting up on our present struggle, but we need to have some people free some of the time to search for goals which can move us. There's an effort among Blacks at large to seek freedom; we need a sense of sacrifice, a sense of struggle. We have people [...] a bus and whatnot; that is a noble endeavor, I did it myself, drove a cab, drove a wagon, and [...] had to push it along sometimes when the [...] was too poor and too old to do it all by herself. You have these people who make maybe \$6000 a year coming up to me because I got fired from San Francisco State—they did the same thing after Howard—and feeling sorry for me, as they rush off to catch a bus at seven o'clock in the morning to get to work, in order to work all the year so they can get two weeks' vacation. They're feeling sorry for me, and it makes me sick; they make me sick for themselves. So we need this sense of sacrifice and not try to hang onto nothing. People work so hard to hang onto nothing. Or next to nothing. We need to gain the will to struggle until the day we die, to struggle in a [...] manner until we have brought the oppressor down. We don't have that at the present time, but we're working on that sort of thing, and it will be, I think, the key instrument of the breakthrough in the future. People always ask about the program, they want a program. But if they have a proper orientation and mental attitude and a sense of values then they will devise through their own ingenuity the program which fits their own particular situation, and not just try to borrow one wholeheartedly from some other place which may not relate to the particular culture, the particular demographic distribution, the particular economic conditions or politics of their own locale and their own era. So we have to, again, be strategic about this, develop new weapons of struggle. We have the Molotov cocktail now, for example, which I take it to be an alien instrument imported from Russia. I'm working myself on what I call a [...] cocktail, which does not... which has a [...] detonator and does not explode all by itself, but when a policeman comes in to inspect it it responds to the temperature of his body and blows up in his face. [laughter] But I don't want to talk too much about violence, because they are facing a gun charge already. Next month. So if anybody says I was up here talking violence, I was talking about science, not about violence.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: What do you think should be the educational plan in the Black community?

HARE: This is in an embryonic stage. I think that the educational plan in the Black community has to... that the key to this is the ideology, which we are still working out, that it must be revolutionary. I feel at the present it must combine revolutionary motives and nationalism, and not get bogged down in either direction to the exclusion of the other. But this is the most important thing—but I think that the problem now is that you have the Black Studies program being co-opted and corrupted and distorted all

across the country so that you have three basic types emerging. One is the Negro Studies program, even though they call it "Black Studies," except in Mississippi they call it "Negro Studies," [...] there at one of the Negro colleges... [...] or something like that. It consists of some Negro [...] or some fellow with Black skin, though his mind may be white or conformist-oriented, who dusts off his old courses in Negro history or Negro literature and renames them "Black" or "Afro-American," and teaches them with the same attitude, the same approach, the same assimilationist, conformist ideology. Then you have Afro-American studies, which most students... what I call "Afro-American Studies," they call "Black" in most cases, or equally so, but I want to call it "Afro-American" because it's geared to that idea of cultural nationalism, [...] cultural nationalism, so that they only study mainly poetry, art, and music, and history, which are these comprised, and likewise are comprised what I regard as the expressive phase of Black... element or aspect of Black Studies. But you also need the pragmatics, because education prepares one to function in an organized society; that is, it teaches... it has the function of transmitting the skills and the laws and the deportment which the persons who run society regard as... those who are influential regard as desirable for persons who would play socially approved roles. Blacks have to be prepared to deal with that society, to function in that society, which is justified as racist, [...] by the Kerner commission, which had a couple of token Negroes on it, Ed Brooks and Roy Wilkins. And Ed Brooks is [...], and an American first and Negro second, and we're trying to figure out a way to [...], but they said that it was a racist society, therefore the education for Blacks which would be relevant, would be correct, would prepare them to deal with racism, to oppose racism by not only any means which are necessary but also by means which are possible. This would involve [...] science, you see, math, as well as culture, painting, poetry. You're talking about [...] and how bad you are, and you're not doing anything. Frederick Douglass said a hundred years ago or more that he who would be free must strike the first blows, and you're just now getting around to raising your fists and you raise them at each other mainly, which does not hurt the white man's cause much.

So we have to begin... Black Studies, ideally... any course can be Black. There are two basic approaches, as I said, on making a course Black. One is the historical approach where you intersperse whatever you teach there in terms of content with the contributions of Blacks and other non-whites—algebra, for example, coming from the Arabic; Phoenicians inventing geometry; and in the present day, even American Black contributions such as the first guy to operate on a human heart being a Black man and so forth. So you have science that is Black, and we do have a course called Black Science at San Francisco State College. Black math... we need to... Black math has to relate to the everyday needs of the Black students in education. This is another instrument, the instrument of relevance as they relate to the experiences and interests of the persons being taught. So that in a math course, for example, it would seem an ineptitude, to be idiotic to teach fifth-graders and sixth-graders who are in the Black slums about stocks and bonds and promissory notes, which they will probably never encounter, certainly not under the present conditions, until much later in life. But instead of talking about stocks and bonds and promissory notes at that point, one might say if you loot one store and burn two, how many do you have left? [laughter] And the Black student might want to check this out and see how it relates to his needs, and it might be something he can use. Let x = time, t , where a rat escaping a cockroach from corner A of a bedroom to corner B, perpendicular to corner C, with the cockroach traveling one mile an hour and the rat traveling fifty miles an hour, at what time t will the rat overtake the cockroach?

[laughter] I don't think that as a mathematician you can do better, so you can take it and go if you're a mathematician. But this is the kind of thing... we need a new math. We also have to rewrite history, and some other things, and not get bogged down in the past, however. I was up at a white [...] college some while back, and they pointed out that a Harvard University dean has been up there with [...], with Greece and Rome, picking up [...] and said that there were colored people in ancient Greece and ancient Rome. And I said, So what? Now they're going to blame us colored for the fall of Rome. [laughter] But as Black people we do need to rewrite our history, because any people seeking a new future always look to the past to see how they came to be in their predicament and what maybe they can do to get out. They use the past as a collective destiny and as a springboard in their search for a new future, but somewhat get bogged down. I think that we can look to the past only as a means to an end, and that means we need to look more to the future.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: OK. The second part of my question was that, well, right here in Portland right now we have a lot of trouble with the schools. I don't know if you've heard about it, but anyway, I want to know what you feel should be the plan for educating people in the Black community. Is it busing? Or is it decentralization of the school district? Or should we try to make all the districts... I mean, leave them as they are? I mean, this is happening nationally.

HARE: As to that question, there's no monolithic answer to this thing, certainly not as we know it now. A fighter with one punch, no matter how devastating, is useless. If you know only to watch his right hand and he's always going to use the same approach, I think that it's maybe a combination of things. Most human behavior involves more than one factor, you see; it's not a monolithic explanation. You've got to get a combination. Maybe one thing will predominate, just as flour predominates in biscuits. But you've got to have the water, you've got to have the baking powder and the salt and everything else to make good biscuits. So we look to use the same approach to liberation. So your situation in Portland, I first have to know just what it is, more about the facts of what's involved here, but I think that in general, it cannot be spelled out on the basis of a [...]. I think that in general, it is folly to bus people out from district to district, because not only... such as they're doing in Tulsa Oklahoma, for example, I just noticed they're building all the new schools in the white suburbs and busing the Black [...] so that not only will they have an alien curriculum, but also they will be cut off from their communities and there will be no [...]. The Man has the computers going and he knows that he is going to act liberally, he is looking ahead while you rap and [...] in the present, and see how bad you are on TV and whatnot. This is what we've got to watch. I think that decentralization is OK, and autonomy and all that. We have to ask the question, though, what it is that we are controlling. Do we we want community control? If we control a carbon copy of the oppressors' education, then we are not getting too far. So that's the key question, changing the makeup of education. And I think that the greatest contribution of the Black Studies movement, for example, which has basically been projected as separatist in tone, is that not only has it integrated, in two years, the white colleges more than two decades of previous integration did, because not only did they bring them in [...] but other departments rushed to get that token Black and also, as I said, to darken their courses a bit, and also as a [...] to make them color compatible. So Black Studies has had an impact on the curriculum already, even though it's embryonic and has been discarded. But it raises the question that there's something wrong, the fact that there's something

wrong with the educational system not only for Blacks but for whites. Whenever the whites suffer as students, the Blacks get their [...] as a result of the conditions of color exploitation and oppression. So we have to ask the question [...], but I think that these things should be... what everyone believes should be fought for and if he makes a mistake then he can correct it later on. Though I'm not saying to run out and fight for fighting's sake with no sense of purpose as to why to get a kind of Black ideology. We used to experiment, we need to experiment more. Like at the state college where they have a little experiment last year, and a lot of people learned from that, although it eventually was repressed, pretty much, even though it'll pop back up again as these things tend to do when you've got people who are not happy there, and eventually they will have to leave or rebel. But we used to experiment. The white [...] come up and say "What can we do?" for example. And we would say, "Why don't you take over that administration building there?" And they would run in there and [...] office, they would run in there and the policemen would shoot mace in their eyes, and we would know not to try that ourselves.

[tape skips and resumes in the midst of a question being asked by an audience member]

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Dr. Hare, have you had any contact with Howard University since you terminated there, and what do you think will be the direction of Howard under its new leadership? Do you think there will be any change? Another question I would like for you to speak to: in your travels throughout the country, have you detected any change in mood among the students as you move, say, from one region to the other, say from the South into the northern areas? Would you react to those two, please?

HARE: Yes. Well, that's kind of two things there. I happened to meet the new president of Howard University when he was president of Shaw, back in the spring of 1968, in Raleigh North Carolina. And he seems to be a decent fellow, who has an interest in Black elevation. I think that they probably have one of the best of a bad lot of presidents, what I call "Amos 'n' Andy" administrators. But they have there now a department of Black Studies, which is an irony and a paradox, and in just two years after I was gone. We were just calling for a simple course in Negro history and they [...]... but now they have a department of Black Studies and everybody has got a dashiki on and has dark sun shades and has bushy hair, but they've changed. The associate dean of liberal arts then, who gave us the most trouble, is now president of Malcolm X College in Chicago, which was once called Crane Junior College. And he kept the fight with the Board of Education along with the students to get the name changed, because even before the Board of Education capitulated, they used... when you called up to the school the operators on the switchboard always said "Malcolm X College," even before they had changed it officially. So they finally went ahead and called it Malcolm X College, because really there's not too much in a name, and the [...] now is that if you don't accept it as an instrument, a means of calling out some particular reaction in the minds of the people, but if you don't do that, move beyond that, then it won't have that much of an effect. But this was the same person who in two years—he has apologized to me when he went to Malcolm X College about how he had been in error and so forth, [...] and so forth, and militant, and almost in tears—but just two years before he had established a department of speech, and he wrote a book called *Elementary Expression*, and the theory that he had was that we did not get excluded from jobs because of prejudice and discrimination, but we got excluded because we didn't talk right, because we went in and said, [...], "dig, man," "I need a gig," you know. Let's see what you got here. But

you should go on and speak in a [...] dialect and speak just like the white majority, he said. So he taught the students to learn to [...] and twang like the whites, so that “bear” became “beer,” “nine” was “nigh-un,” “law” was “lowah.” There was a young fellow who was from Mississippi and he went through that department and went home one Christmas to visit his home town, and fell into association with his old cronies. There was a store on the corner where they had a jar of pickled pigs’ feet; they used to go up to the storekeeper and say, “Gimme some of them feet.” Well, since he had been educated, he went up to the store man and said, in conservative and more polite tones, “Puhleese, may I have some of those fibia tibias?” [laughter] And the fellows thought he had turned funny on them. [laughter] But he’s gone from Howard now and he is president of Malcolm X College in Chicago. Which is not to be confused with Malcolm X College in North Atlanta, which is yet to... we’ll have to wait and see about that.

I think that, in the second question, and also my most recent encounter with Howard to begin with... I had had some recent encounter with Howard, and the last one I had, because I told the students in ’68 who tried to get me to speak there that I wouldn’t go back there until they had done something... and that next time I came on the campus I would have a bomb in each hip pocket. The most recent encounter I had with them from a distance was that we won in the Court of Appeals a suit against them, and the judge had said that we were entitled to collect damages, and that’s now in proceedings. I suppose that if I stick around long enough, I... we will have achieved the revolution, we’ll have a little money to operate on from that thing. Next weekend, [...] of the board of trustees will have to show cause why I should not be reinstated at the state college, so I suppose I will be collecting damages there some years hence.

As regards the question of having met students across the country, there is a great mental awakening. They want to know, as one fellow put it, how to get the Man’s grip off their backs, or their necks, and they want to know how to get freedom. What should we do? What is Black Studies, and all that, and how do we get it? Against the opposition of intransigent administrators and racists. But they seem to be caught, as is the movement which they reflect, in a syndrome of rhetoric. They talk bad and try to look bad, but they don’t do too much. Now and again they do a brief thing, but I think that this is only a stage out of this problem and as it is resolved there will come a more devastating form of action. As a matter of fact, you can note the isolation of our struggle through the Supreme Court decision, whereupon the World War II movement [...] from the Southern farms to the Northern factories with the expectation of freedom; also in the wars with foreign lands, telling us that when we got back that they would be grateful and would repay us; instead, they oppress us all the more and put you back in your place. But then there arose this desire for integration, which they took to be synonymous with equalization, which is not true, because I think an irony, one of the greatest ironies of Black history is that the oppressors used integration in the first half the century to hold us down—segregation, rather—and that they are beginning to use token integration as an ideal in the second half to hold us down. What we want is elevation and empowerment. It doesn’t matter much which direction it takes, if it’s politics, some here and some there. They integrated the jobs in Washington D.C., for example. You have Blacks in the all the government structures, [...] which is [...] on integration as an ideal. But they didn’t elevate them. So they set up DS 12, DS 10, DS 9, and they put the white folks in the big high GS levels and put the Negroes in the DS levels. So I think that this is... you can trace this. So after the Supreme Court said that integration

with all deliberate speed... and of course fifteen years later or more they still haven't found it yet... you have the NAACP still suing for integration, and now they're suing in San Francisco where [...] one student in Mississippi. This is ridiculous. When are people going to ever learn from the past?

But anyway, they are doing that now, and so I suppose the establishment is [...], certainly [...] was the offer, I'm told, from a consultant of theirs, who was one of the persons who fired me, that they said that they wanted to make Howard predominantly white by 1970, which was then in 1966. And I spoke out against it; that's what got me into trouble with him, because I thought we needed a school where you could get a certificate, and that you didn't learn too much that was useful to you after college in college, but you need to get the certificate, then you learn how to teach after you get out of college. That's what everybody does anyway, and now to do your job after you get out you get to do it now if you have the degree. So they passed this decision and it didn't materialize, and then you had passive resistance with Reverend King and all; then it escalated when the students [...] it in 1960, and the sit-in movement, and that didn't come to pass; assimilation didn't work and so we had Harlem and Watts, and then the War on Poverty program, because the system always introduces reform measures in order to stave off the fervor of revolution. So they brought in this War on Poverty, which wasn't bothering anybody—poverty wasn't—what they needed was a war on wealth. So the poverty reform didn't work out, and they... we had Newark and Detroit. I used to go around before Newark and Detroit, back around two months before that in *U.S. News and World Report* I predicted a Black Blitzkrieg, which would be like a thousand giant Watts sweeping the country. I don't say that much anymore, but they had almost that in Newark and Detroit.

Then then you have the [...] of Black education and Black status and community control that has been co-opted, and they have everybody teaching a corrupted form of history and culture instead of moving on them, and I predict that the next holocaust will be escalating, as is the pattern.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: What do you see as the movement that Martin Luther King was trying to take, and the movement that Abernathy and Reverend Jackson are trying to carry through now? What is the contrast, and do you think that the movement that they're trying to carry through now is going to be effective at all?

HARE: Yeah, well, a leader is a product of his social situation. He may have something particularly special, but he cannot get blood out of a turnip. He is a product of his time, and in fact he's made—that's why when you get rid of one, another takes his place, all the time, eventually. But Reverend King, I never could relate to his philosophy. I'd been riding in the front of the bus in Oklahoma and Missouri when I... not in Mississippi, but I hadn't gone there; I would have done it there too. Might not have lived to tell the story. Ever since I was ten years old I never went past the [...] center; I once held up a bus for thirty minutes because they were trying to persuade me to go to the back, but it was a small bus between the two towns outside of our farm, a twenty-mile stretch, and they knew my mother and that she would come running with a shotgun if they bothered her, so we sort of had a reputation around there. But I didn't dig the whole thing. I certainly couldn't take non-violence; that was against my whole principles. Of course, I had aspired to be a professional boxer, which I didn't become until I after had

gotten a Ph.D., but that was because I got... you know, circumstances went out again. But you... and then at Howard University some dean saw me at ringside one night and said, "You have to choose between teaching and boxing," and the next day—although that's a long story unto itself, and I had won easily and hadn't got touched by the other fellow—but it was a thing of a political nature, they didn't want... they thought that might kill somebody. David Moore just got killed, [...] did about the year before, so they saw that I might kill somebody and it would be out that some Howard professors were killing people up there. So anyway they told me to quit. So I didn't relate to this whole non-violence... the problem is, I think, everybody knows by now that it's inhuman, and not only un-American but un-Christian. [...] and said "You've got to turn the other cheek and be brotherly and peaceful or I'll kill you," so I didn't believe in that kind of thing. Now everybody does, but the students thought I was crazy at Howard University when I first went there in '61. You could hear a pin fall whenever there was talk about the theory and philosophy of violence using good academic sources and so forth.

Reverend King, though, before he died—and it could have been why he was killed, we don't know—was losing grip on the Black movement. He was very popular among whites; in fact when they eulogized him at Howard... at San Francisco State College, the people in the audience were almost all white, and in the rally. Blacks passed on by doing whatever they were doing. He was sold to us, again, he was co-opted, because you see this society has a taboo against criticizing a person who is dead, especially if he dies an unpopular death. All of a sudden he becomes a hero. JFK, for example, said he was going to end the war and send anybody to college who wanted to whether they could afford it or not, and I voted for him, and as soon as he got in he tried to send me to Berlin. You can't say anything against JFK because he's a hero because he got killed. Same thing with Martin Luther King. But it doesn't change a man's life because he's dead, see? He's the same person he was. He doesn't change. Reverend King was losing his grip. As a matter of fact, Stokely Carmichael, the year before he was famous, who was a former student there at Howard University, came by one day towards dinner at the very time I was discussing this violence thing, and he pointed out that Reverend King was going to move north with his campaign, because the southern people weren't diggin' it at non-violence anymore. That was before he did it, you see. He told me privately; I don't think it's any thing about that because Stokely's going on with other things now in Africa, which he'll be heard from, he insists, later.

But he said that, and Reverend King was trying to relate back to the Black movement. He was becoming Blacker, as you will see as you watch his speeches at the end. Because a leader, if he is successful at all, has to relate to the people; he can't get out too far in one direction. W.E.B. Du Bois was victimized by this all of his life, because he was 50 years ahead of his time; then, he was fifty years ahead of his time all his life. A genius is 25 years, on the average, ahead of his time; Du Bois was fifty years ahead of his. He was a twice-over genius, I suspect. But he couldn't get Blacks to follow him; they were following Booker T. So Du Bois kept having to duck back and contradict himself, you see, and people criticize him now for contradicting himself. But he had to do it because he had to relate to the people he was trying to lead. So Reverend King was doing that. He was not a dumb fellow, I think he had—from all indications, I'd never met him—but from all the testimony of other people he was a very sincere individual and believed in what he was doing, however wrong it may have been. But he was changing, and so naturally some of his lieutenants, who I think in our new era will have to embody this more, and

of course some of them aside from Jesse Jackson were probably being kept back or kept down even before King died. As a matter of fact, I think that it was a great tragedy that Jesse Jackson was not made the captain of that thing when Reverend King got killed. Here is a guy who is young, who can identify with the old and the young, his father's generation gap, possibly, who is charismatic and one of the best speakers I ever heard, and who has the extra charismatic potential for having been on the balcony when King got shot. So he should have been made chairman of the thing, and SCLC would have been a great organization now, I'm sure. But he wasn't, so I think that it's natural that they would be a little more militant, in a more militant era. And [...] cannot change, but anybody that's got any sense changes with the times.

That's why those who say that they're the vanguard have the duty, always, to move to a new level, a higher level, because as they become more militant in their way, then that allows the moderates to become more militant and yet be moderates, see? So we have to keep on getting to a higher level, a higher potential, so that these moderates can move to a level where we are now. So that's what's happening to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is that it's trying to stay decently relevant to its times or reflect the times, the ideals, the concepts, the values, the symbols, and the goals which are predominant in the era in which they're operating now.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Earlier, you spoke in your address of understanding the nature of power, and then you gave an example of symbolic power. I was wondering if you could expand for a few minutes on what you meant by the nature of power.

HARE: Yeah. Well, power is the ability to influence another person's behavior, or another group's behavior, even against its will if necessary. Put another way, you could say that power is the probability that the will of one person or group will be carried out by another. Now, if we look at revolutions in history, we note about four or five basic instruments which people sought to seize power have seized, those who were successful. Now, I'm just talking about what took place, because the specifics of what I would advocate I wouldn't spell out in a public place. [...] people who do don't talk too much, and those who talk don't do too much, too often. So it wouldn't be... all white folks would [...] at the same time, when it hits. But I think that we can discern, looking at revolutions through history, these basic instruments, and one primary I think which always inevitably comes into play is weapons. That doesn't mean that you have the same weapons as the enemy. The Viet Cong don't have instruments you can see, you can make do, and ... whatnot. But one has other kinds of weapons. These groups have always tended to try to get them, and use them, those that were really [...] and really successful. Then you have the mind, which I think is of primary importance, because the mind is what tells the body what to do. So this is what, I take it, that we are after in Black education, to regain control of the Black children's minds, which have been raped by the white oppressors. Or whitewashed by them. Then you have land, customarily—that doesn't mean we'll use all of these in a given thing, you know, [...] time and place, but land, there tends to be some land to mark off some turf, and declare that to be theirs. As in some of the [...] you can watch even today. They want control over there, they want to have power over it. And money, some people call it "capital"; even a socialist needs money either to get equipment or get bail or whatnot. So [...] if you're going to go into business and try to out-enterprise the capitalists, but you've

got to get hold of some money even by liberating, as they say, or stealing. And [...] act to control influence over the behavior of other people, mentally, through their minds, or physically, technically. Those revolutions that are the most successful seem to concentrate on the instruments at every stage instead of the symbols of power. But we can all talk in a general way about that kind of thing. So I figure that we could have one more question and then we'll end. To get into some things here.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We have a free clinic, and there were a group of doctors that were Jewish, and they could not go with the stand of the Black militants of being against the Jewish and the Arabs. Now, what my question is, what do you do when these people are the ones with the knowledge and have the help that we really need, but our stand... they can't go for it. What do you do? I mean... this is not only with that, but there's a lot of things that we actually need their help in. So how do you go about... Should you offend these people or what?

HARE: Should you do what with them?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Should you... should you... well, they felt offended.

HARE: Oh, offense. I see. Well, you mean the Black physicians? Negro physicians? Yeah, there's definitely a squeal in here. [possibly referring to a high-pitched noise in the microphone] [...]

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I don't think you understood me. Now, we have a Black...

HARE: The Jewish physicians.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Right. We need these doctors and their help.

HARE: Yeah. Well, and that's a matter we have to [...] getting off on tangents, the Jews are, through historical and ecological factors, the visible oppressors of the Black community in the slums, although the Gentiles have nailed both Jews and Blacks to the cross. I think that we can get off on a tangent and find an easier enemy... we have to watch all enemies, Black, Jew, or Gentile. You see, we deal with them regardless of what their religion is. We can't just say it's just the Jews. We know the Jews didn't invent racism and oppression. So it's folly to get off on a pseudo-religious tangent about that. In boxing, for example, the persons who are predominant in boxing followed the ecological succession; the Irish, when they were in the lower strata of the slums they had [...], the Italians, then the Jews, and the Jews eventually left boxing and went into managing, replaced Gentiles as managers. Then next followed the Black fighters, and then you had Blacks coming from the Southern farms during the second world war, just after that, and they came to the lower strata and they became the major fighters. And now you have the Puerto Ricans. So I take it that if we don't change our conditions that eventually Blacks will emerge as the storekeepers and those Jews will move to another level, the Blacks [...] will be those storekeepers and [...] them the position. [...] But I think that we need to look at a general thing. We can get off on the Jews now, the Italians next, the Arabs; in 1918 and so forth. When we get off on specifics then we lose sight of the generality; we're so geared to the trees that we can't see the forest. So I think

that if we get the general principle down then the specifics will fall under that, see. If we get the whole system changed, then we won't have these specifics popping up, because there will be one group now and another group later. So we'll be fighting in Japan one time and Korea the next and Vietnam the next, Latin America next, and eventually Africa. So I think that we have to watch for this kind of thing.

Fanon had a chapter on medicine in his book *Toward African Liberation*, and I did an article... a chapter of a book called "Medicine in the Ghetto" recently, which was a conference that Harvard Medical School put on, and they reprinted it in a book by [...], and it's called "Medicine in the Ghetto." I had a chapter in there which was somewhat motivated by Fanon who said that with medicine we come to the most crucial aspect of oppression and liberation. Because if you really get to that stage of combat, it is the physicians who have to give aid to the wounded victims, and yet under this system now, if they follow it and its dictates, they are obliged to report anybody who is wounded, you see. And they will say they take hands off and not only will they take hands off but for a long time [...] that they... and Franz Fanon was the Black psychiatrist, in case some of you don't know, who joined the liberation struggle in [...] and I was there and left in the summer, and they have streets named after him and schools, and they think very much of him. They had a big thing in the paper about him, even though he is dead, they had his picture and some of his quotes. And even the cab drivers and the waiters can quote him. But they not only would not treat the wounded but they also would help to torture them and the psychiatrists would use their [...] to try to destroy their minds and mortify the egos of the [...] oppressed. So we have to therefore begin to call for a medicine which is relevant to the Black [...] experiences, we need a black cross instead of a red cross, which is basically white [...] and only recently began to treat Blacks and put their blood in the same place after the second world war. And yet they took [...] and teachers made us bring money to put into the Red Cross even though they separated the blood all the time. We need a black cross, we need a Black medical society, we need everything they've got. I don't mean just a Negro [...] I mean one adhering to revolutionary ideals.

We need a Black medicine, Black Studies in medical schools so that they will get new values and new ethics in their techniques that they learn there, and they will be motivated to helping their people, not only when they are wounded, if that stage has to take place ultimately, but also at the current time they can help to increase the resources of the community, because health is a major resource of the Black community. Right now we die on an average of ten years earlier and we're about twenty years behind overall in infant mortality and whatnot, so if we can make people feel better, [...] feel better, be healthier, live longer, be stronger, then we will increase our potentiality for fighting. Because it's very important that it has to be done with change of physicians as the same way as we changed the teachers, the social workers, the preachers, and other Black occupational groups. And potential groups. I don't think much of getting off on a big trip of trying to appeal to some other groups to do it for us, such as the Jews. Because revolution has to come out of the spirit of the people, see? It's hard to import it unless that's something there. I don't think that we can get off on a tangent trying to make the Jews free us, see? We got to free ourselves. I'm done now.

[applause]

HOST: Thank you, Dr. Hare. Before you people leave, I'd like to make a little announcement. Tonight at 7:30 in this Old Main auditorium, they're giving a benefit for the Martin Luther King scholarship fund, and it's a dollar for students and two dollars for non-students. And Saturday about noon at the courthouse, there will be a rally commemorating Huey P. Newton's birthday, and at four o'clock today in room 329 Smith Memorial Center there will be a BSU meeting. Thank you.

[about a minute of background chatter and noise; program ends]