

# Tells Of Revolt-Stirring Conditions In America

WASHINGTON -- The shot that killed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and dropped a pall of smoke and despair over a dozen cities, tore through a set of conditions in the United States that have historically produced revolutions in other nations.

An analysis by a Harvard University sociologist reveals that classic revolt-stirring conditions are very much present in America of the 1960s.

What form the revolution takes--whether violent or quiet--differs from country to country, but the conditions giving rise to revolt are the same.

They were present in both French and Russian revolutions; they are present here.

denly the Senate had come to life with an open housing bill.

"WITH KING'S SHOOTING, frankly, I don't have the courage anymore to stand up in

front of Negro audiences and tell them to continue to believe," he says.

The four conditions bred by progress and leading to revolt are:

Living conditions improve at a faster pace for the dominant group than for the subordinate group. In every realm from housing to health, the absolute gains of Negroes in the 1950s

"pale by comparison" to white gains, says Dr. Pettigrew. Expectations in the lower class outpace real changes. In 1963 an overwhelming majority of Negroes--73 per cent of

those surveyed in a national sample--thought white attitudes toward blacks would be better in five years. More than 60 per cent expected their income, working situation and housing

accommodations to be better in five years; only two to three per cent expected they would be worse.

Status inconsistencies, as between educational achievement and job level, increase. Members of the lower class broaden their perspective and begin to compare their conditions to those of the dominant group.

"THE NEGRO REVOLT is a classic case," says Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Harvard professor and consultant to the Civil Rights Commission.

"We are in the stage of mass letdown and discontent," says Dr. Pettigrew. "Something's got to give. There is going to be a revolution, but it could always be a quiet one."

England seemed to be headed for an upheaval after the French Revolution, says Dr. Pettigrew, but it was not violent because the English oligarchy gave ground.

"I don't really expect a French revolution here...but the killing of King cannot be anything but a stunning reversal," and a further step in the revolutionary process.

Historically, revolutions have occurred in countries experiencing true progress. That very progress sets up four revolt-stirring conditions in nations with large disadvantaged populations; it forces widening of economic gaps between the dominant and subordinate classes.

A PERIOD OF LONG, slow economic and social progress--the first stage toward revolution--is followed by sudden sharp reversal and crisis--the second stage.

"We are now in that ominous second stage," says Dr. Pettigrew. The tragic summer of 1967 marked the reversal; Dr. King's assassination accelerates its downward course.

"Dr. King was the only symbol of integration, black or white, who commanded the loyalty and attention of Negroes of many different political backgrounds...he was the only one with a span of charisma."

The terrible irony of King's assassination is that the United States was beginning to look as though it were turning a corner, Dr. Pettigrew points out.

The riot commission's bold message of white racism seemed to be making a difference with middle class whites. Sud-



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