



The Black voice. Volume 1, Number 4 May 21, 1971

Madison, Wisconsin: Afro-American Center, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 21, 1971

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THE BLACK VOICE

Foundations of Ethnic Science A Program and A Proposal

By John Smith, John Borders, Leroy Stallworth

Gross inadequacy of current life sciences including psychology, biology, anthropology, economics and sociology to formulate meaningful theories and applied solutions to the ethnic and class problems of society has created the need for the development of a new science. Although these sciences allegedly have been studying man's behavior, physiological functions and environmental adaptations for over a century we do not have today a meaningful field of Ethnic Science and research in any of the sectors named. As we now understand the disciplines that deal with human systems, a deficiency in applied and meaningful solutions to ethnic problems are many of the prime exhibits of the fact that we have no real scientific approaches to present day ethnic and cultural problems.

To understand ethnic problems as they exist today it is important to understand the process of adaptation or evolution of ethnic groups in society. Man's behavior patterns today are defined by the experience of the individual race; what he is and what he does are the products of his own development and the evolution of his species.

The first step in creating an ethnic science is to develop resources to deal with the actual organizational and controlled aspects of ethnic behavior. The idea is that in order to understand any aspect of ethnic behavior and development we must understand the relationship of the individual or group to its environment and the interacting and integrating forces or components which actively or passively control the individual or group. In order to formulate theoretical concepts of research to explore fundamental issues of ethnic and class organization of urban society we must examine it from a systematic perspective. From an ethnic system's point of view, significant research and effort can be devoted to understanding human factors in technology, institutional design, educational design and work operations. The theory of ethnic adaptation states that the components mentioned are related, integrated, arranged and connected in such a manner as to form and/or act as an ethnic unit. These dictate socialization, personality development and various modes of behavior, dependent on the feedback effect of the various components on the system. The theory recognizes institutional design (family structure) and work operations as primary control factors in this system with other components of this system having secondary or passive effects on the total system.

Understanding family structure and work operations as the primary loop in this feedback system, the assumption of theory is that the system can maintain itself through a complementary or compensating feedback mechanism if there is a breakdown of any of the secondary components. However, if there is a breakdown in the primary loop, the system is effected drastically.

This ethnic adaptive system, as we call it, then is an arrangement of components, man-made and natural, connected or related in such a manner as to command, direct or regulate itself or other systems.

Our goal in understanding this system then will be to (1) understand how science and scientific technology are being used as instruments of tradition and cultural discrimination to affect the lives of ethnic or specialized groups; (2) to develop an applied evolution science, to determine adaptation and development of distinctive ethnic groups, and institutional patterns; (3) to develop meaningful principles and applications in dealing with current human problems, and (4) to establish an ethnic psychology or behavioral science that can deal with current ethnic, class and cultural problems through the use of science and scientific technology.

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If Americans are concerned about the Vietnamese, they should try to end the war; otherwise they are not concerned.

—From a speech by a Vietnamese Buddhist Monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, delivered in Madison, Wisconsin 5/7/71.

Revolutionary Convention of Black Women

Finally at 7:00 PM, Friday, the 26th of March, after nearly two months of anxious anticipation, final preparations for the first Revolutionary Convention of Black Women were drawn to a hasty ending as Black Women from all over the country began arriving in Madison to congregate with revolutionary conscious comrades in the name of all oppressed people.

While waiting for late arrivals to catch taxis and find Room 3650 from the human maze of the Humanities Building, the welcoming committee took the initiative to get a preliminary crossview of delegate attendance. The national assembly of nearly three hundred Black Women answered roll call representing thirty cities in ten states across the country. The serious atmosphere which pervaded the entire convention was reflected by the ease with which comrades came to understand and respond to the opening speech. The address "Oppression is Real", delivered by Laurene Hyman, community organizer and member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, included a declamation of female chauvinism in all its forms. She espoused the views of the large majority of the women there when she stated that a true revolutionary perspective is necessary before any guideline priority is designated as part and policy of the "Black Woman's Role in the Struggle". Negating the bourgeois romanticism of the dominant European-oriented culture, as a revolutionist, the black woman must operate in a capacity that is neither ten steps behind or in front of her man, but is an active contribution to the revolutionary capacity of Black People. She must not be pre-occupied with submissiveness or a counter reactive relationship. Realizing that the goal of pivotal importance is not husband or lover, but freedom, she will double the fighting strength of her people.

She went on to outline the steps toward building revolutionary consciousness among the masses, pointing out the necessity of disciplined initiatives on the part of small cadres of people before sound organizing should be attempted. She ended with a request for any criticisms, or dissenting outlooks. But what was designated as a question and answer follow-up, became a hearty consensus of right-ons, as two or more comrades voiced approval and related coinciding experiences.

Revolutionary entertainment concluded the night, and heightened the comradely atmosphere as brothers and sisters from Madison presented a historical analysis of black reality with skits and dance forms portraying the progression of black thought, from antebellum slavery to contemporary slavery. The narrator, history, took the audience on a scientific tour of oppression, pointing out the dual nature of racism, a subjective shell which supports objective economic repressions. The narration ended on a note that became familiar throughout the next two days of activity. . . . "revolution is the most natural thing in the world. . . ."

Saturday at 9:00 AM, Research Assemblies were begun. The comrades were asked and did function in a fuller capacity than in most conventions. An excerpt from the convention guidelines explains this capacity.

Black Women, comrades attending the first Revolutionary Convention of Black Women are asked to serve in a larger capacity than in most conventions. As stated in the "Open Letter to the Women" The convention is planned around the continued conscious activity after the convention dates, and the women who will round out and verify the direction of black people.

Research Assemblies are designed to reverse the unilateral decisions of workshops and panel discussions in more conventional forms. Resource persons are present in each task force to contribute, answer questions, and clarify with the assembly the problem presented to each task force body: Task Force 1, Sister Marion Beach, well-known community organizer in the Chicago area; Task Force 2, Sister Val Gray Ward, black dramatist, well-versed in the Black Esthetic and recently published scholar in Black Scholar Magazine; Task Force 3, Sister Joyce Griggin, University Instructor in Black Studies, and Brother Sterling Plump, writer associated with Institute of Positive Education in Chicago. Task Force 4, Sister Yvonne King, Communications Secretary, Ill. Chapter of the Black Panther Party; Task Force 5, Laurene Hyman, League of Revolutionary Black Workers; Task Force 6, Shirley Williams, Mid-West representa-

tive for the National Committee to Free Angela Davis; Task Force 7, Rose Morgan, associated with Third World Organizations.

The different Research Assemblies asked the questions: Can Culture Free Us?, Revolution Against Who and What?, Revolution: How to do it and With Whom. The comrades got an early morning start on preparing a position on the questions asked. About mid-way into the research sessions, any interested observer would have remarked that even with the diversity of task force questions, the primary stumbling blocks in arriving at consensus stands were not so much the result of the natural character of interaction between women, or the variegated community problems represented from across the country, but the uneven distribution of political education among the communities presented. The dislocation of Black People into the various industrial complexes of this society (educational, military, political) must be reciprocated by an equally serious effort on the part of all revolutionaries to control and unify black thought (consciousness through developmental analysis of oppression in all areas of black experience). The unifying element of Black Women can be critical in this: A realization which initiated and was substantiated by a Revolutionary Convention of Black Women.

The strongest convention follow-up to date is (1) a definitive stand by Black Women comrades which is neither pro or con women's lib,

because it is conscious of the inherent antagonistic contradictions which maintain that the integration of womanhood across racial-class lines is not viable, but realizes at the same time the declared revolutionary character of such groups and extends revolutionary support to all progressive elements of this society; (2) a stronger realization of the need for serious political education and scientific analysis by all Black People.

By 5:00 PM, Sunday afternoon, comrades were on their way back to those communities for whose benefit they had convened during the last three days. As an educative exercise, the convention was successful in prompting more politically conscious comrades to initiate political education programs in their communities. As a remedial declaration of black unity which is un-altered by the division of white radical movements along sexual lines as a consequence of capitalistic suppression, the convention proved the redundancy of the term Black Woman. It defined the Black Woman as a necessity, and consciously a revolutionist for her people, and all oppressed people of color.

Convention Committee

binies Jewish, Christian and Moslem Arabs as well as non-Arab Jews (Western Jews).

2. The new democratic Palestine is not a substitute for liberation. Rather, it is the ultimate objective of liberation. A client state in the west bank and Gaza, an Avneri-style de-Zionized Israel or a Semitic Confederation are all categorically rejected by the Revolution. They are all racist blueprints designed to prolong Israeli hegemony and Palestinian subjugation. They all assume the maintenance of the basic factors that led to the forced exile of Palestinians and the oppression of the people. The *sine qua non* of the New Palestine is the destruction of the political, economic and militarist foundations of a chauvinist-racist settler-state. The maintenance of a technologically-advanced military machine through a continuous Western capital flow and exchange of population has led the Zionist machinery to perpetuate one aggression after the other. Therefore, liquidation of such a machinery is an irreplaceable condition for the creation of the New Palestine. When the machinery of the Nazi state was liquidated, the German people were liberated together with other nations that were oppressed by Nazi Germany such as Poland, Hungary, Holland and France.

Transition and After

It is quite logical to expect specific transitional collective accommodations immediately after liberation, as well as some collective or group privileges. Jews or non-Jews for that matter would have the right to practice their religion and develop culturally and linguistically as a group, beside their individual political and cultural participation. It is quite logical for example to have both Arabic and Hebrew as official languages taught in governmental schools to all Palestinians, Jews and non-Jews.

The right of free movement within the country and outside it would be guaranteed. Palestinians desirous of voluntarily leaving the country would be allowed to do so. Immigration would be restricted in the transitional period to the return of all exiled Palestinians desirous of return. In a normal permanent state, however, immigration would be open without discrimination. Freedom of access, visits and extended pilgrimage and tourism would be guaranteed to all Jews, Moslems or Christians of the world who consider Palestine a holy place worthy of pilgrimage and meditation.

Is the New Palestine Viable?

Several well-intentioned critics maintain that even if the creation of the democratic Palestine is possible, it will not survive for long. Their basic contention is that the population and cultural balance will heavily favor the Jews in the New Palestine. This—in their view—will lead either to an explosive situation, or to the domination of New Palestine by the Jews and a possible reversion to a neo-Zionist state in disguise.

The argument is serious and looks quite plausible given the present setup, and the European dichotomy of the "Arabs" as a backward group and the "Jews" as a modern one.

As for population, the Jews in Palestine today number 2.5 million compared to 2.6 million Palestinian Arabs (Christians and Moslems) in the occupied territories before Arabs as a backward group and the Jews as a modern one, 1967 and after it, and those in exile. Birth rates and natural growth rates are higher among Arab Palestinians. Immigration, however, has been the major cause of growth in the Jewish ranks. Nevertheless, one must consider the fact that 250,000 Jews have permanently left Palestine—emigrated—since 1949, in a period where relative security prevailed. Most of the immigrants in the early phases were European Jews. Most of the later immigrants were Arab Jews who found it very difficult to stay in the Arab states after the creation and survival of Israel.

The process of the Revolution will inevitably increase the tempo of emigration especially of those beneficiaries of the racist state who will find it difficult to adapt to an open plural society. Parallel to that development will be the increasing modernization of the Arab countries. This must proclaim the primacy of the human person over the politico-juridical abstraction of statehood. *Fateh* is already engaged in serious negotiations with several Arab countries to allow Jewish emigrants back, to return their property, and guarantee them full and equal rights.

The pace of social and educational development is rising rapidly among the Arab Palestinians as well. It is estimated that the number of university graduates among the Palestinians in exile exceeds 60,000.

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Toward a Democratic Palestine

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continued from last issue of Black Voice

Two Misconceptions

Several interpretations of a democratic Palestine have sprung up in different quarters and these require clarification and some correction. An attempt will be made to discuss two vital issues:

1. The call for a non-sectarian Palestine should not be confused with a multi-religious, a poly-religious or a bi-national state. The new Palestine is not to be built around three state religions or two nationalities. Rather, it will simply provide freedom from religious oppression and freedom to practice religion without discrimination. No rigidification of religious line is desired by the revolution. No hard and fast religious distribution of political offices and other important jobs is envisioned. The Lebanese model, where the reactionary, quasi-feudalist or commercial-capitalist hierarchy divides jobs and offices on the basis of sectarian lines to perpetuate its domination of the masses, is completely alien to the Revolution.

The president of liberated Palestine may be a Jew, a Moslem or a Christian, not because of his religion or sect, but on the basis of his merit as an outstanding Palestinian. Furthermore, religious and ethnic lines clearly cross in Palestine so as to make the terms *bi-national* or the *Arab-Jewish dichotomy* meaningless, or at best dubious.

The majority of Jews in Palestine today are Arab Jews—euphemistically called "Oriental" Jews by the Zionists. Therefore, Palestine com-

The Black Voice

Volume 1, Number 4
Friday, May 21, 1971

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Published by the Black students at the
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Reading, Writing, and Revolution

By Kwame Salter

(This is a revised version of an article of the same title which appeared in The Black Collegian, April, 1971.)

Historically, university students have assumed a critical, if not pivotal, role in social upheavals the world over. They have instrumental characters in the people's struggles of Africa, Asia and South America. They have also been showcased and paraded as youthful symbols and fresh patina to disguise a corrosive and decadent society—witness Hitler's Nazi Youth Brigade. Yet regardless of the political direction, youth inevitably emerges as a combination of cheerleader/theorists. In the initial stages of their growing political consciousness, a disproportionate amount of time and energy is devoted to noisemaking, emotionalism, spontaneous acts of violence and disruption. As they mature, however, the volatile edges are rounded. Emotionalism gives rise to serious polemics, and tactics are determined more by analysis than spontaneity. The serious student quickly sheds his "cheerleading" costume and proceeds to transform 'rap' into action, theory into practice and dream into reality. Because the university represents an institutional manifestation of most (maybe all) societal ills, the student is confronted with a choice—either to be integrated into an oppressive system or to resist and help usher in a more responsive and human scene. All are faced with this choice.

Needless to say, both the revolutionary and reactionary potential has not been overlooked by shrewd political analysts both off and on campus. Eisenhower's co-optation and use of NSA; Kennedy's policy of "gentle and painless" imperialism via the Peace Corp.; Nixon's tacit approval and indirect financial support for reactionary campus groups like YAF (often referred to as Young American Fascists) is evidence enough of the function student youth groups and individuals serve (consciously or unconsciously) in carrying out repressive social schemes.

In a more pleasant and progressive vein, one has only to observe, Mao's reliance on the youthful "Red Guard" to provide China with the necessary periodic introspection and political catharsis needed to maintain a clear perspective-free from revisionistic back-sliding.

In summary universities have served as the political incubators for many a progressive (revolutionist) from the unsung to the immortalized—from Bobo Jenkins to Huey P. Newton; from Ella Mae Jones to Angela Davis; from Jose Manuel to Che Guevara; from me to you.

White Youth

Because of the racist character of American society, white youth (being distinct from Black youth) are considered the "coming generation, the hope, or the future of America. As such, white youth are the principal focal concern of the elder guardians of "status quo." The aging racist obstructionist observes his once stable world (the good old days) steadily collapsing around him; his sacred institutions being blasphemed; his ideas and morals undermined by heresies and permissiveness, and his logical scheme of things being questioned. The world is mad, and he alone capable of any rational action. The root of all this confusion—to him—is obvious—communism. Any action that questions, that exposes contradictions is "communist inspired." The "bizarre" life style of white youth is especially disturbing because such does not fit into "the logic of the present system."

Richard Nixon (Current Grand Dragon) and Co. have not taken this "moral degeneration" of youth lightly. Nor are they oblivious to issues that might intensify or diffuse such potential. Therefore, in an attempt to diffuse the present thrust of "mother-country" (white) radicals and their emotional supporters (the disoriented and marginally attached apolitical white youth), the ruling clique has conscientiously employed polls, studies and research to ascertain the mood

and behavior pattern of their young people. Specifically, in the case of white youth, a trio of issues (gripes) have been identified and isolated—i.e. draft, dope, and degrees. For example, if the draft (involuntary conscription by fate) was hanging them up and threatened to develop into a serious "movement" with emotional side issues like 18 year old vote, then it must be re-vamped (superficially at least) to allow for involuntary conscription by chance (lottery). If such a move does nothing but delay the full impact of draft resistance it was worth-while. In other words expediency ranks high among reactionary bureaucrats.

Expediency again reared its head in the university context of relevancy. White students, taking their cue from Southern Black students began to demand a relevant and responsive university along with more involvement in decision-making. Of course what they received was the right to observe the decision-making process—nothing more and much less. The modus operandi of the university seemed to be "marginal capitulation"—and then only under extreme pressures.

The demand for a piece of the decision-making action was never really accommodated. Rather than relinquish this tool into the hands of untrained, weak children, it was decided to place the student in an apprenticeship position. To avoid a realistic reallocation of power, resources and values that would strengthen the student position, students were duped into believing that just by *watching* the people who made decisions about *their* future that could affect such decisions. This naive "watch-dog" approach was immediately rendered impotent in the face of deceitful, liberal-varnished administrators. Other students, less politically conscious, actually relished an opportunity to be allowed to observe the "masters" at work for they planned to matriculate to such positions.

The "Cult of the Weed" (marijuana) has found new and eager converts in the white community. Drugs are no longer a strictly "nigger problem." In addition the "dope" culture was illegal and possessed an underlying theme of permissiveness which threatened to permeate into society. Such a permissiveness might eventually lead to an unhealthy skepticism. Other immutable laws and statutes that exist not for the benefit of the people but for ways to control and direct their behaviors might be violated. By systematically adjusting and readjusting laws to give the mirage-like impression that "grass" will soon be packed by R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and sold on the open market; but utilizing such legal antics the ruling oligarchy hopes to place an "elastic lid" over the social issues that may contribute to radicalizing their youth. "Elastic lids" are much more sophisticated and effective than brute force tactics (which are the last resort to be used on "misdirected white youth" e.g. Kent State). Elasticity in control mechanism give the erroneous impression of capitulation rather than co-optation of energies. Confronted with such deceptive and confusing strategies white political youth have found it difficult to radicalize its apolitical peer group and the older white proletariat, to achieve and maintain the cohesiveness needed to engage the reactionary forces of America. Thus, white radical youth have made the struggle a source of intellectual abstraction and attempted to form alliances, coalitions and third world unity movements with the most potentially political group on American campuses' today—the Black student.

The Black Student

The Black student on campus today has achieved the needed emotional unity that hopefully will lead to political and tactical consensus. Still, corrosive elements of the bourgeoisie aspiration seeps in and stagnates the radical political development of most Black organizations—be they on white northern campuses or all-Black southern campuses. Essentially, the same insidious schemes activated to retard political development of the white student are employed against Black students. In the case of Black students, however, the reliance is on historically perfected divisive tactics and the expedient utilization and co-optation of the current "Black pride/power" movement among Black people. Specifically, Black students have made some costly mistakes. For example (1) in their quest to make the university relevant they have ironically supplied the reactionary administrations with more control mechanism; (2) the failure of Black students to transcend the rhetorical level of confrontation (based on emotion and expediency) and move to a more realistic assessment (based on analysis) of the situation has resulted in an inexcusable short-sightedness and a concomitant romanticizing and/or abstraction of the "struggle"; (3) the critical absence of what James Boggs calls A Black Revolutionary Party leaves the radical Black student with few, if any, political consistent structures to matriculate to and often causes him to lose sight of his role in a protracted struggle.

The Price of Relevancy

In the middle of the 60's, Black students—particularly on predominantly white northern campuses—succeeded in politicizing the issue of relevancy. This period followed close on the chronological heels of the student-led (Black southern campuses) civil rights "movement" and ushered in the concept of the "struggle" on campus. The struggle took many forms, yet, more often than not it revolved around the issue of relevancy. Relevancy (or lack of it) was defined as the absence of any meaningful experience on university campuses for Black students—intellectually, socially, or academically. In addition to the lack of relevancy for Black students, the university was accused of failing to provide the Black student with any meaningful tools to take back into the Black community. For example, one trained in classical economics was of little or no value to the Black community if his university experience (the socialization) was, as so often, geared away from application to his people's everyday problems.

Another important spinoff of the relevancy issue was that of more Black faces on the university scene. Black students began to demand that the number of Blacks in teaching and administrative positions be increased to at least coincide with the number of Black students on campus. Such a position had unfortunate repercussions and smacked of a "quota system" mentality. Adroit racists within the universities twisted such a demand to read that if there were no Blacks on campus then the demand for Blacks was invalid. Politically, Black students failed to adequately expand the issue to include many other valid concerns that may have served as fuel to intensify the struggle. Still the demand for more Black faces on campus was a legitimate one and created a "mini-crisis" for a host of liberal university officials and real concern for the more rigid and recalcitrant administrations whom procrastination had left faced with the age-old problem of limited supply and increased demand. Black professionals on obscure southern campuses and in teeming ghetto failure factories (schools) became the quarry for a "hue-hunt" which later resulted in a crippling brain drain of the Black community. When all the "dust" had settled there were more Black faces on white campuses and more white faces in Black schools.

On the surface the increase in the number of Black faces on white campuses was a victory of sorts. Yet, closer scrutiny reveals that this "victory" of a sort was, in one respect, a serious tactical error on the part of Black students.

The ironic consequences of the Black faces issue became clear when one notes that no serious attempt was made to wire the issue of Black faces with the issue of political Black faces who might serve as direction givers. The only criteria for employment of these "brothers and sisters" was that they be Black in hue and not necessarily Black in view (political). Unfortunately, at times the campuses became the haven for some of history's most reactionary Black elements.

The Black student was, as a result of the dynamics of the campus struggle, faced with the questions of what to do with, i.e., how to classify the so-called Black brothers and sisters who had internalized every racist, Horatio Alger type myth that America has to offer. What to do with these Blacks who had just recently been "rescued" from obscurity on southern Black campuses and voluntarily agreed to a hermit-like existence on white rural state university campuses; what to do with these "nigguhs" who begin to spout the virtues of intellectual objectivity and persistent hard work as a panacea for all the ills of this racist, fascist-inclined society.

Therefore, foremost on the list of campus concern for the Black student is the question of loyalty and allegiance. Unfortunately, a great number of Black faces (faculty) are extremely suspicious of Black student activism on any scale. These people are some of the same "brothers and sisters" whose arrival onto campus, promotion through the ranks, and positions of influence were hastened by determined and angry Black students who risked their so-called academic careers and potential futures by being labeled "militant." Instead of reciprocating or even acknowledging the efforts of their youthful counterparts, most professional Blacks took a very condescending view of the Black student and chided him for being "too emotional"; chastised him for being too outspoken; and avoided him for being too serious about the quest for freedom.

The Black university professional, for the most part, is apprehensive of any change and has quaking aversions and fears of anything that smacks of revolutionary change. Their level of security and risk is deemed by them to be in direct proportion to the level of inaction or action taken by students. The more lethargic the political scene on campus the more confident and relaxed they seem. Such a development is disturbing to Black students and assumes a

priori recognition in terms of immediate problems. The Black student recognizes that with the backing and cooperation of Black faculty a viable Black United Front on campus might possibly develop with potential to become a power base in itself.

Instead, at present most of these Black faces are containment agents, infiltrators, and the most obstructionist element on campus. In addition to retarding the radical political development of the Black student, these traitors have confused many a searching Black youth who thought them to be representative of Black moods; they have spread fantastic lies in the community concerning Black student activities and programs. And are always more than prepared to overestimate the strength and forces of the administration while underestimating, criticizing and laughing at the students efforts—never pitching in to help strengthen the Black student position. Aside from all of this they tend to be extremely racist, promulgating and nurturing all the age-old suspicions about whites in the presence of Black students yet while in the presence of whites affecting a "noble savage" posture. This type of Black racism makes it extremely difficult for young Black students to overcome white stereotypes and enter into temporary—but needed—coalitions with progressive whites. In essence, this type of Black professional is a one man reactionary counter-progressive army in his own right.

Black Houses

Black houses or cultural centers were designed around the principle of "let them destroy each other—over crumbs," a precept that had been established and developed most successfully around anti-poverty programs. From the onset, Black houses caused little or no adjustment problem for the university hierarchy. Building and expansion projections indicated a surplus of space in the initial phase of the universities manifest destiny into the surrounding residence areas.

From the onset, there was an ever-widening gap between what Black students demanded and what the university was willing to give. Most political students envisioned an action-oriented and viable structure that would serve as a natural gathering place for Black students from geographically different areas. More importantly, it would constitute a beehive of political activity where political growth would be enhanced by serious rapport and analysis; where practical projects that transcended petty campus problems would be developed and implemented and where Black students might receive supportive institutional matriculation. Such did not fully materialize. From its inception the Black house was seriously handicapped by a small, deceptive and unrealistic budget. It was conceived in ambiguity and ambivalence and left to stagnate. No one bothered to define it. In fact, very few people wanted to define or give it a specific function. It too, was an expedient solution to a deep-rooted problem. The Black houses are still plagued by questions such as, "If the house is part of the university should it be made as open to whites using it as Blacks?" Few, if any, of the university officials cared to discourage such questions because these questions serve the purpose of continually and subtly projecting the house as a racist institution barred even to the white mailmen. Such is not the case, and more often than not, the House is the hub of activity for most radical groups on campus directly or indirectly.

Finally, the Black house was designed (by whites) to promote the "color-me-brown" culture of those apolitical assimilationists who headed up the moderate civil rights organizations. Any attempt to make the Black house a vibrant adjunct to the larger struggle would meet the full unbridled repressive schemes available to the university administration. Tactically, Black houses should have provided Black students with a base from which to heighten the contradictions of institutionalized racism and intensify the struggle for human dignity and racial liberation. Instead, Black houses are teetering on the brink of internal destruction. To avoid this unwelcomed demise the Black house has to have a broad base appeal to all facets of the Black community; a structure that is less demonstrating and more practical and political in its efforts. On the other hand, Black studies programs and departments were subjected to the same morbid and senseless nit-picking that any Black student demand would fall prey. The institutional genesis of Black studies placed a vigorous emphasis on the premise that "he who pays the piper (the faculty) calls the tune (the thrust)." Further, the locus of decision-making and power lie outside of the department itself—outside and far away from Blacks in general. As a result of such a distorted and insulting beginning, Black studies stands as an institutionalized mockery of the Black experience and an ineffectual tool in the struggle to provide Blacks with a cogent and consistent body of relevant scientific theory—instead of outmoded, vague allusions today of Black grandeur that approached white western

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Cybernetics and the Black Student

By Barry Schwartz

The Black Voice reprints this article from *Essence* mainly because of its analytical value. We especially invite our readers to send us their comments on it.

To many, perhaps most, Americans, the words "welfare recipient" mean Negro. Welfare is seen by the "enlightened" liberal as a necessary step for the maintenance of ghetto residents. They prefer our citizens who suffer to do so privately, conveniently concealed from public view, and are resigned to paying for the flaws in the otherwise admirable system. The "unenlightened" conservatives see welfare as a give-away, a concession to boisterous minority groups, a support for the shiftless and lazy paid out of our fast-emptying after-taxes pockets. Both the "enlightened" and the "unenlightened", however, share the assumption that the collection of a welfare check is guaranteed by the status of unemployed, non-white. That this assumption has no basis in fact seems to bother no one.

The fact is that welfare is not for the unemployed, but for the unemployable and destitute. The essential problem of the black man in unemployment or unstable employment and there is nothing being done, including welfare, to fundamentally alleviate this condition. As the table below indicates, the majority of welfare recipients are old, blind, disabled, or families with dependent children, which means that the male head of the household is either deceased or not residing with the family. In most states it is explicitly provided that unemployed workers are not to receive welfare funds. William A. Martin, an economist of some authority, reports that "in Maryland, to take one state that does authorize welfare for unemployed workers, the number of unemployed on welfare (in May, 1964) was 791, out of a total of 43,600 unemployed workers. Virtually never, in the United States, does an unemployed worker go on welfare—most states do not allow it. . . ."

Cases of Public Assistance (as of December, 1965)	
Old-age assistance	2,127,179
Aid to the Blind	94,576
Aid to the permanently & Totally Disabled	575,245
Aid to Families with "Dependent" Children	1,069,316
"General" (state and local)	310,000
	4,176,316

One of the central problems soon to plague our entire economic-work structure is less work for all; and less work for all will mean even less work for the black man. The MIT mathematician, Norbert Wiener, first sounded the alarm for the impending alteration of our conventional methods of production. "Let us remember", he said, "that the automatic machine is the precise economic equivalent of slave labor. Any labor which competes with slave labor must accept the economic conditions of slave labor. It is perfectly clear that this will produce an unemployment situation in comparison with . . . the depression of the thirties will seem a pleasant joke." Wiener's prediction, aimed at *all of society*, certainly suggests a hopeless future for the black man in America. It may well be that America's former slaves are destined to suffer the effects of a new enslavement.

As our society automates, men are replaced by machines. The process is accelerated as the demands of labor increase at a rate greater than the cost of new machinery. As these two cost factors coincide, more machines are used to perform what were once human work functions. Office business machines are now sold in terms of G.P., girl power, a measure of the number of girls the machine replaces.

The situation in which the mass of black workers find themselves is typified by the displacement of elevator operators in Chicago a few years ago. The elevator operators were making \$1.00 to \$1.25 per hour. Responding to what they considered an inappropriate wage, they organized, and raised their salaries to \$2.40 per hour. But when automatic elevators could be *bought and maintained* for \$7,000 per year, while two shifts of operators cost more than \$10,000 at the new rate, Chicago had some new elevators; needless to say, they were automatic.

Automation tends to replace workers whose tasks are mechanical or physically laborious. One automated machine tool, for example, can select any one of thirty-one different cutting tools in order to execute hundreds of operations in proper sequence, without any human hand regulating any part of the work performed.

Machines are best suited for jobs now filled by black workers, the unskilled and semi-skilled.

Cybernetics means the use of machines in a decision-making capacity to eliminate white collar and lower-echelon management personnel. No one is unaffected, and by the time we discover the full implications of automation we will already be under the influence of cybernetics. While all of society will feel the consequences of the changes imminent in employment, income, consumership, and leisure, the

black man will probably receive in greatest measure the negative affects of economic change. As David Rodnick states: "No one knows yet what to do with the individuals who are displaced by automation, for even retraining requires some idea be held as to what to train unskilled and uneducated workers for." Most urgent, therefore, is an examination of cybernetics in its largest terms, and a consideration of how the black man can prepare for a cybernetic future in which the majority of jobs he now holds will no longer exist.

Advancing automation means an abundance of goods, goods to be produced by machines. The economic security of the black man must be contemplated, then, in view of the fact that he will not be participating in production. At present, our society's major economic effort is not directed toward the making of products, but toward their distribution-packaging, advertising, transportation, and service industries. It is to be remembered that the one industry which employed large numbers of negroes in production was agriculture, and that automation and mechanization have almost completely assumed those tasks. If the black man is to protect himself, single individuals must cease to think in terms of personal success in companies which make goods, but should instead consider themselves as members of a community, the black community, which can gain control over the distribution of goods in that community. There are not, and will not be sufficient jobs to accommodate the race unless the black community creates those jobs and maintains them through exclusive patronage.

The idea voiced here is not original, nor was it new when James Baldwin advocated it years ago. It has been oft repeated and rarely implemented because the means of implementation were lacking. Wealthy blacks too frequently acknowledge their success by cutting themselves off from their people, and the black middle class has too little incentive for community concerns and insufficient capital for large-scale cooperative ventures. Finally, distrust prevents many blacks from allowing their individual security to depend on the activities of a group or community. However, at present, new factors are being added to the economic equation which may make such an approach viable.

Because increasingly large numbers of people throughout society are going to be displaced by increased automation, a great drop in consumership can be expected unless preventive measures are taken. While there is still much doubt about the inevitability of the guaranteed income, it is clear that some economic measure will have to be instituted to insure a stable economic base. The need for some kind of economic measure is the same as was revealed by the depression, which led directly to the creation of unemployment insurance. The government was hardly acting out of compassion when it created a system of benefits for unemployed workers, but only out of the awareness that large numbers of people cutting down on their consumption created a snowballing effect which was harmful to the economy: unsold stocks forced distributors to slow down, warehouses with no calls for goods released workers for whom they had no work, leaving shippers with nothing to ship, and manufacturers without orders decreased or ceased production, further swelling the ranks of the unemployed. The same danger exists with the creation of large numbers of permanent or semi-permanent unemployed through cybernetics. While there are many ways the government might deal with this problem, it is significant that Congress recently approved a four million dollar project which placed 100 New Jersey families on a guaranteed income. The purpose is to study the effect of a guaranteed income on the ghetto family. Obviously something is in the wind. Perhaps utopian, but nonetheless significant, was a full-page advertisement by the Schickel Environmental Development Company, which appeared in the November 17, 1967 *New York Times*, calling for a National Act of Restitution for the American negro. In brief, providing the rights to free education, medical and dental care, and low-interest long-term loans to negro citizens. The reasoning is analogous to the justification of the G.I. Bill: a recompense for years of sacrifice.

Should some form of economic assistance be offered, that money or part of it should be made available to the black community at large with which it can begin to create its own economic security. Previously the power wielded by black people has been limited to withholding their consumption. Now the possibility arises for economic independence, as money spent for needed services could pass directly back into the black community.

The ways in which the black community might organize to draw upon and increase its own resources are various and, for the most part, as yet unexplored. One can imagine a system, for example, where people donated their services a specified number of hours each week. People in need of such services as house painting, car and appliance repairs, legal and medical consultation, etc., would make their needs known to a central bureau which would, in turn, contact those who had volunteered their time and talents. Full or partial payment for the jobs done would be made to the bureau. The money collected over a period of time would become substantial, and could be used for investing in black businesses run by and for the community. Some time after the purchase of community businesses the original people who worked for credit could be reimbursed, monetarily, or with goods or services from these new businesses. Whatever concepts develop will be based on the understanding that if blacks can be persuaded to purchase from and be serviced by organizations composed and representative of their own community, they can generate, with increasing success, wealth in the community at large. With community control over the distribution of goods, the allocation of services, the ownership of dwellings, and local communication media, there is economic security; with individual decisions to try to "make it" in the larger society there are only occasional successes and mass frustration.

The larger meaning of the age of cybernetics looming on the horizon of our economy of abundance is the need for shifting national priorities. It is a political-social-economic question which for once, happens as well to have morality on its side.

Let us suppose that I had a pencil making machine which only needed to be turned on in order to produce an endless stream of pencils. I plug it in and out come thousands of pencils. My first reaction would be to begin to package them and sell them to every available market. After a time, however, the pencils would pile up more quickly than I could package them. What I would probably do then is turn the machine off for a while, and that is what our society is doing at the present time. But our efforts to prevent surplus are only transitional; there are simply too many producers to make effective suppression possible. The essential question becomes; do I turn the machine on once again, produce pencils endlessly, and either give them away to established markets or try to find new markets; or do I destroy the machine (and it must be noted that rarely, if ever, has a manufacturer voluntarily put himself out of business). The necessary result is abundance: goods produced beyond demand with only minimal human labor. Walter Reuther tells a story that illustrates the resultant dilemma: "Several years ago I went through the Ford Cleveland engine plant where they had fully automated the production of engines. As I looked over the acres and acres of automated machinery, I was asked by a management person how I liked the situation. I said I was impressed and he said, 'Well, you won't be able to collect dues from all of these automatic machines,' and I said, 'You know, that's not what's bothering me. What's bothering me is how are you going to sell cars to all of these machines?'"

The alternatives of freebies or imperialism were what Malcolm X was talking about when he returned from his world tour. As the failing powers and panic power tactics of colonialist nations are indicating, these "new" markets are either rejecting the product, as in southeast Asia, or becoming saturated, as in Latin America. They simply cannot consume on our terms, should they want to, as quickly as we produce. At present our most perfect products are bombs and bullets, which destroy themselves upon use, immediately creating a demand for more. This expenditure which supports imperialism could be, indeed must be if we are not to blow up the world, redirected to production consistent with the possibilities of abundance.

The black revolution, if secure itself, could contribute to the change in national priorities required by an economy of abundance. This country alone could, at this very moment, if it so desired, produce enough food for the world's people. The so-called problem of starvation that now exists is not a lack of food substance, but a lack of protein, and we have the technology to synthesize protein for world consumption. We could produce prefabricated houses consistent with local needs and customs for those without dwellings. We could . . . we could . . . we could . . . Many things become possible with the present technology, and economy of abundance, and a new set of American priorities. But who will change the priorities?

The force for change, however unfairly, resides in part with the black revolution in America; a revolution which first must provide security for its own, and may concurrently provide the impetus that will force our society to use its abundance creatively instead of signifying failure by destruction.

International Students and the War

As part of the May Day activities several foreign student organizations of the University of Wisconsin were asked to publicly state their position on the Peoples Peace Treaty now being circulated around the United States.

In addition to the symbolic act of support for the initiative of the people of Viet Nam and the United States to end this imperialist war, the different groups were encouraged to write their own preambles to the Peoples Peace Treaty. Below appear the introductions and answers as expressed by the foreign student organizations of the University of Wisconsin.

* * *

THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION of the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN hereby expresses its support of the "Joint Treaty of Peace" between the Vietnamese and United States people. We believe that this document symbolizes the honest effort of both peoples to bring this devastating and senseless war to an END.

L.A.S.A.

* * *

THE THIRD WORLD UNITY MOVEMENT severely condemns United States imperialism for its savage crimes of aggression against the people of the Third World, of which the Indochinese war is the most blatant example. Thus, the T.W.U.M. recognizes and stands side by side with the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Neo Lao Hakset, the National United Front of Kampuchea, the sole representatives of the Indochinese people, in their struggle against imperialism. Furthermore the T.W.U.M. joins Madam Binh in urging the citizens of the United States to support and implement the Peoples Peace Treaty by any means necessary.

T.W.U.M.

FOREIGN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

Armenian S.A.	Not Available
Chinese S.A.	Not Available
Ethiopian S.A.	Yes
Greek Club	Yes
Hawaiian Club	No
Foreign ST. Circle	Yes
Israel S.A.	No
Italian Club	Not Available
Indian S.A.	No
Iranian S.A.	Not Available
Israel Forum	No
Japan S.A.	No
Latin American S.A.	Yes
MACSA	Not Available
Nigeria S.A.	Not Available
Organization Arab ST.	Yes
Pakistan	Yes
Scandinavian	Not Available
South East Asian S.A.	Yes
Slavic Club	No
Tricontinental	Yes
Third World Unity	Yes
West Indian St.	Yes
Turkish S.A.	Yes
Afro-American Center	Yes
American Indians	Not Available
International Club	Yes
International Coop.	Yes
International Coop. (R)	Yes

Reading... (from page 2)

civilization. Though it is very obvious that whites are curious and even culturally deprived when it comes to the Black experience, such a condition does not justify or warrant young Black scholars *devoting* all their energies and skills towards convincing incredulous whites that Blacks are historically participants in the human experience. Rather, Blacks must begin to re-vamp Black studies programs to include scientific—chemistry, biology, physics, medicine—strata in addition to redefining the traditional "white" humanities so that sociology, psychology, and education might have some concrete meaning and affect on the objective condition of Black people. Unless this is done Black studies will remain a hodgepodge of disjointed Black heroes, dates, and events that have little real applicability in today's space age cybernetic reality.

From our experience, it should be crystal clear that the restructuring of Black studies will not meet with *applause* and *Right-Ons* from university presidents, *administrations*, or state legislatures. We must struggle, if we are to progress. We must begin to understand that those currently in power will not be willing to subsidize the destruction of their repressive way of life.

* * *

To legitimize the "grape-vine"
a Black Information Service
has been started. Any information of interest to black people should be given to VASS at the Afro-American Center.

Palestine (from page 1)

Palestinians have successfully played the role of educators, professionals and technicians in several Arab countries, especially in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. Arab Palestinians faced this cultural challenge in pre-1948 Palestine and managed in the relatively short period of thirty years to compete effectively with the Jews in agriculture, industry, education and even in the field of finance and banking. Hopeful in the comradeship of a significant number of Jews, the Arabs of Palestine will become effective and equal partners, in the building of the new country.

Integration of Palestine within the Arab region will add to its economic and political viability. Present Arab boycott will obviously be replaced by economic aid and trade, a goal which Israel completely failed to achieve, remaining thus an American ward and protege during its entire existence.

Conclusion

The democratic, non-sectarian Palestine still lacks full clarity and elaboration, but this is the best that can be done at this stage of the struggle. Palestinians have outgrown their bitterness and prejudice in a relatively short-time through rebirth of national pride. A few years ago, discussing this proposal would have been considered a complete sell-out or high treason. Even today, some Arabs still find it very difficult to accept the proposed goal and secretly—or publicly—hope that it is nothing more than a tactical propaganda move. It is definitely not so. The Palestinian Revolution is determined to fight for the creation of the new democratic and non-sectarian Palestine as the long-term ultimate goal of liberation. Annihilation of the Jews or the Palestinian exiles, and the creation of an exclusive racist state in Palestine be it Jewish, Christian or Moslem is totally unacceptable and unworkable. The oppressed Palestinian people will fight and make all necessary sacrifices to demolish such a state, now and in the future.

The Israeli racists are greatly irritated by the idea of a democratic Palestine. It reveals the contradictions of Zionism and exposes the moral schizophrenia that has beset world Jewry since the creation of Israel. The adoption by several significant progressive Jews of the new goal threatens world Zionism. Israeli Jewish Professor Loebel and French Jewish writer Ania Francos have been molested by Zionists for their sponsorship of the democratic Palestine as the ultimate goal of liberation. The Zionists are stepping up their campaign to discredit the idea especially among the Jews. Their effort has been in vain. The force of logic and the effect of years of persecution in exclusive societies at the hands of racists are opening the eyes of Jews and others in the world to the only permanent solution that will bring lasting peace and justice to our Palestine: the building of a progressive, open, tolerant homeland for all of us.

Illusion

Oh!
Me, I'm just standing here
doing absolutely nothing
just having some fun
Oh, you want to know than why the WHAT!
Gun?
What gun?
In my hand, Mister you must be crazy!

Ain't I been Both servant and mule to you
You brought me here
and bond me in chain
take away my pride
and blistered my hide
told me that I was nothing but an animal?
3/5 s of a man.
Huh!
watch where I'm Pointing
that thing
What thing is that?
Oh! that gun you keep talking
about
Hey, remember when you freed me,
so I'd starve
Promised me forty acres and a mule
even let me go to school
not yours of course
Then you started beating me not with a whip
or the butt of your gun
with a book
and finally the law
Me and You been together for 300 Years Baby
now why would I turn
against my Life and Blood
Oh! Why did I pull the trigger
while it was pointed at YOU
I don't know
the devil made me do it
can't imagine why
Anyway how could I shoot you with an empty
hand
Remember I'm the invisible man
Just like you ain't seen me
I didn't see the gun!

Bernard Forrester

Soledad Brother!

Excerpted from *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*. Copyright © 1970 by World Entertainers Limited. Reprinted with permission.

Dear Fay, April 17, 1970

Slavery is an economic condition. The classical chattel and today's neoslavery must be defined in terms of economics. The chattel is a property, one man exercising the property rights of his established economic order, the other man as that property. The owner can move that property or hold it in one square yard of the earth's surface; he can let it breed other slaves, or make it breed other slaves; he can sell it, beat it, work it, maim it, fuck it, kill it. But if he wants to keep it and enjoy all of the benefits that property of this kind can render, he must feed it sometimes, he must clothe it against the elements, he must provide a modicum of shelter. Chattel slavery is an economic condition which manifests itself in the total loss or absence of self-determination.

The new slavery, the modern variety of chattel slavery updated to disguise itself, places the victim in a factory or in the case of most blacks in support roles inside and around the factory system (service trades) working for a wage. However, if work cannot be found in or around the factory complex, today's neoslavery does not allow even for a modicum of food and shelter. You are free-to-starve. The sense and meaning of slavery comes through as a result of our ties to the wage. You must have it, without it you would starve or expose yourself to the elements. One's entire day centers around the acquisition of the wage. The control of your eight or ten hours on the job is determined by others. You are left with fourteen to sixteen hours. But since you don't live at the factory you have to subtract at least another hour for transportation. Then you are left with thirteen to fifteen hours to yourself. If you can afford three meals you are left with ten to twelve hours. Rest is also a factor in efficiency so we have to take eight hours away for sleeping, leaving two to four hours. But one must bathe, comb, clean teeth, shave, dress—there is no point in protracting this. I think it should be generally accepted that if a man (or woman) works for a wage at a job that he doesn't enjoy, and I am convinced that no one could enjoy any type of assembly-line work, or plumbing or hod carrying, or any job in the service trades, then he qualifies for this definition of neoslave. The man who owns the factory or shop or business runs your life; you are dependent on this owner. He organizes your work, the work upon which your whole life source and style depends. He indirectly determines your whole day, in organizing you for work. If you don't make any more in wages than you need to live you are a neoslave. You qualify if you cannot afford to leave California for New York. If you cannot visit Zanzibar, Havana, Peking, or even Paris when you get the urge you are a slave. If you're held in one spot on this earth because of your economic status, it is the same as being held in one spot because you are the owner's property. Here in the black colony the pigs still beat and maim us. They murder us and call it justified homicide. A brother who had a smoking pipe in his belt was shot in the back of the head. Neoslavery is an economic condition, a small knot of men exercising the property rights of their established economic order, organizing and controlling the life style of the slave as if he were in fact property. Succinctly: an economic condition which manifests itself in the total loss or absence of self-determination. Only after this is understood and accepted can we go on to the dialectic that will help us in a remedy.

A diagnosis of our discomfort is necessary before the surgery; it's always necessary to justify the letting of blood. And we don't want the knife to damage any related parts that could be spared for later use.

The pig is an instrument of neoslavery, to be hated and avoided; he is pushed to the front by the men who exercise the unnatural right over property. You've heard the patronizing shit about the thin blue line that protects property and the owners of property. The pigs are not protecting you, your home, and its contents. Recall they never found the TV set you lost in that burglary. They're protecting the unnatural right of a few men to own the means of all of our subsistence. The pig is protecting the right of a few private individuals to own public property!! The pig is merely the gun, the tool, a mentally inanimate utensil. It is necessary to destroy the gun, but destroying the gun and sparing the hand that holds it will forever relegate us to a defensive action, hold our revolution in the doldrums, ultimately defeat us. The animal that holds the gun, that has loosed the pig of war on us, is a bitter-ender, an intractable gluttonous vulture who must eat at our hearts to live. Midas-motivated, never satisfied, everything he touches will turn to shit! Slaying the shitty pig will have absolutely no healing effect at all if we leave this vulture to touch

someone else. Spare the hand that holds the gun and it will simply fashion another.

They send us to school to learn how to be so disgusting. We send our children to places of learning operated by men who hate us and hate the truth. It is clear that no school would be better. Burn it; all the fascist literature, burn that too. Then equip yourself with the Little Red Book. There is no other way to regain our senses. We must destroy Johnson Publications and the little black tabloids that mimic the fascist press even to their denunciations of black extremists. Burn them, or take them over as people's collectives, and give the colonies a dynamite case of self-determination, anticolonialism, and Mao think!!!!!!

* * * * *
Colonel Davis in history was outstanding for two very typical characteristics of his profession, temperament and foolishness. True to his persuasion, this jackass was so patriotic and Republican that he actually proposed we begin and end each class with a pledge of allegiance to the flag from a kneeling position. He was tall and square and gray-blond, a veteran of several declared and undeclared Yankee wars. If you passed the flag without genuflection you had this fool to fight. I sat through his shit for a month; Amerika the beautiful, the righteous, the only nation on earth where everyone can afford a flush toilet and a traffic ticket. All Russians were fat Tartars, the Japanese were copyists, Arabs couldn't fight and neither could the French. All Africans were primitive who didn't know when they were well off. Vietnamese were just niggers with slant eyes (there were four blacks in the class). The Chinese were so stupid that they couldn't feed themselves. Inevitably they would have to return to the good old days and ways of the rickshaw, pigtails, the coolie, opium dens and cathouses. I took this shit with a stony calm for one month. I tried to get out of the class five or six times, but you have to have a clear life-and-death situation to get out of anything once you get in. This is in keeping with the overall prison conspiracy, i.e., you have no will, you have no choice or control, so be wise-surrender. There's this sign hanging everywhere your eyes may happen to rest, begging: "O lord, help me to accept those things I cannot change." A life-death situation is necessary to get out; that's just what I had but couldn't admit to it looks bad on the parole board report. I tried to keep ahead between myself and this representative of the great silent majority, failing this I would fix my eyes on one of the six flags in the room (one in each corner, two on the desk) and try to endure. Me

and this cat fell all the way out in the end. I never planned it that way, in fact my plan was to hide my "face" and hang on. The session we had was completely spontaneous, it started in the opening minutes of our two-hour class. This silent majority had just completed a hymn to the great Amerikan corporate monster with the line "Now haven't we all the right to be proud?" I said, "No." The guy glanced at me, blinked, looked away, and kept right on with his eulogy. My answer didn't register with him; he heard me but he was positive that he heard me wrong. In the cloister of this man's mind, my displeasure, my dissatisfaction was just too impossible to be true. The good colonel had been explaining that corporate capitalism, the end of a long evolutionary chain of other economic arrangements, was a perfect and flawless system as man can ever hope to achieve. It was the only economic order that allowed for man's natural inclinations. The barbarous nations of Asia and Africa who had abandoned it for planned economics would ultimately fail since the incentive motive inherent within the capitalist ideal was missing. Without the profit-and-loss incentive, production will remain low and eventually fail. I stood up, sat on the back of my desk, put one foot on the seat, and told this cat that he had just told "another" lie. I don't know why I was doing this. I even felt a thrill of sympathy for this fool at first. His mouth dropped open like a shark's, his ears and forehead and nose showed that he was as red-blooded an Amerikan as anyone could ever become. In an unconscious impulse his hands locked themselves around the base of the two flagpoles on his desk, as if to protect the little pieces of colored rag from the impudent and unpatriotic nigger who did-just-blaspeme!

"What'd you say, boy?" I said, "You've been lying for a month now about 'work ethics' and 'voting processes' and 'economic incentives,' you've been lying all your life really, and now I want to question some of this stuff. Can you stand it?"

I didn't wait for an answer, but continued, "I've worked in factories here in this country, on assembly lines, doing production work. I've made some study of mass production procedures in heavy and light industry, and I've looked into political economy in general, and I'm certain that in everything you've said in here for the last month there was a conscious intent to misrepresent the truth, present only those parts of the truth that supported your contentions or to omit it altogether.

to be continued

Ethnic Adaptive System (Pattern of Ethnic Selection)

