Special issue The Black Revolution, through the eyes of MSU students.

Photo by Bob Ivins
Calendar of Events: April 4-17

THURSDAY, APRIL 4
“Hello, Dolly!” (8:15, Au.)
“Tom Jones” (7 & 9, 109 Anthony)
“Inside North Vietnam” (Union Ballroom)
Orchestra Dance Concert (7:15, McKinley)  

FRIDAY, APRIL 5
“Tom Jones” (7 & 9, 109 Anthony)

SATURDAY, APRIL 6
Winds of Change (Erickson Kiva)  
Orchestra Dance Concert (7:15, McKinley)

THURSDAY, APRIL 11
Ingar Bergman’s “The Silence” (7 & 9, 108 Wells)
Roman Polanski’s “Repulsion” (7 & 9, 109 Anthony)
ASCUF Elections
ASCUF Student Recital (3:00, Music Aud.)

MONDAY, APRIL 8
“In Attendant Go-Char” (8:15, Au.)
Lacrosse, MSU vs. Oberlin

TUESDAY, APRIL 9
Henryk Szeryng, violinist (8:15, Au.)
Last Day to Drop Courses
Sorority Rush Ends
Sorority Round Table

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10
“The Gospel According to St. Matthew” (7:30, Au.)

THURSDAY, APRIL 11
“Sun, Stars and Seasons” (8:00, Abrams)
Tennis, MSU vs. Illinois
Full Moon: Werewolves Beware

SATURDAY, APRIL 13
Bette Davis in “All About Eve” (7 & 9, 109 Anthony)

TUESDAY, APRIL 16
“Dinahs” (8:15, Au.)
Last Day for Diploma Applications
Graduate Recital; H. Jones Considine, bassoon (8:15, Music Aud.)

SUNDAY, APRIL 14
Easter Sunday
“Sun, Stars and Seasons” (2:30 & 4, Abrams)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17
Baseball, MSU vs. Albion

MONDAY, APRIL 15
Sorority Pledging Begins
Provoit’s Lecture Series Begins
Racism, in search of ideology

By Cedric C. Clark

The problem, however, is not just that American racist practices are in contradiction to other values, but that there is no ideological justification whatsoever for these practices. Members of American minority groups have long recognized that the “Empire has no clothes” in this regard, and it is not unmoving for them to witness the various attempts to fasten lain clothes around the country’s nakedness. It was during the Second World War that such attempts first began in earnest. Americans found it strangely inconsistent that they were fighting Nazi racist ideology with segregated troops. Prior to the Second World War, Americans did possess an ideological base for their racism. The impact of Darwin’s Origin of the Species was profound enough to justify the further extinction of American Indians as well as the sub-human categorization of Black Americans. Darker-skinned people were treated as inferior because, consistent with the Zeitgeist, they were genetically inferior. And for those who rejected Darwin’s evolutionary thesis but who desired an ideological base for their racist practices, there was always the Bible which, fortunately enough, was sufficiently ambiguous to justify virtually any belief.

After the Second World War, it was clear that something else had to replace the blatant racist ideology. There was thus a sudden shift in emphasis: non-white Americans were no longer considered genetically inferior—they were simply “uneducated,” but “educable.” The solution to the racial problem was seen in terms of “better education for the Negro.” The White Man’s Burden, both at home and abroad (i.e., in Puerto Rico and the Philippines), became one of education. Negro colleges sprang up all over the South and America’s smitten conscience was salved—the loin cloth was firmly in place.

Education as an ideological base ran into trouble, however, for it did not consider the fundamental racist nature of American society. If education was the solution, why was it necessary to have separate educational facilities for black and white Americans? If education was the solution, why was it that a Negro Ph.D. was no more permitted to buy a house of his own choosing as he was no less susceptible to police intimidation than an illiterate sharecropper? It was clear to most Black Americans that the differential punishment metered out to Senator Thomas Dodd and Congressman Adam Powell had less to do with education than with race.

The bankruptcy of the educational ideology also made it clear that arguments along class lines would be no less unsatisfactory, for education and economic class are highly correlated. At this point the issue becomes clearly academic because America was not prepared, under any circumstances, to adopt an ideological base developed along class lines.

While the “What the Negroes need in education” school of thought is still prevalent (indeed, this is what George Wallace’s followers point to as his “moderate” racial stand), there is a brand-new ideological trend on the horizon. The new loin cloth is no bigger than the old one, but it is considerably more stylish. The latest attempt to fill the ideological vacuum might be called the “breakdown in communication” school. The proponents of this school did not grow up in a Zeitgeist of Social Darwinism as did their parents, and are thus quite prepared to accept (or at least not reject) the basic equality of all races. More importantly, this is what gets them into trouble in the Progressive South, they are willing to concede that “Negro education” is an unsatisfactory answer. The “breakdown in communication” school is unique because it attempts to fill the ideological vacuum with something akin to a parity relationship between white and non-white Americans. The essential thesis (one which, to their discredit, the Commission accepts) is that if communication between the races were made more effective, misunderstanding and harmony and, above all, order would prevail in American society. This argument is no less fallacious than that preferred by the “lack of education” school. The truth is that perhaps never before has there been as much communication between the races and never before has there been less harmony and more disorder. To be sure, most of the communication is one way (Blacks are more exposed to white views than vice versa), but it is grossly demeaning the cognitive capabilities of white Americans to suggest that they have not received the essential elements of Black America’s communication. Recent communications by Black Americans, because of their fundamental inarticulateness, have dealt not with abstractions but with issues which even the most ignorant white man can grasp. That many people may not like the messages they receive should not be confused with
The Kerner Commission Report

By BARRY AMIS

On Feb. 28 the bipartisan National Committee on Civil Disorders released a summary of its investigation of the 1967 big-city riots. The full report was released on March 2. The report emphasized that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

"It also stated explicitly that white racism was the principal cause and that "what white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget— is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

Yet, it is not white racism which concerns me because most blacks are fully aware of it and most whites minimize or disclaim it. Rather, it is the reception of this report which is important and revealing. Civil rights leaders understandably welcomed it. Southerners maintain it and white society condones it. "White institutions created it; white institutions was the principal cause and that "what white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget— is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

The Chicago Tribune typifies the public response to what the commission announced on March 2 that "the report...is awash with tears for the poor, oppressed rioters." Other responses called the report "naive, nothing new, a whitewash," and "its proposals are too expensive to implement." Unfortunately, these reactions and the apathy of the general public miss the whole point of the report.

The purpose of its findings cannot be stressed enough. Either white America is going to wake up to reality of we are going to have what the March 28th New York Times magazine calls "Second Civil War—Black vs. White."

It is clear that all of white America is apathetic, as that same article in **Equire** states, because there are some people who are doing nothing further outside. This is evident in the formation of vigilante groups in Chicago, St. Louis, the training of National Guard troops for riot control; the purchase of armored personnel carriers, machine guns, tear gas for police departments all over the country.

Police-state tactics and pronouncements by those like Mike Marcus in Philadelphia and Chicago and Miami are other evidence of police controls with dogs and shotguns to patrol black neighborhoods and snipers trained to shoot people from helicopters. The commission said that "in several cities the principal official responsible for the riots has been the police with more sophisticated weaponry."

In the March 25 issue of *Newark* Walter Lippman said that "the truth has been spoken" in regard to the Kerner Report, but "the program and the adumbrations of the report sound are, in fact, stupendous. Lippman offers his own solution as "the real hope of the Negroes is that they will participate as citizens, not as Negroes receiving charity, in the progress and uplift of the nation."

Of course, it is a failure to repeat for the nth time that blacks have been trying vainly to participate as citizens in this society for more than two hundred years. And, "receiving charity" is Lippman's sophisticated way of repeating the cliche about "laziness, shiftlessness, Negroes."

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It is important, in this connection, to note that every attempt to fill this ideological vacuum created by racist practices and their absence of justification—the "inside inferiority school" of Social Darwinism, the "lack of education school," and, currently, the "breakdown of communication" school—all of these eras ideological stopgaps have been associated with either an abdication of responsibility or sheer opportunism on the part of academicians and professional educators. Social Darwinism would not have gained such currency if biologists and other natural scientists who did their job, the "lack of education" school would not have gained support if educators had done their job; and if communication theorists and social psychologists do their job, the "breakdown in communication" school will receive the garbage can fate it deserves. In each of these cases, "their job" refers to what should be the major preoccupation of intellectuals: the clarification of issues. Unfortunately, the American intellectual and academic establishments have had a history of floundering rather than clarifying racial issues, often in direct proportion to their failure to grapple with the issue at hand. For their study, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* remains the only genuine academic contribution to this problem; and Professor Myrdal is Swedish, not American.

The reluctance among academicians as well as other segments of the society to confront the issue of American racism head-on is not difficult to explain. First of all, there is an equally valid issue of the racist society and racist citizens and most people, particularly social scientists, do not consider themselves racists. Furthermore, since most white Americans do not give non-whites any credit for building America, there is a reluctance to hold them equally (or even partially) responsible for its present condition—except in a very narrow sense like "crime in the streets" etc. The upshot of all this is the tendency for most whites to refuse to accept the notion that America is a racist society because they feel that they, and they alone, have built the country and that, therefore, it is perfect. The irony reaches us full-force: if more American whites believed that more American blacks helped build America, they might be more willing to describe it in a realistic, albeit unflattering, manner.

Secondly, related to the above, most Americans consider their socio-economic-political system the best in the world and, since more of the world is non-white, it would literally shatter the foundations of their nationalistic fervor to accept the notion that American society was designed exclusively or even primarily for whites. Acceptance of such a fact would call into question such safely held rationales behind the country's foreign as well as domestic policies. The psychic turmoil resulting from such introduction would be incalculable.

All of this is not to say that the recognition of America as a racist nation is the solution to the problems of racial unrest. In fact, some would argue that to call attention to the true nature of American society would be to risk the possibility of unleashing such an inundation of white guilt feelings, mixed with fear which the master always has of the slave, that white society could be the order of the day all year round. The argument against the explicit recognition of racist America claims that American whites would then be forced to find the "final solution," as Hitler did with the Jews. While no one who has examined American society would dismiss this as a remote possibility, it is an essentially defensible argument.

What, then, is to be done? Fundamentally, nothing less than a full endorsement of the Commission's findings and immediate implementation of its recommendations will suffice. Anything less than this will be catastrophic for the nation. There is no longer any question of whether there will be a revolution in America; it has already begun. America's future today is on the brink of a catastrophe which only white America can forestall.

Racism in search of ideology

(continued from page 2)
Jazz's debt to the Negro

BY LESLIE B. ROUT

The early years of jazz are a history of exploitation of the Negro and his music. Aside from their ignorance of special methods and a need for ready cash, the Negro musicians were probably too close to their creation to sense their fate. For example, W. C. Handy sold "Memphis Blues" to T. C. Blegen for $100. Handy's major creation, the "St. Louis Blues," has probably undergone more renditions than "White Christmas." Handy should have died rolling in royalties. He did not.

Negro musicians began migrating from New Orleans about 1909, and by 1912-13, they had crossed the color line to New York and Chicago. The music did not take hold until two white bands, the Original Dixieland Band in New York, and the New Orleans Rhythm Kings in Chicago, skycricketed into prominence. In 1917, the Original Dixieland Band became the first jazz aggregation ever to record; no Negro musician was to be allowed that opportunity until 1923. The black man's recording debut was hardly financially auspicious; over the years the musicians involved collected $34 in royalties.

An initial but dastardly pattern was already emerging: (1) Blackmen might make the jazz innominate, but while jazz performers would necessarily introduce the product to the public, the Negro had to labor in Chicago. The music did not take hold until two white bands, the Original Dixieland Band in New York, and the New Orleans Rhythm Kings in Chicago, skycricketed into prominence. In 1917, the Original Dixieland Band became the first jazz aggregation ever to record; no Negro musician was to be allowed that opportunity until 1923. The black man's recording debut was hardly financially auspicious; over the years the musicians involved collected $34 in royalties.

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Black Power theorist talks on Carmichael, civil rights

By FRANKIE THORNTON

Charles V. Hamilton, chairman of the Political Science Dept, at Chicago’s Roosevelt University and co-author of Stokely Carmichael’s Black Power, is a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Missouri. Hamilton met Carmichael in 1964 at SNCC’s Waveland, Mississippi, Institute. Hamilton related that Carmichael was a “rather committed guy then, although in the traditional civil rights protest vein.”

After the Mississippi Democratic Party challenge and subsequent defeat at Atlantic City in August, Carmichael sensed a change. If Black Power had a genesis, Hamilton says, it was at this point that black people really were not going to be permitted to remain even nominally within this system. Carmichael began to speak to growing black nationalistic sentiments. His presence there was traditional, we should get ourselves together the same way the Italians did to take over Tammany Hall, etc.

It was not until two years later, during the Meredith March in Mississippi, that Carmichael began speaking quite differently from his former vein. He was no longer at the point of talking about, as he did earlier, that his objective was to gain immediate goals and discernible ends. Expressive violence is the natural stage of the summer rebellions—no discernible goals, not necessarily premeditated. The black masses are now at the expressive stage. If the system does not move by acts of expressive violence, it is reasoned that at some point the seasonal violence may become instrumental. “That,” Hamilton adds, “is not up to Stokely or to black people. The system is going to determine that.”

Black Power theorists address themselves to the Third World concept. Technically, the Third World is comprised of all oppressed peoples. Hamilton explains that the whole concept of the Third World is based on the fact that these are capitalistic interests which can no longer be looked upon as strictly nationalistic in nature. He believes most non-capitalistic areas, many of which are underdeveloped, are suffering from the same kinds of colonial or neo-colonial oppressive forces at work in the United States.

The same forces of oppression that play on third and seventh Avenue. Hamilton explains, also play in the suburbs of Johannesburg. Some might say that’s far-fetched but I might add that many forces that exist at the Club Manhattan in downtown Manhattan also have lucrative resources in downtown Johannesburg. It is very clear to me that when the uprising comes in black South Africa, this country will want to come down on the side of white South Africa, to protect its interests there. Hamilton thinks these are apt to happen in South Africa, will be the real test of a number of issues facing Americans. “Not Vietnam because it’s very clear that Red China is the greatest sphere of influence in Southeast Asia and if we had any kind of sense we would get out of there gracefully as Fulbright advised. All those other legitimate people are saying: South Africa will be the test.”

Miss Thornton, Washington, D.C., graduate student, is a speech major. She is currently co-authoring a junior high school textbook on the subject of Afro-American history.

When asked about Carmichael and the development of their book, Hamilton explained that the book was written during the course of Carmichael’s year as Chairman of SNCC. Carmichael was on a very tight schedule but the two managed to meet at Hamilton’s home, then in Oxford, Pa., about every two weeks. “It would have been very simple for Stokely to let me write that book and look it over and perhaps change a word or two.” Hamilton says, “Not Stokely. If he was going to co-author a book, that’s what it would be. This is to me a very legitimate man.” Hamilton added that Carmichael has a “fantastic ability” to absorb information, is a good writer, and a warm human being. “There is a genuineness that I came to terms with. I really came to admire the guy, and that made doing the book that much easier.”

Of Carmichael the speaker, Hamilton says his strongest point was his precise understanding of the multifunctions of language. Carmichael is very much aware that each of his audiences will interpret his language from their particular vantage point and their own experiences.

I say: Man, we ought to burn this town down tonight. Some people would hear that in one way, others would hear it in another. So when Stokely started articulating Black Power it was very clear to those people in Greenwood Mississippi, where Carmichael first used the term publicly: But the little ole lady in Dubuque, Iowa, and the insurance man in Oak Park, Illinois, might have had a different reaction because they saw Miss Mac walking down the streets.

“White mainstream not enough”

By JILL WITHERSPOON

It’s in vogue today to talk about revolution. Not the kind that calls for “black power” for white folks and for those Negroes who have gotten so far away from what is happening on the black side that it has to be spelled out for them. “Black Power” rallies are abundant. It’s the hip thing to do.

But there is something happening on the street. There is something happening to a generation of young black people that has watched friends and relatives gunned and bayoneted. They are saying South Africa will be the test.

This change of attitude manifests itself in a rejection of the old white system and a refusal to work within it. This is perhaps an explanation of the current wave of walk-outs by junior and senior high school students in Detroit. At Post Junior High School, for example, black students submitted their grievances and demands and then walked out of the building, causing the whole school to be closed. No pleas or threats or appeals for “responsible behavior” by the white administration were considered. The students returned days later only after certain concessions were made by the school.

The fact that numerous black students and black student groups are demanding black teachers, black principals, black history classes, improved learning facilities and other changes, even down to the school cafeteria, indicates something of the attitude of black students. But the fact that they are making these demands is even more significant and beautiful.

Looking around MSU, it seems that black students are still under the delusion that the white system has something in it for us. It seems we believe that we can “make it” in the white system and still be black militants. Is this black militancy? What are we striving for? We must ask ourselves if the University is relevant to us as blacks and if we, in turn, can be relevant to the black community. If these things aren’t going to happen here, it’s time to leave.

Black fraternities and sororities must understand that the days of exclusive, bourgeois, status-minded cliques are over. They must (continued on page 10)
Rap Brown's primer of black revolution

Hubert Gerold (known to the world as H. Rap) Brown has, by his public utterances, disturbed many segments of American society. H. O. Brown's pseudonym was adopted to denote what he does—rap. Black parlance, so sufficed to strip one's language of euphemisms and tell it like it is. Very often it upsets. It was in this same quality in the language of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael which disturbed the American consciousness.

While incarcerated in Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, Rap Brown, as in another type of language, perhaps more eloquent than the normal, Brown wrote of power, of death, of oppression, and of freedom. Reminiscent of the rhetoric of Mao Tse Tung and Che Guevara, the language of H. Rap Brown is that of the true Black revolutionaries. Witness the thoughts of one who has ridden the System to the end of its line:

I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs—that Black people must be free. The government has taken my position true to its fascist nature: those who we cannot convert, we must exterminate. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a big part of manhood with every false compromise to the authority of any power which one does not believe.

No slave should die a natural death. There is a point when caution ends and cowardice begins.

Their appreciation was not enhanced by the cold demeanor of his disciplined band, while performing. Of major importance, however, was that for the first time, a jazz movement, which was not originated by black jazzmen. At trumpet Gillespie was sold to the public as its high priest. While musicians aspiring, to play Bop standards, called Gillespie's alterations in clothing and the musical characteristics of various Negro hopsters.

Also, the crassness of critic, musician, jazz aficionados and public recognition of Gillespie as the premier bopper, could not be transformed into respect for the realm. In 1947, Bill Shaw left MCA in order to give Gillespie a real publicity push, but the campaign proved negligible results. The scrouge of the 1946-1948 period was the all-white Stan Kenton band. Dubbing his musical repertoir "Progressive Jazz," Kenton saw his orchestra become the first in jazz history to reach an annual gross of $1 million in 1948. Meanwhile, Gillespie's disbandment in June, 1947 signalled the end of the Be-Bop era. Musicians who black and white continued to play Bop, but the white jazzmen lost the separate status it had enjoyed since 1944. The contemporary jazz activity was, practically, eclipsed by a veritable renaissance of the Swing and Exotical style. Disguised, disconsolate and prosaic, many white musicians joined dance bands, while some black musicians are embraced Mohammedanism.

Before passing from the jazz scene as a segment of American life, Be-Bop saw birth to the illustrious progeny: "Cool Jazz. European jazzmen were quick to embrace it: put it under a Stan Kenton and a Herbie Miller "Skeezix" Getty.娥as, whose employment of the style, proved most decisive. Selling mostly to the Los Angeles area. In 1950, Rogers found the west coast quick receptive to "Cool Jazz" interpretations. Some New Yorkers, with Gillespie's 20 men went west looking for work. Publicists took note of the rapidly expanding jazz activity in Los Angeles and ventured to label it "West Coast Jazz."

The sudden ascendancy of California-based jazzmen failed to enter them to their East Coast counterparts. The latter consistently

For every day I am imprisoned
I will refuse both food and water.
My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

—H. Rap Brown

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

Our will to live must no longer succumb our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire freedom is not enough.

We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroit. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 death certificates. And for every Black death there must be a Dei Bia Fm.

Brothers and sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically for the major confrontation is yet to come. It is the people who in the final analysis must determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to replace in your destruction and ruin, then this is my life. But my soul belongs to my people.

LaSine Tushinde Mbabuka. (We shall conquer without a doubt.)

—H. Rap Brown

Jazz's debt to the Negro

(continued from page 5)

The sudden ascendancy of California-based jazzmen failed to enter them to their East Coast counterparts. The latter consistently

trumpeted their own superiority and designated California jazz stylings and its makers as "Bop-sicles." Such deceptive disdain may have provided emotional release, but it failed to interrupt the frequent trek of Birbeack, Brown and associates, to the banks of their choice. Black jazz makers were especially quick to note that West Coast groups consisted almost entirely of white musicians.

Popular tastes change, and 1956 witnessed the initiation of a dramatic reversal of form. Old-fashioned Be-Bop returned to favor, but with new twists. First, the rhythmic intensity of the music increased noticeably sometimes to the point of freneticism; second, puritans of the revival maintained that west coasts had over-cerebrated jazz by allowing foreign ingredients to predominate. Jazz was to be purified, and returned to its "roots." And what were these origins? The Negro Baptist and Spiritualist Churches of the South, which were the incubators of the musical elements later forged into jazz. The economic and psychological effects of such a premise are clear: black jazzmen, the obvious recipients of this heritage, played with "soul": while jazzmen might imitate, but only by living in a presumably Negro environment, could they hope to join what Negroes allegedly possessed intuitively, or learned from childhood. The net result was that first in New York and then all over the country, there appeared sailing, highly-charged, overwhelmingly Negro com mon playing what was called "Neo-Bop," or "Soul Jazz.

The success of the be-bop revival during the 1956-1958 period had far-reaching results. West Coast jazzmen discarded their previous stylistics and demonstrated their allegiance to hard bop. More important, the theoretical huts of the neo-bop movement seemed generally accepted by a good many white sort. An increasing number of Negro musicians began to seek in the "styles" of popular appeal, and for the first time, a considerable number made truly large sums of money. By 1958, Negro lead ership in the jazz field had been established as never before.

The year 1959 ushered in the first major revolution in jazz since the Be-Bop explosion. A bearded saxophonist named Ornette Coleman arrived from New York from Los Angeles. Coleman huffed and puffed, and stirred up winds of change which have not ceased to blow through the jazz world. Free Jazz, or what a critic calls the "New Thing.

Like all previous jazz innovations, the most militant advocates were primarily young musi cians and a handful of jazz critics. The music was sometimes provocative as well as avant-garde. For many listeners, difficult to follow. Controversy over the relative merits of the New Thing continued to permeate the contemporary jazz scene. Most New Thing performers, while increasingly interested in the economics of the jazz field, still see themselves essentially as avant-gardeists. As a result, a number of "left wing" avant-gardists, who in addition, consider their music as a kind of socio-political weapon. Indeed, the socio poltical views expounded by this segment of New Thing advocates have been as much as communique as the music itself.

One of the most articulate and vehemence of the left-wingers is Archie Shepp. tenor saxophonist.

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The 9th Savior

I stare up at myself: the dungeons in my mind grow tighter around my visions. I'm talking around where it hurts, where the orbit travels a little at a time away from home. The children's faces ache out my reflection. And God's smile has quickened in corners where immortality stains us. Where can I go from here? I wear my going to bed. Every time I wear my going. People laugh at it, egging me, running me down. How many visions in pieces? How many times have I gotten up, my knees? How many times have I screamed at piles of me crying at her feet? Is there any way I could trace the sun after the shadow has fallen between questions inside these small tracks humanity leaves in me, cutting to edges? Their eyes swollen with grasping hands? Worlds explode behind my smile, go out, come into being and fade into escapisms under worn sheets. Bodies pump for meanings long in exile. It's my turn to do my thing! On the hill. On that middle stick I was born for. (Only a few mellow will walk me as far as the corner.) Hip black chicks will wave goodbye. Nails in my hands and feet are credit cards. (Dungeons in your minds where I fell through on the way home inside.)

—Richard W. Thomas

Ethnography

Of A Downtown Joint

Jukebox in corner jumping guts's busting jazz
2 cups coffee
cold/ash trays, spoons dripping
on a table top whirling in space.

plump/player
yellow rag-top hat
in curb
A.M.F.M.
back seat speakers/
his lady (ready, standing tall; both're mellow
back seat speakers/)

Jukebox In corner jumping
guts's busting jazz
2 cups coffee
cold/ash trays, spoons dripping
on a table top whirling in space.

Ethnicity

The Deal

Black writers are involved in an ideological search to legitimize black literary expression as both essentially black and human. There is still much search going on and many ideological camps worth belonging to, ranging from LeRoi Jones, black revolutionary poet-playwright and social critic, to Robert Hayden, who was cited at the First World Festival of Negro Arts at Dakar, Senegal in 1966. Both are great black poets though they differ in their emphasis of what role a black writer should play in a racist society. LeRoi Jones, to my mind, reflects the deeper currents at work in the black experience all over the country. His message is both socially and personally revolutionary in its implications. Roi Karpas calls the commitment to the revolutionary struggle, a black aesthetic as criteria for judging the validity... and beauty of a work of art.

Robert Hayden looks at black poetry, as I understand him, as a sort of the human experience. I understand him to mean that black poets should direct their efforts toward truth as they see or feel it to be, and contributing to a more complete human thing. They are proclaiming the aesthetic legitimacy of each flower in the human garden--as black flowers.

The 9th Savior

Edith the mother of man

and the sister of broken brothers
who wore their iron too black
would not adjust their speed
to quit bumping the white sun
In their bleeding skies.

Edith the mother of man:
cries softly under our cross
hushing our screams into her breasts
translates our pain keeps our story holy,
for our children
playing behind the house.

Edith the mother of man:
carry us to the coffin prepare our worn bodies
with perfume; steady the rock steady the rock dear sister!
don't let them see us cry hide us in you!
until we gather our bones
for the resurrection!

Edith the mother of man:
understand the black poets with thick lips
and crisp hair
who sleep under burned trees in alleys
living off straw and visions of castrated fathers
begging alms at the closed doors of old factories.

—By Richard W. Thomas
Poems of the \textit{Man}

\textbf{For All Seasons}

I
Walking along fences country in kindness,
The smell of growing
Provoked my barren mental state.
Castles spring molded of childhood blocks
Self-conscious reflections water:
Imaginary fields
But all the while alien daydreams
Chop off reincarnated feet.

II
All lush around me
Children with malicious undertones
Sing... but alone imprisoned is
A convoluted black box... I gay.
At panels of multicolored lights
Blink news... Extra... Extra screams
Architecturally from the outside,
Imaginary gnomes of varying intelligence
Read the meaningless codes
Needless of mighty battles
On the heads of pins
Push buttons and pull levers
Still for the sake of glory.

III
How... wow, the impact of a psychic
Bomb... blasts upon the minds of those
Two-legged creatures
Opposites attracting and all that
Mongrel vigor, too much for
Those weekend spans that
Cross and connect void to void.
Is that so much television planned
Spirit of the pioneers
Just an advertisement's lies?
But still a rebel son
Cries for you as for
An adulterous mother
So far inside
Only words contain the fire.

IV
She told me to shun the dark
And come into her brightness
What new breed lives in electric
Rub... Solitude... that can only a flower's
In a barricaded whisper we talked
Of different lives.
Hope of things to come
Momentarily erased a memory's tyranny.

V
One is forced to think of Old Cape Cod
And the fire-dark daughters of that strangest
Of Aristocracies
That self-conscious vain of gold, but black
Conceived in mixed matched beds
Of an ever variety seeking South
Raised to showy adolescence
In now urban rubble
Bequeathed to less blood injected cousins
From which you, your brothers, myself
Sprang... negatives
Where are we now that our yachts and
Preventions meet a cousin's contamination?

VI
A spider under the influence of hemp
Fashions a rectangular web
Trumpet blasts of overeager
Inner praise
Hall a technology of electrified inner ecstasy
A bargain compared to the meager
Price of starvation.

VII
Were Joseph K. alive today
What rude awakening would accuse him?
They ask with crying indifference
Two badly mutilated plastic mannequins
Point fingers and allude to crimes
Of computerized subtlety.
In self-made steel jungles
A defense is prepared
But through the protective maze of
Excretion a vaporous and concealing idea
Fought with illogical ramifications
Gases through spongy passage-ways
And the mind recommends
A mercy killing.

---Carles H. Chew

Dig up, jim

\textbf{Dig up, jim}

\textbf{Money for wine}

Mama dines
On pigs feet and greens.
Be bop de do de wop
Black pride died?
Or was it alive
Be bop de do de wop

\textbf{Arther}

Sing your song!

\textbf{Niggah}

Do your thing!

\textbf{Be bop de do de wop}

\textbf{Before it dies}

\textbf{Dig up, jim.}

---Francine Knight
**Negro crisis viewed historically**

By LARRY THOMPSON

**THE CRISIS OF THE NEGRO INTELLECTUAL**

Harold Cruse (Morrow, 408 pp., $8.95) has very little political, economic or social power (keypad moral grounds) to wield.

Crase severely castigates those Negro intellectuals whom he categorises as integrationists. They use their strength fighting prejudice, when they should be organizing—helping to get us together. They were missing the Great American Ideal—right of the individuals which they are falsifying to the Constitution. According to Cruse, they are living a lie. Fix in reality, America is a nation that is not united politically, economically or socially. Negro intellectuals have few rights that are not backed up by the political, economic and social power of one group. Cruse points that the "individual Negro has, proportionately, more to lose by the integrationist group action (whether or not he actually identifies with it) than very little political, economic or moral power to influence the great American ideal without radical substance." He has formulated no comprehensive radical philosophy to replace either the liberalism they denounced or the radicalism of the past that they have imitated. According to Cruse, the American pro-capitalist propaganda machine has created the myth that the Negro protest movement is a protest against the Black Revolution in progress. However, the Negro movement at present is basically a protest movement and not a revolutionary movement. The movement cannot become revolutionary until Negro intellectuals adopt the "articulate objectives" which transcend its present aims—racial integration.

"People who call the Negro protest movement a black revolution do not create a new society in search of black youth but for a real social revolution in their country would involve a social dy­namics whose presentation in the economic frame. Cruse notes that although the ancient regime of Negro leadership desires more jobs, they want them within the existing economic framework. So far, the Negro's economic struggle has been concentrated within the frustrations of American capitalism, with the exception, of course, of those nationalists who believe in a more modern Marxian philosophy that completely ignores American realities. For Cruse, this is futile. Yet, present, integrationists, Negro middle-class leadership is a "child of the era of New Deal Capitalism and all that the social dynamics of the American situation." The continued emphasis on "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual—Survey of the Dialogue Deferred." Cruse outlines what he means by a "broad and comprehensive program for a social change." Cruse offers the example of the white sociologist C. Wright Mills to Negro intellectuals. Cruse states that Mills, in taking to task some of the sacred dogmas and shibboleths of the Marxist tradition, then laid the foundations for "a new radical criticism of American society." Mills' theory of "cul­
Jazz's debt to the Negro

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"Jazz is the product of the whites, the nigger too often my enemy. It is the progeny of the blacks—my men. By this I mean You, yes, whites and the music and we make it. You own in what I play. Sometimes I play close to the death of me by you. I exult in the life of me in spite of you. That's what the nigger's soul is all about.

In that segment of the avant-garde that Shepp represents a jazzman's subtle racists preaching the destnation of passing interest because Shepp and his associates have received an inordinate amount of publicity in the jazz press, and their influence in the field is far in excess of their actual numbers.

It is well to bear in mind that musicians, like other artists, are sometimes incurable idealists in their view of socio-political problems. Influenced and who has not been!

By the civil rights movement of the '60's, the left-wing avant-gardists believe that

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N eg ro c r is is

(continued from page 10)

ural radicalism is to 'connect up cultural with political criticism, and both with demands and programmes'. Cultural radicalism is concerned with 'what methods of social change are necessary to achieve meaningful expression within a national culture whose aesthetic has been cultivated by single, dominant, ethnic group--the white Anglo-Saxons.'

Cruise notes that C. Wright Mills failed to see the role of the Negro intellectual in 'struggling to connect up cultural with political criticism, and both with demands and programs.' However, that this is needed is evident, "But the Anglo-Saxons and their Protestant ethic have failed in their creative and intellectual responsibilities to the internal American home... Interested purely in materialistic pursuits--exploiting resources, the accumulation of profits and loss, ruling the world, waging war, and protecting a rather threadbare cultural heritage..." and into this intellectual vacuum have stepped the Jews, to dominate scholarship, history, and social research, etc. But this is not enough—not for America and certainly not for the Negro.

The book points out with clarity the important dilemma facing many Negro intellectuals today. W. E. B. DuBois, a quiply phrased this dilemma as a "sabotage" of the race with one's nation. DuBois states, "There faces the American Negro an intricate and subtle problem of combining into one object two difficult sets of facts." According to Cruise, the freedom to realize this point has prevented both integrationists and nationalists from synthesizing complex trends.

Although it is perhaps premature for us black students to formulate "comprehensive programs for social change," we mustدركسowe our present immediacy and prepare to offer intelligent contributions in the future. We must listen and be cognizant of the "solutions" that are now becoming to be offered from other quarters. Mayor Thomas Manahan of Pittsburgh has suggested that we be sent back to the South. A U.S. Congressman has offered to abandon the central cities in an effort to effect his own rezonations. Black author, John A. Williams, in his terrifying new novel, The Man Who Copied God, I, presents the "Alfred Plan," a plan that rivals Hitler's "final solution" in its gruesome completeness. More terrifying than the novel itself is the fact that all of its monstrous details somehow seem plausible. Consider these "solutions," or rather the failure to rid oneself of the delusion that what happened to others cannot happen to us. We see the urgency of the "Crisis" for this delusion is based upon the presumption that the white American majority is subject to all of the evil which blacks have committed. Yet as we all know, there are witnesses above and below ground who testify that...
Racism in search of ideology

(continued from page 4)

mism. Dr. Kenneth Clark said in the conclusion of the Report:

I read that report... of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction.

The Report makes it clear that we are living in a sick society. The time for action is running out. If the apathy which greeted the presentation of the Report continues to prevail, then the fires of wrath will undoubtedly caress us all down in communications. Because these leaders refused to consider all options including the more palatable ones like a separate state for Black Americans on the basis of the true nature of American society. Black Americans are now subjected to the humiliating experience of having their basic freedoms granted to them piecemeal, on the basis of such irrelevancies as the political party in power, the seniority of senators, the results of public opinion polls, ad nauseam. The civil-rights act mentality has so polluted the atmosphere that the President of the United States is able to go on national television and claim that he is going to give the original Americans their "civil rights" at the next session of Congress. A graver insult to American Indian would be difficult to imagine.

Until white Americans realize that they have no right to grant the freedom of other Americans on the installment plan, there will be no peace and order in this country. And such a realization will not come about until Black Americans stop asking for such legislation and begin to force Americans to ask themselves what it is about their society which causes such legislation to be necessary for some but not for others. The fact that two-thirds of white America does not feel that the Negro has been mistreated is commentary on the bankruptcy of American educational and mass media institutions. This bankruptcy, to the extent that it is intellectual and not moral, can be remedied by an insistence on the clarification of issues. One such issue is American racism; and if a Presidential Commission can reach such a clarification, in an election year, and with only minimal contributions from the academic community, one must seriously question the value of the latter in this Age of Revolution.