

COLLAGE

The State News Bi-weekly Magazine

Thursday, April 4, 1968



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, Aud.)
 "Tom Jones" (7 & 9, 109 Anthony)
 "Inside North Vietnam" (Union Ballroom)
 Orchestral Dance Concert (7:15, Brody Arena)
 Fraternity Closed Rush Begins
 "Materials of Music," students performing their own compositions (3:00, Music Aud.)
 Faculty Art Exhibition, through April 21 (Kresge)

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

"Inside North Vietnam" (Conrad)
 African Film Series
 Winds of Change (Erickson Klva)
 Orchestral Dance Concert (7:15, McDanel Klva)
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (8:00, Abrams)
 Joint Senior Recital; Lee Snook, baritone; David Schallert, tenor, (8:15, Music Aud.)
 Bette Davis' 60th Birthday

SATURDAY, APRIL 6
 Winds of Change (Erickson Klva)
 "Inside North Vietnam" (Wilson)

Orchestral Dance Concert (7:15, McDanel Klva)
 "German Panorama" with Alfred Wolff (8:00, Aud.)
 Lacrosse, MSU vs. Oberlin
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 8, Abrams)

SUNDAY, APRIL 7
 Marlene Dietrich in "The Blue Angel" (7:00, Union Ballroom)
 Graduate Recital; Linda Vickerman, mezzo-soprano (4:00, Music Aud.)
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 4, Abrams)

MONDAY, APRIL 8
 "En Attendant Godot" (8:15, Aud.)
 Fraternity Closed Rush Ends

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

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10
 "The Gospel According to St. Matthew" (7:30, Aud.)

THURSDAY, APRIL 11
 Ingmar Bergman's "The Silence" (7 & 9, 108 Wells)
 Roman Polanski's "Repulsion" (7 & 9 109 Anthony)
 ASMSU Elections
 Student Recital (3:00, Music Aud.)

FRIDAY APRIL 12
 Roman Polanski's "Repulsion" (7 & 9, Union Ballroom)
 Ingmar Bergman's "The Silence" (7 & 9, 108 Wells)
 "When Comedy Was King" (7:00, 109 Anthony)
 Good Friday Choral Concert (8:15, Aud.)

"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)
 "Russia" with Ralph Gerstle (8:00, Aud.)
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 8, Abrams)
 Tennis, MSU vs. Purdue
 Rugby, MSU vs. Chicago
 Baseball, MSU vs. Detroit

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

MONDAY, APRIL 15
 Sorority Pledging
 Provost's Lecture Series Begins

TUESDAY, APRIL 16
 "Dinizulu" (8:15, Aud.)
 Last Day for Diploma Applications
 Graduate Recital; H. James Considine, bassoon (8:15, Music Aud.)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17
 Baseball, MSU vs. Albion



Racism in search of ideology

By Cedric C. Clark

Despite early sales of some 100,000 copies per day, there is little indication that the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders will make any significant impact on American society. The President himself has yet to speak decisively on the Commission's Report, let alone propose legislation designed to implement some of its recommendations. Thus it appears that the Report will suffer the fate of the 1919 Chicago Riot Report, the 1935 and 1943 Harlem Riot Reports, and the 1965 Report on the Watts riot. That is to say, the Report will be read by some, shelved by most, and forgotten by all.

This is unfortunate because the Commission's Report on the 1967 riots reached a conclusion which seemed to indicate that America was finally coming to grips with her major social problem. The Report's conclusion was that the basic cause of the riots was white racism. In the words of the Commission:

"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."

So unpalatable was this conclusion that the major television networks sought out the only two Negro members of the Commission, Senator Edward Brooke and NAACP's Roy Wilkins, to deliver the Commission's verdict. The irony of this was not lost on Black Americans.

In part, the non-acceptance of the Commission's major conclusion is due to a lack of visibility of the relationship between an abstraction like "racism" and the violence which characterized American cities in 1967. Fundamental to the basic value system of most Americans is the tendency to hold the individual totally responsible for his behavior. Thus, Presidential aspirant Richard Nixon is not being wholly dishonest when he claims in righteous indignation that "the Commission blames everybody but the perpetrators themselves." The worst he can be accused of is not so much insensitivity to the plight of the ghetto dweller (though this, too, is a large part of it), but an inability to handle abstractions. Americans (black and white) are pragmatic people, quite uncomfortable with ideas—particularly when the articulation of ideas runs counter to established practices. Racism, of course is in basic conflict with the egalitarian ideal held (or at least professed) by most Americans.

The problem, however, is not just that America's 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 "Emperor has no clothes" in this regard, and it is not unamusing for them to witness the various attempts to fasten loin cloths 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 sprung 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 is 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, and 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 would disappear and harmony and, above all, order would prevail in American society. This argument is no less fallacious than that proffered 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 to grossly demean 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

Clark, Pennington, N.J., graduate student, is a communications major. He has published two important articles, one in the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, and the other in *Human Organization*.

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The Kerner Commission Report

By BARRY AMIS

On Feb. 29 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 predictably disparaged it, and the general public shrugged it off.

The *Chicago Tribune* typifies the public response when it stated in an editorial 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 urgency of its findings cannot be stressed enough. Either white America is going to wake up to reality or we are going to have what the March issue of *Esquire* magazine calls "The Second Civil War—Black vs. White."

Yet, it is unfair to say that all of white America is apathetic, as that same article in *Esquire* states, because there are some people dedicated to crushing further outbreaks. This is evident in the formation of vigilante groups in Chicago and elsewhere; the training of National Guard troops for riot control; the purchase of armored personnel carriers, machine guns, tear gas and other equipment by police departments all over the country.

Police-state tactics and pronouncements by police commissioners like those of Philadelphia, Chicago and Miami are other evidences. For example, there are police patrols 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 response (to the riots) has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons."

In the March 25 issue of *Newsweek*, Walter



Lippman said that "the truth has been spoken" in regard to the Kerner Report, but "the program and the admonitions of the report sound and are, in fact, utopian." Lippman proffers 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 seems futile 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 cliché about "lazy, shiftless Negroes."

Amis, Philadelphia, Pa., graduate student, is co-chairman of the Black Students Alliance and a major in Romance Languages.

Obviously, most whites still believe this cliché, just as they believe that the Kerner project is "just another report" and that its views are alarmist.

The truth is, however, that millions of black Americans have decided that the time is now. Equality now. Dignity now. They—we—are willing to fight for it, to die for it. No one doubts the white community's ability to completely crush and destroy the black community, but for many of us the quick death of a lost revolution is preferable to the slow, psychological death that every black in this country suffers. The Report has tried to tell white America this.

Black leaders have been saying it for years. Watts, Newark, and Detroit offer the evidence. Wake up, white America, before it is too late!

Many readers may wonder what this has to do with MSU? A whole lot. This white, middle-class University is a bastion of racism and apathy. American Thought and Language can find no room for the writings of Negro leaders in the study of the development of American ideas. The University thinks that bringing in twenty-five students per term (the Detroit Project) is dealing with the problem. President Hannah sees no incongruity in selling land to a known racist. The tennis team (because there are no black players on it) sees fit to spend spring break in Mississippi and Louisiana.

Either this University—students, faculty, and administration—has to make itself relevant to life in the second half of the twentieth century or give up all pretense of "making the educational experience of the individual student relevant to the life he would live, and the activities of the University relative to the needs of society." The President's Report of Progress, November 1967, said.

MSU incarnates the evils of the society as a whole. Conditions are no better here than they are in Watts or Harlem, except the manifestations are more subtle and sophisticated. MSU could, if it wanted to, use its influence and its prestige to try to head off what is not necessarily an inevitable confrontation.

It is true that the Report presents nothing new, but it does distinguish itself for its straightforwardness and its candor. It warns that "no American—white or black—can escape the consequences of the continuing social and economic decay of our major cities." The United States is on the brink of a catastrophe which only white America can forestall.

Racism in search of ideology

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the fact that they have not been communicated to.

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 "innate inferiority school" of Social Darwinism, the "lack of education school," and, currently, the "breakdown of communication" school—all of these ersatz ideological stopgaps have been associated with either an abdication of responsibility or sheer opportunism on the part of academicians and other intellectuals. Social Darwinism would not have gained such currency if biologists and other natural scientists had done 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 so richly 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 establishment have had a history of muddling rather than clarifying racial issues, often in direct proportion to the size of the research grant awarded for their study. Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* remains the only genuine academic contribution in this area and Professor Myrdal is Swedish, not American.

The reluctance among academicians (as well as other segments of the society) to con-

front the issue of American racism head-on is not difficult to explain. First of all, there is an equation made between a 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 most of the world is non-white, it would literally shake 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 introspection 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 violence would 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 defeatist attitude.

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—American society now has to choose whether it will repress or lead the revolution.

Furthermore, and it is this which is the point of this entire essay, Americans in general and academicians in particular must force a clarification of issues. This is not a plea for "reflection" as opposed to "action," at least not in the sense that SDS-baiters use the terms. Nonetheless, the crisis in the Civil Rights Movement can and must be attributed to a failure on the part of its various leaders, both white and black, to clarify issues. And this failure can not be attributed merely to a "break-

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MUSIC

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 financial methods and a need for ready cash, the early Negro ragtime composers were probably too close to their creations to sense their lucrative prospect. For example, W. C. Handy sold his "Memphis Blues" to T. C. Bennet 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 1910; and by 1912-13, they had spread the ragtime gospel 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—skyrocketed into prominence. In 1917, the Original Dixieland Band became the first jazz aggregation ever to record; no Negro musician was to be allowed this opportunity until 1921. The blackman's recording debut was hardly financially auspicious; over the years the musicians involved collected \$4 in royalties.

An informal but durable pattern was already emerging: (1) Blackmen might make the jazz innovation, but white jazz performers would necessarily introduce the product to the public; (2) The Negro would incubate the product and iron out the problems, while the whites would supply the polish, the packaging and net most of the receipts. Admittedly, artists of every epoch have suffered despoilation at the hands of clever manipulators, but few have been as systematically victimized as the Negro jazzman.

America's only indigenous musical form was born in the Storyville district of New Orleans, where possible hit tunes could be bought cheaply. In subsequent years, it flourished in the gutter because polite society looked the other way. Then F. Scott Fitzgerald coined the term "Jazz Age," and the 1920's claimed ex-bawdy house music as its own. The trouble was that the public generally heard diluted pabulum served up by Tin Pan Alley tune smiths. Music to dance to it was; jazz it was not.

By 1922, Paul Whiteman, controller of 28 east coast orchestras, had zoomed to the forefront of American popular music. Actually Whiteman's reign as jazz potentate proved advantageous in the long run. With jazz semi-respectable music, real jazzmen found more work, and record companies made more jazz records.

The jazz scene of the 1920's was dominated by Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, and Louis Armstrong and such whites as "Bix" Beiderbecke and Frankie Traumbauer. Since jazz musicians of different races normally did not work or record together, their meetings were usually limited to informal "jam sessions." As had previously been the case, the Negro was the jazz pacemaker. The Fletcher Henderson band gradually developed rudiments of a new jazz style and sported tremendous soloists. Paul Whiteman and Ferde Grofe visited Harlem's Cotton Club in 1927, listened to Duke Ellington's orchestra for a week, and "finally admitted that they couldn't steal even two bars of the amazing music."

Artistic success was no barometer of economic prosperity or social conditions. Erskine Tate, one of the more successful Negro band leaders of the period, has recalled the 1920's as hardly a golden era for black jazzmen. He has related the reprehensible economic impediments under which Negroes had to labor in Chicago until Al Capone, hardly an exemplary member of polite society, raised the color bar.

Most intriguing was the ex-bandleader's commentary on social conditions. After completing a six month engagement at the Arsonia Cafe, the club owner told Tate:

"... let me tell you something. Anytime you want to play at this club you're welcome because you have a bunch of gentlemen in your band."

The meaning of "gentlemen"? The sly old man chuckled ruefully: "He meant that we stayed away from the white women." Experiences such as these plus the obvious disproportion in the division of the proceeds deriving from jazz activity only reinforced the black jazzman's contention that white society was determined to take most of the fruits of what his people had brought into existence.



Photo by Bob Ivins

Jazz activity languished during the Depression, and both white and Negro artists headed for Europe. The doldrums ended in 1935. A new jazz style, "Swing," became the rallying force for the youth of the era, and Benny Goodman became its pied-piper. Actually the basis of Swing had been worked out as early as 1927-28, by the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra. The latter's aggregation was excellent—but it was not white. A compromise of sorts resulted: Goodman became "King of Swing" (outside of Harlem and the other Negro ghettos), and Fletcher Henderson became his chief arranger.

White bands led by Artie Shaw, Tommy Dorsey and Glenn Miller soon joined Goodman as leading gentry in the swing-hierarchy. The new black power-house battalions included Chick Webb, Jimmy Luncheon, Earl Hines, Lucky Millinder and Count Basie. While the critics agreed that the Basie band was the greatest Swing orchestra bar none, Dr. Marshall Stearns, in his history of jazz, took stock of the other side of the coin:

"... Some twenty or so big colored bands, with Ellington and Basie at their head, were probably playing better jazz than the white bands ... and earning half as much ..."

It may be argued that the success of the white bands made recognition of the black swingmen possible, but such a defense only emphasizes the fact that for the public, the success of Swing was intrinsically connected with the skin color of the performers.

Perhaps the most inflammatory aspect of the business for black jazzmen was the question of recording publicity and promotion. In 1932, Fletcher Henderson recorded "New King Porter Stomp." On July, 1935, the Goodman band re-recorded the Henderson arrangement. Jazz critics almost universally preferred the Henderson record, but the Goodman disc outsold the Henderson version almost one thousand to one. In 1937, Count Basie recorded "One O'clock Jump," but when Goodman recorded his version in 1938, it sold a million copies.

Black swingmasters of the 30's were more cognizant of economic factors than their brethren of previous eras, for their appetites had been whetted by the few crumbs tossed

their way. At the same time, they felt themselves unable to overcome the phalanx of club-owners, bookers, disc jockeys, record companies and publicity agents who determined the product directed toward the public. To the eternal credit of Benny Goodman and Artie Shaw in particular, white bandleaders demonstrated a much less biased attitude than white musicians of previous epochs. The lowering of the color bar was seen as a major step forward by whites, but paradoxically it probably increased Negro discontent. From the blackman's viewpoint, his employment only demonstrated how terribly white orchestras needed Negroes! Such a need was considered as proof of the superiority of Negro jazzmen, and made the question of economic retribution doubly acute. Benny Harris, a trumpet player in Chick Webb's band during the 1930's, was asked whether Negro musicians felt they had been short-changed during the swing era. His reply revealed years of suppressed wrath:

"In those days, you'd have been an idiot to express a feeling like that ... Ask yourself if we received credit: Why do you think Fletcher Henderson was writing for Goodman?"

If the Negro wished to change his socio-economic status in jazz, the best method was to initiate a new jazz revolution. The time was appropriate, for by 1941, Swing had reached its maturity. Youth still pledged allegiance to the Goodmans, Shaws and Millers, but the musicians were already searching for further innovations. During the winter of 1940-41, a handful of black jazzmen began working out the basis of a new style of jazz. Whimsically, they hoped to make the new jazz too complex for white musicians to reproduce, thus guaranteeing both the long-sought recognition of achievement and a corner of the profits that might accrue.

What became known as "Re-Bop," "Be-Bop" and finally "Bop" developed essentially from jam sessions and experiments conducted at Minton's Playhouse, a club in Harlem. The recording ban of 1942-44 prevented the public from becoming cognizant of the burgeoning rebellion, but its chief apostles, John Birks "Dizzy" Gillespie (trumpet) and Charlie "Yardbird" Parker (alto saxophone) soon converted a hard core of militant musicians. The first be-bop combo (led jointly by Gillespie and Oscar Pettiford) began working in New York during the winter of 1944.

The public and many musicians were totally unprepared for the nuances of Be-Bop, and

Dr. Rout is assistant professor of History and a professional jazz musician, formerly with the Paul Winter Sextet.

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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: The Politics of Liberation in America*, met Carmichael in 1964 at SNCC's Waveland, Mississippi, Institute. Hamilton reflects that Carmichael was a "rather committed guy then, although in the traditional civil rights 'protest' vein."

After the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge and subsequent defeat at Atlantic City in August, 1964, Carmichael experienced a change. If Black Power had a genesis, Hamilton says, it was at this point. It became clear to Carmichael and to many others that "black people really were not going to be permitted to operate even nominally within this system." Carmichael began to speak to growing black nationalistic sentiments. His posture then was traditional: "we should get ourselves together the same way the Italians did to take over Tammany Hall and so forth."

It was not until two years later, during the Meredith March in Mississippi, that Carmichael began speaking from quite a different position. He was no longer at the point of talking in terms of the methods used by the Irish and the Italians. He was by that time at a point where the system was "absolutely no longer legitimate."

"And it would be a very, very grave waste of time," Hamilton thinks, "for people like Carmichael to engage in the little nit picky silly games of this society. They (SNCC) went that route. They filed their little petitions to the Justice Department. They held little Freedom Schools and they taught people to read and write. As if that were relevant in the context of the racist situation in which we live."

Hamilton thinks Carmichael is a "legitimate" revolutionary and that his language today is that of an "animal unknown to this system. Even the Sam Adams were not revolutionaries in the sense that the Carmichaels are."

Carmichael and Hamilton believe that whatever changes are going to be brought about will be accomplished through violence, they believed, when they wrote the book, that violence is a very useful catalyst for social change in a crisis-reacting society. Hamilton speaks to two types of violence—in-

strumental and expressive. (Carmichael doesn't address himself to these, but Hamilton likes to "create categories.") Instrumental violence is the organized type, with specific goals and discernible ends. Expressive violence is of the nature 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 people. Hamilton explains that the whole concept of the Third World is based on the fact that there 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 areas, 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 125th and Seventh Avenue," Hamilton explains, "also play in the suburbs of Johannesburg. Some might say that's far-fetched but I might add that the same forces that exist at Chase 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 that any upheaval 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'd move out of there gracefully as Fulbright and 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.

"If 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 panicked like hell because they saw *Mau Mau* walking down the streets."

COMMENTARY

White 'mainstream' not enough

By JILL WITHERSPOON

It's in vogue to talk today about revolution. Negro intellectuals define "black power" for white folks and for those Negroes who have gotten so far away from what is happening on the block that it had 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 to death by police and national guardsmen. Their own experiences tell them that what Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown say is for real, and that no teacher, social worker, or politician, will be very successful telling them to be cool. While the white society talks about last summer's insurrections in terms of "civil disobedience" and the need for effective anti-riot tactics, these black youngsters feel the lingering horror of murdered fathers and brothers, and of terrorized families. And filled with the indignation of centuries, they have risen up with arrogance and an uncompromising determination to make the world fit their scheme of things. This is revolution.

These black youngsters may lack the sophistication to articulate an ideology, but ideology alone does not make a revolution. They have an attitude, a posture of defiance with regard to those things they consider meaningful.

Young blacks are re-defining their blackness and their humanity. The white society no longer awes them, and paternalistic attempts at integration won't work. There will be no more head-hanging by blacks.



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. Or is black militancy what we are 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

Miss Witherspoon, Detroit junior, is a social work major.

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Rap Brown's primer of black revolution

Hubert Geroid (known to the world as H. Rap) Brown has, by his public utterances, disturbed many segments of American society. H. G. Brown's pseudonym was adopted to denote what he does—rap. Black parlance defines the word "rap" as a verb meaning to strip one's language of euphemisms and tell it like it is. Very often it upsets. It was 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 dealt 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 Guevarra, the language of H. Rap Brown is that of the true Black revolutionary. 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 a position true to its fascist nature: those who we cannot convert, we must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

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

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



**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 supercede 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 Detroites. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every Black death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

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 make and 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 rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life. But my soul belongs to my people.

Lasime Tushinde Mbilashaka. (We shall conquer without a doubt).

—H. Rap Brown

Jazz's debt to the Negro

(continued from page 5)

their appreciation was not enhanced by the cold demeanor its disciples displayed while performing. Of major importance, however, was that for the first time, a jazz movement was not only originated by black jazzmen, but trumpeter Gillespie was sold to the public as its high priest. White musicians aspiring to play Bop slavishly copied Gillespie's affectations in clothing and the musical characteristics of various Negro bopsters.

Alas, the acclaim of critics, musicians, jazz aficionados and public recognition of Gillespie as the premier bopper, could not be transformed into coin of the realm. In 1947, Billy Shaw left MCA in order to give Gillespie a real publicity build-up; but the campaign produced negligible results. The scourge of the 1946-1949 period was the all-white Stan Kenton band. Dubbing his musical repertoire "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, 1950 signalled the end of the Be-Bop crusade. Musicians white and black continued to play Bop, but the music lost the separate status it had enjoyed since 1944-45. Contemporary jazz activity was practically eclipsed by a veritable renaissance of the Swing and Dixieland style. Disgusted, disillusioned and pauperized, many white musicians joined dancebands, while some black musicians embraced Mohammedanism.

Before passing from the jazz scene as a separate movement, Be-Bop gave birth to one illustrious progeny: "Cool Jazz." European jazzmen were quick to embrace it, but it was a Stan Kenton alumnus, Milton "Shorty" Rogers, whose employment of the style proved most decisive. Settling in the Los Angeles Area in 1950, Rogers found the west coast quite receptive to "Cool" Jazz interpretations. Some New York area musicians went west looking for work. Publicists took note of the rapidly expanding jazz activity in Los Angeles and environs and labelled it "West Coast Jazz."

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



trumpeted their own superiority and denigrated California jazz stylings and its makers as "Bop-sieland." Such dyspeptic disdain may have provided emotional release, but it failed to interrupt the frequent trek of Brubeck, Rogers 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 1955 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); secondly, partisans of the revival maintained that west coasters had over-cerebralized jazz by allowing foreign (that is, classical) forms 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"; white jazzmen might imitate, but only by living in a pre-

sumably Negroid environment, could they hope to join what Negroes allegedly possessed instinctively, or learned from childhood. The net result was that first in New York and then all over the country, there appeared slashing, highly-charged (overwhelmingly Negro) combos playing what was called "Hard Bop," or "Soul Jazz."

The success of the be-bop revival during the 1955-60 period had far-reaching results. West Coast jazzmen discarded their previous stylings and demonstrated their allegiance to hard-bop. More important, the theoretical basis of the neo-bop movement seemed generally accepted by a good many white musicians. An increasing number of Negro musicians began to bask in the spotlight of popular appeal, and for the first time, a considerable number made truly large sums of money. By 1960, Negro leadership 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 in New York from Los Angeles. Coleman huffed and puffed, and stirred up winds of change which have not yet ceased to blow. Cometh now "Free Jazz," or what its advocates call the "New Thing."

Like all previous jazz innovations, the most militant advocates were primarily young musicians and a handful of jazz critics. The music was sometimes provocative, usually harsh, and for most listeners, difficult to follow. Controversy over the relative merits of Free Jazz has 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 artists. There exists, however, a small number of "left wing" avant-guardists, who in addition, consider their music as a kind of socio-political weapon. Indeed, the socio-political views expounded by this segment of New Thing advocates has caused nearly as much acrimonious debate as the music itself.

One of the most articulate and vehement of the left-wingers is Archie Shepp, tenor saxophonist:

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The Deal

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 quicken in corners where immortality
stuns us. Where can I go from
here: I wear my going to bed. Every
where I wear my going. People laugh at it
sagging me, running me down. How many
times have they knock
ed me to my
knees; how many times have I gotten up, my
visions in pieces
dripping with flashes
from my middle cross? How many
times have my mama 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.
Its my turn to
do my thing! On the hill.
On that middle stick I was
born for. (only a few mellows
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

Edith 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.

POETRY

By RICHARD THOMAS

Black writers are involved in an ideological search to legitimize black literary expression as both essentially black (in the manner of John Coltrane, Ray Charles, etc.) 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. What Ron Karega 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 part of the human experience. I understand him to mean that black poets should direct their efforts toward truth as they see or feel it as humans.

Both poets are essential in understanding the present powerful currents in black American literary expression. Both reflect a corner of the black soul in search of itself, and are as valid in their own context as Coltrane and Charles--both are trying to do their thing.

The black writers here are diverse in their backgrounds, as writers anywhere--at least on the surface. Their backgrounds are from well-to-do blacks to poor blacks, yet their essential message is this: as black writers doing one thing, defining their own literary legitimacy as they see and 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.

Ethnography Of A Downtown Joint

Jukebox in corner jumping
guts's bustling jazz
2 cups coffee
cold/ashtrays, spoons
dripping
on a table top whirling in space.&
pimp/player
yellow rag-top hog
in curb
A.M F.M
back seat speakers/
his lady (ready, standing tall; both're mellow
smoking stuff) geared for tricks
(floating)
& leaning, tied down, waxed
spread-legged, hands on hips exaggerated &
painted eyes like steel evening-cats half napping
tipping corners grunting for black apples
starving in their brains with-broken eyes.
boys & girls/
in heat on edges:
digging miss universe batman
ugly uncool
in the Man's economy
bearded brothers grumbling thunder/
air swells (old janitors tremble water)
quake insurance selling/
whitey's pad, pendulums swing back
& his ink-machines can't stop them!

--Richard W. Thomas

Edith the mother of man:

carry us to the cave; 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 Man 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 in
A convoluted black box . . . I gaze
At panels of multicolored lights
Blink news . . . Extra . . . Extra screams
Archaically from the outside.
Imaginary gnomes of varying intelligence
Read the meaningless codes
Heedless 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 lie?
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 electrical
Rub? Solitude . . . that can deny 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 golden black
Conceived in mix-matched beds
Of an ever variety seeking South
Raised to showy adolescence
In now urbane rubble
Bequeathed to less blood injected cousins
From which you, your brothers, myself
Sprang . . . negatives
Where are we now that our yachts and
Pretensions meet a cousin's condemnation?

VI

A spider under the influence of hemp
Fashions a rectangular web
Trumpet blasts of over-eager
Inner praise
Hail 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 cancerous idea
Frought with illogical ramifications
Gases through spongy passages
And the mind recommends
A mercy killing.

--Charles H. Chew

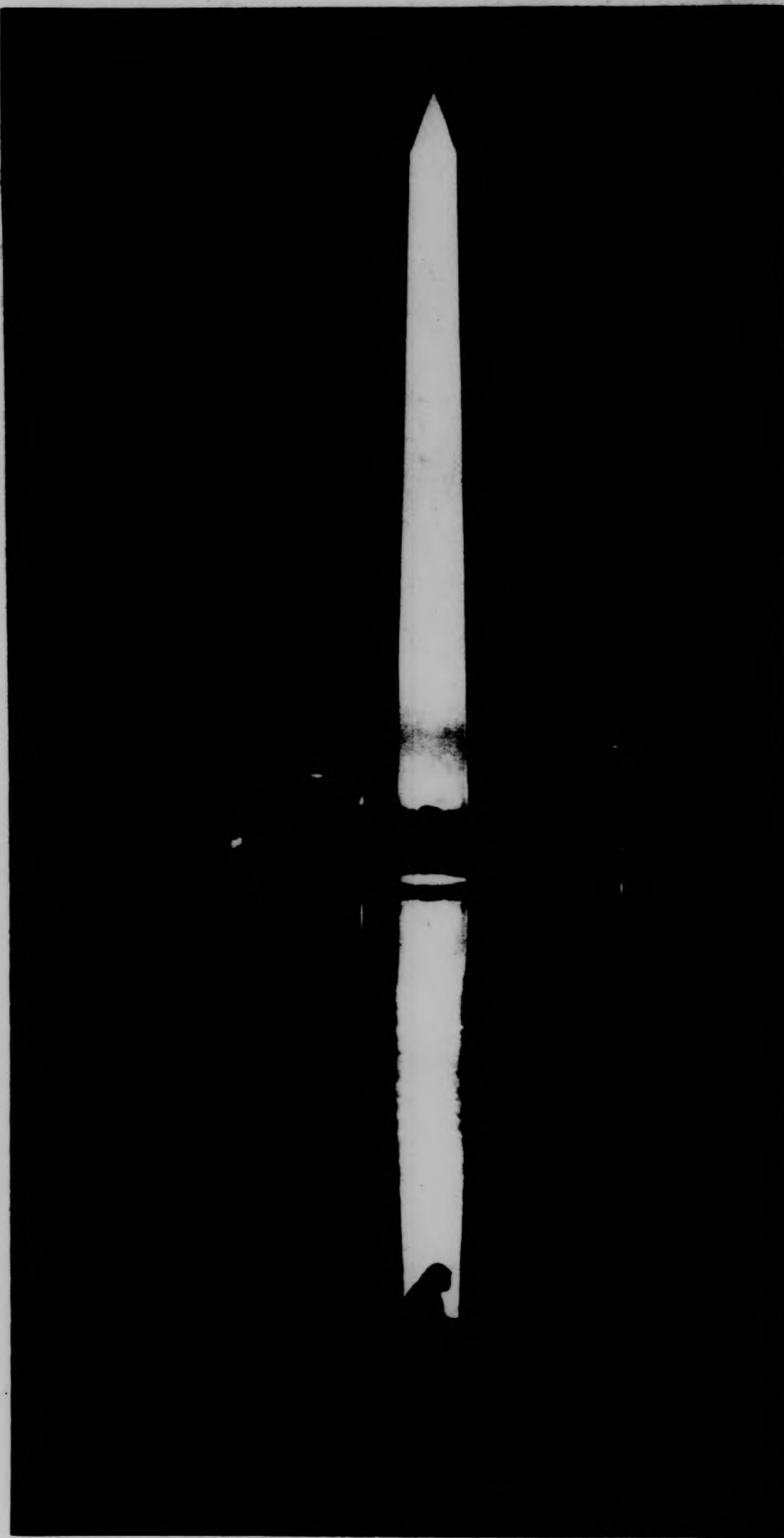


Photo by Jim Meade

Dig up, jim

Dig up, jim
Jump back, jack
Be bop de do de wop
Chicks get had
Dudes get lit
Be bop de do de wop
We real hip
Man-
Take a sip
Be bop de do de wop
Surrounded by vice
Red beans and rice
Be bop de do de wop
A boy is a man
Before he can stand
And talk Sweet Talk
Be bop de do de wop

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

Aretha-
Sing your song!

Niggah-
Do your thing!

Be bop de do de wop
Before it dies
Dig up, jim.

--Francine Knight

BOOKMARKS

Negro crisis viewed historically

By LARRY THOMPSON

THE CRISIS OF THE NEGRO INTELLECTUAL

Harold Cruse

(Morrow, 568 pp. \$8.95)

Several weeks ago, Donald Smith of Chicago spoke on the rhetoric of "riots." In his address, he mentioned Harold Cruse's book, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* as perhaps one of the most important works of non-fiction written by a black man since *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. That statement covers a lot of ground. However, since I heard that initial note of critical acclaim, more has been said of *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. The book has received favorable comments in *The Negro Digest* and *The New York Review of Books*. Now I realize that this fact alone is enough to make some black radicals suspicious of the book and its author. (For these two publications surely epitomize the middle-class, unthinkingly pro-capitalistic press that Cruse and other black radicals so rightly regard with great suspicion.) However, after reading this book, I found the acclaim it has received greatly justified.

The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual is an important and penetrating book. Cruse does not present any social program. His book, unlike, for example, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton's *Black Power*, does not present "a political framework and ideology." Cruse's book serves a clarifying function. It is a book which utilizes the technique of historical analysis as a way of understanding the problems of the present reality. This book examines the complexities of the black man's situation in this country. Out of this seemingly bizarre entanglement of contradiction, Cruse makes some sense out of past mistakes and thus attempts to chart a course for future accomplishments.

The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual is a history of the Negro intellectual since the turn of the century. In essence, the book is an analysis of integration and a defense of black nationalism.

Cruse begins with the "Harlem Renaissance" when Marcus Garvey's program of black nationalism was only one of many signs of a cultural and political awakening among American Negroes. From these promising beginnings, many Negro intellectuals retreated and became "disoriented prisoners" of white leftists. These Negro intellectuals began to espouse "culturally sterile" and "politically futile" doctrines of proletarian revolution. Thus, in the Twenties and Thirties many Negro intellectuals became virtual intellectual "captives" of the white American Communist party.

Cruse states that it is wrong to categorically impose on the Negro situation a class analysis which views Negroes as an oppressed proletariat. This strict and empty Marxian interpretation ignores American realities. And as the historian Christopher Lasch has pointed out, Negro intellectuals, instead of devising strategies for the special situation of American Negroes, have imported ideologies which have no relevance to that situation and which subordinate the needs of the American Negro to "an abstract model of revolutionary change." Thus, it is one of the main theses of this book that American Marxism has disastrously misled Negro intellectuals.

Cruse severely castigates those Negro intellectuals whom he categorizes as integrationists. They waste their strength fighting prejudice, when they should be organizing—helping to get us together. They waste their time trying to achieve The Great American Ideal—the rights of the individuals which they are falsely led to believe are sanctified by the Constitution. According to Cruse, they are living a lie. For in reality, America is a nation that is dominated by the "social power of groups, classes, in-groups, and cliques—both ethnic and religious." The individual in America has few rights that are not backed up by the political, economic and social power of one group or another. Hence, Cruse points out that the "individual Negro has, proportionately, very few rights indeed because his ethnic group (whether or not he actually identifies with it) has very little political, economic or social power (beyond moral grounds) to wield."

Integrationists are often taken in by the

great American myth of individualism. Cruse challenges these integrationists to reject extreme, group-defeating individualism and instead realize the importance of collective group action as the best means for promoting progress and security. They should recognize the fact that this country is based on racial, religious and national groupings, and that the individual progresses as his group progresses. And instead of trying to implement the Constitution with almost meaningless laws they should try to change the Constitution in order to make it "reflect the social reality of America as a nation of nations, or a nation of groups."

As Cruse documents the failure of Negro intellectuals in the Twenties and Thirties, he also notes the failure of Negro intellectuals today. He points out that the ideology of guerrilla warfare has replaced Marxism in some black radical circles. Cruse relates a journey that he and several other black people made to Cuba shortly after the overthrow of the Batista government by Castro. He notes how they were treated with great courtesy and with the politeness of visiting dignitaries. He states that, "Our reward was the prize of revolutionary protocol that favored those victims of capitalism away from home." Yet, it seems that one crucial question was left unanswered by the experience: "What did it all mean (The Cuban Revolution) and how did it relate to the Negro in America?"

The role of the Negro intellectual is a special one. The Negro intellectual must deal both with the "white power structure and cultural apparatus and the inner realities of the black world at one and the same time." Herein lies a basic difference between the role outlined by Cruse and that advocated by some exponents of Black Power.

Cruse sees some views of Black Power as too limited and too restrictive. "It proposes to change not the white world outside, but the black world inside, by reforming it into something else politically or economically." Cruse points out that the Muslims to an extent, have already achieved this. And, it was for this reason that Malcolm X left the Muslims. For, this type of Black Power "lacked a dynamic, was static and aloof to the broad struggle."

Thus, Cruse indicts today's Negro intellectuals of a nationalist vein for, like those of the past, having "taken on a radical veneer

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without radical substance." They have formulated "no comprehensive radical philosophy to replace either the liberalism they denounce or the radicalism of the past that bred them." According to Cruse, the American pro-capitalistic propaganda machine has created the myth that the Negro protest movement is, in fact, 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 it "articulates objectives which transcend its present aims—racial integration," Cruse writes:

"People who call the Negro protest movement a black revolution do not really understand their own system, for a real social revolution in their country would involve a social dynamic of correlated parts. Such a revolution would have very little in common with foreign revolutions they have read about. It would amount to a massive social transformation of a kind unheard of before..."

That the Negro intellectual has not formulated, "is clearly seen when one examines the role of the Negro in the economic field. Cruse notes that although the *ancien regime* of Negro leadership desires more jobs, they want them within the existing economic framework. So far, the Negro's economic struggle has been carried on within the framework of American capitalism, with the exception, of course, of those nationalists who blindly espouse a nineteenth-century Marxian philosophy that completely ignores American realities. For Cruse, this is futile. Yet, present-day, integrationist, Negro middle-class leadership is a "child of the era of New Deal Capitalism and all that the economic philosophy implies." Interestingly, at a Black Student Alliance meeting several weeks ago, Stony Cooks addressed himself to this very question: that black people must begin to consider alternatives to the American capitalistic system that are realistic and in line with the American situation.

In a chapter entitled "The Role of the Negro Intellectual—Survey of the Dialogue Deferred," Cruse outlines what he means by a "broad and comprehensive program of 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 Marxian philosophy, laid the foundations for "a new radical criticism of American society." Mills' theory of "cul-

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White 'mainstream'

(continued from page 6)

understand that all blacks must come back home. And if we cannot be socially relevant to the black movement then, when the old order is overturned, we will be overturned with it. Black fraternities and sororities must use the power, money, and resources that they have to bring about some changes. Fifty cent dances at the Union won't get it anymore.

Our black athletes must understand that a call for black militancy includes them too. They should realize that if they break their legs today, tomorrow they will be like the rest of us. Whites have always insulted us by saying the only things we were good for were dancing and sports. Why black MSU athletes don't feel insulted is difficult to say. After all, they are human beings—blacks first and athletes second. And being one of Duffy's boys can't be that rewarding.

Complaints about the lack of Negro history courses and the fact that supposedly socially relevant courses (education, social work, political science) ignore blacks should not be something to be merely mused over in dormitory grills while sipping cokes. Why this university has not actively taken a stand against the Vietnam war, and why it has not applied pressure for open housing in Lansing and East Lansing, should not remain unanswered questions.

Why does this university go all over the United States in search of black athletes but not potential black physicists and mathematicians? When will blacks be in policy-making positions at this university?

Only after we stop knocking ourselves out to become a part of the mainstream of the sick, white American society, will we realize that what's good for America isn't necessarily good for blacks. Since it is a function of the University to white-wash and assimilate blacks into that mainstream, we must ask ourselves if a nice house in the suburbs and a color TV (better to watch "those" people burning and looting) are what we want. Are we willing to sell-out and perpetuate the system that is killing our black brothers?

There ought to be no doubt about who we are and what we must do. Our identification with the black masses necessarily means that we see the relevancy of this university only in terms of its usefulness to our goals. Black college students are expected to be innovators in the black movement and not laggards behind it.

We must understand that the three black students murdered at Orangeburg, South Carolina and all the students demonstrating at Howard University were interested in something more important than their grade point averages. And when they were ready to do their thing, they didn't take time out to go to that 1:50 Humanities class.

Jazz's debt to the Negro

(continued from page 7)

"Jazz is the product of the whites, the ofay--too often my enemy. It is the progeny of the blacks--my men. By this I mean: You (i.e., whites) own the music and we make it. You own us in whole chunks of flesh . . . I play about the death of me by you. I exult in the life of me in spite of you . . . That's what the avant-garde is all about . . ."

Is that segment of the avant-garde that Shepp represents a jazzman's SDS-NACC? Are they subtle racists preaching the destruction of white society by some anticipated Afro-Asian coalition? These questions are of a more than 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 1950's and 60's, the left-wing avant-gardists believe that

the black revolution taking shape in America is "good." Similarly, leftist political revolutions in Asia, Africa and South America are also "good." Free Jazz is thus, the expression of the sentiments believed embodied in these revolutions. The left-wingers villify the American "power structure" which they see as the great impediment to human freedom. In particular, they view themselves as oppressed, and believe that the club owners, representatives of the possessors of power, are united in an effort to make them bow and scrape.

While one may praise the courage and honesty of these out-raged young men, their beliefs and practices are hardly consistent. Parties who do not appreciate Free Jazz, or who do appreciate the music but not the socio-political views of the left-wing are generally dismissed as bigots. Shepp and his friends may hire white jazzmen, but they infer that skin color somehow limits the potential of the whites. This same clique of New Thing jazzmen deplores the attitude of nite-club owners, and intimate that a vast conspiracy has been formed to keep their music away from the people, why try insist have not had a chance to appreciate it. Unfortunately, neither they nor Free Jazz fans have done anything to establish a haven where their music can always be heard. For avant-gardists all over the country, and of whatever political persuasion, the past years have not been easy. Only a handful of liquor dispensaries in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Detroit provide any kind of Free Jazz exposure, and the album sales of its performers have not been outstanding. To date, Free Jazz has been even less of a financial success than Be-Bop, and the future does not appear promising.

After thoughtful consideration of the suppositions of left-wing avant-gardists, it is the suspicion of this writer that much of their polemicizing has an even more distinctive economic overtone than they are prepared to admit.

For example, pianist Cecil Taylor noted that after working for seven straight weeks for the first time in several years, he underwent "metamorphosis." To interviewer Nat Hentoff, Taylor declared:

"I expect that within the next five years, I should be making what a good chamber musician gets and that will be quite a change."

These are hardly the words of a hardened revolutionary. Even LeRoi Jones, who has called for the destruction of the white race, took stock of the sad economic prospects for left-wing avant-gardists and intimated that he believed Caucasians might perform this beneficial act:

Great White liberals of the World, give these young men a job or at least some money, until they learn, and all other black people learn that they must finally support themselves.

The Shepps and the Taylors are embittered, but it would be interesting to review their socio-political views if and when they obtain the affluence and recognition of a Miles Davis, a Duke Ellington or a Theolonius Monk.

In the 50 years since 1910, jazz has become respectable. Some of its artists, first the whites and finally the blacks, have received significant financial remuneration from their chosen field of endeavor. Since he has now arrived, the role of the Negro as jazz progenitor and pioneer is no longer a major issue. If one may employ the past to reflect the future, we can expect that each new jazz revolution will produce musical militants intent upon change and economic recognition of the success they hope to achieve. As a result, each new revolution will demand more of the listener. In addition, the prevailing racial tensions in the nation will continue to make themselves felt in jazz, producing sporadic manifestations of sentiments of prejudice on the part of both white and black people.

Negro crisis

(continued from page 10)

tural 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 freedom of expression within a national culture whose aesthetic has been cultivated by a single, dominant, ethnic group--the white Anglo-Saxons.


Cruse notes that C. Wright Mills failed to see the role of the Negro intellectual in his struggle 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 commonwealth. Interested purely in materialistic pursuits--exploiting resources, the politics 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 adequately phrased this dilemma as a sense of "two-ness," a dual identification with one's race and 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 Cruse, the failure to realize this point has prevented both integrationists and nationalists from "synthesizing composite trends."

Although it is perhaps premature for us black students to formulate "comprehensive programs for social change," we must overcome our present immobility and prepare to offer intelligent contributions in the future. We must listen and be cognizant of the "solutions" that are now beginning to be offered from other quarters. Mayor Cavanagh of Detroit has suggested that we be sent back to the South. A U.S. Congressman has offered to abandon the central cities to us, leaving in effect black reservations. Black author, John A. Williams, in his terrifying new novel, *The Man Who Cried I Am*, presents the "King 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." Perhaps by ridding ourselves of the delusion that what happened to others cannot happen to us, we can see the urgency of the "Crisis." For this delusion is based upon the presupposition that the white American majority is not capable of the evil which others have committed. Yet as we all know, there are witnesses above and below ground whose testimony will deny this falsity.



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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 nauseum*. 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 the American Indian would be difficult to imagine.

Until white Americans realize that they have no right to grant the freedom of other Amer-

icans 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.

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