

POLICE
Crazy Priests
in 1989.

BANGS AND WHIMPERS

Committee To End The Marion Lockdown - Annual Program - Address Un-
known, But Somewhere In Chicago - Saturday - November Fourth, 1989.

MY FELLOW INTELLECTUALS, WHO THINK THAT YOU THINK;

MY FELLOW BELIEVERS, WHO BELIEVE THAT YOU BELIEVE;

MY FELLOW URBAN PEASANTS, STRUGGLING TO LIBERATE ~~US~~ ALL;

MY FELLOW CIVILIANS, SEEKING AN UNDERSTANDABLE ESPERANTO TO
CIVILIZE AMERICA'S JAILKEEPERS;

MY FELLOW VISIONARIES, WHO PROFESS TO SEE REDEMPTIVE SALVATION
THROUGH UNEQUAL JOUSTING WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT;

MY FELLOW ABOLITIONISTS OF THAT NEO- YET ANCIENT SLAVERY KNOWN
AS IMPRISONMENT;

MY FELLOW CONVICTS, SENTENCED TO LIFE WITHIN YOUR IDEALS;

MY FELLOW STOICS, BRAVE ENOUGH AND DEFIANT ENOUGH TO SPEAK
COMMON SENSE;

MY FELLOW OPTIMISTS WHO NEVERTHELESS KNOW THAT LIFE IS A
TERMINAL DISEASE;

MY FELLOW CYNICS WHO KNOW THAT THINGS ARE NEVER AS BAD AS
THEY SEEM, BECAUSE THEY ARE WORSE;

MY FELLOW IDEALISTS WHO PROBABLY THINK THAT MAKING LOVE IS
MORE THAN THE MATING OF TWO SEWER SYSTEMS;

MY FELLOW SUFFERERS, BLEEDING INTERNALLY FROM THE CRUEL
BLESSINGS OF AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL;

MY FELLOW VICTIMS OF THE PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY, WHO KNOW
THAT A FREE PEOPLE MUST FREE THEMSELVES;

MY FELLOW PARSERS OF SYNTAX, CONFRONTED BY RIDDLES, PARADOXES,
ENIGMAS, DILEMMAS, PUZZLES AND RUNIC CONTRADICTIONS;

MY FELLOW MELANCHOLY PHILOSOPHERS, WHO MUST SOMETIMES FEEL
LIKE JOINING A BITTER CHOIR AND INTONING THAT " * * * THIS WORLD IS ALL
A-LEAK, AND LIFE-BOATS THERE ARE NONE;"

MY FELLOW PATIENTS OF MALIGNANT HYPERTENSION, WHO OFTEN FORGET
THAT WE CANNOT AVOID OUR ENDINGS, WITHOUT FIRST AVOIDING OUR BEGINNINGS;

MY FELLOW EXPLORERS, TRYING DESPERATELY TO FIND A SENSE OF
DIRECTION ALONG THAT ONE-WAY AND DEAD-END ROAD TO SAMARA;

MY FELLOW WARRIORS WHO MUST SOMETIMES FEEL BAFFLED AND VEXED
AND A BIT LIKE THE PEOPLE WHO WOULD COMMIT SUICIDE, EXCEPT FOR THEIR
FEAR OF WHAT THE NEIGHBORS MIGHT SAY;

MY FELLOW INSOMNIACS, WHO KNOW BETTER THAN T. S. ELIOT ALL
ABOUT THOSE MENACING SHAPES THAT TROUBLE ONE'S MIDNIGHT SLUMBER AND
NOON-DAY REPOSE;

MY FELLOW CRITICS, WHO KNOW THAT AMERICA HAS FLUNKED OUR MOST
CRITICAL EXAMINATIONS;

MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF AN ENDANGERED SPECIES, WHOSE WORK NEEDS
THE LONGEVITY OF A METHUSELAH;

MY FELLOW CRITICS, WHO KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN CRIMINAL
JUSTICE SYSTEM HAS ^{COMMITTED MANY CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY;}
~~COMMITTED MANY CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY;~~

MY FELLOW DREAMERS WHO THINK THAT SOMETHING CAN STILL BE DONE
ABOUT HEALING ^{THE SORES OF} AMERICA'S BODY POLITIC;

MY FELLOW TENUOUS SURVIVORS OF POLICE EAVESDROPPING AND WIRE-
TAPPING;

MY FELLOW FIRE PREVENTION EXPERTS WHO KNOW FULL WELL HOW
AMERICA'S RACIST ARSONISTS HAVE SOUGHT TO BURN THE BILL OF RIGHTS;

MY FELLOW PROPHETS WHO KNOW BETTER THAN B'NAI B'RITH, AND MORE
THAN THE ASIAN IMMIGRANTS; AND MORE THAN DARK HISPANICS, WHY THE POOR
NEED AN ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE;

MY FELLOW DARE DEVILS, CHALLENGING THE COUNTRY'S RACIST
CLICHÉS;

MY FELLOW CIVILIAN COMBAT VETERANS WHO HAVE LEARNED THAT, ALL
TOO OFTEN, PEOPLE OF POWER HAVE NO GOODWILL AND PEOPLE OF GOODWILL HAVE
NO POWER;

MY FELLOW AFRICAN AMERICANS, SENTENCED TO LIFE ON THE BLACK
LIST THAT IS YOUR BIRTH CERTIFICATES;

MY FELLOW SPERM OF CONSERVATIVE MOTHERS AND FATHERS, DEDICATED
TO DISCOVERING NEW MEANINGS FOR OLD HERESIES;

MY FELLOW ORPHANS OF DEMOCRACY, ANXIOUS TO BELIEVE THAT OUR
IDEALS WILL ONE DAY PREVAIL;

MY FELLOW DESCENDANTS OF KIDNAPPED AFRICANS, BRANDED BY YOUR INDELIBLE BIRTH-MARKS, TOLERATING THE AFRO-SAXONS WHO HAVE MADE JACK AND JILL PASS FOR COLORED IN THEIR BOURGEOIS TEENAGE CLUBS;

I SALUTE YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COME HERE AND LISTEN TO WHAT YOU ALREADY KNOW AND BELIEVE, AND FOR CONTINUING A STRUGGLE THAT IS A RE-PLAY OF DAVID VERSUS ^{GOLIATH.} ;

THESE ARE STRANGE AND ALICE-IN-WONDERLAND-TIMES IN WHICH WE LIVE;

IT IS A TIME WHEN MANY BLACKS ^{AND WHITES} HAVE NO ^{CONCEPT} OF BLACK HISTORY OR THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRISON SYSTEM THAT HAS CAPTURED SO MANY OF US;

AT A TIME WHEN NEW YORK CITY HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ELECT A BLACK MAYOR AND A MILLION BLACKS WILL NOT VOTE;

AT A TIME WHEN WE HAVE BEEN MIRACULOUS SURVIVORS AND WE TRY TO KEEP FROM THINKING THAT THE ONLY THING IN LIFE THAT IS WORTHLESS, IS LIFE ITSELF;

AT A TIME WHEN POVERTY AND HOMELESSNESS ARE THE ^{HUMAN} LITTER OF OUR STREETS, ALL IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY;

AT A TIME WHEN WE REMEMBER THAT NIXON SAID THERE MUST BE PUNISHMENT WITHOUT PITY, *BUT NOT FOR HIM;*

AT A TIME WHEN RONALD REAGAN SAYING HE WAS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS MADE AS MUCH SENSE AS THE CAPTAIN OF THE TITANIC TELLING HIS DOOMED PASSENGERS THAT THE TITANIC WAS STOPPING TO TAKE ON ICE.

AT A TIME WHEN DR. JEANNE KIRKPATRICK, WHILE SHE WAS REAGAN'S AMBASSADOR TO THE U. N., WAS DISCOVERED IN A SECRET RENDEZVOUS WITH SOME SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY OFFICERS, AND FELT IT NECESSARY TO EXCLAIM THAT

A RACIAL DICTATORSHIP IS NOT AS BAD AS A COMMUNIST ONE.

AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA IS ENGAGED IN ITS USUAL CRUSADE TO DISCOVER A GREAT WHITE HOPE TO DEFEAT MIKE TYSON.

AT A TIME WHEN THE OLIVER GOLDSMITH DICTUM OF HIS DESERTED VILLAGE REMAINS TRUE THAT, "ILL FARES THE LAND, TO HASTENING ILLS A-PREY, / WHILE WEALTH ACCUMULATES AND MEN DECAY;"

AT A TIME WHEN SOCIETY CAN DEVOTE MILLIONS TO THE REHABILITATION OF JAILS AND NOT ONE CENT FOR THE REHABILITATION OF MANKIND;

AT A TIME WHEN WE CAN REMEMBER HOW LIGHT SKINNED CUBANS WERE WELCOMED TO FLORIDA, IF THEY SAID THE MAGIC PASSWORDS THAT THEY HATED CASTRO;

AT A TIME WHEN BLACK HAITIANS WERE TOSSED BACK INTO THE SEA LIKE TAINTED FISH;

AT A TIME WHEN WE HEAR THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS SAY THAT AFRICA IS THE SEED-BED OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION AND THE ~~THE~~ BEGINNING OF MANKIND'S HISTORY, AND THE UNITED STATES RESERVES FOR BLACK HISTORY THE SHORTEST MONTH OF THE YEAR;

AT A TIME WHEN WHITE STUDIES TELL US THAT COLUMBUS "DISCOVERED" AMERICA AND WE KNOW THAT IT WAS STOLEN FROM THE INDIANS IN THE GREATEST EXAMPLE OF GEOGRAPHIC GRAND LARCENY THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE LOOTING OF AFRICA BY THE EUROPEANS;

AT A TIME WHEN I REMEMBER A BLACK SURVIVOR OF THE MASSACRE AT ATTICA WEEPING OVER THE MIDNIGHT AIRWAVES A TERRIBLE QUESTION IN WHICH HE ASKED, "HOW THE HELL WE GONNA BE REHABILITATED, WHEN WE AIN'T NEVER BEEN HABILITATED IN THE FIRST PLACE;

AT A TIME WHEN WALTER BENTON'S POEM OF LOVE, ENTITLED THIS IS MY BELOVED, STARTS WITH THE CONCUSSIVE WORDS THAT, "HATE IS LEGISLATED, SHOT INTO THE VEINS LIKE A VACCINE;"

AND AT A TIME WHEN OUR POLITICAL GODS ARE PLANNING TO BUILD MORE AND MORE PRISONS, RATHER THAN SHELTER FOR THE HOMELESS, LET US PAUSE FOR A MOMENT TO CONSIDER WHETHER OR NOT WE HAVE AVAILABLE TO US SOME UNDERGROUND RAILROAD FOR OUR ESCAPE FROM TYRRANY AND OPPRESSION.

RONALD REAGAN HAS MANAGED TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE THAT SAYS THAT RACISM AND MORE PRISONS ARE THE POP-ART OF THE TIMES. HIS SCOPE AND RANGE INCLUDED JEWS AS WELL AS BLACKS. WHO CAN FORGET HOW HE IGNORED THE TEARFUL PLEA OF ELIE WEISEL THAT HE CALL OFF HIS VISIT TO A NAZI MILITARY CEMETERY IN BITBURG, GERMANY?

REAGAN WENT ANYWAY, MANAGING TO INSULT JEWS AROUND THE WORLD. WHEN HE WAS FINALLY CONVINCED THAT THE TRIP WAS WRONG, HE DECIDED TO TAKE TO TV AND APOLOGIZE. IMITATING PRESIDENT KENNEDY ENTHUSIASM FOR THE BERLINERS DURING THE AIR-LIFT OVER THE RUSSIAN BLOACKADE, KENNEDY SAID, "ICH BIN EINE BERLINER!"

REAGAN SAID, "I AM A JEW; I AM A PRISONER OF THE GULAG; I AM THE BOAT PEOPLE OFF THE COAST OF VET NAM!.."

HE DID NOT SAY HE WAS BLACK, DID HE?

HE DID NOT SAY HE WAS MANDELA IN A SOUTH AFRICAN PRISON.

HE DID NOT SAY HE WAS A HAITIAN IN A LEAKY BOAT OFF THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

The Reagan years served to reduce the Civil Rights movement to Dim skywriting on a windy mid night.

SURELY, NONE OF US CAN PLEAD SURPRISE THAT RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM FIND ^{MUCH OF THEIR} ~~THEIR~~ INSPIRATION IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

RACISM, WITH ITS DISPRPORTIONATE SENTENCES IMPOSED UPON BLACKS, HAS CAUSED MANY OF OUR MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISONS TO BULGE WITH BLACK FLESH.

RECENT HEADLINES TELL US ABOUT REBELLIONS IN PRISONS, ABOUT FIRES SET IN SOME AND ABOUT HOSTAGES HELD IN OTHERS, IN ORDER TO GET THE ATTENTION OF THOSE IN POWER.

IN THE 1770's, EDMOND BURKE POINTED OUT THAT:

"PEOPLE CRUSHED BY LAW HAVE NO HOPES BUT FROM POWER. IF LAWS ARE THEIR ENEMIES, THEY WILL BE ENEMIES TO LAWS; AND THOSE, WHO HAVE MUCH TO HOPE AND NOTHING TO LOSE, WILL ALWAYS BE DANGEROUS, MORE OR LESS."

AND YET, WE BUILD MORE AND MORE PRISONS. WE HAVE IGNORED THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENT POETS FOR, IN THE WORDS OF WILLIAM BLAKE, WE LEARNED THAT "PRISONS ARE BUILT WITH STONES OF LAW, BROTHELS WITH BRICKS OF RELIGION." ^{MARTIN BRIDMANN ONCE TOLD LIFE MAGAZINE THAT THE APPELLIN}

BUT, AS WITH THE HERO OF THE DEVIL'S WALK, THE COUNTRY'S JAILERS CAN PASS A SOLITARY CELL, WHILE THINKING OF WAYS TO IMPROVE THE PRISONS OF HELL.

THERE ARE MANY THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO CHAT WITH YOU ABOUT, BUT THERE IS NO TIME, ESPECIALLY AT MY ^{GERMATIC AND} BURNED-OUT TIME OF LIFE. BUT THE SUBJECT OF PRISONS HAS GNAWED AT THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE FOR YEARS. WHEN SOCIETY DECIDES TO IGNORE ITS POOR AND WRETCHED OF SOCIETY, IT IMMEDIATELY THINKS OF SECRET WAREHOUSES, ALWAYS SOME DISTANCE FROM THE CENTRAL CITIES WHERE CAPTIVES ARE CAUGHT.

WHY IS IT THAT THE PRISON POPULATION ACROSS THIS LAND IS NOW SO DISPROPORTIONATELY BLACK? IT IS, OF COURSE, THAT ARTICLE OF BLIND FAITH KNOWN AS RACISM THAT IS A PRINCIPAL OFFENDER.

NATIONAL TRAITORS, SUCH AS RICHARD NIXON AND HIS OVAL ROOM GANG, CAN BETRAY A NATIONAL TRUST ██████████, AND WHAT HAPPENS TO THEM? ARE THEY SENT TO MARION OR ANY OTHER MAXIMUM SECURITY FORTRESS? OF COURSE NOT. NIXON, OF COURSE, IS PARDONED AND ^{NOW ENJOYS} ██████████ A PENSION WITH YOUR TAX FUNDS.

THE TREACHEROUS ^{CRIMINALS} ██████████ OF WATERGATE, ARE PACKED GENTLY OFF TO MINIMUM SECURITY, HOLIDAY-INN-TYPE COUNTRY CLUB PRISONS. THERE, THEY WROTE BOOKS, PLAYED SPORTS, SWAM AND, SOMETIMES, WERE BORN AGAIN. THEY ARE NOW OUT MAKING PROFITABLE SPEECHES, SELLING THEIR BOOKS AND PILING UP CONSERVATIVE RIGHT-WING CASH.

LITTLE WONDER THAT GHETTO WISDOM SAYS THAT THE BLACK MAN WHO SMILES HAS NOT YET BEEN TOLD THE TRUTH.

PABLO NERUDA, SHORTLY AFTER RECEIVING THE NOBEL PRIZE IN LITERATURE, GAVE A SPEECH BEFORE THE P. E. N. CLUB. HE SAID THAT THE BLACKS ARE THE LUCKLESS RACE. HE COULD HAVE ^{SAID AS EASILY THAT} ██████████ WOMEN ARE THE LUCKLESS SEX.

FOR SOME YEARS NOW, I HAVE BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH JUSTICE AND THE ENCROACHMENTS OF RACISM. LENNY BRUCE, THE LATE COMEDIAN WAS MORE GENEROUS THAN I. HE FELT THAT THERE WAS NO JUSTICE. CONVICTED IN THE SEVENTIES OF OBSCENITY (WHATEVER THAT IS), HE UTTERED HIS EPITAPH BY SAYING BITTERLY, THAT, "IN THE HALLS OF JUSTICE, JUSTICE IS IN THE HALLS."

LET US SEE FOR A MOMENT HOW MUCH RACISM HELPS TO FILL OUR PRISONS.

IN 1989, ^{THIS YEAR,} STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, HAD THEIR PLEDGEEs PAINTED BLACK AND THEN ORDERED THEM TO CONDUCT A SLAVE AUCTION. THOSE STUDENTS WILL ONE DAY BE AMONG THE COUNTRY'S GOVERNORS, SENATORS, JUDGES AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS - UNLESS THEY ARE EARLIER CONVICTED OF CORRUPTION.

FROM THE CRIMINAL BEGINNINGS OF AMERICA, RACE HAS PLAYED A NETTLESOME ROLE IN ITS DEVELOPING HISTORY. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT WHEN ENGLAND'S HARBORS WERE CLOGGED WITH PRISON SHIPS AND COMMERCE OF THE SEA WAS BEING INTERFERED WITH, THOSE PRISON SHIPS WERE SUMMARILY ORDERED TO THE UNITED STATES, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. THESE WERE THE ORIGINAL RED NECKS, THE LYNCHERS, THE SLAVE DRIVERS, *THE SETTLERS*.

SO MUCH FOR THE FIRST FAMILIES OF VIRGINIA, THE SAME VIRGINIA THAT HAD THE CHUTZPAH TO PLACE ON ITS LICENSE PLATES THAT VIRGINIA IS FOR LOVERS. BUT SOME OF US REMEMBER THE CASE OF LOVING v. VIRGINIA, WHERE A WHITE MAN AND HIS BLACK WIFE WERE CONVICTED FOR MISCEGENATION.

BUT LIFE HAS GENERALLY BEEN UNCOMFORTABLE FOR THE POOR BLACKS IN THIS COUNTRY. IN THE FIRST PLACE, KIDNAPPED AND IN CHAINS, THEY CAME TO THIS COUNTRY UNLIKE ANY OTHER STRANGERS AND ALIENS IN THE LAND. AT ONE TIME, AFRICANS WERE THE ONLY IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA WHO COULD NEVER RECEIVE A LETTER OR A PACKAGE FROM HOME. THEY CAME HERE WITHOUT TICKETS OF PASSAGE, WITHOUT VISAS AND WITHOUT PASSPORTS. IT WOULD NOT SURPRISE ME IF, ONE DAY, AN EFFORT IS MOUNTED TO DEPORT US ALL AS DECENDANTS OF ILLEGAL FOREIGNERS.

WRETCHED OF THE EARTH, WE HAVE BEEN CALLED, NOT TO MENTION SUCH OTHER CRUEL ADJECTIVES AS NIGGER, DARKY, COON AND SHINE. AND, IN 1857, CHIEF JUSTICE ROGER BROOKE TANEY CERTIFIED OUR INGLORIOUS STATUS IN THE DREAD SCOTT DECISION. AS THOUGH IT WAS NOT BAD ENOUGH THAT WE WERE MEASURED AT BUT THREE-FIFTHS OF A PERSON, TANEY UTTERED THE ARTICLE OF FAITH OF WHITE AMERICA THAT NO NEGRO HAD ANY RIGHTS THAT A WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT. HE ADDED FOR GOOD MEASURE, THAT WE WERE NEVER INTENDED TO BE CITIZENS.

CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY WAS AN INTERESTING MAN. HE WAS A KIND OF MINORITY HIMSELF, SINCE HE WAS A ROMAN CATHOLIC IN A PROTESTANT SOCIETY. HIS BELIEF IN HIS GOD, HOWEVER, DID NOT STOP HIM FROM BEING A SLAVEOWNER. ALTHOUGH MARRIED AND CLAIMING TO BE A DEVOTED HUSBAND, HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT ASKED THAT HE BE BURIED ABOVE HIS MOTHER.

IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD, WE HAVE A WORD FOR A MAN WHO WANTS TO BE ON TOP OF HIS MOTHER.

IT WAS THAT KIND OF NATIONAL CERTIFICATION OF RACISM THAT SHAPED POLICY FOR THIS COUNTRY. THE SPIN-OFF IS LATTER DAY SCHIZOPHRENIA BASED UPON SKIN COLOR.

NOW, I HAVE OFTEN BEEN CHASTIZED FOR SPEAKING ABOUT RACISM. IN ONE OF MY MANY APPEARANCES BEFORE THE STATE COMMISSION ON JUDICIAL CONDUCT, I WAS ASKED IF I THOUGHT IT PROPER FOR A JUDGE TO MAKE ACCUSATIONS OF RACISM. MY ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS THAT IT WOULD BE IMPROPER NOT TO MENTION IT. FREEDOM OF SPEECH DOES NOT STOP AT THE COURTHOUSE DOOR. NEITHER DOES DISCRIMINATION.

ONE DAY AS I SAT IN COURT, A WHITE JUDGE NAMED GEORGE CARNEY, HAD BEFORE HIM A WHITE DEFENDANT TO BE SENTENCED. ASKED BY THE MAN'S COUNSEL THAT HIS CLIENT BE PLACED ON PROBATION, THE LAWYER ADDED, "YOUR HONOR, HE CAN BE REHABILITATED."

THE JUDGE APPEARED TO BE ANGRY AS HE LOOKED AT THE PRE-SENTENCE REPORT. HE THEN EXCLAIMED THREE TIMES IN RAPID SUCCESSION, "HOW'S HE GOING TO BE REHABILITATED WHEN HE'S LIVING WITH A COLORED WOMAN?" BY THE TIME OF HIS FIRST MENTION, I APPROACHED THE BENCH, ADVERTISING THAT I WAS A MEMBER OF THE BAR AND AN OFFICER OF THE COURT. I ASKED IF I MIGHT BE HEARD ON THE QUESTION OF LIVING WITH WHAT HIS HONOR CALLED A "COLORED WOMAN." I SAID I WAS NOT CERTAIN, BUT I BELIEVED THAT I MIGHT HAVE A BIT MORE EXPERIENCE THAN HIS HONOR. PERHAPS, I SAID, I MIGHT BE ABLE TO OFFER THE COURT SOME SURVIVAL TECHNIQUES.

AFTER ALL, THAT MORNING, I HAD LEFT HOME IN A STATE OF DOMESTIC PERISTROIKA AND GLASNOST AND HAD EVEN HAD A KISS OF SORTS. I BELIEVED I OWED IT TO THE HONOR OF OUR WOMEN TO OFFER A DEFENSE TO THE JUDGE'S SLANDER.

OF COURSE, I WAS QUICKLY SURROUNDED BY AT LEAST SIX WHITE COURT OFFICERS, ALL ARMED WITH 38's. THIS DID A GREAT DEAL TO TEMPER MY HEROIC ZEAL. THE JUDGE THEN DID WHAT ALL SMART JUDGES DO IN A CRISIS. HE CALLED A RECESS AND DISAPPEARED INTO HIS ROBIN ROOM.

I SOUGHT TO HAVE HIM REMOVED FROM THE BENCH, NEVER DREAMING AT THAT TIME THAT THE POLICE WOULD MOUNT A LONG-LASTING FIGHT TO DRUM ME OFF THE BENCH AND HAVE ME UNFROCKED.

WAS JUDGE CARNEY JUST A LONE, UNUSUAL RACIST, AN ISOLATED ABERRATION? WHAT DOES IT MATTER? A WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY WAS PRESENTED FOR THE HARLEM LAWYERS ASSOCIATION TO JUSTIFY ITS EXISTENCE. INSTEAD, ITS MEMBERS REFUSED TO SIGN A PETITION ASKING REMOVAL OF THE JUDGE, EVEN THOUGH EVERYONE OF THEM WAS THEN LIVING WITH WHAT THE JUDGE HAD CALLED A "COLORED WOMAN," EITHER HIS WIFE OR SOMEONE ELSE'S.

A BIT LATER, I WAS HAILED BEFORE THE COMMISSION FOR SAYING THAT IT APPEARED THAT WHITE POLICE OFFICERS HAD A LICENSE TO SHOOT AND KILL BLACKS WITH IMPUNITY.

LET'S SEE HOW TRUE THAT IS. ON THE EVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE CHILD, CLIFFORD GLOVER WAS A SKINNY, TEN YEAR-OLD BOY. THOMAS SHEA WAS A WHITE POLICE OFFICER. HE'S STILL WHITE, AS A MATTER OF FACT. HE SHOT AND KILLED THE GLOVER CHILD, AND IN HIS DEFENSE, HE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT LITTLE BOY WAS AN ADULT ROBBERY SUSPECT.

ASKED IF HE COULD NOT TELL THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A FULLY GROWN ADULT AND A LITTLE CHILD, ESPECIALLY AT A DISTANCE OF BUT THREE FEET, SHEA, WHO WAS UNDER OATH, REPLIED: "ALL I SAW WAS THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN."

HE WAS ACQUITTED.

WE ARE INDEED AN ENDANGERED SPECIES FOR WEARING BLACK SKIN IN PUBLIC.

SHORTLY THEREAFTER, A WHITE OFFICER NAMED ROBERT TORSNEY, WALKED UP TO RANDY EVANS, WHO WAS SIMPLY STANDING OUTSIDE THE BUILDING WHERE HE LIVED. HE UNHOLSTERED HIS WEAPON, PLACED IT TO RANDY'S HEAD AND BLEW HIS BRAINS OUT.

HE THEN WALKED SLOWLY TO HIS SQUAD CAR, RE-HOLSTERED HIS GUN AND SAT DOWN. RANDY WAS BARELY AT THE AGE OF PUBERTY AND ITS INCREDIBLE JOYS.

TORSNEY'S DEFENSE WAS THAT A SUDDEN ATTACK BY A RARE FORM OF EPILEPSY MADE HIM DO IT. NO DOCTOR COULD FIND A TRACE OF THAT AFFLICTION. NEVERTHELESS, THE ALL-WHITE JURY ACQUITTED TORSNEY, THUS MALPRACTICING MEDICINE WITHOUT A LICENSE. *OH, YES, WE ARE INDEED AN ENDANGERED SPECIES.*

ANOTHER WHITE JUDGE TOLD A BLACK DEFENDANT HE WOULD NOT KNOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A GOOD LAWYER AND A WATERMELON.

ANOTHER JUDGE, ACCUSED A BLACK DEFENDANT OF HAVING AN ACCOMP-LICE AND ADDED, "I KNOW THERE'S ANOTHER NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE."

WE ARE AN ENDANGERED SPECIES AND WE NEED TO BE REMINDED OF HOW FAR WE MUST GO TO HELP CIVILIZE WHITE AMERICA.

ADDRESSING RACISM IN THIS STAR-SPANGLED LAND, WHERE, AS WE ARE TOLD, GOD HAS SHED HIS GRACE FROM SEA TO SHINY SEA, IS A PAINFUL SUBJECT FOR ME. IT IS RATHER LIKE PERFORMING EXPLORATORY SURGERY UPON MYSELF WITH A DULL SCALPEL AND WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF ANAESTHESIA.

STATED ANOTHER WAY, IT IS LIKE BEING THE WAITER AT A BANQUET OF WHITE CANNIBALS, WHERE MY HEAD UPON A PLATTER IS THE ENTREE AND I AM CONDEMNED TO DO THE CARVING AS THE CANNIBALS SCREAM FOR SECONDS.

IT'S A DIRTY JOB, BUT SOMEBODY'S GOT TO DO IT. IF THE JOB IS NOT DONE, I AM AFRAID THAT AMERICAN BLACKS WILL SINK INTO A FALSE-FACED, ^{ANESTHETIZED} ~~SPRINTED~~ CONGITION WHERE THEY ARE COMPLACENT, SMUG, SELF-SATISFIED AND PERHAPS EVEN HAPPY.

SO MANY OF US HAVE BECOME SMILING AFRO-SAXONS, COMPLETELY ASSIMILATED AND DELUDED INTO FEELING COMFORTABLE, IN SHORT, ^{MANY} ~~A~~ OF US HAVE SIMPLY SETTLED FOR BEING THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE, DEFERENTIAL, ^{PLASTIC} SPOOKS SITTING BY THE DOOR.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, THE SLAVEOWNER WHO HAD A BLACK MISTRESS IN SALLY HEMMINGS, WAS A COUNTERFEIT LIBERTARIAN. AND YET, HE COULD SAY THAT "THE TREE OF LIBERTY MUST BE REFRESHED FROM TIME TO TIME WITH THE BLOOD OF PATRIOTS AND TYRANTS." THAT BLOOD, HE SAID, IS LIBERTY'S NATURAL MANURE. *IF WE SAID THAT, THE FBI WOULD CONFISCATE US ALL.*

WE NEED TO REMEMBER ^{THESE THINGS} ~~A~~ AS OUR YOUNG ARE SHOT DOWN AND KILLED OR PLACED IN DURANCE VILE IN SOME DISTANT FORTRESS KNOWN AS A MAXIMUM SECURITY LOCKDOWN.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE NICE AND RESPECTABLE. WE ARE CAUGHT UP IN A DAILY STRUGGLE FOR DIGNIFIED SURVIVAL. AND YET, RESPECTABILITY CAN BE SEEN ALL AROUND US. PETER De VRIES, A WHITE WRITER, HAS BEEN PEEKING AT US AND HAS NOW WRITTEN A BOOK CALLED MRS. WALLOP. THERE, HE DEVOTES SOME COMMENT TO US, *AND ESPECIALLY THE BLACK ARISTOCRACY*

HE WRITES THAT HE HAS BEEN MUCH SURPRISED BY THE WEALTH OF BLACKS. HE SAID THAT SOME BLACK FAMILIES HAVE TWO OR THREE CARS AND SOME NOT ONLY OWN TOWN HOUSES, BUT SUBURBAN PLACES AS WELL AND SPEND ENTIRE SUMMERS AT SOME EXCLUSIVE SEA SIDE RESORT. BUT HIS GREATEST ASTONISHMENT, HE SAID WAS OVER THE FACT THAT SOME BLACKS EVEN HAVE YACHTS. THE NEXT BOOK ABOUT THE GENTRIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, HE CONCLUDED, WILL HAVE TO BE ENTITLED UNCLE TOM'S CABIN CRUISER.

RACISM IS SNEAKY, TOO. I WILL NEVER FORGET WHEN THURGOOD MARSHALL WENT ON THE FEDERAL BENCH AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND WAS TRANSFERRED TO JACK GREENBERG. I WAS SO ANGRY AT THIS IMPLICIT SLANDER OF BLACK LAWYERS, THAT I RESIGNED FROM MY LIFE MEMBERSHIP. ^{DURS THEN} ~~■~~, BECAME THE ONLY INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION LED BY ONE OTHER THAN OURSELVES. I SAID AT THE TIME THAT WHEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCH-DIOCESE IS READY TO BE COUNSELED BY AN ATHEIST; AND WHEN THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP IS READY TO BE HEADED BY AN ETHIOPIAN; AND B'NAI B'RITH AND ITS ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE ARE READY TO BE L ED BY YASA ARAFAT, WE WILL BE READY FOR JACK GREENBERG TO BE OUR FEARLESS LEADER.

I STILL BELIEVE THAT A FREE PEOPLE MUST FREEM THEMSELVES. OF COURSE, WE NEED ALLIES, BUT WE MUST DO THE LEADING.

AND, NATURALLY, WE SHOULD KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THAT DISTANT LAND THAT GAVE BIRTH TO OUR ANCESTORS. THERE IS NO HARM IN STUDYING ANCIENT GLORIES. BUT, WITH ALL OF THAT, WE ARE STILL AMERICANS. IT IS IN THIS COUNTRY THAT WE MUST ENGAGE OUR FATE, OUR DESTINY, ^{OR OUR DOOM.}

WE CAN GAZE UPON THE ATLANTIC WITH PAINFUL NOSTALGIA ABOUT A PLACE WE HAVE NEVER BEEN. WE CAN THINK ABOUT THE TEN MILLION AFRICAN SKELETONS THAT REST UPON THE BOTTOM OF THE MIDDLE PASSAGE AND WEEP FOR THOSE WE NEVER KNEW. BUT, WE ARE AMERICANS, WITH NO PLACE TO FLEE.

EVERY SUMMER, THIS IS ITALICIZED FOR ME, AS I SEE WHITE FRIENDS WHO CAN PACK UP AND DASH OFF TO EUROPE TO VISIT ANCESTRAL VILLAGES AND EVEN RELATIVES.

HOW MANY OF US DO YOU KNOW, WHO CAN PACK UP AND DASH OFF TO AFRICA TO VISIT THE OLD TRIBE AND ANCESTRAL VILLAGES? AND IF WE DARED, WHAT COUNTRY WOULD ~~WE~~ CHOOSE TO SOLVE THE RIDDLE OF OUR ANCIENT BLOODLINES, *(NOW SO MIXED, DILUTED AND MISCEGENATED)*.

WE REMAIN PERHAPS THE ONLY IMMIGRANT CHILDREN WHO DO NOT SPEAK THE NATIVE TONGUE OF A COUNTRY OF ORIGIN.

NOW, WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT THE MALADY, THE PLAGUE, THE VIRULENCE OF RACISM? IF WE DO NOT DO SOMETHING, IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE A NEANDERTHAL MONSTER DEVOURING OUR YOUNG AND OUR OLD. WE DO KNOW THAT THE SITUATION OF THIS TIME SURROUNDS US LIKE A BAFFLING CRIME.

WHITE SOCIETY, UNABLE TO FIND A BOXER AS A WHITE HOPE, HAS NOW RAISED A NATIONAL OUTCRY FOR THE DEATH PENALTY. I DARE SAY THERE MAY BE SOME OF YOU HERE TODAY, WHO HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF CRIME AND YOUR BLOOD LUST ALLOWS YOU TO LONG FOR A DEATH PENALTY. FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO MAY SUPPORT THE DEATH PENALTY, DON'T FORGET THAT IT IS A PENALTY THAT IS DISPROPORTIONATELY IMPOSED UPON THE POOR. AND WHO ARE THE POOR - WHY THE BLACKS, OF COURSE. THE WEALTHY WHITES AND WOMEN MANAGE SOMEHOW TO AVOID THE DEATH PENALTY.

HOW MANY OF US REMEMBER THE CASE OF POOR AND BLACK WILLIE FRANCIS? WILLIE WAS THE YOUNGEST PERSON EVER CONDEMNED TO DIE IN LOUISIANA'S ELECTRIC CHAIR. THE CIVIL SERVANTS WHO DO SUCH THINGS STRAPPED WILLIE IN AND APPLIED THE DEATH-GIVING DEVICES IN ALL OF THE STRATEGIC PLACES.

THE EXECUTIONER THAN PULLED THE SWITCH. TH...LY
DANCED ON THE FLOOR, AS WILLIE'S BODY PUSHED AGAINST THE...RAPS AND
HIS EYES AND LIPS BULGED OUT AS THE CURRENT SURGED INTO HIS BODY.
THE SHERIFF, SEEING THAT WILLIE WAS STILL ALIVE AND HEARING A LITTLE
CHILD'S VOICE SAYING, "STOP! STOP! I CAN'T BREATHE," YELLED TO THE
EXECUTIONER, "GIVE HIM SOME MORE JUICE." ~~THE~~ EXECUTIONER YELLED
BACK, "I'M GIVING HIM ALL I'VE GOT!"

THE CHAIR HAD MALFUNCTIONED AND WILLIE'S BODY HAD ONLY BEEN
SEARED BY THE ELCTRICITY. HE WAS CARRIED OFF TO THE DEATH HOUSE
INFIRMARY, THERE TO BE REPAIRED WHILE THE CHAIR WAS BEING REPAIRED.

TWO WHITE LAWYERS CAME TO COURT WAVING THE EIGHTH AMENDMENT
TO THE CONSTITUTION, SAYING THAT CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT SHALL
NOT BE INFLICTED. TO PLACE HIM IN THE CHAIR AGAIN, THEY ARGUED, WOULD
VIOLATE THE CONSTITUTION AND LITERALLY BE DOUBLE JEOPARDY.

THE CASE WENT ALL THE WAY TO THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.
A MAJORITY SAID, IN EFFECT, WILLIE WAS CONDEMNED TO DIE. HE DID NOT
DIE. PUT HIM BACK.

THIS TIME, THE EXECUTIONER SAID, "I'VE GOT YOU NOW. GOOD-BYE
WILLIE." AND HE PULLED THE SWITCH. THIS TIME THE CHAIR WORKED
PERFECTLY.

A TEMPLE UNIVERSITY LAW PROFESSOR IS NOW WRITING A BOOK ABOUT
THE WILLIE FRANCIS CASE AND HAS CONCLUDED THAT WILLIE NEVER KILLED
ANYONE AND THAT THE MURDERED WHITE MAN WAS KILLED BY HIS OWN BROTHER.

IS THAT CASE TOO OLD FOR YOU?

^{WELL,}
DON'T FORGET THE INFAMOUS GOETZ CASE IN NEW YORK, WHERE GOETZ WAS ASKED FOR \$5.00 BY FOUR BLACK YOUTHS. GOETZ SAID HE WAS IN FEAR OF BEING MUGGED, SO HE PULLED OUT AN ILLEGAL WEAPON AND SHOT THE FOUR BOYS, PARALYZING ONE FOR LIFE.

HE WAS ACQUITTED OF THE SHOOTING BUT CONVICTED OF THE MISDEMEANOR POSSESSION OF A WEAPON. HIS BRIEF IMPRISONMENT OVER, HE NOW WALKS THE STREETS OF THE CITY.

CAN YOU IMAGINE THE FATE OF A BLACK MAN SHOOTING FOUR WHITE YOUTHS AND SAYING BY WAY OF HIS DEFENSE THAT HE WAS IN FEAR?

WE ARE INDEED AN ENDANGERED SPECIES.

I AM ANXIOUS THAT THE JUDGING BUSINESS SHOULD HONOR THE CANONS OF FAIRNESS AND I AM PAINFULLY CONCERNED THAT OUR COURTROOMS SHOULD NOT BE PRESIDED OVER BY BIGOTS IN BLACK ROBES.

MOST OF OUR JUDGES ARE WHITE, MIDDLE CLASS, SOCIALLY DISTANT FROM THOSE THEY JUDGE AND ALOOF FROM THE ORDEAL OF BLACK EXISTENCE. THEY CAN BELIEVE A BLACK IS GUILTY SIMPLY BECAUSE HE WALKS WITH WHAT PSYCHOLOGISTS CALL COMPENSATORY ARROGANCE. THE JUDGES HAVE ENJOYED THEIR WHITENESS AND PROSPERED WITH IT FROM THE DAY THEY WERE BORN; AND THEY HAVE TREASURED THE PRIVILEGES THAT A WHITE SKIN ENJOYS.

THEY ARE THE DAILY PERPETUATORS AND BENEFICIARIES OF DEADLY MYTHS THAT GIVE RURAL RED NECKS SO MANY JOBS AS PRISON GUARDS. LET US LOOK FOR A MOMENT AT ONE OF THOSE MYTHS AND SEE IF IT STILL HAUNTS US LIKE A VICIOUS AND PREDATORY GHOST.

DURING THE 1930's, AT THE HEIGHT OF LYNCHINGS OF BLACKS IN AMERICA, A RESOLUTION WAS INTRODUCED AT A NATIONAL POLICE CONVENTION. IT RESOLVED THAT THE POLICE SHOULD ABANDON THEIR 32 CALIBER WEAPONS AND ADOPT THE 38 CALIBER ONE. SOMEONE ASKED WHY. THE ANSWER WAS THAT THE 32 CALIBER BULLET WOULD NOT PENETRATE A BLACK MAN'S SKIN. THE REASON BEING, THE SPEAKER SAID, THAT ALL NEGROES ARE ADDICTED TO COCAINE AND COCAINE NOT ONLY MAKES THE BLACK MAN'S SKIN IMPERVIOUS TO A 32 CALIBER PELLET, BUT IMPROVES THE BLACK MAN'S MARKSMANSHIP AND MAKES HIM RAPE ALL WHITE WOMEN.

WHERE, SOMEBODY ASKED, DO THE POOR NEGROES GET THE MONEY TO BUY COCAINE, ONE OF THE MORE EXPENSIVE NARCOTICS. THERE WAS A READY ANSWER. A SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THE FAVORITE REFRESHMENT OF THE NEGRO UNDERCLASS WAS COCA-COLA. IN THOSE DAYS, COCA-COLA DID IN FACT CONTAIN A MODICUM OF COCAINE. IT WAS REALLY THE REAL THING, ^{ONE MIGHT SAY.}

YOU WILL NOTICE THAT THE OFFICIAL WEAPONRY FOR POLICE DEPARTMENTS ACROSS THIS LAND, IS THE 38.

WE ARE INDEED AN ENDANGERED SPECIES. AND BY VIRTUE OR VICE OF SUCH DEADLY MYTHS DO WE PERISH.

NOW, WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT JUDGES, POLICE AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS WHO LIVE BY THE MYTHS THAT SLAY US?

WE KNOW THAT JUDGES AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS SELDOM, IF EVER, ADMIT THAT THEY ARE RACISTS. AT A JUDGES' CONFERENCE ONCE, A JUDGE DEPLORED MY HARPING ON RACISM AND SAID, "JUST A MINUTE, BRUCE; YOU'RE HUNG UP ON THE QUESTION OF RACE. WE NEVER SEE THE COLOR OF A DEFENDANT WHEN HE STANDS BEFORE THE BENCH. AND THEN BY WAY OF ILLUSTRATING WHITE BLINDNESS, HE SAID, "JUST THE OTHER DAY, I HAD A LITTLE COLORED KID BEFORE ME..." AND HIS VOICE TRAILED OFF, ALONG WITH HIS REASON.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT WE HAVE A JOB TO DO IN CIVILIZING WHITE AMERICA. LET'S NOT GIVE UP. IF THEY CAN LEARN HOW TO DANCE FROM US, THERE IS HOPE. I HAVE NOTICED, ALSO, THAT MORE AND MORE WHITES ARE BECOMING HEALTH FOOD FANATICS AND HAVE DISCOVERED THE FIBER THAT IS SUPPLIED BY COLLARD GREENS. SO, THERE IS HOPE.

I HAVE URGED FOR YEARS, AND BEEN RIDICULED IN THE PROCESS, THAT THE JUDGES, THE POLICE AND THE DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ACROSS THIS LAND, SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO PROVE THAT THEY HAVE TAKEN AND PASSED COURSES IN BLACK HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGICAL JURISPRUDENCE BEFORE BEING ELIGIBLE TO BE NOMINATED AS CANDIDATES FOR THEIR JOBS.

ONCE THEY HAVE PASSED SUCH AN EXAMINATION, THEN THEY MUST BE ~~PSYCHOANALYZED~~ IN DEPTH, TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THEY RETAIN VESTIGES OF A RACIST IMPULSE. ONLY AFTER THEY HAVE CLEARED THOSE HURDLES, WOULD THEY BECOME ELIGIBLE TO BE APPOINTED OR ELECTED TO THEIR POSITIONS.

BLACK JUDGES, I BELIEVE, SHOULD TAKE THE SAME EXAMINATION. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARE SOME BLACK JUDGES WHO TURN EMOTIONALLY WHITE THE MOMENT THEY PUT ON THE BLACK ROBE.

IN THE MEANWHILE, WE SHOULD NEVER FORGET THE INSIGHT OF LANGSTON HUGHES WHO ONCE SAID THAT WHITE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SO CRUEL TO EACH OTHER THAT IT IS RIDICULOUS TO EXPECT THEM TO BE NICE TO US. THERE ARE EXCEPTIONS, OF COURSE, AND WE SHOULD RECRUIT THEM FOR OUR SIDE.

AS I HAVE NOTED, WE HAVE MADE SOME STRIDES, DESPITE THE STRONG STRAIN OF RETARDATION AMONG WHITES AND THEIR INABILITY TO LEARN THAT WE ARE CITIZENS AND THAT WE ARE HERE TO STAY.

I MAY BE TOO OPTIMISTIC, AFTER ALL, THE NEW YORK TIMES REVEALED YESTERDAY THAT A WHITE MEMBER OF THE CITY COUNCIL IN HOUSTON, WAS UPSET ABOUT RE-NAMING ITS AIRPORT AFTER THE LATE CONGRESSMAN MICKEY LELAND, WHO DIED IN A PLANE CRASH IN AFRICA. THE DISSIDENT COUNCILMAN, ONE WESTMORELAND, SUGGESTED THAT THE AIRPORT BE NAMED THE "NIGGER INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT," SO AS TO PLEASE ALL BLACKS.

INSERT → D.A. SHOCKLEY -

RACISM, THEN, IS NOT ONLY TOO MUCH WITH US, BUT IS AS RECENT AS THIS MOMENT.

THAT WE CAN CONVEENE HERE TODAY TO THINK ABOUT WAYS TO WATER THE ROOTS OF EQUALITY WITH OUR ANALYSIS AND THOUGHT, AS OPPOSED TO TEARS OR BLOOD, IS A TRIBUTE TO OUR REGARD FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS, IN THIS, THE 200th YEAR OF ITS EXISTENCE. *IT IS HOPEFUL, ALSO AND SUGGESTS THAT BLACKS HAVE MORE ALLIES THAN I IMAGINED. I HOPE I LIVE LONG ENOUGH TO WITNESS*

BLACKS AND
PUERTO RICANS
WORKING
TOGETHER
AND
RAPROCHEMENT
BETWEEN
JEWS AND
BLACKS.

LET US NEVER ABANDON OUR CIVILIZING MISSIONARY WORK AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, IN AN EFFORT TO TEACH THE RACISTS TO BE BETTER BEHAVED AND MORE HUMANE. WE SHOULD NEVER ABANDON THE STRUGGLE.

ALL OF US
ARE MEMBERS
OF ENDANGERED
SPECIES.

IT WAS THE CONDUCT OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S ANTI-CIVIL RIGHTS MANIA THAT SET THE STAGE FOR THE IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGE ALCEE HASTINGS. AND THEN, FOR US TO WITNESS THE CONDUCT OF ^{BLACK} CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF THE IMPEACHMENT PROCESS, SHOWS THAT WE MAY HAVE SOME PROMINENT SPIES IN OUR MIDST WITH WHAT THEY MUST REGARD AS PROTECTIVE COLORATION.

IT IS ENCOURAGING TO NOTE THAT MAYOR COLEMAN YOUNG OF DETROIT, AFTER DEFEATING CONYERS, SAID THAT WHEN THE CONYERS TERM EXPIRES, HE WILL NEVER SEE THE INSIDE OF CONGRESS AGAIN, UNLESS HE DOES SO AS A TOURIST.

WHILE I AM NOT A PACIFIST AND BELIEVE WITH MALCOLM X IN THE USE OF ALL FORCE NECESSARY, I REMAIN A KIND OF FAN OF MAHATMA GANDHI, WHO HELPED LIBERATE INDIA FROM THE COLONIALIST YOKE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM. HE KNEW A FEW THINGS ABOUT CIVILIZING THE OPPRESSOR. *HE KNEW THEY WERE QUASI-CIVILIZED WHEN THEY VACATED INDIA.*

WHEN HIS HEROIC STRUGGLE SUCCEEDED, GANDHI BECAME GURU TO THE WORLD. SCHOLARS, PROFESSORS, SCIENTISTS, POETS AND EVEN CLERGYMEN CAME FROM AROUND THE PLANET TO SIT AT GANDHI'S FEET AND ABSORB HIS WISDOM.

ONE DAY, A YOUNG POET LOOKED UP AT THE GREAT MAN AND SAID, "MR. GANDHI, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION?"

GANDHI SEEMED PUZZLED FOR A MOMENT, AND THEN HE REPLIED, "YOU KNOW, THAT'S NOT A BAD IDEA. WHY DOESN'T SOMEBODY WORK ON IT?"

WE ARE HERE TO WORK ON IT, AND IN THE PROCESS TEACH OUR AFRO-SAXON GENETIC BROTHERS AND SISTERS THAT THEY DON'T HAVE IT MADE AND THAT THE TOUGH JOB OF CIVILIZING AMERICA MUST CONTINUE

THOSE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN STUDENTS WHO CONDUCTED THAT SLAVE AUCTION THIS YEAR, WILL SOON BE GRADUATED AND, SOONER OR LATER, THEY WILL BE JUDGES, LAWYERS, DISTRICT ATTORNEYS AND POLICE PEOPLE.

THE NEED FOR STRUGGLE IS ENDLESS, *FIR SLAVERY IS NEVER FAR FROM WHITE MINDS.*

A WHITE LAWYER ONCE CAME UP TO ME, INTERRUPTING A CONVERSATION I WAS HAVING WITH A PROFESSOR. HE PLACED A HAND ON MY ARM IN A CONFIDENTIAL FASHION AND, LOOKING ME STRAIGHT IN THE EYE, SAID, "IF WE EVER HAVE SLAVERY AGAIN IN THIS COUNTRY, I'D LIKE TO OWN YOU."

I WILL NOT TELL YOU WHAT I SAID TO HIM IN THIS RESPECTABLE GATHERING.

LITTLE WONDER THAT G. K. CHESTERTON COULD SAY THAT THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH WHITE AMERICANS, EXCEPT THEIR IDEALS.

LITTLE WONDER THAT DENNIS BROGAN, A BRITISH SOCIOLOGIST COULD COMMENT THAT AMERICA IS AN AIR CONDITIONED NIGHTMARE.

LITTLE WONDER THAT GEORGE BERNARD SHAW COULD SAY THAT AMERICA WAS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD TO SUFFER A DECLINE AND FALL IN ITS CIVILIZATION, WITHOUT FIRST BECOMING CIVILIZED.

AS YOU CAN SEE, CIVILIZING WILL NOT BE EASY.

STILL, WE CANNOT GIVE UP. WE HAVE NO PLACE TO GO. WE CANNOT FLEE TO AFRICA. WITH APOLOGIES TO THE INDIANS, THIS IS AS MUCH OUR COUNTRY AS THAT OF ANYONE ELSE, SO WE HAVE TO STICK WITH IT, UNLESS YOU BELIEVE ALEX HALEY AND THINK YOU CAN LOCATE THE TRIBE OF YOUR ANCESTORS, ITS VILLAGE AND POST OFFICE ADDRESS.

SO, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. TO ABANDON IT MEANS THAT YOU WILL BE ABANDONING A CORRUPT AND RACIST SOCIETY AND EXPOSING YOUR CHILDREN TO THE KINDS OF DAMAGING PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES THAT FLOW FROM RACISM.

IF YOU DO NOT FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT FOR YOURSELVES, THEN, AT LEAST, DO IT FOR THE CHILDREN. IF YOU AND I DO NOT AT LEAST DO THAT, LISTEN TO WHAT A HARLEM POET SAYS MAY HAPPEN TO OUR CHILDREN:

MALICIOUS MOUNTAINS MAY SWALLOW THEM ALL
AS THEY HARKEN TO SOME EVIL PIED PIPER'S CALL;
AND THEN, THEIR WORLD WILL TURN TO HARD STONE
AND WE WILL BITE HUNGER WITH A BITTER BONE;
THEIR SESAME STREETS WILL BE SNATCHED AWAY;
CAPTAIN KANGAROO WILL MOLD INTO DECAY;
LONDON BRIDGE WILL BE ASHES IN A PILE;
MADELINE WILL RESIST THE SURGEON'S GUILLE;
HUMPTY-DUMPTY WILL LIE SCRAMBLED IN HIS FALL,
CINDERELLA WILL NEVER MAKE IT TO THE BALL;
MOTHER HUBBARD WILL WEAR MEDUSA'S REPTILE WIGS;
THE THREE BEARS WILL BECOME DRAGON PIGS;
RED RIDING HOOD WILL RAPE THE WOLF IN GRANDMOTHER'S BED;
A PARTRIDGE WILL DEVOUR TREES AND ALL THE PEARS;
THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT WILL HAVE TIGERS ON ITS STAIRS -
AND CHRISTMAS? CHRISTMAS WILL BE SIMPLE SIMON PISSING
IN YOUR HEAD.

AND SO, AS WE WORK ON CIVILIZATION, LET US NEVER FALTER
AND LET US BECOME MISSIONARIES, NOT ONLY TO CIVILIZE WHITE AMERICA,
BUT TO TEACH OUR MILLIONS TO VOTE.

AS YOU WORK ON IT, BEWARE OF THE DARTH VADERS ALONG THE WAY
AND MAY THE FORCE BE WITH YOU.

* * * * *

Bruce McM. Wright