

Third Rail

The Award-Winning Political Arts Magazine of the College of Staten Island
Volume 2007 :: Issue 9



OBAMA '08



He'll keep serving "Capital"

Third Rail is pleased to announce that we have been honored by two prestigious organizations. Firstly, *Third Rail* has been named one of the ten best collegiate publications by *The Nation*, America's premiere progressive news magazine. Secondly, *Third Rail* has been awarded the Campus Alternative Journalism Award for Best Reporting by the *Independent Press Association*. For more details logon to www.ThirdRailMag.com

The Nation.

**Ten Papers
We Like**

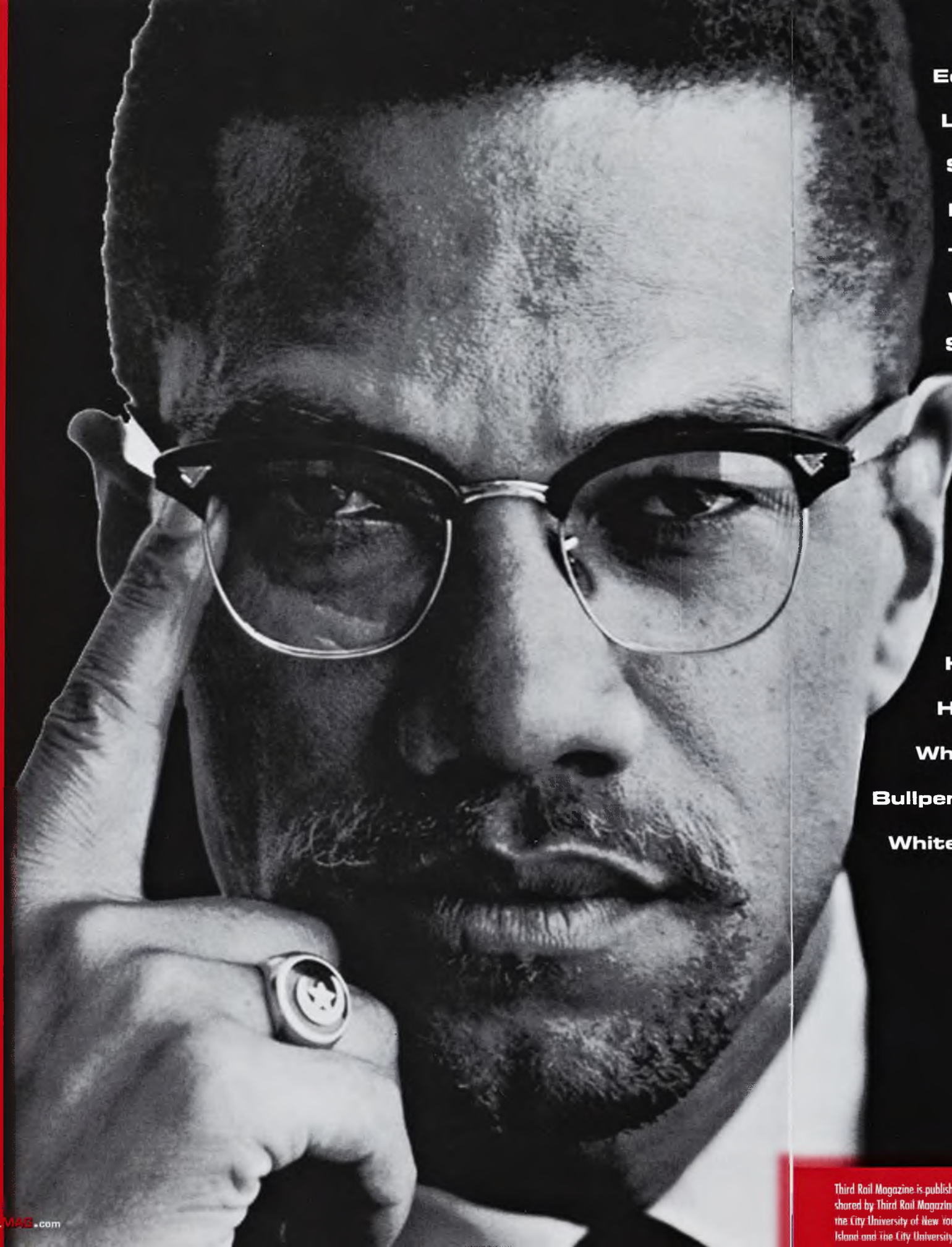


The Nation.

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by P. Melissa Fisher,
Editor-in-Chief



The RIPPLES of the AIRWAVES

YOU KNOW, I HAVE OFTEN SAID THAT I CAN SAY ANYTHING I WANT ABOUT MY SISTER, BUT NO ONE ELSE CAN. While I didn't think that this phenomenon was unique to my family, I never quite realized how deeply it was ingrained into certain cultures until the rise of the "nigger/nigga" debate. The debate over whether it's okay for the black community to use certain racial slurs or make disparaging remarks against themselves, but will consider the same statements fighting words from anyone else is nothing new, but it seems to be picking up steam and taking prisoners on both sides.

The most recent victims of this are Don Imus from the non-black side, and the entire rap community on the black side. The "champion" for the black community is the same—Reverend Al Sharpton. Rev Sharpton, along with many others from several cultural backgrounds (myself included), objected to remarks Imus made in his radio show about Rutgers' women's basketball team. Everyone is focused on how he called them "Nappy-headed hos," but personally, I felt the whole reference to Spike Lee's *School Daze* when he referred to Tennessee's team as the "Wanabes" and the Rutgers team as the "Jigaboos" was far worse. He essentially said that the women from Tennessee were beautiful, but only because they were attempting to look and act white (whatever that means) and that the Rutgers team was ugly and backward because they chose to leave keep their appearance natural and more afro centric. What did he mean by this? That black women can't just be who they are? But still, Imus was exercising his right to free speech. I don't have a problem with his being fired as a result of what he said, exactly. I just feel that it should have happened not as a direct result of what he said, but because the public exercised its equal right not to listen to him, and his show lost any popularity it

had and slipped in the ratings. Any show that fails to draw viewers or listeners is dropped. That way, he would lose his job because of the public and it would have happened without all the publicity.

A surprising indirect victim of this recent turn of events is the shake-up in the "thug-life" subgenre of the rap and hip-hop industry. Rev Sharpton is now taking on the objectification of women, well black women anyway, and the way this genre of music seems to only see women as "hos



and bitches.” He also objects to the constant use of the “N” word in the music this industry produces. Now, anyone who knows me will tell you that I have been complaining about the same things for years, but I have never once called for a ban on it. That is one of the artistic tools that this art form uses to express itself, and if we want that to change, we can simply stop listening to it. When these artists start losing millions of dollars, they’ll stop the offensive tactics.

This, however, brings us back around to the main point of my perplexity. Why can a black man walk up to another black man, say, “What up, my nigga?” and have this be okay? If I did that, I would be branded a racist in seconds. Additionally, I would never walk up to a white friend of mine and exclaim, “How’s it hanging, my cracka!” Even

that idea seems ridiculous to me. Even though, as several friends have pointed out to me, the term “cracker” is not a common insult for white people anymore, at least up north, it still doesn’t make sense. Changing the “er” at the end of cracker to an “a” does not change that this word, used in this context, is vile, insulting and inherently negative.

I am a writer. Few people understand the power of words like I do, and I understand that this is a method of taking the power out of the “N” word, and that the “cracker/cracka” analogy does not work because the dominant culture (in this case, white) does not need to take the power out of the words used to keep it down. I further understand that the black community has been kept down by the white community since the cultures first learned of each other’s

existence, but this method simply is not working, and Rev Sharpton’s current quixotic crusade is evidence of that. On the other hand, however, New York City’s recent idea of ceremonially illegalizing the word’s usage is equally ridiculous. Even if we forgot about the fact that freedom of speech bars the action, it just draws attention to the word and gives it the aura of the forbidden. This is not to say that I have the answer—I don’t. I am just saying that those in power who believe that they have the answer don’t either.

Then there is the question of whether or not what Don Imus said is, on a racial level, that insulting. He called the women on a basketball team “nappy-headed.” While certainly not the nicest thing in the world to say, I don’t think that insulting their hair is a serious enough violation for the hoopla the comment caused which culminated in Imus’ losing his job for doing his job as a “shock-jock.” As a “shock-jock,” Imus’ job was to try to be funny by saying things that are wrong and walk an extremely fine line between funny and offensive. Imus is far from the first of his profession to be cited and penalized for crossing that line. Opie and Anthony are a team of radio “shock-jocks” who lost a job with a radio station for encouraging a couple to have sex in St. Patrick’s Cathedral while on the radio; to me, persuading two people to



EDITORIAL

The Ripples of the AIRWAVES

commit such a crime (and they did face criminal charges) is worse than a public insult, and these men are back on the radio at another station. What Imus said was wrong, and he realized it nearly immediately. We can't even be sure that he meant what he said. For all we know, he said the comments just to be funny and has no prejudice against the black community. It might just have been a bad joke.

“hos.” So where are the protests outside her studio? Where are the demands to her network to fire her? She called a black woman “nappy-headed” didn't she? Where is Rev Sharpton calling for her self-professed nappy head?

The sad thing is that to call someone “nappy-headed” is only an insult because it is a genetic trait of black people,



Funny thing is that I was watching *America's Next Top Model*, and in an episode, and in it, Tyra Banks—a beautiful black supermodel—was commenting on how one of the contestants appeared to be a bit disheveled. She said that she (Banks) often sat around her house “all nappy-headed,” but that she would never show up for work that way. Additionally, she regularly refers to the contestants as her

and in this country, the standard of beauty is white. The truth is that the hair of most black people is different than the hair of people of other ethnic backgrounds. That is why there are even several lines of hair care products marketed for “women of color.” This does not make this kind of hair good or bad, just different. But, since it is not the standard of beauty in this country, it is up for ridicule. The power

needs to be removed from this stigma even more than the “N” word. Children with nappy hair need to see that hair for its own beauty, and having the likes of Tyra Banks refer to it as a negative will never do this. Her use of the term in far more damaging than Imus’.

Don Imus is a dried up old white man whose opinion has really meant nothing for years, but that is not true of Tyra Banks. As the first black supermodel she is a role model for

chemically alter themselves to be beautiful, because the way they look naturally is ugly. Yes, words have power, Ms. Banks, and that was your shot to take the sting out of that one. Perhaps if she had done that a year ago when she had the chance, Imus’ comments would have, as they should have, meant nothing.

This is also why Rev Sharpton’s heart is in the right place in challenging the “thug-life” rap world. This, too, is far more influential on our youth. This is the music that many kids choose to listen to and the code too many of them choose to live by. If young men hear their heroes calling all women “hos and bitches” then that is what these young men will believe women are and they will treat women with the due respect of “hos and bitches.” But even worse is the effect that this might have on the young women listening to it, because if they believe that this is all women are it will be disastrous to their self-image.

So, maybe I was wrong to say that I can say anything I want about my sister. Who can hurt her more, someone like her, whose opinion actually means something to

her or a stranger who barely knows her? Perhaps the last people to use words like “nigga” and “nappy-headed” are the members of the black community. While no one should use them at all, it is from black mouths that they have the most power. This makes these words even more dangerous when the concept is not understood. It causes a risk that these negative stereotypes will be perpetuated and they have already existed for far too long.



thousands of girls, especially black girls, who want to follow in her footsteps. So, if she falls into the trap of calling traits inherent to members of the black community, this might damage the self-esteem of all of those girls she is trying to inspire and make feel beautiful. Banks is one of the people who can help change the standard of beauty to include these girls who feel marginalized by society. Instead, with a simple word, she reinforced the idea that these girls must

RE: FORGOTTEN SOULS

DEAR THIRD RAIL

I had stopped reading about Ms. Corrie as soon as it said that she had burned a U.S. Flag in protest. By law, that is an act of treason and she deserves no recognition of greatness as an American. Perhaps as a woman in general, but definitely not an American. As a Disabled OIF [Operation Iraqi Freedom] I Veteran myself, I have great admiration for PFC [Private First Class] Piestewa and feel that she merits the posthumous award of the CMOH [Congressional Medal of Honor], or at least the Silver Star for her actions...but then again, medals don't put food on her orphaned children's plates.

John DeVito
CSI Student

~~~~~

### PERI MELISSA FISHER, EDITOR IN CHIEF RESPONDS

DEAR MR. DEVITO:

*Thank you for your reading and responding to Third Rail magazine, but I must disagree with your assessment of Ms. Corrie's status as an American. Ms. Corrie broke no laws by burning an American flag. Please see the following websites as evidence:*

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag\\_desecration](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_desecration)  
<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/conlaw/flagburning.htm>  
<http://supreme.lp.findlaw.com/townhall/hot/flag/flagindex.html>

*Flag Desecration, as it is called in these sites, is a legal form of protest and should not change the opinion of her other actions, good or bad.*

*As for PFC Piestawa, I agree with you whole-heartedly! But I further believe that her family should be given some kind of monetary supplement to aid her parents in raising her children.*

*Your E-mail lists you as a veteran, and, as such, you use several abbreviations that I just don't understand. If you have a moment, I would love to know what they mean so I*



**Rachel Corrie, after being run over by an Israeli bulldozer**

*can better understand your response.*

*Once again, thank you for reading and responding to Third Rail. We look forward to hearing from you again.*

Peri Melissa Fisher  
Editor-in-Chief  
Third Rail Magazine

~~~~~

JOHN DEVITO, CSI STUDENTS RESPONDS

HEY PERI,

Far cry from Myspace over here with the 3rd Rail, less Guido retards to contend with for attention. I don't believe that they can read, let alone grasp the concepts addressed in the magazine. Now, on to business...The things that are implemented from Supreme Court cases are just a Judge's interpretations of the USC, CFR, and US Constitution...I'm more than sure that

IS FLAG DESECRATION ILLEGAL? SHOULD IT BE?: A CIVIL EXCHANGE



you already know that (Even though I feel they are mostly incompetent or can't read, especially to let so many frivolous cases make their way through appeals all the way to them). That, and I don't trust half of the crap on Wikipedia (User compiled and error prone), or even "legal" sites that don't even go into reference the current standing of the United States Codes.

Please reference 18 USC 700 <http://frwebgate3.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/waisgate.cgi?WAISdocID=940114971+16+0+0&WAIAction=retrieve>

It is a law. Its not, by black & white, on paper definition a "protected" form of free speech. The law is there, bottom line. Modern times and liberalization have made it less severe than I had previously thought it was. \$1000/1 yr seems like its been reduced to a Class A misdemeanor rather than the felony of treason. Multiple appeals processes seem to have made it useless to retrieve the fine anyway because of court expenses and show a trend of being overturned. That still doesn't change my perspective though as far as viewing her as having lost the ability or privilege to call herself an American. You burn the flag in protest, in

essence renouncing your country; you may as well start a new life somewhere else.

I don't know where my opinion fits in around CSI and NYC, but damn it, since I got hurt for these bastards I may as well hold something of symbolic value. Yes, I have much resentment for the current administration and most of the ignorant civilians that I had once served for, but I am still an American nonetheless. People implement their selfish ideals when they decide to burn the symbol of the nation. They only look to their immediate cause, whether righteous or selfish, rather than looking at the bigger picture of the whole history, behind the meaning of that symbol. So many people nowadays don't even show the capacity to be selfless. You don't go and burn something (by law, and shouldn't by virtue of Honor) with such a rich history (even for its short time in existence) just because you are in disagreement with the immediate policy.

In reference to abbreviations, the only one I can remember is CMOH (Congressional Medal of Honor). I don't have a copy of what I had written. Please write again with what you would like clarification of and I'll be glad to help.

The opinions expressed in responses by Third Rail members are solely representing their own opinions and do not necessarily represent the opinions of Third Rail Magazine or the magazine staff.



WHO AM I?
NO...WAIT NIGGA...WHO THE HELL ARE YOU?
YES, I AM GAY, AND I KNOW THE BIBLE SAY IT'S A SIN
BUT AGAIN, WHO THE HELL ARE YOU?
WHO ARE YOU TO THROW DOWN THOSE STONES AT MY PRETTY FEET?
WHO GAVE YOU THE RIGHT TO LABEL ME SOMETHING THAT I AM NOT.
WHO THE HELL ARE YOU TO AIM FOR MY JUGULAR WITH THE RAGGED RUSTY SHARP END OF YOU CUTLASS OF HARSH BRUTAL AND DEROGATORY WORDS?

FAGGOT, SISSY-BOY, MARICON, BATTI-RIDER, ANITIMAN...THE LIST GOES ON AND ON. BUT WHO THE HELL ARE YOU TO GIVE ME SUCH NAMES?

AS FAR AS I KNOW I ONLY GOT TWO MOTHA-FUCKIN PARENTS, AND TO FURTHER BENEFIT FROM THEM, THEY GAVE ME MY NAME IN WHICH NONE OF THOSE THAT YOU JUST JEERED BEHIND MY BACK.

MY NAME IS SHELDON JAVAGHN BOURNE, AND I ANSWER TO NO OTHER NAME.
FURTHERMORE, I DON'T ANSWER TO NO ONE ON EARTHLY PLANE.
Y'ALL DON'T HOLD MY FATE AND OUTLINE MY DESTINY.
Y'ALL HAVEN'T WALKED A QUART OF A MILE IN MY SIZE 10 AND A HALF'S.

YOU KNOW WHAT I FIND FUNNY?
WHENEVER PEOPLE TALK ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY, AND THEY CROSS REFERENCE THE BIBLE, THEY CAN NEVER TELL ME THE EXACT SCRIPTURE WHERE IT SAYS GOD DON'T LOVE GAYS.
I LIVE MY LIFE FOR ME, AND FOR ME ALONE, AND IN DOING SO, I MAKE SURE THAT THE SAME GOD THAT YOU USE TO CRUCIFY ME WALKS BY MY SIDE.

SEE YOU'ALL DON'T KNOW HIM LIKE I KNOW HIM.
YOU THINK YOU DO, BUT YOU REALLY DON'T.
Y'ALL RUN AROUND HERE NO BETTER THAN ME CASTING, AND THROWING STONES.
BUT THERE'S A LIGHT SHINING IN ME.
YOU DON'T EVER SEE ME DOWN AND LONGING FOR EARTHLY TREASURE.
WHY?
SHIT...THE ANSWER'S PRETTY SIMPLE.
I DON'T NEED ALL THAT.
I GOT MY JESUS, AND HE'S MY LIGHTHOUSE THROUGH THE STORM.

HOW MANY OF Y'ALL PROSECUTORS AND PERSECUTORS CAN SAY THAT.
Y'ALL SO BUSY PERSECUTING PEOPLE'S SOULS THAT MOST OF YOU DON'T SEE THE LIGHT TILL IT'S GONE.
SHIT...SOME OF YOU ARE EVEN TO ASHAMED TO SHINE IT; YET, YOU'RE THE FIRST ONE TO QUOTE SCRIPTURE, OR AT LEAST YOUR OPINIONATED VERSION OF IT.

I AM NOT ASHAMED OF WHO I AM. I USED TO BE, BUT NOT ANYMORE.
WHY SHOULD I BE? IT'S A SIN, AND ABOMINATION.
GET OVER IT; DON'T REMIND ME, I ALREADY KNOW THAT.
WE'RE ALL BORN IN SIN, AND NONE OF US ARE PERFECT.

WORRY ABOUT YOUR OWN GODDAMNED SELF.
MY SALVATION DOESN'T LIE IN YOUR HANDS, AND MY ETERNITY IS AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN MY JESUS, MY GOD, AND ME.

SO AGAIN...WHO AM I?
NO...WHO THE HELL ARE YOU?
I'LL TELL YOU WHAT YOU ARE BASED ON TRUTH.
YOU'RE JUST AN IGNORANT ASSHOLE WITH AN OPINION.
THE SAME OPINION YOU USE TO CRUCIFY ME TO MAKE YOURSELF SEEM MORE HOLY AND JUST.
A PERPETRATOR JUST LIVING THE "GOOD LIFE".

SIN IS ONLY SKIN DEEP

BY: SHELDON J. BOURNE

YEAH, I AM TALKING ABOUT YOU.
JUSTICE, LOVE, AND HOLINESS ARE NOT PRIZES YOU WIN AFTER A COMPETITION.
THOSE THINGS ARE UNCONDITIONAL AND RIGHTEOUS.
I AM NO BETTER OFF THAN YOU, AND NEITHER ARE YOU BETTER OFF THAN ME IN
MY GOD'S OMNIPOTENT, OMNISCIENT AND OMNIPRESENT EYES.
I AM AN INDIVIDUAL WITH MY INDIVIDUAL SIN, WANTS, NEEDS AND DESIRES.

SO TAKE YOUR WEAK ASS SOMEWHERE ELSE.
DON'T CONTINUE TO PISS ME OFF.
I'VE HAD ENOUGH OF PEOPLE PICKING AT MY LOOSE AND OPEN SCARS.
WITH THIS ONE POEM, I HAVE PLANTED A SEED, TAUGHT A MORAL, AND
DISMISSED YOU ALL AT ONCE.
NOW GO AND THINK OF WHAT I JUST SAID, WHILE I CONTINUE TO LEARN ALL
THE TALES AND STORIES OF MY CLOSED UP WOUNDS.
BUT BEFORE I GO...JUST ONE THING I THOUGHT THAT I SHOULD LET YOU KNOW...
MY SIS IS ONLY EARTHLY BOUND AND SKIN DEEP
BUT MY SPIRIT AND SOUL ARE INTERTWINED AND LAST FOREVER.

NEWS BRIEFS

compiled by Third Rail staff

WE'RE NUMBER 20!

A recent study from UNICEF ranks the United States and Britain at the bottom of 21 industrialized countries in regard to the general well being of its children. The report measured 40 different indicators of well being such as poverty, education, health, deprivation, happiness, and risky behavior. Britain ranked 21 overall, but the United States fared worst in the category of health and safety determined by rates of infant mortality, accidents, and injuries. The study also found that children in Britain and the United States engaged in risky behavior more often than their counterparts in other countries based on levels of drug use and sexual activity.



The top ranking countries were the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland. There was no direct correlation between the wealth of a nation and its ranking. Two of the poorest countries out of the 21, Poland and the Czech Republic, consistently did better than the United States and Britain throughout most categories and fared better overall. The most significant factors for doing well in the study were based on how much a country directed its resources and efforts towards programs that alleviate poverty, provide health care, and promote egalitarianism.

DETAINEES DISAPPEAR IN SECRET CIA PRISONS

Human Rights Watch released a 50-page report entitled "Ghost Prisoners: Two Years in Secret CIA Detention." The report documents the description of a secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) prison provided by a Palestinian former detainee who was released last year. The report also argues against President Bush's claim in early September that all secret CIA prisoners have been transferred to Guantanamo Bay.

Human Rights watch sent a letter to President Bush based on the report. The letter contained two lists of missing detainees. The first list names 16 people whom Human Rights Watch believes were held in CIA prisons and whose current

whereabouts are unknown. The second list names 22 people who may have been held in CIA prisons and whose current whereabouts are unknown.

According to the Human Rights Watch report, these prisoners' treatment by the CIA constitutes enforced disappearance, a practice that is absolutely prohibited under international law. The report provides two likely possibilities of the prisoners' whereabouts. The prisoners are still under CIA control in foreign prisons or they may have been released from direct CIA control and placed in foreign prisons where torture is a common practice.

Joanne Mariner, terrorism and counter-terrorism director at Human Rights Watch, claimed, "the CIA program – and the civilian leaders who created it – have inflicted tremendous harm on the reputation, moral standing, and integrity of the United States. It's time for President Bush to repudiate this program, and to take steps to repair the damage it has done."



30% OF FRENCH IDENTIFY SELF AS RACIST

A report issued by the National Consultative Human Rights Committee (CNCDH) found that 30% of the French people taking part in a survey described themselves as racist. The study also reported that nearly half believed that there are too many immigrants in France, and more than half blamed immigrants for not assimilating into society.

The CNCDH report also claimed that acts of racist and anti-immigrant violence decreased by 10% in 2006 compared to 2005, but anti-Semitic threats and violence increased by 6%.



ALL NEGRO'S TO THE BACK OF THE BUS, PLEASE!

A school bus driver from Louisiana is under fire after being accused of making black students sit in the back of the bus. According to complaints filed by irate parents and family members, the children of the Red River Elementary School in Coushatta, LA were separated by color with white students sitting up front, while blacks were relegated to the back. Superintendent Kay Easley has refused to comment on the incident however the driver was pulled off the route for a period of time after the allegations surfaced. Parents are now calling for an entire revamp of the Red River school system citing fears of racism.



GEOGRAPHY IS NOW UN-AMERICAN

Eric Hamlin, a Jefferson County geography teacher, was forced on paid administrative leave after only the second day of school for hanging flags from other countries in his classroom. Using flags as a learning tool for his students had been a common practice utilized by Hamlin for years without any problems. Hamlin believes that the current national debate about illegal immigration and the fact that one of the flags was for the Nation of Mexico may have prompted the backlash. Hamlin however will not concede to the order to not teach without the flags and has enlisted the help of the ACLU to help win his case.



RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE SUPPRESSED

In a show of solidarity and support for their teachers who were planning to strike, the students of Barberton High School planned to hold a walkout last October.



Their celebration of the Bill of Rights, though, was quickly put down by the school's administration. As students started walking out, the school began issuing suspensions totaling 20 in all. The community, which was already in support of the strike, is outraged by the severe punishment of the students who merely tried to show respect to their teachers.

HARRY POTTER AND THE BANNED BOOKED

The American Library Association (ALA) has announced that J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series is now the book that has received the most attempts to ban. The list of attempted bannings was compiled from 2000 -2005 and used to celebrate the importance of freedom of speech in the nation. "As this puts me in the company of Harper Lee, Mark Twain, JD Salinger, William Golding, John Steinbeck and other writers I revere, I take my annual inclusion on the list as a great honour," said Rowling.



CITIZEN ARRESTED FOR EXPRESSING HIS OPINION ABOUT VICE-PRESIDENT CHENEY

While on a trip to the mall with his children, Steve Howards happened to pass by a shopping Vice-President. So he decided to express his opinion of the poor job this particular public servant was doing. To Howards dismay he was arrested by the Secret Service who then attempted to have his child hauled off by Social Services. His children however were wise enough to run off and get their mother. The Secret Service refused to tell his wife where they were taking him. Eventually he was taken to a local jail where charges were reduced and he was released on bail. Howards is now fighting back with a lawsuit against the VP and Secret Service for the violation of his first and fourth amendment rights.



NEWS BRIEFS

BECAUSE WE ALWAYS HAVE PARIS



It thankfully seems like Paris Hilton's 15 minutes are up and hopefully all the other famous for nothing white trash debutants that have wasted precious space in our nation's newspapers and other news outlets. Entertainment Editor Jesse Washington of the Associate Press (AP) has placed a ban on Paris Hilton stories admitting

that fluff stories about Ms. Hilton had become somewhat of a vice for his newswire writers. The AP is one of the largest newswire services in the world and provides content for media outlets across the country ranging from national security to the latest fads. The AP like the media outlets it services has in recent years been falling back more and more on stories pop-culture celebrities which are easier to research and write rather than go after harder less popular news like political corruption or the environment. The move by Mr. Washington is hopefully a sign that the media is interested in returning to more serious reporting.

IT'S ALL ABOUT THE BENJAMIN'S



Israel's armed forces chief, Lieutenant-General Dan Halutz is under investigation for immoral and illegal business activities just prior to the invasion of Lebanon. It has been alleged that Halutz had sold his stock portfolio just prior to the conflict, which he knew said invasion would cause the market to plummet. As a high ranking member military of the military Halutz would have had advance knowledge of the impending invasion something that could be considered the equivalent to insider trading.

Halutz denies wrong doing however Israeli legislators have called for a full investigation by the Attorney General.

WAR PARTY



The PC police are on the attack again this time they're after an 8 year old that chose to use his birthday to celebrate the efforts of our veterans. Liam Bowman had become fascinated with the true tale of 101st Airborne Divisions efforts in World War II. The HBO miniseries *Ban of Brothers* prompted this interest and he had watched it again and again. So when it came time to plan his birthday he decided he wanted to theme it around a celebration of the 101st not war itself but rather those specific men that put their lives on the line to defend our freedoms and the freedoms of men and women that lived a 1000 miles away they had never met. As always there were those parents who brought their kids, those who didn't but also those who complained about the glorification of war. His parents being journalists decided to respond to this outrage by writing about it, and after his mother's article appeared in the Washington Post even more complaints abound. But they also heard from some real veterans and Liam would end this journey with a meeting at a VFW hall where he and his friends got to hear directly from some real veterans including Clarence Lyall and actual veteran of the 101st who did not glorify his actions or those of others rather he gave the boys an important lesson in why war is horrible and should only be fought when all other options fall. Lyall explain how scared he was during the plane jumps, how he was injured several times and that he suffered a nervous breakdown after his unit liberated a concentration camp. Thanks to Liam's interest in the 101st he and his friends now have a better understanding about the trials and tribulations of war that most adults don't have especially the PC Police.



I WANT TO SUCK YOUR BIG, HAIRY

FICTION,
POETRY,
PHOTOGRAPHY,
& POLITICAL
ESSAYS

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The Revolution Will Not Be Televised

By Gil Scott-Heron

You will not be able to stay home, brother. You will not be able to plug in, turn on and drop out. You will not be able to lose yourself on skag and skip. Skip out for beer during commercials. Because the revolution will not be televised. The revolution will not be televised. The revolution will not be televised. The revolution will not be televised. The revolution will not be brought to you by Xerox. In 4 parts without commercial interruption. The revolution will not be shown you pictures of Nixon Blowing a bugle and leading a charge by John Mitchell, General Abrams and Spiro Agnew to eat Hog maws confiscated from a Harlem sanctuary. The revolution will not be televised. The revolution will be brought to you by the Schaefer Award Theatre and will not star Natalie Wood and Steve McQueen or Bullwinkle and Julia. The revolution will not give your mouth sex appeal. Or trying to slide that color television into a stolen ambulance. NBC will not make you look five pounds Thinner, because the revolution will not be televised. There will be no pictures of you and Willie Mays. Pushing that cart down the block on from 29 districts. Run out of Harlem on a rail with a brand new process. There will be no slow motion or still life of Roy Wilkins strolling through Watts in a red, black and Green liberation jumpsuit that he had been saving. For just the right occasion. Care if Dick finally gets down with Jane on Search for Tomorrow because Black people will be in the street looking for a brighter day. The revolution will not be televised. There will be no highlights on the eleven o'clock News and no pictures of hairy armed women. Liberationists and Jackie Onassis blowing her nose. The theme song will not be written by Jim Webb, Francis Scott Key, nor sung by Glen Campbell, Tom Jones, Johnny Cash, Englebert Humperdink, or the Rare Earth. The revolution will not be televised. The revolution will not go better with Coke. The revolution will not fight the germs that cause bad breath. The revolution WILL put you in the driver's seat. The revolution will not be televised, WILL NOT BE TELEVISED. The revolution will be no re-run brothers; The revolution will be live.



**The
Revolution
Will Not Be
Televised**

What Kind of Card is Race?

The Absurdity
(and Consistency)
of White Denial



by
Tim
Wise

Recently, I was asked by someone in the audience of one of my speeches, whether or not I believed that racism--though certainly a problem--might also be something conjured up by people of color in situations where the charge was inappropriate. In other words, did I believe that occasionally folks play the so-called race card, as a ploy to gain sympathy or detract from their own shortcomings? In the process of his query, the questioner made his own opinion all too clear (an unambiguous yes), and in that, he was not alone, as indicated by the reaction of others in the crowd, as well as survey data confirming that the belief in black malingerers about racism is nothing if not ubiquitous.

It's a question I'm asked often, especially when there are several high-profile news events transpiring, in which race informs part of the narrative. Now is one of those times, as a few recent incidents demonstrate: Is racism, for example, implicated in the alleged rape of a young black woman by white members of the Duke University lacrosse team? Was racism implicated in Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney's recent confrontation with a member of the Capitol police? Or is racism involved in the ongoing investigation into whether or not Barry Bonds--as he is poised to eclipse white slugger Babe Ruth on the all-time home run list--might have used steroids to enhance his performance?*

Although the matter is open to debate in any or all of these cases, white folks have been quick to accuse blacks who answer in the affirmative of playing the race card, as if their conclusions have been reached not because of careful consideration of the facts as they see them, but rather, because of some irrational (even borderline paranoid) tendency to see racism everywhere. So too, discussions over immigration, "terrorist" profiling, and Katrina and its aftermath often turn on issues of race, and so give rise to the charge that as regards these subjects, people of color are "overreacting" when they allege racism in one or another circumstance.

Asked about the tendency for people of color to play the "race card," I responded as I always do: First, by noting that the regularity with which whites respond to charges of racism by calling said charges a ploy, suggests that the race card is, at best, equivalent to the two of diamonds. In other words, it's not much of a card to play, calling into question why anyone would play it (as if it were really going to get them somewhere). Secondly, I pointed out that white reluctance to acknowledge racism isn't new, and it isn't something that manifests only in situations where the racial aspect of an incident is arguable. Fact is, whites have always doubted claims of racism at the time they were being made, no matter how strong the evidence, as will be seen below. Finally, I concluded by suggesting that whatever "card" claims of racism may prove to be for the black and brown, the denial card is far and away the trump, and whites play it regularly: a subject to which we will return.

TURNING INJUSTICE INTO A GAME OF CHANCE: THE ORIGINS OF RACE AS "CARD"

First, let us consider the history of this notion: namely, that the "race card" is something people of color play so as to distract the rest of us, or to gain sympathy. For most Americans, the phrase "playing the race card" entered the national lexicon during the O.J. Simpson trial. Robert

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

What Kind of Card is Race?



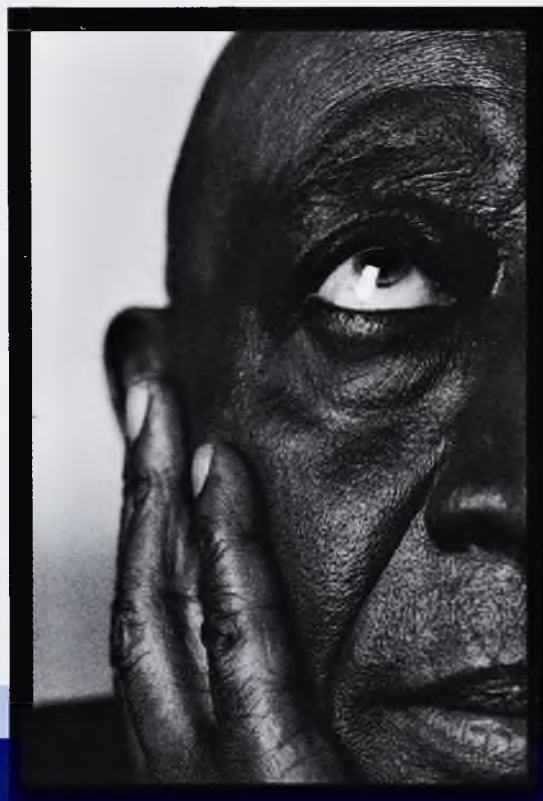
Shapiro, one of Simpson's attorneys famously claimed, in the aftermath of his client's acquittal, that co-counsel Johnnie Cochran had "played the race card, and dealt it from the bottom of the deck." The allegation referred to Cochran's bringing up officer Mark Fuhrman's regular use of the 'n-word' as potentially indicative of his propensity to frame Simpson. To Shapiro, whose own views of his client's innocence apparently shifted over time, the issue of race had no place in the trial, and even if Fuhrman was a racist, this fact had no bearing on whether or not O.J. had killed his ex-wife and Ron Goldman. In other words, the idea that O.J. had been framed because of racism made no sense and to bring it up was to interject race into an arena where it was, or should have been, irrelevant.

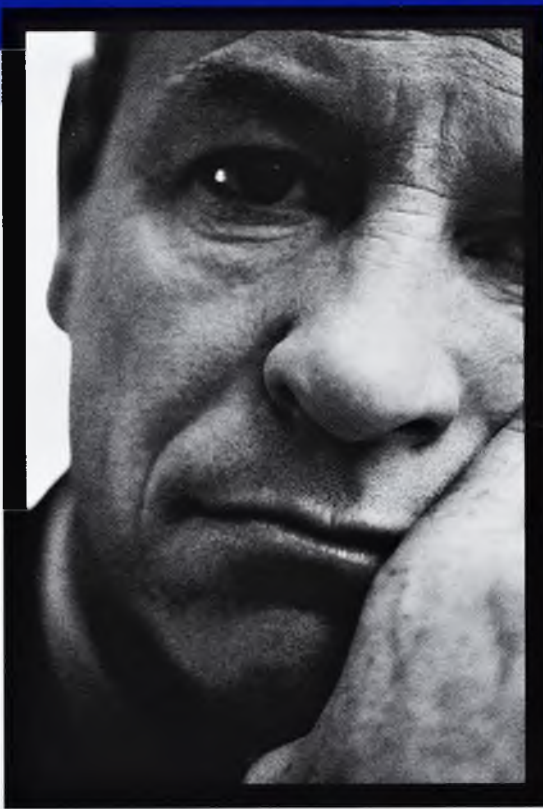
That a white man like Shapiro could make such an argument, however, speaks to the widely divergent way in which whites and blacks view our respective worlds. For people of color--especially African Americans--the idea that racist cops might frame members of their community is no abstract notion, let alone an exercise in irrational conspiracy theorizing. Rather, it speaks to a social reality about which blacks are acutely aware. Indeed, there has been a history of such misconduct on the part of law enforcement, and for black folks to think those bad old days have ended is, for

many, to let down their guard to the possibility of real and persistent injury (1).

So if a racist cop is the lead detective in a case, and the one who discovers blood evidence implicating a black man accused of killing two white people, there is a logical alarm bell that goes off in the head of most any black person, but which would remain every bit as silent in the mind of someone who was white. And this too is understandable: for most whites, police are the helpful folks who get your car out of the tree, or take you around in their patrol car for fun. For us, the idea of brutality or misconduct on the part of such persons seems remote, to the point of being fanciful. It seems the stuff of bad TV dramas, or at the very least, the past--that always remote place to which we can consign our national sins and predations, content all the while that whatever demons may have lurked in those earlier times have long since been vanquished.

To whites, blacks who alleged racism in the O.J. case were being absurd, or worse, seeking any excuse to let a black killer off the hook--ignoring that blacks on juries vote to convict black people of crimes every day in this country. And while allegations of black "racial bonding" with the defendant were made regularly after the acquittal in





Simpson's criminal trial, no such bonding, this time with the victims, was alleged when a mostly white jury found O.J. civilly liable a few years later. Only blacks can play the race card, apparently; only they think in racial terms, at least to hear white America tell it.

ANYTHING BUT RACISM: WHITE RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT THE EVIDENCE

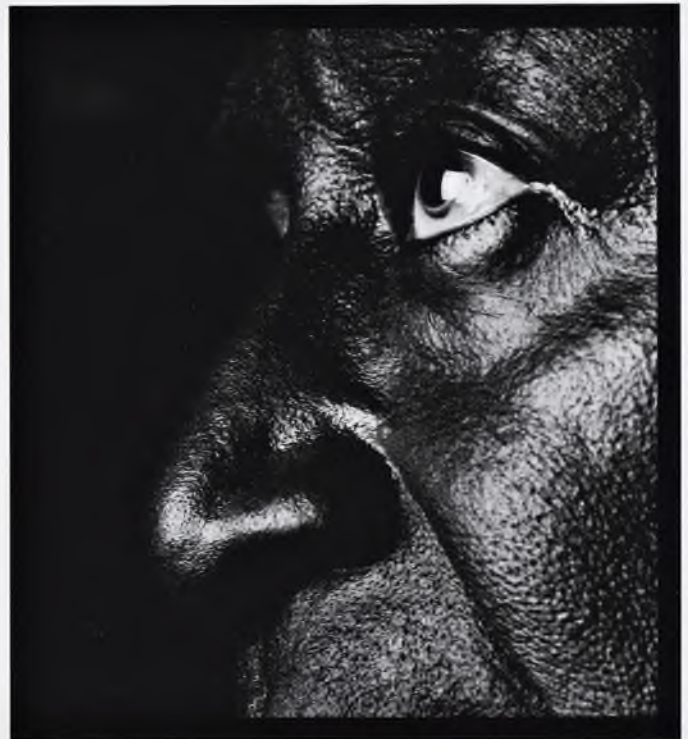
Since the O.J. trial, it seems as though almost any allegation of racism has been met with the same dismissive reply from the bulk of whites in the U.S. According to national surveys, more than three out of four whites refuse to believe that discrimination is any real problem in America (2). That most whites remain unconvinced of racism's salience—with as few as six percent believing it to be a “very serious problem,” according to one poll in the mid 90s (3)—suggests that racism-as-card makes up an awfully weak hand. While folks of color consistently articulate their belief that racism is a real and persistent presence in their own lives, these claims have had very little effect on white attitudes. As such, how could anyone believe that people of color would somehow pull the claim out of their hat, as if it were guaranteed to make white America sit up and take notice? If anything, it is likely to be ignored, or even attacked, and in a particularly

vicious manner.

That bringing up racism (even with copious documentation) is far from an effective “card” to play in order to garner sympathy, is evidenced by the way in which few people even become aware of the studies confirming its existence. How many Americans do you figure have even heard, for example, that black youth arrested for drug possession for the first time are incarcerated at a rate that is forty-eight times greater than the rate for white youth, even when all other factors surrounding the crime are identical (4)?

How many have heard that persons with “white sounding names,” according to a massive national study, are fifty percent more likely to be called back for a job interview than those with “black sounding” names, even when all other credentials are the same (5)?

How many know that white men with a criminal record are slightly more likely to be called back for a job interview than black men without one, even when the men are equally qualified, and present themselves to potential employers in an identical fashion (6)?



What Kind of Card is Race?



POLITICAL DISCOURSE

What Kind of Card is Race?



How many have heard that according to the Justice Department, Black and Latino males are three times more likely than white males to have their vehicles stopped and searched by police, even though white males are over four times more likely to have illegal contraband in our cars on the occasions when we are searched (7)?

How many are aware that black and Latino students are about half as likely as whites to be placed in advanced or honors classes in school, and twice as likely to be placed in remedial classes? Or that even when test scores and prior performance would justify higher placement, students of color are far less likely to be placed in honors classes (8)? Or that students of color are 2-3 times more likely than whites to be suspended or expelled from school, even though rates of serious school rule infractions do not differ to any significant degree between racial groups (9)?

Fact is, few folks have heard any of these things before, suggesting how little impact scholarly research on the subject of racism has had on the general public, and how difficult it is to make whites, in particular, give the subject a second thought.

Perhaps this is why, contrary to popular belief, research indicates that people of color are actually reluctant to allege racism, be it on the job, or in schools, or anywhere else. Far from "playing the race card" at the drop of a hat, it is actually the case (again, according to scholarly investigation, as opposed to the conventional wisdom of the white public), that black and brown folks typically "stuff" their

experiences with discrimination and racism, only making an allegation of such treatment after many, many incidents have transpired, about which they said nothing for fear of being ignored or attacked (10). Precisely because white denial has long trumped claims of racism, people of color tend to underreport their experiences with racial bias, rather than exaggerate them. Again, when it comes to playing a race card, it is more accurate to say that whites are the dealers with the loaded decks, shooting down any evidence of racism as little more than the fantasies of unhinged blacks, unwilling to take personal responsibility for their own problems in life.

BLAMING THE VICTIMS FOR WHITE INDIFFERENCE

Occasionally, white denial gets creative, and this it does by pretending to come wrapped in sympathy for those who allege racism in the modern era. In other words, while steadfastly rejecting what people of color say they experience--in effect suggesting that they lack the intelligence and/or sanity to accurately interpret their own lives--such commentators seek to assure others that whites really do care about racism, but simply refuse to pin the label on incidents where it doesn't apply. In fact, they'll argue, one of the reasons that whites have developed compassion fatigue on this issue is precisely because of the overuse of the concept, combined with what we view as unfair reactions to racism (such as affirmative action efforts which have, ostensibly, turned us into the victims of racial bias). If blacks would just stop playing the card where it doesn't

belong, and stop pushing for so-called preferential treatment, whites would revert back to our prior commitment to equal opportunity, and our heartfelt concern about the issue of racism.

Don't laugh. This is actually the position put forward recently by James Taranto, of the Wall Street Journal, who in January suggested that white reluctance to embrace black claims of racism was really the fault of blacks themselves, and the larger civil rights establishment (11). As Taranto put it: "Why do blacks and whites have such divergent views on racial matters? We would argue that it is because of the course that racial policies have taken over the past forty years." He then argues that by trying to bring about racial equality--but failing to do so because of "aggregate differences in motivation, inclination and aptitude" between different racial groups--policies like affirmative action have bred "frustration and resentment" among blacks, and "indifference" among whites, who decide not to think about race at all, rather than engage an issue that seems so toxic to them. In other words, whites think blacks use racism as a crutch for their own inadequacies, and then demand programs and policies that fail to make things much better, all the while discriminating against them as whites. In such an atmosphere, is it any wonder that the two groups view the subject matter differently?

But the fundamental flaw in Taranto's argument is its suggestion--implicit though it may be--that prior to the creation of affirmative action, white folks were mostly on board the racial justice and equal opportunity train,

Continued on
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SEMANTICS

BY DWIGHT DUNKLEY

THEY'RE CHOPPING OFF CLITORISES UNDER COERCION IN
MALI.

YET TODAY'S FEMINISTS BE BITCHING 'BOUT
"MAN HOLES"...
PREFERRING THE TERM "SEWER COVERS" INSTEAD.

I SAID, THEY'RE CHOPPING OFF CLITS UNDER COERCION IN
MALI (AND YEMEN)

BUT TODAY'S FEMINISTS BE BITCHING 'BOUT WORDS LIKE
"SEA-MAN."
WHILE 10 YEAR OLD GIRLS
IN PHNOM PHEN ARE FORCED TO SWALLOW SEMEN BETWEEN
FIVE TO NINE DAILY RAPES.

THEIR SCREAMS GO UNHEARD WHILE FEMINISTS BITCH 'BOUT
BIASED GRAMMAR.

YEAH, THE FEMALE CONDITION WORLDWIDE WORSENS,
BUT IN BROOKLYN...
WHAT'S MOST IMPORTANT
IS THAT "SNOWMAN" IS "SNOWPERSON."

COLD.
BUT THEY DON'T HEAR ME WHEN I SAY THEY'RE MISSGUIDED?

BUT HOW DARE MALE-ME SAY THEY'RE MISSGUIDED?

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

JOIN THE FIGHT!



FIGHT THE POWER!



The National Action Network Crisis Department

106 W. 145th Street
Harlem, New York 10039
1(212) 690-3070

<http://www.nationalactionnetwork.net/>

100 Blacks in Law Enforcement

591 Vanderbilt Avenue, Ste. 133,
Brooklyn, NY 11238
1(718) 455-9059

<http://members.tripod.com/blacksnlaw/>



National Black Justice Coalition

700 12th Street NW, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20006
1 (202) 349-3755

<http://www.nbjcoalition.org/>



National Association of Black Journalists

University of Maryland, 8701-A Adelphi Road
Adelphi, MD 20783-1716
1(866) 479-NABJ

<http://www.nabj.org/>

Nation Association for the Advancement of Colored People

4805 Mt. Hope Drive
Baltimore, MD 21215
1(877) NAACP-98
<http://www.naacp.org/>



UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

United Negro College Fund

8260 Willow Oaks Corporate Drive
P.O. Box 10444
Fairfax, VA 22031-8044
1-800-331-2244

<http://www.uncf.org/>

New York Association of Black Journalist

2214 Frederick Douglas Blvd #234
Harlem, NY 10026
212-252-5332

<http://www.nyabj.org/>

NEW YORK aboj



FICTION

The Prison

BY BORIS KOYFMAN

Philip flicked the switch. The yellow flared into his eyes and made him wince. It was three in the afternoon. He sat down at his unremarkable beige desk and reached for his notebook. Philip flipped to the last page, sighed and slammed it shut.



Atop this desk, adjacent to the notebooks, was a photograph of a blonde and amiably pretty woman of about thirty. She was smiling. Her hands were embracing her hips; this composed a flirtatious, come-hither posture. Philip stared at it for almost a minute. This photo made him smile.

On the far right side of the desk stood a small glass cup filled with black ink. It was dangerously close to the edge. A dark gray fountain pen was holstered to the left of it. Philip moved the cup just to be safe. Approximately three feet above the desk hung a gilded crucifix. It was rather large especially for such a small apartment. It was the only lustrous object in an otherwise scanty haunt. The lamp shuttered. It had been doing this for over a year.

Someone knocked on the door. Phil, still half asleep, slowly stirred from his chair to see who it was. He opened it and found Lilly Chomsky, his next door neighbor, before him.

"Hi, Phillllll," Lilly purred. She was wearing a pink cotton dress. This complemented her red finger and toenails that peeked out from her shiny open-toed heels, as well as her deep scarlet lipstick.

"Hey, Lilly. Can I help you?" Phil noticed that Lilly had just dyed her hair a reddish brown. He liked it but didn't plan on telling her.

"I'm soooo bored." Lilly leaned on the doorway and placed her one hand atop her right hip. Phil was struck at how much Lilly reminded him of his photograph. "I really liked your latest review, I mean *critique*, Phil. I'm going to see it tomorrow. You should have invited me to see it with you," Lilly smiled.

"I can't be distracted, Lilly." Phil wrote cine-critiques for the *The Film Quarterly*, an often pompous arts publication that served the intellectual Chicago community.

"When are you going to let me read your story?"

"Lilly, you know I can't do that. I haven't even submitted any of them to my publisher yet."

"You're not a very good neighbor, Phil."

"Lilly, I'm sorry, did you need something? I have a lot of work to do."

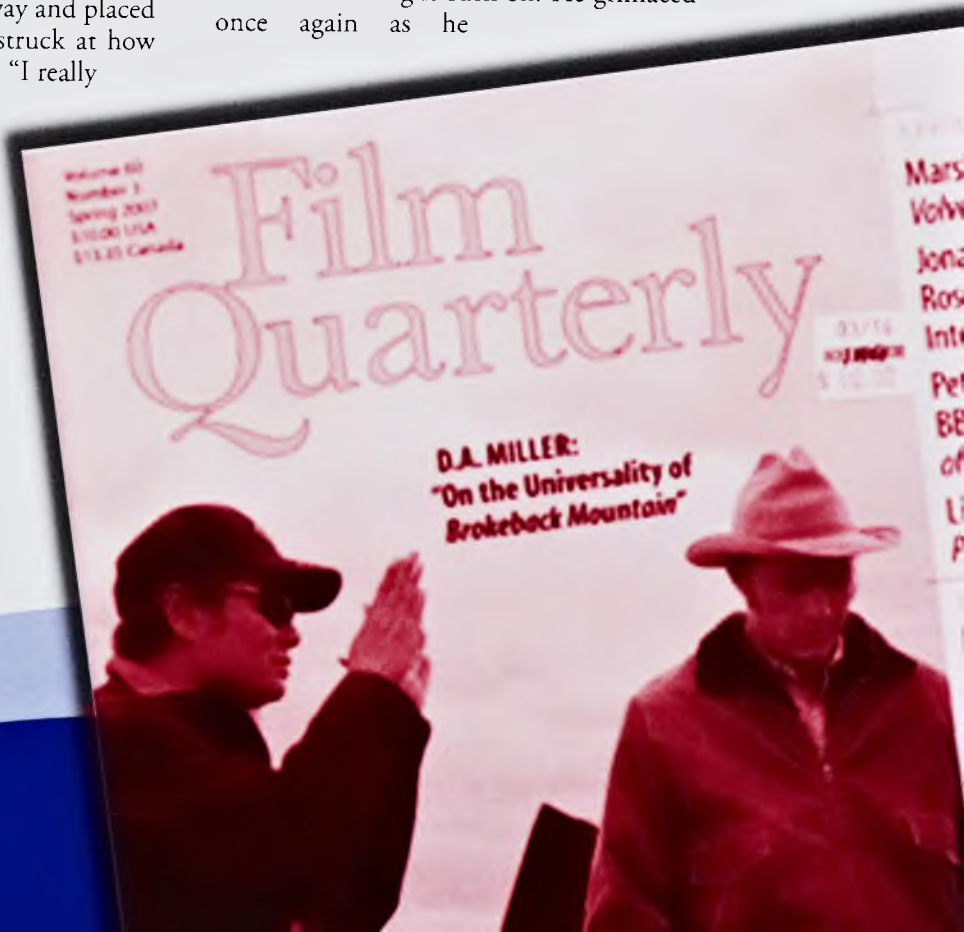
"Yeah, do you want to come over for dinner? I'm making lasagna. And if you let me read just one page of your story, I'll give you some Apple pie. What do you say?" Lilly smirked deliciously.

"I can't. I had a --- big lunch."

Lilly rolled her azure eyes. "Hmmpfh, suit yourself." Lilly, obviously agitated, slithered back to her apartment.

Phil was surprised by her abrupt departure and slightly disappointed. She was usually more persistent. He grumped back to his desk. The light fluttered again and Philip promptly killed it. The brazen yellow departed as he sat slumped over in the darkness. The light that penetrated through the venetian blinds that adorned his small window, emitted pallid zebra stripes against Philp and half of his scanty, unpretentious apartment. *Wake the fuck up.*

He turned the light back on. He grimaced once again as he



CULTURAL DISCOURSE

FICTION

reached for his fountain pen and ink bowl. Philip didn't believe in typewriters. If this pen was good enough for the hacks of five hundred years ago, it was good enough for him.

He slipped off the scarlet cap off of the ink bowl and gently moistened the tip of his pen. Philip looked to his ceiling for inspiration. A shiny black blot splashed onto the blank page. He smiled. He began to scribble.

Adrian Marlowe strolled into the Golden Lion casino with a honey blonde hooked onto his right arm. He smiled as he thought about the previous night with her and about the man he would shortly murder. Adrian brushed his hand against his suit's breast pocket, confirming the gun concealed inside.

He spotted his target. The grotesquely rotund Frenchman cheered at the roulette table. *Lucky you.* The shooed the blonde away and she



reluctantly departed but not without vexation. Marlowe didn't need any distractions. Now now.

Adrian's gait intensified as he approached the roulette table. He had his man in his sights. His steely gaze was interrupted by two burly oafs. *Two of Frenchy's thugs.*

"Good evening, Mr. Marlowe," Oaf #1 grinned. "We need to have a word."

Adrian noticed the brute's cockney accent. It made him wince.

"Actually, boys, I'm rather busy at the moment. But you're welcome to phone the registry and leave a message.

Although I can't promise as to when I can return it."

Oaf #2 grabbed Adrian's left arm.

"Don't struggle. You'll only call attention to yourself." This one sounded less plebeian. Marlowe agreed.

He was escorted past the casino. Frenchy's thugs broke into a custodial closet and flung Marlowe with ease. They shut the door. In the darkness, Marlowe heard -

Another tap radiated through the door. Marlowe knew who it was and he smiled. He tip-toed to the door and opened it.

"You didn't think you were getting off that easy, huh?" Lilly feigned vexation.

"And you didn't even compliment my hair. Don't you like it? Lilly caressed her scarlet locks.

"Of course I do. You look terrific, Lilly. Do you want to come in?"

"Actually, I have a lot of work to do, Philip," Lilly meowed with palpable sarcasm. "I'm just here to see if you can spare a cup of sugar."

"Um, I don't have any, sorry, Lill."

"Pffttt, figures."

"Is Ray back from the trip yet?"

"No. He was supposed to be back two days ago. You know what he did? He called me yesterday to tell me that he'll be back another week. He can be such a prick sometimes." Lilly crossed her arms,

"Sorry to hear that."

"Yep, it looks like it's going to be dinner-for-one again tonight, thanks to you."

Phil shrugged his shoulders awkwardly and bit his lip.

"Phil, I think Ray is cheating on me."

"Don't say that. You don't know that, Lill. It looks to me like he's working his butt off."

"Phil, a woman knows. I hardly ever see him and his trips are getting longer and longer every time. I think he's doing more than just working."

Phil didn't know what to say.

"Well, I don't want to bother you anymore with my little problems. I'll talk to you later." Lilly sweetly smiled and

waved good-bye. "That dinner invitation is still open, by the way."

Philip smirked.

"I'll think about it."

"Don't think too long, sweetheart."

Philip watched Lilly walk back to the apartment. He gazed at her striding hips. He liked her voluptuous figure. And he felt a pang of guilt for it..

"Do you have any sugar?" Philip chuckled. If he had put this into one of his stories, his editor would have mocked his crude metaphor. Philip averted his mind back to his writing. He closed the door and approached his yellow-tinted working quarters.

In the darkness, Marlowe heard something become unsheathed. *It's probably a knife.* It reeked of rust and stale blood. He felt the blade graze his five-o'clock shadow. He felt his right cheek spurt a little blood.

"We're going to make you talk, darling."

The light was clicked on. The knife was bigger than Marlowe had anticipated. It was indeed rusty with blood. The other thug scoured the shelves. He was looking for rope.

"I'll tell you anything you want to hear," Marlowe cried.

The knife-wielding thug smirked and removed the knife from Marlowe's throat. He wasn't expecting such a cakewalk. Big mistake.

Marlowe quickly grabbed his gun. The two ogres, amateurs no doubt, forgot to confiscate it. He shot his attacker in his thick throat. The pathetic oaf grabbed his neck and groaned in torment. Marlowe then kicked #2 in the kidneys. The brute groaned and fell to his knees.

"How does it feel to know you only have twenty seconds left to live?" Marlowe asked.

The oaf could only utter indistinguishable moans. He was crying.

Marlowe put the gun away.

"You're lucky. You've caught me on a good day."

The oaf sighed in relief.

Marlowe took off his tuxedo jacket and swung his tie atop his right shoulder. He removed a shiny silver black pen from his front pocket. He pierced the back of the thug's neck. The pen dug deep. The man's voice box was accurately punctured and he keeled over emitting screams of silence.

"Damn. This shirt cost me a hundred quid," Marlowe

exclaimed as he noticed a shiny red blot on his shirt pocket. "Oh well."

Marlowe put his jacket back on and exited the closet.

I'm exhausted. This calls for a martini. Marlowe noticed the flickering lights of the casino and followed. He stopped at the bar and sat down on a stool. Right next to a young, slinky brunette.

Her head turned to face him. She smiled seductively as he raised his glass in her direction.

"Hi, I'm Adrian. Adrian Marlowe."

"I'm Monique. Enchanté"

Adrian recognized her. It was the Frenchy's wife.

"A pleasure, Monique," Adrian said as he kissed her hand.

"I hope you know, Monsieur Marlowe, I am a married woman."

"That's no problem for me, Monique," Marlowe smirked wickedly. Monique smiled back.

Philip exhaled as he lowered his now dry pen. He was proud of himself. He turned to his photograph. The pretty woman smiled back at him.

"You would have liked this story. You always liked my stories."

Philip got up. *I miss you, babe.* He collected his small stack of freshly penned papers.

Philip slammed the door shut. He tentatively approached Lilly's apartment. He sighed and knocked twice on the door. Lilly opened and beamed.

"Well what can I do for you, stranger?" Lilly purred. She noticed the papers and smiled. "Is that what I think it is?" Philip smiled.

"Is that invitation still open?"

A L O N G

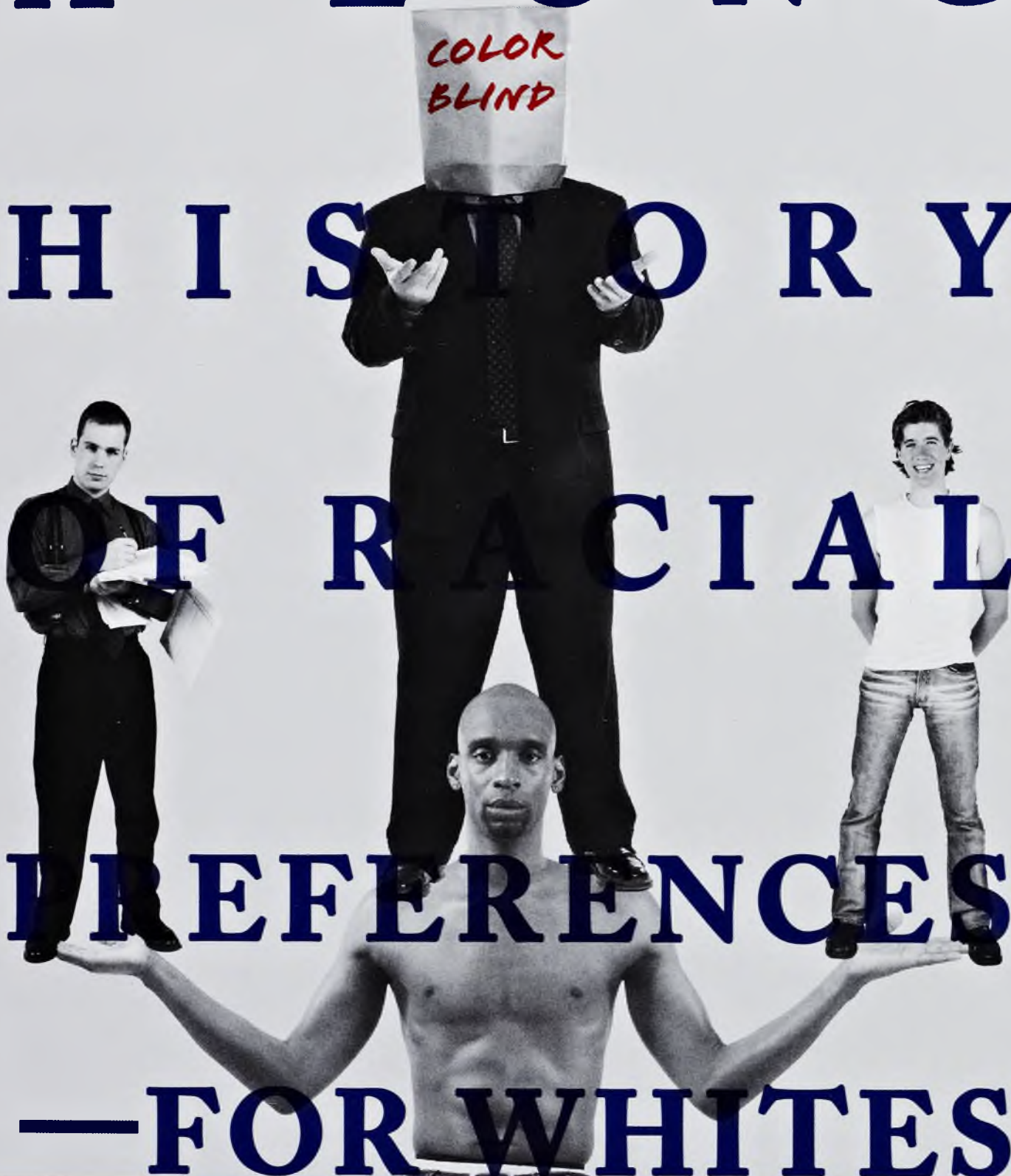
COLOR
BLIND

H I S T O R Y

O F R A C I A L

P R E F E R E N C E S

— F O R W H I T E S



POLITICAL DISCOURSE

By Larry Adelman

Many middle-class white people, especially those of us who grew up in the suburbs, like to think that we got to where we are today by virtue of our merit—hard work, intelligence, pluck, and maybe a little luck. And while we may be sympathetic to the plight of others, we close down when we hear the words “affirmative action” or “racial preferences.” We worked hard, we made it on our own he thinking goes, why don’t ‘they’? After all, it’s been almost 40 years now since the Civil Rights Act was passed.

What we don’t readily acknowledge is that racial preferences have a long, institutional history in this country - a white history. Here are a few ways in which government programs and practices have channeled wealth and opportunities to white people at the expense of others.

EARLY RACIAL PREFERENCES

We all know the old history, but it’s still worth reminding ourselves of its scale and scope. Affirmative action in the American “workplace” first began in the late 17th century when European indentured servants—the original source of unfree labor on the new tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland—were replaced by African slaves. In exchange for their support and their policing of the growing slave population, lower-class Europeans won new rights, entitlements, and opportunities from the planter elite.

White Americans were also given a head start with the help of the U.S. Army. The 1830 Indian Removal Act, for example, forcibly relocated Cherokee, Creeks and other eastern Indians to west of the Mississippi River to make room for white settlers. The 1862 Homestead Act followed suit, giving away millions of acres—for free—of what had been Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. Ultimately, 270 million acres, or 10% of the total land area of the United

States, was converted to private hands, overwhelmingly white, under Homestead Act provisions.

The 1790 Naturalization Act permitted only “free white persons” to become naturalized citizens, thus opening the doors to European immigrants but not others. Only citizens could vote, serve on juries, hold office, and in some cases, even hold property. In this century, Alien Land Laws passed



ALL WHITE, GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZED LEVITTOWN

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

A LONG HISTORY OF RACIAL PREFERENCES —FOR WHITES

in California and other states, reserved farm land for white growers by preventing Asian immigrants, ineligible to become citizens, from owning or leasing land. Immigration restrictions further limited opportunities for nonwhite groups. Racial barriers to naturalized U.S. citizenship weren't removed until the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952, and white

at \$1 trillion.

Jim Crow laws instituted in the late 19th and early 20th century and not overturned in many states until the 1960s, reserved the best jobs, neighborhoods, schools and hospitals for white people.

Like Social Security, the 1935 Wagner Act helped establish an important new right for white people. By granting unions the power of collective bargaining, it helped millions of white workers gain entry into the middle class over the next 30 years. But the Wagner Act permitted unions to exclude non-whites and deny them access to better paid jobs and union protections and benefits such as health care, job security, and pensions. Many craft unions remained nearly all-white well into the 1970s. In 1972, for example, every single one of the 3,000 members of Los Angeles Steam Fitters Local #250 was still white.

But it was another racialized New Deal program, the Federal Housing Administration that helped generate much

More than 98% went to whites. Of the 350,000 new homes built with federal support in northern California between 1946 and 1960, fewer than 100 went to African Americans.

These government programs made possible the new segregated white suburbs that sprang up around the country after World War II. Government subsidies for municipal services helped develop and enhance these suburbs further, in turn fueling commercial investments. Freeways tied the new suburbs to central business districts, but they often cut through and destroyed the vitality of non-white neighborhoods in the central city.

Today, Black and Latino mortgage applicants are still 60% more likely than whites to be turned down for a



racial preferences in immigration remained until 1965.

In the South, the federal government never followed through on General Sherman's Civil War plan to divide up plantations and give each freed slave "40 acres and a mule" as reparations. Only once was monetary compensation made for slavery, in Washington, D.C. There, government officials paid up to \$300 per slave upon emancipation—not to the slaves, but to local slaveholders as compensation for loss of property.

When slavery ended, its legacy lived on not only in the impoverished condition of Black people but in the wealth and prosperity that accrued to white slave-owners and their descendants. Economists who try to place a dollar value on how much white Americans have profited from 200 years of unpaid slave labor, including interest, begin their estimates

THE ADVANTAGES GROW, GENERATION TO GENERATION

Less known are more recent government racial preferences, first enacted during the New Deal, that directed wealth to white families and continue to shape life opportunities and chances today.

The landmark Social Security Act of 1935 provided a safety net for millions of workers, guaranteeing them an income after retirement. But the act specifically excluded two occupations: agricultural workers and domestic servants, who were predominately African American, Mexican, and Asian. As low-income workers, they also had the least opportunity to save for their retirement. They couldn't pass wealth on to their children, just the opposite; their children had to support them.

of the wealth that so many white families enjoy today. These revolutionary programs made it possible for millions of average white Americans—but not others—to own a home for the first time. The government set up a national neighborhood appraisal system, explicitly tying mortgage eligibility to race. Integrated communities were ipso facto deemed a financial risk and made ineligible for home loans, a policy known today as "redlining." Between 1934 and 1962, the federal government backed \$120 billion of home loans.

loan, even after controlling for employment, financial, and neighborhood factors. According to the Census, whites are more likely to be segregated than any other group. As recently as 1993, 86% of suburban whites still lived in neighborhoods with a black population of less than 1%.

REAPING THE REWARDS OF RACIAL PREFERENCE

One result of the generations of preferential treatment for whites is that a typical white family today has on average

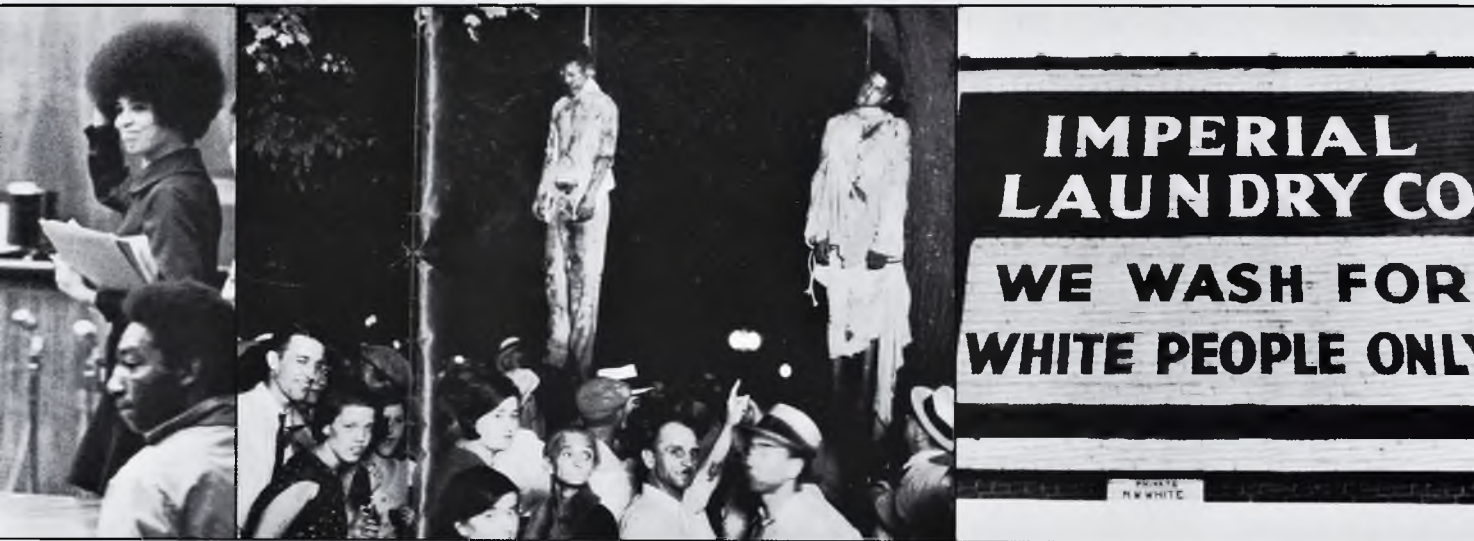
POLITICAL DISCOURSE

A LONG HISTORY OF RACIAL PREFERENCES—FOR WHITES

eight times the assets, or net worth, of a typical African American family, according to New York University economist Edward Wolff. Even when families of the same income are compared, white families have more than twice the wealth of Black families. Much of that wealth difference can be attributed to the value of one's home, and how much one inherited from parents.

they are not personally racist.”

But rather than recognize how “racial preferences” have tilted the playing field and given us a head start in life, many whites continue to believe that race does not affect our lives. Instead, we chastise others for not achieving what we have; we even invert the situation and accuse non-whites of using “the race card” to advance themselves.



But a family's net worth is not simply the finish line; it's also the starting point for the next generation. Those with wealth pass their assets on to their children—by financing a college education, lending a hand during hard times, or assisting with the down payment for a home. Some economists estimate that up to 80 percent of lifetime wealth accumulation depends on these intergenerational transfers. White advantage is passed down, from parent to child to grand-child. As a result, the racial wealth gap—and the head start enjoyed by whites—appears to have grown since the civil rights days.

In 1865, just after Emancipation, it is not surprising that African Americans owned only 0.5 percent of the total worth of the United States. But by 1990, a full 135 years after the abolition of slavery, Black Americans still possessed only a meager 1 percent of national wealth. As legal scholar John Powell (sic) says in the documentary series *Race—The Power of an Illusion*, “The slick thing about whiteness is that whites are getting the spoils of a racist system even if

Or we suggest that differential outcomes may simply result from differences in “natural” ability or motivation. However, sociologist Dalton Conley's research shows that when we compare the performance of families across racial lines who make not just the same income, but also hold similar net worth, a very interesting thing happens: many of the racial disparities in education, graduation rates, welfare usage and other outcomes disappear. The “performance gap” between whites and nonwhites is a product not of nature, but unequal circumstances.

“Colorblind” policies that treat everyone the same, no exceptions for minorities, are often counter-posed against affirmative action. But colorblindness today merely bolsters the unfair advantages that color-coded practices have enabled white Americans to long accumulate.

Isn't it a little late in the game to suddenly decide that race shouldn't matter?

Larry Adelman is executive producer of RACE - The Power of an Illusion and co-director of California Newsreel.

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When space Feels like me

By Kai Chau Rogers

They said god created they Darkness as well, and that darkness is evil,
So what does that mean of me?
Am I also evil, does the color matter,
When the shape of character is not measured.
Can I be not mind full and shake the heavens,
Or am I damned to the hell supposed for us all?
A space too not black, is it not vast and beautiful,
Does not it inspire wonder, Do we not explore
Or vast endless beauty, Am I not like it.
That black so be beautiful
the space and time

TEN THINGS EVERYONE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT RACE

Our eyes tell us that people look different. No one has trouble distinguishing a Czech from a Chinese. But what do those differences mean? Are they biological? Has race always been with us? How does race affect people today? There's less - and more - to race than meets the eye:



1. RACE IS A MODERN IDEA. Ancient societies, like the Greeks, did not divide people according to physical distinctions, but according to religion, status, class, even language. The English language didn't even have the word 'race' until it turns up in 1508 in a poem by William Dunbar referring to a line of kings.

2. RACE HAS NO GENETIC BASIS. Not one characteristic, trait or even gene distinguishes all the members of one so-called race from all the members of another so-called race.

3. HUMAN SUBSPECIES DON'T EXIST. Unlike many animals, modern humans simply haven't been around long enough or isolated enough to evolve into separate subspecies or races. Despite surface appearances, we are one of the most similar of all species.

4. SKIN COLOR REALLY IS ONLY SKIN DEEP. Most traits are inherited independently from one another. The genes influencing skin color have nothing to do with the genes influencing hair form, eye shape, blood type, musical talent, athletic ability or forms of intelligence. Knowing someone's skin color doesn't necessarily tell you anything else about him or her.

5. MOST VARIATION IS WITHIN, NOT BETWEEN, "RACES." Of the small amount of total human variation, 85% exists within any local population, be they Italians, Kurds, Koreans or Cherokees. About 94% can be found within any continent. That means two random Koreans may be as genetically different as a Korean and an Italian.

6. SLAVERY PREDATES RACE. Throughout much of human history, societies have enslaved others, often as a result of conquest or war, even debt, but not because of physical char-

acteristics or a belief in natural inferiority. Due to a unique set of historical circumstances, ours was the first slave system where all the slaves shared similar physical characteristics.

7. RACE AND FREEDOM EVOLVED TOGETHER. The U.S. was founded on the radical new principle that "All men are created equal." But our early economy was based largely on slavery. How could this anomaly be rationalized? The new idea of race helped explain why some people could be denied the rights and freedoms that others took for granted.

8. RACE JUSTIFIED SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AS NATURAL. As the race idea evolved, white superiority became "common sense" in America. It justified not only slavery but also the extermination of Indians, exclusion of Asian immigrants, and the taking of Mexican lands by a nation that professed a belief in democracy. Racial practices were institutionalized within American government, laws, and society.

9. RACE ISN'T BIOLOGICAL, BUT RACISM IS STILL REAL. Race is a powerful social idea that gives people different access to opportunities and resources. Our government and social institutions have created advantages that disproportionately channel wealth, power, and resources to white people. This affects everyone, whether we are aware of it or not.

10. COLORBLINDNESS WILL NOT END RACISM. Pretending race doesn't exist is not the same as creating equality. Race is more than stereotypes and individual prejudice. To combat racism, we need to identify and remedy social policies and institutional practices that advantage some groups at the expense of others.





His House On 7th Street

*Sunlight licks the porch
Of this place
His house on 7th street
The windows in the upstairs
Are anticipating stars
He's brilliant and I love his lair
It's warmth breaths tender air around
I know these stairs
With barest toes
And he sits behind
Won't let me go
Sleepiness makes us*



*Silly shadows
Want to crawl back
In his arms
His hands in every room
His heart round every corner
The music of his voice
Leaves color on the walls
Color that gently edges
Out the day
And turns the fireplace gold
And the windows
Wet with the softest rain
His house on 7th street*



Written by: Sam

What Kind of Card is Race?



Continued from page 22

and were open to hearing about claims of racism from persons of color. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. White denial is not a form of backlash to the past forty years of civil rights legislation, and white indifference to claims of racism did not only recently emerge, as if from a previous place where whites and blacks had once seen the world similarly. Simply put: whites in every generation have thought there was no real problem with racism, irrespective of the evidence, and in every generation we have been wrong.

DENIAL AS AN INTERGENERATIONAL PHENOMENON

So, for example, what does it say about white rationality and white collective sanity, that in 1963--at a time when in retrospect all would agree racism was rampant in the United States, and before the passage of modern civil

rights legislation--nearly two-thirds of whites, when polled, said they believed blacks were treated the same as whites in their communities--almost the same number as say this now, some forty-plus years later? What does it suggest about the extent of white folks' disconnection from the real world, that in 1962, eighty-five percent of whites said black children had just as good a chance as white children to get a good education in their communities (12)? Or that in May, 1968, seventy percent of whites said that blacks were treated the same as whites in their communities, while only seventeen percent said blacks were treated "not very well" and only 3.5 percent said blacks were treated badly? (13)?

What does it say about white folks' historic commitment to equal opportunity--and which Taranto would have us believe has only been rendered inoperative because of affirmative action--that in 1963, three-fourths of white Americans told Newsweek, "The Negro is moving too fast" in his demands for equality (14)? Or that in October 1964, nearly two-thirds of whites said that the Civil Rights Act should be enforced gradually, with an emphasis on persuading employers not to discriminate, as opposed to forcing compliance with equal opportunity requirements (15)?

What does it say about whites' tenuous grip on mental health that in mid-August 1969, forty-four percent of whites told a Newsweek/Gallup National Opinion Survey that blacks had a better chance than they did to get a good paying job--two times as many as said they would have a worse chance? Or that forty-two percent said blacks had a better chance for a good education than whites, while only seventeen percent said they would have a worse opportunity for a good education, and eighty percent saying blacks would have an equal or better chance? In that same survey, seventy percent said blacks could have improved conditions in the "slums" if they had wanted to, and were more than twice as likely to blame blacks themselves, as opposed to discrimination, for high unemployment in the black community (16).

In other words, even when racism was, by virtually all accounts (looking backward in time), institutionalized, white folks were convinced there was no real problem. Indeed, even forty years



POLITICAL DISCOURSE

What Kind of Card is Race?



ago, whites were more likely to think that blacks had better opportunities, than to believe the opposite (and obviously accurate) thing; namely, that whites were advantaged in every realm of American life.

Truthfully, this tendency for whites to deny the extent of racism and racial injustice likely extends back far before the 1960s. Although public opinion polls in previous decades rarely if ever asked questions about the extent of racial bias or discrimination, anecdotal surveys of white opinion suggest that at no time have whites in the U.S. ever thought blacks or other people of color were getting a bad shake. White Southerners were all but convinced that their black slaves, for example, had it good, and had no reason to complain about their living conditions or lack of freedoms. After emancipation, but during the introduction of Jim Crow laws and strict Black Codes that limited where African Americans could live and work, white newspapers would regularly editorialize about the “warm relations” between whites and blacks, even as thousands of blacks were being lynched by their white compatriots.

FROM DRAPETOMANIA TO VICTIM SYNDROME -- VIEWING RESISTANCE AS MENTAL ILLNESS

Indeed, what better evidence of white denial (even dementia) could one need than that provided by “Doctor” Samuel Cartwright, a well-respected physician of the 19th century, who was so convinced of slavery’s benign nature, that he concocted and named a disease to explain the tendency for many slaves to run away from their loving masters. Drapetomania, he called it: a malady that could be cured by keeping the slave in a “child-like state,” and taking care not to treat them as equals, while yet striving not to be too cruel. Mild whipping was, to Cartwright, the best cure of all. So there you have it: not only is racial oppression not a problem; even worse, those blacks who resist it, or refuse to bend to it, or complain about it in any fashion, are to be viewed not only as exaggerating their condition, but indeed, as mentally ill (17).

And lest one believe that the tendency for whites to psychologically pathologize blacks who complain of racism is only a relic of ancient history, consider a much more recent example, which demonstrates the continuity of this tendency among members of the dominant racial group in America.

A few years ago, I served as an expert witness and consultant in a discrimination lawsuit against a school district in

Washington State. Therein, numerous examples of individual and institutional racism abounded: from death threats made against black students to which the school district’s response was pitifully inadequate, to racially disparate “ability tracking” and disciplinary action. In preparation for trial (which ultimately never took place as the district finally agreed to settle the case for several million dollars and a commitment to policy change), the school system’s “psychological experts” evaluated dozens of the plaintiffs (mostly students as well as some of their parents) so as to determine the extent of damage done to them as a result of the racist mistreatment. As one of the plaintiff’s experts, I reviewed the reports of said psychologists, and while I was not surprised to see them downplay the damage done to the black folks in this case, I was somewhat startled by how quickly they went beyond the call of duty to actually suggest that several of the plaintiffs exhibited “paranoid” tendencies and symptoms of borderline personality disorder. That having one’s life threatened might make one a bit paranoid apparently never entered the minds of the white doctors. That facing racism on a regular basis might lead one to act out, in a way these “experts” would then see as a personality disorder, also seems to have escaped them. In this way, whites have continued to see mental illness behind black claims of victimization, even when that victimization is blatant.

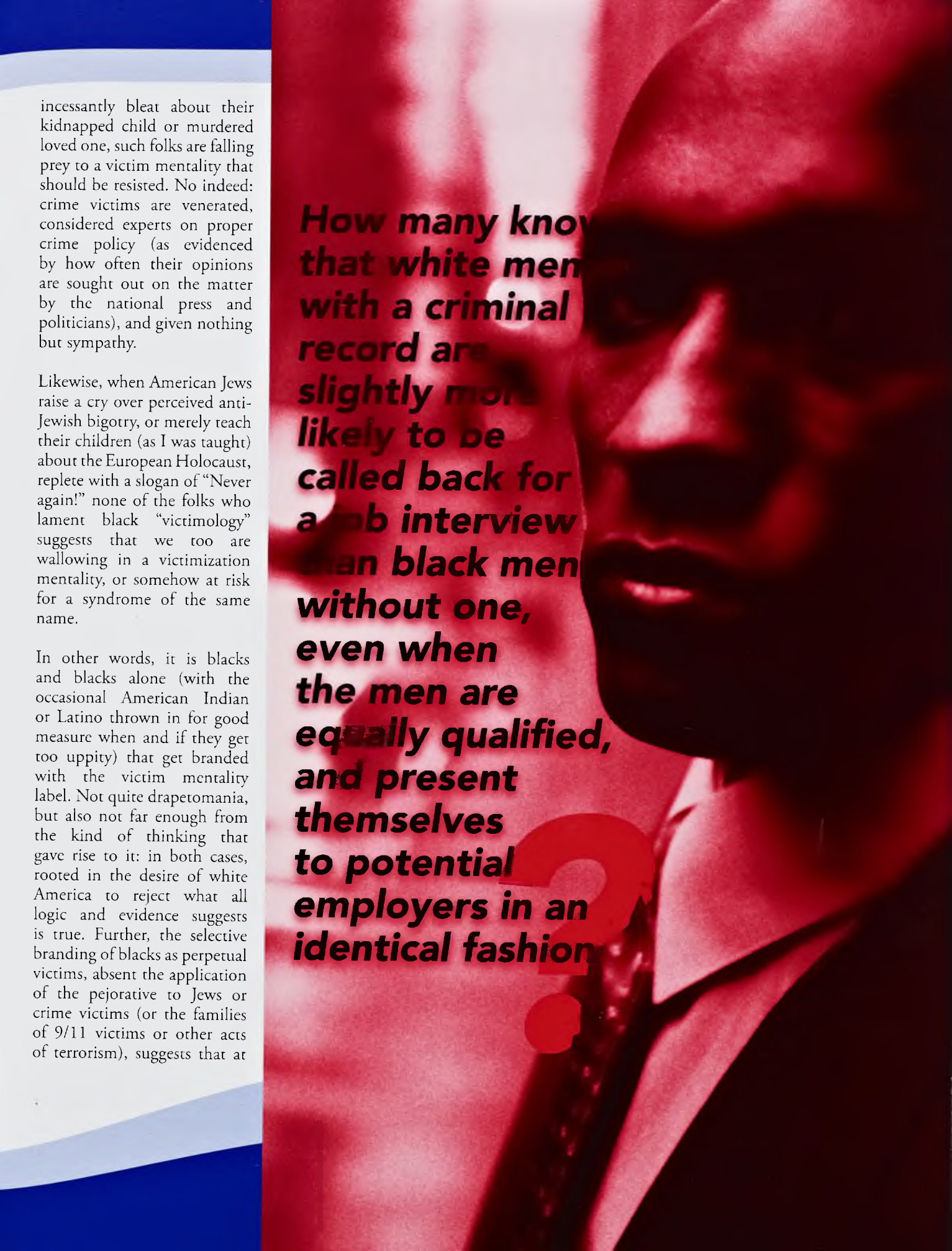
In fact, we’ve even created a name for it: “victimization syndrome.” Although not yet part of the DSM-IV (the diagnostic manual used by the American Psychiatric Association so as to evaluate patients), it is nonetheless a malady from which blacks suffer, to hear a lot of whites tell it. Whenever racism is brought up, such whites insist that blacks are being encouraged (usually by the civil rights establishment) to adopt a victim mentality, and to view themselves as perpetual targets of oppression. By couching their rejection of the claims of racism in these terms, conservatives are able to parade as friends to black folks, only concerned about them and hoping to free them from the debilitating mindset of victimization that liberals wish to see them adopt.

Aside from the inherently paternalistic nature of this position, notice too how concern over adopting a victim mentality is very selectively trotted out by the right. So, for example, when crime victims band together--and even form what they call victim’s rights groups--no one on the right tells them to get over it, or suggests that by continuing to

incessantly bleat about their kidnapped child or murdered loved one, such folks are falling prey to a victim mentality that should be resisted. No indeed: crime victims are venerated, considered experts on proper crime policy (as evidenced by how often their opinions are sought out on the matter by the national press and politicians), and given nothing but sympathy.

Likewise, when American Jews raise a cry over perceived anti-Jewish bigotry, or merely teach their children (as I was taught) about the European Holocaust, replete with a slogan of "Never again!" none of the folks who lament black "victimology" suggests that we too are wallowing in a victimization mentality, or somehow at risk for a syndrome of the same name.

In other words, it is blacks and blacks alone (with the occasional American Indian or Latino thrown in for good measure when and if they get too uppity) that get branded with the victim mentality label. Not quite drapetomania, but also not far enough from the kind of thinking that gave rise to it: in both cases, rooted in the desire of white America to reject what all logic and evidence suggests is true. Further, the selective branding of blacks as perpetual victims, absent the application of the pejorative to Jews or crime victims (or the families of 9/11 victims or other acts of terrorism), suggests that at



**How many know
that white men
with a criminal
record are
slightly more
likely to be
called back for
a job interview
than black men
without one,
even when
the men are
equally qualified,
and present
themselves
to potential
employers in an
identical fashion?**

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

What Kind of Card is Race?



some level white folks simply don't believe black suffering matters. We refuse to view blacks as fully human and deserving of compassion as we do these other groups, for whom victimization has been a reality as well. It is not that whites care about blacks and simply wish them not to adopt a self-imposed mental straightjacket; rather, it is that at some level we either don't care, or at least don't equate the pain of racism even with the pain caused by being mugged, or having your art collection confiscated by the Nazis, let alone with the truly extreme versions of crime and anti-Semitic wrongdoing.

CONCLUSION -- SEE NO EVIL, HEAR NO EVIL, WRONG AS ALWAYS

White denial has become such a widespread phenomenon nowadays, that most whites are unwilling to entertain even the mildest of suggestions that racism and racial inequity might still be issues. To wit, a recent survey from the University of Chicago, in which whites and blacks were asked two questions about Hurricane Katrina and the governmental response to the tragedy. First, respondents were asked whether they believed the government response would have been speedier had the victims been white. Not surprisingly, only twenty percent of whites answered in the affirmative. But while that question is at least conceivably arguable, the next question seems so weakly worded that virtually anyone could have answered yes without committing too much in the way of recognition that racism was a problem. Yet the answers given reveal the depths of white intransigence to consider the problem a problem at all.

So when asked if we believed the Katrina tragedy showed that there was a lesson to be learned about racial inequality in America--any lesson at all--while ninety percent of blacks said yes, only thirty-eight percent of whites agreed (18). To us, Katrina said nothing about race whatsoever, even as blacks were disproportionately affected; even as there was a clear racial difference in terms of who was stuck in New Orleans and who was able to escape; even as the media focused incessantly on reports of black violence in the Superdome and Convention Center that proved later to be false; even as blacks have been having a much harder time moving back to New Orleans, thanks to local and federal foot-dragging and the plans of economic elites in the city to destroy homes in the most damaged (black) neighborhoods and convert them to non-residential (or higher rent) uses.

Nothing, absolutely nothing, has to do with race nowadays, in the eyes of white America writ large. But the obvious question is this: if we have never seen racism as a real problem, contemporary to the time in which the charges are being made, and if in all generations past we were obviously wrong to the point of mass delusion in thinking this way, what should lead us to conclude that now, at long last, we've become any more astute at discerning social reality than we were before? Why should we trust our own perceptions or instincts on the matter, when we have run up such an amazingly bad track record as observers of the world in which we live? In every era, black folks said they were the victims of racism and they

were right. In every era, whites have said the problem was exaggerated, and we have been wrong.

Unless we wish to conclude that black insight on the matter--which has never to this point failed them--has suddenly converted to irrationality, and that white irrationality has become insight (and are prepared to prove this transformation by way of some analytical framework to explain the process), then the best advice seems to be that which could have been offered in past decades and centuries: namely, if you want to know about whether or not racism is a problem, it would probably do you best to ask the folks who are its targets. They, after all, are the ones who must, as a matter of survival, learn what it is, and how and when it's operating. We whites on the other hand, are the persons who have never had to know a thing about it, and who--for reasons psychological, philosophical and material--have always had a keen interest in covering it up.

In short, and let us be clear on it: race is not a card. It determines whom the dealer is, and who gets dealt.

* Personally, I have no idea whether or not Barry Bonds has used anabolic steroids during the course of his career, nor do I think the evidence marshaled thus far on the matter is conclusive, either way. But I do find it interesting that many are calling for the placement of an asterisk next to Bonds' name in the record books, especially should he eclipse Ruth, or later, Hank Aaron, in terms of career home runs. The asterisk, we are told, would differentiate Bonds

from other athletes, the latter of which, presumably accomplished their feats without performance enhancers. Yet, while it is certainly true that Aaron's 755 home runs came without any form of performance enhancement (indeed, he, like other black ball-players had to face overt hostility in the early years of their careers, and even as he approached Ruth's record of 714, he was receiving death threats), for Ruth, such a claim would be laughable. Ruth, as with any white baseball player from the early 1890s to 1947, benefited from the "performance enhancement" of not having to compete against black athletes, whose abilities often far surpassed their own. Ruth didn't have to face black pitchers, nor vie for batting titles against black home run sluggers. Until white fans demand an asterisk next to the names of every one of their white baseball heroes -- Ruth, Cobb, DiMaggio, and Williams, for starters -- who played under apartheid rules, the demand for such a blemish next to the name of Bonds can only be seen as highly selective, hypocritical, and ultimately racist. White privilege and



protection from black competition certainly did more for those men's game than creatine or other substances could ever do for the likes of Barry Bonds.

NOTES

(1) There is plenty of information about police racism, misconduct and brutality, both in historical and contemporary terms, available from any number of sources. Among them, see Kristian Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Soft Skull Press, 2004; and online at the Stolen Lives Project: <http://stolenlives.org>.

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(12) The Gallup Organization, *Gallup Poll Social Audit, 2001. Black-White Relations in the United States, 2001 Update*, July 10: 7-9.

(13) The Gallup Organization, *Gallup Poll, #761*, May, 1968

(14) "How Whites Feel About Negroes: A Painful American Dilemma," *Newsweek*, October 21, 1963: 56

(15) The Gallup Organization, *Gallup Poll #699*, October, 1964

(16) *Newsweek/Gallup Organization, National Opinion Survey*, August 19, 1969

(17) Cartwright, Samuel. 1851. "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," *DeBow's Review*. (Southern and Western States: New Orleans), Volume XI.

(18) Ford, Glen and Peter Campbell, 2006. "Katrina: A Study-Black Consensus, White Dispute," *The Black Commentator*, Issue 165, January 5.

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White Man's Burden

By Rudyard Kipling

Take up the White Man's burden--
Send forth the best ye breed--
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild--
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden--
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden--
The savage wars of peace--
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden--
No lawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper--
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden--
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard--
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light--
"Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden--
Ye dare not stoop to less--
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloke your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden--
Have done with childish days--
The lightly preferred laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!



ON! ENGLAND IS BY GOD'S PLACE



YEAH! WID BERRY GREAT RESPECT



DE REASON IS DEL FARR A BILL



DE GAYT (WOMEN) DE LEE & LON



WHENALL DE MINISTER'S MADE CAT



AND NOW THE CALLER DE TAIL



THU' DE SUBJECT MAY DE BULL



Third Rail

The Award-Winning Political Arts Magazine of the College of Staten Island

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COLOREDS
