



We live as prisoners in the "new world."

America: the land that slavery and imperialism built. America: the "First World" birthed through theft and genocide and sustained through domination of the "Third World" outside - and inside - 'our' borders.

Wherever possible, our rulers have laid a torch to our past. They never speak of the bloodshed sown - only of the glory to be reaped.

We live in the ashes of a memory of fire.

Always we hear of the greater life that awaits us at the end of all of this toil. Our Masters push forward, ever forward - and we follow along.

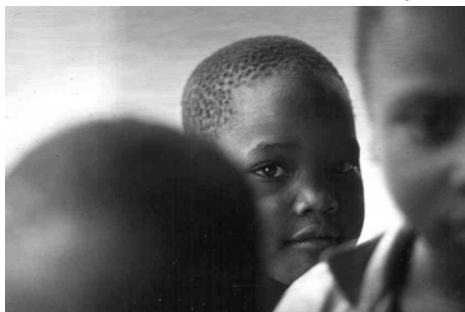
The freer their markets, the more of us live behind bars. The more their Corporations live in a "global village" - the more we find ourselves in isolated suburbs and ghettos.

It's time to break out of the master's future by finding old passageways to freedom. Ways and means ridiculed, abandoned, paved-over and carpet-bombed will offer us hope...

ONE WORLD FREEDOM JOURNAL #2



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INTRODUCTION

You've studied History before, sure. You've been to the master's schools and heard all their tales of progress and plunder. You've learned to recite endless facts and meaningless dates. You've been told a thousand times that you are powerless over this world the "Great White Man" has created.

That's not what this is about.

By reading this journal you become a student of the *One World Freedom School*.

One World means that we are all responsible for solving the problems that face our present society. Freedom School means we are teaching and learning because we want to be free.

One World means none of us are truly better off if we benefit at someone else's expense. Freedom

School means we are teaching one another, and there are no experts.

One World means that what we have in common is far more liberating than what divides us. Freedom School means we are learning, as a community, how to take care of one another, and how to take action to improve our lives.

There will be no masters or slaves here.

The schools that taught you how to 'get by' in an oppressive world taught you well how to sit still and keep your mouth shut. *Your passive acceptance was the*

lesson.

The Freedom School only lives when students become teachers. And the first lesson we're teaching is this: *we're going to have to liberate ourselves.*



*The master won't do it for us.
He never has...*

P.S.

By reading this journal you become a student of the *One World Freedom School*.

From here on, school is in session. We expect you to pay attention to everything you're taught here. The lessons might be subtle, and you might well need to pay attention long after you've put down this journal. In fact, the only 'test' is what you do outside of school.

The 'graduates' of the *One World Freedom School* are those who autonomously expand the project.

You can become a teacher for the school by sending in your writing to the Journal. You can become an organizer for the school by offering to distribute copies of the Journal where you live, or by beginning Freedom School classes with your friends, families, neighbors, etc. Or you can just write us with questions, challenges, support, or word of a similar project.

These are only a few examples. One thing is definite: **we are actively seeking submissions for this journal.** The kind of writing we're looking for is both rigorous and accessible to regular folks. We want the daring thought of those outside of the system fused with the serious study of the academy. We want the story-telling brilliance of the poor and oppressed fused with the systemic outlook of the life-long revolutionary.

The deadline for the next issue is Jan 1st 2005. The general "theme" will be *(Anti-) Americanism*. What's wrong with america? How do we oppose it? How do we build a new world community beneath and against american imperialism?

Submissions can be sent by post or email. We do minimal editing. The most usable text will be under 3 pages long (typed, single-spaced).

We're always interested in good writing (and photos and art) of all kinds.

P.P.S.

Rob Scott (triangle-trade jails), Alixa Garcia ("Canta"), Thomas Nast ("Franchise: And Not This Man?") and the Associated Press provided the images used here. Where appropriate, permission was granted.

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it means another one of us s'alive
every bleeding heart means
another seed of God's surviving

every sun rise reminds us
the time's come

if the revolution starts inside us
I pray our stomachs will start turning
And the whole world will
hold each other's head
as we throw up
our arms and surrender
to the beauty that surrounds us
beneath the hatred that compounds us

If the revolution begins within us
I hope we can live without our skin
so our light will flood the universe
with universal blood and then

if everyone of us could love everyone
of us
could love everyone of us could love
then

there'd be nothing left to do
but sing.



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Taylor Sparrow, Jamie the Pirate, Indigo Agni and Rob Scott all participated in a history class at the School for Designing a Society. Andy Keniston was an original member of the One World Freedom School. Warlock Thomas teaches "Applied History for Health" in Carrboro, NC. Antonia Darder is a professor at the University of Illinois. C.L.R. James is a (no longer living) Trinidadian Marxist. Norma Jackson works with 21st Century Youth Movement in Selma, AL. Beth Simpson is the Peer Mediation Coordinator at Urbana Middle School. Naima Pettiman is a conscious artist in New York City.

BEGIN TO BUILD A TOOL KIT

The **One World Freedom School** was scheduled to open in the summer of 2001. We were prepared to offer weekly classes for two different groups of people. The “Young People’s Program” was open only to the elementary school-aged children of the West End neighborhood of Durham, NC. The “Adult” program was geared towards people aged 16-25 and open to all.

As June grew near the freedom school organizers began putting together a “curriculum.” In a way, this was more like setting out a statement of operating principles. We were trying not only to guarantee our own strength as individuals, but also to begin outlining new means for organizations struggling for freedom to work together.

As it turned out, “traditional” activist groups put pressure on the school to close, using classically penal methodologies. So, the original school never materialized. But the curriculum continues to be a useful compass...

This entire summer is devoted to hard-
assed political work: that is to say, setting boundaries among a group of mixed-race people in which issues of trust can be explored and healed to some extent.

THIS IS THE FIRST TASK: surely, the entire summer session will be spent in and around this discussion of *appropriate boundaries* with history as the *medium of analysis*.

The summer session is discrete – it has a beginning and an end – remember that because the work will be demanding and we will all grow weary from time to time.

When summer session is done (and it will be) is the time for a short quiet interval of rest and reflection: batteries will need recharged, wounds will need healing, personal and family responsibilities may need to be addressed and **most importantly**, we will need to calmly and thoughtfully

evaluate successes and failures, and strategize for the future.

This will also offer a graceful and dignified opportunity for anyone who is disappointed with results to abandon the project.

It is my hope that, having established healthy boundaries in this discussion of history and politics, we can then broaden to a more generalized conversation of human needs and means of meeting human needs—that is to say **culture**.

1. What is culture? -> Why do human beings exist in groups?
2. Are there ‘good’ cultures as opposed to ‘bad’ ones?
3. Do I exist in a contemporary culture?
4. If so, is ours any ‘good’?
5. Did my ancestors have a culture? Would I evaluate their culture as ‘good’ or bad’?

extracted from their mother’s veins
by their cousins’ new found slavery

right now on the G train an indigena
woman
is force feeding her newborn formula
because her nation’s breast was drained by
Texaco

and there was nowhere left to go but
underground
rail roads into sweat shops
in the land of opportunity

right now in West Phili a born and raised
stranger is pushing his pain
between the legs of an angel
and pissing his name on her face
to prove he still exists

right now kids are misplacing
anger in bullet holes
and saviors grow old
in the silent regions of our
consciousness

and this
poem is not supposed
to be depressing

because somewhere in the world
a newborn’s taking her first breath in

somewhere someone’s caressing
the face of their first love

someone is dancing
despite the hunger

and sometimes
I dream in colors
our eyes haven’t even learned to see yet
I dream peace is peeled off every banner
and bumper sticker and swallowed like
hard candy
until we can all feel it deep within us

justice is carried down from tree limbs
and freedom’s untangled from purse
strings
and we all trust each other enough to help
each other
enough to love each other in colors
we couldn’t even dream up

and we need dreams now
and love songs and manifestos and holy
text
and yes, another god damn poem about
revolution
for those who didn’t hear the first set
or get to feel it on their own breath

we’ve been running revolutions
just to catch up to our footsteps
revolving, drawing circles in the sand
to find the center when
we haven’t looked inside yet

each poem means there’s hope yet

cause yes, a revolution begins
from that same place inside us
where we find the strength to sing

and for everyone of us struggling

and right now
we're letting hope
dry up and die

and right now

even if she can't
fly

so I write
revolutions with my pen



because right
now the amount
of bling the US
spends
on Hollywood,
pet food,
cosmetics, and
bombs
would be
enough to stop
AIDS
cough up
reparations
and feed away
starvation

right now a girl
sleeps afraid
of the shadows
below her door
and the weight
of the world
thrust in her

another ten million poems about
revolution
might not bring it back to life
but there's nothing left to do but
try
a caged bird can
sing

right now cold fingers clench paper cups
and casualties display missing limbs
at busy intersections waiting
for the light to turn red again

right now Africa's orphans are calling
freedom
carving platinum into chains and shackles

As we begin this – without prejudice to
where it may lead – people of less-
determined political viewpoints than ours

will increasingly find common-ground to
work with us (straight-people, so to speak).

We begin to build a tool kit.

1. We explicitly challenge the a-historical tyranny of white society and seek to honor our ancestors and build a path of struggle rooted in lessons from the past.
2. In the spirit of these ancestors, we habitually demand respect for ourselves, our brothers and sisters, and for all sentient beings.
3. We are against whiteness. Seeing the roots of a racialized society in such crimes as slavery and genocide, we actively and thoroughly strive to be traitors to whiteness.
4. We honor labor. We see volunteerism as primarily a choice of the privileged classes and thus strive (in a money economy) to compensate teachers for their work.
5. We can compensate for the difficulty of the work by treating each other well. This actually means not treating each other shitty. We can affirm and assist one another, or at least express and reaffirm our intention to do so. We will not engage in petty and mean-spirited politics within our community. If we do, we will only die.
6. We should promote brother/sister – family – relationships with like-minded autonomous workshops in our area.
7. We should willingly and wholeheartedly join our efforts with business and institutional situations which: 1) share, in some demonstrable sense, some goal or aspiration with ours, and 2) do not conflict with our core values. We should accomplish this by freely, willingly, humbly assisting them in whatever tasks they may deem useful.
8. We should travel when we are weary, burned-out, despairing. We should nurture, by our presence in each other's lives, our brothers and sisters in this struggle who are nearby.
9. We don't partner with assholes. We recognize that our strength lies in the dignified, mutually respectful relationships we maintain. Thus, we fiercely defend ourselves from entanglements with those seeking to co-opt, water-down, or shut down our work.

We should all write.

When sufficient topical material is available, we should publish it in 'zine format...

TO BREATHE TOGETHER.

Taylor Sparrow

whiteness is a trap. a trick bag. a rather demonic game that robs humanity from all involved. a vicious lie with violence as its foundation, its manifestation, and its perpetuation.

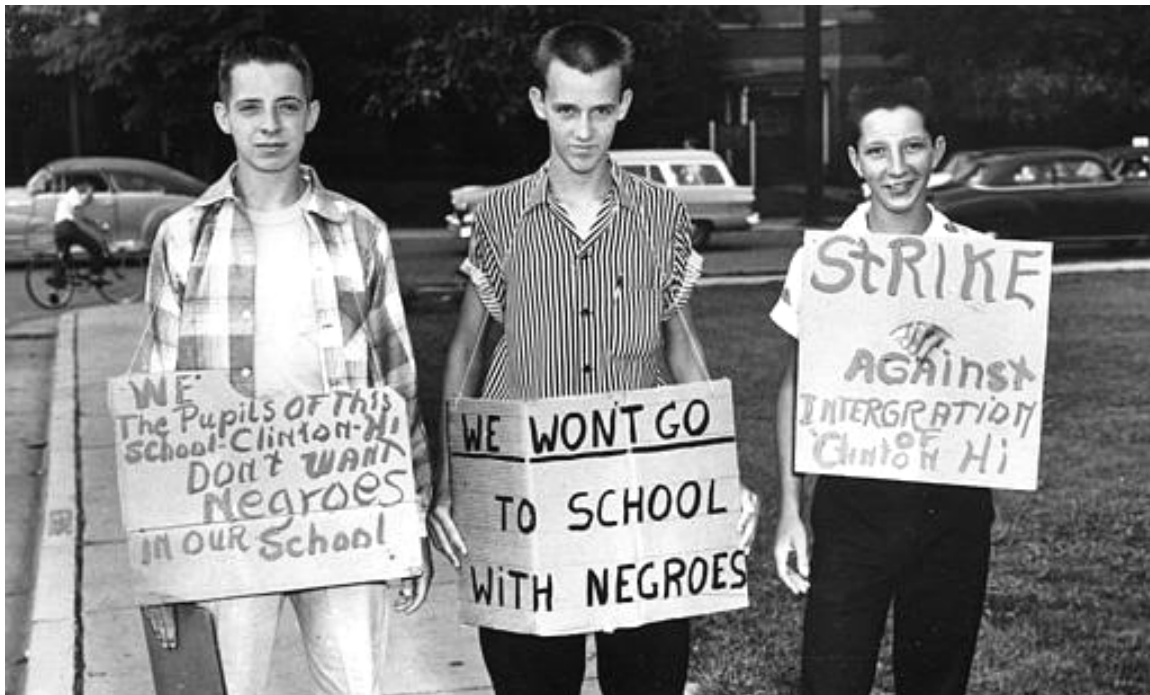
whiteness feels omnipresent. when i'm alone, in my dreams, with friends, with enemies, with lovers, with family, in struggle, in silence, in thought, in action and inaction. omnipresent.

and whiteness sickens me and fails to keep me alive, fails to give me a space to speak and to breathe, particularly because whiteness asks me to strangle and silence my peers who are not white.

whiteness is the awkward pause between two people, trying to stretch towards each other but lacking the language to make it known.

whiteness is the horrendous, simple and subtle blindness that sends human beings into oblivion.

whiteness is the poison pie that bribed the masses to defend the masters, that creates masters in attempts at equality, that begs for niggers and secretly smiles with each new innovation in the systems of domination. whiteness is a failure to keep folks like me alive.



THERE'S NOTHING LEFT TO DO BUT SING

Naima Penniman

There's nothing left to do but sing!

I woke up this morning
and my soul crawled up my skin
and whispered in my ear:
the revolution starts within

But without justice in this world
my poetry seems paper thin

like how you gonna enlighten when
you watch your children dying?
And how you gonna fight the man
when you're fighting to survive? and
How you gonna find the truth
when all you knew was lies? and
All you knew bout standing up for life
was seeing fallen angels' spirits rising?

And why then do we need another
god damn poem about revolution?

Because somewhere in the world
a girl is counting stars
and grains of rice,
and praying hard to save her life
and pain and strife
are the only cards she had to play with

And somewhere in Haiti
a mother's counting her dead children
And somewhere in New England
another's counting multimillions
And somewhere in Chicago
a broken soul grows old in prison

And somewhere in Colombia
the land's to poisonous to live in
And
people live there

And somewhere in the world
land mines and pipe lines
crack pipes and high rises
circumvent the land like
lines designing palms of hands
printing futures we will never understand
until our ancestors become our children

and somewhere in Africa
someone's listening
to God through television
and praying to paper dolls and
holy gods draped in white skin
with eyes fixed on heaven
so they never looked down
to see their own wings

and somewhere in the suburbs
someone got an SUV for Christmas
and a son forgot to do the dishes
but somewhere baby sisters
wake to the hot ring
of nails scraping rib cages
holding hearts hostage in the
forgotten regions of the projects

and somewhere someone's watching
their life bleed out their eyes
someone's trying to survive

globe, most obviously Afrikan people and the native peoples of the Americas. What amazes me is how effective it has been and continues to be, (who was it who said that “religion is the opiate of the people”?) My concerns are not limited to Christianity, but are inclusive of the restrictive, non-inclusive, divisive nature of most organized religions; I use Christianity because that is what I know. I now, thankfully, also know that I am a spiritual being, existing in a spiritual universe, under spiritual laws; and thank God that those laws operate whether one chooses to label oneself Christian, Jew, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, etc., or whether one chooses to put the Creator in a box and label It Yahweh, Jehovah, Allah, Oludamare, Jah, or any of the many other names that He/She has given to His/Her children. (Surely if we as humans can answer to our given names, our pet names, etc, the Creator of the universe can answer to more than one name.)

I also now understand that what passes for education in these United States is merely a process of brainwashing and indoctrination that perpetuates the status quo. The lies, misinformation and half-truths that one is taught through 12 years of elementary and high school takes

years of un-learning if one is to be liberated from the shackles of mental enslavement. This in part explains why the prison industrial complex, as well as the military industrial complex have an over-representation of people of color and poor people - they are by-products of the educational system. The history (his-story) books will never tell the truth about this country, and its blood thirsty, money-driven origins, nor the horrors perpetrated on the native peoples that the Europeans found here or the Afrikans that were brought here to build the wealth of this country, nor will they tell the truth about the perpetual white supremacist/capitalist agenda that fuels the status quo. Unless Truth becomes the basis for education, it will only continue to serve those for which it was designed, and leave the rest of us chasing that elusive American dream (nightmare???).

And so, as my journey continues I will continue to liberate my own mind and spirit, as I search for ways to liberate my people and all of humankind from the chains that “build church and university (to) deceive the people continually”

whiteness is the baseline fuel for the growing conflagration that is me, that is my resistance.

but always, first, we decide we need to talk about whiteness in terms of how it operates as a functional idiocy. our spaces are so often plagued by the unintended cruelty and absent mindedness of folks raised white, and by the denial that comes with this cruelty, that, as a matter of self-defense, to survive, to get by, we choose to intervene.

we seek to stop, moment by moment, what was begun on arawak land, 1492, and done again, and redone, reshaped, reformed, resurrected, reassured, and reified a thousand times over in the past five hundred years.

like a dozen hands shoved against a crumbling dam, we seek to simply stop the onslaught.

and in this stopping, we forget about the human who has been carefully sculpted and crafted, indoctrinated and infected to the point of being a conduit for this great outpouring, this terrifying overflow of an internalized, and uncontainable violence.

whiteness violates those it chooses as hosts, begging them, demanding them to house an un-comprehensible viciousness and disregard for life, dignity and affinity, such that they are left no choice but to let the sickness bleed out their pores.

if the toxic lies of whiteness were better contained by some, there would be others who would step in their place, and still more who would choose to chastise and punish them for their break with the brutal consensus. there is a certain inherent messiness in the continuation of whiteness; an ugliness unparalleled in its sheer vastness, its seemingly insurmountable seamless-ness.

if we could find the language to do so, we might begin to describe whiteness as a process whereby a third of the world's people are forever buried by the devastating terror that has been perpetuated in their name and through their cohesion as one definable group. and in saying this, we are of course speaking also to the despicable slaughter of the rest of humanity: carpetbombed, lynched, disappeared, crowded into houses and burned alive, in mass graves, in chains at the bottom of transatlantic trading vessels, in napalm downpours, through nuclear incineration, with charity smallpox blankets, forced syphilis infections and government imported cocaine.

perhaps in the presence of this growing stench of death, we could begin to find the words to grapple with the grave depravity of the lives that we are all said to be living.

it is only through wrestling with this profound un-alive quality of everyone's existence that we might begin to create a circumstance in which we can remember how to speak and be heard, and how to share in one another's breath.

STOP USING THE WORDS FOR RACE

WHITE NOW!

Indigo Agni

We can't have freedom with marriage and diamonds either.

We should all agree that where there is presumption there is arrogance.

I can barely realize that I have desires at times and fall off a bridge into identities and the world of heroes.

The grins aren't painted evil enough.

Capital is whitening toothpaste and pepsicola.

We can't have a political identity, there is no longer a we in the hands of considering life and death. My friends are steeped in White-hot culture. Where there is stigma there is unconscious. I'll bet Freud had a lot of slaves and "mulatto" children.

Our freedom school!



Since that time, I have read much more, attended many more lectures, seminars, classes, etc., and am enjoying finding my indigenous Afrikan self beneath all of the indoctrination of 40 years. My awareness of the Creator has expanded by leaps and bounds as I realize that indigenous people (red, yellow, brown and black) knew and related to Him/Her for centuries in a much more harmonious way than has been put forth by the just over 2000 years of European Christianity. (I am still determined to liberate my Afrikan brother, Yeshua - you may recognize him by his slave name, Jesus - from the doctrines and dogma that

Europeans have assigned to him.) It is so ugly that Europeans, in their sick need to control all other people on the planet, would stoop so low as to first destroy much of the sacred texts that should be a part of recorded scripture, then sit around a table and decide what should and should not be included in the scriptures, and then after these decisions had been made, declare their finished document the official "final authority of God's Word". It should be noted that this final authority has been used to justify the genocide of many indigenous peoples around the



few job opportunities, so many crack houses, so many young people run afoul of the criminal (in)justice system, so few adults that seemed to give a damn, despite the fact that we had an abundance of churches and an adequate number of school buildings. It was also around the same time that I



“discovered” Bob Marley, and the line in one of his songs summed up for me what I had been attempting to articulate in my own search for answers, and above all truth. The song lyric says “building church and university, deceiving the people continually”. When I first heard that line, it hit me like a ton of bricks: the liberation of Afrikan people would never happen until these two institutions (the school and the church as we know them) were dismantled. And I was both a product and a conveyor of both. What was I supposed to do? Had my whole life, my very existence been the fabrication of someone else’s agenda for me? The answer

was a resounding yes! Then began the slow, sometimes painful, process of de-programming and it is ongoing. I began to make plans to extricate myself from public education as soon as possible (I retired after 25 years this past May), and perhaps the hardest thing, I left the Baptist church that I had been born into, christened in, baptized in, married in and raised my children in. I was determined that I would know God on my terms, not on the terms dictated by some Europeans at the Councils of Nicea, nor by King James’s version of the Bible.

Let’s go straight to the small towns of exclusive “White” and “Black” populations and give the children affection and show them the enormous amount of humanity in some non-whites and what it means to be a “better person” and “successful.” Tell them what White means. Plan terror, now. We will wear bulletproof vests and amulets, if necessary.

Where is knowledge? Tell me. Is poetry knowledge? Freedom is not knowledge, though it begins with it.



Reality is enemy. We shall play God, with the action of love. Destroy what we have conceived as “demo crazy.” Let’s build communication. Take off your patriotism and incinerate it in electric incinerators.

Be a fucking savage. Start selling crack to White children, if that’s what it takes. (not.)

In life we are all alienated to the point of news. We should all go blind before we submit to visions of “getting ahead.” Sell your home to terrorist organizations. Colleges need invasions, and curriculum. We should mix anarchy with self; and cracking and shattering the system with fresh beautiful flowers.

I’m ready, are you?

Teach rich White Republican’s children to shoplift, and give the stolen items as gifts – receive poetry.

First, let’s hydrate everyone, before we take action.

NOT RACIST IS NOT ENOUGH

Beth Simpson

"When liberal whites fail to understand how they can and/or do embody white supremacist values and beliefs even though they may not embrace racism as prejudice or domination (especially domination that involves coercive control), they cannot recognize the ways their actions support and affirm the very structure of racist domination and oppression that they profess to wish to see eradicated."

- Bell Hooks, *Killing Rage*

I am 'not racist'

As a child I wondered about a lot of things: "What happens when you die?" "Does the universe have an end?" "Would I rather be deaf or blind?" Among these questions were "Am I racist?" I didn't think that I was, but I considered the arguments and found an answer: what a dumb thing to discriminate against people because of their color! Still, I figured that if there were a decision to be made I wasn't going to be a racist. (As a white person,) it was a simple matter of choice: if I didn't want racism to be part of my life, it didn't have to be. Whew. What I didn't understand was that as a white person, even if you don't want to access the power you have, you still have it.

Whatever way a (white) person comes to the decision that they are 'not racist,' life afterward is a lot easier. No sticky debates about discrimination, no need to take accusations of race oppression personally- nothing much about race is your concern because you've done your part: you are 'not racist'. For example, I was recently staffing a table at a 'cultural fair' where I was encouraging people to consider what it meant to be white. When I suggested to a white woman that she take a quiz to determine how much she challenges white supremacy she assured me she would score really high, simply because she belonged to a multicultural sorority.

The refusal to interrogate oneself with regard to power makes it possible for people who oppose 'racism' (a personal choice) to maintain and support supremacy (a societal dynamic) blindly. Our potential social awareness, which would occur through self-evaluation, is pre-empted by the assurance: "I'm not racist."

I am 'not racist' and I live in a society of equity

What I learned in history circa 1988: a long time ago 'Americans' weren't very smart and enslaved Black people. Racism was around for a while but also ended a long time ago (I was 12, remember) and the North had never been racist, anyway. The Southerners had held slaves and the Northerners had set them free. Anti-Semitism had been squashed with the end of WWII and that whole mess with killing the 'Indians' was long over and we were smarter now. All had been made equitable in the world (by the U.S.) before I was even born. That was the general tone of my junior high history experience.

That year I was taught that my childhood concerns about equality were nothing to worry about- there had been a Civil Rights struggle which had successfully brought equal rights to all. It didn't seem true exactly, but I couldn't point to any 'whites only' signs hanging around, right? They were teachers I trusted. I believed them. Whew again! I didn't have to worry about racism because it had pretty much ended. And since everything was equal now, whatever people got, for better or worse, is what they earned fair and square.

The refusal to interrogate societal dynamics makes it possible for a person who benefits from white supremacy to see those benefits, instead, as results of their 'hard work'. And the under-representation of non-whites in executive positions and 'gifted' classes, for example, is due to their failure to

THE COLONIZATION OF THE AFRIKAN MIND AND SPIRIT PART I

Norma (Umi Iyabode) Jackson

For the past nine years I have been on a journey of cultural and spiritual evolution and exploration, which has been both enlightening and challenging, but in the words of my Ancestors, "I wouldn't take nothing for my journey now". I had the honor of marking my 50th year on planet earth this past November, and it was a period of much reflection. I held up in a hotel room about forty miles from my hometown of Tuskegee, Alabama (home of those two great giants of Afrikan-American history: Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver) for three days, and came away with a little more clarity.

In order for my discourse on the colonization of the Afrikan spirit to make sense, I need to share a tidbit of my personal history. For starters, I was raised to believe that I should be a "good" girl (which for my working-class, Afrikan-American family meant going to school and getting good grades, going to Sunday School, Church, B.T.U. - for any non-Baptist readers that is Baptist Training Union -, and Vacation Bible School, finishing college, getting married and having children). And I was a very "good"

girl. Somehow, however, around my 42nd year on the planet I began to sense that all was not well and something was amiss. By this time I was well into my career as a public school teacher, (kindergarten), married, mother of two, and a Sunday School teacher.

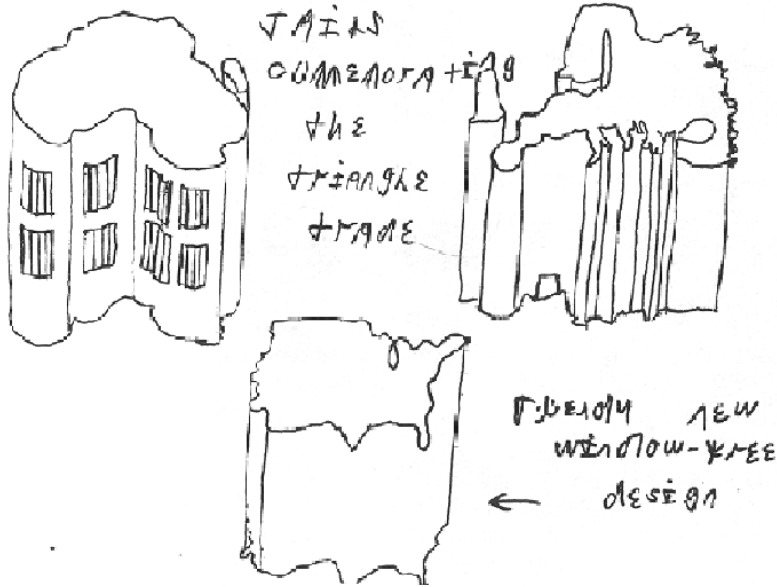
Needless to say reading has always played a vital role in my life, and though I had read *The Mis-education of the Negro*, Assata, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and many other thought provoking works years before, I was somehow drawn back to these works and others (the works of Frances Cress Welsing, *Malidoma Some'*, and Iyanla Vanzant to name a few). It was also around this time that I first saw the very powerful film, *Sankofa* (I was especially moved by the scene where the enslaved Afrikan woman is reprimanded for participating in "heathen African religious rituals" and is brutally beaten into a verbal acceptance of Jesus). I began to seriously question things like why did our community have so many high school drop-outs, so

THE TASTE OF SHIT

Jamie the Pirate

the White North offered the South an eternity of slavery... a couple years go by, and now they are calling slaves Free. I don't have much to say about reconstruction cuz it didn't happen. The South becomes like a colony to the North.

You've been Freed:



about how you used to not be considered a person, never mind citizen.

they feed us shit!
what is this shit?
shit-reality. the reality of shit.
they feed us it.

they feed it us.
it feeds reality,
eating us.
it feeds us it to
feed it
until we'll buy
the shit, eat it
ourselves with
relish.
soon anything
but
is inedible,
inevitable.
the taste
of shit is all the
tongue
can love,
love for
familiarity,
family.

the toxin grows in our veins, clogs arteries, until we cannot stop, the symptoms of death plague us when we try to live. then...they say, you must feed yourselves now, you must take care of yourself. we must feed ourselves we will feed off ourselves.

Welcome to Democracy
1-800-Vote-4-A-Master
this is White Man's freedom – not what He prefers Himself, but something just extra specially for you...
with the Chinese, they call it "becoming American"
but that would be kind of embarrassing with Blacks since we're trying to avoid talking

'work hard enough.' Our potential social awareness, which would occur through social evaluation, is pre-empted by the assurance: "Things are equal now."

"I have their best interests at heart"

I understand there to be two general ways to express white supremacy. The first is overtly, through such tactics as exclusion, segregation, and slander. The person who espouses these methods knows that they are racist. The second expression occurs subtly through the ignorance of systemic racism and its impact both on people of color and white-identified people (as oppressors). This person often doesn't think of themselves as racist. The difference in self-awareness between these two positions reminds me a lot of the difference between prison guards and teachers.

As a prison guard, the power dynamics are obvious: you keep people in cage, they are mandated to be there by law, your word is rule and the inmates have little to no say. As a teacher, the dynamics are not so different: the students can't leave without permission, they must attend by law, they have to do what the teacher says. The other day I was in a meeting where an assistant principal said, "Sometimes I just tell the kids, 'I'll always win.' I'd say that's an accurate assessment of classroom dynamics. In general I suspect teachers don't like to think of themselves as prison guards, because they care about the students. However, as a teacher, even if you don't want to access the power you have, you still have it.

Having "the kids best interests at heart" does not prevent us from acting against students' interests, it just keeps us from asking ourselves about it. My brother was understood to be a 'problem' in the classroom in first grade. He didn't do work, he kept pestering the teacher with questions... He was going to be labeled as Behavior Disordered (BD) and possibly put on medication. Then he took a vision test. Turns out he just couldn't see the board. But no one questioned the teacher's assessment of him as BD. That's powerful stuff.

The refusal to interrogate oneself with regard to power makes it possible for teachers who mean well to maintain and abuse their authority blindly. Our potential social awareness, which would occur through self-evaluation, is pre-empted by the assurance: "I have their best interests at heart."

As a teacher, I am 'not racist' and I live in a society of equity.

One (white) teacher recently admitted, in a forum about Race and Education (after much prodding and skirting of the issue): if Black students don't do well, it is because they (and their families) do not prioritize learning. This man maintained that there was no racism in his school and that he was not racist. His insistence on these points allowed him to slander his students with no moral twinge. In a society of equity with a teacher who 'isn't racist', students of color who don't do well aren't trying hard enough. Among teachers, an opinion can easily become a ruling. This has created a crisis in the education of students of color.

"I am a teacher with the kids' best interest at heart. I am not racist in a society of equity."

The person who makes these statements is not talking about students, people of color, or society. They are talking about themselves. "I don't like that I might make choices that go against the interests of students. I don't like the idea of racism. I don't like the idea of a society that is unequal." Perhaps unfortunately, what we like has little bearing on what is or even what we do. For this reason it is imperative that we consistently check our actions against our intentions. Otherwise we are free to be oppressors all the while considering ourselves to be considerate members of the community.

WHITENESS AS FRANCHISE

Rob Scott

Our project, to undermine racism, has been complicated by the claim that race doesn't exist. The challenge is: to speak in a way which undermines racism, without referring to race. Race has been eliminated as an argument, and racism has broken from the confines of "race".

Whiteness

I will use the term "whiteness" to refer to the ownership of privileges accumulated in a racist society which has historically empowered the historically powerful; "whiteness" is when white privilege accumulates. This "whiteness" refers to a social relation of accumulated privilege and not to the physiological distinction of "white skin".

Whiteness operates as a franchise. Consider the following baseball analogy.

A baseball franchise is owned and operated by a group of partners who decide who will be permitted to own part of the franchise, and on what terms, as the franchise grows. Now, there are multitudes of others who may act as though they are part of the franchise – buying team paraphernalia, engaging in debates about the running of the team amongst themselves, promoting the team, etc. – in their daily life they act as though they're part of the franchise. The patterns of behavior present in all people, including the owners, constitute the team culture.

Whiteness is a franchise, and people who participate in its culture will appear to be part of the franchise, at least to themselves, they describe themselves as significant elements of the franchise.

I will assume the reader knows enough history to explain why the term "whiteness" is chosen and not "blackness" or "asian-ness" &c., but the owners must reject this distinction (and this essay) as a rule. Now, if the win/lose dynamic of the game, the journalism, even public opinion doesn't favor the current owners, that doesn't mean the franchise itself is threatened. Fanaticism is a performance with a well-rehearsed script, and all proceeds go to the profit of the franchise. What is important is that all fans remain hypnotized by the spectacle of competition.

Similarly, the franchise of whiteness is not threatened by opponents who continue to partake in the society of the spectacle. Spectacular attempts to change the society are quickly conscripted onto the very dynamics they were intended to subvert; they become evidence against change.

Why talk about a franchise when the game is rigged?

continue to be important to our work, the political power and sustenance of these, if achieved, must be linked to the larger structural realities and forces that shape their necessity, in the first place. I want to repeat that I am not suggesting that these pedagogical dimensions are not important to the development of bilingualism or

If the bilingual education movement in this country is to have any real impact, it must become intimately linked to an international project for social justice, human rights and economic democracy for all the world's populations.

Lastly, it is imperative, in these times,



"let's rescue the country from chaos."

bilingual education.

Instead, what I wish to argue is that the struggle for an emancipatory education in general, and a bilingual education, in particular, must be grounded in an understanding of the contemporary political economic contexts that shape the lives of bilingual students, their families, communities and their teachers.

that the bilingual education debate move away from the single-issue approach of the past and insert itself, rigorously and solidly, into the broader political arena of international anti-racism and anti-capitalist struggle—a struggle to fundamentally transform what it means to be a rightful citizen of the world, today.

NOT-SEE, NOT-HEAR

Warlock Thomas

[The] purpose of the immigration laws is the protection of American racial stock from further degradation or change through mongrelization. The Mexican...is a mixture of Mediterranean-blooded Spanish peasant with low-grade Indians who did not fight to extinction but submitted, and multiplied as serfs. This blend of low-grade Spaniard, peonized Indian, and negro slave mixes with negroes, mulatoes, and other mongrels, and some sorry whites, already here. The prevention of such mongrelization and degradation it causes is one of the purposes of our laws which the admission of these people will tend to defeat. Every incoming race causes blood mixture, but if this were not true, a mixture of blocs of peoples of different races has a bad effect upon citizenship, creating more race conflicts and weakening national character (cited in Documents of American Prejudice, S.T, Joshi, 1999, p.481-2).

Unfortunately, current media debates on the problem of immigration do not fare any better. Newspaper, television and film portray immigrant populations as uncivilized, ignorant or dangerous. Minority language populations have consistently had to prove themselves as "decent human beings", worthy and deserving of entrance into the inner sanctum of nation-state citizenship.

However, differences in the impact of these policies across different immigrant groups may be best explained as a difference in the racialization process

experienced by Europeans v. non-European immigrants. Therefore, despite the initial experiences of racialization suffered by Irish, Italian, Polish, and Russian immigrants, it was always presumed that these European immigrants could be absorbed into the cultural definition of the American nation-state. No such presumption was made of non-European populations. Joseph Check (2002) describes the difference:

"Racial indigestion" caused by European immigrants arriving faster than they could be absorbed may have been unpleasant, but at least it presumed that in time, through schooling, they could be absorbed and the dilution on "our national stock" reversed. This presumption rested, in turn, on an implied kinship between all Europeans, whether "noble" Anglo-Saxons or "degenerate" Irish, Italians, Poles, or Russians. No such kinship was presumed to exist with non-European groups: Native Americans, Asians, Puerto Ricans, and African-Americans. There was no argument for assimilation-through education, and so widespread exclusion from mainstream activities (including education) or relegation to second class status was a common practice for these groups (p.50).

The Struggle for Bilingual Education

Globalized manifestations of racism in the guise of language and cultural subordination are intricately linked to the internationalization of capital and the consolidation of political power. Yet despite this reality, many public advocates of bilingual education still address major problems in urban schools solely in terms of curriculum, pedagogy, bilingual teachers, instructional materials, new technology or additional research. Although these

On slave-ships we came to these climes
Not-see, not-hear, say a prayer
Rich if lynchers give us dimes
and a race traitor
is so rare

America's stuck
behind the times
Its race problem
keeps it there
Ignore do not-see
the signs
of whiteness it's
not aware

The not-here's
miss rhythm,
rhyme
nice liberals
censor the air
We might as well
all be mimes
because their
ears are so
square

Not-hears with
the 60s on loan
all their rhetoric is
stale
Responsibly they must own
they're deaf to faces not pale

Not-sees come in lows and highs
not an incestuous pair
Up the ass, between the thighs
high not-see dicks everywhere

Diamonds, gold, oil, we dig the mines
while high not-sees groom and comb their hair

Sugar, cokes, nikes,
their crimes
are worth their
electric chair

Low not-sees time now to
be wise
as pawns you're not
treated fair
Be darker now or meet
your demise
get ready to take a dare

Whiteness we can see as
a crime
invisible, they can't care
Warn them now
to get in line
away from them
we must tear

Darkies the whiteman he
still owns
since Columbus
first set sail
Listen to black
Cosmic Tones

or he's riding out on rail

Be darkies before clock it chimes
and you will be fine, I swear
Hear rhythm, your pump it primes
see movement will take you there



THE “MAGICAL” TRIANGLE TRADE

Andy Keniston

Color-coding of slave status was essentially an administrative device of a struggling colonial project. It was designed to guarantee sufficient quantities of labor at brutal agricultural tasks on the plantation.

It [color-coding] would support the magical triangle-trade:

1. Thrifty New-Englanders convert agricultural produce into the commodity “whiskey” at enterprises called “distilleries.”
2. Shipping interests – owners of massive, ocean-going vessels and their ‘financial backers’ (i.e. sources of ready cash) – load their great vessels with whiskey in barrels and a bit of English kitchenware and such (which is readily had in the English ports) and proceed to
3. the slave markets in west Africa, the ‘Guinea Coast.’ Many specific locations from about Senegal at the NW extremity to about Nigeria at the SE extremity. Where they
4. exchange their cargo of whiskey etc. for a cargo of ‘slaves’, that is, human cargo. Usually, the ship would be crudely re-rigged here; that is, additional crude ‘decks’ (floors) would be installed. Whiskey was good as currency (money) all along the path of subjected human beings; as in the ‘Indian Wars’ in the American southwest, it became a useful adjunct to military adventures.
5. The cargo of slaves would cross the Atlantic to slave markets in the Caribbean where they would be given up to ‘dealers’ and sold at auctions.
6. Now the slaves were bought by plantation owners – basically, aristocrat friends and business-partners of European monarchs – to be put to work on the ‘plantation.’ The activity of the plantation was sugar; the growing of it in the field as cane, and the refining it to the crystal product Europeans had ‘learned’ to love.
7. And, it just so happens that a massive by-product of sugar-refining is molasses. And molasses is a good thing and part of the slaves’ ration of food – clearly ‘of value.’ Yet exactly here, these very islands, to be ‘had’ at cheap cost, in great quantity.
8. So, once again, our captains load our ships, this time with barrels of molasses and return on the last leg of their journey, up the Atlantic coast of the English colonies to their home-ports of New York, Newport R.I., Salem MA, Boston where
9. their cargo is unloaded to distilleries. Here molasses serves as the crude, agricultural ingredient in the product/commodity Rum Whiskey.
10. Thus, a single voyage yields three distinct opportunities for ‘profit’ to be taken. And profit they did...

As such, we can better understand linguistic genocide in the plight of African Americans who were separated from their families and forced into slave labor; the Dine stripped of much of their land and their children arbitrarily removed to English-speaking boarding schools; and Mexican, Puerto Rican and Chinese workers who were exploited for cheap labor and subjected to substandard housing and education.

Given the pressure and strain to survive such conditions, many have now lost, for the most part, their linguistic connection to their ancestral culture. Again, key to this discussion is the manner in which racism, manifested through linguistic genocide, is intricately linked to political economic power, control of natural resources, and the subordination of those inferiorized into “the other”.

Immigration to the U.S.

As a consequence of the deleterious impact of globalization, immigrants seeking economic opportunities ventured to the U.S. The outcome of the current geopolitical economic crisis in Latin America has been particularly visible in California, which has historically served as a port-of-entry for many Spanish-speaking immigrants.

There are currently 37 million Latinos residing in California; more than 50 percent are foreign born. In Los Angeles County, of the 9.8 million residents, over 4.2 million are Latinos. And although the largest percentage comes from Mexico, 700,000 have their origins in Central America. Moreover, population projections claim that by the year 2005, “minority” residents are expected to become the majority of the population in most large urban centers.

Already, today, in many large neighborhoods of Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Dallas and Miami, Latinos comprise the majority of the residents. In fact, this phenomenon is even occurring in the Deep South where “Latino immigrants have moved in large numbers into the old confederacy (Mariscal, 2003).” In the last decade of the 20th century, the census documented an increase in the Latino population in North Carolina of 393.9%, in Arkansas of 323.3%, in Georgia of 299.6%, and in Tennessee of 278.2%).

The growing number of diverse Spanish-speaking immigrants poses important questions regarding how the nation-state will contend with complex issues—issues that are bound to require the redefining of current ideas of citizenship.

Current anti-immigrant sentiments and efforts to thwart bilingualism are every bit as politically vicious as they were in the earlier decades of the 20th century—fueled by similar political alliances and the xenophobic nativist rhetoric of conservative policy makers and big business. Specific conditions that parallel both these historical eras include increasing immigration, burgeoning student enrollments in urban centers, economic decline and overt military spending overseas. It is not unusual to find derogatory animalistic references made about the intellectual, linguistic, phenotypic, sexual, or criminal tendencies of immigrant groups.

One such example is found in the document by John Box, a minister and longtime U.S. representative from Texas, who addressed Congress on February 9, 1928 to support the need for strong immigration laws (Congressional Record 69, No. 3): He argued passionately that:

Aboriginal and Maori communities persist in their struggles to retain language rights. In

to have a secure future. In today's global village, only 100 languages are spoken by



the U.S., the geopolitics of native Hawaiians and other indigenous nations encompass ardent efforts to keep both their language and culture from becoming extinct. But these represent examples of language communities that have managed to survive. Not so has been the fate among most.

The world's languages are dying off at an alarming rate. Of the estimated 6000 languages in the world, over half are expected to become extinct by the end of the century, with only 10 percent considered

90 percent of the world's population (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), a leading international biodiversity and linguistic rights advocate, argues that the majority of language communities over the last 100 years have become victims of linguistic-genocide—that is, where the language is killed rather than the person. Without question, she associates this genocide to the destruction of potential competition for political and economic power, in order to eliminate any claims to

AN ADDRESS FROM A NEGRO CONVENTION AUGUST, 1865

We, the undersigned members of a Convention of colored citizens of the State of Virginia, would respectfully represent that, although we have been held as slaves, and denied all recognition as a constituent of your nationality for almost the entire period of the duration of your Government, and that by *your permission* we have been denied either home or country, and deprived of the dearest rights of human nature: yet when you and our immediate oppressors met in deadly conflict upon the field of battle—the one to destroy and the other to save your Government and nationality, we, with scarce an exception, in our inmost souls espoused your cause, and watched, and prayed, and waited, and labored for your success.

When the contest waxed long, and the result hung doubtfully, you appealed to us for help, and how well we answered is written in the rosters of the two hundred thousand colored troops now enrolled in your service; and as to our undying devotion to your cause, let the uniform acclamation of escaped prisoners, "*whenever we saw a black face we felt sure of a friend,*" answer.

Well, the war is over, the rebellion is "put down," and we are *declared* free! Four fifths of our enemies are paroled or amnestied, and the other fifth are being pardoned, and the President has, in his efforts at the reconstruction of the civil government of the States, late in rebellion, left us entirely at the mercy of these subjugated but unconverted rebels, in *everything* save the

privilege of bringing us, our wives and little ones, to the auction block. . . .

We *know* these men—know them *well*—and we assure you that, with the majority of them, loyalty is only "*lip deep,*" and that their professions of loyalty are used as a cover to the cherished design of getting restored to their former relations with the Federal Government, and then, by all sorts of "unfriendly legislation," to render the freedom you have given us more intolerable than the slavery they intended for us.

We warn you in time that our only safety is in keeping them under Governors of the *military persuasion* until you have so amended the Federal Constitution that it will prohibit the States from making any distinction between citizens on account of race or color. In one word, the only salvation for us besides the power of the Government, is in the *possession of the ballot*. Give us this, and we will protect ourselves. . . .

But, it is said we are ignorant. Admit it. Yet who denies we *know* a traitor from a loyal man, a gentleman from a rowdy, a friend from an enemy? The twelve thousand colored votes of the State of New York sent Governor Seymour home and Reuben E. Fenton to Albany. Did not they know who to vote for? . . . All we ask is an *equal chance* with the white traitors varnished and jappanned with the oath of amnesty. Can you deny us this and still keep faith with us? .

We are "*sheep in the midst of wolves,*" and nothing but the military arm of the Government prevents us and all the truly



FRANCHISE.
AND NOT THIS MAN!

loyal white men from being driven from the land of our birth. Do not then, we beseech you, give to one of these "wayward sisters" the rights they abandoned and forfeited when they rebelled until you have secured our rights by the aforementioned amendment to the Constitution. .

Trusting that you will not be deaf to the appeal herein made, nor unmindful of the warnings which the malignity of the rebels are constantly giving you, and that you will rise to the height of being just for the sake of justice, we remain yours for our flag, our country and humanity.

A POLITICS OF LANGUAGE: RACISM, CLASS AND LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

Antonia Darder

Each time that, in one way or another, the question of language comes to the fore, that signifies that a series of other problems is about to emerge, the formation and enlargement of the ruling class, the necessity to establish more intimate and sure relations between ruling groups and the national popular masses, that is the reorganization of cultural hegemony.

Antonio Gramsci (1970)

Linguistic Rights

For the purposes of this discussion linguistic rights will be defined as the right to: 1) learn, use, be educated and identify with one's mother tongue; 2) learn the official language of the country in residence; 3) not have a change of one's mother tongue imposed; and 4) profit from the state education system, no matter what first language one learns.

Language and Genocide

Historian, Michael Wood estimates that over 50 million indigenous people in the Western hemisphere were victims of disease and warfare at the hands of Europeans during the period of colonial expansion. In the 20th century, millions of deaths related to systematic genocide of populations or what Samantha Powers (2002) terms " 'Race' murders" have been recorded. Beyond the most often remembered, the death of six million Jews at the hands of the third Reich, there are the mass deaths of the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, the Tutsi in Rwanda, the killing fields of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and the ethnic cleansings in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Currently, political repressive forces are at work in Spain, where Moroccan immigrants are routinely stopped and

searched, while educators debate furiously regarding the drain these children are having on educational resources because of their lack of Spanish skills. Similar conditions exist for working-class immigrant populations in Germany, Switzerland, and England. Kurd and Roma immigrants (or Gypsy as they are often called) have been racialized in every country they have attempted to settle.

Similar to racialized immigrant groups, native-born minority-language populations rendered "other" within their own lands have also experienced a similar fate. In Spain, a country where the elite language campaign of *armas y letras* in the 15th century and the Church inspired legacy of *sangre pura* ideology (Fredrikson, 2002) still casts shadows on the political imagination, social struggles continue to this date tied to the question of cultural and linguistic determination, between the Madrileños who represent the mainstream and the Basque, Gallegos and Catalans who have often been relegated to the margins of political economic life.

In even more intense ways, this phenomenon is at work in the lives of many existing indigenous populations of Africa, Australia, Latin America, and the U.S. For example, in Australia and New Zealand, both

And meanwhile, what of the slaves?
Gravely inaccurate in fact,
they had caught the spirit of the
thing.



* Excerpted from *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution* and compiled by the editor.

They aimed at the extermination
of their oppressors.
If they destroyed much,
it was because
they had suffered much.
And yet, they were surprisingly
moderate.

•
The first sign of a thoroughly ill-
adjusted
or bankrupt form of society is
That the ruling class cannot agree
how to save the situation.
There are times when
you cannot bluff the people.
All they could offer was money
and there are periods
in human history
When money is not enough.

•
When history is written
as it ought to be written
it is the moderation and long patience
of the masses
At which men will wonder,
not the ferocity.

SOLILOQUIES OF AN URBAN NEGRO

I don't have much to say about
Reconstruction because it didn't happen.
(like 40 acres and a mule)
There was an attempt at Reconstruction but
it failed.
The reality of American history (Jim Crow,
Civil Rights, etc.) is evidence of the failure.
Civil Rights is second-class citizenship.
If there was Reconstruction, there would be
no need for the "Civil Rights Movement."

•••

Most of the "Black" people I know are not
Black (whatever that means).
They are Christian, Muslim, Bourgeois,
Elitist, Democrat, Republican, Capitalist,
Communist, etc., etc.
Everything but Black (whatever that means).
Black people only exist as the opposite of
White.
Without the concept of Whiteness, Black
people do not exist.
Most (99.99%) of my relatives are Christians
and do not do or like anything, anyone,
Black.
I never blame White people because most
Black people strive very hard to be White,
very few strive, aspire, to be anything else.
I've lived as a Black person among Black
people so I don't blame White people for
hating Black people because Black people
hate Black people.
May the reality of people's actions speak for
them.
Most people can say a lot of things but
actions speak louder than words.

The practice and belief in White Supremacy
exist because most people believe in these
concepts.
It does not matter if the reality of life is
diminished by belief in the concept.

•••

If Black people (or whatever they are called)
spend continual efforts and energy to be
"integrated" into "White America" and
describe their efforts in racial terms (Black
Wall St., Black Church, etc. etc.) I for one do
not blame or think that "White people" are
wrong for thinking that "White people" are
better.
When "White people" think slavery,
segregation, discrimination should end, then
it should end.
"Black people" (or whatever they are called),
history has shown, will do whatever "White
people" say they should do, accept.
Slavery was integration.
Haiti is the only country that fought a
revolution that ended slavery.
The rest were emancipated.

•••

It is very difficult to go back to something
that did not exist.
Before the civil war, which was before
Reconstruction, there was slavery in the
U.S.A. for "Black" people, not segregation.
"Black" people did not fight for their
freedom in the USA.
The Union (North) decided that part of their
program to defeat the Confederate States of
America (CSA) – therefore, the War Between

the States – should be the abolition of slavery. Many Blacks fought or participated on both sides.

Abraham Lincoln (not a quote) said something like, “If I could save the union by not doing anything about slavery, I would. If I could save the union by ending slavery, I would.”

The focus was on saving the Union.

•••

There were many people (David Walker, Harriet

Tubman, Henry Highland Garnet, Martin Delany, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, to name a few) who did or tried to do something about the reality of slaves in the U.S.

But none of these people are the subjects of of holidays or statues of the descendants of slaves in the U.S.

Like ML King (not a junior because his birth name and father’s name was Michael L) when the rest of “America” takes note of these people, the “Black” people will think the aforementioned matter.

•••

The so-called Indians (actually Iroquois, Arapaho, Creek, Crow, Lakota Soix, etc.)

fought against domination and land theft until their virtual extinction. This is well documented. But the same cannot be said for most “Black people.” Most “Black people” are proud of their role as “Buffalo Soldiers,” Tuskegee Airmen and other contributions to the armed services of

the U.S. People should be judged by the reality of their actions.

•••

As a child, many “Black” people called me “Black” or “African” as an

attempted insult. “Black” in general did not become accepted, popular, until the James Brown song, “Say it Loud, I’m Black and I’m Proud!” The “Black” people are African- Americans now. Maybe some African-American can tell you what that means. The world is not flat and there is no such thing as race.

•••

“Black” people have been like Jews, expecting Nazis to teach them Jewish history. That is why you encounter so much ignorance (lack of knowing) among “Black” people.

PROSE POETRY AND FLOWERS

C.L.R. James*

The rich are only defeated when running for their lives. Sad though it may be, that is the way humanity progresses. The anniversary orators and the Historians supply the prose poetry and the flowers.

Ours, too, is an age of propaganda.

except when cowed by violence? Against the wealth, the connections and the unscrupulous intrigues of the vested interests, Even the radical propagandists were helpless...

Detest no section of the aristocracy so much as those “aristocrats of the skin”...



We excel our ancestors only in system and organization: They lied as fluently and as brazenly. But when did property ever listen to reason

This was no question of colour, but crudely a question of class. Prosperity is not a moral question and prosperity was the justification...