

EDITORIAL

Charles Murray's book, *The Bell Curve*, is the latest, clearest and most systematic book penning and underpinning for an all-out conservative and racist attack on public policy. It is a new book with an old theme - white racial superiority.

Charles Murray is a political conservative with long standing. He is also a racist of the first order who is setting the political climate for a racist school of thought and action. The release and massive coverage of this book, and its premise, on the eve of an election, where conservatives and racists are attempting to gain control of the House and the Senate, is inspiring like-minded followers.

This column does not use the term racist casually or loosely. We define racism in four basic ways, and in a particular order: The first being as a systematic philosophy that defines one race as superior and another race as inferior. In fact, Murray says Asians are the most superior race. The second, prejudice (prejudging individuals on the basis of group stereotypes); the third, behavior (actions such as castrations and lynchings); and the fourth, institutional (where the legal, social, economic

NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION

Murrayism Is Racism The Bell Curve Is Racism

and political structures produce racist results even though, to the casual eye, it may appear to be the result of "neutral" or "natural" causes or developments) all flow and follow logically and naturally from the first. That is why Murray is a racist of the first order. Murrayism equals racism.

Murray's not-so-subtle premise is that both genes and environment play a role in achievement and success, but, according to him, genes are primary and white genes are superior to black genes. Therefore, successful white society should neither feel guilty about not helping, nor obligated to help, those below them - it is

simply their natural fate. This is simply the philosophical underpinning of a conservative economic and racist public policy which affirms a do-nothing government.

Murray's Bell Curve is neither logically, biologically nor theologically sound. Murray's "white logic" leads to the following illogic: "While on the one hand," he says "Black people are inherently intellectually inferior; on the other, these intellectually inferior blacks are taking advantage of intellectually superior whites by taking their slots in school and at work because of government-mandated affirmative action programs; and by taking their political

slots because of the Voting Rights Act."

In other words, the rationalization is that "these intellectually superior white people (with economic and political power), have written laws against themselves in favor of intellectually inferior blacks (without economic and political power), that have put themselves out of education, jobs and political power." If true, such actions would hardly be reflective of intellectual superiority. South Africa devised a form of democracy that "shared power" which we have praised and admire; but in the U.S., so the rationalization goes, "people with power, for the first time in history, wrote laws against themselves."

The greatest danger of Murrayism is represented by the current threat of *Shaw v. Reno* before the Supreme Court. The court will act within the next nine months and could make the ruling that the use of race as a factor in social policy is unconstitutional. The Voting Rights Act - the most important piece of social legislation of this century - is critical to preserving our past gains and aiding our future development because voting rights are preservative of all other rights.

Along The Color Line

Building Latino-African-American Coalitions

BY DR. MANNING MARABLE
The future of American democracy resides within this nation's multicultural population.

At the center of our ethnic and racial pluralism is the growing relationship between Latinos and African Americans. Two recent events symbolized for me the prospects and possibilities for this dialogue between America's two largest groups of color.

This September, Concordia College of Moorhead, Minn. sponsored an educational forum on "multiculturalism," featuring a debate between myself and Linda Chavis, formerly the highest-ranking Mexican-American in the Reagan Administration and an unsuccessful Republican senatorial candidate in Maryland. Chavis had established her reputation as a conservative critic of affirmative action, and a defender of the reactionary "English Only" referendum and legislation aimed at sup-

pressing bilingualism. Before an audience of more than one thousand people, Chavis, condemned the movement toward multicultural education as "divisive."

Chavis insisted that other ethnic and religious minorities, such as Japanese Americans and Jewish Americans, had successfully overcome discrimination without affirmative action policies. But her argument failed to take into account the historic specificity of how racism was constructed within America's economy and political institutions. For both blacks and Mexican-Americans, the pattern of inequality experienced by both groups was deeply rooted inside the system of power and privilege, reinforced by violence. Conservative minorities from Chavis to Clarence Thomas refuse to define racism as "prejudice plus power," because such a definition would point toward the fundamental transformation of the power structure of white America.

Half a continent away last month,

in El Paso, Texas I was invited to be keynote speaker for the annual awards banquet of the Black El Paso Democrats. Significantly, about one third of the more than 350 guests in attendance were Mexican-Americans. In my address, I reminded the diverse group that we collectively had to espouse a politics of multicultural cooperation, constructing bridges between neighborhoods and communities which appeared to be divided by culture, class, color and language, but which actually shared basic common interests.

El Paso has a Chicano community which represents 70 percent of the city's half million residents. Yet relatively few prominent political positions are controlled by Mexican-Americans. An atmosphere of plantation politics and paternalism reminiscent of the pre-black power era still pervades Latino relations with the powerful minority "Anglo" community in Texas, as well as elsewhere throughout the U.S. Latinos in

most American cities register and vote significantly lower rates than African Americans.

However, black Americans would be making a serious mistake if we approach the Latino community as a "secondary factor" for multicultural political change and urban empowerment.

Now is the time for African American leaders to take steps to reach out to Latinos, especially the powerful Mexican-American community in the southwest. Blacks and Latinos usually share identical interests and goals on many issues: health care, job training and employment opportunities, education, affirmative action, housing and social services.

The problem with the 21st century is the problem of the "new color line" - whether blacks, Latinos and other people of color can overcome their differences to construct a new democratic, multicultural majority for America.

Letter To The Editor

Send your letters to the Editor to:
Editor, PO Box 3137, Portland, OR 97208

BY STAN FARYNA

Minorities benefitted disproportionately from the economic policies of the 80s, according to representatives of Project 21, a Washington, D.C. African-American group promoting new leadership for a challenging new century. Increase business and employment opportunities, coupled with an end to double-digit inflation made

life easier for the African-American community, the group claims.

For the past four years, cynical journalists and politicians have tried to paint the 80s, the so-called "Decade of Greed," as an era of unprecedented despair for America's disadvantaged. This assault has even spilled-over into this year's congressional campaigns with some candidates asserting that

the public faces a choice between new, positive approaches to America's economic troubles and a return to the failed "trickle-down" economics of the 1980s. Members of Project 21 challenge the notion that "trickle-down" economics failed.

"Between December 1982 and January 1989, black unemployment dropped from 20.4 percent to 11.4

percent while Hispanic unemployment dropped from 15.3 percent to 8 percent," said Edmund Peterson, chairman of Project 21 advisory council.

These statistics support what many of us in the African-American community have been saying all along - the best way to economically empower the disadvantaged is through economic growth." Peterson said.

Vantage Point

Youth and Students Should Organize

BY RON DANIELS

One of the most disturbing aspects of the current state of emergency afflicting the black nation is the precarious plight of African American youth.

To be young and African in America today is to confront conditions and dangers that are frightening to say the least. Never before have African American youth faced such an epidemic of drugs, crime, violence, incarceration and self-destruction. The brutality of generations of racist oppression and decades of blatant neglect seem to have conspired to place a large segment of this generation's black youth at risk.

In the midst of some horrendous conditions, however, there are still some very hopeful signs. Though there is an understandable concern about gansta rap and negative black music, a generation of rappers have also emerged with positive, revolutionary messages in their music in the

finest tradition of the black freedom struggle.

These rap-activists are challenging young people to become the vanguard of the black liberation movement. The resurgence of gangs with the attendant violent turf battles is also a terrifying phenomenon in black communities. On the positive side, however, the rebellion in south central Los Angeles produced a truce between the Crips and Bloods that has spawned a nationwide urban peace and social justice movement; a movement which has sponsored successful gang peace summits in several cities across the country. Rites of passage programs for young African American males and females are also spreading across the nation. After a lull in the late 70s and early 80s, black student organizations are alive again on college/university campuses and black student activism is on the rise. And, one of the most encouraging developments in recent times was the thousands of young people who flocked

to the NAACP under the leadership of Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis.

As an extension of this development, it has also been inspiring to witness the young people at work on the youth and community empowerment committee of the National African American Leadership Summit. Of the working groups within the summit process, the youth committee has been the most active and produced the most tangible proposals for action. The committee is working towards a national African American youth day, a national African American youth summit and a liberation summer project.

I take note of these positive developments because the current crisis within the black community requires and demands that a new generation of leadership forge to the forefront of the black liberation struggle. Throughout the history of our struggle, from the sit-in movement which confronted southern segregation in the U.S., to the Soweto rebel-

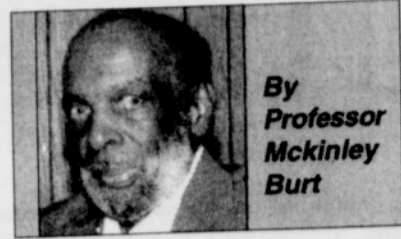
lion which rocked apartheid in South Africa, African youth have stepped forth at critical moments in the life and times of our people to give new vision, energy and vitality to the black freedom struggle. Indeed, within the U.S., it was the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee which became the cutting edge of the civil rights revolt and a key catalyst for the movement to black power, black nationalism and pan-Africanism.

It's time, past time for African American youth and students to emulate the example of their historical forebears and organize an renewed assault on the bastions of white supremacy. There are a lot of weary warriors from my generation who are anxious to share the torch and pass the torch. The struggle for the liberation of our people must continue. This generation of African American youth must become the vital link in the continuous chain of the black freedom struggle. No struggle, no progress.

perspectives The Attack Continues

"The Bell Curve" Is Latest I.Q. Salvo Against Blacks And Hispanics

With the erudite title, "The Bell Curve" Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life," two academic nobodies have thrust



By Professor Mckinley Burt

themselves into the full glare of the race and anthropological controversy that should have been over three-quarters of a century ago. But the ugly game of attacking the cognitive ability of minorities plays so well for the racist charlatans who engage in this cruel sport.

The authors of this ugly polemic in support of racial superiority, Charles Murray and Richard J. Herrnstein, write and declaim as if their respective schools had no libraries; MIT (Ph.D. in political science), Harvard (Ph.D. in psychology.) I say this because any competent investigator of the I.Q. phenomenon would not only have read the relevant works of the noted Stephen Jay Gould ("The Mismeasure of Man" - "The Pandas Thumb"), but would have studied many of the related and valuable references he gives in the first book.

Unfortunately for the profession of educational psychologist (?), the foremost practitioner of the art, Sir Cyril Burt (1883-1971), proved to be a faker of the first rank. "Strange matching and correlation of pairs of I.Q.'s, collaborators who never existed, and letters sent to himself under assumed names, congratulating him for his excellent work." (Gould p.234, etc.) However we find that Arthur Jensen, America's foremost proponent of the hereditary I.Q. theory swallowed the faker's claptrap because it was just what he wanted to hear. Calling Burt a "born nobleman, Jensen traveled the university circuit for years, making a fabulous sum on the lecture trail while denigrating the abilities of African Americans.

Now this book, *The Bell Curve*, is unique in the number and placement of disclaimers, as though the American public was even dumber than the authors claim African Americans to be. The book opens with a famous quote from the philosopher Edmund Burke (A vindication of Natural Society) which posits virtue as dependent upon the Knowledge of Truth. One turns the page to the table of contents and is immediately launched into a description of "The Cognitive Elite." This listing is immediately followed on by a list of "Cognitive Classes and Social Behaviors."

So much for political correctness, let's get down to basics and really examine this ebony rift-raft: (5) Poverty, (6) Schooling, (7) Unemployment, Idleness and Injury, (8) Family Matters, (9) Welfare Dependency, (10) Parenting, (11) Crime, (12) Civility and Citizenship. Yep, the authors get down to

cases alright, hitting all the right buttons and using all the relevant buzz words to keep the right wing politicians and media ecstatic for days on end, and that New York Times tribe of minority bashers in orgasms for a least

a year. Especially revealing is the authors placement of little boxes, "casually" inserted about the time they feel the reader is saying to himself, "hey, I've heard differently from that and from reputable researches in the education field." The following is a case in point, where you may recall that several years ago, I furnished all the documenting necessary (including citations to U.S. Military Records) to prove that both immigrants from southern Europe and blacks had their cognitive abilities disparaged by manipulative techniques. I found out that northern black army recruits outscored southern whites.

The American "Manifest Destiny Theory" (of superior races) evolved from research done by the peers of Sir Cyril Burt. Gould in his "The Mismeasure of Man, pp. 227-228" blows away the racist contention that southern Europeans are getting dumber:

"But why should recent immigrants be more stupid? To resolve this conundrum, Brigham invoked the leading theorist of racism in his day, the American Madison Grant (author of *The Passing of the Great Race*) and the aging relic from the heyday of French craniometry, Count George Vacher de Lapouge. Brigham argued that the European peoples are mixtures to varying degrees, of three original races: 1) Nordics, "a race of soldiers, sailors, adventurers and explorers, but above all, of rulers, organizers and aristocrats... feudalism, class distinctions and race pride among Europeans are traceable for the most part to the North." They are "domineering, individualistic, self-reliant... and as a result they are usually Protestants" (Grant, quoted in Brigham, p 1820; 2) Alpines, who are "submissive to authority both political and religious, being usually "Roman Catholics" (Grant, in Brigham, p.183) and whom Vacher de Lapouge described as "the perfect slave, the ideal serf, the model subject (p. 183); 3) Mediterraneans, of whom Grant approved, given their accomplishments in ancient Greece and Rome, but whom Brigham despised because their average scores were slightly lower than the Alpines.

Brigham then tried to assess the amount of Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean blood in various European peoples and to calculate the army scores on this scientific and racial basis, rather than from the political expedient of national origin.

(Continued next week)

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