

Congress - 22nd July 1967 -

(Lainy/Carmichael etc)

Samuel Grogan

Black people all over the world are discovering their humanity through their blackness. Children all over the world who are not black skinned are discovering their humanity through their madness. The white world as it is structured, systemised and stands is an unnatural myth. The black people are revolting within themselves against this myth. The children who are not making themselves available for employment or degrees or publishers are also revolting against this myth. And each of these peoples is discovering a power - that power is autonomy. To stand on a street corner and wait for no-one is powerful.

These children are evolving from every single suburb: liberal and fascist and Bircher and conservative and radical homes - and are leaving. The language in these homes has always been, will always be too functional. They cannot understand anything, nothing means anything. If the change we are all talking about in the dialectics were to come about most of the people in this room right now would not understand that change and would die. Concepts that have evolved with the evolution of this mad race of young people have been interpreted on every level imaginable - political, philosophical, psychological. There's only one level, there's no higher or lower level, there's only one level, and that's the level of each man's natural humanity. A man is one to one with himself or he's not one to one with anything else. And the black people are lucky because they're black. They can recognise their brothers in the streets - a black man sees a black man, he's a black man. A child cannot recognise cannot recognise another child because there's no age limit on this thing. So they formed all these different appearances - long hair, coloured clothes - but they treat them as they should be treated, as fads. They come and go, different styles every week. But the new reason and the new sense of

In America these children, for the first time in their lives, come out of these wombed homes and go out on the street. On the street they meet the people. Who lives on the street? Marxists and radical politicians call the street people the proletariat. On the street, like Stokely Carmichael calls them, black people. On the street, gypsies call them gypsies. On the street, hell's angels call them hell's angels. They're all people. They're all strange people, because they have nothing to do with whatever anybody says about them, except now. Now the black people are doing It. Now the children of the western world are doing It. And everybody's trying to interpret It. It can't be done. Only the people will do It and they will never tell anyone what it means.

Spontaneity, autonomy, seem to be a new type of humanity that's coming about, and today is the first day in the rest of your lives.

Lecturer: Laing/Carmichael/Ginsberg/Cooper/~~Boogin~~ ^{GROGAN}

Date: 22nd July, 1967

PANEL

Carmichael:

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Thirdly then, about the white liberals, very briefly. I think that what most white liberals do, they want to solve the issue of institutionalised racism, or institutionalised white supremacy and imperialism, so that each of them look at themselves as an individual. And the first thing they say is, "Well, I don't treat you the way other white people "treat you"/ And they somehow remind me of Pontius Pilate washing his hands when Jesus Christ was getting crucified. And I'm not sure that I hold Pontius Pilate guiltless. If in fact white liberals are not doing anything to hurt me, that's well and good, that's their problem. I am still being oppressed. And if I'm being oppressed from a society of which they are a part, and I'm fighting that society obviously I'm fighting them. What in fact is happening is that white liberals are incapable of taking a stand one way or another, and so their job is to stand on the fence as long as they can; because they can't make a decision to in fact ideologically fight the west.

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Then finally, if my words seem harsh, I would just like to quote one line from Berthold Brecht in a poem that he wrote called To Posterity. In the last lines, Brecht says to the world:

"Please do not judge us harshly, for those of us who wanted to lay a foundation for kindness could not ourselves be kind."

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Emmet Grogan: Black people all over the world are discovering their humanity through their blackness. Children all over the world who are not black skinned are discovering their humanity through their madness. The white world as it is structured, systemised and stands is an unnatural myth. The black people are revolting within themselves against this myth. The children who are not making themselves available for employment or degrees

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But there's no problem about that,
Ronnie Laing: there's no intellectual or human difficulty, when someone says "If you do that just once more you're going to get it back just as you gave it". What however we do have to spend some time on because it is by no means obvious - by no means - why and how this inhuman violence is perpetrated at the periphery of the empire or the interface with sub-groups within it. You can do a number of things about that. Without knowing why, you can fight back - if someone draws a gun on you you can draw a gun on them; as John Gerassi was saying earlier you can plan that you're going to hit first next time. You can line up with flowers and use flower power against police power. / But some of the most significant contributions this week were some of the ones were felt by a number of people to be the most boring.

They were attempts to find out what - where the money is, where is the tie up between industry, the military, racist ideologies, the economic policies: the link-up between economics, the industrial-military complex, and the link-up between these massive bodies of corporate interests and vested-interest groups, and how this is mediated through to smaller groups and so on. And this is very difficult to do. As far as I know there's no economist or intellectual in the whole of this country,

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pg8 of the U.K. who has come out with a systematic detailed analysis of that sector of human affairs. There's not a single person at the London School of Economics, as far as I know, seriously engaged in that. / ^{fix in} How this is extremely serious and perhaps not by any means accidental. / ^{fix ends} But we have to find these things out; these things however are difficult to find out, because we don't know whether the books are cooked or not, and we're talking about things that no-one can actually see, touch, taste or smell, - they're invisible. A complex of economic tie-ups, interlocked

pg10 'it's just where they're sent - and within about 6 months of training they will be skilled technologists of mass murder. And any child is expected, by the training that they've had in the family and the schools and all the sort of propaganda these involve whereby they've become so brainwashed that anyone, everyone, is ripe to do this. Now that is an extraordinary achievement and I don't know any other group of people who have managed it that way.....we may grow fat on fear and it goes into our hearts, and the cholesterol in our hearts is producing the death rate among the middle-class American male at a higher rate and at a younger age than, as far as we know, any people who have eaten so much have ever died so quickly, of heart-failure,. And it's a failure of the heart, and it's biochemical, cultural, socio-economic and everything else.

pg13 Grogan? In order to change a culture, violence is necessary. Violence comes in many forms - a matter of taste and style. Liberals who live in the fat pigs called Western World - England, Europe, Americas - have been afraid of a violence, that violence was suicide. They were afraid they were going to kill themselves when they went to take a pee in the bathroom. Well, now there are a few peoples who are killing them, who want to kill them. One of them is the black people, who are sick of their fatness, and the other one is their children, who actually do kill them by walking down the back porch steps and never looking back. Violence is and will always be necessary to tear away the shreds of myth and absurdity that we've been encased in since we were born. So everybody is violent in their own way - we live, we die, you know.

pg24 LAING: The forms of politics that the Western World has contrived have been very very well - are very functional to induce a sense of helplessness in everyone except those who have got the power - who also sometimes have nightmares and feel helpless because

for the social forces that force themselves through him.

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✓ Carmichael: What you have are people groping around talking about dropping out and turning on. Black people around the world ~~are turning on~~ have been turning on since they were 13, there's nothing big about turning on - absolutely. And I'm completely befuddled when I find some young white kid, 18 years old, who just had his stack of marijuana, or his first draw of hashish, who's talking about how great it is to turn on. I've been turning on since I was 13, and I was getting high, that's all.

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Ginsberg: Do you want him not to turn on at 18?

✓ Carmichael: He should have been turning on since he was 11. That's irrelevant. What I'm saying is that why all of a sudden talking about turning on to help you find your way. I've been turning on since I was 13, and I still haven't found my way because the structure is still oppressing me. What's happening now is that the people who say they're dropping out are turning on and expecting that to be their excuse or their escapes out of society. That is absurd at best, ludicrous at least.

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Laing:since I'm living in a society where I can walk along the street without being laughed at and being beaten up and without being ridiculed - then I have the opportunity to try to figure out what the hell this society is about, and with a certain calmness and urgency I can do that. I think it is undoubtedly more difficult to do that if you're already being beaten up. How can you think when the blows are being rained directly upon you? you've got to fight back - and I don't see what all the argument is with Stokely Carmichael.

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Question:the way that the so-called Black Power, so-called

violent orators operate is getting them nowhere in terms of their own aspirations or nowhere in terms of white liberals fears. If I may exemplify, Stokely said - well he says things and as soon as - well I'd better move away actually because someone might hit me - as soon as Stokely makes a statement, however, obvious, however inane, then there's a small group down here who somehow feel obliged to stand up and say "Yeah Black Power, man". Now I may be a white liberal, but what I will ask Stokely is, what are you? You're not a Black liberal I don't think he's a black fascist as some people label him, but I think he may be a black totalitarian.....if you want to beat something, in terms of violence, then you have to become a mirror image of it. If you want to beat the fascists, then you have to use fascist methods.Now I think if Stokely wants to get anywhere then he should do what he says, be a violent man. Only a few years back Stokely was in SNCC, he was non-violent, he went down on the pavement and he got arrested. What I want to ask him, this is my question, is - since you became a so-called violent man, Stokely, since you started advocating Black Power, have you been arrested? Have you got a rifle? Have you come down in the streets of Newark and sniped from the windows? With ~~the~~ all the kids who are starving?

Carmichael: Yeah, I was arrested before I came here for inciting a riot because I tried to kill a cop.

Question: Yes, but did you have a rifle?

Carmichael: I've always got stuff with me.

Question: I don't mind you advocating violence if you take the risk. The only risk you have is of becoming a martyr....
...I am not advocating violence.....That is why I am not killing
.....in Madison or in Eden rather. You are. YOU ARE

Carmichael: I asked you, how did you stop it, not what you advocated. Have you stopped it? That's the question. What have you done to stop it? Oh, you don't want to stop white violence, do you. Why don't you stop it?..... Because it's my survival I'm fighting for, white boy, that's what I've been fighting for....Have you been fighting for it? Have you stopped any of it? You are the descendants of the violent society, have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? With all of your flowers, with all of your marches, with all of your love, have you altered it? If you've stopped it, I wouldn't try to stop it. Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it?

Ginsberg: I think the fact remains that neither the white boys, nor Stokely Carmichael, nor Black Power, have stopped the violence which continues today both ⁱⁿ this hall and in Vietnam.

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Laing: The whole that one's included in is the one that is included in it.E's ridiculous - it's a good joke, I'm sorry Paul Goodman doesn't think he's playing games with words because I would appreciate it more if he did think he was. I don't see what one else can possibly do with words. By a game I don't mean a deliberate contrived deception, you know, I mean that in space and time we're operating with words which make distinctions, and in so doing that seems to me a very fine game. And the final - the game - putting this particular sort of idiom of words in a way I don't particularly like doing - seems to me a sort of game of hide and seek, where one finally discovers that what one has been seeking is the one that has been seeking. That there is in that final moment no distinction between the seeker and the sought, so that one can't find one's self since one is the self that one has been trying to find. And one can't lose one's self and never has lost one's self since one is the self that is trying to find the self that is lost. And that the fruits of the tree of Knowledge we were given this morning seem to rest on the illusion that the fruit of the tree is to be found by grasping it, on top of two or three boxes or technology - not realizing that the fruit that one is trying to grasp is the very grasp that is trying to grasp it. That the fruit is the apple of one's own eye.=