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Two Declarations of Independence: The Racialized Foundations of American National Culture

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Begin with the facts. The founding Hollywood movie, Birth of a Nation, celebrates the Ku Klux Klan. The first talking picture, The Jazz Singer, was a blackface film. The all-time top film box office success is Gone with the Wind. Blackface minstrelsy was the first and, before movies, the most popular form of mass culture in the United States. Burnt cork and the frontier myth together produced a self-conscious, distinctive, American national culture, the culture that gave birth to Hollywood. Blackface minstrelsy and the myth of the West declared nationalist independence from the Old World. Whereas the political Declaration of Independence made an anti-colonial revolution in the name of the equality of all men, the declaration of cultural independence emerged not to free oppressed folk but to constitute national identity out of their subjugation. White supremacy, white over black and red, was the content of this national culture; its form was black over white, blacking up, and Indianization: "The wilderness . . . strips off the garments of civilization and arrays [the colonist] in the hunting shirt and mocassin," wrote Frederick Jackson Turner. "The outcome is . . . a new product that is American."[1]

So much is indisputable in spite of political agendas that would wish American history away. How to understand the conflicted relations that the history of the United States ought to force on our attention -- between equality and white supremacy, politics and culture, racial domination and racial desire, the two declarations of independence -- so much is legitimately contested ground.

Both the political and cultural declarations of independence crossed racial lines, the latter displaying the racialized bodies whited out beneath the former's universalist claims. "That old Declaration of Independence" extended what Lincoln called "the father of all moral principle" to those not "descended by blood from our ancestors."[2] Speaking for equality, the Declaration promised that immigrants could become Americans and black could turn white. Minstrelsy, showing that for some Americans blackness was only skin deep, allowed whites to turn black and back again. Whether one understands blackface as the alternative to the Declaration or the return of its repressed, the two forms together provided Americans with an imagined community, a national home. But the forms that transported settlers and immigrants beyond their Old World identities rested on the fixed statuses of those who did not choose to make the journey, native and African Americans. And the differentiation of white immigrant workers from colored chattel, organic to the creation of race-based slavery at the origins of the United States, repeated itself -- under burnt cork and Jim Crow -- for the waves of European immigrants that came to these shores after legal slavery had come to an end. The people

held in bondage and denied all citizenship rights fronted for the making of Americans. Also a metaphorical crossdressing, and in no way merely second in importance to minstrelsy, the frontier myth made out of Indian dispossession a politics and culture that both overlaps with and departs from the race relations visible under literal and figurative burnt cork. The frontier myth is chronicled elsewhere; here, introducing the United States in blackface, my subject is the relationship between the two Declarations of Independence, the bearing of our racialized national culture on the color-blind invocation of individual rights.

The First Declaration of Independence

The two Declarations of Independence appear within the founding sacred document of American national identity. The manifesto signed at Independence Hall on July 4, 1776 derived "equal and inalienable" rights from the "state of nature." But the original American state of nature on which Thomas Jefferson stood spawned not only individual rights but also Indian dispossession and chattel slavery. The slave owner who fathered the Declaration of Independence, by conjoining slavery to national right, bequeathed to Americans a doubled national birth in hereditary group privilege and individualism. The Declaration of Independence, demanding freedom from enslavement to England for a new nation built on slavery, is the core product of that mesalliance in political theory, just as blackface is its central cultural progeny.

The racialized foundations of the United States erupt on the surface of the document declaring our national birth. The Declaration is now a visibly hysterical text, since the editors of Jefferson's autobiography (in which Jefferson included the Declaration) use three type faces to distinguish between three drafts: the passages of Jefferson's original that remain in the final version, those excised by the convention, and those added to Jefferson's language. Although the entire Declaration shows the marks of multiple authorship, only the section on slavery is rendered incoherent by their omnipresence. Jefferson himself sought to blame the King of England for inflicting slavery and the slave trade on the colonies, although the crown's effort to regulate the trade in slaves, sugar, rum, and molasses was actually a cause of the Revolution. But Jefferson's displacement of the crime was too antislavery for other southern delegates, and the document signed at Independence Hall retains only the accusation against George III of inciting slave insurrection.[3]

The Declaration of Independence, as its multiple drafts expose, bequeathed a Janus-faced legacy to the new nation -- the logic that the equality to which white men were naturally born could be extended to women and slaves, and the foundation of white freedom on black servitude. Slavery's deep embeddedness in the United States produced the Declaration's slide from condemning slavery for inflicting bondage to blaming slaves for demanding freedom. As that reversal infected Jefferson himself, moreover, it took a sexualized turn. Faced with southern resistance, including

his own, to ending hereditary servitude, Jefferson grounded slavery in an irreedeemable defect in black bodies that neither conversion to Christianity nor emancipation could cure. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia appended to his proposal to emancipate slaves the speculations of "science" on the inferiority of Africans in "nature." Because black men desired white women, wrote Jefferson, they could not be freed without "staining the blood" of their former masters. Although the father of the Declaration favored returning freed slaves to Africa, his twin policies of segregation -- slave and Indian removal -- worked only in Indian policy. Jefferson's wish to "remove [blacks] beyond the reach of mixture," conflicting as it did with actual white dependence on African Americans, issued forth in a quadruple fantasy -- that interracial sex was a barrier to emancipation, that it stained blood, that it was driven by black and not white practice, and that colonization could solve the problem.[4]

Slaveowners like Jefferson -- his father-in-law, his nephew, and likely the father of the Declaration himself -- produced children "descended by blood from our ancestors" whose condition, Lincoln notwithstanding, followed that of their slave mothers. Claiming that it was the black desire for white that required the separation of the races, Jefferson inverted a white desire for black. That desire took the forms of labor and sex, chattel slavery and miscegenation, in Jefferson's time. As expressive performance -- blackface minstrelsy -- white possession of black would help produce a second, cultural, declaration of independence

during the age of Jackson.

The Second Declaration of Independence

Indian land and black labor generated the Euro-Afro-Americas trade that laid the foundation for commodity agriculture, industrial production, and state power in the United States. Slavery not only financed and undergirded the American revolution; by keeping the propertyless proletariat racially stigmatized and in chains, as Edmund Morgan showed, it permitted the assertion of natural rights for the white population without threatening social revolution at home.[5] Chattel slavery, the expropriation of Indian and Mexican land, and the repressive use and exclusion of Chinese- and Mexican-American labor were the conditions of American freedom rather than exceptions to it.

Racial subordination formed the American nation, giving racist stereotypes an intractable material base resistant to the wish for equality. Thus white predation was inverted and assigned to colored nature, most famously in the attributions to Indians of violence and lack of respect for the property of others, and in the assignment to blacks of laziness and the sexual desire for white women. The fantasy of racial contamination names, against itself, the contaminated origins of the United States in white supremacy. But a paradox lies at the heart of the racial basis of the formation of the United States. For the development of a distinctive national identity, the emancipation of the United States from colonial dependence on England, derived not only from

expropriated Indian land and black labor, but also from a proclaimed intimacy between whites and peoples of color. The society that developed materially from establishing rigid boundaries between the white and dark races developed culturally from transgressing those boundaries. Hysteria over the mixing of bodily fluids issued forth in racial crossdressing. The supremacist elevation of the white above the inferior races constituted red and black as points of attraction. White men entered, in sexual and theatrical invasion, the black bodies they had consigned to physicalized inferiority. Minstrelsy practiced what James Snead calls "'exclusionary emulation,' the principle whereby the power and trappings of black culture are imitated while at the same time their black originators are segregated away and kept at a distance." To adapt Milton Gordon's terms, stuctural segregation for racial minorities engendered cultural assimilation in the racial interactions that constituted the dominant culture.[6] Racial aversion alone cannot account for the American history of race-based inequality. American identity was formed as well out of destructive racial desire.

Westward expansion, market revolution, and political democratization produced a national culture in the antebellum United States. Ralph Waldo Emerson's demand that intellectual "emancipation" follow political freedom, Herman Melville's insistence that "the Declaration of Independence makes a difference," found fulfillment in Jefferson's dual legacy of natural rights and natural, race-based, inequality -- not only in

the American literary Renaissance, but also in the "American School" of anthropology that derived racial hierarchy from scientific measurements of the skull. As artists and scientists were striving for international renown, moreover, the mass public was devouring sensation novels, reform tracts, domestic melodramas, gothic stories, captivity narratives, and frontier tall tales. The canonized writers themselves drew upon "a raw and vibrant Americanism" in popular literature, writes David Reynolds, to combat staid, genteel European imports. The Age of Jackson produced the frontier hero -- Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Leatherstocking. But when James Gordon Bennett decided in the 1830s to "blacken his face," to attract an audience for the New York Herald with scandal and sensation, his turn of phrase pointed to the most popular and nationalist form of all. For the Jacksonian period was marked by urban as well as westward expansion. And it also gave birth -- in the cities, not the countryside, among the new working class and not the pioneers, in relation to African not native Americans -- to the first form of American mass culture: blackface minstrelsy. Like Leslie Fiedler's classic American literature, minstrelsy was an all-male entertainment form, combining racial and gender crossdressing, male bonding and racial exclusion, misogyny and drag.[7]

Actors had blacked up on the English stage since the early seventeenth century, the dawn of English involvement in the slave trade. But there was no effort to root blackface characters in Afro-American life until the resurgence of American nationalism in

the wake of the War of 1812. The Age of Jackson, which began a decade before Old Hickory first ran for president, with the slave-owning General's nationalist military campaigns against English and native Americans, combined political and cultural democratization. American blackface is a product of that moment.

Yankee, backwoodsman, and blackface minstrel, emerging simultaneously in assertions of American nationalism, were the first voices of the American vernacular against aristocratic Europe. Each proclaiming a regional identity, Northeast, West, and South, each also came to signify the new nation as a whole. The Yankee became Uncle Sam. The backwoodsman metamorphosized into the western hero of the frontier myth. But both these figures were surpassed in national appeal by the minstrel. Edwin Forrest was, in 1820, the first actor on the American stage to impersonate a plantation slave. Three years later, T.D. Rice, claiming to imitate a crippled black hostler, began to "jump Jim Crow." Coming out of the commercial bustle on the Ohio River, wearing Uncle Sam's red, white, and blue striped trousers and a blue coat beneath his black face, the enormously popular "Daddy" Rice combined Yankee, frontiersman, and minstrel into a single national icon. Dan Emmett introduced the blackface minstrel troupe in New York in 1842, and minstrels performed at the White House two years later. For the next half century "our only original American institution," as one minstrel called it, remained the most popular mass spectacle in the United States.[8]

The "cry was that we have no NATIVE MUSIC," proclaimed the

preface to an antebellum book of "plantation songsters," "until our countrymen found a triumphant vindicating APOLLO in the genius of E.P. Christy, who . . . was the first to catch our native airs as they floated wildly, or hummed in the balmy breezes of the sunny south."[9] Among the most popular of the early minstrels, Christy turned black to white (advantage). He promoted America by advertising himself. Burnt cork, so the minstrel claimed, gave Appolonian form to the Dionysiac African, making art from his nature. The Apollo who turned the sounds of slaves into music supplied the United States with its original national culture.

Minstrelsy's successors, vaudeville, tin pan alley, motion pictures, and radio, did not so much displace as incorporate blackface. It also spread to the urban nightlife that, at the turn of the twentieth century, drew the respectable working and middle classes out of their homes and into places of public entertainment. Only in "the world of commercial amusements . . . that straddled the social divisions of class and ethnicity," writes David Nasaw, "could [urban dwellers] submerge themselves in a corporate body, an 'American' public." The blacked up white body unified the body politic and purified it of black physical contamination. Public sites signified their respectability by barring or segregating African Americans in the audience as they presented "darkey shows" and "coon songs" on stage. Occasional African Americans, like Billy Kersands and Ernest Hogan, performed in blackface or wrote coon songs for whites. Hogan's "All Coons Look Alike to Me" swept the country in the 1890s. "The experience of white solidarity

inside every performance," as Warren Goldstein describes the vaudeville show, "forge[d] a newly American identity . . . while building and reinforcing . . . the unbreachable wall separating whites from African Americans." [10]

Ethnic stereotypes performed in blackface were a vaudeville staple. Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, white men with black voices, invented the serial form that established a distinctive niche for radio. Their Amos 'n' Andy became the most popular radio show at the end of the jazz age and the beginning of the New Deal. Show Boat, the first Broadway musical play (where the story was more than a pro forma excuse for the songs), premiered the same year as The Jazz Singer, 1927. Show Boat's subplot featured one major trope in racial mixing, the tragic mulatta who tries to pass; the play utilized the other, blacking up (The Jazz Singer's subject), since Tess Gardella, billed as "Aunt Jemima," played Queenie in blackface. As Show Boat also testifies, white Americans created a national popular music by capitalizing black roots, from Stephen Foster's "Oh! Susanna" and "Old Folks at Home," performed by minstrels in the age of Jackson, to Irving Berlin's "Alexander's Ragtime Band," George Gershwin's "Swanee," and Jerome Kern's "Old Man River" during the blackface revitalization of the early twentieth century, to Elvis Presley and his successors, who took off from black music and performance styles after literal blackface had lost national legitimacy. Most important of all in the first half of the twentieth century were motion pictures.[11]

The Old Hollywood

Hollywood's importance in making Americans, in giving those from diverse points of class, ethnic, and geographic origin a common imagined community, is by now a commonplace. What is not normally noticed is that four race movies -- Uncle Tom's Cabin (1902), Birth of a Nation (1915), The Jazz Singer (1927), and Gone with the Wind (1939) -- provide the scaffolding for American film history. They instantiate the transformative moments in American film -- combining box office success, critical recognition of revolutionary significance, formal innovations, and shifts in the cinematic mode of production.[12]

Whereas the racialized character of mass entertainment appeared on the blackface surface in the decades surrounding the Civil War, motion pictures in classic Hollywood normally buried their racial foundations in white over black. Romances, melodramas, social problem pictures, westerns and other adventure stories, historical epics, gangster and detective films, comedies -- it is rare to find black and white (in the racial sense) at the center of these genre films. But the transformative moments go beneath the marginal, every-day, African American presence on screen -- as servants, entertainers, and buffoons. When American film took its great leaps forward, it returned to its buried origins. Then it exposed the cinematic foundations of American freedom in American slavery.

With Edwin S. Porter's trilogy of 1902-03, encompassing the West in The Great American Train Robbery, the city in The Life of an American Fireman, and the South in Uncle Tom's Cabin, the

history of American movies begins. It begins with race. Porter introduced national narratives and formal innovations into the welter of actualities (real and staged), foreign imports, cinemographic tricks, and unmotivated short scenes of comedy and violence that comprised primitive cinema. At the dawn of the twentieth century the artisan-director shot three brief movies that together lay cinematic claim to the entire American landscape. He filmed, successively, The Life of an American Fireman, a semi-documentary about the modern city, Uncle Tom's Cabin, an entirely familiar drama set (as his subtitle announced) "in slavery days," and The Great Train Robbery, the first important movie western and the first blockbuster film. The overwhelming majority of early motion pictures, whether real or staged documentaries or filmed vaudeville routines, did not tell stories; each segment of Porter's trilogy did, for Porter was initiating the shift to the cinematic narratives that would shortly dominate the industry. Porter was not just telling any stories, moreover, but those that composed national mythography. He was bringing into the new century and the new medium the three figures who had long defined American regional identity, Yankee (modernized as urban-dweller), frontiersman, and minstrel.[13]

Porter chose techniques that matched the already-existing regional symbolisms. Although the most lavish and expensive film to date, and the first to use intertitles, Uncle Tom's Cabin was formally the least innovative of Porter's three breakthrough films. Nothing that happens in Uncle Tom's Cabin (with the possible

exception of slaves picking cotton) had not already happened in stage productions of the play. The close-up, a fundamental departure from the stage, shows a hand pulling down the fire alarm in Life of an American Fireman; there are no close-ups in Uncle Tom's Cabin. The outdoor feel of modern life is made visible in Fireman's documentary shots of city streets, not on the plantation.[14]

Set in the past and in the South, Uncle Tom's Cabin is static; set in the metropolitan present and on the moving frontier, the other two films are dynamic. For excitement about modern speed and the camera's ability to capture it, one must turn to the speeding train and racing horsemen in the western, the firemen riding to the rescue in the urban. Perhaps displaying the heterogeneity of modern urban life and the absence of a singular bourgeois subjectivity, Fireman shows the rescue of its woman and child from more than one perspective.[15] Uncle Tom's Cabin has, by contrast, a single point of view, and it is not an abolitionist one. The conflict in the film occurs not between anti-slavery heroes and pro-slavery villains, but rather between the plantation and the outsiders who threaten it. Those menacing the slaves intrude into the happy, interracial, plantation home. The plantation features emotional, physical contact among Tom, Little Eva ("Tom and Eva in the Garden"), and St. Clair, and (in several scenes) happy, dancing, slaves. (The combination of the two modes would reach the screen again in the enormously popular 1930s Shirley Temple/Bojangles Robinson southerns.) Whether as

entertainers or protagonists, all the blacks are whites in blackface; the prefilmic form of popular entertainment most organically incorporated into Uncle Tom's Cabin is minstrelsy.

The two meanings of plantation domesticity -- interracial intimacy and blackface entertainment -- come together around death. Loyal slaves are gathered around Little Eva as angels carry her away. Tom sees when he is dying visions of his earthly and heavenly home. Porter filmed adventure in the city and on the frontier; his love and death on the American plantation dramatizes domestic loss. Uncle Tom's Cabin imagines American community in the historical and personal past -- the lost child, Little Eva, and the maternal, sacrificed, Uncle Tom. These figures had such a hold on the American imagination -- coming as they did from the most popular novel and set of touring theatricals of the nineteenth century -- that seven more silent film versions would follow Porter's in the next quarter-century.[16]

Porter filmed three, separate, regional identities; D.W. Griffith combined them into a single, national epic. Birth of a Nation (1915) originated Hollywood cinema in the ride of the Ku Klux Klan against black political and sexual revolution. "The longest, costliest, most ambitious, most spectacular American movie to date," its technique, expense, length, mass audience, critical reception, and influential historical vision all identify Birth as the single most important movie ever made. Uncle Tom's Cabin, with Porter at the camera, derived from the artisanal mode of film production; Birth confirmed the period of directorial control.[17]

Both Porter and Griffith line up the plantation with loss and defeat, but unlike Porter, Griffith brings white supremacy into the modern age. Griffith's new nation is not born from northern victory in the Civil War, but from the ride (derived from The Battle of Elderbush Gulch, his own western movie) of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan rides to rescue not a mother and child threatened by fire but a white woman menaced by a black rapist. As if to underline the status of the black menace as white fantasy, Birth's two rapists and mulatto seductress are whites in blackface. White sheets smash blacked-up faces in the climax of Birth of a Nation. Griffith's fundamental contribution to full-length motion pictures was to join "the intimate and the epic"[18]; he linked the personal and the historical through racial fantasy. Transcendentalizing the material birth pangs of immigrant, industrial America, Griffith supplied the postbellum United States with its national myth of origins.

Just as Griffith emancipated cinema from its dependence on pre-filmic entertainment, so he rose above the film audience of which Porter was a participant part. Porter was a working camera-man, editor, projectionist, and bricoleur. There was little division of labor in a Porter production. Griffith, the first director as star, attracted mass media attention and presided over massively capitalized projects. Film historians argue over whether films before Griffith actually spoke for their immigrant working class audiences and not just to them. What is certain is that the period in film history that followed Griffith brought immigrants to

Hollywood power. By the 1920s men like Porter and Griffith had lost out to immigrant Jews, whose rise to the top of the motion picture business coincided with the development of the Hollywood studio system.[19]

The men creating mass production studios were rising from their working class and petty entrepreneurial roots to positions as captains of industry. They were transforming local scenes of maker/distributor/audience interaction into centralized hierarchies that revolved around producer power, mass markets, and star fame. As was not the case with the artisanal mode of film production (and with the exception of certain directors and stars), a clear line now separated owners and executives from workers. Given the importance of the immigrant working class as an audience for early cinema, that immigrant Jews should come to dominate Hollywood only once they left the ghetto behind (and once the film audience included the middle class as well) is from one point of view a paradox. From another -- that of Louis B. Mayer when he changed his birthday from the day of his first birth to July 4 -- it exemplifies the American dream.

That dream of ethnic Americanization, the moguls' own story, is the subject of the first talking picture, the founding movie of Hollywood sound, The Jazz Singer (1927). The Jazz Singer was a pure product of the studio system, a production assembly line that turned out film after film. Alan Crosland directed The Jazz Singer, but Warner Bros. was in charge. But if the genius of the system, in Tom Schatz's phrase,[20] produced The Jazz Singer, the

film celebrated an individual genius, Al Jolson. The blackface performer Jolson was the most popular entertainer of his day, and The Jazz Singer turned his success story into a generic family melodrama of immigrant generational revolt. Whereas Uncle Tom's Cabin and Birth of a Nation used blackface unselfconsciously, innocently exposing the white stake in possessing imaginary blackness, The Jazz Singer makes the blackface method its subject. Burnt cork is the magical substance and transitional object that catalyzes the jazz singer's American family romance, his wish to replace his natural parents, give birth to himself, and -- singing "My Mammy" to his immigrant Jewish mother -- emotionally to negotiate the resulting breach. Reborn in blackface, the jazz singer acquires an American wife as he makes melting pot music for his new American home. Burnt cork initiates him into intense expressive states -- the melancholy of loss, the agony of conflict, and the ecstacy of paradise regained. To make himself over into "a new product that is American" (in the urban version of Turner's frontier) the jazz singer puts on the mask of the black American who, as the condition for ethnic mobility, must remain fixed in place. Intermarriage between Jew and gentile symbolizes the melting pot; there is no intermarriage between black and white.[21]

Birth of a Nation was the most widely seen movie of the silent period, The Jazz Singer broke all existing box office records, and Jolson's blackface sequel, The Singing Fool (1928), became the leading money-maker between Birth of a Nation and Gone with the Wind (1939). That David O. Selznick production was the first

example of the producer unit system, the method of making films that would come to dominate the new Hollywood, where an entrepreneur assembled the team for a single blockbuster. Gone with the Wind remains in constant dollars Hollywood's all-time top box office success.[22]

By the time Selznick made Gone with the Wind, the racial formula for cinematic breakthrough was fully in place. Gone With the Wind established the future of the technicolor spectacular by returning to American film origins in the plantation myth. Jolson sang "My Mammy" in blackface to his immigrant Jewish mother. Selznick hired Hattie McDaniel because he could "smell the magnolias" when the actress came dressed for her screen test "as a typical Old Southern Mammy." Critics of the racial politics of the Selznick production were overwhelmed by the film's popular success and McDaniel's best-supporting-actress Academy Award. Although the producer compared the objections to Gone with the Wind to the campaign against Birth of a Nation, Selznick also insisted he had "cleaned up" Margaret Mitchell's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel. Turning the book's black rapist into a poor white, having a black man run to rescue Scarlett instead of to rape her, Selznick portrayed his black characters as "loveable, faithful, high-minded people" who, as he put it, "would leave no impression but a very nice one." Black sexual aggression menaces white freedom in Birth; black loyalty supports white freedom in The Jazz Singer and Gone with the Wind; it perhaps even allows, Diane Roberts has suggested, a safe sexual darkening of Scarlett and Rhett. Mammy is Scarlett's

foundation; she is the ground for the jazz singer's mourning, for his losing and finding a home. Although Selznick replaced Jolson's blackface mammy with the putative real thing, far from playing themselves in Gone with the Wind, black actors and actresses were assigned roles minstrelsy had already defined.[23]

In the foundational movies of classic Hollywood, then, as in the routine studio product, black Americans swing between positive and negative poles, from "benevolence, harmless and servile guardianship, and endless love," in Toni Morrison's words, to "insanity, illicit sexuality, and chaos."[24] The first movies to attack race prejudice, made in the wake of World War II, challenged Hollywood's imaginary white Negroes in literal or figurative blackface. But such films as Body and Soul, Pinky, Gentleman's Agreement, and Home of the Brave bore an unacknowledged indebtedness to the tradition they wanted to repudiate.[25] The civil rights political victories of the 1960s, far more revolutionary, took the most important strides toward racial equality since the end of Reconstruction. The civil rights movement failed to reshape the United States, however, producing in reaction not the multicultural regime that many commentators imagine with horror but rather a politics of binary racial polarization.

The two Declarations of American Independence always enjoyed relations of mutual support -- racism justifying the exclusion of peoples of color from Jefferson's apparent universalism, popular culture supplying the low bodies dematerialized in high-principled

abstraction. Blackface represented in culture those denied self-representation in politics. Discrediting literal burnt cork did not shatter the deep structure of American history, in which the black role must serve whites. The defeat of legalized white supremacy did make a difference, however. Whereas Jim Crow made radical the extension of the first Declaration of Independence to African Americans, current invocations of "civil rights" avoid responsibility for the open racial secret by clothing their demonology in color-blind wrappings. As long as pervasive material inequality between whites and peoples of color coexists with formal legal equality, racialized representations will shadow the language of individual rights to dominate American politics and culture.

Whereas the exclusion of blacks from American politics had permitted cleavages among whites, the entrance of African Americans onto the political stage in the 1960s introduced a race-based regime into national two-party competition. A majority among whites has voted against a majority among peoples of color in every Presidential election since 1964, and racial codes dominate public discourse. Moreover, just as blackface Americanized European immigrants by underlining the line between white and black, so the new immigration (that also dates from the civil rights era, from immigration law changes of the 1960s) has intensified the divide between model minority members on the one side, "illegal aliens," "welfare queens," and violent black men on the other.

The New Face of America

From one point of view the civil rights victories and the new immigration have extended the melting pot to the peoples of color excluded from the old face of America, blackface. In November 1993 Time magazine published a special issue, The New Face of America, on the problem of race in the United States. The cover, visualizing the new immigration, placed a series of nationalities -- "Middle Eastern, Italian, African, Vietnamese, Anglo-Saxon, Chinese, Hispanic" -- across the top and down the side of the cover, women along the x and men along the y axes of the chromosome-linked graph. The software, "Morph" (for Metamorphosis, 2.0), produced at the meeting points of the lines on the graph a computer simulation of the results of intermarriage. Time's cover girl, her large image superimposed on forty-nine small ones (adding up to the number of states in the Union), comprised the all-American synthesis.[26]

What might seem a bold depiction of miscegenation in the new melting pot was, however, doubly contaminated. For one thing, the pictorialization of distinctive national origins was a throwback to nineteenth-century theories of pure racial types. Just as earlier scientific racism gave precise numerical values to brain size and facial bone angles, so Time produced a "new face of America" that was "15% Anglo-Saxon, 17.5% Middle Eastern, 17.5% African, 7.5% Asian, 35% Southern European, and 7.5% Hispanic." This mathematics was doubly imaginary, since the percentages bore no relation to any actual or projected distribution of minority groups in the United States.

Time's foray into computer dating might seem to indicate approval of the miscegenation that scientific racism condemned, for the magazine's art directors confessed to falling in love with the cover girl they had created. However -- second problem -- the price of the attraction was a similar look across the supposedly different nationalities. In the enlarged living color chart inside the magazine, all 49 faces, even those born before computer sex, are rendered in polite, pastel shades of light yellow-brown. (Choosing original pure types of the same, youthful age intensifies the sameness displayed in the name of variety.) Not only are the two photographed "Africans" close in color to the unmorphed Asians, Hispanics, and Anglo-Saxons, but their features are Caucasian as well. The Time table not only whitens its Africans; it blots out the two largest racial minorities in the United States by subsuming (dark-skinned) Latinos under "Hispanic" and including no one labelled African American at all. The intermarriage chart purifies African-Americans in words (by calling them Africans) as it eliminates the dark majority in images. (They would return in the infamous darkening -- blacking up -- of O.J. Simpson's face on the Time cover a year later.)[27]

Celebrating the melting pot by whitening its blacks, Time is inadvertantly faithful to the historic character of assimilation. Since well before the classic intermarriage play, The Melting Pot (1908) and The Jazz Singer, marriage across ethnic and religious lines has symbolized the making of Americans. African Americans were excluded from that process, however, legally as well as

symbolically; twenty-four states forbad white and black intermarriage until the 1967 Supreme Court decision, Loving v. Virginia.[28] The Time cover responds to the changed legal and moral climate by homogenizing all its peoples of color and making the black man and woman invisible.

Nonetheless, the repressed returns in the title Time gave to its new melting pot, "Rebirth of a Nation." The magazine was invoking (without, one assumes, full consciousness of its meaning) the original Hollywood Birth of a Nation. In Rebirth as in Birth, moreover, the inclusion of some is built upon the violent exclusion of others, for even after restricting marriage partners by age, color, and aesthetic ideal of facial beauty, Morph still produces monsters. Only now, in keeping with homophobic demonology, they are sexual instead of racial. Just as Birth invented and lynched a black rapist beast, so Morph generated and its programmers destroyed a grotesque alterego of the cover girl, "a distinctively feminine face -- sitting atop a masculine neck and hairy chest." Time's jokey, eugenic-inflected elimination of the monstrous birth stands in for the unacknowledged racial cleansing.

The New Hollywood

Racialized political discourse, taking on new life in the 1960s, has intensified in recent years -- as is evident simply by listing the names (in chronological order) of Willie Horton, Clarence Thomas, Rodney King, Jimmie Ray Rector, Lani Guinier, Jocelyn Elders, and O.J. Simpson.[29] Polarization masquerading as

multiculturalism, Time's 1993 Thanksgiving issue introduces the racial politics and culture that climaxed in Simpson's year, 1994. Gaining control of both houses of Congress for the first time in forty years, Republicans initiated the Contract with America to which the attack on affirmative action belongs.

1994 political science: California governor Pete Wilson, who favors denying citizenship to children born in the United States of "illegal aliens," successfully promotes a state initiative depriving undocumented immigrants of health, education, and welfare benefits and requiring nurses, doctors, teachers, and social workers to turn suspects (identifiable by their color and accent) in. He also sponsors an initiative requiring life sentences for all those convicted of three violent crimes, a law supported at the national level by President Bill Clinton. Clinton's 1994 crime bill extends the death penalty, fatal evidence of American exceptionalism from other western democracies, to increasing numbers of convicts and categories of crimes. California's three strikes initiative, along with the extended prison sentences mandated in other state and federal laws, will require shifting billions of dollars in scarce state resources from the higher education to the prison system. The main cause of the expansion of the prison population so far lies in drug policy, where enormous racial disparities in conviction and sentencing for comparable offenses have helped produce a disproprionately black and Latino prison population. "The negro" is no longer the "model prisoner" of early social science, celebrated for his "cheerful" adjustment

to slavery; all the more reason to confine him to jail.[30]

In California as in other states a prison industrial complex is replacing both the military industrial complex and the public education system. California blacks and Latinos, heavily overrepresented in the prison industrial complex (people of color are incarcerated at six times the rate of whites), are greatly underrepresented in higher education, a disproportion that will increase with the Wilson-initiated end of affirmative action in the state university system and passage of the Wilson-supported "California Civil Rights Initiative" prohibiting consideration of race in hiring and educational admissions. Whites, who will soon be a minority in California, still comprise a large majority of the voting population. Although Governor Wilson is racializing California politics to regain lost popularity at home (successfully winning reelection as governor but failing in his campaign for the White House), the New Republic's editor praises the state's "diverse multiracial population" for supporting the governor against racial divisiveness and in favor of "equality before the law." Also acting in the name of constitutional color blindness, the Supreme Court follows the 1994 election returns by ruling out race as a predominant consideration in drawing congressional district lines (now that racial gerrymandering is, for the first time, being used to elect representatives of color).[31]

Even were the death penalty (disproportionately applied to black men) used with the frequency its supporters relish, it would not end prison overcrowding. Moreover, another state carcerel

institution, the orphanage, is proposed by Newt Gingrich, new Speaker of the House of Representatives after the 1994 elections, to house the offspring of unwed mothers whom the Contract With America would deprive of state aid to dependent children. The parental tie may be severed for Gingrich, as in the original peculiar institution, because the condition of these children would follow that of their mothers. (The Speaker of the House did not reference slavery, of course, but the 1938 Mickey Rooney movie, Boys' Town.) The sins of the mothers for which the children are to be punished -- ending Jefferson's restriction of desire to black men -- are sexual. Jefferson had suspected that the evidence of science would find that blacks were "by nature" separate and unequal. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, author of the report on "The Negro Family" that first blamed racial inequality on black "matriarchy," is one of only eleven Senators to oppose ending welfare entitlements for the children of unwed mothers. Moynihan nonetheless offers the opinion in 1994 that the rise in out of wedlock births "mark[s] such a change in the human condition that biologists would talk of a 'speciation' -- the creation of a new species." Speciation is the Darwinian word for the evolution of a population that (the Jefferson/Moynihan wish?) cannot interbreed with the species from which it developed.[32]

Speciation is merely Moynihan's free association. The 1994 Richard Herrnstein/Charles Murray best-seller, The Bell Curve, providing full scientific apparatus, claims to have discovered racially-based, genetic differences in intelligence. The Bell

Curve received in the fall of 1994 the New York Times Book Review seal of approval, along with J. Philip Rushton's revival of nineteenth century scientific racism's theoretical core (in the enterprise that provided elaborate scaffolding for Jefferson's original musings and for the science of the "American School"), the fantasy that evolution had created three separate races, the Mongoloid, the Negroid, and the Caucasoid.[33]

1994 Hollywood: The year's major motion pictures pay homage to The Jazz Singer and Birth of a Nation. The Jazz Singer returns twice, once in Woody Allen's Bullets over Broadway, set in the 1920s, which opens with The Jazz Singer's "Toot, Toot, Tootsie" and features a grotesque mammy; and once in Whoopi Goldberg's Corrina Corrina, set in the 1950s, in which Corrina Washington cares for Manny Singer's motherless daughter and gets her to talk again, saves his advertising agency job by jazzing up his singing jingles (here the specific source is Louise Beavers' mammy role in Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House), and, in the film's climax, finally overcomes Manny's emotional rigidity as he buries his head in her arms. Remembering Time's "New Face of America," we expect Manny Singer, unlike the jazz singer, to wed his mammy; remembering The Jazz Singer, we also count on the amalgamation of girl friend and mammy so that the hero can retain both female halves.

Corrina is a black culture donor, in Cecil Brown's phrase; her relationship to Manny offers the now ubiquitous Hollywood promise that personal bonds (usually between men) can overcome historically-rooted racial inequality.[34] African Americans are

also culture donors in the two movies that achieve the greatest combined critical and popular success of 1994, the films that bring Birth of a Nation up to date. Pulp Fiction is energized, following Birth, by an imaginary black underworld (to recall Toni Morrison's words) of violence, "insanity, illicit sexuality, and chaos." Linguistically, libidinally, and politically, blacks govern this reconstruction world turned upside down; Pulp Fiction's interracial buddies live in terror of the black crime boss and stud for whom they work. In one of the major stories that comprise the film, the two hit men must dispose of the spattered remains of the "nigger in the car" whom they have inadvertently blown away. Another episode, the central one, climaxes when the intimidating black boss is cut down to size in a graphically-depicted anal rape.

Pulp Fiction was one of two films to monopolize the 1994 Academy Award nominations. It lost out to another interracial buddy movie (best picture, director, actor, editing, screenplay adaptation, visual effects), Forrest Gump. Senate majority leader Bob Dole, running for president against the "nightmares of depravity" in Hollywood and rap music, offers the "family fare" of Forrest Gump as an alternative.[35] And one traditional mode of family entertainment on which that movie draws is blackface, for a repeated joke makes harmless good fun (or so the film makers and senate majority leader seem to think) of a black soldier's protruding lower lip -- the classic grotesque black mouth of minstrelsy. The film's idea of fellowship is to bond its feeble-minded hero with this slow-speaking, bewildered-looking, Stepin

Fetchit and, after he dies, with a double amputee.

Creating a community of the afflicted, Forrest Gump imagines itself speaking for equality, the first Declaration of Independence. In the film's myth of origins, however, the second Declaration of Independence gives birth to Forrest Gump. A few months before Forrest Gump's release, the Library of Congress repressed what J. Hoberman calls our national "birth rite" by excluding The Birth of a Nation from its collection of "Cinema's First Century."[36] Not to worry. Just as Bullets over Broadway opens with the sound of The Jazz Singer, so Forrest Gump offers at its beginning the image of Birth of a Nation. As Forrest tells the story of his own birth, what appears on screen is a Ku Klux Klan scene lifted (or simulated) from Griffith's film. Cutting from Birth's hero masking his face to the massed, white-sheeted men on horseback ("they dressed up as ghosts, or something"), the interpolated footage illustrates the work of the founder of the Klan, "the great Civil War hero," Nathan Bedford Forrest, for whom the 1994 Forrest was named. (The visual quotation stops before Birth's Klan goes to work, lynching a blackface rapist.) The Birth of a Nation thus takes its place at the head of the other newsreels from American history -- John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and John Lennon assassinations and the Wallace, Reagan, and Ford attempts, Nixon resignation, LBJ speech -- through which Forrest will move (in the award-winning visual effects) and that will fail to touch him. Forrest Gump passed Star Wars in 1995 to move into third place among the top grossing movies of all time.[37]

"You can't defend practices that are based on group preferences as opposed to individual opportunities," says Connecticut Senator Joseph Lieberman that same spring. Affirmative action "is un-American . . . because . . . America is about individuals, not about averages or groups."[38] One need not endorse the remedy of affirmative action to see that Lieberman is calling upon the first Declaration of Independence to make the second one disappear. His falsification of American history, however, speaks the truth it is intended to bury, for the accusation of un-American activities (once the stock in trade of the House Un-American Activities Committee) turns opponents of white supremacy into aliens in their own land. Innocent of the history that has named him, Forrest Gump is not alone.

1. The present essay is adapted from my Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996). The Turner quotation is in Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920), 4.

2. Abraham Lincoln, speech at Chicago, June 10, 1858, in Abraham Lincoln: Selected Speeches, Messages, and Letters, ed. T. Harry Williams (New York, 1957), 91-92.

3. Thomas Jefferson, "Autobiography," in The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Adrienne Koch and William Peden eds. (New York, 1944), 25-26; James A. Rawley, The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History (New York, 1981), 311-19, 342-46; Stephen Hopkins, "The Rights of Colonies Examined [1763]," in Tracts of the American Revolution, 1763-1776, ed. Merrill Jenson (Indianapolis, 1967), 41-62.

4. Thomas Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, in Life and Selected Writings, 256, 262. See also Winthrop Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968), 429-81; James Campbell and James Oakes, "The Invention of Race; Rereading White over Black," Reviews in American History 21 (1993): 172-83.

5. Edmund Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975).

6. James Snead, White Screens/Black Images (New York, 1994), 60; Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York, 1964).

7. F.O. Matthiesen, The American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman (New York, 1941); Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York, 1981), 42; Michael Rogin, Subversive Genealogy: The Politics and Art of Herman Melville (New York, 1983), 15-23, 70-76; David S. Reynolds, Beneath the American Renaissance (New York, 1988), quoted 170, 174, 205; Lawrence Buell, "American Literary Emergence as a Postcolonial Phenomenon," American Literary History 4 (Fall 1992), 411-42; Leslie Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel (New York, 1960). The indispensable studies of nineteenth-century minstrelsy are Robert Toll, Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America (New York, 1974); William W. Austin, "Susanna," "Jeannie," and "The Old Folks at Home": The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Ill., 1989); Alexander Saxton, The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America (New York, 1990), 119-80; David R. Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (London, 1991); Eric Lott, Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class (New York, 1993). A full discussion of minstrelsy would have to address what Lott and Roediger (from different perspectives) make central, the origins of blackface in the northern white working class.

8. W.T. Lhamon, Jr. "Constance Rourke's Secret Reserve," intro. Constance Rurke, American Humor, 2nd ed. (Gainesville, Fla., 1989), xxxii, xxiv; Rourke, American Humor, 95-104; Lott, Love and Theft, 56; Toll, Blacking Up, 1-30 (quoted, 1); Saxton, Rise and Fall of

the White Republic, 118-23.

9. Quoted in Saxton, Rise and Fall of the White Republic, 166.

10. Lewis Ehrenberg, Steppin' Out: New York Night Life and the Transformation of American Culture (Chicago, 1981); Michael Rogin, "The Great Mother Domesticated: Sexual Difference and Sexual Indifference in D.W Griffith's Intolerance," Critical Inquiry, 15 (Spring 1989), 525-30; David Nasaw, The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements (New York, 1994), 1-2, 45-61, 91-94, 115-16 (quoted 45); Warren Goldstein,"Coming Together," Nation, September 5/12, 1994, 224-26.

11. Melvin Patrick Ely, The Adventures of Amos 'n' Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon (New York, 1991); Ethan Mordden, "'Show Boat' Crosses Over," New Yorker, July 3, 1989, 94; Austin, "Susanna," "Jeannie," and "The Old Folks at Home"; Gary Giddins, Riding on a Blue Note: Jazz and American Pop (New York, 1981), 5-17.

12. I first made this claim in "Blackface, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice," Critical Inquiry 18 (Spring 1992), 417-420. The following pages expand on and modify that argument.

13. The definitive treatment of Porter is Charles Musser, Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company (Berkeley, 1991). See also on early cinema (among many other sources, some cited below) Nasaw, Going Out, 134-53, 166; John Fell ed., Film Before Griffith (Berkeley, 1983); Miriam Hansen, Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film (Cambridge, 1991), 23-125.

14. William L. Slout, "Uncle Tom's Cabin in American Film History," Journal of Popular Film, 2 (Spring 1973), 137-52; Donald Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks (New York, 1973), 3; Thomas R. Cripps, Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900-1942 (New York, 1977), 12-14; Edward D.C. Campbell, Jr., The Celluloid South: Hollywood and the Southern Myth (Knoxville, Tenn., 1981), 12-14, 37-39; Janet Staiger, Interpreting Films: Studies in the Reception of Amerian Cinema (Princeton, 1992), 101-23; Musser, Before the Nickelodeon, 242-44; David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960 (New York, 1965), 183; Eileen Bowser, The Transformation of Cinema, 1907-1915 (Berkeley, 1990), 96.

15. Compare Musser, Before the Nickelodeon, 212-30; Tom Gunning, "Weaving a Narrative: Style and Economic Background in Griffith's Biograph Films," Quarterly Review of Film Studies, 6 (Winter 1981), 12-25; Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator, and the Avant-Garde," in Thomas Elsaesser ed., Early Cinema (London, 1990), 56-62; Noel Burch, "Narrative/Diegesis: Threshhold, Limits," Screen (July-August 1982), 16-33; Staiger, Interpreting Films, 101-23; Hansen, Babel and Babylon, 90-125.

16. Richard Koszarski, An Evening's Entertainment, 1915-1928 (Berkeley, 1990), 184.

17. J. Hoberman, "Our Troubling Birth Rite," Village Voice, November 3, 1993, 2-4 (quoted 3); Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, The Classical Hollywood Cinema, 90-142, 183. The discussion of Birth of a Nation here is derived from my "'The Sword Became a

Flashing Vision': D. W. Griffith's Birth of a Nation," in "Ronald Reagan," the Movie and other Episodes in Political Demonology (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987).

18. Koszarski, An Evening's Entertainment, 214.

19. Bordwell et al, Classic Hollywood Cinema, 87-112; Robert Sklar, "Oh! Althusser!: Historiography and the Rise of Cinema Studies," in Robert Sklar and Edwin Musser eds., Resisting Images: Essays on Cinema and History (Philadelphia, 1990), 19-32; Neal Gabler, An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood (New York, 1988).

20. See Tom Schatz, The Genius of the System: Hollywood Fillmmaking in the Studio Era (New York, 1988).

21. I discuss The Jazz Singer in "Blackface, White Noise."

22. William K. Everson, American Silent Film (New York, 1978), 373-74; "'Gone with the Wind' Champ Again," Variety, May 4, 1983, 5; Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, Classical Hollywood Cinema, 320-29.

23. Carleton Jackson, Hattie: The Life of Hattie McDaniel (New York, 1990), 35, 46-51 (quoting Selznick); Patrice Storace, "Look Away, Dixie Land," New York Review of Books, Dec. 19, 1991, 24-27; John D. Stevens, "The Black Reaction to Gone with the Wind," Journal of Popular Film 2 (fall 1973), 367; Diane Roberts, The Myth of Aunt Jemima: Representations of Race and Region (New York, 1994), 171-81.

24. Toni Morrison, "Introduction: Friday on the Potomac," in Toni Morrison ed., Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita

Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality (New York, 1992), xv.

25. See my "'Democracy and Burnt Cork': The End of Blackface, the Beginning of Civil Rights," Representations 46 (Spring 1994), 1-34.

26. Time, "The New Face of America," 142 (Special Issue, Fall 1993), 2, 66-67.

27. Ibid; "The Bloody Odyssey of O.J. Simpson," Time 143 (June 27, 1994).

28. Ibid; A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., "An Open Letter to Clarence Thomas from a Federal Judicial Colleague," in Morrison, Rac-ing Justice, 21-25.

29. Dramtis Personae for the visitor from Mars: George Bush won the Presidential election of 1988 by teaming his opponent, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis, with Willie Horton, the black man who had raped a white woman while on furlough from a Massachusetts prison. Clarence Thomas, whose only qualifications were his far-right Christian political associations and the color of his skin, won confirmation to the Supreme Court by accusing those who believed Anita Hill's accusations of sexual harrassment of engaging in a "high-tech lynching." After the white policemen whose beating of a black man, Rodney King, was recorded on video and played repeatedly on national television, were acquitted by an all-white suburban jury, South Central Los Angeles erupted in flames. Governor Bill Clinton revived his 1992 presidential campaign by flying back to Arkansas to witness the execution of Jimmie Ray Rector, a brain-damaged convicted black murderer.

Clinton withdrew his nomination of Lani Guinier as assistant attorney general for civil rights after the Wall Street Journal called her a " quota queen" for proposing alternatives to the effective disenfranchisement of black voters who, in a racially polarized electorate, occupy permanent minority statuses. Clinton fired Jocelyn Elders, the first black woman surgeon general, for refusing to condemn masturbation as a form of safe sex. O.J. Simpson -- complete the sentence yourself.

30. Alexander Cockburn, "Beat the Devil," Nation, Nov. 27, 1995, 656; Alfred Holt Stone, "Is Race Friction Between Blacks and Whites in the United States Growing and Inevitable?" American Journal of Sociology (1908), 692, quoted in Stephen Steinberg, Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy (Boston, 1995), 160.

31. Mike Davis, "Hell Factories in the Fields," Nation, Feb. 20, 1995, 229-33; Richard Walker, "California Rages Against the Dying of the Light," New Left Review 209 (1995), 60-61; Fox Butterfield, "Political Gains by Prison Guards," New York Times, Nov. 7, 1995, A1, A15; Andrew Sullivan, "Affirmative Action is Dead, Even If Clinton Doesn't Know It," International Herald Tribune, July 25, 1995, 6. The Supreme Court decision is Shaw v. Reno. For Bob Dole's version of "civil rights," co-authored with the freshman black congressman from Oklahoma elected in 1994, see Bob Dole and J.C. Watts Jr., "A New Civil Rights Agenda," Wall Street Journal, July 27, 1995, 6.

32. "The Fight Over Orphanages," Newsweek, Jan. 16, 1995, 22. Lee Rainwater and William Yancey, The Moynihan Report and the Polof Controversy (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) reprints Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," by the then assistant secretary of labor in the Lyndon Johnson administration, now the senior senator from New York. See also Todd S. Purdom, "The Newest Moynihan," New York Times Magazine, Aug. 7, 1994, 36; New York Times, Sept. 3, 1994, A22; Robert Pear, "Moynihan Promises Something Different on Welfare," New York Times, May 14, 1995, A13; Robin Toner, "Senate Approves Welfare Plan That Would End Aid Guarantee," New York Times, Sept. 20, 1995, A1, A17.

33. Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life (New York, 1994); J. Philip Rushton, Race, Evolution, and Behavior: A Life History Perspective (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994); Malcolm W. Browne, "What Is Intelligence and Who Has It?" New York Times Book Review, Oct. 16, 1994, 3, 41, 45-46.

34. On the role of black culture donors in the major 1994 movies, see Cecil Brown, "Doing That Ol' Oscar Soft Shoe," San Francisco Examiner, Image Magazine, March 26, 1995, 25-27, 38-41. Aware of the irony, I am borrowing from his discussion. On interracial friendship as Hollywood's solution to the race problem, see Benjamin DeMott, "Put on a Happy Face: Masking the Differences between Black and White," Harper's (Sept. 1995), 31-38.

35. Bernard Weinraub, "Senator Moves to Control Party's Moral Agenda," New York Times, June 1, 1995, A1, B10; Bob Dole, "To Shame

an Industry," New York Times, "Letters," June 8, 1995, A15.

36. Hoberman, "Our Troubling Birth Rite," 2-4.

37. "The Top Money Makers, for Now," New York Times, May 14, 1995, H22.

38. Todd S. Purdom, "Senator Deals Blow to Affirmative Action," New York Times, March 10, 1995, A10.