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COVER 4: INNOCENCE fable, ROGER E. ORTMAYER

FRONT COVER: "Flaming Youth," collage-poem by Margaret Rigg. After nearly a full year of other magazines' examining the contemporary student widely but (generally) not well, it seemed especially appropriate to preface our special issue on the crisis in the universities with cuttings, clippings, and cantillation.



HITCHHIKING ON IOWA THIRTY

(For Bill Martin)

Three quarters of a mile
Is anywhere three quarters.
Pick it up and put it down
Up from a sidewalk in my hometown
Where a freckled boy, when cement was wet,
Picked up a nail and stooped to inscribe it
In early September. Press it down
Here, between these concrete colons.
Measure its length in mud.
Harder and broader, embedded here,
You will find it no longer.

An island base, however eroded,
Bloated by gas, or heightened by lava,
Elsewhere put is an island still.
Pick me up and put me down,
Out of my cornfed, detasseled town,
Into the city of glass-plated steel
Where storewindow girls in high glass heels
Clatter home in the evening.

Bring me back and measure me
Now against the barn my parents built.
I am taller and wider, my shoulders are fatter;
But the mark on the barn that my father scratched,
That has welcomed the wind and consented to know
The wear of rain, has refused to grow.
You will find it no longer.

Half-inch heels in spongy mud
Punctuate each sentence of my stride.
A red passing Thunderbird's polished grill
Gives me a grin, but refuses a ride.
Cold on this shoulder my thumb wishes
He were the finger that turns the wheel.
But wishing for fingerhood won't make him warmer,
Longer, or anything else than a thumb.
If one quarter pound of soggy earth
Ever weighs more than a quarter
Mourn for my island, lost under water.
You will find me no longer.

—BEN HOWARD



R. O. HODGELL

Imagine my shock at discovering what became of my essay ("The Christian and Unbelievers," May, 1965) after it left my hands. I don't mean the hemidemisemiquavers; they by all means fall within the copy editor's competence. But I do mean such substantial changes as the following. I wrote: "For the Christian, therefore, unbelief, too, requires to be made fully human." But this became: "Therefore for the Christian unbelief (*sic*: commas are wonderful things, aren't they?!), too, requires us to become fully human" (p. 23, col. 2, ls. 24 f.). Now, really! This change completely destroys what I *meant and said*. My point . . . was not to say that *unbelief* requires something, but rather, that *Christian faith* requires something from unbelief. As it is, however, the reader can conclude only that I'm at cross purposes with myself.

SCHUBERT M. OGDEN
s.m.u.
dallas, texas

(Author Ogden is on firm ground in deploring our not showing him edited copy before it went into print. Our apologies to him that the usual practice of submitting editorial changes was waived because of the unusual editorial and production chaos last spring.—Eds.)

Schubert Ogden in his article states that "the Christian can never be content simply to 'answer' the question which his unbelieving brothers put to him." The question is whether "Christians as Christians are on the side of man." Dr. Ogden answers this question affirmatively in the name of Christianity

and then proceeds to pry underneath the very question. He discovers that the very concern of the humanist points to a deeper question, a question concerning the fundamental meaning of human life, a question which ultimately is not an *anthropo*-logical but is a *theo*-logical question.

The approach chosen by Dr. Ogden in this article is one which has been followed by several other present day Christian apologues, but is an approach which—I must confess—fails to convince me. And I suspect that unbelieving humanists might find it equally unconvincing.

In biblical terms the question "whether *Christians as Christians* are on the side of man" admits no answer; but there is another question that must be answered with an overwhelming Yes. That is, "whether God is on the side of man." Because he is on the side of man, he judges—has already judged—the dehumanizing forces in our society: defoliation bombing in Viet-Nam, North and South; segregation in the United States, North and South; deadly pedantry in higher education, just to mention a few. But the *Christian as a Christian* can have no other role than to point to Him who "is able from these stones to raise up children of Abraham."

PAUL CASTELFRANCO
university of california
davis, california

May I offer a few comments on the article "The Hushed-Up Revolution" (April, 1965) by Martin E. Marty. I thought it described very well what is taking place in Christianity in our day. Yet, I feel that the author did not go on to describe *why* such a hush-up is going on. This I find in so many Christian publications today: they all describe the fight going on, but few, if any, ever seem to be willing to stick their neck out and say "why?" So, here's my two cents' worth.

Christians in our day are scared to be poor. This holds, I think, in both Protestant and Catholic churches. You can suggest to church leaders and laity most any idea you want, but please don't suggest that they live the life of poverty. I have given a number of talks in both kinds of churches. Everyone is interested in what I have to say until I talk about the need for poverty. Then all ears seem to go deaf—and blank stares look back at me.

It seems to me that what too many Christians are looking for today is a reform that will do anything, except demand that Christians give up their materialistic involvement in the riches and pleasures of life. Christian leaders gladly discuss church reform in soft chairs and plush offices—and maybe with a drink or two in their hands. Churchmen avidly discuss the poor and what can be done for them; while they themselves are dressed in watered silk or the latest fashion in expensive suits.

We in the churches have imagined that to make the Gospel message live we have to have all kinds of material resources . . . If somebody would ever come along and take away our "brick and mortar" we would accuse him of being "anti-religious" and even "atheistic." Christ is silenced lest "he rock the boat" laden with material possessions.

No offense, but the churches have done more printing in the past two decades than the entire prior 1900 years of Christianity. Yet the pollsters say we're having less and less influence on the world at large. Maybe it's time we wake up and talk less and do more. Talk is cheap. Doing is more difficult! But to do for the poor Christ we must be poor in the true sense of the word; "Unless a man deny himself . . . he cannot be my disciple." And, "where your treasure is, there your heart is also."

FR. ANSGAR HANKEY, O.F.M.
quincy, illinois

Concerning William Stringfellow and obscenity and profanity ("The Profanity of Man," May, 1965): I have no criticism of the excellent literary surgery performed by Dr. Stringfellow. However, I feel that his final statement was a rather crude stitch which closed up one gaping wound and rather carelessly opened another which he made no effort to treat.

I contend that Mr. Stringfellow has placed himself in debt to the Church to spell out just what he means—what he has observed or interpreted in the Church—when he suggests that "what is said and done in the sanctuaries of the Church is often more obscene and more profane than anything yet booked in a night club." It isn't that I disagree with the statement. I just feel that a surgeon shouldn't open a wound without treating it. Not even the Church should excuse herself from the painful procedure of seeing herself as she really is. Will Mr. Stringfellow please benefit us further with his astute and critical comment?

D. GRUNDY COUCH
oskaloosa, iowa

MR. STRINGFELLOW replies:

Obviously the profanity practiced in the sanctuaries is, literally, the taking of Christ's name in vain by any of those who, in the churchly sanctuaries, have no intention whatever to honor, believe, confess or defend Jesus Christ and His Gospel. It happens every Sunday, in nearly every Church.

EDITOR: B. J. STILES

MANAGING EDITOR: RON HENDERSON

EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE: ALAN D. AUSTIN

ART DIRECTION: JOHN SELLERS/McDONALD & SAUSSY

CIRCULATION: ELIZABETH JONES

READER SERVICES: INEZ BURKE

PROMOTION: H. ELLIOTT WRIGHT

SECRETARY: JANE JAMES

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Is nothing sacred? It took me a while to learn to dig Kenneth Patchen's home made samplers; I can see that Thomas Merton isn't as removed from the struggles of the world as I thought monks should be, but I was really startled to see Sister Claude's poetry and Sister Mary Corita's illustrations (March, 1965). What is the world coming to when even the sweetest and most self-sacrificing of women start writing poetry like that—and with pop art illustrations?

One would think that they had never heard of Edgar A. Guest, Nancy Byrd Turner or any of the great religious poets. Some of the other poems in the March, 1965, issue are so ambiguous that you have to stop and *think* about them for a while.

I suppose that even poetry has to put up with progress, though. So to show that I cannot be dismissed as another square poetry-loving preacher, I have composed a poem in the contemporary idiom carefully avoiding the use of any vulgar rhymes:

ODE TO THE EDITORS OF MY FAVORITE magazine

O where are the bards of yesteryear
Who penciled the poems of yore
With relentless rhythms, respectable rhymes,
And some comfort and cheer at the center?

O where are the feet—iambic, trochaic—
Which plodded along in pentameter,
When the world was serene, and the math was "old,"
And the radius half the circumference?

O what has become of the stainless steel blade,
The kind every ath-a-lete has,
To clean up the chins of the bearded young bards
Who read poems to third stream ragtime?

O who was the villain who sullied our image
Of sunshine and flower and bird
By pointing it out that the honored name "poet"
Is only a four letter epithet?

O what shall be made of the so-call-éd poetry
which neither will scan nor inspire,
But calls us to join, in flowing free verse,
In rooting, like swine, in the mud?

O what has become of The Methodist Church and its
Methodist Publishing House editors
When their backlog of pious curricular verse
Must be sold to satisfy the bank?

O what the subversive, lower-case *motive*
That is making clean college kids wrecks
By speaking of things (in a bastard art form)
Such as poverty, politics and dirty books?

O when shall we take down the book from its shelf
Which seldom is read (hardly ever)—
The Dictionary of Rhymes, companion of giants?
Well, I, sirs, for one, shall say, "Soon!"

PAUL O. WHITTLE
palos heights, illinois

Reader Whittle's unerring ear for verse is a gift of which we should all be envious.—Eds.

MANY commentators have drawn the obvious connections between Berkeley's free speech controversy and the emergence of the civil rights "sit-in generation." It was local opponents of civil rights pickets and sit-ins, such as ex-Senator Knowland, who provided the pressure which led to the curtailment of student liberties. Due note has also been taken of the Mississippi and Northern civil rights experience of Free Speech Movement (FSM) leaders, of the singing of freedom songs at noon rallies, of the use of the sit-in tactic in Sproul Hall. Discoverers of the New Left have, I believe correctly, seen in the southern field worker of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) one prototype of the more political of Berkeley's rebels. And educational reformers—often more faithful to their own battles than to that of the students—have at least mentioned civil rights in their analyses of Berkeley. But they have located *the cause* of the Berkeley uproar in the impersonality and student alienation inherent in the factory-like Multiversity which University of California President Clark Kerr poses as the future of American higher education.

Fortunately we need not here agree upon *the cause*: neither the political disputes over free speech and civil rights nor any other single set of factors can explain the Berkeley of FSM—or that of Clark Kerr. And even those of us most publicly wedded to a predominantly civil rights explanation of the Free Speech Movement can agree on this: What began as a battle auxiliary to the Negro movement had become in the faces of those thousands carrying picket signs in the student strike and in the faces of those eight hundred returning from Santa Rita prison after the Sproul Hall arrests, a struggle for the right to set the conditions in which they themselves lived and worked. Berkeley students, unlike so many of the white faces in civil rights marches, had carried the freedom struggle beyond a compelling abstraction to a fight for a change in their own community.

The present protest against the Viet-Nam war, at Berkeley and elsewhere, and the increased efforts at organizing the poor have again taken students beyond the campus community. Meanwhile the movement for administrative and educational reform in the impersonal university, which without specific

FREEDOM AND THE

provocations has been unable to draw widespread support, barely continues to hobble along. Without arguing for a change in priorities (the elimination of poverty and the end of the Viet-Nam war are more immediate concerns to me than a revamping of the multiversity) I would urge that we not continually make stepchildren of our alma maters. Such neglect will be impossible if on-campus reform is animated by those concerns for freedom and democratic control which have denied student activity off-campus during the past few years.

From Paternalism to the Benevolent Bureaucracy

The "Silent Generation" of the 1950's did, at schools such as Berkeley, now and then emerge from its apathy. However, the real lifting of the McCarthy era silence can conveniently be dated from the Greensboro, North Carolina sit-ins of February, 1960. The Greensboro movement led to the formation of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, which through Friends of SNCC groups on Northern and Western campuses brought students from across the nation into permanent contact

with the Southern movement.

From this beginning the question of on-campus rights has been important, if auxiliary. Student demonstrators have often been harassed with suspension from college for "conduct unbecoming a student." This *in loco parentis* power of a university administration was exercised in the expulsions from Louisiana's all-Negro Southern University. More recently, the power was misused in the obscenity row at Berkeley and in the unsuccessful attempt by the administration there to ban on-campus sales of a student magazine. Similarly, battles over speaker prohibitions usually revolve around the "right" of a university administration to protect its students, as well as its right to regulate the use of its facilities.

Student activists have staged numerous protests against specific arbitrary uses of the *in loco parentis* power (a power generally defended for its usefulness in protecting student inebriates from overzealous sheriffs). More recently, the on-campus emphasis has been shifted from protests of particular infringements of political rights to a wholesale condemnation of the power of the college dean to act

UNIVERSITY

By Stephen Weissman and Doug Tuthill



ROBERT F. McGOVERN

in the place of parents. This condemnation has been especially strong in the area of First Amendment liberties, but there have also been demands for the abolishment of *in loco parentis* power over "beer, sex, and cheating." The most wholesale challenge to the parietal power of administrators has been Berkeley's Free Student Union, an off-spring of the FSM, which openly demands that any rules concerning a student's nonacademic life be made and enforced by the students themselves.

The full-scale on-campus attack against administrative power is not a necessary part of civil rights or other off-campus politics. Nonetheless it clearly stems from the off-campus involvements of the present student generation. The most indefensible abuses of arbitrary power have been aimed at curtailing this involvement. More important, the emphasis upon freedom and participatory democracy by groups such as SNCC and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has led those students to a redefinition of those concepts in their own lives. The insistence upon the right of Mississippi sharecroppers to govern themselves and the refusal to accept token integration into a basically unfree white society has subverted the ivory tower. Many of the new Campus Freedom Parties draw their inspiration from the example of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

In loco parentis control of personal life is less pervasive at Berkeley and other of the big-name schools than at smaller universities and colleges. Compulsory chapel, strict regimentation of women's dormitories, class attendance requirements, and puritanical dress regulations are still too frequently encountered. But they are giving way to free "cuts," the careful nonenforcement of lax dorm and dress rules, and dorm keys for senior women. Fewer and fewer speakers are denied access to campus, although Malcolm X, were he alive, would still have trouble speaking at most "liberal" schools. Students are coming to find that the most serious challenge to their freedom is the subtle "liberal" manipulation which passes for a democratic student personnel program.

Sophisticated administrators, such as Minnesota's Dean Williamson (whose observations at a recent conference support many of the above generalizations), have themselves led the fight against custodial implementation of the *in loco parentis* doctrine. These benevolent bureaucrats recognize the absurdity as well as the rebellion-provoking nature of many university restrictions. Thus they have brought "student leaders" onto the rule-making and rule-enforcing committees. This practice has been called shared responsibility by some, co-optation or Uncle Tomism by others; it has also been called stu-

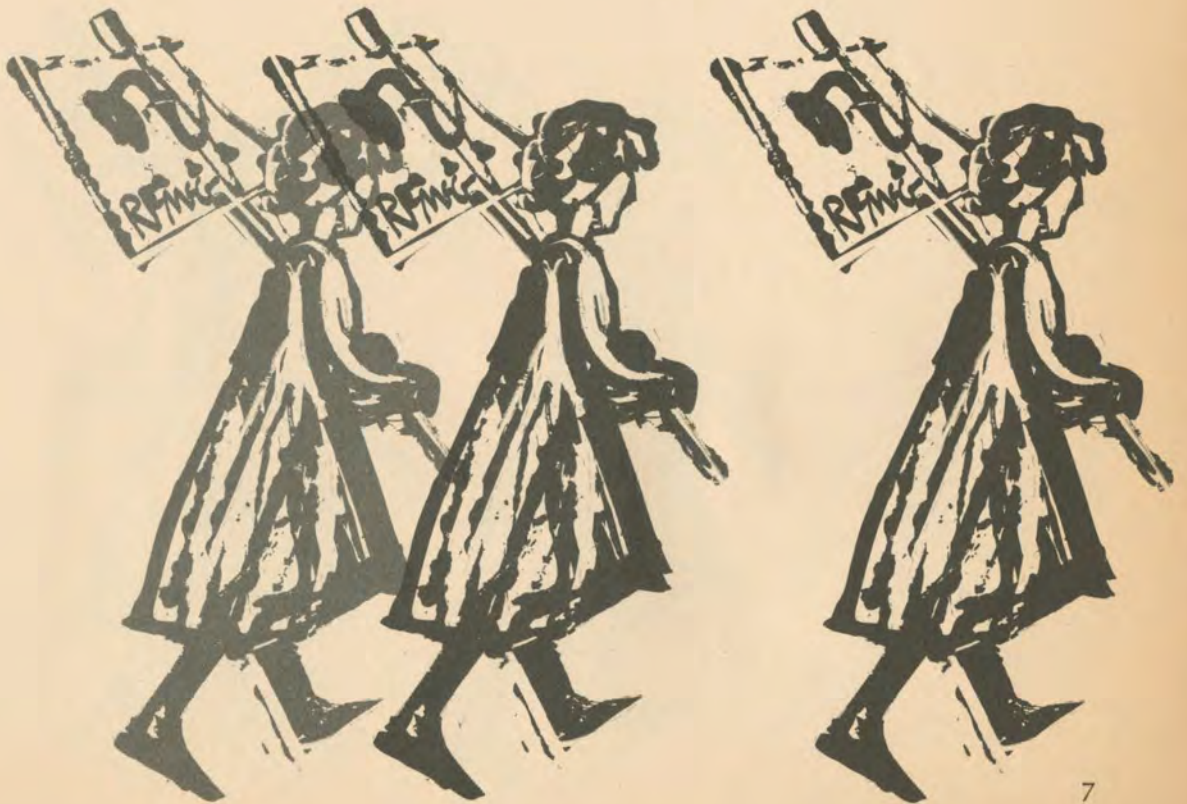


dent freedom.

Many analysts of the Berkeley conflict, including now-pessimistic student radicals, maintain that the velvet glove application of just such freedom could have stifled the Free Speech Movement. Serious errors were certainly made by both the Berkeley administration and the FSM leaders. But one is hard-pressed to imagine velvet soft enough to mask the iron fist inherent in any attempt to deny campus facilities to those advocating off-campus civil disobedience. The administration could have reversed the intent of their new policy and permitted the courts to determine the legality of on-campus advocacy. Short of this, the administration might have avoided a mass confrontation only by ignoring the premeditated guerilla campaign of FSM to violate clamorously and massively *all* university restrictions of political activity. Nor was this situation changed by the much-discussed split within the FSM after the "liberalization" of rules by the Regents on November 22. Far from an indication of the acceptance of the new rules by the moderates, the "split" was merely a tactical dispute. On one side were the moderates who wanted to await further disciplinary action which they felt would inevitably follow. On the other were the militants who wanted a sit-in without waiting for any cause other than the "liberalization."

The specifics of Berkeley aside, educational authorities have responded to the jangling echos of Berkeley with just such prescriptions as "shared responsibility." More personal attention for student personnel, better psychiatric and career counselling services, liberalized dorm rules, liberalized rhetoric and a more cosmopolitan attitude toward political activity—these and similar nostrums are changing the face of *in loco parentis* to resemble the bureaucratic paternalism that awaits the college graduate in the world of industry. Perhaps these measures will succeed in minimizing the extent of student eruptions. There is, however, the great danger that administrators and graduates alike will accept this paternalism as the definition of freedom.

"Freedom" in America, on or off-campus, too often means a choice between predetermined alternatives rather than participation in forming those alternatives, acting within a context fixed and manipulated by others rather than taking a hand in the definition of that context. Does a student committee on curfews have freedom when limits are implicit in the possibility of an administrative veto; Does student government have freedom to disburse student funds when student leaders know that the administration will permit donations to the Red Cross but not to SNCC? Such administered democracy should be avoided by all who would establish



alternatives to the Dick and Jane student governments which mar the campus landscape.

Automated Learning

A restricted sense of freedom is found not only in the Dean of Women's office, but in the classroom as well. For many, *this* restriction or absence of freedom is normal, even commendable. To quote a comment on the Free Student Union in a Baton Rouge newspaper,

Education is impossible without authority and the recognition of authority. Management has to manage. That this affects one's place in life—and throughout life—is elementary. If a university can't teach that to its students, it'll never be able to teach them anything.

Every institution—families, schools, enterprises, government, our armed forces, everything—falls apart on any other basis. And the future of American youth falls apart with it.

I would suspect that an equation of education with discipline and a resistance to classroom freedom marks the thought of people with far less authoritarian sentiments. There is even resistance among those unafraid of the very unradical proposition that, as in most European universities, the nonacademic life of the student be no concern of the administration.

The classroom is the holy of holies, an AAUP- (American Association of University Professors) protected inner sanctum where professors are free

(usually) to pass on the wisdom of the ages according to their own lights. But what of the student? "At Berkeley," report Professors Sheldon Wolin and John Schaar, "the educational environment of the undergraduate is bleak. He is confronted throughout his entire first two years with indifferent advising, endless bureaucratic routines, gigantic lecture courses, and a deadening succession of textbook assignments and bluebook examinations testing his grasp of bits and pieces of knowledge."

In this "mass producing of men into machines" freedom is the loser. Although he is usually free to choose between various course offerings, the student has little freedom to determine what will be offered. Once enrolled in a class, the student must yield to the professor much of the decision-making power over the course and over the nature of that process through which learning is scheduled to take place. The student's recognition and acceptance of his subordinate status stem not from his knowledge and respect for his professor's intellect, but, simply stated, from an acquiescence to authority. This same pattern, plus the "necessities" of grading exams and essays, provides for the development of production schedules long before even initial personal contact between student and professor.

God forbid that the student challenge the schedule by getting "hung-up" on Dostoevsky the week in which the syllabus requires that he produce an exam on Tolstoy. Any personal involvement in the



learning process, any unleashing of curiosity, might well result in intellectual *coitus interruptus*.

Fortunately, the curiosity of childhood is usually disconnected in the public schools. In college the motivation to learn is not supposed to be found in personal satisfactions arising from the work itself. The intellectual assembly line is not designed to produce such satisfactions, except as a by-product. Learning is a means to grades, to careers; the important questions are those which will appear on the next test. Even the persistent find that over-sized classes, ritualized papers, and too-frequent examinations make of one's own questions an extra-curricular activity.

Of course students do learn something. Unfortunately, much of what they learn, from the point of view of developing men and women who are willing to determine the course of their own lives, is negative; blind acceptance of hierarchical authority, intellectual indifference, a willingness to do meaningless work, to produce according to schedule, to do without internal gratification in their work. Or to quote from a study by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, "It is difficult to say to what extent colleges, along with the rest of the educational system, train students to respond with a disciplined attitude toward work not of their own devising (and therefore provide employers and professional schools with a good yardstick for determining who will do well in a highly organized and authoritarian

setting) and to what extent colleges help inculcate a distaste for work precisely because of its frequently imposed and alienated quality."

Alienation in the Multiversity

This state of affairs finds its ultimate expression in the large multiversities or federal grant universities such as Berkeley. "The production, distribution and consumption of knowledge," Clark Kerr tells us, is now a major industry and a major proportion of America's Gross National Product. As the university begins "to merge its activities with industry as never before," it increasingly becomes a knowledge-factory. But what of the teaching "activity"? "There seems to be a 'point of no return,'" Kerr reports, "after which research, consulting and graduate instruction become so absorbing that faculty efforts can no longer be concentrated on the undergraduate instruction as they once were."

The now-entrepreneurial professor takes on the style and attitudes of industry. He considers his product—knowledge—to be more important than the students to whom he is transmitting that knowledge. Even that knowledge itself is changed. For the nature of the product is determined not by the student consumers, but by the federal agencies, foundations, and industries who are the true purchasers of knowledge in our society.

The knowledge-factory also produces graduates. Here, too, teaching and learning are secondary con-



cerns in preparing college graduates for the unfree society and alienated work awaiting them in the world to which they are graduating. That world is also increasingly defined by the same federal agencies, foundations and large industries which define the multiversity. Real preparation for "life" comes from the administrative paternalism and alienated learning which the student is "free" to undergo at the multiversity of his choice.

"Alienation," "alienated learning," "alienated work"—unfortunately, journalistic popularization and uncritical repetition have depleted these once-rich concepts of their meaning. But perhaps we can reach beyond the level of cliché to an understanding of that malaise mirrored in the faces of a generation of student rebels. Alienation, according to a noted 19th-century sociologist, is that condition in which the individual worker has lost any say over the conditions of his work. ". . . the work is external to the worker, . . . consequently he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, . . . has a feeling of misery, not of well-being." Given this description, we can more easily see how a definition of freedom born of the movement in Mississippi could become meaningful to a generation deprived of little except the right to control their own lives and work.

When at Berkeley we sought to use our campus for the exercise of *our* constitutionally guaranteed rights, we learned that *our* campus was "the property of the Regents of the University of California." And

our rights had to be yielded at the gates of *their* university before they would allow us to become educated for jobs in *their* society. In point of fact, the State of California is to a large extent a society belonging to the Regents. Among their number are the state's major owners of banking, communications, transportation, mining, philanthropy, agriculture and industry, plus its chief political figures. Such a group is consecrated to the task of education in a democratic society only by their worldly success and their appointment to the Board of Regents by an elected governor.

But even if the Board were elected as in Michigan, even if its membership included civil rights leaders and artistic geniuses, the problem of student alienation would remain. If alienation stems from the nature of work, then the student will be alienated from the work of learning until he is free to shape the process in which he learns. And the general university environment will remain hostile to the student as long as the administration of that environment is geared to preparing him for the administered world of work off the campus. Wolin and Schaar have defined the alienation of students as "a sense of not being valued members of a genuine intellectual and moral community." If that alienation is to be overcome, students must regain control over their own lives, their own work. They must fight for the freedom of students and faculty to run their universities.

Student freedom is meaningless, however, without



the freely-given and freely-accepted instruction, guidance, and friendship of the faculty. Yet paradoxically, faculty members are often responsible for the most alienating features of the university. Responsible? Are the professors to blame if society does not supply sufficient rewards for teaching students rather than subjects? Are they responsible if there are not sufficient resources allocated to provide the small classes necessary for the kind of teaching which is its own reward? At Berkeley, professors were held responsible by students until, through student pressure, they fought against the curtailment of student political activity. It is now time that professors everywhere fight to change the educational alternatives offered by society. They must unlearn the lessons taught by McCarthy and learn from their students. It is never enough to make the best of one's conditions—one must always fight for the freedom to shape those conditions.

But the problem goes still deeper. As William Appleman Williams explains, the professor "has become accepted as a full member of the system in direct proportion as he has become an expert or advisor concerned to rationalize and to sustain the system." Even when he does teach students, he is often happy to be "a servant of established power." And it doesn't matter if that power be the giants on the California Board of Regents or the merchants who run Osh Gosh U. Certainly most professors deplore the grosser prejudices of this middle-class

society, but how many make criticisms and suggest alternatives outside the "realities" posed by the conventional wisdom? How many go beyond "refining established revelation"?

Too often university intellectuals become "yes men" for society even when they say "no": evidence the academic debate over American action in Viet-Nam. The vast majority have argued that present American policy is wrong because it is not the best way to stop communism or block Chinese aggression. Few are the academics who have challenged root and branch America's underlying assumptions about present-day communism, Chinese foreign policy, our role in the world, and revolutions and economic development in the underdeveloped countries.

A New Academic Freedom

Not unexpectedly this impersonal, unfree assembly-line learning is producing its own opposition. Kerr himself points to "an incipient revolt against the faculty." At Berkeley the revolt was specifically against the administration, but great strength was drawn from generalized grievances against the Multi-versity and the society which it so faithfully mirrors. In that revolt the students took their desire for personal authenticity in learning and in life to the point of on-campus action only when the advocacy of off-campus action was denied them. But Kerr is cor-



rect: the revolt was there in the alienated condition of student life.

Today's students demand a personal relevance to knowledge which is the direct opposite of the Multiversity's alienated process of learning. They demand a relationship between learning and their own moral concerns. Such a demand seems singularly appropriate to the existential attitudes of the post-nuclear generation and to the almost arrogant posture which permits so many members of that generation to feel guilty for the condition of *their* world and personally responsible for changing it. But to demand that the learning process be focused on personal involvement is to demand freedom in the classroom, to demand "a situation in which there would be questioning, release from rigid squelching of initiative and expression."

Far removed from any discussion of university reform, this definition of academic freedom has already impressed itself upon the present student generation. It comes from a prospectus for the Mississippi Freedom Schools, in which so many northern volunteers served during the summer of 1964. The Freedom School idea has now spread, and there is continuous experimentation in the development of free and creative educational environments. Such an environment is vital to give underprivileged children a sense of their own worth.

But are underprivileged children the only ones to ask, "Why are we not taken seriously?" Are they

the only students who would benefit from determining the course of their own learning? Would children of the middle class become less free or less educated if their teachers refrained from both the exercise of dictatorial authority or the more subtle, indirect manipulation inherent in the grading process? Could not students learn more (and remember more of that "learning" beyond the exam) if their courses answered questions which they themselves phrased? Should we not prefer the self-discipline which comes with problem-solving to the blind acceptance of external authority? Can an automated society endure without citizens who study because they are curious, who work because their work brings them pleasure?

Of course the Freedom School cannot totally replace the Multiversity. It can, however, demonstrate the validity of a new kind of academic freedom. In the humanities and social sciences the need for intuitive involvement is already preached, though present-day universities make the practice extracurricular. But even in math and the sciences, there is increased recognition that the teaching of facts is insufficient. Free universities, like Freedom Schools, must provide personal confrontation with the concepts of science as well as of history, and encourage personal responsibility for the application of those concepts.

It is not, however, any inappropriateness of freedom to learning which blocks the growth of the

free university. Rather it is the very definition of Clark Kerr's multiversity, a definition which leaves as little room for free, personalized teaching and learning as Senator Eastland's plantation leaves for Negro freedom.

A Free University

From their experience in civil rights students have come to value highly their own freedom and the democratic control of the institutions which shape their lives. In their struggle to defeat the multiversity they have recognized that their own campus community presents an environment hostile both to freedom and to learning. Thus they must fight for an end to administrative paternalism and unfree learning. They must make a revolution to share with the faculty in the government of their universities.

But, imperatives and a vision are not sufficient. It is, perhaps, impossible to build a free university without a free society. Nonetheless, we must start to define alternatives wherever we can. Several on-campus alternatives are presently available to the student movement. First is the possibility for an organized campaign of nonparticipation in sandbox student government. One vehicle for such a campaign is the Campus Freedom Party. With a platform expressing the need for student democracy "rather than student government," Campus Freedom Parties have little chance of winning elections. But they can help to build movements on campus which can

provide the nucleus for action when direct provocation occurs. They also provide a forum for a self-education in freedom and a reserve for off-campus political activity. If the party does elect its candidates, there are many opportunities for organizing students around shadow freedom governments and other forms of creative nonparticipation.

The area of learning provides greater difficulties. Counter-curricula have shown little success in competition with the grade hunger which drives even free students back into their regular courses. But efforts should continue especially in the direction of utilizing freedom school concepts in the counter courses. Equally important is the need for students, especially graduate students, to define areas of radical research in which they can pose alternatives to the conventional wisdom. The Viet-Nam protest offers many such opportunities, as do the questions of automation, political sociology, and the social responsibility of the sciences. The Viet-Nam protest also offers opportunities for creating learning environment with maximum participation.

Finally there is the need to become more explicit in our aims and attitudes. If we honestly feel that on-campus freedom is impossible without student-faculty control, we must say so. New alternatives are impossible unless we make clear our opposition to the present alternatives. And for our generation there must be no alternative to a redefining of freedom, on-campus and off.



REINHART BRAUN

The University



from consensus to dialogue

BY FRANKLIN H. LITTELL

AS this discussion of the crisis in the university is being written, over 700 students are being sentenced by the Berkeley, California Municipal Court for their part in the 1964-65 campus demonstrations. Symbolically, they are being "processed" in batches of one hundred!

Here we have a complete breakdown of community, it would seem, in the republic of learning. Communication has long since ceased, and now even the elementary questions of order have to be handled by the civil authorities. This is a long haul from the classical period of the *universitas magistrorum ac scholarium*, when members of the university had their own separate body of law and even their own police forces and courts. The run would seem to have been made from *consensus fidelium* (or "*universitas fidelium*," a phrase also frequently used to describe the common mind and spirit of the scholarly community) to disorder bordering on anarchy.

What the Berkeley Demonstrations Mean

Very little has been written about the demonstrations of last year that makes sense. Art Buchwald did better than most, suggesting in his humorous column that if the professors would give some attention to teaching the students it would help. Reactionaries

immediately blamed the student revolt on "communists," and some politicians and churches urged the university authorities to crush the petitions and the petitioners. This President Kerr, being a civilized man, refused to do.

In the academic community at large, sympathy was initially with the demonstrators: this sympathy was expressed by the California faculty, and rallies and discussions were held—often with speeches by a visiting representative of the "Free Speech Movement"—on campuses all across the country. As confusion grew, however, well-known communists and fellow-travellers from off campus came increasingly to the center of the stage and "freedom" became obscenity.

Caught in a polarizing clash between extremists of both wings, administrators and professors and students were at first helpless to handle the breakdown in communications. Several top administrators resigned and the faculty split. The students, with effective instruments for demonstration but none for self-government, diffracted in frustration. Fortunately, Governor Brown and President Kerr were both literate and responsible men, and the extremists did not prevail. A new code of student rights and responsibilities has now been issued, with the expectation that impasses may be avoided in the future.



They are happier in their own society.

Fortunately, too, the crisis developed at the University of California—one of the best American institutions—and not somewhere in the underbrush of American education. This makes the issues much clearer than they would otherwise be. The basic point would seem to be this: students who are old enough and mature enough to do military service to defend democracy in the far places of the earth, and who have volunteered by the hundreds to go at great personal risk to Alabama and Mississippi for the sake of democracy, cannot be expected to accept quietly a structure of higher education which reduces them to relatively unimportant pieces processed in an assembly line of higher education.

Many, even the best, of our great universities have no effective structures of faculty consensus. University Senates meet but once or twice a year, usually for merely formal purposes. Only in case of a crisis can the faculty come into partial focus, with the AAUP chapter or some *ad hoc* committee rallying faculty resistance to some ill-conceived venture of administration or politicians. But the structures for a consistent expression of positive faculty opinion are almost universally lacking.

On the student front, the case is even worse. Student governments are notorious farces on most campuses, and without an AAUP or its equivalent the student protests simply take to the streets—usually disintegrating into ineffective or destructive gestures of non-confidence in the general situation. Few, if any, student demonstrations—from Berkeley to Brooklyn—have in fact started as radical efforts to discredit the institution. Most, if not all, reveal basic structural inadequacies in the organization of public opinion among those who have a legitimate claim to be heard concerning the conditions and policies which affect their lives.

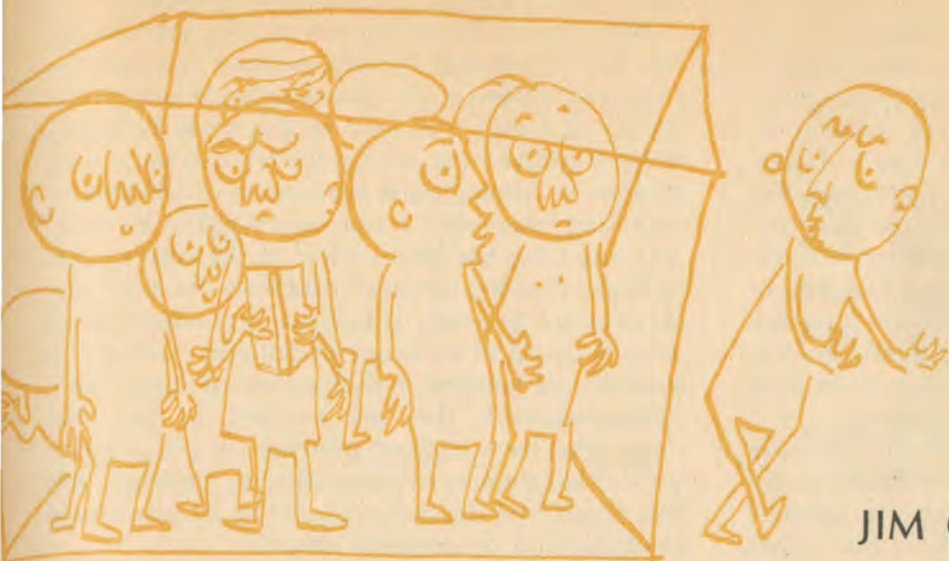
What is most needed is constitutional reform.

Most of our institutions of higher learning—with the exception of universities like Michigan and Wisconsin which have guarantees written into the state constitutions—have been modelled since the founding of Harvard (1636) on the business corporation. They are governed by “companies of adventurers,” all too often men of dubious commitment to culture and education or even to basic principles of representative government. Men who serve on multiple boards of directors of corporations, including educational boards, are all too apt to think of the teachers as “employees” and the students as “products.” This is the basic reason why many university boards are so much more successful in dealing with the semi-commercial ventures in football and basketball, or with the research and development grants from Federal government agencies, than with those dimensions of university life which still have to do with the pursuit of wisdom and the educating of a wise and mature citizenry.

The vestigial structures for mobilizing a consistent and constructive consensus of the professors must be enlivened. The virtually nonexistent instruments for recruiting and training up a responsible citizenry among the student body must be developed. The commitments of those most intimately involved in the life of the republic of learning, both senators and plebs, must take precedence over the often misguided enthusiasms of representatives of “the public interest.” For that matter, once they no longer wield absolute power, the boards will be able to function much more constructively. Absolute governments are always at a loss as to how to handle protests, however benevolent they may intend to be.

The Basic Commitment of a University

The business of a university, inheriting the baptized tradition of the classical Academy, is to encour-



JIM CRANE

age a raging dialogue. It is in the dialogue with the past, the dialogue between disciplines, the dialogue with the world and its problems, that the university comes properly into focus as a center for the pursuit of wisdom.

There are three ways, at least, in which the commitment of the university to dialogue can be stifled. The university may stifle rather than encourage full, free and informed discussion, thereby betraying its function and contribution. This most commonly happens when outside political or religious interests attempt to use the institution as a means to promoting a "line" rather than as a center of open-faced discussion. Second, the university may descend to the level of a trade school or training institute for technically proficient barbarians. This is more common than commonly supposed, due to the demands made by our highly technical civilization. Business and governmental interests are particularly guilty of debasing the true function of the university by direct pressures, enforced by major financial contributions. As was pointed out during the Nürnberg trials, however, the most dangerous man in the world is the technically competent barbarian (*viz.* Klaus Fuchs). It has become perfectly possible to develop a society run by barbarians, no more wise than tribal chieftains in Katanga or Kwilu provinces, all sporting Ph.D.'s or M.D.'s. Indeed, the strength of the radical right in some places in the United States is precisely due to this fact. Third, the dialogue can be stifled by lack of appropriate organs for rallying and mobilizing responsible dialogue and the action implicit in it.

Here the contribution of organized Christian groups is especially critical, and it can be said to the credit of students and campus ministers in movements such as the Methodist Student Movement that they have in fact functioned very creditably to

strengthen the dialogue in places and seasons when university leadership has flagged and failed. Often they have done this in the face of public disapproval and some campus ministers have been sacrificed in the process. But when this happens, they are in fact fulfilling the duty of the university itself if it were up to its basic commitment. Similarly, in the European setting the Evangelical Academies and Lay Institutes have often served as centers of discussion and action on subjects and among persons neglected by the universities.

The besetting temptation of Christian groups is to think of the university in protectionist terms, and to attempt to define a "Christian" university or college in such a way as to suppress open-faced dialogue. One of the proofs of this fact is an historical development in which, since the separation of Andover from Harvard at the beginning of the nineteenth century, theology has largely separated itself from the other disciplines. In fact, for over a century, theological seminaries were founded in places apart from the university world—specifically to guarantee the inculcation of doctrines which were apparently thought incapable of standing the open competition of university thought and life.

In Europe as well as America, many of the pious thought to protect their young church leaders from the perils of the city and the temptations of pagan philosophy by separating the seminary from the university. Where the university contact was retained, attempts were often made to control its atmosphere and "line" in a way deleterious to open and informed dialogue. It is only within recent years, with the development of programs in religion in the great state universities (North Carolina, Iowa, Michigan and Indiana, for example), that this disastrous separation of theology from the other idioms of higher learning has begun to be bridged.

Probably nothing has contributed more to the misdirection of Christian effort than the traditional image of the college as a Protestant monastery. Like the seminary, which developed later, the Protestant college has from the beginning carried over many of the ideals of intensive Christian community more representative of a monastery than a university. There are historical reasons for this, and not all of the atmosphere and practice of community—symbolized by chapel, dormitory, refectory—is destructive. Nevertheless, the existence of vermiform institutions of the common life, derived from the ethic of love, has frequently diverted attention from the real problem of the university today: to develop basic structures for attaining simple justice.

What the great university, like California, needs is not student deans who have the training and qualities of nursemaids; it needs instruments for self-government among faculty and students and within the institution as a whole. The once valid ideal of the professor as a spiritual director is meaningless in the mass education situation, and the proliferation of personnel devoted to student personnel services will never cure the basic problem. The basic problem is constitutional and structural: if students are to grow into a mature and wise citizenship they must have some meaningful experience in self-government, on campus as well as in the world.

The Modern University as a Secular City

In his brilliant book, *The Secular City*, Harvey Cox of Harvard has outlined the path along which the modern university can also travel to maturity and fulfillment. This path is not through reversion to monastic imagery, with the staff pressed into the posture of caretakers and the students forced into infantilism—whether docile or demonstrative. Although Cox gives no special attention to the university, his basic premise is relevant: that the Christian should greet with joy and anticipation the “secularization” of certain basic institutions in our society. The “secularization” of the university means its passing beyond the protectionist, pseudo-monastic pos-

ture. Let the image of the *Monasterium* be abandoned, and the image of the *Polis* be embraced!

The issue for the *Polis* is the development of mature and responsible citizens, persons equipped by study and experience to give wise leadership to the society at large. The need of the great university today is precisely the need of the city and the society at large: to develop those instruments of self-government and responsible action which will in a consistent way bring the best wisdom of the commonalty to bear upon the common problems. As most universities are presently structured, and regardless of what is taught in sociology or political science, the students are learning everything *except* responsible self-government. They are learning, in fact, that those who have attained prominence and position are entitled thereby to make arbitrary decisions, and that those who are still regarded as juniors should be docile and occasionally infantile.

It reveals meanness of spirit, as well as a fundamental misunderstanding of the situation, to charge a student generation which has contributed more volunteers for service than any since the great generation of John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer and the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, with frivolity and irresponsibility. This is, as statistics in the Peace Corps and the Mississippi Project demonstrate, one of the best student generations of the last century in American higher education.

This is a generation which is learning to take the dialogue with the world seriously. It is up to those who represent the dialogue with the past to indicate that the past they are talking about is not a degenerate image of anxious protectionism but a lively and glorious heritage received from the saints and prophets who have enlightened our history and enabled our present.

The university cannot be redeemed by any effort to recapture a model community within which the few could practice sensitive and “spiritual” human relations. It can only be redeemed by pressing ahead to make our great universities noble and well-structured models of the great city which our society as a whole is striving to become.

Yes, a long story

What strange country does the child walk on
between cities, between parents, beginning
to ask “who am I?” “does it have any meaning?”
“is there any justice, honor—or are these vain words?”
who can reach this no longer child, this not yet husband
or wife in the darkness?
between lives, the hero somewhat beginning to talk to the stars;
if he does not
if she does not
reach our need there will be no conversation, there will be no
lights possible in the Cities.

—JOHN TAGLIABUE

THE STATUE OF THE ANGEL OF DEATH
OVER MENDOCINO, CALIFORNIA

Behind her, silent in time,
She senses his command
To unbraid her tress
At the touch of his hand;

Bent by heavy gull-wings,
Stiff, in prim stare,
The Angel of Death
Parts her long hair,

And high above the lumber town
In redwood, painted white,
He breaks the column of her life
In a secret, Masonic rite.

Over the slow, whitecapped sea,
Slanting in the sun, gulls cry
As his awkward angel's silence
Answers the terror in her eye;

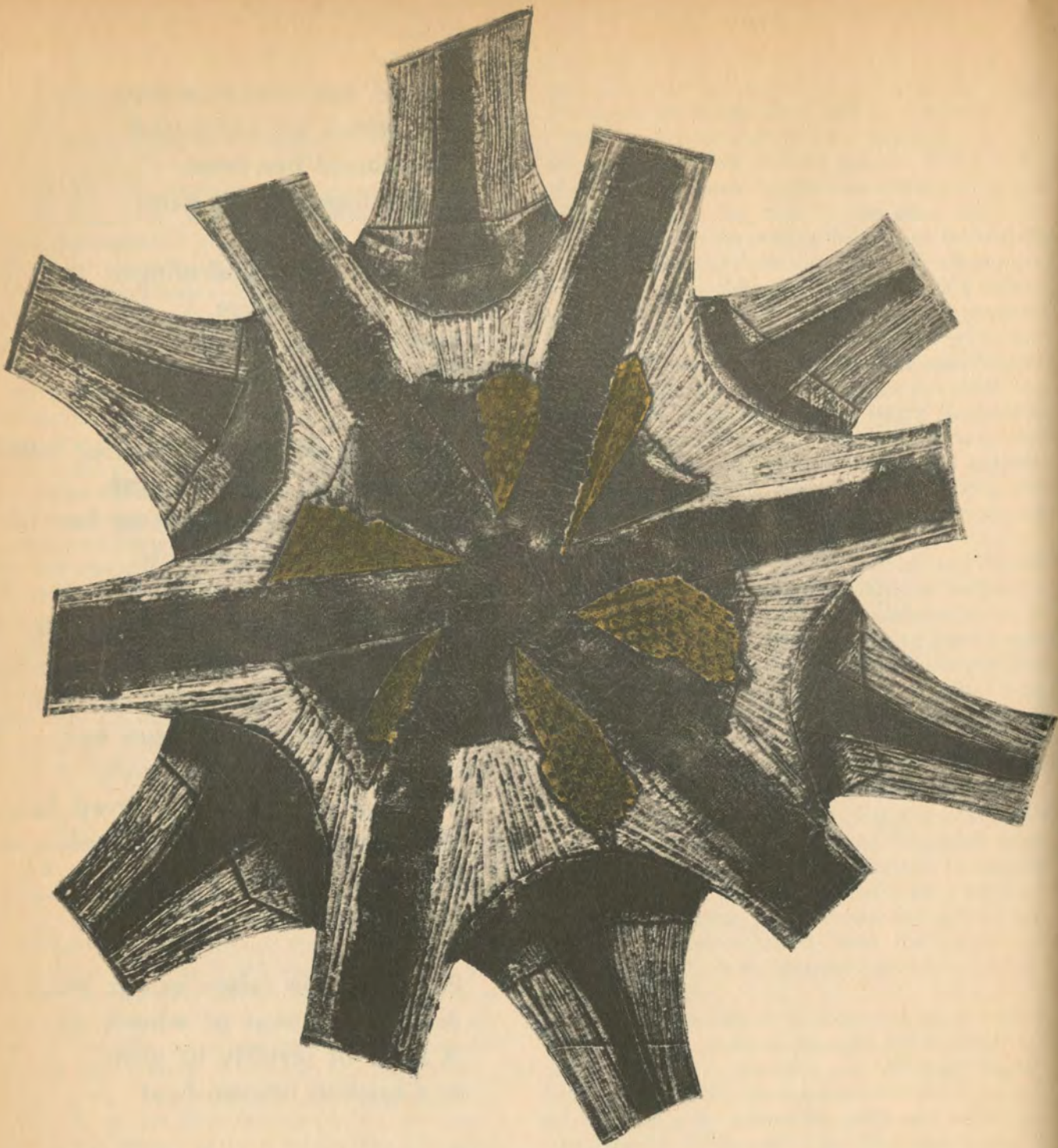
Time falling from her carved face,
She touches the Bible to feel
Salvation, her lost youth
Hooks on her spinning reel.

Pleading, she raises in her hand
A Grecian sheaf of wheat,
A seed of fertility to grow
In Christian heaven-heat

That, transcendental, when she's
Summoned, she rises
Through a wooden, floating
Purity of disguises—

Yet, sharp, the tall scythe leans
Against the Angel's trance
Of time, a killing curve that
Cuts away the lines of innocence.

—JAMES SCHEVILL



VARIATION ON THE NIMBUS JAMES McLEAN

REVOLT WITHOUT DOGMA

BY JACK NEWFIELD

*The first one now will later be last
for the times they are a changin'.*
Bob Dylan

Reprinted from *The Nation*, May 10, 1965 by permission.

A new generation of radicals has been spawned from the chrome womb of affluent America. Any lingering doubts about this evaporated last April when 20,000 of the new breed pilgrimaged to Washington, D.C., to demand a negotiated peace in

Vietnam.

These were the boys and girls who freedom-rode to Jackson; who rioted against HUAC; who vigiled for Caryl Chessman; who picketed against the Bomb; who invaded Mississippi last summer; and who turned Berkeley into an academic Selma. They are a new generation of dissenters, nourished not by Marx, Trotsky, Stalin or Schachtman but by Camus, Paul Goodman, Bob Dylan and SNCC—the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Their revolt is not only against capitalism but against the values of middle-class America: hypocrisy called Brotherhood Week; assembly lines called colleges; conformity called status; bad taste called Camp, and quiet desperation called success.

At the climax of the Washington march, arms linked and singing *We Shall Overcome*, were the veterans of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, freshmen from small Catholic colleges, clean-shaven intellectuals from Ann Arbor and Cambridge, the fatigued shock troops of SNCC, Iowa farmers, impoverished urban Negroes organized by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), beautiful high school girls without make-up, and adults, many of them faculty members, who journeyed to Washington for a demonstration conceived and organized by students.

During the rally they heard the visionary voices of the new radicalism: Staughton Lynd, a young professor at Yale, who explained why he wasn't paying his income tax this year; Paul Potter, the brilliant president of SDS, who told them they must construct a social movement that will "change our condition"; Bob Parris, the poet-revolutionary of SNCC, who urged: "Don't use the South as a moral lightning rod; use it as a looking glass to see what it tells you about the whole country." And there were Joan Baez and Judy Collins to sing the poems of Bob Dylan.

THIS is literally a New Left—in style, mystique, momentum, tactics and vision. As Potter said in Washington: "The reason there are 20,000 of us here today is that five years ago a social movement was begun by students in the South." The two other major student groups of the New Left—SDS and the Northern Student Movement (NSM)—have no roots in the organizations and dogmas of the 1930s. The student groups affiliated with the old sects—Communist, Trotskyist and Socialist—remain small and isolated and are seen by the New Left as elitist, doctrinaire and manipulative. The enthusiasts of SNCC and SDS do not engage in sterile, neurotic debates over Kronstadt or the pinpoints of Marxist doctrine. They are thoroughly indigenous radicals: tough, democratic, independent, creative, activist, unsentimental.

Many of the new dissenters are philosophy students, like Bob Parris and Berkeley's Mario Savio,

rather than economics and political science students. Their deepest concerns seem to be human freedom and expression. Their favorite song is *Do When the Spirit Say Do*, and their favorite slogan is, "One Man, One Vote." One phrase that they use a great deal is "participatory democracy," and they sing a chorus of *Oh Freedom* that says "no more leaders over me." At a SNCC-SDS organizers' institute on the eve of the Washington march, the young revolutionaries wrote poetry on the walls.

During the 1950s, the only symptom of campus disquiet was the Beat orthodoxy of pot and passivity. The Beats sensed that something was wrong with the America of brinkmanship, payola and green stamps, but lacked the energy and seriousness to do anything about it. So they withdrew into their own antisocial, nonverbal subculture to read the "spontaneous bop prosody" of Jack Kerouac. The magazines—middle-brow and slick—of the late 1950s were glutted with sociological hand-wringing about campus catatonia and excessive student concern with home, job and marriage. The label "The Silent Generation" was pinned and it stuck.

Nobody signed petitions. "It might hurt you later on," explained students weaned on McCarthyism. In 1959, Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, wrote with prophetic irony: "The employers will love this generation; they are not going to press many grievances. . . . They are going to be easy to handle. There aren't going to be any riots."

Most of the new radicals date the birth of their movement from the first student lunch-counter sit-in at Greensboro, N. C., on February 1, 1960. In the days that followed, this pacifist tactic of non-violent direct action, which was to become the hallmark of their rebellion, spread spontaneously throughout the middle South—to Nashville, to Raleigh, to Atlanta. During the 1960 Easter vacation, 300 young Negroes, plus a few whites, assembled on the campus of Shaw University at Raleigh to found the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

Roused by the first dramatic wave of sit-in demonstrations, students across the country turned to political action in the spring of 1960. Thousands marched on picket lines for the first time in their lives, in front of Northern branches of Woolworth and Kress department stores. Outside San Quentin, hundreds made vigil in a chill drizzle to protest the execution of Caryl Chessman. In San Francisco, thousands engaged in a riot against hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In New York City, several thousand high school and college students refused to take shelter during a mock city-wide air-raid drill.

WHAT began as an ethical revolt against the immorality of segregation, war and the death penalty, grew slowly during the next few years and began to take on political and economic

Spurred by Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, the student movement began to leave the campus to confront the economic roots of racism and poverty. Some went to Hazard, Ky., to work with striking coal miners; others abandoned graduate school and promising careers to join SNCC or work with SDS and the NSM in organizing the black ghettos of the North.

Today, SNCC stands as the first monument built by the New Left. From its improvised beginnings in a single dreary room in Atlanta, SNCC has grown up to have 260 full-time field secretaries in the South, who work for subsistence wages. SNCC has become a magnet, pulling the entire civil rights movement to the left, pushing the NAACP out of the courtroom and into the streets, and fortifying Martin Luther King's redemptive love with social vision. SNCC's first sit-ins compelled the Supreme Court to revolutionize its definition of private property. SNCC's fertile imagination has generated the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). And SNCC's special quality of nobility tinged with madness first cracked the tradition-laden surface of Mississippi to make it a national disgrace.

SNCC has also been the crucible of much of the evolving humanist-anarchist philosophy of the new radicals: the idea that people don't need leaders; grass-roots organizing among the very poor; Quaker-like communitarian democracy.

SNCC's Bob Parris is so much an exile from leadership that he dropped his well-publicized last name of Moses last February and left Mississippi, where he was the first SNCC worker, to go to Birmingham to "talk to my neighbors." Says Parris: "The people on the bottom don't need leaders at all. What they need is the confidence in their own worth and identity to make decisions about their own lives."

Jimmy Garrett, writing in SNCC's April newsletter, expanded on the theory of egalitarian leadership:

We are taught that it takes qualifications like college education, or "proper English" or "proper dress" to lead people. These leaders can go before the press and project a "good image" to the nation and to the world. But after a while the leaders can only talk to the press and not with the people. They can only talk about problems as they see them—not as the people see them. And they can't see the problems any more because they are always in news conferences, "high level" meetings or negotiations. So leaders speak on issues many times which do not relate to the needs of the people. . . .

Within SNCC, which has no membership, only staff, a Quaker style of consent has evolved, whereby decisions are delayed until the dissenting minority is won over. Occasionally this method causes observers from traditional liberal organizations to despair of SNCC's anarchy and confusion.

As for mounting insinuations of Communist influence within SNCC, Garrett says:

Man, the Communists, they're empty man, empty. They've got the same stale ideas, the same bureaucracy. . . . When he gets mixed up with us, a Commie dies and a person develops. They're not subverting us, we're subverting them.

Like most of the New Left, SNCC is a-Communist rather than anti-Communist or pro-Communist.

THOUGH less well known than SNCC, Students for a Democratic Society appears to be the most influential New Left group outside the South. On March 19, SDS organized a sit-in at the Chase Manhattan Bank on Wall Street to protest the bank's loans to the Union of South Africa, and forty-nine people were arrested. The April 17th Vietnam march, sponsored by SDS, attracted students from approximately 100 different campuses. And this summer about 500 SDS members will live in eight Northern cities where SDS projects are attempting to organize poor Negroes and poor whites into a populist coalition of the dispossessed.

In 1962, when it was reconstituted after a long period of inactivity, SDS was dominated by graduate students, meetings were conducted in sociological jargon, and the membership included many ADA-oriented liberals. Today, SDS has about sixty formal chapters and fifty staff members and has evolved a way-out foreign policy that opposes the West in Viet-Nam, the Congo and much of Latin America. Since these positions have not been accompanied by equal criticism of the Eastern-bloc nations, SDS has come into increasing conflict with its parent organization, the League for Industrial Democracy, which is dominated by social democrats and dependent on trade-union financing. SDS has also shifted its emphasis from campus recruiting to ghetto organizing and, in general, comes under SNCC's egalitarian and proletarian mystique. The group, however, has not lost its original intellectuality. President Paul Potter divides his time between graduate school and the ghetto project in Cleveland. Past President Tom Hayden, who did graduate work at the University of Michigan, is now an organizer in Newark. And one of the SDS organizers in Chicago is Richard Rothstein, a 21-year-old Harvard graduate and a former Fulbright scholar at the London School of Economics.

One of the major problems now confronting SDS is the role of those students who revived it in 1962 and who are now 24 to 26 years old. While they are eager for the newer recruits to become leaders, they themselves have no adult organization into which they can graduate. Lately, the SDS internal bulletin has been filled with soul-searching essays on whether one can be a radical within his chosen profession, or whether a true radical must devote his

flesh. whole life to revolutionary organizing. The long-range impact of the New Left may ultimately hang on whether or not the new crusaders can fashion in the next few years a new radical, national organization into which students can be funneled.

THE Northern Student Movement started in 1962 as a band of students involved in the dual programs of fund raising on campuses for the movement in the South and of running tutorial programs for Negro school children in the North. Gradually NSM realized that the tutorial approach "treats symptoms without affecting causes," and today its field projects in Harlem, Boston, Hartford, Detroit and Philadelphia are engaged in rent strikes, block-by-block organizing and attacks on middle-class control of the war on poverty.

NSM executive director William Strickland, who wrote his Master's thesis on Malcolm X, insists: "We're not a New Left because we're not interested in a guy's memorizing Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution or some Stalinist with a line. We're interested in creating new forms and new institutions, like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. We're interested in liberating energy, in people affecting the decisions that control their lives. Call us the New Democrats, or the New Realists."

Like most movements, the new radicalism has generated its own extremist fringe—a Pot Left, or perhaps more precisely, a Pop Left. This extremist tail of the New Left is seen in its most advanced form in the new bohemia of the East Village, in New York, although Berkeley's Dirty Speech Movement appears to have the flavor.

It is in the East Village that several thousand drop-outs from society have coalesced to cheer LeRoi Jones's scorn for Mickey Schwerner and Andrew Goodman; to join the Peking splinter, the Progressive Labor Movement; to confuse drugs and homosexuality with political actions, to buy "Support the National Liberation Front" buttons for a quarter.

So far the Pop Left seems far more interested in style, shock and exhibitionism than in any serious program, Maoist or otherwise. Their gurus, playwright LeRoi Jones and writer Marc Schleifer, put SNCC down as nonviolent and middle class; Schleifer claims he is "left of anything that exists in the world today," and that "Khrushchev is the symbol of white liberalism." They'll picket to legalize marijuana, but not for much else.

Determined to write their own philosophy and their own history, the new insurgents have become isolated from all previous generations of American dissenters. Already many of the 1930s revisionist liberals, once burned by Stalinism, have issued polemics of scorn and skepticism against the New Left. John Roche, former chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, accused the student zealots as

early as 1962 of "naivete about the intentions of the Soviet Union," and of "escapism and other-worldliness." Other Polonius-styled essays have followed from Daniel Bell, Max Lerner, Lewis Coser, Nathan Glazer, Irving Howe—and, of course, Sidney Hook, who recently issued a stern rebuke to the Berkeley insurrectionists. Many of the same writers and critics who recently eulogized the dead Wobblies excoriate the much less violent SNCC workers.

Unfortunately, these unfounded attacks, plus a fierce identity of generation, have maneuvered the students into estrangement from the handful of radicals who fought so bravely through the 1950's, so that there might be a New Left today. Immediate predecessors like Socialists Bayard Rustin and Michael Harrington are repudiated on the absurd ground that they have "sold out to the Establishment"—Rustin because he supported the 1964 moratorium on street demonstrations and the compromise offered the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic Convention, and Harrington because he is a consultant to Sargent Shriver and Walter Reuther. The new radicals also reject the Rustin-Harrington theory that social change is achieved by an institutionalized coalition of church, labor, Negro and liberal groups reforming the Democratic Party. The New Left sees institutions like the NAACP and the UAW as essentially impotent and believes that social progress can be won only by insurgent forces disrupting society.

The few older figures whom the new generation seems to respect come out of the radical pacifist tradition—men like Paul Goodman and the 80-year-old A. J. Muste. The once strong influence of C. Wright Mills appears to have diminished since his death in 1962. And although they have a great hidden admiration for Martin Luther King, the young anti-heroes do recoil from the "cult of personality" that has sprung up around the Nobel laureate.

Five years ago, academics and liberals hunted frantically for heirs to the flickering torch of American radicalism. Now that a new generation has finally materialized, the liberals suddenly wish it were more domesticated, more anti-Communist, more middle class and less anti-liberal.

The strategists of the emerging radicalism dream of an anti-Establishment alliance of Southern Negroes, students, poor whites, ghetto Negroes, indigenous protest movements and SNCC—all constituting an independent power base of millions. Most likely they will fail in this utopian vision; certainly they will blunder as they grope for it. Perhaps the final impact of their rebellion will be small. But the impulse that drives them into the lower depths of America is the same one that motivated the Abolitionists and the Wobblies. Like the anarchist strikers at Lawrence, Mass., in 1912, the new radicals want "bread and roses too."

THE STUDENT GENERATION & T



PHOTO: WALLOWITCH

ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

BY KEITH BRIDSTON

"Our teaching is not a dogma, but a guide to action," Marx and Engels always said; and they rightly ridiculed the learning by rote and the mere reiteration of "formulas" that at best are capable of giving only an outline of general tasks, which are necessarily liable to be modified by the concrete and political conditions of each particular phase of the historical process."
V. I. Lenin, *Letters on Tactics* (April 1917)

OUR first lesson for today is from Lenin's *What Is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*. He writes: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This thought cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity."

The applicability of this text to the ecumenical movement of today needs little exegesis. In the seventy years since its institutional inception with the formation of the World's Student Christian Federation by John R. Mott, the ecumenical movement has gone from one success to another. The two great highwater marks of this advancing tide—the foundation of the World Council of Churches and the convocation of the Vatican Council—both epitomize this success and also, ironically, embody the fact that this success is precisely that which poses the greatest threat for spoiling the movement. For it is still problematical whether the ecclesiastical establishing of the movement means that the churchly principalities and powers are becoming ecumenized or that the movement by being established has been captured and neutralized.

Time alone will tell. But in the meantime it is

essential to recognize, as Lenin goes on, "the fact that it is a period of *transition* from the first stage of the revolution to the second." In this transitional stage the maintenance of the fundamental ideological principles on which the ecumenical movement was founded and to which it has owed its remarkable dynamic is of prime importance. The history of the ecumenical movement testifies to the unique role which the student Christian movement has played in formulating the basic ecumenical ideology of our time. The triad of unity, mission, and service—which are the skeletal elements of that "dogma"—are products of the life, work, and thought of the SCM's. And the student Christian generation of today continues to have a unique responsibility for proclaiming that ecumenical gospel among the churches.

This is particularly true in this day of ecumenical "success." The reason for that is simply that the ecumenical revolution is not yet completed. And without ideological vitality it never will be. However, "the mere reiteration of 'formulas,' learned "by rote," is not enough. As Lenin goes on to point out, the traditional creed must be considered in relation to the actual situation which now confronts us: "This formula is already antiquated. Events have

transferred it from the realm of formulas to the realm of reality, clothed it in flesh and blood, lent it concrete form, and have *thereby* modified it . . . (the) slogans and ideas *in general* have been fully corroborated by history; but *concretely*, things have shaped differently from what could have been anticipated (by anyone): they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated."

There must be a constant retelling of the tradition, but also a realistic analysis of "the specific features of the new and living reality." As Lenin argues with his faithful: "For the present it is essential to realize the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of *reality*, and must not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and general, and only approximates to an inclusive grasp of the complexities of life. 'Theory, my friend, is grey, but green in the eternal tree of life.' He who continues to regard the 'completion' of the bourgeois revolution *in the old way*, sacrifices living Marxism to the dead letter."

THIS "demythologizing" of the gospel is also required today in the ecumenical movement. And who is better equipped for this analytical task than the student generation? Students formulated the creed. Now they must also reformulate it. Concretely, they must undertake this ideological reform in light of how things have actually shaped themselves through the movement. Who could have anticipated at the time of the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 the "new and living reality" of the World Council of Churches in its multi-million dollar headquarters in Geneva, or have foreseen the turbulent gales of renewal rushing through Vatican II? The actual ecumenical events have indeed been "more original, more peculiar, more variegated" than the ecumenical pioneers could ever have envisioned. The old ecumenical ideology must give way to a new one which, on one hand, incorporates the essential elements of the old gospel and, on the other, provides a more "inclusive grasp of the complexities of life" inherent in the present ecumenical situation.

In short, the first task of the present student Christian generation in the ecumenical movement is ideological *aggiornamento*.

The second lesson is also from Lenin:

I must say that the tasks of the youth in general . . . may be summed up in one word: learn . . . Naturally, the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning Communism means imbibing the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist textbooks, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of Communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of Communism consisted solely in imbibing what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts . . . unable to act in the way Communism really

demands . . . It would be still more dangerous to start to imbid only communist slogans. . . . It is not enough to understand what electricity is: it is necessary to know how to apply it technically. . . . The task of the old generation was to overthrow. . . . The new generation is confronted with a much more complicated task . . . You must build a communist society. In many respects, the first half of the work has been done. The old order has been destroyed, as it deserved to be. The ground has been cleared, and on this ground the young communist generation must build a communist society. You are faced with the task of construction, and you can cope with it only by mastering all modern knowledge, only if you are able to transform Communism from ready-made, memorized formulas, counsels, recipes, prescriptions and programs into that living thing which unites your immediate work, and only if you are able to transform Communism into a guide for your practical work. (*The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*)

Thus, along with ideological renewal, the student generation has the task of political reconstruction in the ecumenical movement. Ecumenical theory must be combined with ecumenical action. Just as is the case with ideological reform, so political reform requires a realistic appraisal of the actual situation confronting us. And this, in comparison with the previous periods of ecumenical advance, is a "much more complicated task," as Lenin says. How is the new ecumenical society to be built? The new ecumenical ideology clarifies the ultimate goals of the movement. But how are we to move from where we are toward those goals?

Let us take one of them: the visible unity of Christ's people, "all in each place." There are a variety of reasons why the churches are separated from one another: there are, to use a traditional ecumenical slogan, "theological and non-theological factors" which divide the Body. What modern studies have made evident is that many of the so-called "theological factors"—that is, dogmatic and creedal differentia—are often only rationalizations of the deep-seated sociological and political divisive powers. And one of the reasons why "theological" reasons have to be found to justify and rationalize such divisions is that the *fact* of politics in church life is denied. As Reinhold Niebuhr has written: "the secular disciplines frequently so defective in their ultimate frame of reference, nevertheless provided the discriminating judgments which made it possible for modern men to analyze the complex problems of economic and political justice and to puncture the pretensions of religious people who sought to make religious faith an instrument of political power." (*The World Crisis and American Responsibility*, p. 32, Association Press.) One of the chief "pretensions," of course, is that the Church is not a political body and that, therefore, the usual dynamics of politics do not operate within it. Or, if it is admitted that politics do exist within the church, such politics are rationalized as "Christian," or even

"holy," and thus exceptions to the analytical criteria applied by "secular disciplines" to other human communities. Through this illusion, a church may justify its separation from another church or churches on the grounds of doctrinal disagreement, whereas the real reason may be its concern (conscious or sub-conscious) to maintain its institutional existence and to protect its organizational vested interests. So it happens that, because church politics are not acknowledged (not only in the ecumenical relations between the churches but also internally), "religious" faith becomes a powerful instrument of political power within the ecclesiastical corporation itself. And this is as true of those bodies with a theoretically "democratic" polity as those which assert "a hierarchy by divine ordination instituted" and anathematize anyone who denies it (Canon VI, Council of Trent).

AS has been said, the formal polity of an ecclesiastical body does not absolutely determine the character of its political life; nor does it guarantee its political health. Different types of polity do, of course, engender different types of politics. In the early church, for example, the political power of a metropolitan was derived in part from his position as "executive officer of an assembly," the synod, and the particular power of certain metropolitans was related to the power and prestige of the city of which he was bishop—e.g. Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople. This differentiation is obviously a matter of politics rather than hierarchical polity, though the two are interwoven. But the political factor becomes especially evident in bodies with polities antagonistic to centralized authority: "Powerful boards dominated by executive secretaries play a major part in the government of congregations and denominations. The drive for unity and efficiency tends to overcome anti-bureaucratic theological doctrines" (D. O. Moberg, *The Church as a Social Institution*, 97). In such cases, precisely because the stated polity does not recognize it the actual centralization of power becomes that much more accentuated and theologically unconditioned. Thus, a hierarchical polity may allow a greater degree of democratic political life, though limited, than a *theoretically* democratic polity which has utopian illusions about the powers at work in politics and thus has no strong built-in safeguards and a system of checks and balances against irrational and irresponsible use of power.

Political pietism is even more demonic in the church than it is in the world. For one thing, there is often the complacent assumption that the constitutional principles and the political realities of a religious body are necessarily consonant—just because it is "religious." For another thing, it is thought—perhaps rightly—that there is more idealism in a religious body than in others. But the conclusion is drawn that this is somehow a guarantee against in-

stitutional degeneracy, and this is also an illusion. As Niebuhr says: "In one sense the presence or absence of cynicism among the oligarchs is beside the point. The important point is that the ruthless power operates behind a screen of pretended ideal ends, a situation which is both more dangerous and more evil than pure cynical defiance of moral ends. It corresponds to the weakness of the human heart more nearly than absolute cynicism, for men are less inclined to pure cynicism than to the delusion that they serve some noble purpose in engaging in projects which serve their own end." (*World Crisis*, 55-6.)

It must be said, therefore, that the political life of churches has a certain integrity, or should have, irrespective of the different polities under which and through which it operates. In other words, church politics has the familiar secular patterns and characteristics and there are certain general political norms which can be applied to it and by which it may be judged. In this sense, the standards and criteria of secular politics are appropriate and applicable to the politics of the Church, and vice versa.

This does not mean bringing the standards of church life down (though it does mean bringing them down to earth). Rather it means the "elevation of pure politics to an ethical position" as Benedetto Croce put it. As he says, the distinctions sometimes made between "politics" and "ethics" or between "political action" and "moral action" are invalid: "there can be no moral life that is not both economic and political life, just as there can be no soul without a body. And moral man does not put into practice his morality except by acting in a political manner and by accepting the logic of politics." Croce illustrates his point with the examples of the struggles of St. Bernard with King Ruggiero of Sicily, and of Protestantism itself which, he observes, was "forced from the very beginning to adopt political methods," learning not a little "in this connection, from its Jesuit adversaries, excellent teachers of such matters in theory and in practice." (*Politics*, 22.)

If the crux of politics could be considered the art of maintaining a viable relation between law and power, on one hand, and love and justice, on the other within a responsible society, it is probably the problem of power which presents the greatest dilemma in rationalizing church politics, particularly in those traditions most deeply infected with the virus of political pietism. This is due not simply to the fact that the "word power often carries mild or even strong negative connotations, usually by association with highly coercive, violent or concentrated forms of power" but that the mechanics of power are highly intricate and intimately related to the type of organization, different stages in the life of an organization, various sorts of social structure embodied in an organization, ways of distribution of power through an organization, and the size of an

organization. In summarizing these intricacies, J. Milton Yinger concludes: "The main point is that the church cannot escape the dilemmas of power." ("The Function and Control of Power in the Church," Faith and Order Paper, 1959.)

The point of all this is that if the student generation wishes to be an effective force in the ecumenical movement it must be prepared to engage in political activity insofar as the divisive powers separating the churches are political. Realistic ecumenical action "cannot escape the dilemmas of power." As Irving Howe says of Ignazio Silone's novel *Bread and Wine*, it comes up against "a central dilemma of all political action: the only certain way of preventing bureaucracy is to refrain from organization, but the refusal to organize with one's fellow men can lead only to acquiescence in detested power or to isolated and futile acts of martyrdom and terrorism." The goal of Christian unity in the ecumenical movement is in part a political goal: the bringing together of separated church polities into one organic whole. And if the ecumenical ideology leads one to a commitment to realize that goal then political action follows.

The sad fact is, however, that the younger generation is almost completely impotent as an effective political power in the institutional structures of the ecumenical movement. It is, in effect, an auxiliary movement and by being departmentally ghettoized (as youth, student, or young people's divisions of the churches and ecumenical agencies) has been segregated from the inner circles of political power. To take one current example: the new general secretary of the World Council of Churches is being selected by committees in which the pre-40, pre-30, and pre-20 age groups are conspicuous by their absence even though such an ecumenical leader might presumably be expected to provide leadership in the future for precisely those new generations. This is nothing to be surprised at since the vast majority of the member churches follow the same political style in their own internal affairs.

At the same time, it may also be said that the younger generation by acquiescing to a subservient position in the ecclesiastical power structures gets the political leaders it deserves: by permitting itself to be paternalized (million dollar student centers are symbolic of how the churches buy off the student generation and neutralize it politically) it gets paternalists as leaders. If the younger generation wishes to have church leaders that represent *them* then it will have to organize for political action and act politically. To put it simply: they will have to go out and get the votes. Furthermore, as may be the case with the general secretary of the World Council of Churches, it conceivably might require finding a suitable candidate for the post (one who is willing publicly to run for office—no easy task in the anti-political ethos of the ecclesiastical world), campaign for him, and secure the necessary votes

in the decision-making bodies for his election. After all, even the Pope is an "elected official," however limited the democratic possibilities may be in that particular political institution.

SUCH overt political action in the church is almost certainly to be misinterpreted and misunderstood at the present time. This is partly because of the pietistic illusions about politics in the churches and partly because our whole society is antagonistic to the claims of youth for responsible participation. As E. Z. Friedenberg says in discussing the work of Erik Erikson: "For our society, and, indeed any mass society, is bitterly hostile and destructive to the positive goals of the succeeding stages of growth. We do not tolerate in our adolescents a firm sense of their own identity, or the impassioned, if transitory, commitments through which different identities can be tried and accepted or rejected." ("Childhood, Society, and Erik Erikson," *New York Review of Books*, IV, 7. May 6, 1965.)

Because of this underlying hostility to its political pretensions and because the channels for regular political action may be clogged from disuse, or may not exist at all, the student generation may have to resort to more radical forms of political activity to achieve their goals in and between the churches. The Free Speech Movement in Berkeley illustrates how this has become necessary in some academic institutions; equivalent forms of political action may be required in many churches as well. The Selma March, civil rights demonstrations, and sit-ins are also illustrative of the need for alternative forms of political participation when the existing political structures no longer function properly.

Is this an invitation to anarchy? Not necessarily. As Bertrand Russell says of the place of rebellion in social life: "Rebellion is of two sorts: it may be purely personal, or it may be inspired by desire for a different kind of community from that in which the rebel finds himself. In the latter case, his desire can be shared by others; in many instances, it has been shared by all except the small minority who profited by the existing system. This type of rebel is constructive, not anarchic; even if his movement leads to temporary anarchy, it is intended to give rise, in the end, to a new stable community." (*Power*, 170. Barnes & Noble, N. Y., 1962.)

The ecumenical movement desperately needs responsible rebels today. And the student generation has a unique service it can render in providing this renewing vanguard for the churches. Ecumenical transformation requires ideological renewal: "the renewing of your minds" in St. Paul's words. But it also requires political action: the vital presence of "your bodies a living sacrifice." Many of the crucial issues of the ecumenical movement are being decided and will be decided in stale committee rooms and through grubby ballot boxes. Our treasure is in earthy vessels. Is that so surprising?

STUDENTS, 1965



A STUDENT MANIFESTO

We live in a moment in history when radically new possibilities are opening before us. Possibilities for freedom or bondage, creation or destruction. And the power is within our hands to decide which direction the history of civilization will take. This power to decide the sign of what it means to be alive today.

. . . As much as we may wish for the security of another era, we cannot have it. Our situation in the twentieth century is a new one and must be accepted for what it is.

Change has taken many faces. We have shifted from a rural culture to a massive urban society. This move from a small, parochial mentality has made necessary a radical adjustment of our social, political and economic life. Lucid men are conscious of these radical adjustments and have demanded that such changes be humanizing rather than dehumanizing. Those who make the demands are the revolutionaries who stand at the cutting edge of human existence and who by their revolutionary stance intend to affirm that existence.

Radical change is manifest in the revolutions which have erupted in every corner of the world. New nations are emerging. Imperialism is being exposed . . . oppressive political and economic structures are being uprooted and replaced by new patterns. In our own urban culture, there are many dehumanizing power structures and revolutionaries are demanding that these be recreated in such a way as to release new possibilities for unforeseen freedom.

For the first time man requires universality for his frame of reference. No longer is he allowed to be parochial, seeing only his own self, his own neighborhood, his own nation or even his own culture. A radical interdependence of the peoples of the world is his situation. We recognize that the decision of one person, one nation, one culture affects us all. This places upon us a tremendous burden of responsibility for each decision that we make.

Our world is restless. The revolutionary winds are stirring up a mood of freedom and responsibility that we must eagerly affirm. The unlimited possibilities of space exploration and the pervasive relativism of the post-Einsteinian era have shown us that our future has not yet been determined. Man is not just a victim of historical forces but is free to choose the ro

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a model for revolutionary mission

he will play in the drama of history. Every act of injustice and inhumanity presents new possibilities and imperatives for freedom, reconciliation and restoration. We tremble in such unprecedented freedom and its great responsibility, yet we affirm that it is precisely this gift which thrusts us into our full humanity.

... The Christ event shattered the first century ethos and gave history a new Word—the Gospel. This good news announced that man was no longer bound to the simple obedience of servant to master. Through this event we became sons, and not only sons, but heirs. And now we have the awesome responsibility of administering the affairs of the world in the name of God. We are free men in Christ bound only by gratitude for the gift of new life.

This Word has existed throughout history though it has not always been recognized. The medieval church objectified its faith into institutional forms and practices but the Word always has defied such manipulations.

... The revolutions of our century [political, military, economic, social and theological] have precipitated radical reconsiderations of what it means to be the Church. Appropriating the ancient but ever-new Word into meaningful new forms is part of our struggle. And in this context we discover that to be the Church in mission means to identify with and participate in the activity of the Word in the revolutions of our time. We believe that this Word is seeking to restore community and humanity to its fullness; therefore we have a history of involvement on the frontiers of social change.

Given this perspective, we are led to a statement of being, to a picture of what characterizes the revolutionary in the twentieth century.

The revolutionary steps into the midst of society, actively participating in those institutions and events which forge our common history. He knows that unless he is present in the midst of the world he cannot understand it nor can he reform it.

He is continually sensitive to the "ongoingness" of the world. . . . He is aware of the environment of the moment, tuning in before speaking and acting.

While the revolutionary, by definition, responds to the situation of the moment by specific acts, he also accepts full responsibility for his activity. His decision to act grows out of the

carefully considered tension between obedience and freedom. He recognizes the need for compliance with the immediate social order as it is given to him while he considers ways to respond creatively to fresh demands for justice and community. As Bonhoeffer says, "Obedience without freedom is slavery; freedom without obedience is arbitrary self-will."

The revolutionary realizes that his life is inextricably involved with the lives of every human being. He acknowledges that he, as every man, is made out of the stuff of the past; his life is now bound to the destiny of all men, and his actions affect the entire future of civilization. He decides to take upon himself representational responsibility; that is, he assumes responsibility for all men's lives. He responds to God on behalf of the whole society, leading them into the fullness of existence manifest in Jesus Christ.

We are also led to a statement of intention, to a picture of what the revolutionary does. He has no choice but to be on the cutting edge of history. His decision enables the carving of history from the variety of possibilities that come before him out of his circumstances. Essential to this task is the creation of a model of the future which is a basis for him to enter the social, political, and economic orders at the breach between the no-longer and the not-yet of history. He intends to alter the course of history by casting his life on the barbed wire of bondage. . . . More particularly, he is involved in the Vietnams, the Selmas, and the Cubas of his day, and he assumes full responsibility for the totality of these situations. He is accountable for the academic community's being visionary and competent in its preparation of the cosmopolitan man, and for the religious establishment's moving out of its institution to meet its Lord in the midst of social, political, and economic upheaval.

Life has no relevance, no significance, unless we make a determined response to the new world mood, to the call to be human. As the National Conference of the MSM we offer our life as our act in the creation of a new civilization. We will direct the force of our own lives into the stream of the revolution and lead it into the new humanity. We have decided to enter history as a decisive agent for renewal. Therefore, we invite all who wish to take the revolutionary character of our age seriously to unite with us in the creation of a new world.

THE BOAT ROCKERS

BY ANDY DAVENPORT

The majority of students isn't willing to challenge traditional authorities and express their ideas, but the number of "boat rockers" is growing. Students long ago stopped swallowing goldfish and an increasing number have stopped swallowing the intellectual pap served in over-abundance at do-it-yourself factories.

During the Selma march, a sympathetic group of twenty students and faculty at the University of Alabama met to establish a campus organization that would participate actively in civil rights. They wanted to march, tutor Negro students, teach in voter registration schools, exchange visits with Negro colleges, and provide a forum for campus discussion. Such actions would have been in sharp contrast to the student riots when Miss Autherine Lucy entered the University.

The contrast was never realized. After unsuccessful attempts to obtain a charter from the student government, the organization changed its original objectives. The group agreed to meet only as a discussion forum, providing information about off-campus activities in which members could participate individually. The earlier plan for direct group involve-

ment in civil rights was sacrificed for the continued existence of the group on campus. There was much debate and disagreement among the group (grown to about 200 members) on the benefits and detriments of such a change. However, the chances for the charter to be passed were improved. When I left the University, the group was still struggling for existence. The significance of this struggle and its effect on the mood of students were striking.

Students began to realize that it is their responsibility to question both the university and the culture, despite the rising voices around them that say, "Don't rock the boat." By rocking the boat, students question the coercive power of the administration and faculty. Shouldn't the administration be reminded that their primary job is to provide the students and faculty with the place and funds for learning, rather than to restrict or to censor?

Not only do students challenge the administration, but they also create strategic dialogue with fellow students. Most students are passive or apathetic about their education; they are seldom motivated by ideas, in or out of the university. They are

primarily interested in social functions and in learning a trade which gives them a specified status and function in society. These interests are not invalid, but their priority is disproportionate to the values and goals of an authentic university.

The passivity of students is encouraged by a society and university which create images of teachers as being invincible and omnipotent. Such images thrive particularly in parochial universities where tradition is the rule and innovation is the exception. The fear of breaking a long established tradition founded in the university causes students to close their minds to a complete search for knowledge and to become apathetic about the university.

Even though the majority of students conform to the regimen of mass culture and "group-think," the dissenters are increasing. The Berkeley campus protests, the University of Alabama students' attempt to establish an active group in civil rights, and hundreds of other unpublicized efforts are indications of the changing mood and mind of today's student. They're creating a truer, freer, intellectual spirit in our universities.

DOWN WITH DIPLOMA FACTORIES

BY ARNOLD GRAF

There are obviously many ways to view the modern university and each view is admittedly a subjective reflection of what has happened to the particular individual involved. Though my own experiences at the University of Buffalo—where I was one of twenty thousand students—are subjective, they seem to corre-

spond to those of most other students I've met.

In my freshman year I had two courses taught by television with 1,200 students enrolled in each. In my entire college studies, I had only one course in which there were less than twenty-five people enrolled. In another instance I never attended a particular class, yet easily obtained a "B" for my "efforts." By the university's standards I had learned

something; by my standards I had merely memorized a textbook. And the frightening thought is that I'm not an exception in this practice: it is a common occurrence among most college students.

Most of what I learned in college came from activities outside the classroom and from a few dedicated teachers.

One of my grievances against the contemporary university is its size.

This indictment has been heard so frequently that some dismiss it as an academic cliché. But the problem of size is neither academic nor trite when you're one of the 1,200 subjected to the mass exposure approach of education. Rote learning may result from this kind of teaching, but the facilities and faculties of a university are wasted in this process.

The university is deteriorating into a vocational training institution. The majority of students looks upon such universities as necessary evils: if you don't get your diploma, you don't receive your ticket to a good job. These universities are simply supplying students with necessary credentials.

Size affects many facets of a student's life. It is extremely difficult for students and faculty to have any relationship outside the classroom. Most professors find it impossible to become acquaintances, much less friends, with students. Research and writing—not teaching—become the major focus of the faculty. This lack of intimate interchange with faculty members is one of the major—if not

the major—factors in creating an atmosphere for impoverished learning.

Students catch on that something is amiss. We know that we are learning but not becoming educated. Though some of us may object or rebel, more of us simply acquiesce when confronted by the awesome magnitude of the university.

More crucial than size however is the basic question of the function and objectives of higher education. The popular image of a university is that of a group of ivy-covered buildings in a pastoral setting, detached from the corrupting forces of society, and populated by forgetful eggheads. The image makes a nice Hollywood set but it hardly corresponds to the historic goal of providing a context for the "search for truth."

Education can never be separated from the society in which it is functioning. What good is the "truth" if you can't relate it to your own world? Students too often receive and accept a watered down course that deals with some "abstract" truth. Education is a stimulant of constructive social change but the majority of our institutions are still

attempting to keep their hallowed halls unscathed.

Universities must stop restricting students. When students are denied free thought and expression, they are receiving only half an education. The history of ideas emphasizes that little is learned until an idea in theory is translated and transformed into committed action. The university can and must be the foundation for free thought, but so many shackles now exist that it is more common to think of the university as reflecting rather than formulating thought patterns of a community.

Students expect bold experimentation on campus but encounter tepid formulas. Students hear much about dialectical learning and "rugged confrontation of conflicting ideas," but usually encounter a sterile consensus. Conflict is an important aspect of education but it occurs too infrequently, and then usually only the initiative of a remnant of student and faculty.

The university should not be a sterilizing factor in our society; it should be an institution which continually creates conflict.

HAS THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLT MELLOWED

BY ALLAN C. BROWNFELD

The early years of this decade have been marked with an amazing political phenomenon: a conservative revival among young people. This has manifested itself in many ways, literary and philosophical as well as political. Publications such as *Analysis* (the University of Pennsylvania) and *The New Individualist Review* (the University of Chicago) reflect this concern.

Beneath this enthusiasm for an abandoned—and, some said, repudiated—system of values, there existed the hope of future victory, the rarely spoken belief that conservatism did, in fact, reflect the instinct, if not the conscious thought, of the majority.

This should not necessarily have been the case, for those who believe in values need never prove the validity of their values by a majority vote. Whatever else majority rule may do, and however much praise its exponents may heap upon it, few would argue that questions of right and wrong might be put to a vote.

Many of us who have been attracted by conservatism are disap-

pointed with the growing lack of excellence in our society, and in the downgrading of the individual. We see the drift toward a mass, centralized society as a movement away from the human dignity originally revered by the Western civilization—of which our country was said to be the culmination.

We do not believe that the popularized discussion and advocacy of "equality" is an affirmative approach to the question of man's rights and responsibilities. We rebel at the idea that the "Great Society" should be one in which all men are truly "equal." It is a serious contradiction to speak of both total equality and real liberty.

If real equality is ever introduced to society, young conservatives believe, it will be an equality on the lowest possible level. It will be an equality of bland mediocrity, of an end to uniqueness, and perhaps it will also place on the level of servility those who once objected to being beneath another man. Now it will be the yoke of the state which will smother all equally.

The equality we have always sought in America has been the

equal opportunity to do unequal things. How many of us, after a while, want to be simply the same as everyone else? Robbed of our individuality we would find ourselves mere cogs in the machinery of an all-powerful state, and not in possession of the very dignity which makes man human. Simply put, are we a little lower than the angels because we are men, or are we mere animal subjects for the whims of others as a result of what we had previously considered our humanity?

Questions such as these, dealing with the very nature of man's relationship to the state and with his own dignity as an individual, have motivated us to pursue a change in the current intellectual and philosophical climate.

Young conservatives have been eager to give the American people an opportunity to vote for a system of values and against the drift toward a system in which man would gain his dignity not from God but from his participation in a collective unit. The difference between this concept and the totalitarian idea of man as merely a servant of the state is hard to see. A totalitarian society is, after

all, a society which rules totally.

In order to advance their value system young conservatives have entered enthusiastically the political field. It was really the young conservatives, through the Young Americans for Freedom, who spearheaded the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater. If victory had come in the election, the young conservatives would have considered it a vindication of their position, as if such vindication was necessary for this essentially humane concept of man. But since defeat came we must ask ourselves two questions: (1) Was this defeat a defeat for conservatism? and (2) Will what *Indianapolis News* editor M. Stanton Evans called "The Revolt On The Campus" now begin to mellow? The answer to both is "No," for the following reasons.

Early in the Presidential campaign columnist Roscoe Drummond pointed out that the campaign had departed from its stated course. He wrote: "The irony of the Goldwater candidacy is that he has embroiled it in two over-powering issues which are not part of conservative doctrine. If Senator Goldwater is defeated, it will look like a body blow to conservatism, but in reality the controlling reasons will have little, if anything, to do with true conservatism."

In its endorsement of President Johnson the *Washington Daily News* said that it was Johnson who was really the conservative. In an editorial entitled "LBJ Can Be Called A Conservative" the paper stated: "Senator Goldwater is generally regarded as a spokesman for the theory of conservatism. But he does not have much of a record of accomplishment for conservatism. His *personality and temperament*, while attractive, are not such that, if elected, he would be likely to achieve much success in leading the Democratic Congress, which we are almost certain to have, in the direction of conservatism. Lyndon Johnson is known by the liberal Democrats as one of them—but you have to say 'conservative liberal' to describe him. To earn the right to be called 'conservative' you have to avoid extremes, to think before you speak, to be cautious rather than hasty—and to save money." Here Goldwater was criticized for his temperament, not for his policies. He was considered personally inadequate for the job, and Johnson was endorsed not because he was a liberal, but because he was not!

Speaking in Albuquerque, New

Mexico a week before the election President Johnson presented his own summation of what the issues really were in the campaign. He stated: "The stakes in this election are success—and survival. The issues are *recklessness and responsibility*. . . . The risk is too great." Even President Johnson urged voters to reject his opponent not because he was a conservative, and not because he had advocated policies which might be incorrect, but because he was *personally reckless*.

In summing up its view of the campaign issues *The New York Times* called attention to the fact that personalities and not issues were becoming the major theme of the election debate. The *Times*, on the eve of the election, said: "Barry Goldwater built his campaign around the theme that he was offering the voters a 'choice, not an echo.' Yet the choice, for many voters, appears to have centered on the *personality and character* of the Senator himself. They seem more often to have been asking themselves what kind of President Barry Goldwater would be, rather than what might be wrong with President Johnson. Thus, insofar as concrete issues have been defined in the campaign, they have developed largely from Goldwater's broad and free-swinging attacks. . . ."

Assessing the failure of the campaign to provide the "choice" long called for by conservatives *Time* wrote: "The 1964 Presidential campaign has been one of the most disappointing ever. It was going to be a confrontation between opposing philosophies; it turned out to be a wrestling match between volatile personalities. It was going to prove the vital difference between two strong political parties; it has merely shown that one, the G.O.P., is in need of great repair. It was going to pit liberal against conservative; but Lyndon Johnson has stated very few *liberal tenets*, and many an American conservative now doubts that Barry Goldwater really speaks his language. It was not going to be a 'me too' campaign; it has turned out to be one in which the principals largely shout 'You're another.'"

The 1964 campaign was based not on the conservative-liberal debate many had hoped for but, instead, on more traditional political issues, such as personality and popularity. The campaign arguments themselves were political and not either philosophical or ideological.

Barry Goldwater lost not because

he was a conservative but because he left himself open to the charge of nuclear irresponsibility. Whether Goldwater is an irresponsible man is beside the point. The fact is that his campaign never overcame this impression, and this was one of the primary reasons for his defeat.

The Goldwater campaign seems confused in some other areas as well. It ran more as an advocate of morality than of Constitutionalism, and if we may interpret the vote in these terms we might well conclude that what we have is a repudiation of virtue. This, of course, is not true. What we had was a vote for experience and against what sounded to many like a hollow call for better morals, despite the evident need for a rethinking of our views concerning right and wrong.

Senator Goldwater himself became the target. His policies were rarely discussed except in an oversimplified manner, such as stating that he was "against" social security when the most he had said about social security was that he sought to make it voluntary.

The fact that conservatism was not the issue in 1964 and, therefore, was not defeated still leaves us with the problem of what future conservatism has in the political arena. Answering this question, William F. Buckley, Jr. said: ". . . American conservatives should not lose heart: although some of them should, finally and forever, put aside that consoling dogma they have tucked under their pillows ever since Willkie was defeated in 1940, namely that Republicans have only to nominate a sure-enough conservative to guarantee a sweep, coast to coast. That little romantic wraith was forever interred by the vote last Tuesday. Henceforward conservatives will, one hopes, be forever awakened from the Platonic trance that one has only to make Truth available as an alternative to Error, in order to rest secure. Truth is a demure thing, much too ladylike to knock you on the head and drag you to her cave. She is there, but the people must want her, and seek her out. . . . We need to develop, if we can, a political idiom which will successfully communicate to the masses of the people the inextricable relationship between our political ideas and the best ideals of humankind."

Understanding at the outset that success or failure at the polls does not indicate the truth or falsity of a position, we must nevertheless be

concerned with the drift of our society and must devise a more effective manner in which to deal with it.

Accepting the fact that the 1964 election was not a repudiation of conservatism, it remains a repudiation of the manner in which we sought to present it, as well as the personality of the candidate.

What conservatives should have learned from the election of 1964 is that the conservative philosophy must be presented in such an affirmative way as to influence those who have never really thought through the great questions, the answers to which lie in the balance.

We must be affirmative and not negative. We must, beyond this, convince the American people that it is the self-proclaimed "liberal" philosophy which is inhumane, and not that concept of man and society embraced by conservatives.

The conservative vigor and fervor of young people has not mellowed! What was true before is true now, and as a result of the 1964 election the view of modern liberalism, of an all powerful state and the downgrading of the individual, is more entrenched than it was before. What we have gained, however, is the realization that because what we be-

lieve is true it will not necessarily find fruition in the political arena. Truth is often the hardest thing to spread, for people do not want to hear a sad truth. They would prefer a happy lie, forgetting that the day of reckoning is yet to come.

Young conservatives have not lost heart, but hopefully have gained wisdom. The true battle for conservatism is not in the political arena alone, but in the classroom, in the press, in the community of learning men, and also among the people. Too often we have forgotten the latter point. Perhaps we will not forget it again.

VIETNAM: OUR COMMON TASK

BY ELMIRA KENDRICKS

"Why did you go all the way over there to help those people, when your people are suffering right here?"

The questioner was a Black Muslim, but the question was not a particularly "Black Muslim question." I had asked it myself many times before and after my July trip there as the one student member of the *Clergymen's Emergency Committee for Viet-Nam*. The question is fair and somewhere in the answer there must be a clue to why the war in South Viet-Nam has gripped so many of us.

The way to answer the question seems to be to try to decide why black people in the United States are suffering. Is it the active "will to power" of a few and the silent compliance of the many or is it something much more serious than that? If there were any doubts that the explanation of the "will to power" was too simple, the events of this year—from Santo Domingo to Saigon—have made it only too clear that there can be no simple explanation.

Where then do we turn for insight? When a black man asks why he must suffer today, he may find the answer in the suffering of the Vietnamese. Black men continue to suffer, Vietnamese continue to suffer, because too many men lack depth of understanding of the causes of their suffering. In order to stop suffering, rather than just administer pain killers, the cause for that suffering must be understood. But too many men construct and fight only paper enemies; too many men simply do

not possess a conceptual framework for a radically new picture of the nature of reality. Until charity and condescension and self-interest cease to be the conscious and unconscious guides for domestic policy and sentiment, it is impossible to expect foreign policy and sentiment to be characterized by anything different.

I am not saying that the motivation for our foreign and domestic policy is identical, for surely they are not; the complexities of both international and national situations make that an impossibility. But our present policies at home and abroad partake of the same reality; they proceed from one world view.

Such a judgment sounds harsh. Can it possibly be true? Some Japanese students told me that they believe that America thinks that Asians are cheap, that is, expendable in the interest of a battle with communism. What would lead to such an opinion? Perhaps it is the attitude that might makes right or the relationships between over-developed and under-developed nations.

Is it possible for a "white nation" to pursue any other possibilities about the nature of reality? Must we see as suspect and threatening everyone who chooses consciously and unconsciously to be different from us? The present situation doesn't give much hope for the appearance of a new structure of reality of even a deepened understanding of present structures. If our domestic policy is to make "revolutionary movements" into "reform movements" in order to quench their fire and manage their light, how can we expect to understand revolu-

tionary movements in other nations? This explanation of the problem has been made by many before me. But when we try to determine how we move to a new understanding of the nature of reality, we see the old dilemma. It is clear that in a multinational world new conceptions of such terms as national security, sphere of influence and self-determination must be forged. The possibility for national integrity to be realized by nations big and small, powerful and powerless, must be pursued vigorously. Such a set of new concepts might permit the United States to lay down its self-chosen burden—the world—and stand beside other nations not as protector but as partner in the struggle and adventure of full participation in life.

Ralph Ellison has suggested in *Shadow and Act* that in literature and life, humanity has often worn a black mask. That is, through portraits of black men, many men who have ears to hear have discovered new aspects of the meaning of humanity at its depths. In these days it may well be that humanity also wears a Vietnamese mask. Through these two masks it may be possible for us all to learn some startling things about ourselves and the shape of the world.

And so what is the answer to the question? The answer is that, for me to go to Viet-Nam in an attempt to discover means by which Vietnamese wounds might be bound is to address myself to the suffering of my people. In an age of national interdependence, it is clear again that none shall be free until all are free.



PHOTO: WALLOWITCH

COMFORT

*Those who own
You have lost*

*Touch trying to tell
Us how to think and*

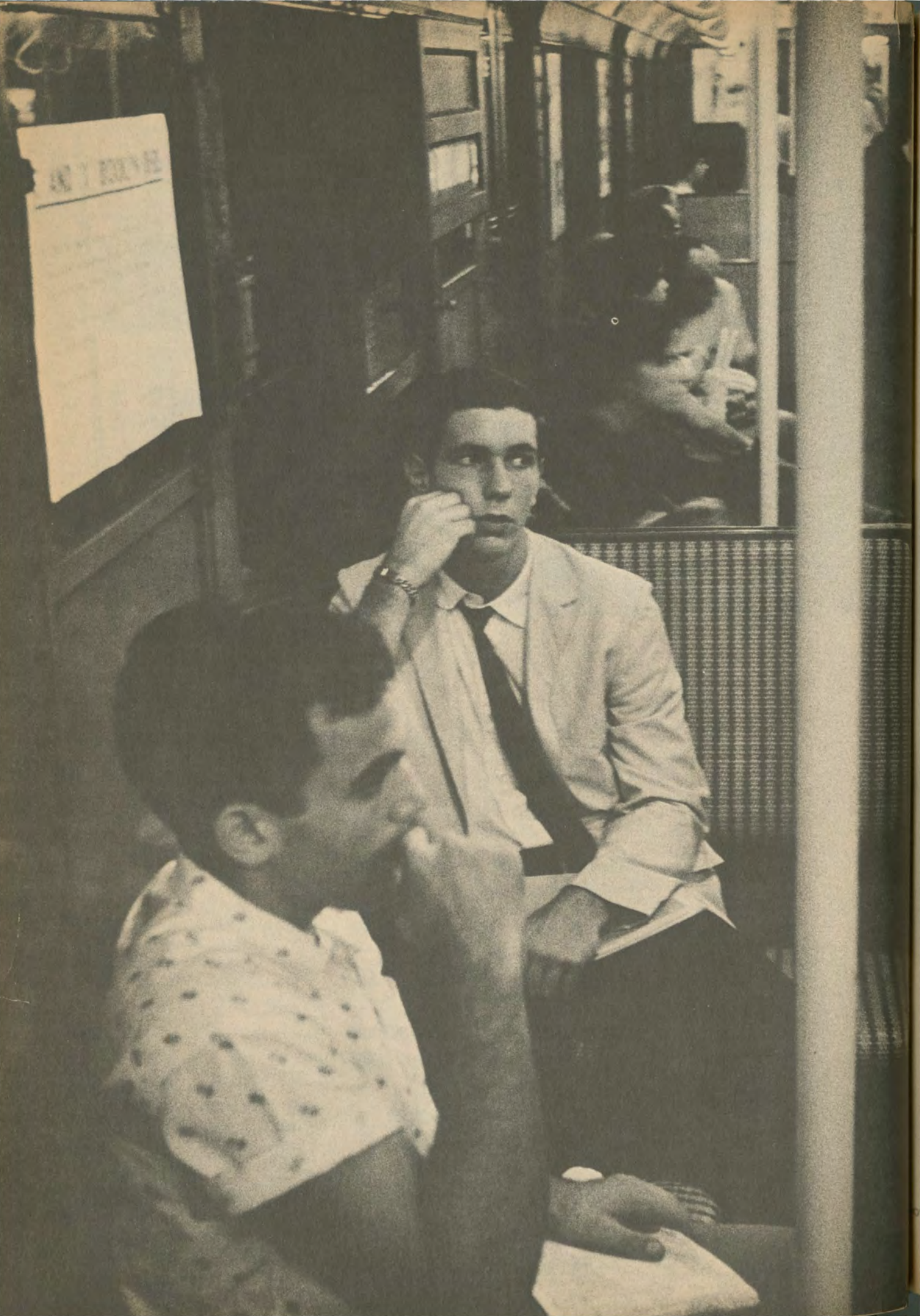
*Feel joyless in our
Lust and even guilty in our*

*Love causing us to ignore
You or put to better use the*

*Word propping open
Windows in cheap*

*Hot hotels with
Gideons.*

—TED-LARRY PEBWORTH



**THE FURNACE
FOR THE STEEL
BOYS AND GIRLS**

steel boys and girls
wait
for the molds of factory love,
await the furnace
to melt them into one.

only a cartel, a monopoly,
only diamond mines beating
the backs of africa,
only coffee strapped across
a peasant's eye.
only macaws with stock market
tips for headhunters,
could supply the cash,
the cash to build the furnace,
the furnace for the steel boys and girls.

—DUANE LOCKE



5/15

MISSISSIPPI, JUNE 1964

"...THREE MEN DIED BENEATH THE MISSISSIPPI
SOME BODY BETTER INVESTIGATE SOON."

IMPETUS AND

STUDENTS AND THE CIVIL



Ann Carter Pollard

WOODCUT: ANN CARTER POLLARD

THE students of this country aren't waiting for diplomas or jobs, adult sanction or security, to become the nation's leaders in the civil rights struggle. They are making a contribution far beyond their size as a group to the freedom effort in this country. I do not mean to negate the work of any other organization or any other group of people or any other person, but history focuses on students as the prime movers, if not *the* movers, of the civil rights movement. There are several reasons why this is true.

It isn't because students are better or smarter or any more liberal than older people. And certainly older people are not all Uncle Toms and young people all straight, upstanding, fine citizens. But they do have an opportunity that older people do not have. Students have a certain freedom from external responsibility. They have no jobs; they have no families; they have no compulsion to take jobs which would keep them away from participation in the movement. They are not trying to earn enough money to have a television set and a car; they don't live that sort of life.

And, in 1960, students had the feeling that if they did not do it themselves no one else would. Many young people were tired of being told "wait until you're older" or "let him do it because he is older" or "someone else can do it better." By 1960, students had decided that they were going to do it themselves.

When I speak of students here, I enlarge the usual definition of student to include not only those actively enrolled in high schools, colleges or grad-

IMPACT :

RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BY JULIAN BOND

OCTOBER 1965

uate schools, but also those between the ages of 16 and 25 who may have interrupted their education for some reason or other.

Student participation in the freedom struggle often is dated as beginning in 1960, but for many it really began in 1954 and 1956. It began in Little Rock and North Carolina and Clinton, Tennessee, when young Negroes in their teens began facing mobs and policemen and taking a forward step to integrate schools across the South. Students didn't have any master plans for changing the South then. But the spectacle of those kids in Little Rock, of that little girl walking home from school with spit hanging from her dress, of other young people like themselves standing up and being counted, motivated them four and six years later to do something themselves.

WHEN four students from North Carolina A & T College sat down at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro on February 1, 1960, their action pushed a button that started a chain reaction throughout the South. It spread from North Carolina to South Carolina to Tennessee; to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, and to Florida.

But many students look beyond that to 1954, '56, '57 and '58, and remember that they were thinking: why can't I do that? Why couldn't I have been one of those kids? The young people of Little Rock and other towns and cities which experienced desegregation crises in schools seemed to be very much like themselves. If those other young people could do it, so could they.

The years 1960 and 1961 gave the civil rights movement two great forces, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The SCLS was already in existence in 1960 but it was at a low ebb. In 1960, there were no Birmingham or Selmas, no St. Augustines or Albanies; there were no hot spots in the movement.

Before the sit-ins began, the crisis in the South was school integration. There was no thought of integrating lunch counters or massive voter registration drives. The movement was a legal movement then, and proceeded through the courts.

The other force, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was born out of a conference called by SCLS on Easter weekend, 1960, in Raleigh, North Carolina. The conference, a brainchild of SCLS staff member Elea Baker was to put students in Nashville, Atlanta, Jackson, Birmingham, Raleigh and Durham in touch with one another. Oddly enough, their only method of communication had been southern newspapers. I can remember getting almost a blueprint of how to conduct a sit-in by reading the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Journal*. If some southern newspapers had realized then how much easier they made it for us, perhaps they wouldn't have been as free and easy with their news coverage as they were.

THE conference was held in Raleigh, and over 350 students came from every southern state, including over 150 came from northern college campuses. Representatives came from the NAACP, from CORE, and every conceivable human relations and civil rights group then in existence. And there was a great deal of discussion about what form this new organization should take.

Some people wanted it to be the youth arm of SCLC, and some wanted it to be a formulation of new chapters of CORE, and some thought it should do nothing but raise money for the NAACP. And everyone, especially adults, had some ideas about how this should be done. But the students themselves already had made up their minds that what they wanted was an organization of their own that would do the things they wanted it to do—though at the time, they didn't seem to want it to do very much.

The primary SNCC concern then, like Miss Baker's, was establishing channels for communication so that students in one part of the South could know what students in other parts of the South were doing. Perhaps some day in the future they might move together. By combining their numbers and their bodies they might make a greater impact against the wall of segregation.

This first organization was called the Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It elected one person from each of the southern states to serve on an executive committee, but like a great many other organizations, it didn't do very much.

Meeting once a month in Atlanta, Nashville, Louisville or Jackson, the executive committee would come together, and interchanges would go something like this: "I was arrested four times in the last 30 days, how about you?" . . . "Well, I haven't been arrested but I was beaten twice." . . . "Well, I wasn't arrested or beaten but I was expelled from school." The meetings became talk sessions, and they really didn't accomplish anything.

The committee did little until October, 1960 when a second conference was set up to tighten organizational structure. By this time, the committee had opened an office in Atlanta (what *Time* called the "windowless cubicle") and the Atlanta student movement had a lot of influence over this new organization. Members of the local movement would hang out in the SNCC office.

THERE was a good deal of concern then about getting more students from Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to attend the October conference in Atlanta. A young man from New York City named Robert Moses volunteered to go into Alabama and Mississippi on a three week tour to recruit students and other young people for the meeting. While he was in Mississippi, another very crucial thing happened in the student movement.

He met a man in Cleveland, Mississippi, named Amzie Moore who was head of the Cleveland

NAACP branch. Moses and Moore talked for two days about what could be done to improve the conditions of Negroes in the Mississippi Delta, and they agreed that one of the keys to bettering the condition of those Negroes was to get them registered to vote. They also agreed that in order to register Negroes to vote in the Mississippi Delta or any part of the rural South, a long term campaign was needed. They discussed bringing in college students for the summer to work for three months, to live in a Negro community, to get to know the people, to become a part of the community and to try to encourage people to vote.

But after that brief conversation, Moses returned to Atlanta; Moore went back to his job at the Cleveland post office, and nothing more was said about it. But *Jet* magazine printed an item about the meeting and conversation. Another Negro, Curtis Bryant, president of the NAACP chapter in McComb, Mississippi, saw it, and wrote a letter to Moses. By the end of the 1961 school year, Moses was back in Mississippi setting up SNCC's first project in southwest Mississippi.

BETWEEN the October conference in 1960 and the summer of 1961, two other very important things happened. The first occurred the last week end in January, 1961, when SNCC's executive committee was meeting in Atlanta. Students in Rock Hill, South Carolina, were demonstrating against lunch counters then. About 30 of them were in jail and had sent a telegram for help. SNCC had responded to calls like that in the past the way many other organizations respond—by sending back a telegram saying, "We are with you; we stand behind you; carry on."

This time though the executive committee decided to answer with more than just a telegram. Four executive committee members went to Rock Hill, demonstrated, went to jail and spent 30 days on the chain gang or in the prison laundry. This was the first time that people from one part of the South had gone to another part of the South to engage in action and help people who faced the same problems they themselves faced back home. It was a significant turning point in the course of the movement.

The second important thing that happened in 1960-'61 was the freedom ride in which CORE tried to bring two bus loads of freedom riders from Washington through the South to Jackson, Mississippi. Everyone remembers the history of that ride and how the bus was burned, the Mother's Day riots in Birmingham, the beating of freedom riders, and finally CORE's canceling of the ride. CORE felt it had made its point, and the danger of going on to Mississippi was not worth facing.

But a student group from Nashville, from Fisk, Tennessee A & I, Peabody and other schools, felt the danger was worth facing and if the freedom rides were allowed to stop in Birmingham the whole pur-

pose of the rides had been defeated. They borrowed money from the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, chartered and boarded a bus in Nashville, rode to Birmingham, were arrested, transferred back to the Alabama-Tennessee state line, got on another bus and returned to Birmingham. They were the first group of freedom riders to go through to Jackson, where they were arrested again.

WHEN they came out of jail 49 days later, Robert Moses was waiting for them. He was back in Jackson that summer trying to recruit college students from Jackson and Tougaloo College to come to South Mississippi to work with him. He persuaded several of the freedom riders not to go back home but to go to McComb with him and begin the first SNCC project. This project was unique because it marked the first time that any civil rights organization had a group of workers who tried to become a part of the community in which they worked.

For the Mississippi Negro this first SNCC project had two significant implications. It meant that Negro communities could lose the fear they had of people coming in from the outside, making a speech and arousing the community, both Negroes and white people, and then that evening getting back on a plane and going home just when the situation was really tense.

It also meant that for the first time there was a buffer between the Negro community and the white community, because when violence came it was more likely to be directed against the civil rights workers than the local Negroes. This gave the local Negroes a feeling that somebody really cared about them; somebody was willing to give up a school or an education and spend some time with them.

In spite of the significance of that first project in McComb, it ended in failure. The sixteen people working there were arrested and run out of town by the chief of police. Operations then moved to Jackson where they quickly spread to the Mississippi Delta and finally all over the state. Two of the McComb workers also began work in southwest Georgia and established a project in Albany.

By 1964, however, the whole complexion of the movement had changed. The thrust had gone from lunch counters, movie theaters and bus stations to the overriding issue of voting and the basic issues: the right to a decent job, the right to a decent education, the right to live in a society which would assure you those rights so you wouldn't have to get out in the streets and demand them.

By this time, SNCC had 75 workers in Mississippi and 30 in southwest Georgia. Projects were underway in Selma, Alabama, Dallas County and the surrounding Black Belt counties. Workers were in Little Rock, Forest City, Pine Bluff and Helena, Arkansas, and there were beginning projects in South and North Carolina.

In the fall of 1963, an experiment had been con-

ducted in Mississippi to give local Negroes some feeling of participation in government. Civil rights groups there staged a mock election with Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, and the Rev. Edwin King, white chaplain of Tougaloo College, as candidates for governor and lieutenant governor on the freedom vote ticket. They ran on the type of platform that is not seen in Mississippi or anywhere else in the South today, and the freedom vote standards were not like regular Mississippi standards either. In the freedom vote, anyone at least 21 years old could vote.

In order to organize Mississippi for the freedom vote, CORE brought in 35 students from Yale, Harvard and Stanford Universities to help poll over 45,000 voters. The experience of these northern students, all of them white, working with Mississippi Negroes was helpful for several reasons.

FIRST, it proved that white students could work effectively in Negro communities. Secondly, it indicated that the North responds when white students are threatened or jailed as it never responds when Negro students are shot at or arrested.

The following winter and spring, ground work was laid for what became the Mississippi Summer Project. Over a thousand people from across the country, including at least 600 college students, as well as lawyers, doctors, ministers and teachers, gathered in Mississippi to work. Their efforts for the summer concentrated on four areas of development: voter registration, where workers were involved in the day-to-day task of somehow getting Negroes registered to vote; freedom schools, which were workshops set up to teach people anything from reading and writing to how to can food and operate a sewing machine; community centers where students learned Negro history and adults heard lectures on diet, nutrition and hygiene; and the establishment and organization of the Freedom Democratic Party.

The Mississippi Summer Project was the beginning of the realization that it actually was impossible to register Negroes in the deep South to vote. After three years of work in Mississippi, Alabama and southwest Georgia, the SNCC staff and members of the CORE staff who worked in these areas were convinced that the combined pressures of state and city governments with the relative inactivity of the federal government made Negro registration virtually impossible. The ineffectiveness of the enforcement of the 1957 and 1960 voting laws and the equivocation of the Justice Department on some levels in enforcing laws and filing suits against local registrars and police officers made civil rights workers realize that they had to do something more radical in the Negro communities in the South. They felt the exclusion of Negroes in rural areas of the South from every facet of community life, from education, from social advantages, from business and political opportunities had to be dealt with. Some means had to

be found to bring a bit of the outside world to these Negro communities. The Mississippi Freedom Summer was an attempt to do that.

The results of that summer: Three civil rights workers were killed and eleven Mississippi Negroes were murdered. About 1,500 Mississippi Negroes also were registered to vote; 47 freedom schools were set up, and 30 community centers were established. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party took up its challenge to the Mississippi Democratic Party at the Atlantic City convention and refused to accept the meaningless compromise which was offered. The summer ended with the involvement of hundreds of thousands of Mississippi Negroes who never would have become interested or active in the movement otherwise.

Since 1960 when the activities of the civil rights movement were conducted exclusively by students—run by students, manned by students and directed by students, a great many other people across the country have become involved in the movement. But what has happened is that the troops, the actionists, the directors, the workers of the movement are still almost exclusively students.

THE SNCC staff now is 209 people, whose average age is 25. About 75 per cent of them are Negroes; about 50 per cent of them are southern, and almost all of them have left school to work with SNCC.

CORE's southern staff is smaller in size, but the average age is not much higher than SNCC's. All of the staff members fit into the general category of students. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference embarked this summer on a program similar to the Mississippi Summer Project. It covered eleven southern states and was manned by 500 white northern college students. The NAACP is recruiting what it calls older and more mature people; but I have seen some of them, and they look just like students to me.

The influx of students in the movement has had an effect outside the immediate area of Negro civil rights. Activities of Students for Democratic Society recently have included a whole range of efforts—from the free speech movement in Berkeley, California, to the Northern Student Movements to organize culturally deprived white and Negro students in northern ghetto communities.

In the next five years, there will be hundreds more young people across the country coming South and going North. They will be working, not only in McComb, Jackson, Birmingham, Ruralville, Selma, Albany, Jasper and hundreds of little towns in the South, but there will be big movements to the cities in the North. They will be working in Chicago, Detroit, New York's Harlem and Philadelphia's South Side.

Some day students will have a great deal more to say about what goes on in this country than they have now.



PHOTO: WALLOWITCH

EDUCATION FOR A RECONSTRUCTED AMERICA By GEORGE D. McCLAIN

THE present widespread awakening of student conscience has left few campuses untouched.

To be sure, those who actively bear social responsibility represent only a small minority of the student population; but the remarkable fact is that on practically every campus, no matter how remote, there is a core of students moving self-consciously toward significant participation in the struggle for basic reform in campus and community life. The focal point of this awakening is still the racial revolution, although related issues of educational reform, poverty and peace are receiving increasing attention. Student demands for justice and equality in race relations are more self-assured, more specific, and more vocal; and in all parts of the country, students are organizing to combat racism in the places where they find themselves—in Montgomery, or Cincinnati, or Kirksville, Missouri.

These observations arise from direct experience; I was privileged to make numerous visits on southern and midwestern campuses during this past year of unprecedented student activity. In June, 1964, the National Council of the Methodist Student Movement instituted a bi-racial field team to bring to local situations the concern for a more racially inclusive Methodist Student Movement and a more inclusive campus life. As members of this team, Howard Spencer of Rust College, Otis Flournoy of Stillman College, and I, sought through short visits to over seventy campuses to serve as catalytic agents, sources of information, and allies to those working to destroy racial barriers. My first-hand experiences are limited to campuses in the South, mostly in the Deep South, and in the midwestern states of Indiana, Ohio and Missouri. However I suspect that, since the racial dilemma of America is pervasively national,

these observations may be relevant in other areas as well.

I have observed that the vast majority of students are relatively unconcerned about the race problem. Living in a small personal world or wrapped in other pursuits, they share no sense of urgency or crisis. They are caught, usually unwittingly, in a society that must be described as racist, and in not challenging the *status quo* they serve to reinforce it. Most students in the South have no qualms about attending a segregated or only tokenly desegregated college. Most students in the Middle West are content to find their place within a situation where almost all non-academic life is lived either in a larger white ghetto or a smaller Negro ghetto.

AS members of the exploited minority, most Negroes are aware that the psychology of white America has racist presuppositions, but the majority are not likely to be outspoken or organized in their criticism of the "American way." Most white students are oblivious both to the web of racism in which they live and to its consequence—the Negro's deep resentment toward white America. Rather, they unconsciously undergird this racism, as they reveal in such comments as: "they're pushing too fast," "they have things pretty good around here—you should have been here five years ago," "everybody has a right to choose those with whom he associates," or "I believe in equality and all that but I can't go along with this race mixing."

Today there is no neutral ground: either one understands America's past and present exploitation of blacks by whites and seeks thoroughgoing corrective measures or one makes excuses and supports the racism of the *status quo*. Most students still fall in the second category.

However, great movements for humanizing change are always brought about by a small, committed minority which acts on behalf of all, making the risks and sacrifices necessary to create historical change. Such a committed minority came into being with the sit-ins of 1960, and this advance guard has been steadily growing in number, depth of understanding, visibility, and effectiveness. No year can compare with the past one for increase in the size and activity of the humanizing minority. The two outstanding symbolic events of the past year are the COFO Freedom Summer in Mississippi and the Selma-Montgomery campaign, but more important for the student interracial movement are the awakening and deepening of students' active concern on campuses throughout the whole country.

The contribution of southern Negro college students toward the reconstruction of America is well known to us. Ever since the first sit-ins, students from these colleges have been the vanguard of the revolutionary army. Their latest contribution is being made through spearheading the movement for educational reform on their own campuses. Rising up against restrictive social controls and poor administration,

they are demanding the release of incompetent professors and those who deal capriciously with students on the basis of personal likes and dislikes. At the same time the visitor on these campuses discovers a remarkable openness toward the "white world" and a deep desire to be united in common tasks and organizations with white students. I was overwhelmed in my visits by the earnestness with which some students persistently sought participation in the MSM in states where it was still not yet open to Negro students.

THE past year has seen a breakthrough in the involvement of southern white students in the racial revolution and related issues. Everywhere one finds at least a small group of students, often well organized, working to desegregate colleges in Alabama, establish contacts with Negro schools in Louisiana, resist segregationist Republican upsurges in Mississippi, initiate interracial tutoring projects in Georgia, or make public demands in the streets of North Carolina. Together with Negro students they are forming new groups for cooperative action, such as the Alabama Student Council on Human Relations, the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee, and Students for Integration in New Orleans.

Among Negro students in the Middle West one finds deep unrest; among them, it became clear to me how Negroes experience frustrations wherever they are. Perhaps hardest for them to bear is the uncertainty about others' attitudes. For instance, when one is not elected to an honorary or not selected for a particular position, he never can be quite certain if it's because he just doesn't measure up or whether it's because of the subtle discrimination which he knows could be found anywhere. In spite of two civil rights bills and much publicity, these students have seen evidence of little change in their situation and still experience much covert and overt discrimination. After conversations with Negro students on several midwestern campuses, it became clear that the pattern was much the same everywhere. The problems inevitably lay in the area of room assignments, off-campus housing, sorority and fraternity segregation, dating relationships—and, at the root of it all, the basic prejudice of white Americans. These grievances are usually difficult to tackle because immediately one runs into a mind set which, while loudly denying that there is prejudice and discrimination, demands that Negroes make themselves "worthy" of full participation in society. Increasingly Negro students are becoming outwardly irritated with this pattern and are joining with white students to call these prejudices and discriminatory patterns into question.

Among whites on midwestern campuses there are many groping for an understanding of the racial revolution. Often coming from rural and small town environments, they have never known Negroes personally. Some are recognizing that the diversity of racial background among Americans is a gift to be

enjoyed and are seeking to become part of small but racially inclusive groups of students who, rather than fitting into either racial ghetto, represent the beginning of a new type of interracial community. They are experiencing, with a sense of wonder, the reality of friendships with those they had always been taught to regard as "them."

In our visits to Ohio and Indiana following the Selma-Montgomery March, we were surprised to find that on four of the five campuses visited some kind of public demonstration of sympathy with the March was held. In most cases this represented the first public display of concern for human rights which had ever taken place on these campuses. (In each instance those affiliated with the MSM played a central role in organizing these demonstrations.) Thus there are signs that the winds of the freedom movement are blowing fresh air even into the more isolated midwestern campuses. Negroes and whites are coming together to respond to national crises and then to focus on the problems in their own localities. Not only the campus but also the local community is coming within the scope of their concern. Kinds of responses include: protesting on- and off-campus housing discrimination; investigating for violations of the civil rights statutes; organizing campus-wide observance of Negro History Week; putting new life into existing human relations organizations; making relevant contributions within the community's Negro ghetto; and seeking to break down the prevailing separation of students on campus into black and white ghettos.

THE cost of responding actively to the present crisis has been heavy for many. They have faced incredulous stares from family and friends, become alienated from parents, been cut off from parental financial support, experienced threats from administrative officials, lived in constant possibility of expulsion, seen campus ministers allied with them be fired by uncomprehending boards of directors. But with the cost has come a renewed understanding of education. No longer is it possible for these liberated people to see education as just the prerequisite for a job, nor to subscribe to the misrepresentation of scholarship as a pursuit devoid of commitment and value judgments and unrelated to contemporary history. Rather, for those touched by the spirit of the movement, education becomes the means to the best, most responsible exercises of one's vocation—the call to create new history and to fashion a more human America.

The creative spirit of the racial revolution is present on our American campuses and promises to continue to call students, black and white together, out of the unconcerned majority into the creative minority where new paths are being pioneered, where responsible action is being risked, where new community is being fashioned, where the church is receiving renewal, where repentance and reconciliation are becoming tangible realities.

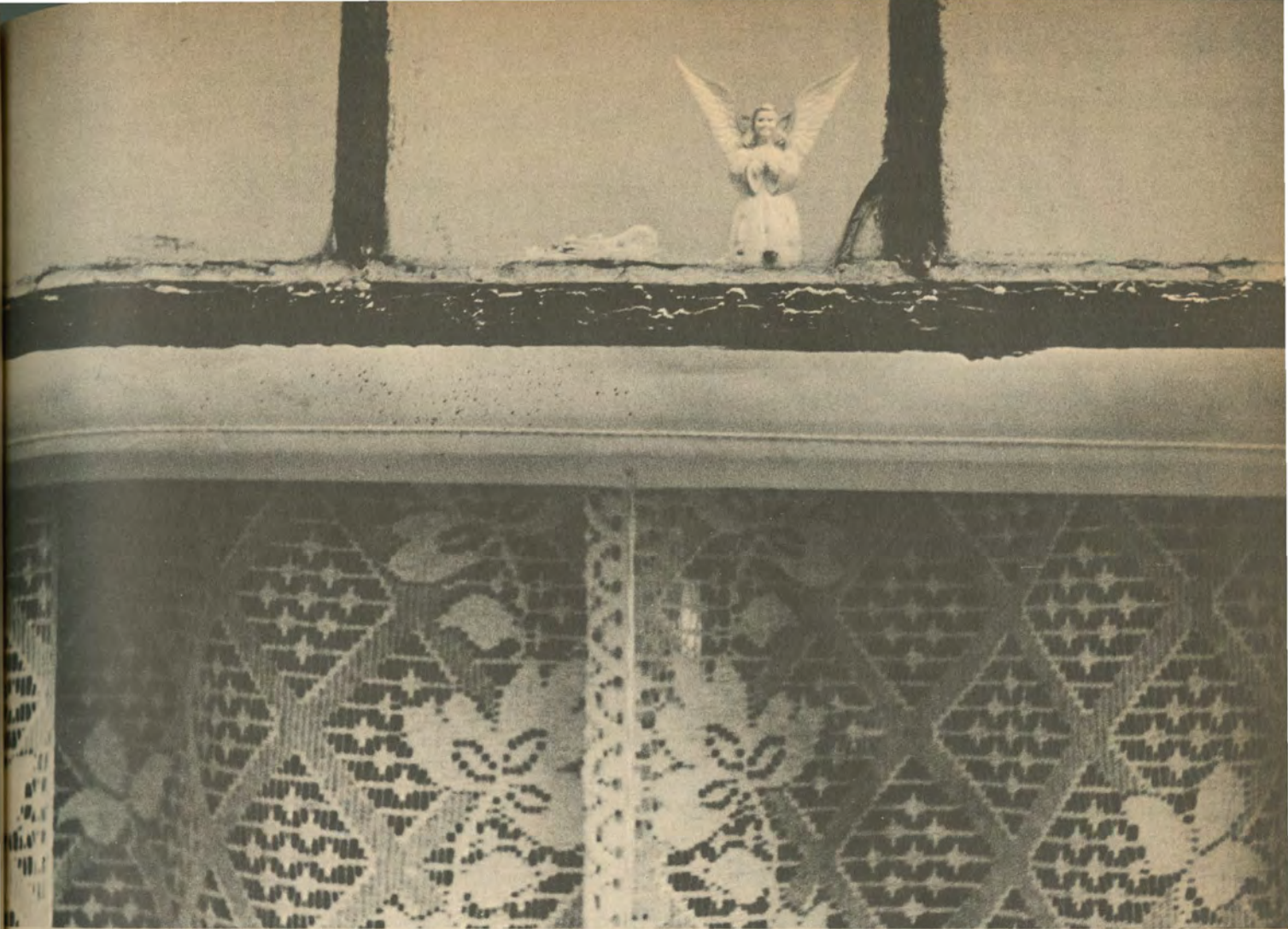


PHOTO: WALLOWITCH

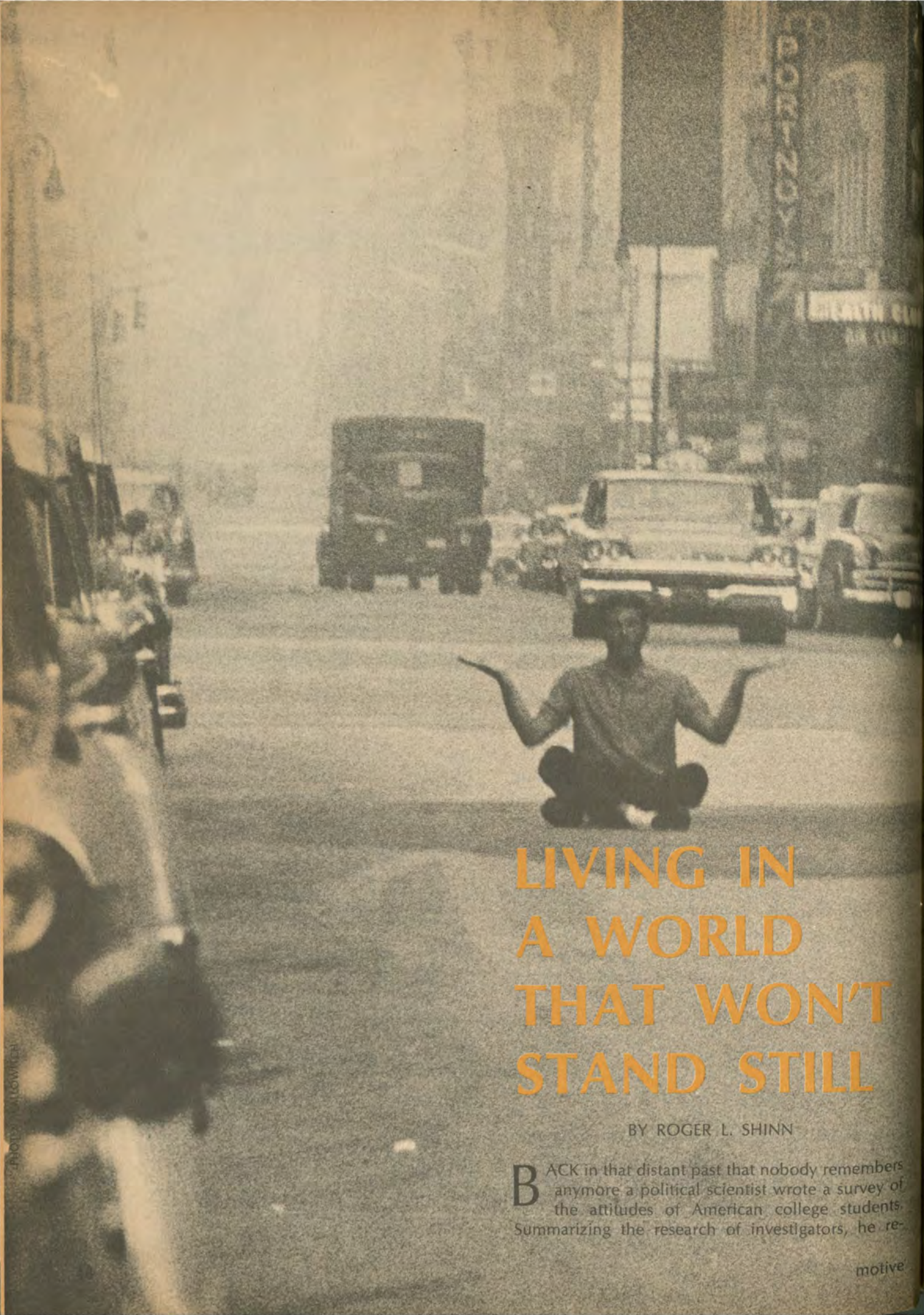
CLUNY MUSEUM

The woman's hands weave
shroud or birth clout in air;
a stolid unlovely face, a woman
not of any city or countryside I have seen;
a servant perhaps, bowed
with night or dawn labors. And now this death—
heart unfed, hearth stone cold, the beloved son
the single and perfect fruit, crushed under heel.

But a tragic woman stands firm for others' sake.
There is press and crowding of life on her,
even the dead give place. She stands so.

The living son stands too, as this
wooden man stuck through
with a single murderous spike, cannot know. Come
(I touch his face with news, a wildfire) Rise,
the Lord is risen.

—DANIEL BERRIGAN



LIVING IN A WORLD THAT WON'T STAND STILL

BY ROGER L. SHINN

BACK in that distant past that nobody remembers anymore a political scientist wrote a survey of the attitudes of American college students. Summarizing the research of investigators, he re-

motive

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE



ported that students were "gloriously contented" and "dutifully responsive towards government." The writer was Philip Jacob and the book was *Changing Values in College*. The date of the first (preprint)

edition, hard as it now is to believe, was 1956.

I remember quoting those words on maybe a dozen campuses. Everywhere students nodded maturely in agreement.

To recall that mood now, after the frantic year of 1964-65, is to get one small clue to the pace of change in our time. Just about everybody has waked up to the fact that the world isn't what it used to be. The explosions of population, technology and urbanization, weaponry and space travel, freedom revolutions in the United States and around the world—these are part of the new ways of life. Sometimes in the vanguard, sometimes dragging themselves into this new world are the American college and university.

Two books, currently in the news, report and assess this new world. The authors of both are perceptive observers and skilled phrase-makers who enjoy an argument. Both of them ride the wave of history with great enthusiasm—and some criticism. Both reflect the spirit of the modern campus and contribute to it. Many a conversation these days is spiced with references to *The Uses of the University* by Clark Kerr and *The Secular City* by Harvey Cox.

The Uses of the University has curiously won far more attention in 1965 than when it was published in 1963. The reason is that Clark Kerr is president of the University of California. And Cal, especially its Berkeley campus, has lately become the most notable (or notorious) symbol of student rebellions ranging from adolescent hanky-panky to cogent questioning of the educational system. Kerr is in the unhappy situation of a man who writes a book on how to please women two years before his wife runs away. Her escapade increases interest in the book, but vitiates its authority.

However, the Berkeley story does not discredit Kerr's book. Today Kerr may be a little less confident than when he wrote that "society is more desirous of objectivity and more tolerant of freedom than it used to be" (p. 117). But the past year has vindicated his observation that the university "must, of necessity, be partially at war with itself" (p. 9). And the Berkeley story has certainly confirmed his foresight in writing that "undergraduate students are restless" and that "there is an incipient revolt of undergraduate students" (p. 103).

KERR'S title refers to the university, but by the time he gets to the heading of chapter 1 he is talking about "the multiversity." Taking his own school as an example, he reports that it has 40,000 employees, that more than 4,000 babies per year are born in its hospitals, that it "will soon have the world's largest primate colony," that less than a third of its expenditures contribute directly to teaching. All this is a long way from any traditional school.

Obviously there is not much unity, not much common sense of direction in such an enterprise. President Kerr makes the point when he says that he sometimes thinks of his university "as a series of individual faculty entrepreneurs held together by a common grievance over parking" (p. 20). Again

he hits his target with this arrow: "The mark of a university 'on the make' is a mad scramble for football stars and professorial luminaries. The former do little studying and the latter little teaching, and so they form a neat combination of muscle and intellect" (p. 90).

Not that Kerr dislikes the university. Actually he is a lover who knows all the faults of his beloved but would not want her much different.

The modern multiversity, unprecedented in history, has arrived as a result of two steps according to Kerr. The first was the result of the land grant movement of the nineteenth century, with some cross-fertilization from the intellectualism of the German universities. The federal government through its land grants subsidized state universities, not because politicians loved intellect and culture, but because they saw the utility of universities. Higher education was expected to serve a function in strengthening society and its economy. The second step was largely the result of World War II, which led the government to look to the universities for research. Industry likewise has discovered its stake in higher education. President Kerr states the results crisply: "Intellect has also become an instrument of national purpose, a component part of the 'military-industrial complex'" (p. 124).

IN this discussion Kerr refers to "the knowledge industry," a phrase that has had a fateful history.

He reports that the "production, distribution, and consumption of 'knowledge'" accounts for 29 per cent of the gross national product. Inevitably we must ask whether higher education is best understood as one among our industries. The students in the Berkeley revolt complained that the school had become a "factory," more interested in production than in the people who taught and studied there.

Kerr sees accurately, I think, the social setting of the university. Although scholars may sustain their morals by exalted rhetoric about the love of learning, society values higher education for its usefulness. The outcome is significant for the development of the university. "The location of power has generally moved from inside to outside the original community of masters and students" (p. 26). "The truly major changes in university life have been initiated from outside" (p. 105). Society pays handsomely for higher education—and gets its money's worth. Sometimes it gets what it did not pay for. The multiversity "serves society almost slavishly—a society it also criticizes, sometimes unmercifully" (p. 19).

What does all this mean for the student? Is he the beneficiary or the victim of the process? Sometimes he clearly loses in the big deal. The more famous and high-priced the faculty, the less is the interest in the teaching of undergraduates—or so, at least, it often seems. Kerr sees the problem and

the need for some reforms. But he also sees the multiversity, with all its flaws, as a magnificent if dangerous place for some students. To the undergraduate it brings confusion, insecurity, and a struggle for identity; hence "the casualty rate is high." But the student also "encounters the opportunities and the dilemmas of freedom" (p. 42).

This book should help anyone in higher education—whether in the multiversity or in the college that puts a higher value on teaching—to understand himself and his world. Kerr writes with the authority of an administrator with vast experience and the ability to learn from it. His association with one debacle in higher education both remind us that nobody knows all the answers and reinforces the cogency of many of his insights.

THE *Secular City* is a more ambitious and wide ranging book than *The Uses of the University*. While Clark Kerr focuses on the university and thereby comes to see much of our culture, Harvey Cox assesses the entire culture, including one chapter on the university. Professor Cox is newly appointed to the faculty of Harvard Divinity School, which he regards as the expression of "a quaint mixture of theocracy and tolerance" left over from Puritan times (p. 218). Writing in a brash style that is sometimes endearing and sometimes irritating, he has produced a book that is a mixture of virtuosity and foolishness.

As one of its less important contributions, the book offers a guide to the current jargon of religious conversation. This vocabulary, which has been emerging in the last decade, is reassuring to those in the know and disconcerting to outsiders. As a service to those (of whom there are always plenty) who would like to pick it up in a hurry, I here offer a quick, incomplete survey of terminology.

Religious has become a bad word, but *biblical* is good. *Secularization* is approved, but *secularism* is condemned, as are all *isms* (except *pragmatism* and *healthy relativism*). *Adult* and *human* are O.K.-words; *tribal* and *sacral* are contemptuous. Christian values are passe, but *what God is doing* is in vogue. *Metaphysical* is very bad, but *theological* is good—except that *academic theologians* are stupid. *Existentialism* has become old-fashioned, but *politics* is up to the minute. Only the unsophisticated talk of *world-views*, but a *biblical perspective* is quite admirable. *Bureaucracy* is ambivalent; in business and government it is fine, but church bureaucracies are evil.

Mastery of this vocabulary has become rather important, because an intelligent person can lose face completely in some circles by a slip in usage. This sad fact should not disturb theological climbers, because a moderately bright brain can pick up the language in two or three days.

UNFORTUNATELY the jargon sometimes produces confusion. For example, Cox writes with a straight face that religion and metaphysics "are disappearing forever" (p. 4). That appears to be a clear-cut, if controversial statement. But it is not to be taken at face value. For Cox later affirms that "God is at work in history" (p. 215), that God "in Jesus Christ holds the world together" (p. 66), and that God "is the center and source of value" (p. 199). I suggest that anybody try those three statements on an honest-to-goodness *secular* philosopher—not a Christian who is off on the secular jag. After trying the experiment I am ready to predict that, out of 100 secular philosophers, 99 or 100 will classify the statements as both religious and metaphysical.

It will be unfortunate if Cox's glib word-game prevents people from taking *The Secular City* seriously. The book makes some points that I believe are utterly valid and immensely important.

The thesis is that we live in a revolutionary history that is bringing a new style of life: urban, technological, secular, and pluralistic. The revolution is unstoppable and we should not regret it. No nostalgic yearning for the past, no despair about the crumbling of traditions can permit us to evade responsibility in this contemporary world. Urbanization and secularization bring a "dangerous liberation" (p. 167), and the calling of Christians is to rejoice in the liberation rather than flee from the danger.

As he welcomes the new secular city, Cox disposes of some sentimental criticisms of urbanization and secularization. For example, he will have no truck with laments about the "impersonal city." He knows that metropolitan life throws us into functional relations with many people whom we cannot come to know well, but he sees also that the city brings unlimited opportunity for freely chosen friendships.

Furthermore, he argues persuasively that the Bible itself leads to appreciation of secularization. That is, God wants us to be freed from religious superstition and the tyranny of religious authority. Furthermore, God wants our service not in some small sector of life that can be defined as religious, but in the whole sweep of our secular activity. At this point Cox displays a "religious" attachment to the Bible that requires him to argue that everything good in our culture is derived from Scripture and everything wrong from tribalism or the Greeks. An authentic secular outlook would look more generously for God's doings outside a single strain of sacred history. But apart from this special pleading, I think the case is sound.

WHEN he comes to discuss the church, Cox borrows J. C. Hoekendijk's phrase, "God's avant-garde." He blasts the idea that the church is here to give men an anchor in the past, to provide stability against change, to buttress the pre-

vailing power structure. Instead the church is called to move in the forefront of the revolution. Let's grant that Cox's view of the church—like everybody else's—is incomplete; still I think he is developing genuine New Testament themes and is saying things that need to be said today.

If all these major affirmations have been said before, Cox puts them with a cogency and dramatic flair that unsettle complacent habits and provoke thinking. Despite rhetorical over-indulgence, he knows how to write. He stirs up conversation and controversy—and this is all to the good.

Not all his arguments are so convincing as those I have mentioned. His sometimes romantic view of the metropolis is obviously that of the affluent intellectual. I do not mean that he sides with the establishment. He is quite clear that "the powerlessness of oppressed peoples" is the root of many of the woes of the city (p. 134). He knows about—and occasionally mentions—slums and poverty. He wants to change them. But he does not see the city with the eyes of the truck driver or the drug addict or the Negro who cannot break out of the ghetto.

Cox's delight in change means that he interprets human sin primarily as inertia and resistance. In his fondness for maturity and adulthood, he sees sin as a kind of residual childishness in humanity. When he affirms, "Jesus calls men to adulthood" (p. 154), he might be wise also to ponder Jesus' words, "Unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." A more penetrating interpretation of sin would modify the thinking of this book at many points. I doubt that a reader unfamiliar with Christianity would ever learn here that Jesus was crucified. A Christian reader can discover two passing allusions to the cross.

The biggest weakness in the book is its cheerful neglect of the tragic aspect of life. This is why Cox, in praising two of his heroes, John F. Kennedy and Albert Camus, misinterprets their thought seriously. To take Kennedy as an example, Cox sees his greatness solely in his pragmatism. What he misses is the way that Kennedy's pragmatism functioned within a deeper interpretation of life. Kennedy was the President who dared tell the American people that life is not just, that the Presidency had taught him that problems are not so easily solved as he once believed, that Americans are called to carry burdens that they cannot lay down in this century, that citizens who desire world peace must begin by looking inward.

It is easy to point to Cox's many inconsistencies. He flirts with the "death-of-God" theologies and extravagantly claims, "The Genesis account of Creation is really a form of 'atheistic propaganda'" (p. 23). But after thinking a while he decides that the existence of God really is "a desperately serious issue" (p. 242)—and he comes out for God. He builds much of his argument on the doctrine of his-

torical inevitability, yet makes a wildly exaggerated claim for the freedom of man. At one time he is sure that man "originates" meaning (p. 74); later he takes the side that God "stands over all cultures and all sources of worldly authority" (p. 234). He credits biblical faith with originating "the organization principle" (p. 175); yet the "organizational church" is so wrong that it should "stay out" of the university (p. 236). These conflicts, even more striking in context than in my brief references, are serious flaws.

Yet with all that is wrong in this book, I want to commend it. It will be popular in part for the wrong reasons: it tells people what they want to hear, and it is dogmatic when it should be tentative. But it has the great virtue of being *alive*. Harvey Cox has a mission: he wants us to face up to the new world and welcome its opportunities. His is one of the messages of Christian prophecy in our time. We had better heed the message and respond.

CLARK Kerr and Harvey Cox can both help the student, the college and university, and the society to self-understanding. Their agreements are significant. Kerr's Ideopolis (the City of Intellect) has remarkable similarities to Cox's Technopolis (the Secular City). Both writers appreciate the pluralism, diversity, and freedom of modern society. Both urge a future-orientation rather than a tradition-orientation.

Both see dangers ahead. Kerr refers specifically to the possibilities of nuclear warfare and population strangulation. Although Cox curiously does not mention these, we can be sure that he knows about them. But for both writers the possibilities ahead are more impressive than the threats.

Perhaps it is a vindication of Cox's love of the secular that I find in the secular writer a warning that I wish were more explicit in the religious writer. Kerr, although he scarcely mentions the Bible or doctrine, adapts biblical language to describe the university: "it is neither entirely of the world nor entirely apart from it" (p. 2). In words that Cox might have used of the church, Kerr says of the university, "Today the campus is being drawn to the city hall and the state capitol as never before" (p. 116). But Kerr gives the university also a warning about change that Cox might well have given the church: the problem is that the university "must make what are judged to be essential adjustments so often and so quickly, like an amoeba in an unfriendly environment" (p. 107). Christians need to remember, that when all is said and done about their calling to love the world and live in it, there remains an element of unfriendliness in the world. Christian life in the world is not solely adjustment to the world.

The opportunity of church and university today is to live with change—never simply riding or resisting the wave of the future, but stimulating, criticizing, learning from, and sometimes directing revolution.



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monument is artistry

BOOKS

Seymour Melman, *Our Depleted Society*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1965), \$5.95.

Melman's thrust is that the Great Society U.S.A. 1965 is on the verge of utter ruin because its power structure is preoccupied with the production of destructive and unproductive military power. He illustrates how the American inventive and productive genius has been drafted to create the *power of death* for mankind, leaving the American economy in a depleted and precarious state.

The author, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, is like a man racing through a burning mansion, pointing excitedly into each room, itemizing the creeping disintegration wrought by the fire.

He depicts the depletion clearly:

"In order to learn how to design and operate really high-speed railroad systems, it is now necessary to send a technical mission to Japan to see how it is done. Ditto to Poland and Russia to learn about advance fishery technology."

"... by 1963 about 60% of the typewriters sold in America were being imported."

"In 1963 the United States reached the position of operating the oldest stock of metal-working machinery of any industrial country in the world. In that year 64% of American machine tools were ten years old or older. The figure for West Germany was 55%, for the Soviet Union about 50%."

"In the United States, and in the United States alone, there has been a persistent decline in the size of the merchant fleet, and a failure to replace aging vessels."

Melman stresses that "more than two thirds of America's technical researchers now work for the military." Our nation is the most advanced in its capability to annihilate world civilization but is falling behind in its capability to build a better society. "The price of building colossal military power, and endlessly adding to it, has been the depletion of American society, a process now well advanced in industry, civilian technology, management, education, medical care, and the quality of life."

Perhaps the most shocking indication of the enslavement of the traditional American values by the monster of nonproductive military and space programs is Melman's tabulation of the percentage of university expenditures covered by federal funds. University budgets are heavily dependant upon such subsidy as illustrated at California Institute of Technology (83.5% of total budget comes from federal funds), M.I.T. (81.8%), and Princeton (75.3%). Imagine the consequences of these institutions seriously challenging or criticizing national policy or military strategy!

The gradual depletion of American initiative is highlighted by the rising vigor of other nations' power, as illustrated by the 1962 quotations of Hubert H. Humphrey: "In Germany, 85% (85 cents out of every research dollar) is private, and less than 15% goes into military and space. . . . In Japan, it is about 85 to 15 also." In contrast, the U.S. military and space programs consume dominant portions of American creativity.

This book was published during the same week that President Johnson announced our greater involvement in and total commitment to the war in Viet-Nam. The further depletion of the once-healthy American society sank deeper that week, unrecognized by most Americans who are blinded by the dazzle of increased personal prosperity from greater defense spending. One is reminded that the Greeks, too, were unaware of the hidden disintegration of their own Great Society. William James reminded us in *The Moral Equivalent of War* (1910) that "Greek history is a panorama of jingoism and imperialism—war for war's sake, all citizens being warriors . . . and the history is that

of the utter ruin of a civilization in intellectual respects perhaps the highest the earth has ever seen."

Perhaps if the Greeks had been more fully aware of their hidden deterioration, they might have been intelligent enough to have avoided the disaster. Perhaps, several thousand years later, man has learned enough to yet avoid impending disaster.

Reading this book, and trying to reverse the drift toward deterioration and disaster, could help transform us yet from criers of "Fire!" to builders of a fire-proof house or a war-proof world.

—HOWARD G. KURTZ

Daisuke Kitagawa, *The Pastor and the Race Issue*. Seabury Press (1965), 139 pp., \$3.50.

Is there such a thing (or ought there to be) as a theology of race? In a world where race has come to be probably the paramount social issue there can be little doubt that theology is summoned at the least to place the problems of race within some theological and Christian perspective. To that end Daisuke Kitagawa has provided us with this lucid and provocative prolegomena.

Kitagawa has impressive credentials for the task he has set himself. An American (Episcopal) clergyman he has had a thorough theological education, has served parishes in California and in the mid-west, has been active in the National and World Council of Churches, and is, at present, executive secretary of the Division of Domestic Mission in the Home Department of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. As a Japanese-American (born in Japan) he endured the horrors attendant upon the mass relocation and internment of Nisei on the West Coast during the second world war. He has, in other words, experienced racism in one of its most vicious expressions (though he is singularly free of bitterness about that experience).

In his short book Kitagawa asks the questions that must occur to every conscientious clergyman in America today—all 400,000 of them, hopefully. What is the relationship of the race crisis to the ministry of Christ? How ought pastors to preach about race (and even *should* they)? How ought pastoral counseling with respect to race relations be undertaken? What *action* ought clergymen take locally to further the cause of racial justice? What are the theological implications of the race crisis—for example, as relates to the doctrines of original sin, baptism, justification, and Holy Communion? The race crisis being obviously worldwide and no parochial problem of America, what then are the implications for the ecumenical movement? May there not be such a thing as a "vocation" of race? Kitagawa suggests that Christians may, in fact, be called to be, in the context of the crisis between the white and the Negro communities, a "third race."

Nor has Kitagawa neglected the history of the race problem in America. He notes that other races and ethnic groups have been deeply involved. The American Indian, for example, for whom we have devised, on the whole, a solution that differs little from the "final solution" Hitler proposed for the Jews (except that we have been more successful). The Japanese-Americans, for another example, for whom we devised during the last great war conditions of sub-humanity appalling to recall. He notes also that our present crisis of the two principal races in American history began with the enslavement of one people by another (and circumstances of slavery without parallel in other cultures for completeness and ruthlessness—Negroes, for one notable example, were denied even the right of Christian baptism!) Kitagawa concludes, plausibly, that a Christian ministry today *any place* in the world that does not seriously address the race crisis simply fails to address the world in which we are all living.

Kitagawa is talking, in the first instance, to his fellow clergymen, but he is, in fact, appealing to every Christian. The min-

motive

istry of Christ is not, after all, the special province of the clergy. Far from it: all Christians are ministers of Christ, and the issues Kitagawa here discusses are issues that burn in the viscera of any man who dares call himself Christian. Fuel for that burning is not hard to find, but constructive ways to use it are, and this book is as good a place as I know to look for suggestions.

No doubt we are now adrift in a sea of literature which has gathered around the eminence of race. Much of it is preposterous, much of it is irrelevant, and no one could hope to read all of it. Kitagawa has had the grace to be brief, lucid, eloquent, always to the point, and—a big *and*—intelligent. Furthermore, he has seen fit to leave moralism, legalism, sociology, and didacticism to the many who have rushed in to apply it to this latest of topical and fashionable causes. Rather he has sought to look upon the the evil of racism within the context of the Christian faith. The result is as unique as it is refreshing. Finally, we find someone saying—and saying with authority and evidence—that the issue which the race crisis poses for Christians is not integration, however morally and socially imperative that may be. The issue is plainly what it has always been: reconciliation. Let all Christians read this book, and let pastors then reconcile themselves to their peculiar responsibilities in the race crisis, and let all Christians reconcile themselves to the ministry which is theirs.

—ANTHONY TOWNE

John Habgood, *Truths in Tension: New Perspectives on Religion and Science*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1965), 151 pp., \$4.50.

This is a dandy book for anyone interested in going beyond platitudes in science and religion. Informative and provocative, it offers a brief account of the historical conflicts and illuminates with vivid and penetrating comment many currently controversial topics such as the concept of physical reality, the physico-chemical basis of life, mind and artificial intelligence, personal and impersonal knowledge, the functions of scientific theory and religious dogma, etc. Habgood, one of the foremost theologians at Cambridge University, is crisp and lively, utterly lucid, and devoid of the excessive but mysterious scientific detail so often found in such books. Best of all he intends to open up issues rather than "definitively" to close them. He is not out to defend the faith nor to label the controversies as merely misguided—and there's not a mention of the virgin birth in the entire volume! Reading him will be a joy, I promise you.

Strangely enough, however, the most striking and admirable feature of this book also reveals its limits, as I think the author would admit. Habgood shows that the roots of the conflicts between science and Christian faith lie not so much in the normal life either of research or religion but in philosophic presuppositions or interpretations which accompany them. Men inevitably think science and faith are together within some vision of the whole of things. Yet new science always unsettles the categories of space and time, mind and matter, person and thing. It provides us with awesome new powers and even modifies our conceptions of science and religion themselves. The consequence is that science is always in tension with religious thought. Because the issues are open, no simple rejections or baptisms of new ideas will ever suffice. Good enough.

On the other hand, cuts and jabs at the critical issues, however suggestive, will not suffice either. For if the issues are philosophical, there is no substitute for sustained philosophical-theological analysis of them, however provisional. Besides detailed analyses of the concepts of life, mind, freedom, and responsibility, which will mesh with scientific facts and be responsive to religious values, we need some systematic way of talking about God and God's action in the first place, some way to express conceptually his relation to events in nature, some account of creation, providence, and last things in the face of the modern assumption that nature is closed to any kind of transcendence. These basic systematic questions are not even broached here. It is not enough to relate physical

nature which science drains of personal meaning to "Its focus in Jesus Christ" (p. 150) if we are not able to understand how Jesus, or for that matter any other natural or human event, can be at all meaningfully related to God!

I wonder whether we are not past the point at which Habgood leaves us. Certainly we need to learn to live with intellectual tensions. But we Christians do quite well now by complete indifference to them. Our "relevance" kick avoids conceptual problems in theology as mythologically inspired and turns to the "world" of action and service. Habgood's excellent discussions only begin to engage these fundamental problems. He prefers to dig rather than to build, as he puts it. Somewhere in the ancient doctrine of the unity of truth, however, *pace* Habgood, there is reason to pursue these issues more deeply and systematically.

—JOHN J. COMPTON

Walter Brownlow Posey, *Religious Strife on the Southern Frontier*. Louisiana State University Press (1965), 130 pp., \$4.

Walter Brownlow Posey ranks in the forefront among historians writing today about the antebellum South, and no one surpasses him in his chosen field of church history. His earlier books have related the stories of the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, and now in this modest volume he discusses religious controversy in the early South; the three essays, "Protestants Against Protestants," "Protestants Against a New Sect," and "Protestants Against Catholics" were delivered in 1963 on the campus of Louisiana State University as The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures. It was the twenty-fifth year for this series which, each year, has dealt with the Old or New South.

In this second half of the twentieth century it is difficult for us to picture the denominational strife—even hatred—that was a part of American life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only in times of distress, coming from war or pestilence, did Protestants show any interest in cooperating with members of other faiths. Perhaps the best essay is the first in which the author shows by numerous examples how Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists found it easier (and one might even say more agreeable) to conduct a quarrel with their fellow Protestants than to present any semblance of a united front against the forces of evil.

The second essay deals with Alexander Campbell and the rise of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Campbell, with ties to both the Presbyterian and Baptist faiths, opposed and was opposed by both churches. Barton Stone, though not always in complete accord with Campbell, became an able partner in the establishment of the new church; the two men worked together and attracted to their following people who had become dissatisfied with denominational divisions. The Stoneites and the Campbellites both desired a union of all Christians, they "rejected creeds, rejected limited atonement, and recognized the ability of the individual to understand and accept the evidence of Christ." Campbell became a well-known figure in religious debates, and even entered these debates with a certain advantage because of his good bearing and self-assurance. In addition, his "ready tongue, quick pen, clever repartee, [and] critical accumen all provided him with excellent equipment for any battle of words." Early in his career, in a debate with Robert Owen, Campbell probably achieved his greatest fame. This was in 1829, in Cincinnati where great crowds gathered for ten days to hear him brilliantly defend Christianity against attack by the champion of skepticism.

The third essay presents an even sadder picture of the inability of Christians to work together. Opposition to Roman Catholicism was stern, and, according to Posey, it was more historical than doctrinal because the early settlers, predominantly English as they were, had come with a background of intolerance and hatred of the Papacy. One of the values of this particular essay is the manner in which it shows the use of ignorance as a weapon by Catholic and Protestant alike. Perhaps in this we have a message for today.

—J. ISSAC COPELAND

CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN WEISSMAN is a graduate student at Berkeley and a national spokesman for the Students for a Democratic Society. **DOUG TUTHILL** is a journalism major at San Jose State College. **FRANKLIN H. LITTELL** is professor of church history at the Chicago Theological Seminary. **JACK NEWFIELD** is an assistant editor of *the village voice*, a hallmark of Greenwich Village. **KEITH BRIDSTON** is a former officer of the World Student Christian Federation and now professor of ecumenics at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary in Berkeley. **ANDY DAVENPORT** is serving with the Peace Corps in Sierra Leone after having completed a B.F.A. at the University of Alabama. **ARNOLD GRAF** is also serving with the Peace Corps in Sierra Leone. His B.A. in history is from the University of Buffalo. **ALLAN C. BROWNFELD** is a graduate assistant at the University of Maryland and a research assistant to Congressman Charles Mathias of Maryland. **ELMIRA KENDRICKS** is the past president of the National Student Christian Federation and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation team which visited Viet-Nam in July. **JULIAN BOND** is director of information for SNCC's Atlanta office and a newly elected member of the Georgia House of Representatives. **GEORGE D. McLAIN** traveled last year as a member of the MSM field team and is now serving a Methodist church on Staten Island. **ROGER L. SHINN** is professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary and adjunct professor of religion at Columbia University. **ROGER E. ORTMAYER** is professor of Christianity and the arts at Perkins School of Theology.

BOOK REVIEWERS are: **HOWARD G. KURTZ**, a former Air Force lieutenant colonel who is now co-director with his wife of WAR CONTROL PLANNERS, Inc. in New York; **ANTHONY TOWNE**, poet and free-lance writer in New York; **JOHN J. COMPTON**, professor of philosophy at Vanderbilt University; and **J. ISAAC COPELAND**, professor of history and librarian at Peabody College.

POETS FOR OCTOBER: **BEN HOWARD** has returned from a year in England, and is now a senior at Drake

University. **JOHN TAGLIABUE**, a frequent contributor to *motive*, will soon have a major group of poems in *Poetry* (Chicago). He spent his summer teaching at Bennett College, and traces of Freedom Songs are cropping out in his latest work as a result! **JAMES SCHEVILL** is Director of the Poetry Workshop at San Francisco State College. His collection, *The Stalingrad Elegies*, was recently published by Allan Swallow. **TED-LARRY PEWORTH** is an instructor in English at L.S.U. **DUANE LOCKE** continues his stint at the University of Tampa, editing the *Poetry Review*. **DANIEL BERRIGAN**, S.J., is an editor for Jesuit Missions in New York, and a widely published poet. "Cluny Museum" will appear in his collection *No One Walks Waters*, to be published soon by Macmillan.

ARTISTS IN THIS ISSUE ARE: **MARGARET RIGG**, *motive's* former art editor, is now an artist-in-residence at Florida Presbyterian College. Her departure from the staff is so recent that it is still difficult to believe that her tenure with *motive* has come to an end. A more comprehensive acknowledgment of her work as an artist and her ten years' work with *motive* will appear in a future issue. **ANN CARTER POLLARD** is a new contributor from Winston-Salem, N. C. **ROBERT HODGELL** and **JIM CRANE** are on the faculty of Florida Presbyterian College. Bob is now on a year's leave of absence during which he is doing a major mural in St. Petersburg. Jim has a new book of cartoons to his credit, about which *motive* readers will be hearing more next month. **ROBERT McGOVERN** keeps sending exciting drawings and prints from Philadelphia, where he teaches at the Philadelphia College of Art. **REINHART BRAUN's** graphic was adapted from a poster produced in Germany by the Evangelical Studentengemeinde of the Free University. **JAMES McLEAN**, a long-time contributor, is head of the art department at LaGrange College. **EDWARD WALLOWITCH** is a much-published photographer from New York City. **ALGIMANTAS KEZYS**, S. J., recently had a very exciting exhibit at the Art Institute in Chicago, some of which are included in his first contributions to *motive*.



PHOTO: ALGIMANTAS KEZYS, S.J.

INNOCENCE

"Let's keep it courteous!"

"What do you mean?"

"Well, you know . . ." the lady assistant dean twitched a bit nervously, "it does seem your language is a bit gauche . . . boorish or tasteless one might say."

"Why?"

"The ill-mannered claim you just made."

The college junior wondered, "You mean when I said a lot of us in my class had been seduced?"

"Yes. Don't you think that is a rather sexy term to use? I thought we were talking about education."

"We were talking education. I said we had been seduced and that is exactly what I meant."

"Ill-mannered."

"In speech class I have been taught to say what I mean. To use words precisely."

"Ill-bred!"

"O.k. . . . ok. I'm ill-bred, ill-mannered, borish and gauche. But I meant that my innocence had been taken advantage of and destroyed. Is there a more pointed word than the one I used to describe my condition?"

"There ought to be . . . where is my Thesaurus anyway?"

"Look. Let's see if you get my point. Maybe you don't get what I mean by innocence, and why I now resent its destruction."

"All right, try to justify the usage."

"I came here, after having read the handouts, with the feeling that something unexpected and exciting would happen to me. I was told that education would be an adventure."

"Isn't it?"

"Quite frankly, no. Dullards have been palmed off on me as intellectual giants, and when the bright boys came along they were put on closed circuit TV. I might as well have gone to the lounge and watched 'The Man From U.N.C.L.E.'—it was even better."

"You must realize, my boy, that this situation is unusual. There are such crowds of students nowadays."

"Sure, sure. But I was saying that in my innocence I looked for adventure and I got—I almost used a bad word—let's say I got mediocrity. That is a kind word, isn't it?"

"Perhaps I can agree with you a bit. For some reason you seem to have missed some of the really fascinating persons I know are here. But you have time before graduation—why not set out to find them?"

"My answer is why I say I've been seduced. If I were still innocent, I would still be seeking. Now I could hardly care less. You see, it has been pointed out to me in countless and innumerable ways that this stuff does not count. Where will the intellectual life get you anyway? Poets can't make a living . . . and you folks have shown me this—the humanities are housed in the dingiest corners of the campus and business ad and technology—they have the modern quarters."

"Business and technology are intellectual."

"But not in the exciting sense of poetry."

"And this is seduction—you don't like poetry anymore?"

"Don't you get the idea?"

"I believe I do, but it seems a bit silly."

"Seduction always is silly—except for the victim."

"Now you are getting sexy again."

(Note on the above: There is no use continuing our recording of the interview. The lines simply repeat themselves. Of all the facts of existence, innocence is the most misunderstood.)

—ROGER ORTMAYER