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FRONT COVER: ROBERT R. MALONE's delicate and sensuous intaglio, "Girl in the Wind," alludes to the intricate issues which result from the effect of the pill upon sexual relationships. Clearly, traditional morality is in the midst of change, and as is true in social relationships, the dignity of and respect for the other person is the primary issue.

motive

APRIL 1968
VOLUME XXVIII, NUMBER 7

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LINO CUT: R. O. HODGELL

As a former editorial board alum (1942-44), it's a real joy to introduce our eldest to the magazine which was my delight and mainstay in college, and to find it "speaks to his condition" (as we Quakers put it), and still says things to me as well. I'm grateful and proud!

JEANNE (ACKLEY) LOHMANN
san francisco

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□

I just received your note in the mail today stating, "If you don't renew this subscription within 7 days . . . too bad for you." Too bad for me? Not exactly; it will just remove another unwanted article from the mail I receive.

Imagine my surprise when I received my first issue of your magazine. The one with the naked African on the cover (Nov. '67). I thought that I had been put on some smut literature mailing list. Although, after I read it, and found your magazine not a case for the postal inspectors, it was still personally objectionable. I receive your magazine through the benevolence of a woman's group at my church. After reading my first two copies, I informed them that I thought that their money could be better spent.

For years we have been told by many sources what was wrong with our society. Now we find that some of the "disenchanted," after apparent careful evaluation, have decided to blame "The White Middle-Class" for all of society's problems. As I see it, your magazine chooses to echo the "disenchanted's" of Washington and see what was a beautiful neighborhood ten years ago, deteriorate into a crumbling mess with the advent of its Negro populace. The fault I can find with the "white middle-class" for the shape of this neighborhood, was that they turned it over to the poor Negroes that now live there.

Although no one may realize it on your staff, it was the "white middle-class epic" that made America what it is today. It was not the Negro, or the ghetto dweller or the intellectual, but the white middle-class. They worked for their own self betterment, yes, but they also worked for society. It was a historical first when this country went to the aid of its fallen and beaten enemies after World War II. The Russians did not. We now find, through magazines such as yours, that they, along with the rest of the communists, "are not so bad." When I need a leftist opinion again, I will let you know. Until then I will file your magazine, along with *Ramparts* and *The New Republic*, under "Disenchanted or Misinformed."

JOHN TAMM, JR.
kensington, md.

I'm working with a radio station partly subsidized by the Methodist Church of America. I'm enrolled now in the graduate school at Silliman University. I took graduate courses in law, theology and creative writing. I'm presently enrolled in anthropology and sociology.

Since I accidentally read an old, old, issue of *motive* five years ago in a dusty corner of a room owned by American missionaries, I became your avid reader. Now I handle the compilation of *motive* that the station has been receiving monthly.

The article by Ross Terrill, "Between Substance and Shadow" (Nov. '67), revealed the bones, the flesh, the illness, and the arrow of this damn beautiful side of paradise. My congratulations to him and the staff of the prophetic *motive* , the magazine that may yet save America from her madness of military and economic powers.

Please tell Johnson that his policy in Vietnam is going to hell, and your American people not to send us stuff which tend to commercialize our values. I'm afraid America is hell-bent in crushing us culturally by imposing on us her capitalistic views of life. Please tell your people that if they increasingly assist in giving those cheap bombs, planes, USIS, and other propaganda stuff that discredits communism as an ideology, they are bound to prolong our suffering. Americans should not be afraid to accept the fact that capitalism is not THE answer to the problems this country is terribly facing.

ROGELIO H. TANGARA
dumaguete city, philippines

motive is a 20th century travesty. It really has nothing to offer the college mind. It is unreal, banal, and a waste of material. A higher quality magazine can be published containing material from literary-interested and -inclined students throughout this country. This magazine is an affront to my church- and Christ-centered education.

BARBARA J. HAVERSTOCK
huntville, texas

I have received *motive* for the past year and a half and I enjoyed it tremendously. It is about time someone decided to approach religion from a modern standpoint, and I feel that your magazine does just this. For years, most church publications have been written with one primary goal in mind, this being trying to convert people to believe what that particular church believes.

motive seems to be written for halfway intelligent people who are capable of making up their own minds. It subjects the readers to all aspects of life in a very modern and realistic way, encouraging them to conclude their own ideals. It tries neither to encourage or discourage its readers toward or against the standardized patterns of religion, it merely exposes the truths of this modern world.

Are we to live according to the unchanged rules of ancient religion or are we going to move ahead at a speed rapid enough to change with this constantly changing world? I feel that *motive* is taking the first big step towards a modern approach to religion. Like anything new and different, you may be scorned upon now, but in the future you will be greatly appreciated for taking that first big step.

CAROL J. LYON
stratford, conn.

After reading your magazine, I can honestly say, "Thank goodness my family are squares!" We'd all have to take LSD to enjoy your articles.

We're the odd ones, I guess—our girls are 22 and 24. We play golf, swim, camp, water-ski, snow-ski, dance, play cards, go to church, teach Sunday School, help needy families to find a place for themselves in this wonderful America, have a son-in-law who just came back from Vietnam and 351 air missions. Stop putting me on—your magazine isn't really a Methodist

publication, is it? Your writers must be reading different bibles than I am. The picture by Bob Fitch (Oct. '67) is disgusting but would make a good cover for *Playboy* or a birth-control pill advertisement.

I don't think you'll print this, but I really don't care; just wanted you to know I feel sorry for the kids who write and take photos for you. I'll be thinking of them and the hippies when my husband and I are skiing this New Year's weekend with our family. We all work hard in our family—and are getting what we deserve: love and happiness together!

MRS. PARKER VAN DIEN
union, new jersey

Keith Chamberlain's article, "Berlin: the Other S.D.S." (Nov. 1967), was extremely valuable for informing Americans on the current state of democratic processes in modern Germany. Between reading General de Gaulle's imperialist outbursts and following England's financial crisis, I wasn't much aware of German student feeling until I visited several European cities last month, including the university in Tubingen, and talked specifically with members of a family in Augsburg. The boy is a law student; his sister is enrolled in evening courses and works as translator for a machinery firm. (For many years the family lived in Czechoslovakia; the father, a German-born Czech industrialist, who helped at least one Jewish friend escape, was murdered by Czech partisans in 1945.)

The girl represents one kind of young German, and her viewpoint on issues raised by Chamberlain and on another issue deserves consideration. Her basic questions: "Why do American young people know or care so little about modern Germany? And when they consider Germany, why do they see only images of World War II death camps, and blame us for our parents' sins?" She referred to trans-atlantic TV program she'd seen in which American college students, when interviewed, mentioned Hitler but couldn't name the new German chancellor or explain the stands of any present German political parties.

I mentioned what I consider a few reasons: current student interest consumed with Vietnam, LSD, antipoverty; disinterest in any political figure without the youthful charm of Robert Kennedy or Willi Brandt, at least as these act against the background of older, duller politicians; George Lincoln Rockwell's neo-Nazis; Hochuth's plays and William Shirer's histories; the domino theory and "official" comparison of Mao's China to Hitler's Germany; the five million Jews in America. And what I thought but did not mention: perhaps Nazi Germany cannot be forgotten, and isn't it a bit naive of you to hope so? Yet I could not blame her, for she was fully aware and upset at her elders' apathy in the matter.

She also discussed the Berlin student uprising and the manipulation of news in Springer papers and magazines. Apparently this near monopoly has excited not only students but some editors of independent papers, and perhaps a few government members, to prevent Springer from acquiring more power in TV.

Personally I liked Chamberlain's statement: "The politically aware student in West Berlin, and in West Germany, is even more isolated from the establishment and the general population than his counterpart in the United States." If the U.S. student-administration gap does not equal that in Germany, perhaps this can lend some perspective to American student effort, especially peace demonstrations as I hear and am involved with them around New York. Specifically, it may lessen a certain tendency to self-pity and hopelessness. Frustrated as some students are, more statements like this may force the more violent of the New Left to see the contradiction between their "holier than thou" (the administration, the police) attitude and their promotion of similar tactics. When they imitate Vietnam violence by throwing bottles, bricks, or bags of blood from the back rows of a demonstration, it is people in the front rows or seated on the pavement who are beaten. It's true there's no comparison between bricks and napalm, but heads are bloodied all the same.

CAROLE MCCAULEY
greenwich, conn.

EDITORIAL:

The deeper this nation becomes involved in the Vietnam war, the less realistic we seem to be about some aspects of it. Especially is this true of most popular impressions of the resistance movement.

The public and the press—each feeding on the other—seem determined to discount the scope and message of the resistance by extremely selective viewing. What they pretend to see is only the flower-power or anarchistic extremities. They ignore the bulk of the opposition: moderate, normal, average-looking Americans who are as mainstream as apple pie.

This myopic view of the resistance has become especially selective since the March on the Pentagon last October. That event has yet to receive the kind of critical reflection which it deserved. There has been neither fairness nor depth to the propaganda dished out by both the critics and the supporters of the Mobilization March. My nomination for the most perceptive report thus far is Bruce Jackson's article, "The Battle of the Pentagon," in the January '68 issue of *Atlantic*. And, for the most vicious writing on the subject, I regretfully must nominate a man previously noted for his liberality and compassion—Ralph McGill. His post-march columns grossly misrepresented the spirit and tenor of the protest.

What this nation suffers from, however, is not bad writing but closed-mindedness to the significance and scope of the resistance movement itself.

The popular view is that a few malcontents make the news by some reportedly outrageous act, while the bulwark of the nation is nowhere near the peak of protest reached in World War II. Such is not the case.

Those agencies, both religious and secular, involved in counseling and assistance for objectors

report work loads and figures exceeding the 1940-47 period. Arlo Tatum, executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, contrasts approximately 16,000 men serving in alternate service in the '40-47 period with more than 24,000 now in I-O or related categories. Tatum also reports that the staff of his organization has grown from three in 1965 to nineteen currently, and the budget (derived from voluntary contributions) is now five times larger. More than 1,600 volunteer lay counselors and 350 cooperating attorneys provide the nationwide arms and legs for the CCCO.

Less dramatic growth is reported by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, but its director, J. Harold Sherk, reports "more interest in the present than in World War II."

Estimates on the ratio of conscientious objectors to draft registrants in the two periods vary drastically, but experienced observers generally concur that the World War II figure is 1 out of 1,000 was a C.O. Current estimates range from 1 in 250 to 1 in 500. Almost all non-government sources report that the current resistance far outweighs that of the '40's.

The most telling comparison is in the area of exiles and deserters. There were few in the earlier period. Although no one now has a firm count, most sources agree that there is a minimum of 10,000 Americans in Canada escaping the draft in protest of the war. In a recent visit to Paris, a pastor working amongst students estimated to me that there are more than 400 American deserters and political exiles in the Paris area. Sources in Sweden, Amsterdam, and Germany report significant numbers also. This exodus is a new phenomenon in American life and is a serious incursion on the image of America as the "home of the free and land of the brave."

THE REALITY OF THE RESISTANCE

The military has little to say publicly regarding this internal dissent within the ranks, but informed sources indicate that the matter is causing more than moderate frustration in the military. This trend will surely not reverse itself with larger draft calls and more educated men entering the services.

The foregoing seems adequate proof that the resistance is now far more widespread and serious than it was when this nation was in a declared war. The public and the press must get their heads out of the sand and face both the reasons and the size of the resistance. If we begin to see and listen to the resistance as representing part of the heart of America, then this tragic exodus by some of America's most thoughtful young people may be aborted.

For those resisters who have not found adequate information or counsel on questions troubling them most, several routes are open. Most important, they should obtain as complete and accurate information as is available regarding alternatives and consequences to whatever decision they make.

Two national organizations are especially well suited to respond to such inquiries. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors has two national offices: 2016 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103 and 437 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94105. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors may be contacted at 550 Washington Building, 15th Street and New York Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Most religious groups have one or more national offices to assist in counseling, and the American Friends Service Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union can render specialized services.

The religious community has stirred in recent months and shows some signs that the church will

not reject the resistance movement. An interfaith national committee, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, is supported by more than 20,000 clergymen and laymen. The Committee commissioned and published a carefully researched 432-page study of hundreds of on-the-spot reports of U.S. operations in South Vietnam. This book, *In the Name of America*, is an important document and deserves a wide readership. Those who would like to order the book (\$2.95 postpaid) or obtain more information about the Committee should write Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 547, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Leo Tolstoy wrote a letter to a draftee (published in the February '68 issue of *Atlantic*) in which he said, "In every person's life there are moments in which he can know himself, tell himself who he is, whether he is a man who values his human dignity above his life or a weak creature who does not know his dignity and is concerned merely with being useful (chiefly to himself). . . . For a man who knows its significance, the call to the army is perhaps the only opportunity for him to behave as a morally free creature and fulfill the highest requirement of his life—or else merely to keep his advancement in sight like an animal and thus remain slavishly submissive and servile until humanity becomes degraded and stupid."

To those who want to be more than simply useful, the resistance provides some humane alternatives to the physical and emotional destruction now dividing the world. It is past the time to be preoccupied with the style and look of the dissenters. We should begin to deal with their message in whatever medium it comes.

—B. J. STILES

THE AFRO- AMERICAN PAST

By VINCENT HARDING

PHOTOGRAPH



*N*egro history suffers the same fate in the overall American story as the individual Negro's integration into American society. That is, small but prominent doses of "Negro History" can be dropped into the national saga, but these black drops should never be numerous or indelible. For if they are too many and too black, these

encroachments might necessitate unpleasant rereadings, reassessments and rewritings of the entire story.

An American history which cannot contain the full story of the black pilgrimage is no more worthy than an American society that cannot bear the full and troublesome black presence in its midst.

Just as America can know no survival worth considering unless it finds a way of facing its black counter-image, so too our history is a tale told by fools if it does not incorporate the Afro-American experience with unflinching integrity. And if such open encounter between black and white history should produce the same insecurity as we now experience

in the human encounter, so much the better.

The analogy doesn't end there. The urgency some of us feel for creating such a new American history is no less critical than the pressure impelling us to seek for the lineaments of a new American society. Obviously, the tasks are not unrelated, for there will be no new beginnings for a nation that refuses to acknowledge its real past.

Any American history that ignores the central role of black people as actors and foils on this maddening stage is a falsified and misleading history. Such a history ignores the ironic symbol of that summer in Jamestown more than three centuries ago when representative government and African bondsmen had a mutual beginning of sorts, a beginning that seemed to lock the rhetoric of democracy and the reality of black inequality into the American heart. It is a history that tries to explore the making of the Constitution without understanding the major price in its integrity that was exacted by the system of slavery and its proponents, both north and south. It is a history that attempts to speak of the Peculiar Institution as if there were no human beings involved who produced no authentic historical materials. (Thus a major publisher could attempt recently to produce a collection of documents on slavery without one document from a slave.) It is a history that speaks of Jacksonian Democracy as if the expanded white franchise were not purchased at the cost of the black northern vote in many states.

Such a vacuous history treats Reconstruction as if it were an unfortunate mistake, rather than one of the nation's greatest lost chances to be honest and free. This kind of history deals with the turn of the nineteenth century without suggesting the way in which the brutality against blacks and Indians at home may have permanently poisoned the na-

tion's attempts at expansion among non-white peoples elsewhere. It is a history that tries to understand the urban crisis of the 1960's without tracing the long and bloody lines of Negro migration since Reconstruction. It is a history that attempts to interpret current American culture without any appreciation for the major role black people have played in creating the popular culture of the nation, especially since the 1920's.

A history without the Afro-American story may indicate why this nation can now be so numb to the brutalization of a Vietnam thousands of miles away. In denying the physical and spiritual destruction of black persons which has become a part of the American Way of Life, a callus has grown on whatever heart a nation has.

This history that has contributed immensely to the mis-education of the American people and has not prepared them to face a world that is neither white, Christian, capitalist, nor affluent. Such history may yet prove poisonous, and if there is any possible antidote on the American scene, it could be the hard and bitter medicine of the Afro-American past. Is it too late for a society that still insists that its drops be few and painless?

Even when one acknowledges the grotesquely slow pace at which black people are moving onto the American stage, the knowledge of their history is still absolutely indispensable as they cast off the roles of the past and seek for new ones. If they come to the integrated scene with integrity, they must come with a knowledge of themselves and of the many-splendored gifts they bring.

Black students in formerly white schools must not enter as suppliants who are going to be transformed from "disadvantaged" to "advantaged" by such a move. They must be so aware of their black fathers and the

wealth of their spiritual and intellectual heritage that they will illuminate sharply the disadvantages inherent in an isolated, beleaguered middle-class white world. If they are to become more than black Anglo-Saxons, then they cannot accept the old doctrines of slavery which encouraged them to believe that God somehow blessed darkest Africa with the light of Christian guns and ships and chains. Neither the ancient Kingdom of Songhai nor the modern Kingdom of Harlem was benighted without whites, and black young people need to know the measurements of the light—in both places.

Any society that would encourage black children to live in a state of permanent amnesia or shame — or both — concerning their fathers and their fathers' ways of life is a society not worth knowing. Any men who would enter such a society on its amnesic terms would only add to its corruption, whether they entered through the door of the ninth grade or by the carpeted way of a General Electric executive suite. But it must also be acknowledged that such knowledge is exceedingly dangerous, for if it were faithfully presented, a reading of the Afro-American past might cause black exiles to refuse many an open door. Indeed some doors might be torn from their hinges. This is not teaching hatred of whites. Rather it is the necessary and healthy explanation for the existence of the hatred and fear that most black men have known from childhood on. Any society lacking the courage to take such risks with light lacks the courage to live.

Those white persons who first encounter the token blacks in their new roles also are in desperate need of the Afro-American past. For without it they will be tempted to feel that they are doing a favor for the students or the junior executives by letting them in. Properly read, the pages of the Negro past will reveal that

it is black people who have done the favor by doing so much to build the nation under such horrible circumstances, and by letting such ambiguous doors stay on their hinges for so long a time. Compassionately understood, the black past will teach all benefactors that *they* are receiving a favor in being allowed what may be the one last chance to do justice, that they are being graced by the presence of a people whose pilgrimage is perhaps the only true epic poem that America has ever known. Such a reading of the Afro-American past might even shatter the general illusion that token acceptance of token Negroes will ever bring any basic hope for the survival of any of us.

Perhaps the issue of survival suggests another level of our need for the story of this dark journey in America. Not long ago, the most highly esteemed newspaper in America asked an author to write his reflections on the reasons "for the current breaking of America into two parts, based on race." When it rips apart all the easy generalizations of our textbooks (written largely by, for and about white America), the new coming of black history would cast such a question into limbo. For any perceptive apprehension of the Negro-white encounter cannot fail to reveal that there have always been two major communities in this nation—based on race.

The breaking began in West Africa and continued in every colony and state that came into being. If we read with both speed and comprehension, it may not be too late to ask the right questions, questions based not on Newark or Detroit in 1967, but on Jamestown and Philadelphia and Springfield and St. Louis over the centuries. For it is only as America faces a Denmark Vesey, a Nat Turner, a W. E. B. DuBois, a Paul Robeson and a Malcolm X, that the nation will begin to be ready to understand a Stokely Carmichael, a Rap Brown and the

host of black radicals yet to come. Such a reading would identify each one as "Made in America, Product of its Broken Community." How shall this land create new and whole men if it refuses to examine its past production record, a record strewn with the crushed bodies and spirits of black radicals hurling defiant curses and urgent pleas for renewal from the same dying lips?

These angry young men's lives demonstrate the fact that the Afro-American past and the black present are no longer matters of limited national concern—if they ever were. Indeed they suggest to us what may be one of the most profound and universally significant uses of this history: that is, its service as an entrance to the non-white, non-Western world. One of the most gifted and least celebrated American political analysts, A. J. Muste, used to say that the basic division in the world now and for some time to come was not based on communism versus capitalism. Rather, Muste said, the world was divided now between those people who had rarely if ever known defeat and humiliation as a national experience and those who had lived with this for centuries.

In a sense, Muste was simply echoing the profound insights expressed by W. E. B. DuBois half a century earlier. However formulated, the concepts of these men remind us that the world experience of the last 500 years has meant that the vast majority of the earth's humiliated people has been non-white, and their humiliation has come at the hands of the white, Western world. Moreover, it appears that this nation now stands as the self-proclaimed leader of that unhumiliated world, and finds itself at once the most powerful and one of the least comprehending national states.

One of America's most critical blind areas is in the realm of understanding the oppressed, the wretched of the earth. Our

vaunted experience of virtually unbroken success, our alabaster cities undimmed by human tears (except for the unseen tears of the poor and the black?) and our movement into the strange joys of advanced corporate capitalism—all these have cut this people off from the rest of the world in significant ways.

*A*nation that combines the American predilection towards violence, the American stockpile of weapons and the American lack of empathy for the earth's humiliated peoples is a dangerous nation. Perhaps it can begin another life by introducing itself to the invisible men in its midst, by seeking to know the quality of suffering and hurt and the rebellion they spawn. Such an introduction must include—if not begin with—the past.

Nor are black Americans excused from such a task, for we are constantly exposed to a terrible temptation to forget the black and bloody ground out of which we sprang, as the price for American acceptance. As DuBois put it more than a decade ago, ". . . most American Negroes, even those of intelligence and courage, do not fully realize that they are being bribed to trade equal status in the United States for the slavery of the majority of men." So the Afro-American past must remind black people that we are children of the humiliated and the oppressed, that our fathers were colonized and exploited subjects, and that the ghettos we have recently left are still too often filled with the stench of poverty and despair.

Such history must remind Afro-Americans that all of our greatest leaders have begged us to stand in solidarity with the black and anguished people of the earth. We are their spokesmen in the midst of the world's foremost antirevolutionary power. If we forsake them, we forsake our past, our fathers, and our own best selves.

If we forsake them, there may be no future for our children or theirs. If we forget our own father's burnings in village squares and don American uniforms to set fires against the world's desperate revolutions, we will deserve nothing but the scorn of men and the judgment of the gods.

Some years ago, D. W. Brogan, an English expert on American affairs, referred to what he called The Myth of American Omnipotence. This phrase referred to his conviction that the reading of the American past was distorted by a conception of this nation as an entity incapable of failure, powerful and pure enough to succeed at anything it chose. The corollary of this myth, said Brogan (in the days of McCarthy's reign), was that any American failure at home or overseas had to be explained

by subversion or conspiracies, or—at worst—a mistake in well-intentioned American judgment.

Related to Brogan's myth is what might be called The Myth of American Romanticism. Ever since the nation's beginning it has been plagued by this equally crippling misconception of itself. Succinctly put, it involves a belief that American history is the story of a society moving on a straight upward line from perfection to perfection, from goodness to betterness, from being better than other nations to being the best and most complete nation God had ever stood over (I take it that is the implication of being "under God"). This mythology was intensified to the point of indoctrination after World War II when history became a tool of Cold War, and it became necessary to prove consistently the superiority

of America over every conceivable communist, socialist or neutralist model in the world.

This self-image is on a level with fairy tales and happiness-for-ever-after. It is the self-understanding of those whose adult development has been aborted by the fear of the risks of growth. Most importantly, it is a refusal to recognize the bloody, tragic line that whips its way through all of life. Failure to face the tragic is failure to mature in national as well as personal spheres, so in the midst of this pabulum view of history a serious implanting of the Afro-American past could be the difference between death and growth—at least spiritually.

Were American historians and American citizens at large to face this story, many—if not all—of their liberal, superficial myths about, and hopes for, American

PHOTOGRAPH

BOB COMBS



society might be transformed. They would need to face again the fact that two of their greatest heroes, Jefferson and Lincoln, were convinced that black and white people could never live on a basis of true equality in America. They would be pressed to realize that The Great Emancipator cared far more deeply for a cheaply won white reconciliation than for the very costly black liberation, thereby helping to lead the nation down bloody paths of malice for all.

The close reading of the black past might reveal how fully this broken people has tested every line of American democratic rhetoric and how fully each word has shrunk before the ultimate test in every generation. (They would also see the pathetic and perennial sight of esteemed national leaders offering solutions a generation old to wounds long past such ancient salves.) A reading of the black preachers, poets and editors, a sensitive listening to the singers of our songs, would face the nation with the ceaseless rage that has been the lot of men in every strange land who have been called upon to sing, to dance, to laugh, and to be grateful. And in those pages any searching eye would easily spy the century-old predictions of black alienation, sedition, rebellion, and guerrilla warfare. Tragic disaster has always lurked at the American door, created largely by blindness to the nation's fatal flaw.

Not only would the tragic nature of American life perhaps become more clear, but the Afro-American story would remind the nation that it was conceived as an experiment, an experiment that could yet fail, miserably, utterly, explosively. Almost a century ago Henry Adams described the America of 1800 as very healthy "except for the cancer of slavery." The irony and the tragedy of a "very healthy" cancerous body is still the American condition, and though no



PHOTOGRAPH

cure has yet been found for the cancer, it may not be too late to open the blind eyes to see its sources in the past. And what if we open our eyes only to discover that Jefferson and Lincoln (and many black men) were right, that present white prejudice and black bitterness, and unbroken lines of injustice from the past now make it impossible for us to continue together in integrity? Is it better to go on in blind, self-righteous rage towards internecine struggle or to see, finally see, with sad and mature clarity the pathway down from all our past romantic dreams—including the dream of integration?

The black experience in America allows for no illusions, not even that last, ancient hope of the chosen American people whom God will somehow rescue by a special act of his grace. America began with such hopes, but they were tied to the idea of a Covenant, that men would have to do God's will for them to

remain as his chosen ones. Somehow, just as America forced black men to do so much of its other dirty but productive work, the nation evidently came to believe that whites could be chosen while blacks did that suffering which has always been identified with the chosen ones. Now that is over. The black past has begun to explode and to reveal to a hiding chosen people that to be the anointed one is to be crushed and humiliated by the forces of the world. After almost 400 years of exile, the black branch of the chosen people has grown louder than ever before in its refusal to take the sufferings apart from the privileges of the chosen status.

So, for all who would see it, the Afro-American past illuminates the meaning of being chosen. Perhaps this is what white Americans must see: that they will either join the ranks of suffering and humiliation (beginning perhaps with "losing face" in Vietnam?) or there will be no



BOB COMBS

chosen people on these shores. Either they will submit their children to some of the same educational terrors they have allowed black children to endure or there is no future for any. Either they will give up their affluence to provide necessities for others or there will be neither affluence nor necessities for anyone. Perhaps we were chosen together, and we cannot move towards a new beginning until we have faced all the horror and agony of the past with absolute honesty. Perhaps integration is indeed irrelevant until the assessment of a long, unpaid debt has been made and significant payments begun. Perhaps atonement, not integration, is the issue at hand.

Of course, one last, shattering possibility may remain. It could be that the message of the Afro-American past is this: only one branch of the chosen people has really paid the dues of suffering—with the scars to show for it. Therefore it may be that only the

black branch will be allowed to shape the future of the nation and determine its calling for the world. Perhaps only black people are open, sensitive, and scarred enough as a group to lead this nation into true community with the non-white humiliated world. Perhaps that world of suffering will trust no American leaders save those who bear the marks of oppression in their souls. Perhaps it will listen only to those who know the tragic sense of life and are not blind and calloused bearers of death.

Perhaps it is already time for the last to be first in our nation. How shall that overturning come? That knowledge may be too great for even the Afro-American past to bear. Perhaps our black history can only bear witness to the truth, and living men must shape that truth into new action and new history.

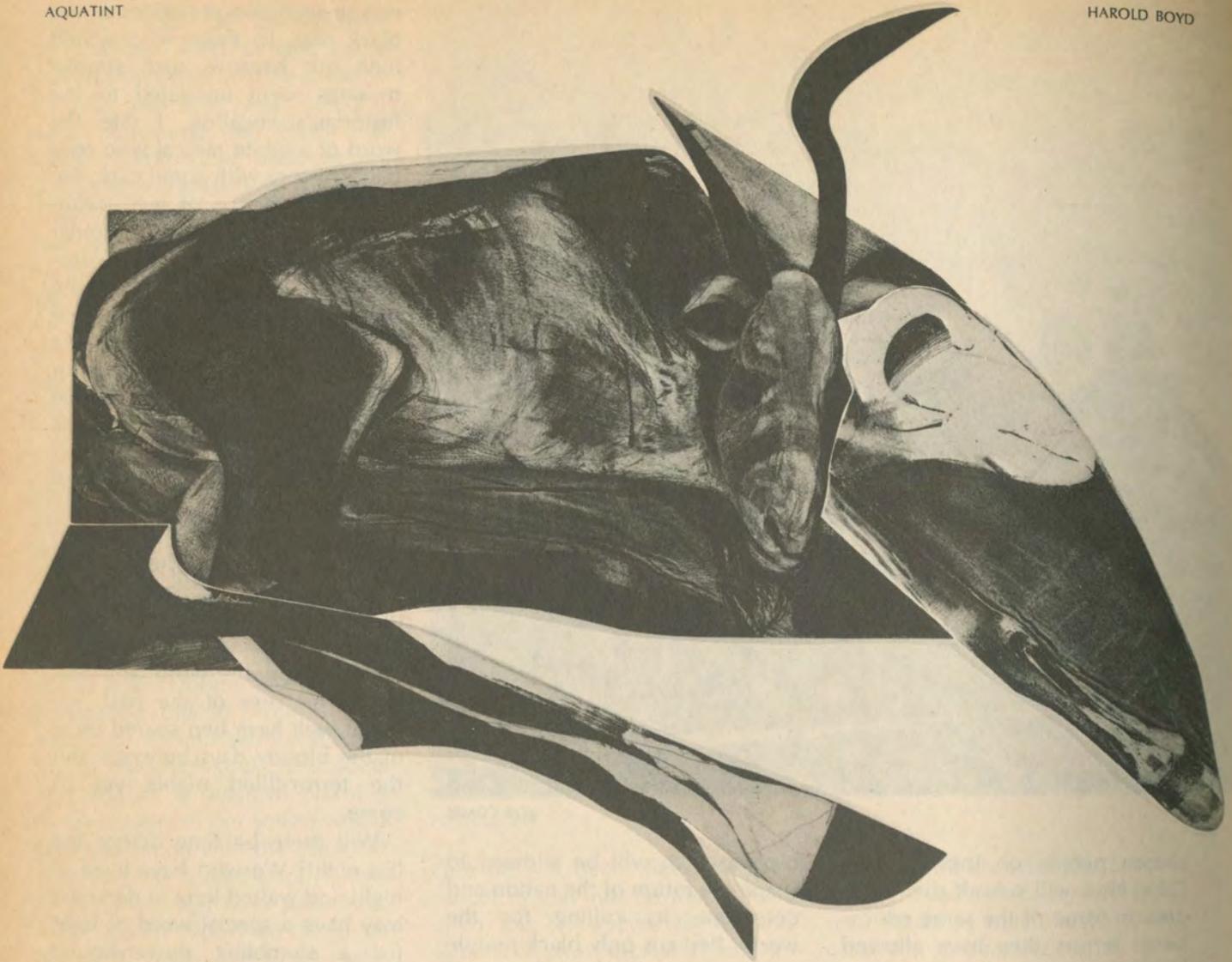
To those who would close their

ears to such interpretations of the black past, to those who would tune out because such strange musings seem unrelated to the historian's vocation, I cite the word of a white radical who read black history with some care. Before an audience of well-meaning whites, in a time of similar crisis, he spoke on the Afro-American past, focusing on the greatness of a black leader named Toussaint, holding *L'Ouverture* above the great white heroes of the age. Then Wendell Phillips set out these words: "You think me a fanatik tonight, for you read history not with your eyes but with your prejudices."

So spoke a man who believed that there was no healing for America either in small black drops of history or in small black drops of Negro freedom. Had the nation heard his word and followed his uses of the past, we might well have been spared most of the bloody days between and the terror-filled nights yet to come.

Will there be time before the last night? We who have lived in night and waited long in darkness may have a special word of light for a stumbling power-bound people. We do not panic easily. Shall the word be heard? Only those with ears can say. It is our calling, our vocation, to speak it. And if the last darkness should fall, it is preferable that we be found standing faithful to all the agonizing sorrow-joy of our Afro-American past than lost and sullen black defenders of a world that sucked out our memory and bleached our minds.

Such a land deserves no defense. Better that it pass and make way for whatever is yet to come—even if it be the long-delayed last silence. Or will it be the drums of morning? I do not know. The Afro-American past leaves a man with no illusions, but even in the heart of chaos it does not strip him of his hope. We have come too far, through too much chaos, to cop out here.



*the challenge
of southern Africa
to the
U.S.*

COLOR AND WORLD POLITICS

By COLIN LEGUM

During the past twenty years—the lifetime of the United Nations—the world community has reached a virtual consensus about the nature of the political systems in southern Africa*, and about their broad implications for the future of world peace. Between 1946 (when the UN first took up the questions of South Africa's racial policies and South West Africa) and 1966, the Security Council and the General Assembly adopted a number of decisions, with increasing unanimity, requiring compliance by

the Portuguese, South Africa and Rhodesian governments. There has been no compliance. Thus these twenty years saw the crystallization of world opinion over *desirable ends*, but without finding agreement over *effective means* to achieve these ends.

A second period opened in 1966-67 when the Security Council authorized action under Chapter VII against the Rhodesian regime, and the General Assembly deprived South Africa of its mandate over South West Africa. This new period involved in the UN in the much more difficult problem of finding international agreement

on *enforcement* of the collective will as to ends. For southern Africa and the UN, 1967 marked the crossroads. For the former the question is whether the white supremacist regimes will continue to defy the world organization; for the UN the question is whether effective action can be found to promote the authority and prestige of organized world opinion. The answers to these questions must profoundly affect relations between Africa and the UN and between the white and colored peoples of the world, consequently raising the issue of world peace and stability.

* Southern Africa refers throughout this essay to Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa, and South West Africa.



HAROLD BOYD

Implicit in the present situation are two unmistakable developments. First, there is a growing tendency on the part of southern African governments to treat the UN as a "paper tiger" which can be safely defied or ignored. This has not always been so. In the early 1960s, South Africa in particular showed obvious concern about the dangers to her national interests of open defiance of the UN. This found expression in a preference for a deferential official approach to the international community and deep public apprehension when the UN took adverse decisions affecting South Africa.

The possibility that agreement over enforcement measures would be found was taken very seriously. This is no longer so. The southern African authorities display a readiness to defy the world organization, and show open contempt for its authority.

The second development is the increasing disillusionment among UN members who, in the past, have looked to the UN as the only effective way of achieving a peaceful transition from the *status quo* in southern Africa to a more acceptable political order. This erosion of faith in, and respect

for, the United Nations is manifested in six ways:

1. The loss of faith on the part of the active opponents of apartheid, of the Smith regime and of the Portuguese political system in the usefulness of keeping alive constitutional methods of opposition, as part of the hope of the eventual efficacy of international pressures.

2. The growing criticisms within the liberation movements of those who advocate United Nations intervention as a useful ally of change, and in an increasing reliance on violence as the principal effective means of change. Their disillusion is strongly fanned by those international forces who are in principle opposed to the UN, and who are today in a strong position to point out that their warnings about relying on the world body have been fully justified.

3. The acceptance by some—though as yet very few—African governments of the need to "coexist" with the white supremacy regimes on the grounds that this constitutes the path of realism. Belief in this kind of "realism" naturally strengthens the white supremacists and divides the ranks of their opponents.

4. The growing reluctance of members of the Organization of African Unity to continue paying more than lip service to the value of the UN in the struggle against the white supremacy systems. This reluctance both weakens African confidence in the UN generally and carries the further danger either of increasing absolute reliance on violence between blacks and whites or of postponing the challenge to white supremacy for an indefinite period. Both attitudes increase rather than lessen the dangers inherent in the southern African situation.

5. The policies of the major trading partners of South Africa and Portugal, who are now more reluctant than ever to consider the urgency of international action to weaken the capacity, and hence the willingness, of the regimes in southern Africa to resist the demands for self-determination and majority rule. Not only are South Africa's traditional trading partners continuing their commerce; they are in fact annually increasing it while other trading nations are making every effort to increase their share of a lucrative trade.

6. The defiance of even Security Council decisions by member nations, notably France, by ignoring the arms embargo on South Africa, takes up the lucrative trade eschewed by others. This increases the unwillingness of those who observe the embargo to continue doing so, and gives direct encouragement to the southern African regimes to continue defying the world community. More-

over, it erodes the authority of the United Nations.

These developments are direct consequences of the inefficacy of methods thus far attempted in seeking to avert the dangers southern Africa presents to world peace and in seeking to promote the objectives envisaged by UN resolutions. But now a look at current situations.

The political systems of southern Africa, though varying in several respects, have certain elements in common. In each system, the *status quo* depends on power being retained in the hands of a minority which is exclusively, or almost exclusively, white. Thus the defense of the *status quo* becomes the defense of white supremacy. Not unnaturally, these white supremacy regimes look for support to the white nations—largely Western countries—where traditional ties of kinship, trade, and language find obvious expression. The ambiguous policies of the major Western governments lend credibility to the view that they desire the retention of white—or Western—bastions in prosperous southern Africa.

The suspicion that Western economic and security interests are closely bound up with the *status quo* in southern Africa is fed by halfhearted or contradictory Western policies whose effects are frequently of direct benefit to the southern Africa regimes. A serious credibility gap has been opened by the ambiguities of Western policies which makes it difficult to allay genuine suspicions. Difficult as it may be for the Western powers to accept this judgment on the motivation of their policies, they would be foolish to ignore the fact that these suspicions act as a powerful factor in the thinking of those committed to the overthrow of the white supremacy regimes. *The strength of African suspicions about Western policies and intentions establishes an important international dimension within the southern African situation.*

motive

Other traits common to the political systems in southern Africa are that the majorities are all African, and that none allows for political change of the present power structure by constitutional means—at least on any time-scale less than the “lifetimes” of the present occupants of power. The African majorities are therefore left with only two alternatives: to accept the *status quo* with its exclusive reservation of power to whites or to oppose it by unconstitutional, probably violent, methods.

Strategy of Violence

Since 1960, the confirmed trend in southern Africa has been away from compliance with the *status quo* and the abandonment of purely nonviolent methods of struggle. Only within the last seven years has the “armed struggle”—the phenomenon of the national liberation movement—become an active element in the southern African situation. The African National Congress of South Africa saw its militant wing—led by Nelson Mandela—abandon its fifty-year-old policy of nonviolent struggle in 1960. This, too, is the policy of the Pan Africanist Congress. The following year the Angolan liberation movement opened its armed struggle, to be followed two years later by FRELIMO's military campaign in Mozambique. As a result of the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia in November 1965, both the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union came to accept the need for a guerrilla-type struggle. In 1966, the South West Africa People's Organization began its guerrilla activities in Ovamboland, and the South West Africa National Union also subscribes to the need for militant struggle.

Thus, in a matter of a few years, the phenomenon of liberation movements committed to an armed struggle became an accepted feature of the situation in

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southern Africa. The climate is one of increasing tensions and violence. Itself a reaction to the powerfully reinforced armed strength of the defenders of the *status quo*, the emergence of active guerrilla cadres produced an escalation in the armed forces of the white supremacy regimes. The sharpness of this increase in fighting capacity is shown in the sevenfold increase in the defense budget of South Africa in as many years; in the drafting of an estimated 100,000 Portuguese troops to the African colonies; and in the substantially increased expenditure (for which no accurate figures are available) of the Rhodesian security forces.

The liberation movements obviously are primarily concerned with the achievement of their objectives as speedily as possible. Therefore they are ready to accept aid from any quarter which does not involve their movements being hobbled by any external power. Apart from the assistance

they get from the African states, the principal source of military and other aid is from non-Western countries. This does not represent a deliberate choice by the major liberation movements; on the contrary, it is a choice forced on them by the policies of the Western powers which look with disfavor on the growth of armed liberation movements. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its allies, as well as the People's Republic of China, actively encourage their growth. These conflicting international policies determine the sources of arms and the places of military training outside of Africa itself. These “*alliances of interest*” establish a *third international dimension*.

All these trends in the southern salient of the contest have in the last few years led to sharpening the contest for power. On the one side stand the defenders of the *status quo*; they are virtually all white. On the other side stand the challengers of the *status quo*; they



are predominantly black, though by no means exclusively so. Because of their policies, the defenders of the existing regimes are limited to seeking support from among those who share their views or have certain common economic interests. These are mainly in the West, although Japan and a few non-Western countries have developed economic ties with South Africa. The opponents of the *status quo* look for support to the rest of Africa, the Middle East, the communist countries, as well as to sympathetically minded people and governments in the West. But, primarily, the struggle is between whites and non-whites; and the struggle has been increasingly turning toward violence on both sides. It is these two elements—race and violence—which provide the seeds of a race war.

Coming Collision

How real is this danger? Is it more than just a convenient weapon of fear in the hands of those who wish to get the world community involved in helping to break the stranglehold of the existing regimes in South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia—or does it represent a more cogent truth? Those who have spoken most urgently about the danger of a race war include many of the foremost leaders of the Western world. They can hardly be accused of wishing to invent such a danger since acceptance of the implications of a potential race war makes more compelling the reasons why their policies should accept the need for preventive action. Britain's most recent three Prime Ministers—Mr. Macmillan, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and Mr. Wilson—have all spoken of the dangers of a race war being inherent in the situation in southern Africa. Britain's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Lord Caradon, has written: "When the race struggle gets hot and rough there would be no more 'moderate' leaders in Africa. The

goodwill still existing will be thrown away. There will be no neutrals in a color war." As recently as June 1967, Mr. Ian Macleod—a British Conservative leader—strongly criticized the Smith regime and those running Rhodesia, warning that a racial conflict in South Africa could explode into a situation far worse than the crisis in the Middle East. United States leaders, ranging from the late John Foster Dulles and the late President Kennedy to Dean Rusk, have all added their warnings to the possibility of a conflict between white and black. The United Nations Group of Experts established in pursuance of the Security Council resolution of December 4, 1963, under the chairmanship of Sweden's Mrs. Alva Myrdal, stated in paragraph 31 of its report:

Violence and counter-violence in South Africa are only the local aspects of a much wider danger. The coming collision must involve the whole of Africa and indeed the world beyond. No African nation can remain aloof. Moreover, a race conflict starting in South Africa must affect race relations elsewhere in the world, and also, in its international repercussions, create a world danger of first magnitude.

With this impressive international testimony to the dangers implicit in the existing situation, one should have little difficulty in dismissing the suggestion that the threat of a race war has been invented or magnified to serve special interests. More important, one must accept this testimony as crucial to assessing the possible consequences of the situation in southern Africa.

Yet, there are those who see in recent developments in Africa signs that the danger has been alleviated. Three reasons are advanced in support of this more optimistic view. First, that African countries have been awakened by recent events to realize the necessity that each state should seek to mend its own domestic fences without becoming involved in supporting the overthrow of the regimes in southern Africa. Sec-

ond, that the white supremacy states have shown both their capacity and their will to survive in a way that will force Africans, however unwilling, to seek *modus vivendi* for coexistence. Third, that South Africa's more "flexible policy" under Prime Minister Vorster has provided attractions for African states to adopt policies of "good neighborliness."

The last view sees the heat gradually going out of the racial conflict as South Africa extends its sphere of friendship to its neighbors, and as the African states come to terms with the "reality" that the "White Redoubt" (especially South Africa) is unvanquishable by the forces available to Africa, or likely to be offered by the world community. How credible is this approach? Undoubtedly, there is a direct link between the recent difficulties experienced in various African countries and the continent's capacity to sustain an effective campaign for the liberation movements. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the degree of opposition to the established regimes come only from the liberation movements; they are only one element in the situation.

While it is probably true that the immediate thrust of the liberation struggle has weakened in some places, yet it is a clear fact that the sharp thrust of FRELIMO in Mozambique and the reactivated struggle in Angola have both occurred during the period of Africa's more recent troubles. Moreover, it is within comparatively recent months that the South West African People's Organization has shown its capacity at least to initiate a guerrilla campaign in Ovamboland. These developments by no means show that the opponents of white supremacy are yet able to make their challenge effective. Their true significance—apart from demonstrating the growth of the commitment to an armed struggle—is that they have shown a capacity to open up new fronts at the same time as the rulers of

Southern Rhodesia and South Africa have felt themselves to be sufficiently strong to take new initiatives of their own—the Smith regime by staging its rebellion, and the Vorster regime by extending its “good neighbor” policy beyond the circle of their “economically captive” border states.

If South Africa should succeed in extending its “good neighbor” policy beyond Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, and Malawi, it will have added considerably to its capacity to defend itself both along its own frontiers and within the international community. Because this aspect of South Africa’s policy offers a direct challenge to the collective viewpoint of the Organization of African Unity (as set forth in its resolutions at its various summit conferences since

1963), its diplomatic probes beyond the Zambesi have created considerable concern and will, predictably, increase the tensions between the Organization of African Unity and such African states as enter into economic and diplomatic relations with Pretoria, where their circumstances of economic vulnerability do not warrant it.

Irrespective of whether it succeeds or fails, South Africa’s diplomatic probes into Africa will heighten tensions. This is not only because this policy is divisive within the Organization of African Unity, but also because there is an accompanying fear that South Africa’s highly organized intelligence services will operate within African states in pursuit of its policies.

The internal policies pursued by South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia vary quite considerably; nevertheless, all share a common interest in defending the area’s *status quo*. This natural “alliance of interests” is a factor of considerable importance to each, notably in the close cooperation between their intelligence and security systems, in their diplomatic and lobbying activities, and in their economic agreements. Even though Dr. Salazar and the late Dr. Verwoerd counselled Mr. Smith against his rebellion (which they saw as jeopardizing their own long-term positions because neither felt the rebellion would be successful in the end), once the deed was committed both felt irresistibly bound to assist the



AQUATINT ETCHING: ANIMAL'S KINGDOM

HAROLD BOYD

rebels in their act of defiance of Britain, Africa, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the United Nations.

The failure, thus far, of economic sanctions in achieving its purpose in Rhodesia can be ascribed entirely to the operation of the "alliance of interests" in southern Africa. The acknowledged fact that the Pretoria regime has worked consistently for a "negotiated settlement" between the Smith rebels and Britain does not diminish the culpability of Pretoria—or, for that matter, of Lisbon—in insuring the survival of the rebellion. This "alliance of interests" of the white-ruled South is, of course, the natural counterpoise to the alliance of African States. *These two alliance systems—with their different allies in the international community—delineate the dangerous cleavage in the African continent and in the wider international community.*

*F*ortunately, the alliance of African States is not yet drawn exclusively along lines of color. The preservation of a multi-national and multi-racial international alliance against the defenders of white supremacy should be seen as the single, vital safeguard against the dangers of a race war. A special responsibility rests on the world community to insure prophylactic policies designed to weaken rather than harden the "alliance of color."

The essential interests of the defenders of the white supremacy states in southern Africa and of their challengers are irreconcilable. So long as the defenders of this system insist on retaining power exclusively (as in the case of South Africa), or effectively (as in the case of Southern Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique) in the hands of a white minority, there is no possibility of a peaceful outcome to the struggles in southern Africa. Dialogues can be meaningful only if there is a willingness by either side to depart from their

fundamental positions. This, in effect, postulates a willingness on the part of the defenders of the *status quo* to alter their position. Yet, for them no compromises are possible: their attitude is logical because, for them, compromise means political defeat.

There can be no halfway position between keeping the white minority in a position of power and privilege, and a political system resting on the principle of majority rule. The concept of a transition period is valid only if there is genuine acceptance of the loss of their exclusive privileges by the present holders of power. So long as they are unwilling to face up to the necessity of sharing their privileges by the surrender of power, no meaningful dialogues are possible.

Those who look to "economic realities" in South Africa to produce a solvent for the racial crisis confuse two positions: the amelioration of the economic lot of the colored majority, and the transfer of power. Since the central issue is over power and not over economic concessions, the operation of economic forces are unlikely to touch the real issue—although they will undoubtedly sharpen the capacities of the Africans to resist while increasing the capacities of the whites to defend their huge privileges. It seems doubtful that dialogues can achieve the purpose of "persuading" the holders of power that it is in their long-term survival interests to enter into effective negotiations.

So long as the defenders of the *status quo* believe they possess sufficient power (backed by enough allies in the international community) to enable them to maintain their present position, they will continue to hold out—even if the result it produces is a climate of increasing political and military violence. In holding this position they are by no means unique. Even if one recognizes—as one should—the legitimate fears of white minorities (largely

due to their own mistaken policies through the years), this in no way alters the central reality of this analysis: namely, that for the defenders of the *status quo* there is no way of changing their policies without losing their power. They are understandably unwilling to face this hard necessity. For equally understandable reasons the challengers to the *status quo* are unwilling to change their position—even if, for the immediate future, they can see only a long and bitterly drawn-out struggle to achieve their objectives.

Therefore, the world community faces a situation which will become increasingly violent the longer it continues. Nor will this situation become negotiable unless one side begins to feel the actual loss of its power, or the other side becomes convinced of its permanent powerlessness. The latter eventuality must be permanently ruled out; the former position can only be reached through effective international pressures or effective internal pressures, or through a combination of both.

*H*itherto, international pressures have not been sufficient to make an effective impact. Nor will they become effective until the UN can find ways of mobilizing its potential power to undertake enforcement action in support of Security Council decisions. The Security Council has already committed the world community to two objectives: the defeat of the Rhodesian rebellion, and the establishment of an independent South West African State freed from the control of South Africa. Failure to pursue these two objectives with any sign of likely success will almost certainly produce two interlocked results. It will encourage those pledged to maintaining white supremacy to believe that their obduracy will bring them eventual success. It will also cause a further loss of faith in the UN among the opponents of the present regimes

thereby strengthening their exclusive commitment to an armed struggle and opposition to UN interventions. These two results will carry the opposing forces much further and more surely along the collision course on which they have already embarked.

It is not my intention to enter into the realm of prophecy in trying to forecast how far away we are from the eventual collision in South Africa. In Angola and Mozambique the armed struggle is already a fact; in South West Africa the beginnings of the struggle have already been noted; in Rhodesia the forces of counter-violence are striving to make their organizations more effective. The immediate danger is that the spirit of violence—of racial violence—is being implanted by what is happening already. It will be infinitely harder, perhaps even impossible, to reverse the process of racism and violence once it has taken firm root.

America's Role

Americans, whether they like it or not, are bound to remain directly involved in the unfolding of the color crisis for a number of reasons. They cannot easily escape their role as the leading Western power, or as one of the two major members of the United Nations, with its sizable commitments already taken to intervene in Rhodesia, South West Africa, South Africa, and against the continuation of Portuguese policies.

Secondly, the economic interests of American financial investments in southern Africa (however small these are in proportion to the total amount) constitute an American involvement. Less directly, but no less crucially, America is involved through her own gathering color crisis at home. The development of this crisis over color is almost certain to affect profoundly American thinking and policies towards the racial issues in southern Africa. The reaction of world opinion to

the way Americans handle their color crisis is similarly bound to involve the United States more deeply in the international conflicts over color.

Having spent most of last summer looking at the problems raised by the challenge of Black Power, I came away with the feeling that America's political system is going to be strained to the limit by the opposing forces that have been raised by the developments of the last four summers.

It is possible to disagree about the dangers of the white backlash; in any event it is probably too soon to be able to make any authoritative assessment of its full potentialities. But what is clear is that there is no earthly possibility of the political system being capable of being adjusted—by any conceivable President—rapidly enough to provide an effective response to the tolerable minimum results needed to defuse the new mood of anger and expectancy of black Americans.

Certainly, Presidential year 1968 is not going to provide that kind of leadership and opportunity needed to make the issue of Negro rights the priority domestic issue of the nation. Violence and repression are the inevitable consequences of the situation in which America finds itself today. The only unpredictable element, still, is the degree of violence or repression. Racial violence in America—white repression—is certain to color American attitudes, and to determine international attitudes to America. This will be a major factor in the gathering world crisis over color.

What policies might enlightened American leadership be expected to adopt?

First and foremost it should be encouraged to work with and through international agencies to make collective action more effective. Its support of the UN to find ways of enforcement for Security Council decisions may in the end turn out to be of crucial impor-

tance—not only in reducing the extent of violence and racial bitterness in Southern Africa, but in rescuing the UN from becoming as discredited over southern Africa as the League of Nations became over Italy's aggression on Abyssinia.

Secondly, as the leader of the Western community, America should encourage Western initiatives, rather than resist them.

Thirdly, American public opinion must be mobilized against the powerful lobbies operating in



SOFTGROUND ETCHING: TARLATAN

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this country on behalf of Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia. There should be no room for doubt on which side American public sympathies lie. If there is one moral issue on which Western Christian leaders cannot afford to falter, it is on this issue of racial justice.

Fourthly, Americans should not allow themselves to be driven by their own color crisis into accepting the argument that they must first clean up their own backyard before they can more effectively participate in international efforts to produce changes, with a minimum of violence, in southern Africa. Such an approach is either hypocritical or an intellectual rationalization for avoiding the need for effective policies. The struggle for racial justice—crucial to world peace—must be fought on all fronts at the same time.

Fifthly, America should disassociate itself in every way possible from South Africa. This policy of disassociation, trenchantly argued

in a report by the British Council of Churches, should be carried out step by step, until only formal diplomatic relations are retained. This of course raises the question of American economic investments in South Africa. While it is unrealistic to suppose that any American Government will—at one fell swoop—order all American investors to close down their operations, it is possible to diminish these interests. One way of doing so is to discourage actively any new investments in southern Africa, and to restrain the loans of public or private funds to the Republic. Such investors as can be persuaded to reduce their investments, or of withdrawing altogether, should be encouraged to do so. At least there should be no doubt about the American government and people's preference for disengagement. Disengagement by stages is one practical and useful way of exerting some kind of pressure, and of refusing to share in the rich gains from exploitation of an economic system that has many of the features of economic slavery.

Of course I know the familiar arguments. What is the point of such disengagement if it is not going to result in effective pressures? My answer is that apart from moral considerations, it would give encouragement to the opponents of apartheid, and give a lead to other Western nations if America were seen to be openly committed to disengagement. Another familiar argument: Why should America disengage economically from South Africa while increasing her economic relations with communist countries? Or with Haiti for that matter? There seems to me to be one fundamental distinction between South Africa and the communist states of Europe. The former represents at least a potential threat to world peace; this is the pronouncement of the UN with virtually no dissenting voices. The communist states do not represent such a threat. Their internal policies are undergoing considerable modifi-

cation—as exemplified by both the Khrushchev and Kosygin periods, and as witnessed recently in Rumania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The tendency of their governments is toward detentism to find a viable relationship with the West in pursuing acceptable international policies. In their case it is demonstrable that increased contacts with the West can strengthen the forces working towards more flexible and democratic policies.

In South Africa's case, the regime relies on its Western associations actively to strengthen and bolster up its racial policies. Because the West is demonstrably so closely connected with the economic structure on which apartheid rests, it is in the long-term political interests of the West that it should be seen to be disengaging. If it does not do so, it will find it hard to persuade the active opponents of apartheid that they must not at the same time engage in anti-Western policies as part of their struggle against apartheid. Moreover, if Western economic interests are strongly entrenched in South Africa when the apartheid system finally crumbles, it would be unreasonable to suppose that those who have struggled to demolish apartheid will harbor friendly feelings towards Western economic and political interests.

So, both on moral and practical grounds there is everything to be said for disengaging from South Africa, and very little indeed to be said for discouraging trade and other relations with the communist states. I agree that the use of the economic weapon in international affairs must be used as seldom as possible; it is justified only on those rare occasions when some great international issue is at stake, and seldom, if ever, in pursuit of purely national interests.

*W*e should not deceive ourselves into believing that there is any longer a possibility that the white su-

premacist regimes of southern Africa can be changed by purely peaceful means, or without effective international involvement. Since international enforcement does not, at present, seem possible one must realistically assume that increasing violence is the pattern that will unfold in southern Africa. This is deplorable. But beyond deploring it, one must be ready to formulate policies to take account of this development.

Sophisticated political leaders should be able to distinguish between genuine national liberation movements and spurious ones. It is a great disservice to treat all national liberation movements as either communist creations, or instruments of Egyptian policy. The liberation movements in southern Africa are all, without exception, expressions of genuine indigenous opposition. If they draw their support from communists or other groups antagonistic to the West, it is because they have come to believe that they have nothing to hope for from the West. It is up to the West to disprove their suspicions of it or alternatively to confirm them. What is not reasonable is for the West to try to appeal to the anti-apartheid forces to behave like democratic constitutional movements, retaining their friendship for the West, when all their experiences have rightly taught them that peaceful change is impossible in states controlled by racial minorities in defense of their own security and privileges. The West has demonstrated too frequently its reluctance to commit itself—in any way which would inconvenience itself—towards assisting change through international enforcement procedures.

But Americans are the last people who need to be lectured on the necessity of revolution, and on the virtue of relying on the support of those who demonstrate their active friendship and support. Why should you expect others to behave differently from yourselves?



TWO-LEGGED COMPASSION

By NGUYEN DUC

This essay appeared originally in a recent issue of Dat Nuoc, a Vietnamese magazine. Nguyen Duc is a pseudonym for a distinguished South Vietnamese intellectual. He is one of the leaders of the Hoi Lien Truong, a group of Southern intellectuals not allied with the NLF but opposed to the Saigon government. This particular article is important in that it represents the response of a foremost Vietnamese intellectual to the American presence in his country.

*I*n a speech to pilots stationed at McConnell Air Force Base, President Johnson in November 1967 said, "You show your skill—and compassion—by the most precise pinpoint bombing. Your ratio of planes lost is the lowest in the history of air warfare. Your restraint in avoiding population centers is the greatest in the history of air warfare."

Johnson was originally a teacher. Perhaps because of his early years in that profession, he now

wants to make war like a teacher punishing one of his pupils: he strikes the student with both skill and compassion. He strikes and preaches at the same time. In fact, most of Johnson's speeches are equally the sermons of Professor Johnson. An example might be:

My dear rough-playing North Vietnamese. If you want to starve all your life learning the barbarous arts of war, called Revolution, from Professors Russia and China, then go ahead. But we can't let you use those arts to bully meek and studious South Vietnam. My pupil hasn't studied the arts of making war; all he has studied is how to make money and send it out of the country, or how to amuse himself according to his every whim—following the noble tradition of freedom of the civilized peoples.

Because you punched my pupil, I had to intervene. Because you only understand force, I had to intervene with force. But my strength is such that if I hit you once, there'd simply be no more of you. So I only use the rod to strike your palm—up to the point where you can no longer bear the pain and you then release my pupil.

Everyday I will strike a little harder, but always only your palm. I realize how strong you are internally and that I may break many rods on you. But I have an endless supply.

I don't know to what extent Johnson's "skillful and compassionate" method of punishment is respected by American pilots over North Vietnam. According to a news story published recently in a Vietnamese magazine—which no one has denied—the entire town of Phat Diem has been leveled. All that is left is one lonely church. I don't know if Phat Diem is still regarded as a "civilian population center"; maybe it has become a military base, thus necessitating such devastation.

According to their own report, there have been from 100,000 to 150,000 civilian casualties per year in government controlled areas alone. And of this number, 25 percent die. A Dr. Knowles reports there are at present a minimum of 35,000 civilian amputees. (There were only 20,000 American soldiers who had limb amputations during the entire Second World War.)

In a report on the hospitals of Da Nang, Quang Tri and many other cities, Dr. Herbert Needleman wrote: "Crowded, dirty stench to the point of nausea. Flies all over wounds oozing with pus. Many sick people in the same beds with patients with communicable diseases. An atmosphere stinking of garbage, blood and excrement. And everywhere—cases of napalm burns."

One reason for the horrible number of casualties mentioned above is the "Free Strike Zone" strategy pursued by the Americans. Freedom here is the freedom to bomb. When an area is declared to be V.C. controlled, the Americans may announce

to the people in that area—either by leaflet or loudspeaker—that there will be an offensive in the area. The civilians are given a specific time limit in which to evacuate. After that time is up, American planes can bomb at will. Anything which moves is presumed to be enemy.

To the Vietnamese peasant, plots of land, stretches of garden, tiny homesites and graves of the ancestors are highly venerated. Their past, present and future is united in this simple and intimate atmosphere. How can they be expected, within one day, to leave everything in obedience to the order of some leaflet—even if it does come from the heavens?

Last May, few people in those hamlets within the DMZ left after receiving such an order to evacuate. Every hamlet was bombed with napalm. According to a report by Don Luce, former director of International Voluntary Services, three American planes bombed one village—killing two civilians and wounding fifteen others—at a time when many members of IVS were working in that village. Such absurdities led Luce and several colleagues to resign their posts. (See "An Open Letter to LBJ," *motive*, November 1967.)

The number of "communist" refugees has now climbed to 1,900,000 of whom 950,000 are yet to be permanently resettled. And every month there are 40,000 more refugees. In the northern part of Central Vietnam, approximately one-third of 223,000 refugees receive the 400 grams of rice from American aid.

American statistics reveal that up to 17 percent of the people of South Vietnam are living in those areas currently controlled by the V.C. and another 16 percent live in disputed areas. This makes a grand total of 5,600,000 people. If the "Free Strike Zone" strategy is followed, almost three million people in the V.C. zones will be fair game for the American Air Forces if they don't evacuate. Another two million in disputed areas will perhaps be receiving attacks from one side or the other.

Senator Ted Kennedy has concluded, "The United States may one day leave Vietnam with only ruins to show for our presence in that country."

You see, Professor Johnson, instructing pupils is one matter; making war is another—especially when that war is equipped with the most up-to-date machinery America can build.

How can you bomb with "skill—and compassion"?

We observe the American pilot—tall, handsome, athletic, armed with such precision equipment as the computer. He eats breakfast at some military installation or on some carrier, then climbs into a marvelous toy such as a B-52, Skyhawk or F-105. He flies away for a short while, pushes a few buttons and flies back.

Death is the result of all this button-pushing, but it's down there at the other end—mere dots on a map. But these pilots have no contact with the blood or the dust; they don't hear one groan, one call for help. They have no contact with the corpses of men, women and children blown apart or burned to a cinder down below. That is, unless anti-aircraft turns them into corpses like the other corpses. But that's a hazard of their profession which they accept along with the pay, as in any other profession.

If these pilots make it through their mission safely, they return to the base to eat, drink, relax, and perhaps go to church on Sunday to hear a sermon on the text: "Blessed are the meek. Blessed are the compassionate. Blessed are the peaceful."

The truth, of course, is that these pilots are just average people—like the large majority of people on this earth. No better, no worse. The profession of a military pilot is just a job, another "honest" way of making a living. They draw a salary for carrying out a job and they try to do it well. With the right temperament, bombing is just another interesting exercise, complete with strikes, balls and

batting records. During the battle of Chosin Reservoir, journalist Charles Favrel wrote: "Many American pilots regard their bombing mission as an athletic exercise. They say, 'Today we made a good score' because the truth is that all anyone asks of them is to 'make a good score.'"

Vietnam means nothing to such men. They can respond to the exhortation to be skillful, but how can they manifest compassion? The only Vietnamese an American pilot is likely to encounter directly is probably a houseboy, pimp or whore.

The newspaper *Chinh Luan* published (Nov. 8, 1967) a translation of a *Time* article quoting Eddie Rickenbacker, "air hero of the American people." The quote: "The United States should bomb the ports, dikes, and people of North Vietnam. We aren't struggling with *people* up there. This is a fight with two-legged animals. All they are are slaves."

Chinh Luan made no comment on the statement. But a few days later, the paper *Chanh Dao* published a letter by Vo Thuong Bich, sixty-two years old, to Rickenbacker. Bich termed Rickenbacker's



AQUATINT: PARIS-MATCH

MANUELA

words cruel and insulting to the Vietnamese. He also recalled the 1927 year-long boycott of classes in Hue, Vinh and Qui Nhon because a French teacher had abused a Vietnamese student with the words, "Vous etes une sale race" (You are a dirty race).

I was deeply moved by Mr. Bich's letter. My initial response was to dash off a letter to Rickenbacker too, but in stronger language than the gentle words of Mr. Bich. But upon reflection, I realized that the words of the American "air hero" were an improvement upon the quiet, hygienic, athletic "good score" ways of the pilots.

To Rickenbacker, the Vietnamese are at least two-legged animals, while to the athletic pilots, there are no Vietnamese at all, only dots on a map to which bombs are directed. But one wonders why Rickenbacker curses us as two-legged animals, as his predecessors cursed their Negro slaves earlier. Perhaps Rickenbacker's conscience has begun to gnaw at him. That is, he has begun to have a conscience and the Vietnamese have begun to have a reality. But he has to deny that reality by denying the humanity to those being destroyed by his kind, hence he calls us animals with two legs. Thus, the light of conscience is extinguished.

The S.S. troopers of the Third Reich were of the same ilk. When they exterminated six million Jews, they didn't call them two-legged animals, but they sought every means to humiliate the Jews, precisely in order to make them appear as animals. For example, they forced the Jews to strip naked in the camps and hold communal intercourse before their eyes. Only in this way could they casually put old men, women and children into gas chambers and afterwards force their jaws open to extract gold teeth, later to return home, listen to Beethoven, and make love to their wives in a most law abiding fashion, in order to produce nice Aryan children, serving the Nazi regime and German civilization—the absolute end of human history—all according to Hegel.

Well, Professor Johnson, I don't know if your speech at McConnell Air Force Base was an indirect reply to Rickenbacker or not. Perhaps it was, for your words are in absolute contradiction to his, and only a few days apart. Perhaps you are sincere in wanting a "limited, wise and compassionate" war. But even the cynicism of Rickenbacker is more humane than those giant machines of destruction, exact and spotless, which daily make "good scores" over this crumbling land of ours. That machinery is the responsibility of Professor Johnson.

Two million refugees, 150,000 casualties every year, 35,000 amputees, and we have yet to total the casualties of the armies on both sides. That is the price the Vietnamese are paying for this war.

In the face of all those numbers, all words are false and meaningless.

But those numbers are abstract and the bigger, the more abstract. How can you feel 150,000 casualties? Suppose all these people appeared before our eyes? The colossal mass of them would surpass our small capacity for being moved. As in the film, *Mein Kampf*, we see those mountains of corpses being bull-dozed into mass graves and we feel horrible, but we are not moved. Precisely because we can't see anything or feel anything, we are able to continue eating, sleeping, making money, making love, playing politics, going to church, worshiping Buddha or the Virgin Mary, making preparations for the Christmas truce vacation.

Like myself. After I finish writing this article, I shall fly to Dalat to lecture on the ethics of Socrates, Confucius, Christ, and Buddha, the ethics of human relations. Every year I lecture on ethics, and every year there are 150,000 casualties.

In the same issue of the paper quoted above, there is a photograph of a Vietnamese child about twelve years old, one leg amputated, on crutches, wearing a combat hat, walking and laughing with an American soldier. The painful thing about this picture is not the amputated leg, but rather the smile: a soiled smile, old before its age, a fake.

What's his name? Where does he come from? Con Linh? Bong Son? Kien Hoa? Not long ago he probably was leading a buffalo out into the rice fields or going to school along a dike, eagerly inhaling the smell of mud and ripening rice or running in front of his house where the smoke from dinner rises to shroud the coconut leaves. Then, he didn't have a smile like that.

What is he saying to the American soldier? Where is he living? What does he do and what will he become?

He'll become an animal with one leg.

Looking at him, I feel myself also becoming an animal, with two legs. All of us—"making an honest living" while this war goes on—are becoming animals, exactly like Rickenbacker has said, but with a different meaning.

I know I am a coward

My heart is bitter

Living I cannot tell

Only dead will I talk

Tonight I read again the poems and letters of Phan thi Mai, the Buddhist nun Chi Mai, the student who immolated herself as a plea for peace, before the pictures of the Virgin Mary and Quan Am Bo Tat.

This war, these statistics confront every Vietnamese with a choice, if he doesn't want to become a two-legged animal. Chi Mai made her choice.

Although I might have taught her ethics for an entire year, I still haven't made my choice. But the words of Mr. Rickenbacker have helped me in my search.



DAVID E. BERNARD

INTAGLIO: BEHOLD THE MAN

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PARABOLIC ACTION

By RICHARD SHAULL

The Cleveland Week of Process '67, a creation of the University Christian Movement, focused on most of the issues of urgent concern to students. A special service of celebration and commitment was held at which draft cards were turned in and the following reflections offered.

A parable is a story—a very simple story—which provides new insight into the human situation. It makes transparent some aspects of man's life in the world—of his responsibility to be human—in a way that no abstract philosophical or theological argument can do.

Parables, for example, were necessary for Jesus because the reality of man's life in history was not entirely visible to the naked eye. Reality could not be apprehended by purely empirical analysis of the given order. Jesus perceived and lived the reality of a new world, which even at that moment was taking shape around him—a new possibility of human liberation open to man as he was free to create a new tomorrow. His reality was that of the new, which is being born in the pangs of travail, in the midst of the violence and conflict that comes as the old order of social and personal existence is broken down to make way for the future.

The reality witnessed to by the parables of Jesus is the reality of life moving toward fulfillment through crucifixion. They suggest that human fulfillment often is experienced not when we strive desperately after it, but when we are willing not to seek it because of a higher loyalty. We discover life when we allow our self-satisfaction to be challenged and our easy securities to be called into question; when we face the shattering of our neat presuppositions and systems, and then discover that each moment of death is really a new beginning.

Because the parables make this reality transparent as the reality of man's life in history, every parable confronts those who hear it with a moment of decision. This may be a moment of illumination, as the fragments of our experience suddenly fit together in a new way and become meaningful for us. Thus it leads to new self-understanding, offers us a new clue as to what it means to be and to act

responsibly, and provides the context in which we respond. For our response is a wager that the emerging new world is what is real, that we can begin now to live in and create a new tomorrow.

On the other hand, the parable may produce a quite different result. It may reveal that we are moving in the wrong direction, and looking for the wrong thing. Parables may expose our idols, and make it more difficult to hide behind the facile justifications of our present life which have been taken for granted. If we are unwilling to make the break and take the leap into the new world toward which the parable points, our response to the parable will be a violent reaction against all that it reveals. This is the clue to the meaning of Jesus' own words when he said that he spoke in parables so that those who see, see not, and that those who hear, neither hear nor understand.

If this is what a parable means, then Jesus not only spoke in parable, his life (and death) was a parable, and his acts were parabolic acts.

What is meant by a parabolic act—an act which could have parabolic significance? Some implications might be:

1. This is an act which attempts to expose the real situation in which this country is trapped, at this moment in our history. Those who take part in this situation express dramatically what appears to be happening, namely, *the failure of our society to deliver what it has promised.*

This society of advanced technology promises man a new possibility of liberation: liberation from material need and from the suffering that comes with poverty and misery; liberation for living new dimensions of personal experience and for creating new structures of corporate life; liberation for peoples of the Third World, for minority groups in our society, and for other communities of men and women, to decide what sort of tomorrow they want, and then proceed to create it.

But this same technological society, as it moves in the direction in which it is now going with the structures now given, gradually is producing the very opposite of that which it has promised. It is creating a new system of domination that is evident at many points. We use our massive power to determine *the future we want* for Vietnam, at a terrifying price for the Vietnamese; and this is only one illustration of our use of power in the Third World.

The primary groups and communities in which we now live most of our life are almost completely removed from the decision-making process that determines our future; consequently, our experience in these communities moves increasingly toward unhealthy introspection. Power as it is expressed through the mass media, the rewards of position and affluence, and the pressures of the established order, tend to tame and domesticate us, tempt us to conform, and stifle innovation and creativity.

The parabolic act attempts to expose this situation. It is, in fact, an act that makes sense only within the context of such radical analysis. To engage in it implies a decision to work constantly at the task of understanding better how our system operates and the direction in which it is moving. To risk going to jail for five years without making such an effort at social analysis would be irresponsible. It would destroy the parabolic significance of the act.

2. This act is parabolic in that it affirms what must be central in the concern and action of all of us, if we are to meet the challenge of this new situation. The one thing that makes sense in such a world is the affirmation of our freedom to live and to create a new possibility over against the present system. In spite of all the logic of the present order, we must find a way to decide what is important for the future, and then put our life on the line in the struggle to make it a reality.

If our communities today have lost their relation to the decision-making process, then we can become human only as we create communities in which we recapture the initiative in deciding our own future. If the system today excludes that possibility, then we must take upon ourselves the struggle to change the nature of our social organizations, and to build the type of power base from which the present system can be changed.

There are, of course, less drastic and risky ways of affirming our freedom to create a new tomorrow. But in the present circumstances, we must not be apologetic about participating in an act of civil disobedience and resistance to legally constituted authority, for this extreme action in itself has a parabolic significance. It witnesses to how critical the present situation and struggle are. It suggests that the time has come when responsible action may demand that we confront the present system, in a total way, accepting the pressures it can bring upon us, and being willing to renounce its rewards. This is not to suggest that in order to act responsibly everyone must choose this particular form of action. But everyone must face the possibility that relevant political action will require nothing less than this in terms of confrontation with the structures of domination under which we live.

3. This action is parabolic because of the type of political action it is. It aims at efficacy, yet its efficacy cannot be judged in traditional political terms. For parabolic action, speaking theologically, witnesses to the possibility that at certain moments the old order can no longer meet the demands placed upon it, and thus is doomed. In such a moment, the most relevant political action is one which aims at the creation of new possibilities, new structures, new forms of social organization. It is political action which risks a leap into the future, and thus intensifies conflict. But such a leap is undertaken in trust that the new will overcome the old, and thus that



suffering, failure and defeat will have important political consequences, and should play an important role in revolutionary strategy.

Finally, parables cannot be imitated or copied. To imitate a parable is to destroy it. We can respond authentically to parabolic action only by *reproducing* it in new parabolic acts.

The decision by students to turn in their draft cards represents a responsible action, reflecting a life decision growing out of their experience. It would be a great mistake, however, lacking in po-

litical and parabolic efficacy, for anyone who has not gone through a process of social analysis and self-understanding, to join in such an act. The issue is not whether you will join others in turning in your draft cards, but whether you will reproduce this same sort of parabolic action in your own situation. To do that means to participate in a community of study and reflection on what is happening around you, to explore the options open to you where you are—for radical and long term political action—and make your choice.

THE GLASS KNIFE

cuts across the screen, This
is not a dream someone reminds
herself in the row behind you.

A gun is made
in Motels and nightclubs
by entertainments and
people who sit alone and read
(secular pornography)
and moves slowly like
a shot of fired at the end
of the movie with no sound
across the superhighways.

*it will or will not qualify
someone remarks in the Newsweek
building,*

downstairs people bleed
on television,
the glass knife

is made of mirrors,
rips a wound at the movie
The people stare,

Looking cautiously in awe
around the corner comes
a gun of screaming hands,
Hands
constructed of guns.
And ten new years.

—TOM SMUCKER



An Emerging Morality And The College Counselor

By LESTER A. KIRKENDALL

Newspapers and magazines are filled with discussions about the "new morality." The mass media is much preoccupied with the subject. But in spite of this widespread interest a great diversity of opinion still exists concerning what constitutes the new morality.

Some say that it is simply the old immoralities in a new garb. Others feel that we are moving into a period in which we will develop concepts of morality more adequately suited to man and his needs.

To many casual thinkers the new morality is in some way involved with sex, and for them

the linkage is simple enough. One of my students put it succinctly when I asked a class for their understanding of the new morality. He said, "It means more and freer sex." The determinant in whether there is a new morality seems to be simply the question of whether incidence figures for non-marital intercourse are changing. If incidence figures are rising immorality is "rampant"; if they are not rising morality is at least holding its own.

The phrase "the new morality" as it is commonly used has a quality about it which leaves me far from enthusiastic in accepting it as a term to designate a viable and dynamic concept. The expression has a static feeling about it. It implies that we have already arrived at some consensus or condition of stability in our opinions about morals, that there is something which can really be called "the new morality." Yet, clearly, there is nothing that precise. What has brought about the present public discussion is that we are finding the old forms—the traditional morality—in a state of collapse. Furthermore, we are clearly uncertain what this collapse means, what we should be thinking, or even what constitutes a desirable morality.

I do not see that we have a "new morality." However, the outlines of what might be a genuinely new morality possibly may be emerging now. We are hopefully in the process of developing a different approach to moral thinking—an approach which will have much significance for counselors, and for everyone working with people, and or everyone concerned with human relationships. In explicating this approach, I would prefer using the term *emerging morality*, as opposed to "traditional morality" or "new morality."

The situation ethicists have made a clear break with the rigid, legalistic approach to moral considerations of the past. This movement has gained much



COLLAGE

MONICA MILLER

prominence in the last few years. Bishop John T. Robinson of England and the Rev. Joseph B. Fletcher of Boston are perhaps the best-known and most-popular of the situation ethicists.

These two, and other theologians, wish to break away from legalistic and rigid interpretations of rules and customary patterns of behavior. They are protesting behavioral practices which have become institutionalized to the point of being ends in themselves. Basically, they are concerned with making the principle of loving care for others the foundation for moral decisions.

The situation ethicists strike a warm chord of sympathy. Rather than regarding myself within this group, however, I prefer emphasizing the need for developing responsible, meaningful interpersonal relationships. This is the goal we should be seeking as we make human relations decisions—decisions about the use of sexuality, intellect, physical strength, speech, and any other of capacities or potentialities. The creation of meaningful interpersonal relationships is the criterion against which we need to check our decisions and our results.

As we choose alternatives concerning behavior and crystallize

our ethical viewpoints, the moral decision will be the one which works toward the creation of trust, confidence, and integrity and outreach in both primary and secondary relationships, now and in the future. Acts which create distrust, suspicion, and misunderstanding, which build barriers and destroy integrity are immoral. This is another way of stating "the law of loving care."

The interpersonal relationship approach seems to me to provide an element of specificity and a certain clarity which is lacking in the "situational ethics" discussions. Many persons who are in essential agreement with the situational ethicist seem to have concluded that in this approach every situation requiring a decision presents a wholly new set of circumstances. Consequently, they find themselves immobilized by the need to analyze each human relations situation from scratch. They are unsure in their decision-making as to what factors need to be taken into account. They are not clear as to the nature of love, or what it requires of them. So while they are tired of a legalistic interpretation of regulations imposed by fiat, they are lost when it comes to knowing how to proceed within the broad, ill-defined framework of the situation ethicist.

The impact of premarital intercourse upon interpersonal relationships, I found, was susceptible to study and analysis once the term interpersonal relationship had been defined. While I make no brief for the relationship components I used as being inclusive or final, I did isolate as components the character of communication, the nature of motivations, and the readiness of individuals to assume responsibility. These components varied in their form of expression and meaning for the relationship according to the degree and the mutuality of the affectional involvement felt by the partners.

Utilizing the characteristics of an interpersonal relationship and understanding the processes involved in being meaningfully related, there is no need for starting afresh with every situation. The relationship components are present in the various situations. With experience and developing insight one can anticipate what impact they will have upon the relationship and what outcomes are likely. Some guiding "generalizations" can be developed, not with absolute certainty but with enough assurance to make sense.

Perhaps the greatest help in arriving at a more meaningful concept of morality is found in the approach being made by some of the leaders in the behavioral sciences. These scientists are concerned with understanding what people are like, how they have come to be what they are, and what they may become; they are concerned with what goes on in schools, homes, and churches; they are interested in the development of persons whom we would appreciate as neighbors, persons with whom everyone could live securely and with satisfaction. The kind of people these leaders envision are the kind needed in a humane, compassionate society.

For example, we have Eric Fromm talking about the productive man; Carl Rogers, the fully functioning person (the person open to all his experiences); A. H. Maslow, the self-actualizing person; Sidney Jourard, the authentic being who is able to disclose himself;* Karen Horney, the real self; Aldous Huxley, the fulfilled person; William Glasser, the responsible person; Saul and Jahoda, the mature person; and Thomas Szasz, the autonomous person. O. H. Mower discusses the person of integrity. Nelson Foote talks about persons who are competent in their interpersonal relationships. Ashley Mon-

* See Dr. Jourard's article, "The Psychotherapist as Psychedelic Man," *motive*, February 1968.

tagu emphasizes the importance of love and the role of the cooperative person in human relations, just as in the field of theology, Fletcher and Robinson talk about the caring, loving person. The people these authorities would like to see as the product of their efforts are described by the terms they have used: the productive person, the responsible person, etc.

This point of view is apparently what Girvetz, et al.¹ had in mind when they wrote,

Whether it be "self-actualization," "positive freedom," "relief from tension and anxiety," "dynamism," "creative interchange," "human dignity," "total personality," or something else (all of them inadequately and almost caricaturishly denoted in a bare list like this and even by the naked labels themselves), the source of values appears to lie in an integrated experience where problems do not fester but are resolved.

This discussion is based upon a very important assumption, supported by scientific evidence, which is being accepted more and more widely, namely that man is by nature a social animal. His nature, in fact his very survival, demands satisfying associations in which he can feel secure and accepted and in which he can reveal himself. It is in his close associations with others that he finds his deepest satisfactions and his profoundest miseries, and through which he develops from a biological organism into a humane, zestful human being. If man is by nature a social creature, then his conduct needs to be directed toward helping him develop his social capacities to the maximum.

Girvetz, et al.² make the same point. They write:

... when a Karl Menninger, among others, demonstrates in detail the relation of mental health to the outgoing activities of what he does not hesitate to call "love," and the contrary pathological tendencies involved in withdrawal and cruelty, it can be argued that experimental and verifiable knowledge about man and his relationships to others is helping in some cases to justify, and elsewhere even to establish, norms of conduct. . . .

... man must live if he is to live well, but until he lives well—developing his curiosity, widening his horizons, exploiting his capacities for intellectual growth, keeping sharp and alert his sensitivity to beauty, cherishing his communion with others—he still has not satisfied his most characteristic wants. Professor A. H. Maslow, summarizing the "new knowledge" about values,³ remarks that among (celebrated) scientists there is almost unanimity on the imperative of "decentering" for a healthy and desirable life. This refers to the seeking and achieving of affection, warmth, union with others in various ways—in general, the socializing of man without which he becomes truncated and impoverished. Such a recommendation is not simply hortatory in the sense that man is being urged to consider his fellow men with charity; the social factor is being singled out as a main contribution to a sound and rich life.

If this view of man and his morals were to be accepted and implemented it would require pronounced changes in ways of thinking. It should mark the end of discussions about morals and morality. Much more meaning can be derived and help given by discussing how we can move positively toward the realization of that which is best in our human potential. Instead of discussions of morals and morality, I would prefer to talk about how families, schools, churches, and civic institutions can build autonomous, fully-functioning, loving persons, and depend upon this to take care of the moral issue.

Most counselors are already deeply involved in moral issues and are practicing moralists if this point of view is accepted. How will a counselor, for instance, regard his approach and his results if he is to implement this way of thinking in his professional work?

First, the counselor will be concerned with the growth and fulfillment of all persons within the context of loving, caring relationships. A major objective will be the extension of such a relationship ultimately to include more and more persons. He will be interested in furthering the outreach of his clients,

with widening their world, and with making it a place in which it is good to live.

Second, the counselor will be concerned with helping his clients grow, develop, and move toward the realization of their social potentialities. He will wish them to become whole, fulfilled, integrated persons. Thus he will be required to focus very heavily upon relationships, since it is through relationships that people realize their social potentialities. The counseling effort commonly centers upon the individual and his problems, his defeats and frustrations, and so it should be, for here individuals experience their keenest agonies. But improvement really comes, and significant (and moral) behavioral changes occur, as the client experiences the satisfaction of deep and meaningful relationships. The task of the counselor is to help him in finding these.

In pursuit of this objective the counselor should focus with increasing intensity upon relationship considerations. Rather than simply listening to an individual as he discusses a disturbing relationship (one which he has probably had a share in disrupting) with the hope that he will gain insight, the counselor should raise the issue of how to improve or restore relationships.

This is a simple enough approach at the primary, dyadic level. I have worked with many students on ways to overcome their own resistances to efforts directed toward improving relationships with their parents. Furthermore I have discussed actual procedures. I have on occasion become considerably more directive than some of the theoretical formulations would suggest as desirable. For example, I remember a premaritally pregnant young girl and her boyfriend who came to inquire about legal requirements for marriage in different states. Their intention was to go to a state where they could fib about their age, get married

quickly and then confront their parents with an accomplished fact.

Their agitation and panic was obvious; they could face their parents only if they had corrected their sexual misdoing by marriage. Nevertheless, they hoped ultimately for good relationships with the parents. Under the circumstances I insisted with all the vigor I could that the couple do nothing until they had become much calmer—that the steps they had in mind were likely to make relationships worse rather than better. Ultimately they decided to follow my suggestion and get in touch with their parents before marriage rather than after. In this instance the procedure adopted did make for better relationships all around.

On other occasions I have dealt with males who were reacting to strong feelings of jealousy toward dating partners. At times these feelings are so extreme it becomes almost impossible for them to date without engulfing their partners so possessively that the relationships break. It is not uncommon to find in these cases that the individual has a history of working in deceptive, dishonest, double-standard relationships with girls. After a period of success in such relationships he loses respect for the girls because he has found them gullible, lacking in shrewdness and judgment. His experience convinces him that most males approach women in this way and are successful in getting what they want. One thing he is sure of is that all women succumb to such approaches. His method of insuring a relationship he wants very much to preserve against such disaster is to avoid scrupulously his typical tactics with girls, and he jealously isolates his girlfriend from the approaches of other males. Thus the stage is all set for trouble.

In many such instances, I have encouraged the jealous individual to go back to the girls of whom he had earlier taken advantage,

and apologize for the exploitation. The objective was to right, insofar as possible, the wrongs which may have been done, and to help both parties in the restoration of a healthy self-respect. The results have been strikingly good.

One individual with whom I worked was quite resistant to this procedure. After much discussion he decided to do this, however. Then followed a long period of procrastination and vacillation. Finally he did embark upon his program of rectifying as far as he could the exploitations in which he had engaged. He came in after a time to discuss his feelings about what had been accomplished. One of his comments was very significant. He said, "I walked away from that experience (of going back) feeling like a man." At the same time he had been able to relax in his relationships with his girlfriend, and his feelings of jealousy were lessening.

Third, the counselor will approach his clients as autonomous, decision-making persons who wish to realize their potentialities. He will not, however, try to provide them with answers. Rather he will be concerned with the decision-making process and with helping the individual make decisions which leave both him and those with whom he is associated more meaningfully related.

Being interested in decision-making, the counselor will be concerned with increasing the number of alternatives and widening the range of choices within the framework of loving, caring, responsible conduct. Instead of narrowing the choices as "traditional" morality does, the emerging morality will require him to expand and examine the possibilities which can be found within this framework. He will talk, not in terms of didactic certainty, but of what he knows about the possible outcomes associated with the different alternatives. He will speak of proba-

bilities and possibilities, and interpret existing knowledge and research findings in terms of potential choices. He will take problems like interracial marriage, divorce, childrearing patterns, the daily experiences of human interaction, and subject them to analysis based upon pertinent knowledge and the meaningful experiences of human beings.

This widening process is proceeding without benefit of counselors. For example, in the past I have often discussed with unmarried individuals or with couples, decisions they are facing as to how they will handle their sexuality within the dating relationship. Some are still making decisions at a relatively elementary level—puzzling over such questions as "Is any physical expression involving sexual arousal between couples satisfactory for us?" "How far shall we go with petting?"

The last several years, however, couples have brought decision-making questions at a new level of sophistication. Youth are more commonly, I believe, accepting sexual expression of some kind as a foregone conclusion. Their questions concern rather at what level sexual expression shall occur. "Should, or can, it be confined to petting?" "What are the advantages-disadvantages of sex play to climax?" (what various writers call, engagingly, "everything but").

More broadly and more and more frequently, they are asking about, and experimenting with, various forms of relating—from weekend dates to fully established trial marriage situations. They are experimenting with degrees of candor and openness as to what they are doing, thinking, and experiencing. They are experimenting with touch as a method of communication, with drugs as a way of expanding awareness and of arriving at new perspectives. They are quite in tune with the efforts of various groups like the Esalon Institute, or

Kairos, to find new ways in human associations.

All this means decision-making in quite a different context. As a counselor and as a person working with young people, I feel I can help most by continuing to emphasize for both the individual and society the standard of building relationships in which there is love, integrity, responsibility, and maturity.

Fourth, an openness to experiences and their meanings which can then be evaluated and reviewed on the part of the counselor is highly important. The closed, secretive, disapproving character of our society needs to be ameliorated if the kind of approach to moral decision-making being envisioned is to be made. This must be accompanied by a capacity to listen non-judgmentally, and by a willingness to learn. (I should like to emphasize especially the importance of the

counselor being a learner.) In these times of rapid change and experimentation, what other stance is possible? The experiences of our students and the results they attain are certainly significant raw materials of learning for those of us who are concerned with helping all of us find accommodations which will fit the 20th century.

Fifth, the counselor will assume much more importance as an educator. His major teaching method will need to be interchange and dialogue, rather than didactic declarations and dogmatic assertions (perhaps here we go back to Socrates, and the Socratic method of teaching).

Sixth, the counselor will be concerned with values and hence will appraise the worth of possible courses of action. He will recognize, however, that these value-choices are totally involving and exceedingly complex. This will keep him properly humble and prevent him from hurrying to

preconceived and inflexible positions. He will recognize that usually there are several responsible alternatives which can be chosen within the guide lines of integrity and respect for the rights of others. The problems of racial accommodation, civil rights, and sexual patterns as they are developing in this country are good illustrations of today's moral issues which have great complexities about them, and which permit variations in the behavioral patterns associated with them.

Finally, the emerging morality, if it takes the form I envision, will result in our viewing the moral-ethical aspects of our society in a very different way than we do now. The counselor's perspective will be greatly altered.

The emerging morality must deal with matters which influence our capacity to relate, both in our primary relationships and on a world scale. For example, one of our pernicious sins is that of labeling, a practice used in a most

INTAGLIO: CONTRACT, TERMS, AND CONDITIONS

ROBERT R. MALONE



punitive way. We give someone a label with a negative connotation, and we are then freed to do anything we choose to the individual. Someone, for example, is labeled a convict, a homosexual, a communist, or an atheist. Once this is done there is no way for him to escape the label. Labeling is essential to the conduct of modern warfare. It is used by all the combatants since it enables them to kill people without compunction. We label "our enemies" as "communists"; they in turn label us "imperialists." If the same men were thought of as husbands, fathers, or sons, killing them would become an exceedingly difficult matter. But when we can deflect compassionate feelings by labeling, when we can turn a person into an agitator, a promiscuous individual, a sexual deviate, a foreigner, it becomes easier to kill him, to imprison him, to subject him to any kind of degradation we choose. How can labeling be anything other than an immorality?

Another immorality is clinging to the *status quo*—of using all possible tactics to keep things as they are. It is out of this rigidity and inflexibility that all kinds of evil grow, or being there already, fester until they are past the point of correction.

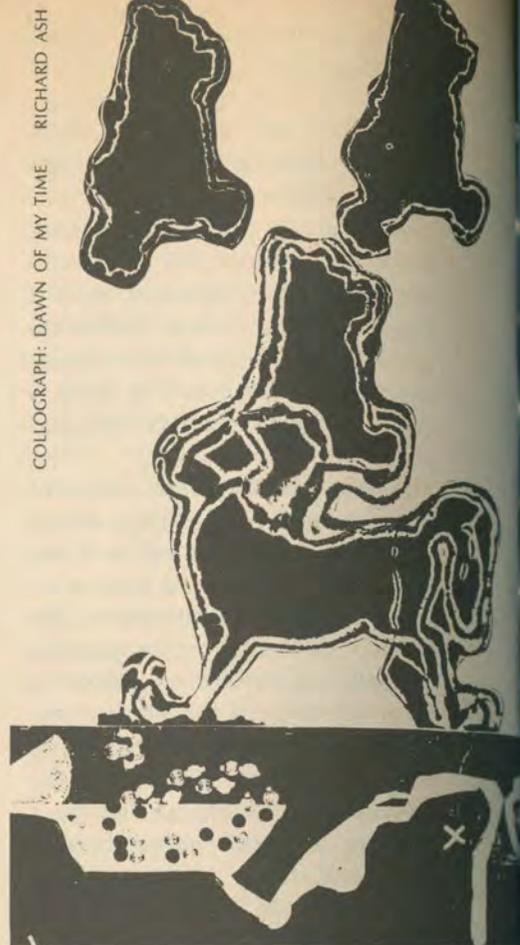
Unquestionably, one of the elements which has made our present racial situation more acute, and which has contributed to its almost unsolvable characteristics has been that for decade after decade we let an evil go uncorrected or even let it worsen. This blind and perverse clinging to the past constitutes a serious immorality. We find this kind of obstinacy in many places, so many in fact that one begins to fear that this unyielding resistance to change will be our undoing. Our unwillingness to deal reasonably and rationally with our problems results ultimately in the necessity of coping with hatred and violence which have grown up about them and which make their solu-

tion well-nigh impossible. An aspect of this same immorality involves clinging to a mode of authority so archaic that all growth and change is stifled. For example, the insistence upon holding to the idea of a transcendent, unchanging authority which provides an answer to all questions or issues, has contributed much to the weakening of organized religion.

The problem of a transcendent authority in relation to social changes becomes quite clear when the moral positions taken by organized religion are studied.

Another immorality is the perpetuation of hypocrisies and deceits which become so monstrous that all capacity for trust and confidence is eroded, and all consistency is destroyed. Twice now we have had exposures of cheating scandals at the Air Force Academy. The last time cheating was in the news, an editorial in one of our major newspapers acclaimed the honor system as an exemplification of the American Way of Life. "If we can't make the honor system work in the Air Force Academy, what can we make work? We must make it function!" This certainly becomes a hypocritical expression when this recent Intelligence Report reveals: "Since 1958 the Red Chinese have shot down 10 reconnaissance planes belonging to the U.S. or Nationalist China." We are now sending over pilotless planes flying on pre-set, high-altitude courses which can be altered by radio command. "Naturally," says the Intelligence Report, "we disown the observation planes when they land on Chinese soil or are shot down over Red China. But they constitute our most valuable intelligence source in the Far East."

If the Air Force were to be consistent and support the procedures outlined in this report, a rank injustice is being done the cadets at the Air Force Academy



COLLOGRAPH: DAWN OF MY TIME RICHARD ASH

when they are punished or expelled for cheating. This is the kind of immorality that has catapulted our nation and our civilization into such serious trouble.

I oppose those conditions and processes which erode trust, destroy communicative capacities, leave individuals and groups isolated, and reduce confidence in the possibilities of their working together. I disapprove and reject those experiences which now, or in the long run, place us in a prison of distrust, wall us off from others and make us distrustful of our own capacities and impulses.

The demands of the emerging morality are all-involving. We are all responsible for helping develop a truly moral situation, for thinking through what is involved in a genuinely humane ethics. To accomplish this, formidable obstacles will have to be overcome.

NOTES

1. Girvetz, Harry, et al. *Science, Folklore, and Philosophy*, New York: Harper & Row, 1966. P. 529.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 528-29.
3. Maslow, A. H. *New Knowledge in Human Value*, New York: Harper & Row, 1959.

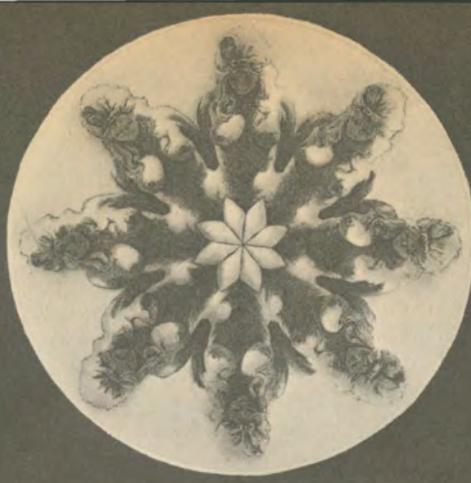
RESURRECTION

In that dream I had about you
The heaviest lifting was not of the stone from the cave's mouth
But of the eyelids. Again and again
They drooped, and your head fell forward, and your spine
Crumpled. Again
And again you sat up, spread your shoulders, and—
Eyes still closed—poked your head at the sky
Looking out for a moment, sometimes, before sleep
Or death, which ever it was, pushed you back down;

And when, in the end, you stood and spoke, and walked,
Leaning on me, eyes still closed, most of the time,
Though I know that under the lids they were awake,
What you said was, "I get so tired of hearing myself!"
And what I said, vulgar and reassuring, was,
"So do I, honey, but it's what we all have to do."

What did I mean? (in that dream—)
What did you mean?

—MYRA MAYO



A
Proposal
To The New Moralists

By PAUL RAMSEY

¹
*T*was the season (the Christmas holidays) when academic scholars go to meetings of their professional societies and gather to themselves headlines. One that made the front page of *The New York Times* (Dec. 30, 1967) should be pondered by every proponent of the "new mo-

rality" who believes whatever-that-is to be a liberating understanding of Christian ethics—or of any ethics at all. The learned scientific paper to which I refer was delivered by Dr. Paul H. Gebhard to the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Gebhard, an anthropologist, is the successor of the late Alfred C. Kinsey as director of the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University. He reported on a study of a "national sample" of 1200 college students, compared with a similar study during the 1940's and early 1950's. The question to be answered was whether today's students (male and female) "enjoyed" their first premarital sexual intercourse more than did their counterparts of twenty years ago.

This already is evidently progress in the science of sexology. Kinsey was concerned to find out the incidence of sexual behavior, in all its forms. He failed to ask whether the persons involved in these events enjoyed the experience. Kinsey's concern was to register "outlets" from "inputs" statistically—all plumbing metaphors. Now his successor has gone so far as to bring up the subject of "enjoyment."

No one could oppose joy at Christmas time, not even at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. So Gebhard finds the enjoyment to be on the increase. He had certain interpretations of this phenomenon. His interpretations are interesting, even if a critical reader of the daily news can see at once that they go beyond Gebhard's findings of fact—or beyond the computerized findings of the subjective facts reported to him. Gebhard attributed the advent of joy in the world over first premarital coitus among those who engage in it to a "reduction of guilt feelings" and to a "growing trend toward sexual equality" achieved by young women in our society. "It is becoming respectable," said he, "to be an admittedly sexually responsive female."

As for "female enjoyment" of first premarital coitus, 73 percent of freshmen, 60 percent of sophomores, 63 percent of juniors, and 65 percent of seniors reported this to have been their experience. These figures compare with 46, 48, 35, and 46 percent, respectively, among college women having premarital intercourse two decades ago. For junior males the percentages enjoying their first premarital coital experience rose from 74 to 86, and for senior males, from 65 to 89. This, too, evidently is progress, although Gebhard studiously maintained his objective attitude and did not say so.

But when Gebhard went on to say, "The female today is regarded less as a sexual object to be exploited and more as a human being with rights to sexual expression," he said something that clearly was contradicted by other of his reported discoveries. It is these findings, and not Gebhard's statistical "enjoyments" or his mythical interpretations, that we should contemplate.

We shall assume that even in a small "national sample" it takes one female to have coitus with one male. There is, to my mind, a sort of "natural law" that insures that this will be so. We shall rule

out the possibility that there was a Don Juan loose among those 1200. Besides, any disequilibrium was ruled out by the terms of the study; only first coitus was being investigated, and that is strictly a one-one relation.

There should have been then, a rough equivalence of the reported enjoyments and personal involvements on the part of those young men and young women if equality prevailed, and if it was the case that no one was being exploited as a "sexual object." (Why it takes statistical research to find out that to be a normal woman is to be sexually responsive, I do not know; certainly no theologian of the Christian ages denied this.)

Gebhard went beyond listing enjoyments. He even asked about the attitude of these young women and young men toward each other. Fifty to 60 percent of current college females said their first premarital coitus was with someone they loved and planned to marry, and an additional 20 to 25 percent said they loved the male although marriage was not anticipated. That totals a minimum of 70 and a maximum of 85 percent who in engaging in first premarital coitus either loved, or loved and planned to marry, the male with whom this sample group reported (in the percentages given above) either enjoyment or non-enjoyment of the experience.

These figures stand in striking contrast to the college male's attitude. Only 11 to 14 percent of the college men (reporting enjoyment or non-enjoyment of their first premarital coitus in the percentages above) said they loved and planned to marry their sexual partners. An additional 25 to 30 percent said (if the *Times'* account is correct) that they "felt some emotional attachment to the girl but did not love her."

These figures only refine what should be common knowledge. Gebhard noted "the enormous difference between how males and females view their initial partner," and he summarily describes men as tending to be "opportunistic" about sex.

This ought to be no surprise, although it apparently was to a high percentage of the young women questioned. Where was the "equality" in the attitudes and the personal integrity and relatedness to each other at the source of the enjoyments and non-enjoyments reported? Doubtless "the guilt is going"; but this evidently does not mean that equality is a-coming in.

It is the *exploitation* of young women and the exploitation of their love that is on the increase in our society. We should not assume that these young women were themselves *using* their love and plans to marry their first sexual partner to the ulterior end of demonstrating that "it is becoming respectable to be an admittedly sexually responsive female," or only for the sake of getting the "enjoyments"

reported. Clearly, it was the case that in from 70 to 85 percent of the cases these were, on the woman's part, acts of love and anticipatory acts of marriage. Neither should we assume that the young men were engaging in the emancipation of women or contributing to their equality, or exactly trying to show what an age of the "sexually responsive female" would be like.

The college women were *used* nevertheless—for the sake of expected or actual male enjoyment by from 86 to 89 percent of the males who said they neither loved nor planned to marry them. Only slightly and immeasurably less were they exploited for selfish enjoyment by the 70 to 75 percent who said that they felt "some emotional attachment" but did not love their first sexual partners. (These figures are arrived at by the simple expedient of subtracting from 100 percent the small percentage of the males who said they *did* love and intended to marry the female affording them first coitus, and from 100 percent the percentage of those males who said they felt "some emotional involvement" but no love for the girl.)

Add to this the profound wisdom of Gebhard's description of first premarital coitus as "a crossing of a Rubicon in life's history. . . . Once persons begin premarital coitus they seldom recant and remain abstinent until marriage." Presumably, then, the exploitation of the love of a high percentage of young women in college continues after the first instance. Presumably the woman's inequality in respect to susceptibility to thus being used does not markedly change. It is not said—and if said, it would be incredible to believe—that, after crossing that Rubicon, the males suddenly recant. It is not asserted or believable that thereafter from 50 to 60 percent of the males have premarital coitus with women they love (even serially) and plan to marry, or that from 20 to 25 percent do so with women they love although marriage is not anticipated.

Therefore, it is the sexual exploitation of young women, not their equality (whatever the enjoyment of "sex without guilt"), that is on the increase.

 One final statistic is of interest: Only 2 to 7 percent of the current college male population, according to this study, experience first coitus with a prostitute—in comparison to from 20 to 25 percent two decades ago. This is about as close as one could come to saying that that ancient profession has been ruined by amateur competition! Remembering the slight degree of personal or emotional involvement or plans to marry reported by the males, and the "enormous difference" on the part of the females in these respects, it must simply be said that they were "prostituted" (if by this word we mean sexual exploitation, and not mere money-matters).

These are the "findings of fact."

These facts as such have little or nothing to do with ethics, least of all with the judgments to be made within Christian morality. But they may affect decisively the *ethics of the advocacy* of certain proposals today for the reformation and supposed enlightenment of Christian sexual ethics. Since these statements of fact describe the context in which these proposals are put forth concerning the behavior to which love leads, they afford us a way of testing whether the claims made in behalf of the "new morality" as a method in ethics are in fact demonstrable. We can check whether the "new morality" leads to a more responsible use of freedom in sexual relations, or does not. My proposal is, therefore, a scientific test of the advocacy of the new morality by Christian ethicists today.

In this enlightened age, we who are spokesmen for Christian morality should not "go it alone" without the assistance of researchers like Gebhard. Instead, we should make every endeavor to coordinate the articulation of our recommendations and ethical judgments concerning human behavior with such scientific findings of fact.

I make, therefore, the following suggestion for a continuing program of research and action. A proposal could readily be drawn up and submitted, say, to the Ford Foundation for the funds to sustain, for a five or ten year period, a pilot project that would bring together annual studies such as Gebhard conducted with the energies our "new moralists" are placing behind the proposition that true love makes premarital coitus right and responsible.

The goal of this research and action will be to see whether we can bring it to pass that the social *practice* of premarital sexual coitus can turn out not to be exploitive of persons. The new moralists will exert all their persuasive powers to *connect* personal love with premarital sexual relations whenever they occur. And, coordinated with that part of the program, Gebhard and his team of researchers will determine whether they have succeeded or not. Surely, nothing short of this check upon the ethical recommendations or permissions of theologians is acceptable in the present age!

The program to be launched falls into several parts.

1. The "new moralists" presently on the college lecture circuit and chaplains to college students shall, for the purposes of this research and action program, radically change their tactics. The speeches they deliver and the panels and discussions they hold shall be **FOR MEN ONLY** for the proposed test period.

Surely, in the light of Gebhard's findings, no Christian ethicist should stand before a mixed or a female audience and belabor those who are only

motive



"technical virgins." That, in any case, is like commending Jesus' teaching that steadfast hatred or anger is murder in the heart by scorning those who, while hating, have not yet actually committed murder. So there are some who seek to explain or uphold Jesus' condemnation of the adultery of the eye (and nowadays of the hands!) by heaping ridicule on those who are only "technically virgin."

We need not pause here to state the obvious fact that Jesus' stress on motive in no way entailed the

judgment that actual deeds of murder or adultery or fornication were not additional outrages. Where our new moralists seek to lower the significance of actions, Jesus raised the importance of the integral intentions of the heart. That's a large difference! The point here, however, is a rather more practical one.

The point is that, in the light of Gebhard's findings, we need to test whether the new morality is a liberating and sensitizing mode of Christian ethics.

We need to find out whether the real insights this school of thought conveys are going to *prove right-making*. The message needs (for an experimental time, at least) to be heard by young men more than by young women (who seem by nature already comparatively too prone to it).

Therefore, the first part of the proposed program of action and research is that, for an experimental period, the message that true love or personal love and responsiveness to one's partner may make premarital coitus right should be directed to the *males* among our college population. And—since wishes can father thought (and much more than thoughts)—at the same time we should in the present age not fail to coordinate this sort of speculation and verbal action with empirical findings. Studies should be made each year by Gebhard and his associates to determine whether the new moralists are gradually remedying the inequity, and are lightening the anguish and frustration that the males place upon young women's loves.

2. For the test period, then, our new moralists shall cease to address to young women or mixed college audiences the message that true love makes premarital coitus right. (That—this study seems to show—already resonates comparatively too much in young women's hearts, and leads them to become victims of the inequity we have noted.) Instead, we might create a more crucial experimental situation for Gebhard and his associates to study for a test period of a number for years if, while lectures on the new morality and the *right-making* power of personal love are being given FOR MEN ONLY, coordinate lectures are given and discussions held FOR WOMEN ONLY in an attempt to introduce them to some of the facts of life and love. Funds for this might be solicited from Mrs. Ford's Foundation.

These might open with a consideration of a remark of a woman-judge who, in our domestic relations and juvenile courts, has had long experience with passionate expressions of love that was never love:

If a girl is unmoved by ethical or religious injunctions against premarital sex—and she should be made to face that issue—then the parent must help her to see the fraudulence of boys' pleadings. Can sex before marriage be an act of love? Almost never. The force drawing a young man to break a girl down, girls must realize, is not love. Rather, it is the craving for ego-nurture. In his college years, often the most emotionally disrupted years of his life, a young man seeks sex to ease his physical and psychological anguish. A parent should put the matter bluntly: Even the nicest young man may be selfish! No intelligent college girl who has been properly alerted would willingly submit to him.¹

At least, the effort should be made to see to it that the myths of the past, which supposedly prevented women from believing it was respectable, right, proper, and natural for them to be "sexually responsive females," are

not simply replaced by contemporary myths that are exceedingly apt to be equally or more enslaving if they form female expectations. Robert R. Bell, a Temple University sociologist, delivered an address before the American Medical Association meeting in Atlantic City, June 25, 1967, in which he reported the results of his study of 196 college-educated married women, averaging 27 years of age and four years of marriage. This scientific paper was not presented during the advent season, and possibly for that reason Dr. Bell reported more discord than enjoyments. The remarkable thing, however, was that an advent-of-sorts was expected, and this lay at the root of the complaints of these women that they had more "sexual interest" than their husbands.

Bell, however, reached back and pitched upon myths of the past in the far-reaching conclusions he drew, rather than the myth that lay more readily at hand, and which was indeed exhibited in his paper and by the complaints of these women. In other words, the discord in marriages arising proximately from the social and psychological liberation of women seemed to arise ultimately from the lingering influence upon males of the patriarchal beliefs of the past when women were supposed to play a passive, compliant role, and from 19th century moral and "scientific" views which frowned upon the thought that women might find sex pleasurable. Yet, in the midst of explaining this "ironic switch," Bell affirmed a deeper truth, namely, that it seems nearly impossible for women to be freed of all myths or exaggerated expectations and simply be a sexually responsive female with enjoyments. "If a woman has been assured," he said, quoting Morton M. Hunt, "that she will see colored lights, feel like a breaking wave, or helplessly utter inarticulate cries, she is apt to consider herself or her husband at fault when those promised wonders do not appear." The news report of Bell's paper in *The New York Times* was entitled: "Wives in Quest of 'the Colored Lights.'"

If a similar quest informed in some measure the young women whose first premarital coitus Gebhard studied, that would go a long way toward explaining why (whether they reported this to be enjoyable or non-enjoyable) their love and plans to marry were susceptible to inequity and exploitation by males who had little or no love for them.

In any case, in order to set up an experimental situation in which the advocacy of the new morality could be tested, the myth of colored lights, breaking waves, and promised wonders would have to be placed under criticism. It is not attacks upon the "marriage line," or the message that love may possibly make premarital coitus *right*, that would need to be brought home to the young women in Gebhard's study. A good majority of them "knew" this already, it would seem; and yet, they did not come

near to attaining equality in love and personhood and degree of involvement with the males.

3. Finally, my proposal entails the supposition that after a five- or ten-year trial period (depending on the funds that can be secured to set up the foregoing social experiment), it may be that the love of the males and of the females, or their degree of personal involvement in engaging in first premarital coitus, may be brought into equilibrium with one another, and that Gebhard and associates will provide the scientific proof that this is the case. It does not matter how this is accomplished; no ethicist should predict the behavioral trends of the present age or make any judgment dependent upon such outcomes. It may be that the males will learn to connect personal love for their partners in first premarital coitus to the same degree that young college women presently do.

On the other hand, it may be that the young women will come more and more to want only enjoyments, and will report the slight degree of love and personal involvement that the males now report. Or, it may be that the males and females will meet somewhere in between. The foregoing action and research proposal is contingent upon no one of these outcomes as against the others. The goal is only the scientific demonstration, by Gebhard and associates, of *equality* in personal love, frustrated or expressed, or of enjoyments sought with or without personal love, on the part of males and females (in whatever percentages) on the occasion of their first premarital coitus.

Then, and then only, will the rightfulness of the advocacy of the "new morality" be established. Then only will it be demonstrated that such advocacy does not contribute to the iniquity of the inequity which Gebhard reported in his recent survey. Then only will it be demonstrated that there is another *practice* besides marriage that may possibly defend the woman's equality and preserve her love from exploitation for male enjoyment.

III

Then only will we be in a position to discuss responsibly in public, or in advocacy, the new morality. Then only would the assertion that true personal love makes premarital coitus *right* prove to be anything other than counter-productive, i.e. productive of victimization and exploitation. Then and then only would we be in a position to take up the question whether (assuming mutuality of personal expectation) premarital coitus is *in fact* right. Then and then only would one be able to *do Christian ethics* by addressing the question whether equal respect for, or involvement with, the other person in premarital coitus or the same in marriage is *right*. Or, to ask the question, which is substantively the more responsible?

On this *material* point in Christian ethics, or on

this point in regard to the *content* of Christian ethics, I will here only make the following observations. The conclusion to which Gebhard comes on the basis of statistical investigations in regard to the "enormous" difference between male and female is the same conclusion reached by the German Lutheran theologian, Helmut Thielicke, from reflection on the disparity between the "natures" of men and women.

Thielicke finds the male to be polygamous by nature, just as Gebhard finds him to be exploitive by statistics. But this discordance with female nature, for Thielicke, only provokes and affords man the opportunity to transcend nature and rise to the level of ethical decision and human responsibility. "The incongruence between the male and female sex structure may be a defect in the ontological, natural sense," he writes, "but this is precisely what gives it the chance to be human—even in the physical realm."² The impulse to rise above any unbalance there may seem to be in male and female sexual impulse arises from the fact that the libido, even of the naturally imperialistic male, cannot desire only itself; it must take the other into account; there is even in male libido a "diaconic" element, an element of *servicing love*.

It may be true that *naturally* "the motive of monogamy lies essentially in the very nature of feminine sexuality," in the fact that "out of the center of her nature the woman strives to make the totality of her experience correspond to her total submission to man."³ For a man to turn his back upon this fact is, whatever his own natural proclivities to turn his back upon a person, the meaning of whose existence he then destroys. This would be to deny that the woman has unexchangeable human dignity too.⁴ In *diaconate*, serving love, the man should rather respect the being of the woman he encounters.

Since it is possible to conceive of the masculine in isolation ("naturally," according to Thielicke; statistically, according to Gebhard), it is possible to conceive of masculine polygamy as an adequate form or of the imbalance of male and female love in first coitus as an adequate expression of human sexual response. But to be morally responsible, we must acknowledge that "man" is a *relational* term, even if "manhood" or "maleness" is not. ". . . Since the woman cannot live polygamously without damage to the very substance of her nature," Thielicke concludes, "the man cannot do so either." While it is true that for males a greater degree of separation between personal love and sexual coitus is possible, and while monogamy or premarital and marital fidelity are *naturally* based primarily on "the wholeness of feminine selfhood," nevertheless *ethically* the tables are immediately rebalanced upon any serious reflection. This happens because "what is 'natural' for the man is his manliness"—his being

a proper man—"and this means his relationship to the woman" (*italics added*). The man, says Thielicke, "wants an intact wife for himself"; and by "intact" he means no hymen-worship. He means rather a wife not marked by the anguish and frustration of the iniquity of the iniquity worked upon her bodily love-giving (such as was documented by Gebhard's study).

While this inequity and while polygamy may be "natural" for the male, *ethically* he can demand the two at the same time—namely sexual freedom for himself and sexual integrity and an undamaged love-life and emotional-life in his partner—only at the cost of an ethical inconsistency and profound self-contradiction. In the final analysis, what is human or "what is 'natural' [for man] is rather that form of sexuality which is in accord with his relatedness to woman." A man "cannot live out his own sex nature without existing for [the woman's] sex nature and without respecting the unique importance which he himself must have for the physical and personal wholeness of the feminine sex nature."⁵

Transcending the discordance in natural male and female libido and in the statistics of the love males and females bring to first premarital coitus, this would seem to be the minimum significance to be given to a man's caring, responsible love for a woman as his "neighbor." This would seem to be the minimum significance to be given to a man's

love for a woman as *himself*, as he would himself be loved, as he would wish his sister to be loved, as he would wish his future wife now to be loved by other men.

The truth is that sexual "modesty" on the part of male or female protects and exhibits a person's sense of the unique embodiment of personal love granted and received in sexual union. "Guilt"—I speak not of morbidity, self-flagellation, or obsessive scrupulousness—is the recoil of the self in the face of the violation or self-violation of this bodying forth of love in sexual union, or the violation of this possibility in the other person's love-life. Where "the guilt is going," to be sure the love will be going too. Men and women will become a series of enjoyments; they will be simply "sexually responsive females" and "sexually responsive (if that is the word for it) males."

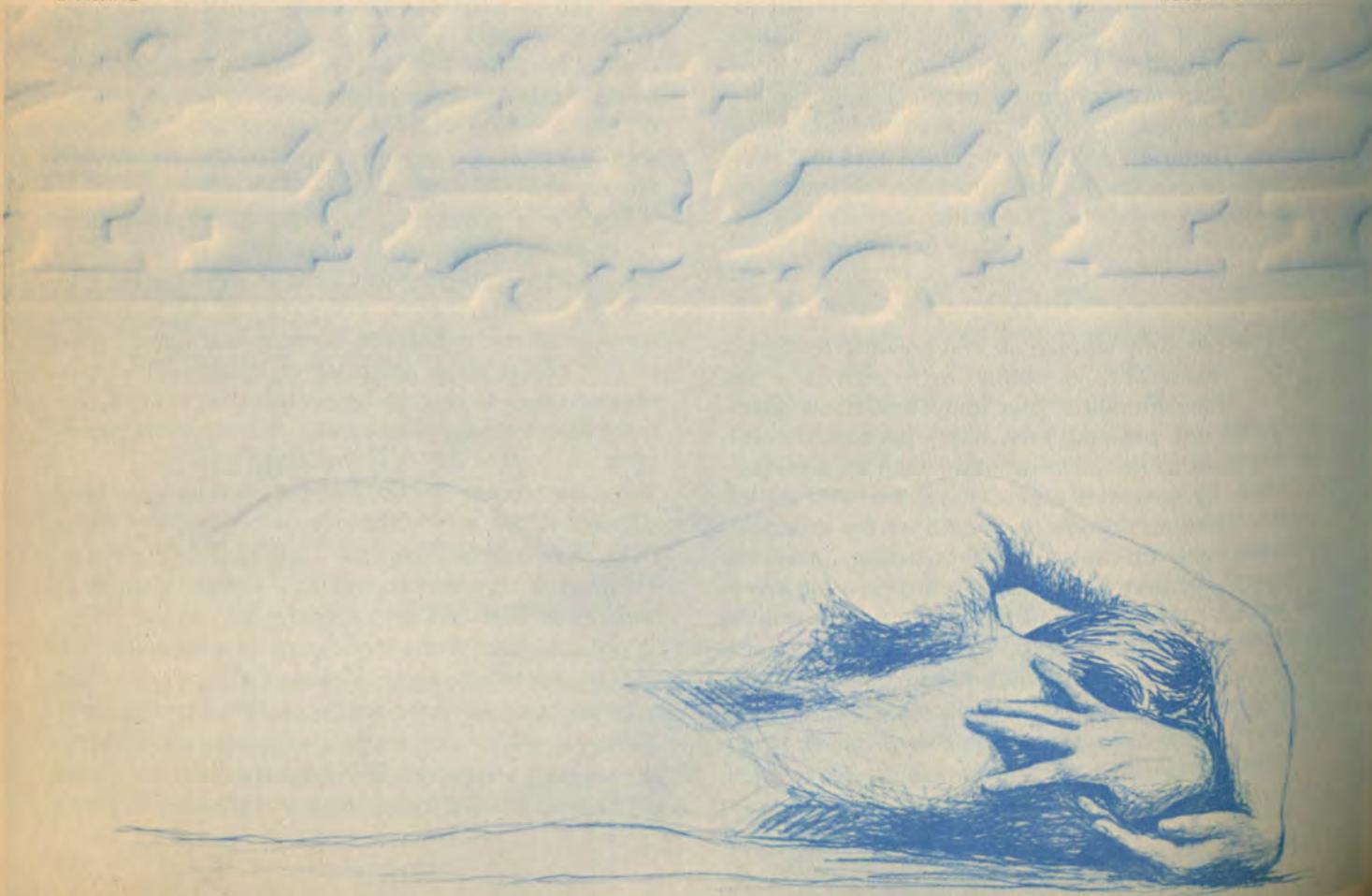
This is *not* what the new moralists intend. The modest proposal—a scientific one—made in this article is intended to check whether the actual program of the new moralists (i.e. that love and sex, not marriage, go together like a horse and carriage) can possibly be made to succeed.

NOTES

1. *Ladies Home Journal*, March 1964.
2. *The Ethics of Sex*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964, p. 48.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

DRAWING

ROBERT R. MALONE



Robert R. Malone 1967

AGING DANCER

(for Jose Limon)

He comes out of the subway car,
steps still agile,
but less swift than yesterday's.
Then his leaps
where Promethean, as he reached for
globular fire in the flies. His
dark, honed face registers instant
welcome. When, I ask, will you be
dancing again? The glow of his eyes
gives the answer: I never stopped,
never. And he says: Very soon—
and I hope you will come. The gloom
disappears in the wake
of his easy, gliding exit.

—SIDNEY BERNARD

CONCERNING JESUS OF NARAZETH

Jesus, Thou, and I are words—
I know how we are to become deeds too
But I tremble.

Each word is honey that I eat.

If words present the spirit, not the substance
Or the psyche, not the flesh,
My God, break my bones.

Behold, my hands and feet.

I cannot say the poet perishes
While his poems survive—
I write and live.

Do you find here any meat?

Speak to me not of deeds
Or words, bitter or sweet,
But let me go.

Rip up this sheet.

—ROBERT S. JACKSON

Anthony Towne drew the assignment: To write, for The New York Times, the obituary of God who died, it is reported, rather unexpectedly in the autumn of 1965. The obituary was published in the February 1966 issue of *motive*, and subsequently has been reprinted in numerous publications and translated into several foreign languages. But the death of God does not mean that the process of divine revelation has come to an end. It has not. And Mr. Towne drew the assignment again: To translate the *Diary of God* which, for reasons unknown, were disclosed to him. Herewith are samplings of Excerpts from the Diaries of the Late God published this month by Harper & Row (so they might be shared with the world), and used here by permission.



PHOTOGRAPH

JOHN MAST

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARIES OF THE LATE GOD

By ANTHONY TOWNE

I set down here without further comment an exchange of memoranda between the H.G. and myself:

From the desk of the H. G.

G: Your attention is once again directed to the scandal of sex among earthfolk. In bedrooms and back seats, igloos and palaces, public parks and choir lofts—*everywhere*—the shameless creatures are perpetrating unspeakable intimacies. One would think sex had something to do with pleasure. Mindful of your request for specific data I

have undertaken, reluctantly, exhaustive research. I am *not* a pornographer! You will receive no titillations, no impurities, no material calculated solely to incite prurient interest. My method has been clinical; my objective is action; my zeal is compassion; my anguish is immense. What I have been compelled in line of duty to witness would nauseate Dr. Freud. I append to this report (*For Your Eyes Only*) photographs to document the prevalence down there of the following atrocious immoralities: kissing,

motive

petting, fondling, groping, caressing, making love. I can't go on! I am beside myself! See for yourself. It is utterly disgusting. Such conditions simply cannot be tolerated. I pray that the Front Office will take prompt, effective and punitive action. Something must be done.

Directive from the Front Office

H.G. I have reviewed with care the unnecessarily voluminous documentation you have submitted to substantiate your charge that there is sex on earth. I am persuaded. I have found the material frequently amusing, sometimes repulsive, often banal and wholly irrelevant. It is no concern of mine how earth-folk entertain themselves. You have established that they amuse themselves in remarkably maladroit ways. That is their problem. Given the mischief they are prone to get into, sex seems to me the least of it. Might I have at long last your report on the question of money?



Bishop Pike doesn't bother me a bit.

Sure, he says some pretty irreverent things, especially when speaking off the cuff, but I can take all he gives out and give him back a few lumps he won't soon forget. I certainly prefer his frolicsome impertinence to the simpering, servile, unctuous obsequies most bishops direct at me.

His books bother me. Too hastily dashed off. Can't the man sit down for a month and do the job right? Mind you, I've read everything he's done, and enjoyed myself mightily. If I have to read their so-called theology I'd rather read the Bishop than Maritain; I might not agree with him, but at least I understand what he's talking about.

But how can they call him a heretic; of all things? Perhaps it's because he insists on thinking and saying what he thinks—sometimes the other way around—which is a peculiar compulsion for a bishop. Heretic, shmeretic! The man's got enthusiasm. I think they're out to get him because he enjoys his work. For my part, I think of him as a sort of holy horsefly. No doubt they'll shake him off, one way or another, and lumber sluggishly on into further sloughs of fatuity.

Frankly, I can hardly wait for him to get up here

—and if he doesn't slow down I won't have to wait long. He'll definitely be a regular at my Saturday night stags. I like good conversation. I like good company. I like a man who thinks for himself.

Let the record show that I may disassociate myself from all enterprises of Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.

I have read his books, tuned into a number of his "sermons," and even viewed his film. What he has to say makes a certain amount of sense. Anyone who wants to be successful, rich, superior, smug, secure, safe, and respectable should, I would think, do exactly as Dr. Peale suggests. Such people should also be prepared to go where camels go who can't squeeze through the needle's eye. *The man has nerve*; I'll say that for him. In my name he propagates puerile simplicities Dale Carnegie would blush to utter.

If the man knew how to listen I'd tell him precisely what he should do with his power of positive thinking. But the whole point of it is to close your eyes, stop up your ears, open your mouth, and shout over and over again: "I am popular! I am successful! I am safe!" People will believe anything they tell themselves often enough. Dr. Peale's home remedies are placebos for the incurably indulgent. Nothing he says is thoughtful; nothing he says is positive; nothing he says is powerful.



Eleven o'clock Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in the frantic American week.

Truer words were never spoken.

Their churches might as well hang "White only" (or "Black only") signs on the altar and be done with it. Who do they think they're kidding with their pronouncements? Not me, I can tell you. For every clergyman they've got who'll put his cross on the line there are fifty who wouldn't cross the street to comfort the good Samaritan. Hang their hypocrisy! I repudiate the lot of them.

Wars will end when there are more atheists in foxholes; racism will end when there are fewer collars turned backwards in pulpits. Most clergymen look in the same direction their collars point. Let them look, blast them, at what stares them in the face. They might begin by consulting a mirror. Failing that, I commend the New Testament. Failing that, let them look at the faces of their congregations. They cannot fail to notice that those faces also

stare in the direction the backward collars point. People who wish to look ahead have no time to sit in uncomfortable pews parsing the *Articles of Religion*.

"Forward-pointing collars only." That is the sign on my altar.



One thing I've always wanted to do, but it will never happen because the network, typically, tossed the show off the air.

I would *love* (not to debase a basic word) to go on *What's My Line?* They would *never* get it! Mr. Cerf would be stumped; he might even be speechless. Miss Francis would lose her false eyelashes along with her spooky mask. I would have a ball!

Can't you hear them? "Is it bigger than a breadbox?" (It sure is, my dear.) "Do you come into contact with people in what you do?" (Sooner or later, I do.) "Could I eat your product?" (Many people try.) "Have you ever appeared in films?" (John Houston claims I have.) It would be a gas!

Besides, it wouldn't hurt to make friends with a fellow who married the daughter of the Chief Justice. It pays to have a friend in court, I always say.

Fantasies! Fantasies!



No, my dear Ladybird!

There is nothing beautiful about beautification. You may have noticed that cosmetics are no substitute for the real thing. You can plant all the hollyhocks you want on the fringes of city dumps, but the dumps will remain.

Scatter ye rosebuds while ye may. But rosebuds don't last. Dumps do. Tell your husband to stop dumping. That would be more to the point. And he might begin by stopping the dumping of bombs on North Vietnam and napalm on South Vietnam.

Beauty is *not* in the eye of the beholder. Beautification is.



Duty compels me to read the whole of their vast church press.

Nothing depresses me more, with the possible exception of my annual audit of their Sunday school curricula materials. I used to read all of that, too, but now the H.G. handles it—he probably enjoys it—and weeds out what he calls representative "theology for tiny tots." Theology, schmology! Bunkum, that's what it is. Small wonder most of the little monsters grow up to be bigots, boobs, or babbits. I would no more have put J.C. in a Sunday school than I would have put myself on a board of deacons.

But I wander. Most of their church press is so innocuous it isn't even worth denouncing. But I must warn whatever remains of my faithful never to read denominational monthlies, diocesan or parish newsletters, publications of ecumenical bureaucracies, and above all, weekly church bulletins. To do so is literally to suffer the kiss of death. It is simply beyond belief *and*—as a matter of fact—has nothing to do with belief. Eschew, also, any printed matter whatsoever that is placed in pews or on tables at the rear of churches. (Whether or not to eschew as well all envelopes left in similar places, or sent through the mails, I leave to individual discretion.) Whenever I have managed to make my way through several bales of the stuff, I emerge convinced that the massacre of the innocents is sometimes a humdrum affair.

The quality of my judgment, however, is tinged with mercy, and I do wish to commend hesitantly what there is of their religious press than can be ingested without an immediate colic. (Colic, according to Dr. Noah Webster, is: "a paroxysm of acute abdominal pain localized in a hollow organ and caused by spasm, obstruction, or twisting.") It would be prudent to think well of what is written by the religion editors of *The New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The San Francisco Chronicle*, especially if you yourself contemplate publishing a book that might fall within their spacious purview. The same might be said of *The Christian Century*, where, additionally, from time to time you may come upon an article of merit or a notable poem. Not to have read, nay *subscribed* to *motive*, a magazine of wit, charm, and *elan*, is to have diminished one's chances of survival outside J.C. Any publication that prints anything by Dan Berrigan, S.J., can't be *all* bad. Read, for example, *Ave Maria*. If your liberalism hasn't long since withered on the vine you may be able to drag your way through an occasional issue of *Christianity and Crisis*. Whatever you do, don't fail to read every word of *The Catholic Worker*. I can enthusiastically endorse *Katallagete* (Be Reconciled), the Journal of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. And that, dear children, is *it!* All the rest is opium for the mindless. And not even the mindless will be more than casually comforted.

motive

FILMS



THE GRADUATE

Renata Adler, in her *New York Times* review, describes *The Graduate* as a brilliant movie which has a nervous breakdown halfway through.

It is an apt description. I would place the breaking point, however, in the moral rather than the psychological realm. That is, the first half of *The Graduate* is brilliant and substantial, the second half is simply brilliant. The substance disappears.

The brilliance of the film is almost totally due to Mike Nichols, the director, and the young Dustin Hoffman, who plays the title role. Nichols plays on the extraordinarily flexible Hoffman like a musical instrument, drawing a performance from him which

is believable, touching, frightening. Often, however, Hoffman gives the impression of being a kind of litmus paper for Nichols' imagination and wit. Consequently, anyone who remembers the Nichols-May routines occasionally has the experience of a wierd *déjà vu*. It is as if Nichols has grown younger rather than older, and one expects to see him as a child in his next picture and after that???

The substantial power of the picture is its acceptance of an elucidation of the credibility gap between the old and the young. *The Graduate* depicts immense hopefulness about young people, on the one hand, and immense despair about adults, on the

other. As such, it is a movie about the true conditions of things in our society today. Nichols, quite rightly, makes no apology for his depiction of middle-age, suburban adults as lonely, smug, greedy, alienated, grasping, and repressed. Anne Bancroft gives a very powerful, but utterly one-dimensional, performance as one of the sad crew. However, her performance, although powerful, is not sustained. In the end, her viciousness is reduced to the level of muted gnashing of her teeth, like a silent movie villain.

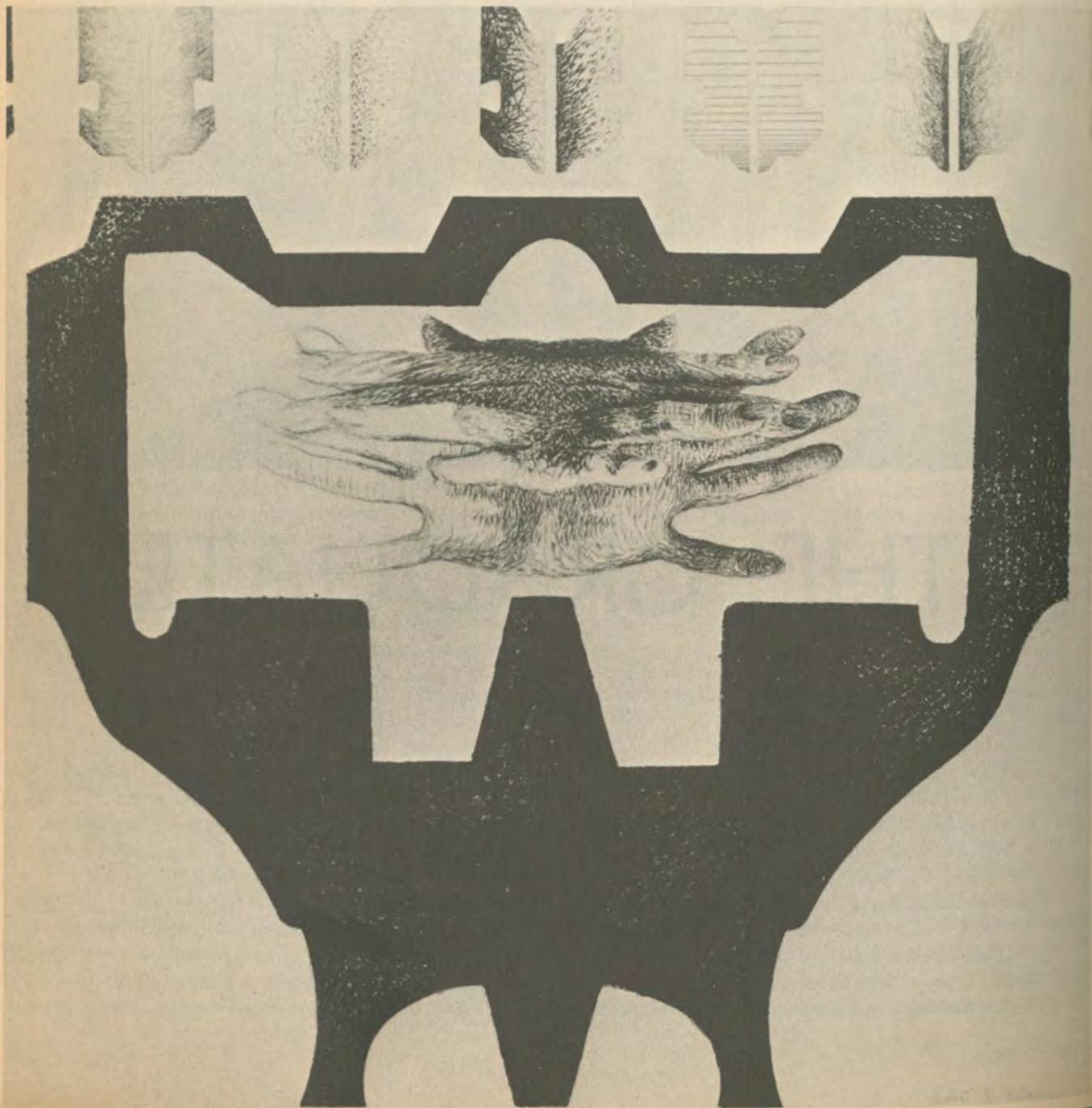
Indeed, there is a good deal about this film which simply sets the old serial thriller of the thirties on its head in a very chic way. The lines are drawn: parents and their contemporaries are the enemy and the only successful strategy is to ignore them. They are not worth fighting. So far, so good. But then, halfway through the film our hero falls in love. Even the love sequences are handled tastefully—indeed

poignantly. But the consequences of the love become totally implausible. Slowly, the film changes from the grit of a social situation into a flimsy lightweight fantasy which takes the viewer, through its charm, into comfortable delight rather than any kind of confrontation. The ending is so delightful, however, that one simply regrets it from a removed viewpoint rather than at the film.

There is little doubt that Mike Nichols is very nearly a genius. The film is utterly his creation. It is always sad to see a genius choose to be chic. The economic realities and social pressures of our society make it impossible to do otherwise. But it is the slight edge who choose not to be chic who ultimately contribute to art and thus to life.

The Graduate is a good film. Go see it. (But don't take it too seriously.)

—AL CARMINES





IS RELEVANT SOCIOLOGY POSSIBLE?

Richard Elman, *Ill-at-Ease in Compton*. Pantheon (1967), 207 pp., \$4.95.

Charles Winick, *The New People*. Pegasus (1968), \$7.50; paperback, \$1.95.

Arnold Rose, *The Power Structure*. Oxford University Press (1967), 506 pp., \$8.50; paperback, \$2.95 (Galaxy).

There is a growing awareness of an undercurrent of "restlessness" in contemporary American society (even Johnson knows about it!). It is not the restlessness of anticipation, but that of disaffection with constructive possibilities for activity, and with meaning itself, in a society whose structures and values have displaced what is personal and human in life. This sense of restlessness, disaffection, and the lack of possibilities for meaningfully integrated lives—in brief, *anomie*—is linked with many interrelated phenomena: the rate of social, economic, and technological change; uncertainties about the present and the future; intergenerational confusion and hostility; the sameness of increasingly "bland" and non-personalized choices of life-styles; and the relativization of values other than those of pragmatism.

For some, *anomie* manifests itself in apathy, passive resignation, and withdrawal from active involvement in social networks. For others, it has involved more direct forms of rebellion (ghetto Negroes, flower children, and many activists). Some have channeled their disaffection into an urgent seeking of means to restructure American society, but the enormity of the problem and the difficulties of articulating where and how to begin have left many paralyzed. How does one suddenly "undo" a gross over-emphasis upon technological and economic superiority and "progress" (at the expense of persons) when these are in the essence of American social structure? Attempts to restructure an entire society around life styles affirming service and mutuality have few present-day channels within which to operate or even begin. We are confronted with an increasingly deteriorated and oppressively prosaic social structure—one which has become so largely because of the peculiar paradoxes that such reputedly beneficial factors as the technological revolution and affluence (for most) have helped to produce.

How helpful are sociological insights in interpreting the present and offering constructive perspectives and possibilities for the future? Can sociologists say anything meaningful to the situation, or, theologically speaking, can sociology provide a "source of grace"? Even if one can answer positively, would anyone pay attention? Would it make any difference in the structure and attitudes of American power?

Whether sociological insights can be helpful, and the dual question of whether it would make any difference, are highly relevant to Richard Elman's *Ill-at-Ease in Compton*. In describing one manifestation of the growing disaffection within contemporary American society, he leaves little or no room for the possibility of constructive change or "grace" in the community he describes. The title is appropriate, both for the peculiarities of Compton and for American society at large.

Compton, a part of the Los Angeles "super-glob" adjacent to Watts, has had a steadily increasing influx of lower-middle-class Negroes from Watts. A corresponding exodus of the more prosperous whites from Compton has also taken place—a familiar process wherever Negroes aspiring to become "middle class" attempt to struggle out of ghetto enclaves. Whites and Negroes in Compton are obsessed with each other, but this obsession is not openly articulated. Because it remains un-surfaced, thus building inner tensions, it is liable to be highly explosive if or when it erupts.

Among both whites and blacks in Compton, Elman finds a general sense of drift, a pervasive distrust, and the desire to be uninvolved and left alone. Continued and growing deterioration of the community, both physically and in terms of any possible common values, is accepted, at least by the whites, as inevitable. While Elman's vignettes leave much to be desired (lacking cohesiveness as much as the community he describes), he nevertheless probes beneath what a sociological survey might describe to reveal a tragic ethos which is found in those communities "in transition," left behind by the more affluent and educated. In Compton one finds resentful, apathetic people who have withdrawn from participation and involvement, who live tragically isolated lives, and who have resigned themselves to an indeterminate future of sustained *anomie* and "more of the same."

The issue of whether sociological insights can be of value in restructuring American society is raised from another perspective by Charles Winick in *The New People*. His central attention is given to the blurred and ambiguous quality of masculine-feminine distinctions. Winick begins with the "ideal" of the "romantic tradition" and defines films, plays, furniture, clothing, architecture, and other features of our "bland" society as displaying elements of an emasculation of the masculine-feminine distinctions of the "romantic tradition."

Winick attempts to link the blurring of sex roles, to the extent that it exists, with a more generalized "homogenization" of American society which sociologists and others have been describing since (and even before) Whyte's *Organization Man* in the 1950's. Winick's evidence is drawn both from obviously standardized commodities such as tasteless instant foods, the Holiday Inn-expressway kind of package, and the "Bland New Office-Or Other Building"—and from more exotic and spurious sources.

Winick contends that relationships are increasingly standardized and "non-involved," thus making possibilities of genuine I-Thou communion inaccessible and even extrinsic to sexual life and life in general. Like Elman's description of Compton, Winick's description of mass society offers dreary prospects for the future: "People must learn to live in homogenized mass society without being swallowed up in it" (p. 358).

Arnold Rose, in *The Power Structure* argues that attempts to alter American society radically, or its present direction, probably are useless. Power in American society is diffuse, multidimensional, exceedingly intricate, and difficult to characterize as dominated by a mono-

lithic elite. There is a sense, however, in which the American power structure does emerge as "monolithic" by its very intangibility, complexity, and large numbers of competing power groups—factors which contribute to the ability of American society to absorb and accommodate a wide range of factions, divisions, etc., as long as these do not change the basic "core ideology" of the society.

As "core ideology," he includes the acceptance of American society as a military-industrial complex, the acceptance of violence as the best means of problem-solving, and the acceptance of technological and economic superiority and development as the highest priorities. Those seeking significant changes have to contend with the diffuseness of power, the issues centered around the society's ability to accommodate or absorb, the passive-vicarious audience style of behavior with regard to power on the part of "mass society" Americans, and the problem of disrupting "accepted" goals and core ideology. Thus, Rose supports the fatalistic appraisal of Winick and Elman that the machine will keep running, with "more of the same," irrespective of its affect upon human lives and potential.

From a sociological perspective, some general theoretical and historical materials indicate quite different possible outcomes for the future than "more of the same." There are several kinds of major disruptive influences which can cause increasing, widespread, and sustained conditions of anomie and apathy. One is sustained oppression or repression by an invading, alien, and technically superior culture (e.g., the oppression of American Indians and of the colonial African states). A second, which American society (and others) is experiencing today, is that of rapid economic, industrial, or technological changes. These changes force a break with a stable past, and a depolarization of normative values and behavior patterns. All societies undergoing rapid change experience some blurring of values; the extent to which this makes a society unviable is highly contingent. One would expect rapid changes to create great disruption, especially in a society such as ours which emphasizes competition, violence, and individual economic greed as part of its "core" beliefs.

Winick, Elman, and Rose offer insightful descriptions of portions of the present state of affairs in American society. Their insights become less meaningful because their material is largely descriptive and their basic assumption is "more of the same" yet there are some basic features of personality development and sociocultural dynamics with which uprootedness, sustained anomie, and depolarization are concomitant.

Sociologists and cultural anthropologists who have studied societies more integrated than ours have found that the polarization of the world of values and norms into either/or dichotomies is fundamental to social cohesion. Essentially we are talking about common religious and moral sentiments: elements of the sacred. These clear dimensions to what is holy and what is evil—what is correct and incorrect—are fundamental to the development of an integrated personality and to the bonding together of societies as moral communities. While there are elements of life in these societies, as in ours, which are "homogenized," these prosaic elements never come to dominate social life and the social order, because they are subordinated to an integrated, sacred value system.

Rapid industrial, technological, and economic development disrupts and challenges the stability of these clear, dichotomous elements of the sacred and, in fact everything in the cultural heritage of the past. Symptoms of destructure and attempts to re-create viable bases for meaning occur. The conditions to which Winick,

Elman, and Rose address themselves, as well as other related conditions in contemporary American society, have been found at other times in Western history just prior to major societal upheavals, revolutions, or transformations.

Edward A. Tiryakian (who has done extensive research into these conditions in other historical settings), in a draft chapter of a forthcoming book of sociological theory edited by John C. McKinney, notes some of these structural aspects found in England and France in the years just preceding the violent French Revolution in 1789 and the more peaceful English industrial revolution:

On the one hand, the so-called 'enlightenment' viewed world history as having embarked on a course of unalterable continuous progress, propped by the 'new economics' which would guarantee the march into the New Jerusalem. . . . Structurally speaking, we have today (as then) a similar cultural constellation of enlightened 'liberal' monarchs estranged from the masses . . . widespread libertinage, profound splits within religious organizations as to what their orientation to society should be, political agitation on behalf of and by a *sans culottes* class (the Negroes, in our instance), rapid scientific and industrial developments . . . concern over the mentally ill . . . a general ambiguity of sex roles, increased street violence, tensions between young and old (that is, an increasing social distance between generations), and a general ferment concerning the urgency to overhaul existing social and political institutions.

Tiryakian indicates explicitly some of the reasons England was spared France's violence in its own industrial revolution (important among these being the growth of pietism in England). He and other sociologists and social historians have also examined other cultural settings similar to present-day America. In Europe, for instance, on the eve of World War I (1890-1910), there was an expanding middle class, with a growing emphasis upon acquiring and consuming material goods; there was a great deal of internal political conflict and tension; there was rapid technological progress; many youths were estranged from their elders (especially children of the affluent) and from their structural conditions. As with the earlier enlightenment, literature and science also contributed to the breakdown of stable and "polarized" societal bases.

In terms of the "surface optimism" characterizing both of these periods, David Riesman's analysis of the optimism of the college graduate of the mid-fifties, who shared a similar view of the future, is interesting. Riesman perceived at that time that this same college graduate would, within fifteen years or so (i.e., now), become part of an increasingly disillusioned and anomic America.

In examining other periods preceding major societal upheavals (including the American Civil War and the Russian Revolution) one finds some of these, and other precursors in various formations, many or most of which are found in American society today.

To predict and to plan constructively for the future is a task which requires more than the sociologist's understanding of sociocultural dynamics alone. In attempting to develop a perspective on social change, I have had to draw heavily from mentors who have crossed the boundary lines between sociology and history, upon psychologists' insights into human personality, and upon my own resources in theology. If anything, this has led me to see the limitations of any one of these disciplines without the aid of the others.

Winick and Elman are describing symptoms that indicate a building up of internal tensions which can perhaps be reduced only by some form of polarization. (Much of this polarization is, in fact, currently taking place in

motive

more-or-less sporadic activity in political, religious, and other segments of American life.) Rose reinforces the picture with his own bewilderment at the complexity and intangibility of power in American society. The inability of existing Establishment sources of power to move fast enough in periods of rapid and critical change, enmeshed as they are in their own complex, interwoven, and competing constellations, has been a major factor in social change.

Many activities have functioned as means of creating polarities and releasing and reducing tension. Wars, scapegoating, and internal revolution all generally tend to produce a certain "cleansing" or purifying effect. The affect generated is not unlike that following natural disasters serving to reunite people to affirm common values, a sense of community, etc. For example, *Report From Iron Mountain*, may be a hoax, but that is not the point. Its assertions about the functions of war are no less true as satire, and no less official.

I do not see, as Winick, Elman, and Rose do, "more of the same." I see trends away from homogenization as well as toward it, especially among second generation affluent youth. Even the warning signals centered around *homogenization myths about suburbia*, which were raised by Whyte and others in the 1950s, have been somewhat discredited by more recent longitudinal studies and accompanying explanations of why these myths became part of the popular culture so readily. I see several restorative possibilities perhaps within the next ten years in American society.

One possibility is internal revolution. By this, I do not necessarily mean a "violent takeover," but I can foresee a definite polarization in some form. Given the fact that conservative or reactionary elements in American society have had more success historically than liberal or radical elements in utilizing the heritage available to both, this polarization could be toward the right—if articulate, charismatic leadership is available at the "ripe" time. Whatever direction it might take, a precursor will be the increasing polarization of left and right (which is taking place now) as the center collapses. My own fear that the end product will be a form of rightest totalitarianism is shared by some other social scientists. Rex Hopper, for instance, in his analysis of the developments in cybernetics, sees (and fears) this as an empirical probability.

A second possibility is war, limited or more global, if circumstances become such that a war could be made to appear to be a moral or holy crusade. LBJ obviously has had no success in uniting the "United" States around the Vietnam war as a "holy crusade"; rather, it has been divisive, precisely because many see U.S. involvement there as immoral.

A third possibility, which might result from the search of those among the present student and post-student generation(s), is a humanitarian reconstruction of American values and leadership which could open possibilities for more creative and human involvement among people. While I am not optimistic about this possibility, there are as many elements in the American ideological rhetoric that affirm it as their opposites (violence, competition, progress, economic gain, etc.). However, in crisis situations, America's leadership generally has responded in terms of the latter.

Charles Loomis, the current president of the American Sociological Association, spoke to some basic aspects of this third possibility in his "Presidential Address" last August, surprising and even shocking many of his more supine, "value-free" colleagues. In one section of his address, he discussed the reintegration of societies following disaster and revolution. In discussing disaster

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(and later applying the same thinking to revolution), he notes that disaster studies show that:

... at a certain point after a social organization has been stricken, there develops a level of integration and communication of sentiment unknown to members before. Members who, in pre-disaster days, were relatively isolated and insulated from each other come out of their shells, take part in a meaningful enterprise . . . help to rebuild, and find in the work that they have an increased understanding of and liking for one another. . . . Perhaps some would say that a therapeutic community emerges.

Other sociologists have generalized this possibility of society being "stricken" and reaching a point where community is reaffirmed and society is reintegrated, not only to sudden disaster and its aftermath but to the growing crisis conditions accompanying the "cultural drift" of rapid change. It is very difficult to predict what directions restructuration will take.

During the years of the Weimar Republic in Germany following World War I, for instance, there was a growing "cultural drift." The social structure of Germany in the 1920s increasingly approached a "crisis" situation, unable to provide a basis for integrative values and meaning. There was a great need to reduce the growing sense of anomie, noninvolvement, blandness, and attendant tensions fostered by a social structure unable to provide viable, "polarized" values and norms. The Nazi movement capitalized most intensely upon this need for reintegration and polarization.

Initially, the Nazis were dismissed by the Republic—until it was too late. Perhaps this type of expression is unlikely in the United States, but is it inconceivable? It was noted earlier that the "core beliefs" of Americans include violence as a basic means of problem-solving, internally as well as internationally. Are there good reasons to think that the dominant white response to the ghetto Negroes' use of this highly "American" means of problem-solving will be different?

What can be done to create constructive and humane alternatives to some of the more nightmarish possibilities facing American society in crisis? Returning to Loomis, speaking specifically to the internal problems of poverty and racism, he suggests a possibility that could be a base for creating a more constructive revolution in American values than that which seems most likely. He proposes setting up a "pilot city":

Why does not the Federal government offer funds and resources on a competitive basis to the one city which would agree to make the most changes and effort toward bringing social justice and freedom from poverty to its citizens? The demonstration could be located in the one city most willing and able to make the great changes necessary. As sociologists we know such changes would bring crisis and conflict. These would be used in leap-frogging ahead. The idea that every state politician must take home some plums or bacon, or whatever you want to call it, might be ignored this one time in the interests of humanity.

Since such a demonstration would be highly visible, it would create tension and agitation in other cities, following this model. The project would need the combined efforts of the politically skilled, social scientists, and even theologians (despite theology's current confusion), since those involved in initiating it would have to come to grips with the need to develop common value sentiments. And these (common value sentiments) are a much more basic problem than the pilot city *per se*. If such a pilot city were nothing but a physically utopian version of what we have now and if the values and goals of those involved (as well as those who migrate there)

were no different than American "core beliefs," how useful and meaningful would it be? First we have to presuppose a revolution in values—liberating, humanitarian, and oriented toward service and mutuality. Loomis tends to presuppose this—but would the federal government?

Suppose that a "revolution in values" could take a humanitarian, service-oriented direction? Charismatic leadership would be needed which could articulate both generalized values (mutuality and service as opposed to exploitation; constructive kinds of aid to underdeveloped nations; participatory democracy) and specific proposals (e.g., Loomis' pilot city; the development of new, more creative and person-affirming vocations without such restrictions as those of the Peace Corps; specific proposals for underdeveloped nations).

While charisma is an unstable element, it also is probably a necessary one initially to bring a society out of a vacuum. There would need to be money also—and at least some leaders from the existing centers of power who would be ready to talk in these categories of crisis and the choices which are available. There are some leaders in existing power centers who are profoundly aware of the crisis in American society and values in these terms, but they are not yet mobilized. It certainly would not take a great deal to convince most Americans (if they are not already convinced) that the United States is going through a period of rapid deterioration and de-structuration of viable values and of participation in the common life of a viable society.

What optimism I have for a constructive restructuration of values is based upon the now large population of affluent Americans for whom disaffection (especially among the young, but among many of their elders as well) has taken the form of questioning the "core beliefs," Rose and others have described as violence, economic gain, and technological superiority and progress as "ultimate" sources of meaning. Some have been mobilized and speak and work in terms of new categories; many more need to be mobilized.

Thus far, the searches of many affluent youth and of some of their elders for a creative, humanitarian reconstruction of values in American society has largely met frustration. However, their numbers are growing, and there may be grounds for hope. If not, another suggestion by Loomis, the most "controversial" part of his address, may begin to have some genuine relevance for more than a few.

Why should not any group whose members face a hostile environment have a chance to organize a model society for itself? The Amish and other plain people retain their enclaves, the *religieuses* their cloisters, and the Jews hewed Israel out of a desert. Why should not such Negroes as those among the black power group who truly believe that they are forever barred from attaining social justice in the United States have the chance, if they desire it, to organize a model society much as Israel has done? Finding the place would be difficult, to be sure. But to say that it is impossible might be overstating the case.

It is quite conceivable that, for many black Americans and for many of the "new people," the future may be such that this possibility is more sociologically realistic than naive.

Back in Compton, the answer is much more difficult, and already much more violent. In any event, sociologists must work with "change agents" in American society helping to create constructive and humanitarian alternatives to a potentially nightmarish future.

—KARL GARRISON, JR.

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ROHN ENGH sends his photographs from rural Wisconsin, for which he has a special sensitivity.

BOB COMBS' photos have the special ability of disclosing man at his best—or his worst.

HAROLD BOYD, a recent graduate of Kansas University, teaches at Illinois State University in Normal.

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MONICA MILLER is a very prolific and lucid artist whose work is shown widely in the Chicago area; she lives in Barrington, Ill.

REINALD VAN DEN STEENE is one of the highly gifted young Dutch artists whose linoleum cuts catch the special feeling of things Netherlandish.

JOHN MAST has sent us some new, and remarkably apt photos from Brooklyn, which seems, after all, not to be pure myth.

APRIL POETS: KELLY JANES, Monterey, Mass.; **HARRY MacCORMACK**, Corvallis, Oregon; **ROBERT S. JACKSON**, Kent, Ohio; and **TOM SMUCKER** and **SIDNEY BERNARD**, both from New York City.

CORRECTIONS: The etching, "Paper Romantic," in the February issue (page 21) is by Bill Creevy of LSU.

The work of Gene Wicks, "Girl In The Window," and two studies of Bluebell Canyon, was published in the March issue. The artist was inadvertently omitted from the Contributors column. Gene is on the faculty of the University of Illinois; his graphics have been seen in national shows for a number of years.

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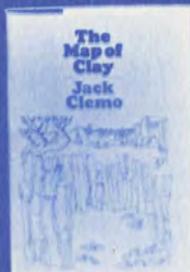
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I HATE WAR

ELEANOR HATES WAR

FIDO HATES WAR

0500! The grey streaks of dawn were breaking through Kumwha Valley. Richard Tellner crouched with his squad at the foot of Hill 508. In fifteen minutes the mortar barrage would cease, Richard knew he'd have to command his body to move up the hill with his squad into the terrible downpour of a thousand grenades and enemy missiles. He'd done it before; each time it became harder.

He felt the odds closing in against him. He finally realized that he could get it. He too could get it! He scanned the pale, drawn, faces of the men around him and wondered if they could detect the fear he felt. I don't want to go, he thought. I don't want to go through it again! My stomach hurts. God, how it hurts, oh, God! I'm not going! Let them go. I've done enough. What do they. . . .

0515! The rain of mortar shells stopped. They moved forward as one man, as if pulled by the same string. A low, barely audible rumble rose from the throats of the green clad line of men. They seemed to lose their humanity with the first jerky steps forward.

Richard Tellner moved as if in a fantasy. His arms and legs felt light and numb. The thoughts raced forward from the dark corridors of his mind and seemed to leap into his skull as he climbed. When is it going to start? Who'll get it first? Which Chink has his sights on me, waiting for the distance to close? A quick glance around showed him the men moving with eyes glued to the hill's summit. Oh, please, God! Please, Jesus, I'm sorry for everything. Help me, God! Mother of Jesus, pray for me.

The Chinks hurled the first volley of grenades, hands and arms appearing from the trenches ringing the crest of the hill. Hundreds of grenades sailed through the air, spitting off their levers in a chorus of snaps, falling in a trail of smoke, down toward the oncoming penitents who now froze in midstride. Froze for just a split second. The skirmish of men broke, some diving behind small boulders that pockmarked the face of the hill, others lunging even faster toward the summit. The grenades burst violently among them like a string of firecrackers.

Red, yellow, and pink rose petals splashed a brilliant spray of color over them. Oh, God! Roses! They're flinging rose bombs! The petals are all over us. God, help us!

Now the heads and shoulders of little yellow men popped in view all along the skyline. The long barreled rifles extended down the slope from shoulders and arms. Long, high-pressured streams gushed downward from their muzzles, down upon the climbing men. Perfume! It's coming down in torrents. They're dousing us with love! Mother of God, pray for us.

The squad leader yelled an order. The men, firing from the hip, let loose with their high-pressured liquid weapons, spraying torrents of lilac water into the enemy lines.

Richard reached the trenches simultaneously with several others. Leaping into the enemy positions, his face contorted with fear, tears streaming down his face, he screamed his frustrated outrage. "I'll love you to death! Love! Love! Aughhh!!"

Two Chinks rushed to meet him, hurling themselves forward, armed with baskets of gardenias. They clashed in a chaos of gardenias and lilac water. The two Chinks fell, mortally blessed. Richard staggered to his knees clutching his chest, seriously loved. The unbearable goodness spread to agonizing ecstasy. Every fiber of his being rejected the onslaught of the impending love experience. "Aughhh! Medic! Oh, God, medic. Hate . . . give . . . me . . . a shot . . . of h-hate . . . the ecstasy is k-k-killing m-me. Oh, G-God, he-help me."

A medic ran to him in a crouch, dodging droplets of love, and falling on his knees beside Richard, rasped "Easy, fella, I'll heighten your aggression. I know you're in terrible love, Buddy. Just a minute." The medic tore open his sleeve and administered a first aid love deterrent. He snatched up his hate kit and scrambled to the next victim, leaving Richard with a tag attached to his wrist reading, "ATTENTION: THIS MAN HAS BEEN UNLOVED."

—THOMAS F. MOORE