

motive

october 1968

sixty cents

**Compliments of the
Colgate University Church**







CONTENTS



- 2 LETTERS
- 6 BETWEEN BARS B. J. STILES
- 8 HUEY NEWTON SPEAKS FROM JAIL
an interview
- 16 THE TROUBLE IS *poem*, RALPH ADAMO
- 17 A PORTFOLIO OF PRINTS BY WARRINGTON COLESCOTT *art feature*
- 33 AND NOW *poem*, WILLIAM D. TAMMEUS
- 34 UNIVERSITY INSIDE-OUT STEVEN H. JOHNSON
- 38 A MAN ONCE SAID *poem*, RICHARD RUSSELL
- 40 NORTH VIETNAM JOURNAL MARC SOMMER
- 47 A DREAM OF DEATH BY RADIO *poem*, ROBERT MOORE
- 48 PRAY FOR ROMAN POLANSKI a review of *Rosemary's Baby*, AL CARMINES
- 50 SOUTH AFRICA REPORT B. J. STILES
- 56 CONTRIBUTORS
- COVER 3: ECCE HOMO *intaglio*, ROBERT ECHER
- COVER 4: CARTOON MAL HANCOCK



FRONT COVER: GUNARS STRAZDINS, a recent graduate of the University of Colorado, has created an icon for sensibility crushed by brutish power. Recent events in Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere in more subtle ways, make Strazdins' image a very poignant one.

OCTOBER 1968
VOLUME XXIX, NUMBER 1

EDITOR: B. J. STILES
MANAGING EDITOR: RON HENDERSON
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: ALAN D. AUSTIN
ART EDITOR: DENNIS AKIN
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: JOANNE COOKE
BOOK REVIEW EDITORS:
WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW
ANTHONY TOWNE
CIRCULATION: MARY ETTA DUFFEY
PROMOTION: RICHARD FRICKS
SECRETARY: JANE JAMES

EDITORIAL BOARD

RONALD E. BARNES
ARTHUR BRANDENBURG
WILLIAM R. COZART
JAMES CRANE
TOM F. DRIVER
RUTH HARRIS
VIVIAN HENDERSON
STEVEN JOHNSON
JAMES K. MATHEWS
J. WILLIAM MORGAN
MICHAEL NOVAK
RICHARD SMITH
WRIGHT SPEARS
JAMES S. THOMAS
GAYLE GRAHAM YATES

Address all communications to *motive*, P.O. Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee 37202. **Unsolicited manuscripts and art work are welcome, but cannot be returned unless return postage is supplied.**

Subscription rates: individual subscription, 8 issues, \$4. Single copies, sixty cents. Optional group subscription plans are available; information on request. **Transactions with the circulation department require four weeks' advance notice for processing.**

Published monthly, October through May, for the University Christian Movement by the Division of Higher Education of the Board of Education of The Methodist Church. Founded 1941 by the Methodist Student Movement. Copyright © 1968 by the Board of Education of The Methodist Church.

Second-class postage paid at Nashville, Tennessee. National newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, 155 West 15th Street, New York City 10011.

Microfilm copies of *motive* are available from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan; photo-copies from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10003.

It was with a deepening sense of gloom that I read your April 1968 issue. I am reminded ever more of the increasingly relevant points raised by E. J. Hughes in *America the Vincible*, written during the agonies of agonizing reappraisal. America—and the whole prosperous technological world with it—lives in a comfortable bed of illusion: an illusion that it is the best and most virtuous people, and that it has a God-given imperative to propagate that virtue in the World. As Hughes points out, the virtue of the indomitable pioneers who pushed forth the wilderness to found a new nation etc., did not have to cope with a worldwide network of communications which would have outlined the brutality of the conquest of the American Indian.

Along with this species of illusion comes a lack of sense of proportion. Concerning The Resistance: how could anyone sentient during 1940-1945, claim that the present peace-movements are the usual aberrations of crackpots? During World War II, a man who refused to fight the monstrosity of Hitler's Germany because he hated war, would have drawn only pity and contempt from his contemporaries. Does opposition to the Vietnam effort fall so obviously into this category? The communist challenge/menace is a subtle thing, preying on the weaknesses of capitalistic society; we have the same fear of it that we have for dark things that go clunk in the night, and which can come unawares to suck our blood. If we pursue these shadows with a machinegun fired blindly into the darkness, can we justify the consequent murder of our neighbors by the chance that we may have hit a vampire?

The fact remains that popular opposition to the Vietnam affair is quite obviously of a different order of magnitude than that of previous wars. This occurs simply because people feel instinctively [if not explicitly] that something is very wrong. It is not merely the use of napalm or the rest, nor the aggregation of numerous refugees, nor the destruction of cities and their innocents. These are merely consequences of war. It is a sense of guilt that, after all the loudly spoken reassurances, we might not be doing the Right Thing—and then how will history judge us? Or to put it more concretely, how will our children judge us? This basic apprehension of reality is the prevailing virtue of our civilization, amidst a sea of words from the 'experts' of both sides.

Unfortunately, this basic understanding of the human condition is rarely reflected in high places. Vincent Harding has stated it with magnificent succinctness in your April issue: "A nation that combines the American predilection toward violence, the American stockpile of weapons and the American lack of empathy for the earth's humiliated peoples is a dangerous nation. . . ." But it is not the 'nation' merely; it is the administrators of that nation—who reflect faithfully the prejudices of the WASP middle class. The sentient people of that society know and feel what is right, even though their counsels are not felt by the men of decision.

What I like about *motive* is this: you are aware and awake to the basic pattern of sanity which pervades society, and you give it explicit and intelligent expression. It is often done with far too many words, far too much preoccupation with the central role of the Negro, and with far too much attention to the unusual merely for the sake of non-conformity—but it is done, and that is what matters. The same seems to apply to your cognition of religion, even if one gains the impression that you are trying to feed a dying horse. Still, the horse may recover; miracles have been known to happen.

In conclusion, I may add that it is irrelevant that I write the above thoughts from this bastion of the South Pole. These ideas and actions are everywhere relevant in the "free, democratic" Western world. Australia has the same inherent predilection toward violence and all the rest, but fortunately this nation is altogether unimportant in the affairs of the world—and believe me, it is a pleasure to be present at such a consummation. Furthermore, there is in the Australian character a lack of enthusiasm to exert oneself very much for anything; it can provide unending frustrations when you want to get your car fixed, but it also tends to reduce international adventurism and the rest.

In these respects, and because of the smaller population and slower life, some parts of Australia can be pleasant places in which to live, but the "human condition" persists. The same motives and actions as in America are slavishly copied, though watered down. Television is mainly of American origin, but does not appear to have such a pernicious effect. Advertising is similar, but generally less obnoxious in practice—though billboards can now be seen, and stores are experimenting with subliminal music and exhortations.

I think that one can say that the Australians are following the Americans, but about 20 years behind. Perhaps when they catch up, the Americans will have conquered the dangers of Illusion, and will provide the world with sane and humane leadership.

R. LEO GUNTER
hobart, tasmania

□
□

Jorge P. Martin has a wonderful way of stating the obvious (the picket line, May 1968) but does not feel obliged to probe very deep.

Anyone rocking a comfortable boat is a troublemaker. Demonstrators are troublemakers. The psychological makeup of the demonstrators can very easily detract from the validity and pertinence of the demonstration itself. It is fine for Mr. Martin to make blanket statements phrased as vague generalizations, but hopelessly inadequate as a valid defense. I was not simply being cynical toward the issues of today in my letter in your January issue. I was stating the situation as I saw it. If my argument appeared ludicrous, it's because the situation I was describing is ludicrous.

Shall we attack the disease? I think the anti-war materials-producing industries demonstrations are fair examples. The students denounce them on moral principles. They feel that war is bad and war profits are worse. Well, maybe it is bad on a moral basis, but it's a damned good practice in reality. It was the Second World War production in the '40's which lifted the U.S. out of the depression. The students in the '40's didn't shilly-shally around damning the industries. They were too busy tending to reality. Today's students (the majority) were raised in the booming '50's and have had about as much contact with reality as Alice in Wonderland. As soon as they're off fairy stories, they start lapping up Leftist slogans. No matter how much the industries are denounced, the fact is that capitalism made North America what it is today and if it is to stay in power, the capitalists will be responsible. Also, it must be remembered that, right or wrong (from a moral viewpoint), the capitalists have the power. They're on top. Wake up to reality.

Perhaps I have chosen a bad example. But I have yet to meet a responsible and intelligent student demonstrator who is capable of backing up his actions with cold, hard, logical facts; not happy, romantic and impractical inanities. If there are demonstrations with valid protests they are in the minority.

B. EVERETT MAYNE
montreal, canada

□
□

I have just reached the April copy of *motive* in my stack of unread journals and must respond to a letter which I think contains the "heart of the matter" in much of the national ethos as it comes to expression in recent hearings in Washington. In rather moralistic fashion, a mother of a good American family with two "girls" (ages 22 and 24) who "play golf, swim, water-ski, snow-ski, dance, play cards, go to church, teach Sunday School, etc."—writes to *motive* in dissent with your hippy writing and art.

She praises her family's ability not to be contaminated by those who take notice of the tragedy that marks our present national life. Her word is the ultimate one in our national ethos—"We all work hard in our family—and are getting what we deserve: love and happiness together!" Would it not be wonderful if everyone got what they deserve—especially the innocent victims her son-in-law bombed in Vietnam?

I could dismiss this heartless pose except that it is in such poor taste and rooted in the lives of many in the American church. There is an element of injustice in America which was and is not caused necessarily by those who suffer. This mother has no need for thanksgiving—"we are getting" (that's fine if

some are) "what we deserve" (this is a rather drastic qualification and interpretation of the former). It is highly possible that this family—as with others in this nation—are not getting what they deserve, which establishes further cases of injustice in our society. And it is those who continue to "lord it over the others" (a biblical phrase) by praising their own effort (without a word of mercy or thanksgiving) and its rewards while they scream for judgment (and justice—law) in the lives of others who have not been as "blessed," or who have not quite "made it" in American terms—it is those who dominate much of recent political discussion.

I do not find this heartless and merciless view in the particular Scriptures I read. It is not a case of reading a different Bible (as the mother puts it) but rather a case of *reading* the Bible. This seems to be an activity that the writers and artists of *motive* do not need to be reminded of. Keep up the good work.

DUANE G. GRAGE
chicago, illinois

□
□

There are several objections which one may raise to Paul Ramsey's "A Proposal to the New Moralists" (April 1968). The article voices a way of thinking which will undoubtedly betray the honest attempts of those who read it to work out their lives, to live their sexuality sincerely and lovingly. I am afraid, for example, that many women, after reading it, would be thrown back to fears and anxieties about their relationships and their welfare. These would greatly increase the difficulties inherent in human relations, especially in establishing ties of mutual respect and mutual honesty with men. And men might, against their own will, be reinforced in the false notion of their inherent exploitive desires (is this some new kind of male Original Sin?). Three objections, then, are:

A) Mr. Ramsey makes use of a great many statistics in the first pages of his article, statistics which he says point to the systematic violation of the "girl" by the college "boy," at the expense of the girl's illusions of love and to the profit of the boy's cynically exploitive power. The figures, he says, "only refine what should be common knowledge," that males and females view their sex partners in different ways, attaching different emotional commitments to them, the female's being higher. What Mr. Ramsey fails to indicate is the exact nature of that statistical sample, and what he fails to acknowledge is that just as men and women are different somehow in their attitudes toward sex, they are even more different in their attitudes toward TALKING ABOUT IT. I strongly suspect (and three years as part of the "college generation" confirm my suspicion) that people do not regard statistical samples of any kind, and particularly those concerning sex, politics, or religion, as being mandates for truth, calling for oaths in the answer box. And this phenomenon of systematic lying, an integral part of human relations and human/machine relations (like statistical samples) always casts doubt on the deductions one may make from numerical results. Namely, double or nothing a great many females answering they had had sex with one they "loved and planned to marry" were as unsure of that analysis and prediction as could be. Many such answers are, no doubt, the result of guilt-ridden rationalization as much as anything else. A woman may answer in this way to justify to herself and the statistician her sexual activity, feeling as she does the still present social pressure against it. And this is the guilt that Mr. Ramsey lauds, as constructive in the formation of love relationships!

Also, double or nothing an overwhelming number of male answers to the effect that they HAD NOT LOVED NOR PLANNED TO MARRY their sex partners were also lies, simply because 1) like the women, they were unsure of their exact feelings for those with whom they had experienced sex and 2) they, operating under those same Damoclean swords of guilt, responded in the way society has long decreed a man must respond to discussion of sex: he disparages its significance and thus diminishes the commitment to the female partner. I.E., this is a slavery to the double standard.

To explain: Mr. Ramsey seems to be operating under the false impression that the *ethical significance* of the double standard lies in its allowing the sexual exploitation of females by males. This is not so. Its more horrible significance is that by this time it has come to be an EXCUSE for a botched relationship. In the face of a failing tie to a woman, a man will invoke the double

standard as his excuse, and try to make his failure look like simply a casual encounter, just for the "fun" of it. How many men feel this obligation to conform to the double standard! It is the pressure to say in public that one has in effect exploited a certain number of women. It is the American braggadocio. Our sex-obsessed society expects a man still to prove himself, to others of his sex, by adhering to the double standard. May I cite cigarette advertisements, *Playboy*, and the attitudes of the socially elite of college campus? Mr. Ramsey's understanding of this phenomenon strikes me as minimal.

B) For those called "new moralists" by Mr. Ramsey, whose "doctrines" he castigates (although I would suspect they would say they had none, and that this was their point), the article must have been particularly frustrating and maddening. For, in an old political move, Mr. Ramsey did not afford them a fair hearing. He set up straw men and found it not difficult to knock them down with statistical snow-jobs and precious phrases. But what conscientious MORALIST would say "love and sex go together like a horse and carriage," to borrow a singularly disastrous phrase from Mr. Ramsey? Rather, he would say that love may confer certain privileges and, more importantly, certain responsibilities, under which sex happens to fall, as part of the path of a sincere and constructively honest relationship between man and woman. What, really, does marriage have to do with this, except the true theological marriage which is independent of legal or religious paraphernalia? Does marriage, in its usual arbitrary meaning (much more arbitrary than we usually like to think) have any power to change a man's attitude? I hardly think so. It simply limits him to one partner. Exploitation will probably still be a problem if it exists in the relationship. It is slipshod attitudes toward marriage which result in as much exploitation as premarital sex is reputed to be responsible for. Within marriage, the problem of exploitation may become worse, susceptible as it is to the claustrophobia of the relationship. This is not to advocate the uselessness of marriage, but simply to point to its weaknesses in this regard. And this brings me to the third point.

C) I will grant, readily, that at any campus, and particularly that of Princeton University, there occurs much inexcusable exploitation of both sexes by both sexes, with the balance falling to the men as exploiters of sex. But I would not discount, say, emotional exploitation by women as equally destructive to attempts at honest relationships. There are many other relational factors of exploitation. Sex is one. By ridiculing oversimplified precis of rumored moral "systems," and by denying the presence on the campus of emerging MEN and WOMEN who need generous, understanding and sensitive guidance rather than cute cynicism about anti-legalistic ethics, Mr. Ramsey does a great disservice to both those whom he would call boys and girls, who perhaps need a more disciplined attitude toward sexual responsibility, and those who are men and women caught in the problems of their complex and urgent sexuality, and needing thoughtful and loving counsel.

W. REGINALD GIBBONS
princeton university

The other eight black members of the Georgia House of Representatives would be surprised to read in *motive* (May 1968) that I am "the only Negro member."

I also want to make a special acknowledgement to Lerone Bennett, a Senior Editor of *Johnson* publications, for his unknowing aid in helping me form the ideas which provided me with the basis for the article on Negro politics.

JULIAN BOND
atlanta, georgia

Julian Bond's article, "The Negro and Politics" (May 1968), is a major example of tough and penetrating thought. Mr. Bond has as acute and accurate an awareness of "the white problem," in its meaning for black Americans (and for all Americans), as anyone in the nation, I dare say. His political promise is great; his perception is greater.

If human beings were duplicable by Xerography, we could Xerox about 10,000 copies of Mr. Bond and elect them to state houses across the country. It is no doubt fortunate, in the long run, that human beings are not thus duplicable (for one thing, the method presently available is more fun). But what we do do is help elect men who resemble Mr. Bond in compassion and cool, in their perception of the nitty and the gritty. With such men in office, the current cry that politics is bankrupt will fade: there will be a new politics.

Your publication of the article was a good deed, for which I thank you. One minor quibble: you described Mr. Bond as "the only Negro member of the Georgia House of Representatives." There are in fact several Representatives who are Negroes, and two State Senators. Georgia leads Southern states—and most states in the nation—in number of Negro legislators; but, as Mr. Bond would remind us, that means nothing in itself. Yet.

Between *motive* and *Katallagete*, you Nashville cats have a thing going on which is deeply important to many of us.

MICHAEL CASS
decatour, georgia

I regretted heartily reading the review of Tim Hall's *Poems* (May 1968). Mr. Pearlman does not review Hall; he flaunts his own ideas, which we can only hope are also Hall's ideas, as the sporadic quotations are at best droppings of tone and mood. Mr. Pearlman also uses Hall as the occasion to inform us of his expertise in certain of Frost's poems—was Frost political, that we should use him for arguing for more political poetry?

I do not write against political poetry. I write against sentimental politics that are passed off as poetry. The same applies to religious poetry—let it be poetry first and then we will read it as poetry that is religious. Politics is not poetic unless it is ordered for expression by a poetic intelligence or intuition; [neither is] religion.

Also, why the recurring references to "the Movement" without bothering to identify it? This is more self-conscious than we should be—it points to a weakness that those involved in social criticism (whether theoretical or activist) should not indulge in: blanket demand for change which has no basis other than the felt need for revolution. What we need is progress based on alternatives offered (however radical) to the *status quo*, not merely random change. We should put our critical intelligence and intuitive power to work on alternatives and programs for renewing our way of life and our humanity. This might prevent a costly (in terms of human life) revolution, and at least it would put us in a position to make use of the opening field that a costly revolution would present.

It is especially disappointing to come across this review at the end of the magazine because I read the magazine cover to cover and was so pleased with everything else. Thank you for the other presentations, which in themselves pointed up the weakness of Mr. Pearlman's review.

EDWARD DeFRANCE
greenbelt, maryland

We were glad to see Robert Pearlman's review of Tim Hall's poetry in your May issue.

We have been printing Tim's work for two years now, and it is certainly encouraging to see young poets get the attention they deserve.

But, with no offense to our friends at *Liberation* and the *Southern Patriot*, we hate to be written off as less "established" than they.

We have not been a "mimeographed effort" for some time now. We invite Mr. Pearlman to subscribe and see the difference for himself.

DAVID NOLAN
editor, the new south student
nashville, tennessee

In the April 1968 edition of *motive*, Mr. Al Carmines' comments on "The Graduate" seem to lack a basic perception of what Mike Nichols' genius was attempting to say. To assume, "... the film changes from the grit of a social situation into a flimsy lightweight fantasy which takes the viewer . . . into comfortable delight rather than any kind of confrontation . . ." is absurd. This movie is more than a commentary on the generation gap, more than a review of a young man's struggle against hopelessness, more than a commentary on America's sexual and religious customs. "The Graduate" is a sermon on the theme of forgiveness, and one of the best I have heard in a long time.

The movie re-lived for its audience the difficulties we have in living through the flat out, horizontal days of our lives. We all have our idiosyncrasies, our neuroses, our "hang-ups," our failures, which add up to the fact we have trouble *listening* to each other. We do not listen, we evaluate what the other has to say. We do not listen, we are preoccupied with trying to think what we are going to say once the other has stopped talking. It is as if we go through life with gloves on our hands which keep us from having any real contact with people. We have trouble accepting other persons for what they are. So it is in "The Graduate" that we can identify our emotions concerning two persons: Benjamin and Mrs. Robinson. We see our emotions as mistrust, hate, disgust, pity or any other feeling that allows us to appear self-righteous. And Mike Nichols makes it quite clear we do not have that right. He puts it in the words Simon and Garfunkel sing,

"Hey, hey, hey, Mrs. Robinson,
Jesus loves you more than you will know.
Stand up tall, Mrs. Robinson,
God in heaven smiles on those who pray."

Now there is an attempt to say: "Be as merciful with the persons around you as you are with yourself." That is forgiveness. That is Good News!! That is *REDEMPTIVE!*

DON C. McFERRIN
wilmington, delaware

It was to my benefit to be handed a copy of *motive* earlier this evening, and it was to my pleasure to read (especially) the article by Al Carmines reviewing "The Graduate" (April 1968). However, I do take time to take issue with the final judgment imposed upon Mike Nichols, as Mr. Carmines seems to finally portray him as a genius of the film art form selling out to box office drawing necessities.

The "slight edge" that Mr. Carmines defines as being the final component for genius is surely present in the film in a silent form. The ironical ending of leaving behind the new Alfa Romeo and taking a bus may lend itself to contemporary romanticism to a certain degree. However, having sufficiently identified with the hero and heroine, I found myself in a state of semi-despair when the only way this society offered happiness was to forsake the comforts that many of us enjoy. Even more pathetic, I saw in the expression of our heroine the immense doubt that her courageous escape had left her with. I, along with many of my colleagues, give them six months of marital bliss, or even marriage without the bliss for no longer than that time.

If sensitivity can exist even out of the vacuous shell of that life which dominated the first half of the movie, then how much more pathetic is it that this sensitivity dies the moment that the White Church On A Hill scene and the 70 per cent income tax bracket fade away? The bus is leading our romantic pair into a very cruel world, one whose ways are totally foreign to them. That they cannot and will not survive in this world is the ultimate genius that Mike Nichols delivers in the quizzical look of Hoffman's love on that most common bus. That Mike Nichols, too, can force such a skeptical response from a college student nearing this crisis herself is at least a stroke of genius on his part.

VICTORIA M. EVANOFF
syracuse university

In your May 1968 magazine I note the laudatory poem "A Birthday card for Ho Chi Minh," an article specifically telling college students "How to dodge the draft in Canada," a "Letter to a fat liberal," shouting police brutality and also a derogatory mention of our President.

Your so-called 'University Christian Movement' magazine encourages rioting, burning and bloodshed as well as subversion. No wonder college youth are confused and restless. You denounce our American soldiers as murderers and condone acts of the Viet Cong, such as mutilation of our boys, massacres of whole villages and the systematic murder of village leaders. How Christian is this? How objective? This isn't journalism; it is simply communist propaganda hiding behind church robes.

As a veteran of World War II and a life-long Methodist, I protest this attempted subversion of immature college youth. I regret that money I have contributed over many years has been used to establish and propagate such a sheet as yours. A thorough perusal of your magazine has convinced me that the charge levelled at the Methodist Church that it has been infiltrated by communists and communist dupes is true.

JAMES E. FOOTE
maj. usar (ret)
salt lake city, utah

motive is one of the few remaining links to Methodism this "preacher's kid" still maintains. It is one of a growing list of hopeful signs that the church of my circuit-riding forefathers and my childhood is finally moving toward a stance that relates to today's world.

Your April issue was great, from Mr. Stiles' editorial on resistance to the parable by Thomas Moore on the back cover. Our church used some of Anthony Towne's "Excerpts" for our NOW testament reading.

Vietnam, urban and racial problems have forced many of us professed followers of Jesus to make some choices and take some stands. *motive*, *Renewal*, and a few other publications are a great source of support for those of us in the military service who cannot reconcile our country's tragic and paranoic Vietnam policy with the love and brotherhood teachings of Jesus. For many young believers, in and out of the service, it becomes the sad choice of God OR Country.

JOHN H. NORRIS, USN
honolulu, hawaii

Wrong is inherent in a society nourished from the idea that material security must be defended. Defense means war and destruction and little time to broadcast a research into love. The "white middle class epic" with its ruthless mawkishness and selfish salvation did little to solve society's problems with its condescending patronage. If society were nourished from brotherhood, there probably would not be the ghetto as we know it today or the manifestations of violent vengeance.

Christ said to exchange love for hate; but apparently this cannot exist in a pathetic status-seeking society, where "the survival of the fittest" and apathy have functioned in the puritanistic, authoritarian concepts of the classic bigot. Some people buy their kindness and understanding from a perversion of sympathy, which is very commercialized. It is great to give, but when one makes giving a contract with ideological interests attached, values become harshly expedient.

Of course, there will be smug thoughts, but the new Christian should be a revolutionist without sympathy for the false piety of bigots, and one who will not imitate or contribute to the violations of human dignity. The new Christian will seek the remedies through acts of love, which is broad enough to turn its other cheek.

motive is a part of the expanding involvement of the new Christian.

JOE SECREST
nacogdoches, texas

between

We finally did it.

After years of admitting that we didn't know anything about our readers (and saying we weren't going to find out), we weakened. Oh, our snooping was out in the open and not subsidized by any of that tainted government-military-industrial bread. But we did do it.

We conducted a readership survey.

You readers have now been tabulated, graphed and homogenized. The results of this poking and prodding should entice a few more ads from our advertisers, a few frowns from our critics, and more than a few spirited arguments amongst the editors about the significance of it all.

If you're nominally narcissistic, here's a sketch of yourself per *motive* readership study #1:

You are likely to be male (58%), 18-24 years old (48%), single (60%), and a student (57%). If you're a student, you are most likely working toward a bachelor's degree at present (54%), but chances are one in three that you're going toward a master's or aiming for a doctorate along with 15% of your fellow readers.

You attend a school under 2,000 enrollment (42%) or over 6,000 (37%). Your institution is probably public (41%) and 46% of you are on scholarship or some aid program.

If not a student, you are probably a professional man (74%), perhaps a clergyman (28%) or an educator (24%).

We're pleased that you spend more than an hour with *motive* (57%) on the first day it arrives

(63%) and that you pass the magazine on to .9 members of your family and 2.6 of your friends. (Keep it up; we like the exposure.)

You read—an average of 5.44 magazines in addition to ours—and buy 13 or more hardcover books per year (36%) and 13 or more paperbacks (66%). You travel—3 1/2 trips by plane (63%)—and have been out of the country twice since 1963 (53%) to one or more of 76 different countries. (Yes, Gen. Hershey, Canada does appear to be the most popular amongst our readers.)

Most of you own a record player (91%), one or more cameras (47%), drive your own car (61%) and drink (61%). (We join your parents, your dean and the National Safety Council in urging you not to mix the latter two.)

Half of you went to the flicks more than ten times in the past year and 64% went to the theatre and 52% to concerts one to five times. A similar percent admit to frequenting galleries and museums, but less (43%) attended six or more sports events. (Careful there . . . all culture and no sports makes the Director of Athletics very anxious.)

More than one-third of you are active in politics and 23% are regular participants in some political organization. And, for what surely must be one of the most distinctive characteristics in any readership profile, 29% of you participated in 2.65 political demonstrations during the past year!

Well, now that we know all these artifacts about you, we herewith promise to pay as little attention to them as possible. It has been the conviction of

bars

our editors that the magazine's coherence and pertinence is not drawn from some profiles of the reader, but from some cogent vision of the world as it is and as it could be.

Since the founding of *motive* in 1941, the editors have argued that the magazine's goal was to help clarify directions, to give opportunity for creative expression and critical debate, to accentuate the questions focusing on values, goals, motives.

Fortunately, there has been both a publisher and a constituency for this kind of journalistic enterprise. Our readers have not asked us to cater to their collective image, but have consistently looked to us for intelligent criticism, occasional encouragement, and frequent exposure to something they may not have felt, seen or read before.

Hence, we seldom debate what our readers would like. We are more likely to discuss what you would find provocative, different, divergent from that which you already know or believe. And so we frequently get accused of giving our readers a distorted, unbalanced diet.

We believe there are points of view which need to be heard even though they are fragmentary, partial and perhaps contrary to our own views of both right and reality. Encountering the other is both sound education and New Testament religion.

An issue of *motive* is not a highly programmed, rigidly planned ultra-scientific process. In a sense, almost every issue is an accidental happening which reflects the thinking and actions of a broad community. The editors superimpose some design

on the disorder, but try as little as possible to bend our contributors to our own angle. I am always amazed when critics express disbelief that we publish articles with which we ourselves don't agree.

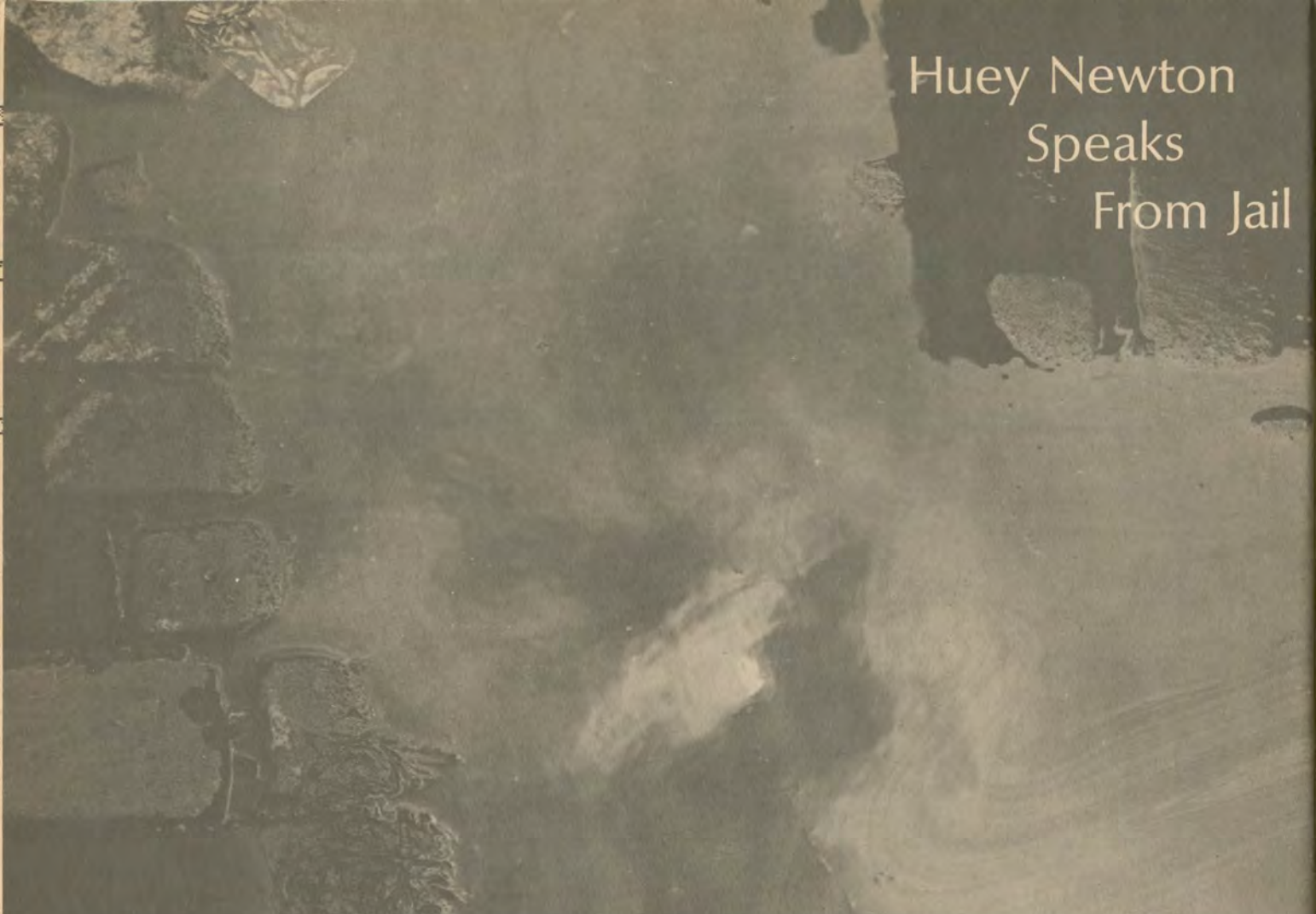
Perhaps Huey Newton in this issue is a case in point. Newton makes some assertions in the interview which are contrary to the convictions held by the editors and publishers of this magazine. But he also represents a growing minority in this country who must be dealt with in some way other than fascist repression. Newton and those whom he represents will not be silenced and the sooner we and our Chevy-driving, affluent readers can come to terms with his indictments, the sooner this country can stop breeding and electing George Wallaces.

There is a certain remoteness to *motive*. We just happen to be convinced that our vision is enlarged by looking beyond our immediate horizons. We try to avoid navel-gazing. There is an intentional international quality to *motive*, and we believe it is essential that we and our readers should not only have an insider's view of the university (p. 34) but some overview of North Vietnam (p. 40) and South Africa (p. 50) as well as "the black zone between tragedy and high comedy" (pp. 17-32).

There are bars to man's understanding himself and his world, and *motive* attempts to get behind and between some of those barriers.

Thanks for joining us.

B.G. Stiles



Huey Newton Speaks From Jail

PHOTOGRAPH

DOUGLAS GILBERT

On September 8, Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, was convicted in an Oakland, California court for voluntary manslaughter in the gunfight death of an Oakland policeman last December. The militant Panther party was organized about two years ago to protect the black people of Oakland's ghetto from police harassment. Newton was wounded by police in the shooting spree in which the policeman was

killed and another wounded. The Panthers consider Newton's case as a political rather than criminal issue. The case has become a rallying cry in the San Francisco Bay area, and members of the Peace and Freedom Party have adopted "A Fair Trial for Huey Newton" as their first demand.

The following interview was conducted by members of Liberation News Service while Newton was in jail waiting trial.

QUESTION: The question of nationalism is a vital one in the black movement today. Some have made a distinction between cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Would you comment on the differences and give us your views?

HUEY P. NEWTON: Revolutionary nationalism first is dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist your end goal is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of a response to political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with

returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture automatically will bring political freedom.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out, but it was a people's revolution because the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the

profit motive where they could exploit the people and keep them in a state of slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would-be profits into the community. That's what socialism is all about in a nutshell. The people's representatives are in office strictly on the leave of the people. The wealth of the country is controlled by the people and they are considered whenever modifications in the industries are made.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary Nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

QUESTION: Directly related to the question of nationalism is the question of unity within the black community. There has been some question about this since the Black Panther Party has run candidates against other black candidates in recent California elections. What is your position on this matter?

HUEY: A very peculiar thing has happened. Historically, you have what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and the house nigger. The house nigger had some privileges. He got the worn-out clothes of the master and he didn't have to work as hard as the field black. He came to respect the master to such an extent that he identified with the master, because he got a few of the leftovers that the field blacks did not get. And through this identity with him, he saw the slavemaster's interest as being his interest. Sometimes he would even protect the slavemaster more than the slavemaster would protect himself. Malcolm makes the point that if the master's house happened to catch on fire, the house Negro would work harder than the master to put the fire out and save the master's house, while the field black was praying that the house burned down. The house black identified with the master so much that, when the master would get sick, the house Negro would say, "Master, we's sick!"

Members of the Black Panther Party are the field blacks; we're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The Black bourgeoisie seem to be acting in the role of the house Negro. They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup, they have more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the black have-nots, the lower class, and so they identify with the power structure and they see their interest as the power structure's interest. In fact, it's against their interest.

The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all of those who are for the promotion of the interests of the black have-nots, which represents about 98 percent of blacks

here in America. We're not controlled by the white mother country radicals nor are we controlled by the black bourgeoisie. We have a mind of our own and if the black bourgeoisie cannot align itself with our complete program, then the black bourgeoisie sets itself up as our enemy.

QUESTION: The Black Panther Party has had considerable contact with white radicals since its earliest days. What do you see as the role of these white radicals?

HUEY: The white mother country radical is the offspring of the children of the beast that has plundered the world exploiting all people, concentrating on the people of color. These are children of the beast that seek now to be redeemed because they realize that their former heroes, who were slave masters and murderers, put forth ideas that were only facades to hide the treachery they inflicted upon the world. They are turning their backs on their fathers.

The white mother country radical, in resisting the system, becomes a somewhat abstract thing because he's not oppressed as much as black people are. As a matter of fact, his oppression is somewhat abstract simply because he doesn't have to live in a reality of oppression.

Black people in America, and colored people throughout the world, suffer not only from exploitation, but they suffer from racism. Black people here in America, in the black colony, are oppressed because we're black and we're exploited. The whites are rebels, many of them from the middle class and as far as any overt oppression this is not the case. Therefore, I call their rejection of the system a somewhat abstract thing. They're looking for new heroes. They're looking to wash away the hypocrisy that their fathers have presented to the world. In doing this, they see the people who are really fighting for freedom. They see the people who are really standing for justice and equality and peace throughout the world. They are the people of Vietnam, the people of Latin America, the people of Asia, the people of Africa, and the black people in the black colony here in America.

This presents something of a problem in many ways to the black revolutionary, especially to the cultural nationalist. The cultural nationalist doesn't understand the white revolutionaries because he can't see why anyone white would turn on the system. He thinks that maybe this is some more hypocrisy being planted by white people.

I personally think that there are many young white revolutionaries who are sincere in attempting to realign themselves with mankind, and to make a reality out of the high moral standards that their fathers and forefathers only expressed. In pressing for new



PHOTOGRAPH

SI DUNN

white radical has seen no reason to come into conflict with the policeman in his own community. I said "until recently," because there is friction now in the mother country between the young revolutionaries and the police; because now the white revolutionaries are attempting to put some of their ideas into action, and there's the rub. We say that it should be a permanent thing.

Black people are being oppressed in the colony by white policemen, by white racists. We are saying they must withdraw.

As far as I'm concerned, the only reasonable conclusion would be to first realize the enemy, realize the plan, and then when something happens in the black colony—when we're attacked and ambushed in the black colony—then the white revolutionary students and intellectuals and all the other whites who support the colony should respond by defending us, by attacking the enemy in their community.

The Black Panther Party is an all black party, because we feel, as Malcolm X felt, that there can be no black-white unity until there first is black unity. We have a problem in the black colony that is particular to the colony, but we're willing to accept aid from the mother country as long as the mother country radicals realize that we have, as Eldridge Cleaver says in *Soul on Ice*, a mind of our own. We've regained our mind that was taken away from us and we will decide the political, as well as the practical, stand that we'll take. We'll make the theory and we'll carry out the practice. It's the duty of the white revolutionary to aid us in this.

QUESTION: You have spoken a lot about dealing with the protectors of the system, the armed forces. Would you like to elaborate on why you place so much emphasis on this?

HUEY: The reason that I feel so strongly is simply because without this protection from the army, the police and the military, the institutions could not go on in their racism and exploitation. For instance, as the Vietnamese are driving the American imperialist troops out of Vietnam, it automatically stops the racist imperialist institutions of America from oppressing that particular country. The country cannot implement its racist program without guns. The guns are the military and the police. If the military were disarmed in Vietnam, then the Vietnamese would be victorious.

We are in the same situation here in America. Whenever we attack the system, the first thing the administrators do is to send out their strong-arm men. If it's a rent strike, because of the indecent housing we have, they will send out the police to throw the furniture out the window. They don't come themselves. They send their protectors. To deal with the corrupt exploiter, we are going to have to deal with his protector, which is the police who take orders from him. This is a must.

heroes, the young white revolutionaries found these heroes in the black colony at home and in the colonies throughout the world.

The young white revolutionaries raised the cry for the troops to withdraw from Vietnam, to keep hands off Latin America, to withdraw from the Dominican Republic and also to withdraw from the black community or the black colony. So we have a situation in which the young white revolutionaries are attempting to identify with the oppressed people of the colonies against the exploiter.

The problem arises, then, in what part they can play. How can they aid the colony? How can they aid the Black Panther Party or any other black revolutionary group? They can aid the black revolutionaries first, by simply turning away from the establishment, and secondly, by choosing their friends. For instance, they have a choice between whether they will be a friend of Lyndon Baines Johnson or a friend of Fidel Castro. A friend of mine or a friend of Johnson's. These are direct opposites. After they make this choice, then the white revolutionaries have a duty and a responsibility to act.

The imperialistic or capitalistic system occupies areas. It occupies Vietnam now. It occupies areas by sending soldiers there, by sending policemen there. The policemen or soldiers are only a gun in the establishment's hand, making the racist secure in his racism, the establishment secure in its exploitation. The first problem, it seems, is to remove the gun from the establishment's hand. Until lately, the

QUESTION: Would you like to be more specific on the conditions which must exist before an alliance or coalition can be formed with the predominantly white groups? Would you comment specifically on your alliance with the California Peace and Freedom Party?

HUEY: We have an alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party because it has supported our program in full, and this is the criterion for a coalition with the black revolutionary group. If it had not supported our program in full, then we would not have seen any reason to make an alliance with them, because we are the reality of the oppression. They are not. They are only oppressed in an abstract way; we are oppressed in the real way. We are the real slaves! So it's a problem that we suffer from more than anyone else and it's our problem of liberation. Therefore we should decide what measures and what tools and what programs to use to become liberated. Many of the young white revolutionaries realize this and I see no reason not to have a coalition with them.

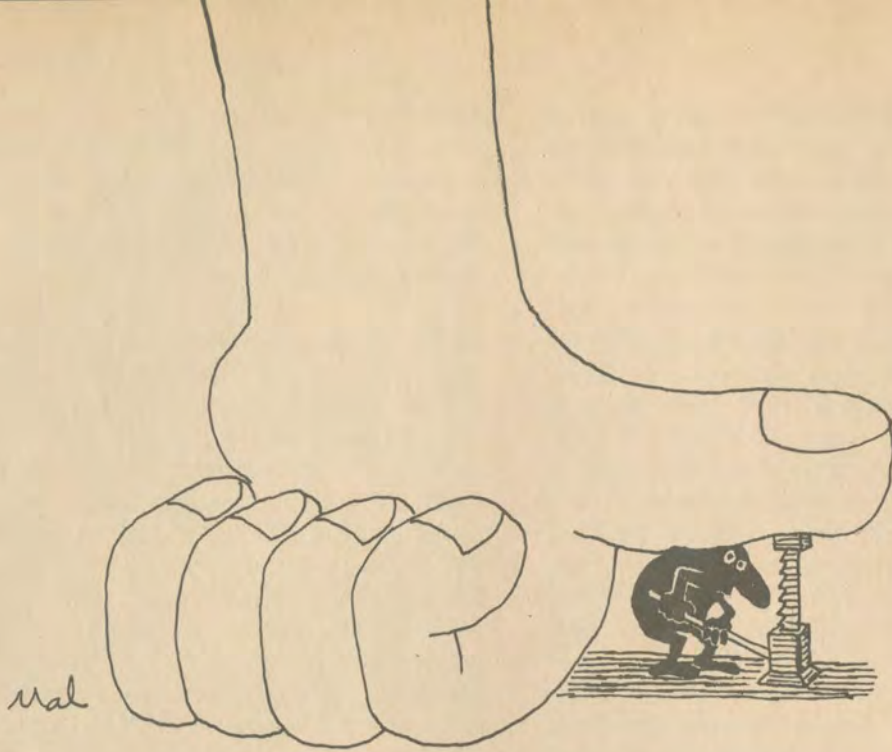
QUESTION: Other black groups seem to feel that from past experience it is impossible for them to work with whites and impossible for them to form alliances. What do you see as the reasons for this and do you think that the history of the Black Panther makes this less of a problem?

HUEY: There was a somewhat unhealthy relationship in the past with the white liberals supporting the black people who were trying to gain their freedom. I think that a good example of this would be the relationship that SNCC had with its white liberals. I call them white liberals because they differ strictly from the white radicals. The relationship was that the whites controlled SNCC for a very long time. From the very start of SNCC until recently, whites were the mind of SNCC. They controlled the program of SNCC with money and they controlled the ideology, or the stands SNCC would take. The blacks in SNCC were completely controlled program-wise; they couldn't do any more than the white liberals wanted them to do, which wasn't very much. So the white liberals were not working for self-de-

PHOTOGRAPH



JOE ZINN



termination for the black community. They were interested in a few concessions from the power structure. They undermined SNCC's program.

Stokely Carmichael came along, and realizing this, started Malcolm X's program of Black Power. Whites were afraid when Stokely said that black people have a mind of their own and that SNCC would seek self-determination for the black community. The white liberals withdrew their support, leaving the organization financially bankrupt. The blacks who were in the organization, Stokely and H. Rap Brown, were left angry and bewildered with the white liberals who had been aiding them under the guise of being sincere.

As a result, the leadership of SNCC turned away from the white liberal, which was good. I don't think they distinguished between the white liberal and the white revolutionary; because the revolutionary is white also, and they are very much afraid to have any contact with white people—even to the point of denying that the white revolutionaries could help by supporting programs of SNCC in the mother country. Not by making programs, not by being a member of the organization, but simply by resisting.

I think that one of SNCC's great problems is that they were controlled by the traditional administrator: the omnipotent administrator, the white person. He was the mind of SNCC. SNCC regained its mind, but I believe that it lost its political perspective. I think that this was a reaction rather than a response. The Black Panther Party has NEVER been controlled by white people. We have always had an integration of mind and body. We have never been controlled by whites and therefore we don't fear the white mother country radicals. Our alliance

is one of organized black groups with organized white groups. As soon as the organized white groups do not do the things that would benefit us in our struggle for liberation, that will be the point of our departure. So we don't suffer in the hang-up of a skin color. We don't hate white people; we hate the oppressor.

QUESTION: You indicate that there is a psychological process that has historically existed in white-black relations in the U.S. that must change in the course of revolutionary struggle. Would you like to comment on this?

HUEY: Yes. The historical relationship between black and white here in America has been the relationship between the slave and the master; the master being the mind and the slave the body. The slave would carry out the orders that the mind demanded him to carry out. By doing this, the master took the manhood from the slave because he stripped him of a mind. In the process, the slave-master stripped himself of a body. As Eldridge Cleaver puts it, the slave-master became the omnipotent administrator and the slave became the super-masculine menial. This puts the omnipotent administrator into the controlling position or the front office and the super-masculine menial into the field.

The whole relationship developed so that the omnipotent administrator and the super-masculine menial became opposites. The slave being a very strong body doing all the practical things, all of the work becomes very masculine. The omnipotent administrator in the process of removing himself from

all body functions realizes later that he has emasculated himself. And this is very disturbing to him. So the slave lost his mind and the slave-master his body.

This caused the slave-master to become very envious of the slave because he pictured the slave as being more of a man, being superior sexually, because the penis is part of the body. The omnipotent administrator laid down a decree when he realized that in his plan to enslave the black man, he had emasculated himself. He attempted to bind the penis of the slave. He attempted to show that his penis could reach further than the super-masculine menial's penis. He said "I, the omnipotent administrator, can have access to the black woman." The super-masculine menial then had a psychological attraction to the white woman (the ultra-feminine freak) for the simple reason that it was forbidden fruit. The omnipotent administrator decreed that this kind of contact would be punished by death.

At the same time, in order to reinforce his sexual desire, to confirm, to assert his manhood, he would go into the slave quarters and have sexual relations with the black women (the self-reliant Amazon), not to be satisfied but simply to confirm his manhood. If he could only satisfy the self-reliant Amazon then he would be sure that he was a man. Because he didn't have a body, he didn't have a penis, but psychologically wanted to castrate the black man. The slave was constantly seeking unity within himself: a mind and a body. He always wanted to be able to decide, to gain respect from his woman, because women want one who can control.

I give this outline to fit into a framework of what is happening now. The white power structure today in America defines itself as the mind. They want to control the world. They go off and plunder the world. They are the policemen of the world exercising control especially over people of color.

The white man cannot gain his manhood, cannot unite with the body, because the body is black. The body is symbolic of slavery and strength. It's a biological thing as he views it. The slave is in a much better situation because his not being a full man has always been viewed psychologically. And it's always easier to make a psychological transition than a biological one. If he can only recapture his mind, then he will lose all fear and will be free to determine his destiny. This is what is happening today with the rebellion of the world's oppressed people against the controller. They are regaining their mind and they're saying that we have a mind of our own. They're saying that we want freedom to determine the destiny of our people, thereby uniting the mind with their bodies. They are taking the mind back from the omnipotent administrator, the controller, the exploiter.

QUESTION: You have mentioned that the guerilla was the perfect man and this kind of formulation seems to fit directly with the guerilla as a political man. Would you comment on this?

HUEY: The guerilla is a very unique man. This is in contrast to Marxist-Leninist orthodox theories where the party controls the military. The guerilla is not only the warrior, the military fighter; he is also the military commander as well as the political theoretician. Regis Debray says "poor the pen without the guns, poor the gun without the pen." The pen being just an extension of the mind, a tool to write down concepts, ideas. The gun is only an extension of the body, the extension of our fanged teeth that we lost through evolution. It's the weapon, it's the claws that we lost, it's the body. The guerilla is the military commander and the political theoretician all in one.

PHOTOGRAPH

RICHARD BELLAK



QUESTION: What do you mean by Black Power?

HUEY: Black Power is really people's power. The Black Panther Program, Panther Power as we call it, will implement this people's power. We have respect for all of humanity and we realize that the people should rule and determine their destiny. Wipe out the controller. To have Black Power doesn't humble or subjugate anyone to slavery or oppression. Black Power is giving power to people who have not had power to determine their destiny. We advocate and we aid any people who are struggling to determine their destiny. This is regardless of color. The Vietnamese say Vietnam should be able to determine its own destiny. Power of the Vietnamese people. We also chant power of the Vietnamese people. The Latins are talking about Latin America for the Latin Americans. Cuba, si and Yanqui, no. It's not that they don't want the Yankees to have any power; they just don't want them to have power over them. They can have power over themselves. We in the black colony in America want to be able to have power over our destiny, and that's black power.

QUESTION: How would you characterize the mood of black people in America today? Are they disenchanted, wanting a larger slice of the pie, or alienated, not wanting to integrate into Babylon? What do you think it will take for them to become alienated and revolutionary?

HUEY: I was going to say disillusioned, but I don't think that we were ever under the illusion that we had freedom in this country. This society definitely is a decadent one and we realize it. Black people

cannot gain their freedom under the present system, the system that is carrying out its plans to institutionalize racism. Your question is what will have to be done to stimulate them to revolution. I think it's already being done. It's a matter of time now for us to educate them to a program and show them the way to liberation. The Black Panther Party is the beacon light to show black people the way to liberation.

You notice the insurrections that have been going on throughout the country; in Watts, in Newark, in Detroit. They were all responses of the people demanding that they have freedom to determine their destiny, rejecting exploitation. The Black Panther Party does not think that the traditional riots, or insurrections, that have taken place are the answer. It is true that they have been against the Establishment, they have been against authority and oppression within their community; but they have been unorganized. However, black people have learned from each of these insurrections.

They learned from Watts. I'm sure that the people in Detroit were educated by what happened in Watts. Perhaps this was wrong education. It sort of missed the mark. It wasn't quite the correct activity, but the people were educated through the activity. The people of Detroit followed the example of the people in Watts, only they added a little scrutiny to it. The people in Detroit learned that the way to put a hurt on the administration is to make Molotov cocktails and to go into the streets in mass numbers. So this was a matter of learning. The slogan went up, "burn, baby, burn." People were educated through the activity and it spread throughout the country. The people were educated on how to resist, but perhaps incorrectly.

PHOTOGRAPH

TOM DAVENPORT



What we have to do as a vanguard of the revolution is to correct this through activity. The large majority of black people are either illiterate or semi-literate. They don't read. They need activity to follow. This is true of any colonized people. The same thing happened in Cuba where it was necessary for twelve men with the leadership of Che and Fidel to take to the hills and then attack the corrupt administration, to attack the army who were the protectors of the exploiters in Cuba. They could have leafleted the community and they could have written books, but the people would not respond. They had to act and the people could see and hear about it and therefore become educated on how to respond to oppression.

In this country black revolutionaries have to set an example. We can't do the same things that were done in Cuba because Cuba is Cuba and the U.S. is the U.S. Cuba had many terrains to protect the guerilla. This country is mainly urban. We have to work out new solutions to offset the power of the country's technology and communication. We do have solutions to these problems and they will be put into effect. I wouldn't want to go into the ways and means of this, but we will educate through action. We have to engage in action to make the people want to read our literature. They are not attracted to all the writing in this country; there's too much writing. Many books make one weary.

QUESTION: Kennedy before his death, and to a lesser extent Rockefeller and Lindsay and other establishment liberals, have been talking about making reforms to give black people a greater share of the pie and thus stop any developing revolutionary movement. Would you comment on this?

HUEY: I would say this: If a Kennedy or a Lindsay or anyone else can give decent housing to all of our people; if they can give full employment to our people with a high standard; if they can give full control to the black people to determine the destiny of their community; if they can give fair trials in the court system by turning the structure over to the community; if they can end their exploitation of people throughout the world; if they can do all these things, they will have solved the problems. But I don't believe under this present system, under capitalism, that they will be able to solve these problems.

I don't think black people should be fooled by their come-ons because everyone who gets in office promises the same thing. They promise full employment and decent housing; the Great Society, the New Frontier. All of these names, but no real benefits. No effects are felt in the black community, and black people are tired of being deceived and duped. The people must have full control of the means of production. Small black businesses cannot

compete with General Motors. That's just out of the question. General Motors robbed us and worked us for nothing for a couple hundred years and took our money and set up factories and became fat and rich and then talks about giving us some of the crumbs. We want full control. We're not interested in anyone promising that the private owners are going to all of a sudden become human beings and give these things to our community. It hasn't ever happened and, based on empirical evidence, we don't expect them to become Buddhists overnight.

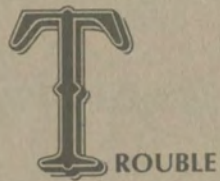
QUESTION: The Panthers' organizing efforts have been very open. Would you like to comment about the question of an underground political organization versus an open organization at this point in the struggle?

HUEY: Some of the black nationalist groups feel that they have to be underground because they'll be attacked, but we don't feel that you can romanticize being underground. They say we're romantic because we're trying to live revolutionary lives, and we are not taking precautions. But we say that the only way we would go underground is if we're driven underground. All real revolutionary movements are driven underground.

This is a pre-revolutionary period and we feel it is very necessary to educate the people while we can. So we're very open about this education. We have been attacked and we will be attacked even more in the future, but we're not going to go underground until we get ready to go underground because we have a mind of our own. We're not going to let anyone force us to do anything. We're going to go underground after we educate all of the black people and not before that time. Then it won't really be necessary for us to go underground because you can see black anywhere. We will just have the stuff to protect ourselves and the strategy to offset the great power that the strong-arm men of the establishment have and are planning to use against us.

QUESTION: Do you see the possibility of organizing a white Panther Party in opposition to the establishment, possibly among poor and working whites?

HUEY: As I said before, Black Power is people's power and as far as organizing white people we give white people the privilege of having a mind and we want them to get a body. They can organize themselves. We can tell them what they should do, but their responsibility, if they're going to claim to be white revolutionaries or white mother country radicals, is to arm themselves and support the colonies around the world in their just struggle against imperialism. Anything more than that they will have to do on their own.



The trouble is
if you pet the wrong monsters

they pet you back
and do not snap off
great hunks of arm or head

They smile
with insane dignity

lick your face, hands, boots
(or toes if it is grassy or you
are strange)

Nine times
out of ten though

you will be more lucky
pet a lurking well-adjusted monster
and be properly maimed

—RALPH ADAMO

A portfolio of prints by
**WARRINGTON
COLESCOTT**

Shown here so that we can
savor that splendid moment when satire becomes self-revelation.
We can laugh at our discoveries, cry foul and wring our hands,
or see our values swatted so crisply that we
should check to see if they are fit for a time that shouts
for change.



QUO VADIS, BABY

19 3/4" x 27 5/8"



THE HIDEOUT

23¾"x16"



TO ISADORA DUNCAN

13"x19½"

"The terrain
that really grips me
is that black zone
between tragedy
and
high comedy..."

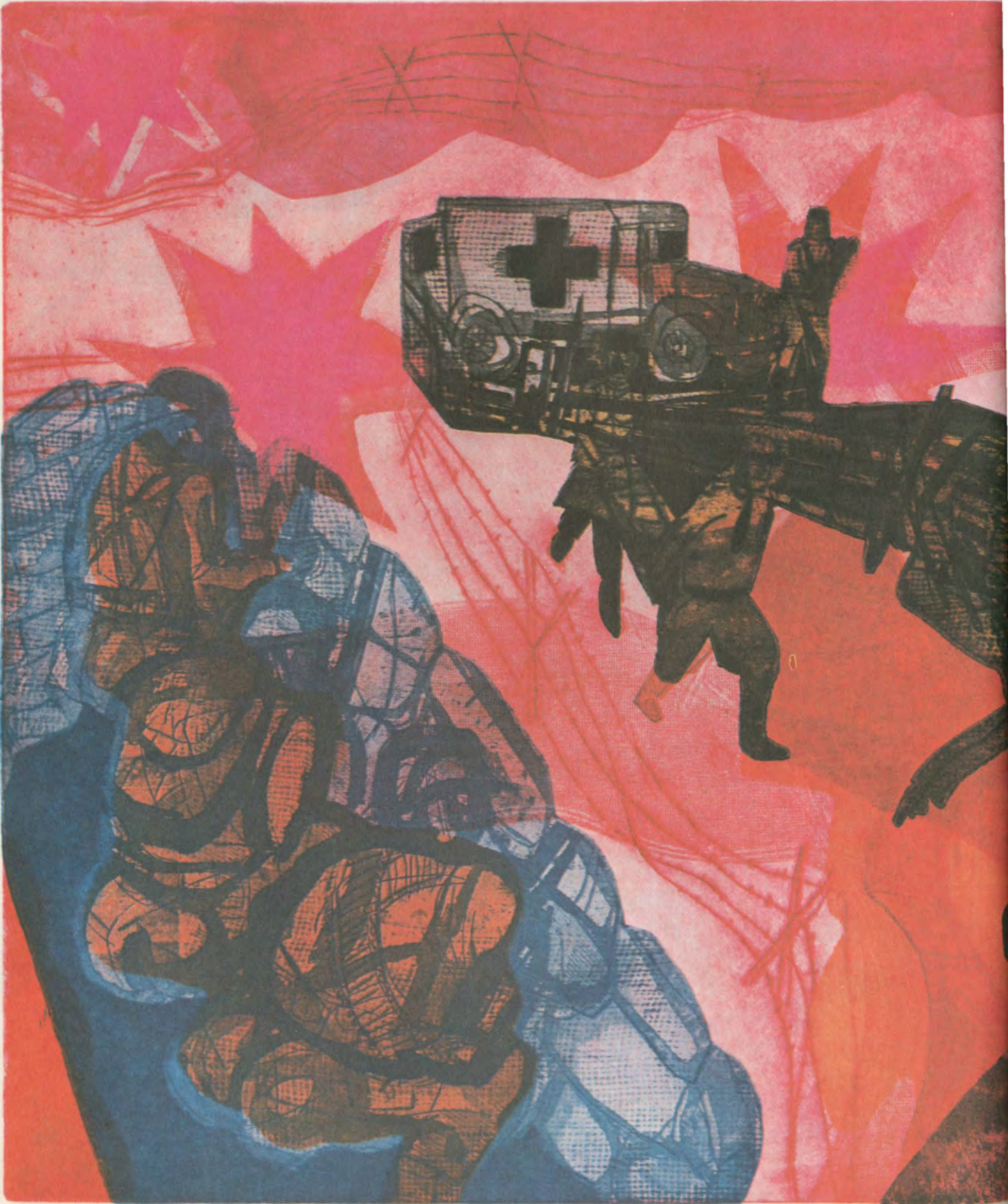


WARDEN
LEWIS E
LAVES

IN THE
MIDDLE
OF THE
MORNING
HE WAS
IN THE
CELLS
AND
HE
NEEDS
IT

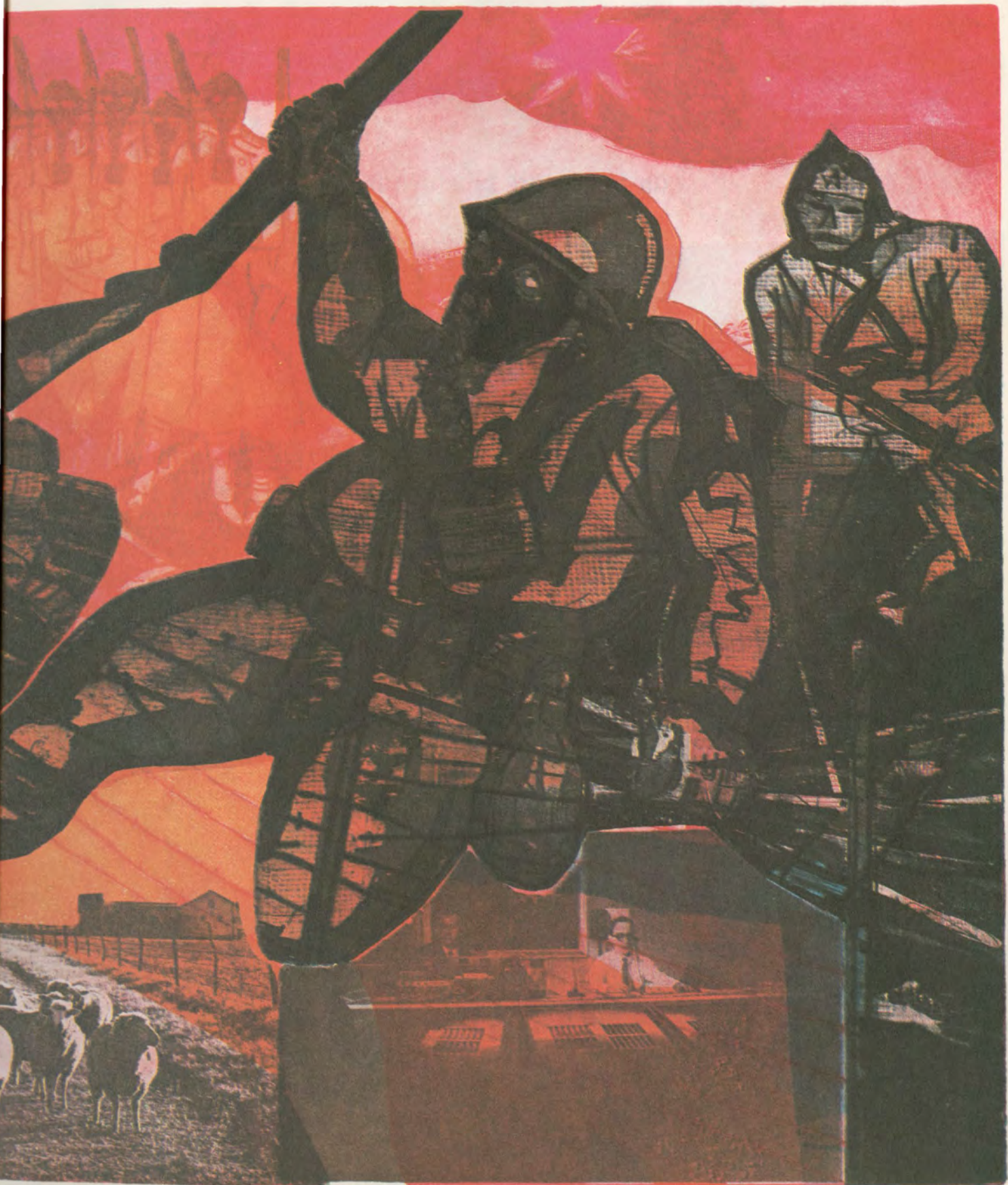
ESD

where with a little push...



VERDUN: DEFENSE

one way or the other...



you can transmute screams into laughter...



GETAWAY CAR

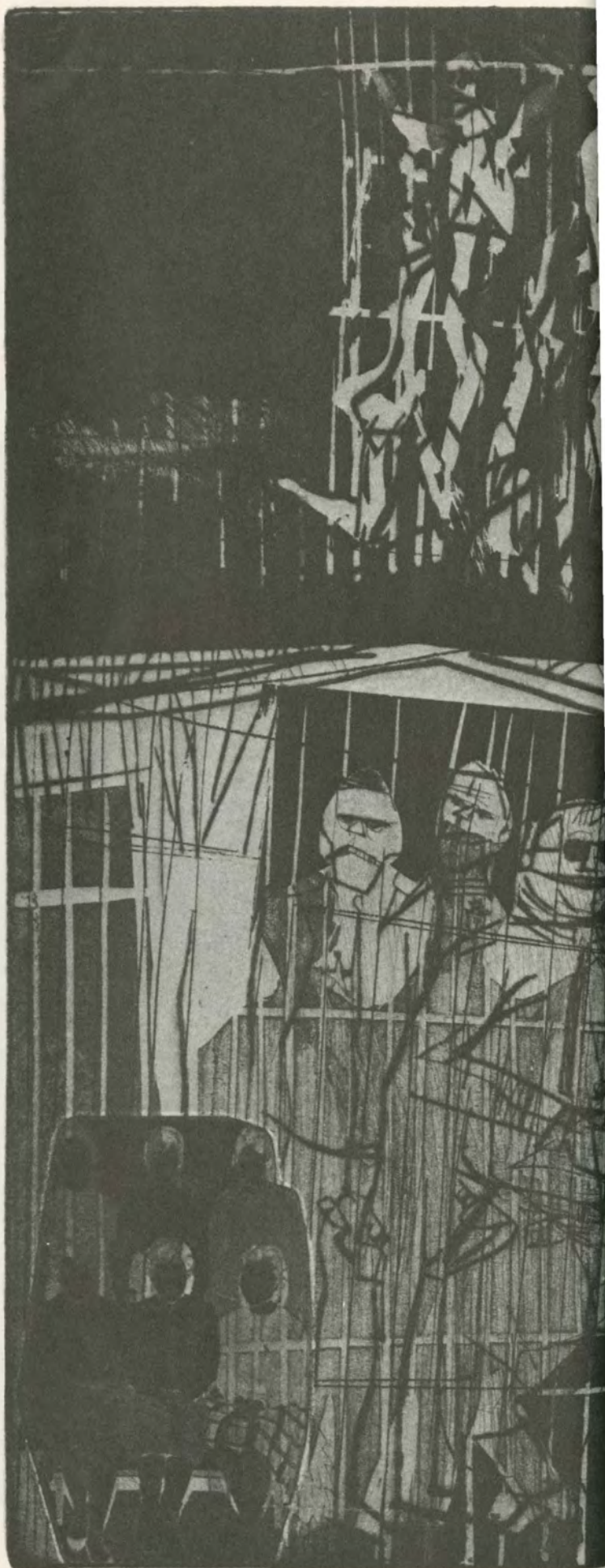
21 ³/₄" x 15 ⁵/₈"



GOODGE STREET

21 1/8" x 22 3/8"

*...and
where
the rules
are
no rules."*



IN BIRMINGHAM JAIL





CHRISTMAS AT ZIGGIES

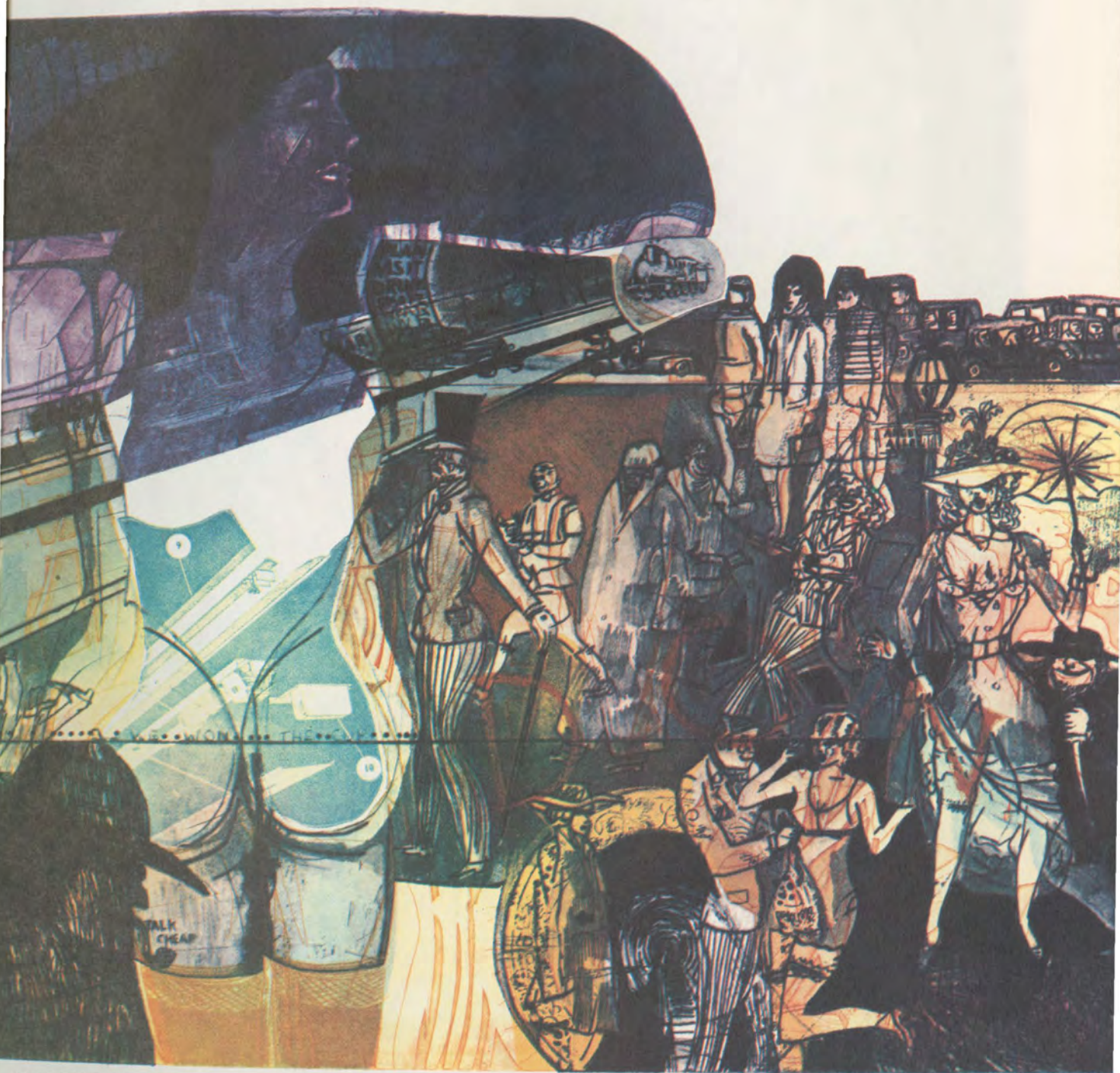
21 3/4" x 15 1/8"



GO GO GO

8 3/4" x 11 3/4"

*“What a wealth
of contemporary
material
we have:*



ALDGATE EAST

23 3/4" x 19 7/8"







FATHER'S DAY

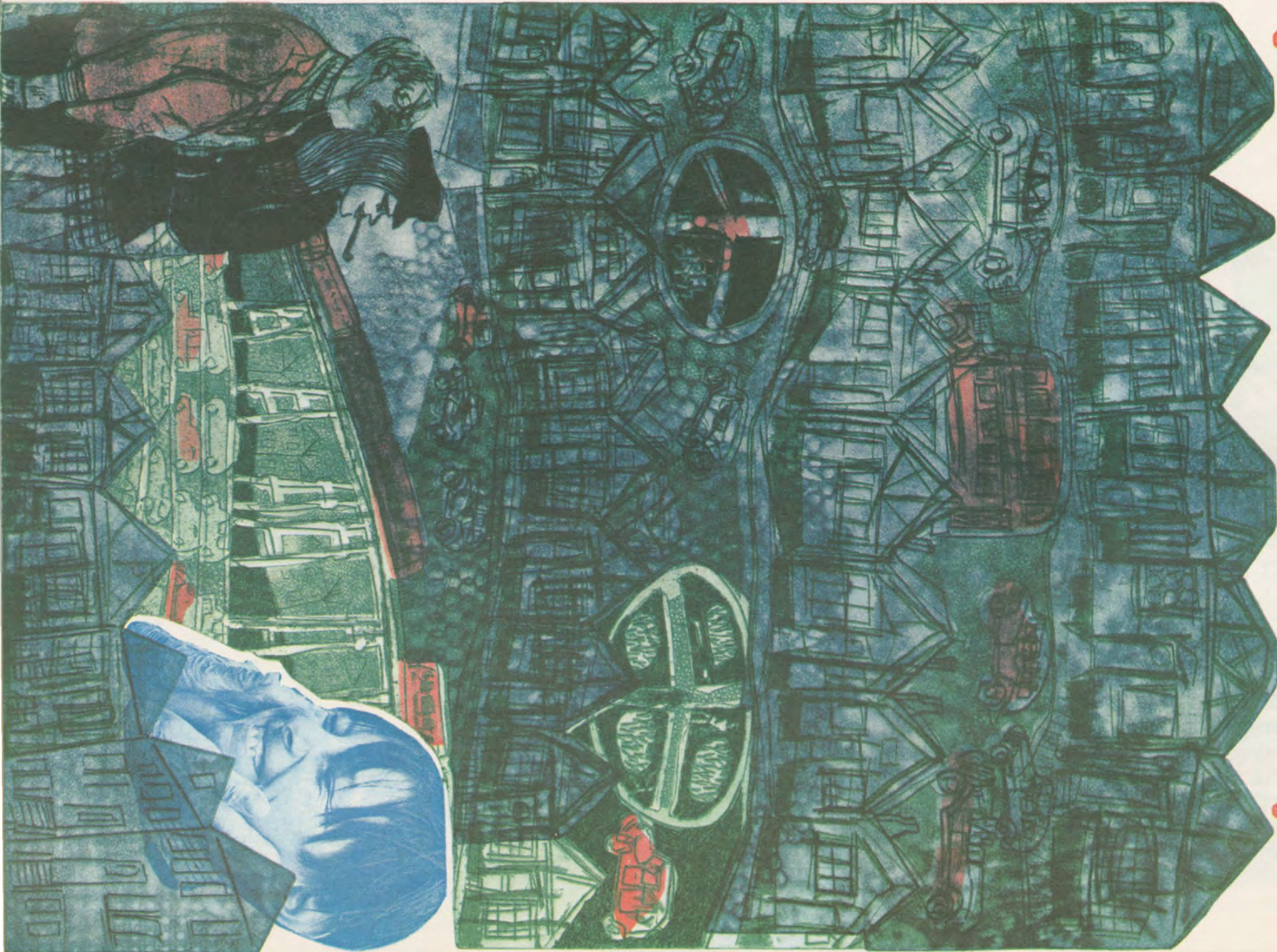
23"x14 7/8"

...the proliferation of sacred cows uprooting every meadow...



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

23 3/4"x8 3/4"





MOTHER'S DAY

19¾"x14⅝"

If one is a graphic artist why resist?"

Warrington Colescott is on the art faculty at the University of Wisconsin, and writes that his "formal motivation is a scrutiny of my own life and my reactions to those moral conflicts that I have the machinery to comprehend." He has recently been in London, Paris and Rome, an experience which has given his life a "pasted-up quality, heightening my sense of collage design, if nothing else." In fact, if nothing else, it has lengthened the range of his zip-gun etchings, without sacrificing accuracy.

a_{nd now}

we must begin again,
start all over,
put the pieces in a pile
and call in
our best construction crews,
now that the raucous
jingling and jangling
is building
relentlessly
toward a pinnacle
of terrifying
beauty

and we must not allow
that pinnacle to become
a plateau
which, by definition,
goes down on the other side,
or tom jefferson,
rap brown
and jesus
will have been
slandered beyond repair,
beyond despair

—WILLIAM D. TAMMEUS

A CALL FOR
TOTAL UNIVERSITY
INVOLVEMENT
IN COMMUNITY
REEDUCATION

UNIVERSITY

INSIDE

OUT

by
Steven
H.
Johnson



PHOTOGRAPH

SI DUNN

BACKGROUND ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

There is a state of warfare slowly developing within American society. Our own lives, our college programs, our occupational expectations, our personal hopes, are being called into question, soon to be replaced by permanent fear. The golden future for which college students presently are preparing themselves quite likely will never materialize.

"Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."

These are the words of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. This report is six hundred pages long. Chapter 16 on "The Future of the Cities" is must reading.

If present trends and national policies continue, the Kerner Commission reports, census projections show awesome consequences:

By 1985, the separate Negro society in our central cities would contain almost 21 million citizens. That is about 75 percent larger than the present Negro population of central cities. It is also larger than the current population of every Negro nation in Africa except Nigeria and Ethiopia.

If developing a racially integrated society is extraordinarily difficult today when 12.5 million Negroes live in ghettos, then it is quite clearly going to be virtually impossible in 1985 when almost 21 million Negroes—still much poorer and less educated than most whites—will be living there. (Pg. 400).

If the Negro population as a whole developed even stronger feelings of being wrongly 'penned in' and discriminated against, many of its members might come to support not only riots, but the rebellion now being preached by only a handful.

If large-scale violence resulted, white retaliation would follow. This spiral could quite conceivably lead to a kind of urban *apartheid* with semi-martial law in many major cities, enforced residence of Negroes in segregated areas and a drastic reduction in personal freedom for all Americans, particularly Negroes, (Pg. 396)

The spiral of hatred and animosity is already growing. This is a new test for Christians, because new forms of social, cultural, and even political empathy are demanded by this unprecedented situation.

It is not a question of preferring "peace" over conflict; or of preferring consensus over polarization. There will be inevitable conflict and polarization. Yet, as I see it, the lines of conflict today, the lines of polarization, are wrong and yield very few hopes for the future.

The daily news reports on the television and in the newspapers bring us evidence of how the spiral of conflict is being fed. A few men initiate an act of reprisal. Perhaps they are blacks, sabotaging some key facility, or killing a white policeman. Perhaps they are whites, seizing and killing an innocent black motorist. All such acts spread waves of resentment, foster vows of revenge.

Progress of this spiral is still slow. Public officials are working desperately against it, trying to isolate revenge-seekers as "extremists," a few neurotic individuals, not typical of their communities. We may still have several years in which police action will hold back growing latent desires for armed conflict.

When an explosion comes, though, it will be urban civil war, in which hundreds may be killed. Then semi-martial law will have to be imposed. Whites will not dare walk the streets in black sections of the city; blacks will not dare walk the streets in white sections. Urban *apartheid* becomes a possibility in the 1970's; in the 1980's the conflict will have grown unforgivably.

As the 1960's become the 1970's, numerous college campuses may, for other reasons, also be under martial law. The Columbia students who seized university buildings were attacking Columbia's cooperation with America's international economic "power structure." International banks, the State Department, and the Cold War programs of the universities, far more than President Grayson Kirk, are central to the conflict at Columbia University.

Many Columbia students have not seen power as a "Free World bulwark against communism." Rather, they have condemned this power as "American Imperialism," an exploitative and repressive network that prefers high corporate profits in South Africa's "favorable investment climate" to economic self-determination by underdeveloped nations.

This student analysis contains enough truth that it is spreading student/university conflict far beyond the perimeters of Columbia University. In this climate, students and faculty may find greater opposition to their points of view and greater difficulty in getting their voices heard for racial justice.

THE CYCLE OF GHETTO POVERTY

Some ask why the "problem" cannot be solved by greater initiative and self-help from all residents of black ghettos. Consider the realities of Harlem, Watts, and Detroit. In the black ghetto, the cycle cannot break itself. From the time a black ghetto child is conceived, everything is against his achieving an equal, respected place in the society. For every exceptional individual who escapes, several more are born who do not.

The parents of a new ghetto baby probably are not married, and the father is not likely to be in the home. Even when the father of a ghetto child has some skills, discriminatory employment practices may consign him to menial, hopeless work at low wages. If he shops for housing in the suburbs, he finds hostile white neighbors and high-priced housing; social pressures force him to take a home in the ghetto.

The mother of this new baby cannot afford prenatal medical care. The childbirth mortality rate for mothers is over twice as high in the black ghetto as elsewhere. The infant mortality rate ranges from two to three times as high in the black ghetto.

Housing is poor, crowded, frequently noisy; forced to live on welfare or on her underemployed husband's low income, the ghetto mother can pay for no better.

Both parents have a more limited vocabulary than middle-class white parents; there are few, if any, toys in the home and seldom any books or papers. The six-year-old black ghetto child has had much less sensory and verbal preparation than a six-year-old white child from a middle-class home. His environment permanently impairs the ghetto child's ultimate ability to learn and to acquire skills, according to psychologists.

When the child goes to school, his classrooms are overcrowded. His teachers are from a middle-class background, and often possess gut-level convictions that black pupils are inferior. In such conditions, many children absorb this belief in their own inferiority.

By the time a boy in the ghetto gets to be 10 to 15 years old, running with a street gang offers him a better chance for self-esteem than staying in school or looking for a job. At least his peers respect him. He has been convinced that his teachers and his potential employers hate him. And always, always, surrounding the black ghetto is the fear and the hostility of white society. Yet some still ask why the "problem" does not solve itself.

Against the combined effect of all the forces that perpetuate the slum environment and culture of hopelessness, the so-called war on poverty has barely been a skirmish.

The voices of Black Power are good medicine. This should be understood. They are calling for black pride, black self-esteem. To be black is no longer contemptible; now, "black is beautiful!" Black power, black nationalism, even black hatred of whites, are basically positive forces because they increase black self-esteem. But this cannot be enough. It cannot build economic and political equality for all blacks with all whites. Black power cannot make white society into a *just* society.

Because the War on Poverty was presented as a threat to white people of modest incomes, because many white people felt the War on Poverty would create more insecurity for them, federal spending in the War on Poverty never really got off the ground. Poor, working and middle-class whites not only have modest incomes but are also heavily cramped by high taxes and high prices.

What is needed is a process of change that speaks to white insecurities as well as to black, that is responsive to the pressures that most white people live under as well as those of most black people. White institutions may be "racist," but while that may be a judgment against institutions, it must not become a judgment against *people*.

This does not gainsay the difficulties of change. American history offers two quite different models of white support for black demands. Both were defeated. If upper-middle-class liberals and professionals ("McCarthy people") decide to promote Negro advancement, in a neo-Reconstruction analog of the 1870's alliance between the Southern Redeemers and the Negroes, then middle- and lower-income whites will be lined up against them. On the other hand, if middle- and lower-class whites ("Wallace-Reagan people") line up with black people for mutual progress, in a neo-Populist alliance, similar to the 1890's alliance between poor white farmers and poor black farmers, large business and corporate interests will feel threatened and will fight that alliance. In the 1890's, Yankee capital used race-baiting propaganda to break apart the growing Populist alliance in the South.

What to do? For most white Americans, change seems a threat rather than a promise. For most black Americans, change alone offers hope. Existing polarizations seem more likely to foster civil conflict than social change.

UNIVERSITY INSIDE-OUT

If urban *apartheid* becomes the reality, white America will be identified as the enemy not only by black ghetto residents, but by most of the world, as well. This explains why so many students are asking, all over America, "Does it make sense to work four years for an education, only to be faced with a future like this?"

At its annual assembly, held during June in St. Louis, the University Christian Movement put forward a call for major change in university priorities. Dubbed "University Inside-Out," the UCM call asks for major university commitment to self-reeducation, followed by total university commitment to one year's involvement in community reeducation.

With over 1500 four-year colleges in the U.S., with a college population of over six million and a national population of over two hundred million, the day of "pilot models" and case studies on a single campus is gone. University Inside-Out calls for entire student bodies and faculties, in at least one thousand colleges and universities, to decide (by democratic referendum) to suspend their "business as usual" curricula for one year and to devote their efforts and facilities to community reeducation against racism. Let it be understood that UCM is not asking for further "Columbias." Rather, it is working for university decisions by democratic referendum. The goal is to develop effective programs, and collective decisions have more power than do seizures of buildings.

The word "reeducation" is an ambiguous tag, rather than a precise formula. One hundred million Americans, in the adult generations 25 and over, and several million young people, would be getting together in groups of ten, fifteen, or twenty people. These groups would span the age range from high school student to grandparent. A large percentage of the groups might be multiracial; many might not.

In all of them, every member of the group would make a commitment to listen to and to hear out opposing points of view and opposing values. Black militants and advocates of segregation alike would be heard. Student draft resisters and anti-communist World War II veterans would all have their say. The groups definitely should not be formed of people who all share the same opinions and basic values.

The nation's college and university population should be committed to this process not because it has the "truth" or supposedly knows all the right answers. These discussion-reeducation groups will have a need for historical and factual material and the college population will have an obligation to know where the resources are and to help make them available. Hopefully, out of these groups will come positive steps toward mutual understanding and constructive rebuilding.

There are students, faculty, and campus ministers in many places who see the need for a program that develops depth grassroots involvement on a nationwide scale. One, two, or three years of preparatory work will be needed. The majority of students and faculty might then be ready to decide that total university involvement in community reeducation should for one year hold higher priority than the work they would normally do under non-emergency conditions.

There is great uncertainty as to what may happen in America. A racially divided society torn by hatred and ruled by martial law lies almost directly down the road America is now taking. At least part of the explanation for this is that faith and ministry have remained separated from the struggle for change and justice. The UCM call for total university involvement in community reeducation is not and need not be a specifically "Christian" program, for UCM or any other Christian group. Yet, if Christians would participate in the process of social change and play a healing role in the midst of conflict and change, that might make a difference.



PHOTOGRAPH

SI DUNN

A MAN ONCE SAID

Of the 449 offers from God
Only one is free

I believe him he was of a certain uprightness
He is mentioned in the Upanishads Isaiah the Gospels
I heard a man last week shouting from the roof
Of a park bench with his voice



PHOTOGRAPH

Lately since I was born I have held many of
These golden globes of God in my hands
But me pitted by winds
Broken by clocks
They are either of an unendurable weight or
They float from me leaving
No golden dust
Only yesterday one of them iridescent lovely
Left behind the finest of black ash in
The crevices of my hands

It may be
I do not understand
The meaning of
Free

—RICHARD RUSSELL



ARNOLD LUNGERSHAUSEN



THIS PASSPORT IS NOT VALID FOR TRAVEL TO OR IN
COMMUNIST CONTROLLED PORTIONS OF

CHINA
KOREA
VIET-NAM

OR TO OR IN
ALBANIA
CUBA

A PERSON WHO TRAVELS TO OR IN THE LISTED COUN-
TRIES OR AREAS MAY BE LIABLE FOR PROSECUTION
UNDER SECTION 1185, TITLE 8, U.S. CODE, AND SECTION
1544, TITLE 18, U.S. CODE.

NORTH VIETNAM JOURNAL

By
Marc
Sommer

10 MAY, HANOI

An airport scene: we arrived before our welcoming committee. After fast, confused introductions and shaking of hands, we sat down to drink Viet soda, smoke Viet cigarettes (Dien Bien Phu), and fill out customs forms. Suddenly four flower girls appeared in the doorway in elegant, ankle-length silk dresses and in makeup a little too heavy. It would have been embarrassing for us—and was, at first (after all, we were not diplomats, though they sometimes treated us as such)—except that the ceremony had a certain unpracticed awkwardness to it, so that it seemed entirely genuine. Most of the discussion centered around language jokes (“How do you say, ‘My name is. . . .’”). It seemed a good way to break the ice. We didn’t realize then that those same surface jokes might well continue to be a primary topic of conversation.

The ride into Hanoi (12 kilometers) was very touching. On the one hand, you could see large bombed out factories, with only steel girders left standing, and workers’ quarters gutted by fire. The guides pointed out the destruction to us with a matter-of-factness that was truly remarkable. It was as though they were showing us a monument or a city park. No sense of irony or bitterness or even any consciousness that we, as Americans, had maybe something to do with the bombing.

On the other hand, the elan among the people on the road seemed enormous. We stopped several times waiting for the pontoon bridges to clear (since the destruction of the Paul Doumer Bridge

last year), and we saw scores of Vietnamese students and workers walking bicycles through the mud, singing, shouting to one another, whistling. Our Viet guides spoke to strangers repeatedly with no apparent self-consciousness. One student, who appeared intensely intellectual with his wire-rimmed glasses, carried strapped to the seat of his bicycle a sleeping one-year-old. Again, by his manner, he made the situation seem entirely natural and ordinary.

The Vietnamese are an intensely nationalistic people, without being neurotic or chauvinistic about their love of country. The love of country comes out everywhere—in the way they talk about cigarettes or Comrad Ho or the new polytechnic school. They feel no insecurity about the injustice of what Vietnam is doing, and so they don’t feel any ambivalence, any need for false modesty. They are frankly proud of the country and willing to say so. But, they also expect us to be proud in a similar way of America.

At dinner that night, Naomi and I started making a simplified critique of bourgeois values in American advertising (“cooptation,” the lack of purpose, the ugliness in so much of American society), and I felt the Vietnamese slipping back into their soup. They really didn’t care to hear that we hated our society—that we are alienated. Alienation seems to be something outside their experience, in part because they have no problem of self-hatred, no dreadful hang-ups about identity. They know who they are (after

4000 years of consistent experience in history) and what they have to do (there is no alternative but to struggle).

They are revolutionary, but in a very unideological, unself-conscious, and unintellectual way. They are revolutionary not because someone convinced them they should be, but because the circumstances provided only that path. So they come over sounding like very simple, contented, immensely human beings, whose primary concern is not the "building of socialist political structures," but a piece of happiness, a healthy family, and good food. The war hasn't changed that psychology.

Tonight, May 11, we went for a walk in the Parc de L'Unite, about 10 of us. We walked toward a cafe in the center of the park. Mai Hien walked at my side, his hand around my shoulder. A few yards in front of us, Naomi Jaffee, an American student, walked hand-in-hand with two Vietnamese women. The four of us who were Americans began to sing, hesitantly at first because we'd forgotten the words, "We Shall Not be Moved" and "Down by the Riverside." The Vietnamese were quiet, listened, and applauded politely but appreciatively at the end. But it was an appreciation out of context, as ours of them has been, almost one-dimensional. They had no notion of what kind of ambivalence we feel in singing "freedom" songs, the schizophrenic neuroses reflected when we sing about "not studying war no more," the hang-ups about violence and nonviolence as though they are cardinal principles, above freedom and equality.

The cafe was lively and full of laughter, mostly young Vietnamese in couples and clusters. As we passed through the crowd, the Vietnamese looked out from under their pith helmets with a mixture

of curiosity and amusement. From inside the kitchen of the cafe, the young girls clustered at the window, pointing at us and giggling. I wasn't sure myself how friendly they were, or whether they knew we were Americans, but Mai Hien squeezed my arm a little tighter when he saw me looking at them, and beamed with paternal pride.

I had had enough of community for awhile. I was beginning to feel crowded and at the same time lonely. We had been in groups for 36 hours, in every meeting, groups of Vietnamese and groups of Americans together, in such necessarily formal ways that we always ended up making rhetorical speeches to one another, speaking only in the second person, the royal "you" and the imperial "we." None of it was personal except for that left unsaid and expressed in gestures of the hands and face. I would express my admiration for the Vietnamese people, and talk about how human they had managed to remain, despite the problems of war and death and grief. Mr. Du and Mai Hien would smile, always, but it seemed to me after a while to be a formal, dutiful smile, the only correct way to react to an honored guest.

We had been gliding over one another since we had come. When we tried to ask specific questions of the Vietnamese, they seemed to give evasive answers. They were not, in fact, trying to hide anything from us—it seems apparent they have nothing really to hide—but they see our presence there in very formal ways. We are Americans, true, and dissenters from the enemy camp. It is politically wise, therefore, to cultivate our friendship while still refusing to give us any information they don't wish for us to take back to the United States.

Susan Sontag gave me a long lecture today about the danger of trying to judge the merits of their struggle and their capacity for being human by our purely American standards. Questions for us in a technologically advanced and bourgeois culture—existential questions about place and function, anxieties about self-identity, alienation, role-playing, and doubts about what we are struggling to do—are not and have not been the central questions for the Vietnamese. What we choose to call spontaneity in America, the value we place on it, is utterly contrary to the culture of the Vietnamese. The equivalent for spontaneity in Viet culture might more likely be a conformance with history and tradition. Harmony with society and history is more important than discovery of the self as a distinct and isolated being. The war hasn't changed any of that, but the cultural reliance on tradition and history has given the Vietnamese the necessary stamina to be able to accept in what appears to us as a joyful way, the hardship of war.



Mal

motive

But that night, I was feeling lonely. I sat by the shore of the lake, a few feet off and below the table where the others were sitting, taking in the calm, trying hard to gather my thoughts and to dismiss a light, melancholy loneliness which seemed to be setting in. I wasn't angry at the Vietnamese for being what they are, nor at my American friends for being what they were (although it was a little more painful to realize that even with Americans of the same general background and learning, there was something less than candor). I was just sad that, with such good will and fine intentions on all sides, all we could do was to glide over one another. The most generous emotion could only be acceptance of our personal and cultural differences.

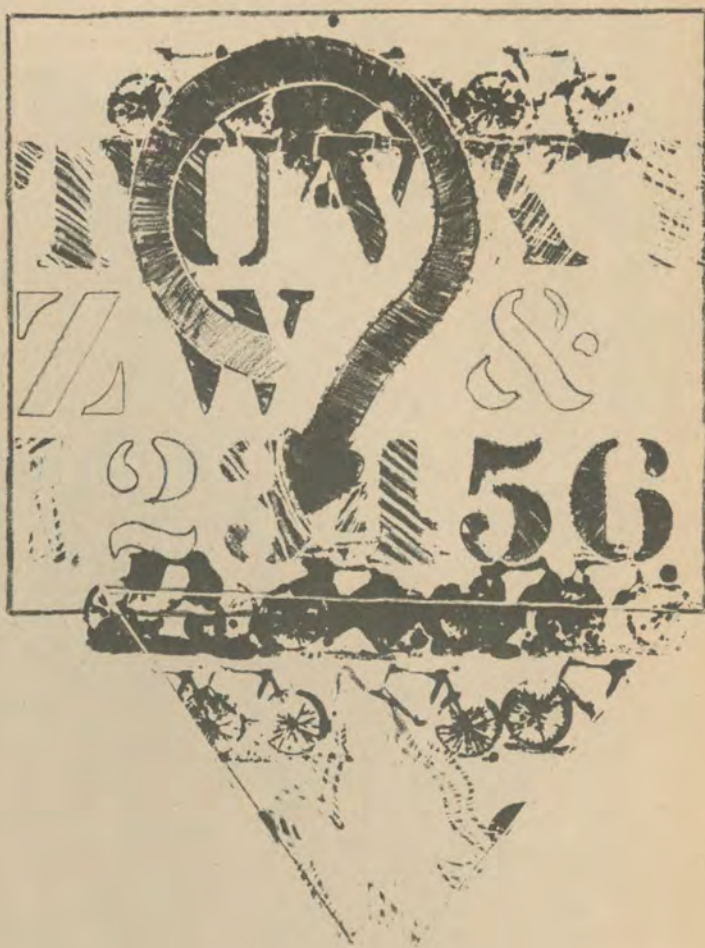
13 MAY

The Russians here are fat, greasy pigs. They get drunk in the lobby at 11 p.m. and make loud jokes about the Vietnamese. The other night, one told Andrew Kopkind (privately) that he was on the wing of the Russian embassy which supported U.S. presence in Asia, as a stabilizing force. The Russians in this hotel live and spend most of their time apart from the Vietnamese and they all seem racist.

Kopkind informed his guide of the Russian embassy secretary's remark and Wang didn't seem surprised. The Vietnamese are fully aware of the nature of the Russian commitment: that their aid has less to do with a friendship with shared aims than with international power politics. But the North Vietnamese are in such an isolated position right now in practical terms that they can't afford to dismiss any offers, regardless of motive.

Some Western nations—like France—make a lot of talk about supporting the Vietnamese, but none gives any substantive help. The nations which recognize the North Vietnamese government are "all the countries of the socialist camp" (Russia, China, Albania, Mongolia, Bulgaria, perhaps a few others), plus Algeria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and U.A.R. But only Russia and China are in a position to give substantive aid, and so far here, I have seen only one group of three to four Chinese (journalists, in any event).

The United States thinks that Hanoi is run by China. The allegation becomes really absurd when you discover that there are so few Chinese around. We have found a number of Chinese consumer products, like beer or toothpaste in a Wrigley's Spearmint design wrapper. But the Vietnamese themselves never talk about the Chinese, except when they're talking history. Then they are quick to mention that the Chinese aggression during much of Vietnamese history has been cruel and fierce. The Revolutionary Museum, for example, has both weapons and engravings used in fighting against Chinese invaders. If the Vietnamese are tied



to anyone in this war—and if so, it is only a very temporary marriage of expediency on both sides—it is to the Russians. All the military aid is Soviet—the planes, the missiles—and none or very little of it is Chinese. Beyond the material aid, however, the Russians are giving very little. The figure of 80,000 Russian advisers in North Vietnam seems now to be far-fetched.

I think the reason the U.S. wants to perpetuate the myth that the Chinese are the main supporters of the Vietnamese is not because we don't know better, but because the image of China in the United States is sufficiently bad that it reflects all kinds of badness on North Vietnam. Vietnam can be placed under a general umbrella context of "creeping Asian communism."

With Russia, on the other hand, we want to play footsie and the Russians are obliging us. In underplaying Russian involvement on the side of the Vietnamese (they too, are underplaying it), the U.S. is cooling off the possibility of a major confrontation.



INTAGLIO: HORTUS CONCLUSUS

KEITH ACHEPOHL

Russia's prestige is not on the line in Vietnam as ours is, and we've both planned it that way. We've sent Harriman and Vance to the Paris talks—two Russian experts (as it were), not Chinese, because we want to be able to make a deal with the Russians to sell out the Vietnamese. That's the only way, the only way, that the Vietnamese could lose the negotiations,

if Russia withdraws its support. I'm sure the Vietnamese are aware of that, though, and they'll play their cards, with the Russians as well as the Americans, very carefully. There are no heroes in this war except the Vietnamese themselves—North Vietnamese and NLF—the rest are in it for what strategic advantage they can achieve.

15 MAY, HA BAC PROVINCE

We visited a decentralized university last night, a school of mining and geology 35 kilometers from Hanoi. It was the first time we've been outside Hanoi, in the countryside, and the first time we've seen large bombed-out areas. The massive destruction begins just across the bridge from Hanoi: a very large railroad terminal utterly decimated by bombs. Locomotives are melted into right-angle shapes, railway track uprooted. Beside the railway station are living quarters for workers, also gutted by fire, though the outer structure still stands.

The scene along the road farther out in the country is much more pastoral, but the evidence of American bombing is still there, mostly around agricultural coop building complexes near Hanoi. The roads themselves are pretty narrow, filled with potholes, and choked with traffic—bicycles, military jeeps, small trucks, and pedestrians carrying baskets on poles. No one is pushing, no one seems irritated, but the delays, the stopping and starting are constant. They stood quietly, or shouted jokes to one another; cars moving in opposite directions often exchanged jokes with one another about the traffic.

Farther along on the road, where the pavement had become dirt, we passed long trailer trucks carrying SAM's and anti-aircraft guns under canvas tarpaulins. It was an incongruous sight, typical of Vietnam in a state of war; peasant women walking barefoot with two baskets of vegetables in a broth of some sort, past a giant rocket on a modern military vehicle. The rockets dwarfed the little hamlets where they were parked. The Vietnamese peasants don't seem to be overwhelmed by the intrusion of military technology on their culture, though. In fact, they have become entirely accustomed to the presence of war materiel in their daily lives.

The rural villages, seen from a moving car, appear to be infinitely complex little structures. Small straw and bamboo huts are interspersed in a labyrinth of dirt paths and perfectly rectangular rice paddies. Occasionally, there is a concrete building, without doors and without glass in the windows, a restaurant for travellers with prices about .30 dongs a meal (subsidized by the government). The meals are mostly rice, vegetables, a sauce, and a very little bit of meat. Occasionally, we'd also see, in the middle of a patch of rice paddies, an installation of anti-aircraft guns, covered with leaves and branches or a cluster of three or four SAM missiles, aimed at various angles toward the sky.

The reception at the decentralized geological university (evacuated from Hanoi since the bombing) was very touching. Driving in along a dirt road after dark, we were greeted by small knots of students waving and smiling before our headlights. We

stopped somewhat in the middle of the road before a group, much larger, of students and teachers gathered around a large kerosene lamp. As we got out of the cars, they began applauding us, and we applauded them in return. Handshaking, smiles, attempted greetings in Vietnamese. Many of the girls were dressed in formal, ankle length silk dresses, faces rouged to a dark pink hue. We were led, hand-in-hand, by students to a squat, long, rectangular room with a long wooden table (three vases of flowers, the ubiquitous tea servings and bowls of rice-paper-wrapped candies), and one large kerosene lamp. Shy smiles from the girls (always tending our empty lemonade and tea cups), broad grins from the boys.

Dan Xuan Ding, vice head of the university, introduced us to the place, speaking quietly from a prepared text. Before he began his speech, he said quite matter-of-factly, "First, my dear American friends, I have to say something about the American bombings." And here I expected a short political polemic. "If there is an alert, please follow us to the shelters. We have a large system of trenches. Please keep quiet while you march."

The school has 2,900 students in three areas: geology, geological research, and mining development. The students range in age from 17-35, the youngest having come from the general education schools and the older coming from factories or the villages. Practically all the students come from working class backgrounds.

The students staged a variety show for us in one of their 100-man amphitheatres, lighted by three kerosene lamps. I gave a short speech, which they seemed to enjoy immensely, and found myself giving out with a polemic that would have made me blush a week before. Their show was very amateur, on an improvised stage, but it was very moving anyway. It was a very rewarding experience, that evening. I don't think I'll ever be able to forget walking tiptoe, hand in hand with the Vietnamese across narrow paths between rice paddies to another building in the school, watching small kerosene lanterns bobbing slowly in the distance, a few paddies away, and hearing the faint sounds of laughing and a few notes of a song somewhere off in the darkness.

21 MAY, THAI BINH PROVINCE

Have just gotten back from four very eventful and tiring days in Thai Binh province. In Thai Binh, as everywhere else on this trip, we lived apart from the Vietnamese and in considerably more favorable conditions. The guest house, formerly a French colonial building, was made of cement, surrounded by banana trees, with convenient brick steps leading out the window to bomb shelters. Several Vietnamese peasant girls shuffled quietly back and forth,

replacing large pans of cool water, small dishes of soap and clean towels for us, presenting endless plates of bananas and cigarettes.

We were something of a sensation in the province, because we were not only the very first Americans to visit the province, but the only European faces since the French had evacuated fifteen or twenty years before. The peasants would stand at the door several minutes at a time just staring at us. After two days, David started answering each morning when we opened the door that the zoo was now open, but that the animals must be fed or would bite. We felt no bitterness about the situation, only a great deal of frustration that our communication with the Vietnamese peasants remained on the level of "thank you" and "goodbye."

The visits to the villages—three in all—were fascinating but equally frustrating. Even with a translator, the questions you'd like to ask are not always appropriate; and when you ask them, you get a response not always in keeping with the depth or profundity you would like. We asked peasant families repeatedly what it was like before the revolution, how they had changed since, and the answers we got sounded like two-cent party jingles. We learned after a day or so, though, that they were deeply felt and genuine responses and that we were being ethnocentric to be wishing for long, literary explanations. The poetry of the situation expressed itself not in what they said, but in the pride with which they displayed their homes, and in the shyness in their eyes.

I never discovered the geographical plan of a village; that is, I never personally figured one out. But they seem to be very well organized to utilize the maximum amount of land for cultivation. The Vietnamese have allowed the members of each cooperative to remain in separate houses which they themselves own. They have decided to *build* on the family as a basic communal unit, and I found everywhere in Vietnam that the orientation towards family is much stronger than in America. Whereas in the U.S., it is an accepted phenomenon of adolescence to rebel against or renounce parents (and there is a certain shame in not doing so), Vietnamese youth admit with no qualms that one of their greatest wishes is to be with their parents.

On a visit to a dispersed geological university in the countryside, we met a number of students who were very upset because they hadn't seen their parents in several months. That may be an unfair comparison, but the general point still holds. The Vietnamese did *not* follow the Russian and Chinese experience of communal child-raising and dismemberment of the family. Instead, they seem to have been able to use a very strong tradition of the nuclear family to strengthen the notion of the whole society as extended family.

That is a terribly important point in understanding why a radically new political system has been able to strike deep roots in a matter of 20 years. The Vietnamese do not try to deny their past nor their traditions. Instead, they are picking and choosing among events and attitudes in their character, and emphasizing those strong points. There is a war going on against the Americans now, a very cruel war; but the Vietnamese choose to interpret their history as that of one unified nation struggling repeatedly for 4000 years to be free and independent of foreign domination.

Similarly, Vietnam was long ruled by a monarchy. While Vietnamese historians don't support the idea of monarchy, they emphasize that the monarchs unified the country in terms of war and foreign invasion, equalized the society, and always successfully repelled the invader. With such an interpretation put on events one would normally take as shameful, the Vietnamese are able to struggle in the present without feeling they are denying their own nature and national character. It isn't a manipulation of history, exactly; it is just being wise about choosing models from the past.

26 MAY, HONG KONG

Left the DRV with some regrets two nights ago, on Friday. Some regrets, because near the end I felt as though I'd begun to make some headway with a few Vietnamese.

But I was also very anxious to leave at the end. Two weeks was hardly enough to begin to understand Vietnam, but I also felt as though we'd reached the limit of our understanding without speaking the language of the country. An interpreter has only a limited value; he can transfer to you very little of the tone and emotion in a statement. And you can only rely so much on little gestures to tell you what a man is like, especially since you don't know what a gesture of a particular kind may mean in the Vietnamese context.

By the end of the two weeks I was feeling very lonely for some kind of companionship, primarily female, to share my feelings with. Although I love the Vietnamese deeply, it is not the fully satisfying or consuming love of passion. They are too distant and too different for me to be able to feel that. Besides, our particular public relationship, I as representative of the American student movement and they as Vietnamese being shot at by my countrymen, made things necessarily a little formalized. My love for the Vietnamese is more moral and political: they have a just cause and they are a noble people. Loving them is like loving justice: necessary but not sufficient to satisfy my hunger for love.

A DREAM OF DEATH BY RADIO

Waking in the dark,
I find the radio
left on again and
waiting. It spits
death at me like
x-rays. When all
the stations leave
the air, it finds its own voice.

I know it finds
a voice: I've
had this model
in the shop before.
Something's shorted
out down there in
the maze of wiring;
all the best tech-
nicians say it
can't be fixed.
Oh, yes, I know
what's deadly.

Hear. It speaks
in the hum of
ruin. Range 30,
Range 20, Range
10. Bullseye.
Bullseye.

There. There is
the victim, down
low in that gully.
And there, far out
in that storm
of dust or dark,
is the gunman,
running.

The gunner is a
rebel, a fury, a
true revolutionary.
He knows what must
be done; he knows
his victim. He
guns him down in
a blind ditch.
Leaves him there,
clutching his
side, watching
his own death,
growing.

The gunner, the
kamikaze pilot, or
the great bird
flights that bring
down planes. All
come from the same
storm warp.

If I ever strip
this model down,
dig into the guts
of it to see what's
wrong, I'll say what
all the investi-
gators say:

Here's what done
it. Here's the
poor blind bastard
done it. Hit
a wire and fried
himself.

Oh, yes, I know
what's deadly.

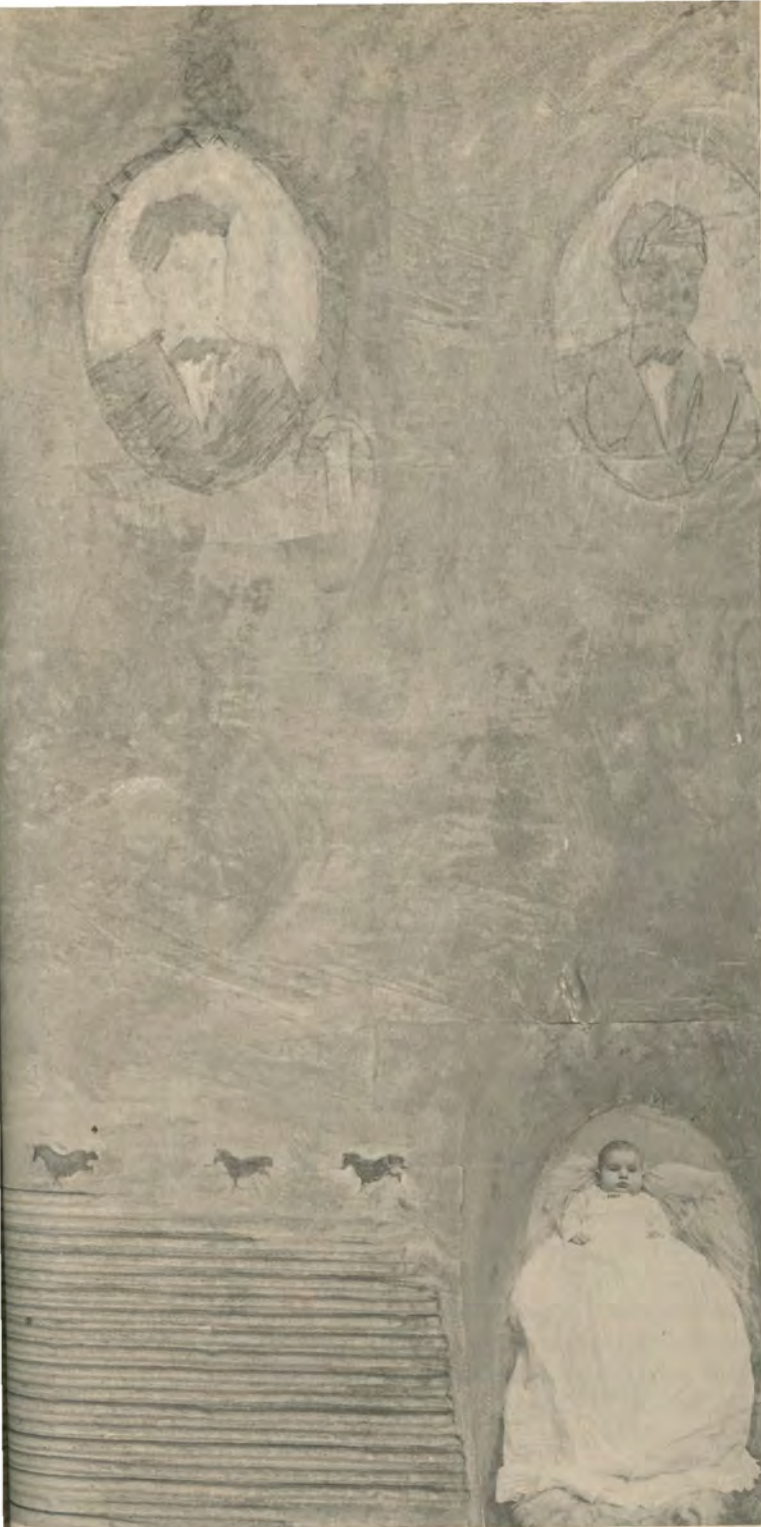
—ROBERT MOORE



COLLAGE, DRAWING, ACRYLIC

FILMS:

ROSEMARY'S & BABY



DENNIS AKIN

Pray For Roman Polanski



It is too late to pray for Rosemary's baby, but one could do worse than praying for Roman Polanski, the director of the film.

Mr. Polanski has made that saddest of all mistakes: he has made a very good movie out of

what could have been a great movie. The basic plot, the actors, Mr. Polanski—obviously great abilities—could have conspired to produce a chilling and profound movie about the meaning of evil and the reality of the devil. This is indeed what the film sets out to do. Horror piles on horror slowly in a symphony-like movement that gives the film a shape and style of great power and depth. But the view of evil propounded in the film is theologically, philosophically, and morally shallow, and therein lies the flaw. To spend all that talent and effort on what is essentially a campy, shoddy, and thin picture of the mystery of evil is saddening.

The great triumph of the picture is its placing of terror and mysterious horror in the midst of the most commonplace kind of life. Mia Farrow and John Cassavetes portray almost "typically" a young couple on the fringes of Manhattan's bohemian life. The deal Mr. Cassavetes makes with the devil is made quite credible and seems even probable in the apartment canyons of New York. The neighbors who are the harbingers of the evil spirit world are acted admirably by Ruth Gordon and Sidney Blackmer. Indeed, Miss Gordon gives one of the great performances of this year. In her combination of evil witch and Bronx housewife she maintains just the right balance of horror and absurdity. Her humor is always slightly sordid and her witchery always convincingly human.

The biblical idea of Satan, however, is far more sophisticated than Mr. Polanski's. Lucifer, after all, is the son of the morning: he is beautiful, he is light-filled. His evil is the more heinous because of his extraordinary gifts.

Mr. Polanski, however, has chosen to portray the devil and his offspring as hideous, with an old-fashioned ugliness that reminds one of the nineteenth-century romantic brew rather than a devil whose very beauty is an insinuation of loss and cataclysm. He has given in to the cliché at this crucial point where he avoids the cliché at less crucial points.

The effect of the movie is still powerful. Women shriek and cry during and after it; as in *Repulsion*, Mr. Polanski manages to have murder, rape, and maiming seem terrifyingly real and terrifyingly normal.

The film has been compared with *Bonnie and Clyde* because of its juxtaposition of horror and humor. But *Bonnie and Clyde* somehow risked avoiding all the clichés, or else turned the clichés upside down. Mr. Polanski does not take this crucial risk, and therefore he builds a movie of great beauty and power that turns into camp just at the point where its power could unfold.

See the movie and let yourself get scared, but be assured you won't get too scared. Tragically enough, Mr. Polanski has taken care of that.

—AL CARMINES

South Africa Report

by

B. J. Stiles

U nanimous agreements on anything are hard to come by in South Africa, and attitudes there to the University Christian Movement are predictably divergent. But I did discover two adjectives for the U.C.M. on which all would agree: the U.C.M. is young and it is provocative.

Less than two years old, the U.C.M. in South Africa has launched a program of study and action which promises to have a significant impact on a few campuses and in some churches, and perhaps eventually even on some government policies. But all of that presupposes a continued existence for the U.C.M., and in South Africa, that is not a casual presupposition.

The newness of the U.C.M. may in fact prove to be one of its strongest assets in its struggle to live and grow. It has no ecclesiastical or political skeletons to be uncloseted by its gathering critics, and most of those affiliated with or active in the U.C.M. are unscarred from previous forays for change. (There's an in-group jest in South Africa amongst liberals and radicals to the effect, "What's wrong with me? I haven't been visited by the Special Branch lately.")

Scars are simple enough to acquire however, and the jests are somewhat nervous covers for the inevitable anxiety one feels about the future. The consequences of challenging the *status quo* can be costly: being banned, suffering harassment by the Special Branch, social ostracism, jeopardy to professional advancement, or cancellation of opportunities to study or travel—all these are the relatively minor consequences, always overshadowed of course by the possibility of jail or exile at the other end of the spectrum.

In the midst of such pressures, the overseas visitor is awed by the awareness that the dominant question asked in the U.C.M. is not, "What is the cost?" but "What does the gospel mean to us at this time, in this place?" One is moved to listen thoughtfully and appreciatively, and to duck the inevitable question, "What would you do in these circumstances?"

The very existence of the U.C.M. reflects the eagerness of so many Christians in South Africa to

search for specific, practical and hopeful ways for being the people of God. There is as much impatience there as elsewhere with overly institutionalized religion and with churchianity which only cares about itself.

The U.C.M. is ecumenical, multi-racial and experimental. These terms have become so hackneyed in the American context that one hesitates to use them in relationship to South Africa. To be any one of the three there is to be subjected to continual criticism; to be committed to all three is to consign yourself to a course of action almost as suspect as building an ark.

The crux of U.C.M.'s existence is how it decides to deal with the question of authority. This is both a theological and a political dilemma, and it may well be that it is the degree to which the U.C.M. can work at both levels simultaneously that the U.C.M. will be a unique factor in the future of South Africa.

Fortunately, there are no grandiose, sophomoric schemes for over-throwing the government, redesigning the cosmos, or redressing in a few short years all the accumulated injustices of a white, Westernized, 'Christian' society. South African students seem to have a healthy, sophisticated skepticism of Great Societies, Seven Year Crusades, and Pie in the Sky Gods. The U.C.M. seems to be interested in possibilities, not pipe dreams.

The leadership of the U.C.M. seems solidly committed to a program of serious study and research, responsible theologizing, and prophetic action. Given the time and resources to mature and expand, this three-pronged base should provide the church in South Africa with an awesome community of competent and courageous Christians.

Two recent projects seem destined to be the first obstacles/opportunities for the U.C.M. to test and clarify its objectives. One is a publication and the other is a conference.

The voice/symbol/nemesis of the South African U.C.M. is a quarterly publication titled *One For The Road*. The first issue, published in June of this year, skeptically numbered itself Vol. 0, No. 0. Bold,

McCluhanesque, modestly irreverent, predictably dogmatic . . . the magazine came on the South African theological-political scene about as subtly as a multi-racial multitude marching through the halls of Parliament singing "We Shall Overcome."

Neither the editors nor the U.C.M. seem to be seriously impaired by the acclaim and abuse which resulted. (Not the least interesting fact about the periodical is that it was conceived and nurtured in the bosom of the Dominican priory in Stellenbosch, a town and university commonly identified throughout South Africa as the cultural capital of conservative Afrikaanerdom.) But there is serious debate about the feasibility of staking the whole existence of a movement on the explicit radicality of a magazine. The defenders of the magazine are justified in claiming that the U.C.M. would be neither as effective nor as public had the magazine been more orthodox, respectable and "safer." But as a consistent posture, there is more than ample justification for arguing that a journal deliberately plays into the hands of the U.C.M.'s strongest critics. The single greatest compliment I heard paid the magazine was that it, more than anything else, gave black students the feeling that they could have some reason to trust and participate in U.C.M.

U.C.M.'s more recent incitement of hope/fear resulted from its annual conference and council meeting held in July at Stutterheim. The sensation created by the conference is best summed up by quoting from a full-page newspaper article on the U.C.M., published August 7 in the *Eastern Province Journal* and widely excerpted in other papers. The critic, H. F. Sampson, wrote:

That U.C.M. students in Southern Africa are in fact very ready to 'come together in any way they can, especially across the barriers' of social apartheid, has recently been shown in a report of the annual U.C.M. conference held at the Forest Sanctuary near Stutterheim. Their behaviour in and out of Stutterheim shocked the inhabitants. White girls walked with their arms round non-Whites singing. They were there for a religious conference, but all that the inhabitants saw was Whites and Blacks holding hands and repeatedly kissing. One said that he never knew such a thing could happen in the country, and that the non-White people of the village watched with open mouths. Railwaymen were deeply shocked, it was a thing they had never seen before. In cars they sat together, White girls beside and between Bantus. The head of the Forest Sanctuary said that they did not sleep together, and behaved well; he knew nothing of the behaviour alleged.

The Stutterheim conference featured keynote addresses by Prof. A. J. van Selms, head of the department of Semitics at Pretoria University and Mrs.



UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

- RACISM
- URBAN EDUCATION
- DEVELOPMENT
- AND MORE

—4 WEEK JANUARY COURSES OF STUDY—

—5 PROGRAMS IN THREE CITIES—

—OPEN TO ALL MEMBERS OF ACADEMIC COMMUNITIES—

For Information Write:

Betty Pagett
Room 1302
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

THE CHRISTIAN IN MODERN STYLE

by HENRY E. HORN

Is piety dead? This book raises questions about worship, vocation, twentieth century man, and the mission of the church. The author concerns himself with the problem of whether today's style of life is a valid approach. He takes the present age seriously, using secular man's discoveries about personal and communal life without distortion, and he refuses to offer easy oversimplified solutions.

"THE CHRISTIAN IN MODERN STYLE treats a problem that we must eventually wrestle with. Henry Horn has done some important spade work, and I think his book is an important contribution toward a task that many will have to engage in."—Chad Walsh.

at all bookstores

\$2.50

FORTRESS PRESS
Philadelphia, Pa. 19129

MACMILLAN PAPERBACKS 1968



TODAY'S ENGLISH VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Also published as
Good News for Modern Man
American Bible Society Translation
First large-size paperback edition.
"A fresh and spirited translation in the
vocabulary and style of modern speech."
—*The New York Times Book Review*
\$1.95

THEY CALL US DEAD MEN

Reflections on Life and Conscience
Daniel Berrigan, S. J.
Introduction by William Stringfellow
"One who wishes to know what an
authentically Christian response to the
questions of our time is like would be
wise to listen to Father Berrigan."
—*The New York Review of Books* \$1.45

NIETZSCHE AS PHILOSOPHER

Arthur C. Danto
"By far and away the best book on
Nietzsche now available in English."
—Paul Edwards, Editor-in-Chief,
The Encyclopedia of Philosophy \$2.45

THE NATURE OF MAN

*Edited and with an introduction by Erich
Fromm and Raman Xirau*
Volume V, *Problems of Philosophy Series*
Paul Edwards, General Editor
From Socrates to Freud—seventy-two
philosophical inquiries into man's nature.
\$2.95

PHILOSOPHY TODAY NO. 1

Edited by Jerry H. Gill
Articles on recent major philosophical
movements and issues, focusing on lin-
guistic analysis and existential analysis;
accessible to the non-professional reader
of philosophy. \$1.95

A LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO PROTESTANT THEOLOGY

William E. Hordern
Revised and expanded edition with new
chapters on Rudolf Bultmann, Dietrich
Bonhoeffer and the "God Is Dead"
controversy. \$1.45

POEMS OF PROTEST OLD AND NEW

*Edited, with an Introduction, by Arnold
Kenseth*
"There is a worldwide selection of 113
protest poems packed into this compact,
but fiery book. Mr. Kenseth's choices are
cogent and astringent. Strongly recom-
mended."—*Library Journal* \$1.45

THE WAYS OF FRIENDSHIP

Ignace Lepp
"Pure joy. A work warm and practical,
rich with the wisdom of experience and
reflection."—*The Catholic Messenger*
\$1.25

NEW THEOLOGY NO. 5

*Edited by Martin E. Marty and
Dean G. Peerman*
The best way into Bloch, Moltmann,
Pannenberg and the new talk of the
future, hope and eschatology. \$1.95

THE QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS

Albert Schweitzer
A new and substantial Introduction by
James M. Robinson assesses the influence
of this great work and relates it to the
current debate. \$2.95

THE RELEVANCE OF THE PROPHETS

R. B. Y. Scott
Revised edition. "The skillful up-dating
of this near-classic will be welcomed by
the numerous scholars, students and lay-
men whose enthusiasm has kept the book
in print for the past twenty-three years."
—*The Kirkus Service* \$2.45

THEOLOGICAL ETHICS

James Sellers
Reissue. "An unusually lucid interpreta-
tion of the task of theological ethics.
More in accord with ways of work that
seem profitable than any other recent
book in Christian ethics."
—James M. Gustafson \$2.45

FACES OF POVERTY

Arthur Simon
"If one reads this book, poverty is no
longer a matter of statistics, abstraction,
or social philosophy, but a matter of
flesh and blood."—From the Foreword by
William Stringfellow \$2.45

ELEMENTS FOR A SOCIAL ETHIC

Gibson Winter
"An important book on social theory that
speaks to both the social scientists and
the ethicists."—*Journal for the Scien-
tific Study of Religion* \$2.95

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

A Study of Religious Organization
Gibson Winter
An incisive analysis of the formal
organization and informal power struc-
ture of the major faiths in the United
States today. \$1.45

CHRIST AND ADAM

Man and Humanity in Romans 5
Karl Barth
Introduction by Wilhelm Pauck
Reissue. This lucid study of the fifth
chapter of the *Epistle to the Romans*
provides an excellent introduction to the
work of Karl Barth. \$1.95

ZOROASTRIANISM

The Religion of the Good Life
Sir Rustom Masani
Reissue. A distinguished Parsi recounts
the life of the prophet Zoroaster and de-
scribes the background, doctrine and
ritual of the creed. \$1.95

LETTERS TO YOUNG CHURCHES

J. B. Phillips
The twenty-first anniversary edition of
J. B. Phillips' translation of the New
Testament Epistles into modern English.
With a new preface by the author. \$1.45

FACING THE NEXT DAY

James A. Pike
Reissue. A book of practical counsel.
"Distinguished for its skillful, profes-
sional writing, and straight-forward . . .
sophisticated approach."
—*Library Journal* \$1.45

Jean Sinclair, national president of Black Sash. Numerous study groups worked long hours on academic, theological, and social topics. Provocative and responsible experimental liturgies were celebrated, and the U.C.M. council dealt seriously with internal and external issues. But who will note these factors?

The story is a familiar one. The event was an authentic, balanced human encounter of almost 200 students and professors concerned about the life of the world. In the eyes of the public, there was only sensationalized race-mixing.

Everything in South Africa seems to be subjugated to the question of race. At times, one wonders if there can be just plain ordinary economics, politics, sex, religion, education, writing, living. Does everything always have to be reduced to who's black and who's white and what do you do with those who are neither? (Visiting Japanese businessmen are declared "Honorary Whites" in order to prevent costly economic and social embarrassments.)

The visitor chokes on ironies and inconsistencies ranging from the amusing to the insulting. But that is of no consequence. What finally bewilders one is the recognition that so many people, such dynamic human and national possibilities, are suffocating under limitations which are questioned and challenged—privately and off-the-record, of course—by even the most conservative Establishment spokes-

A Selection of MOVIES THAT MATTER

full-length films of the highest quality for non-theatrical showings — for ENTERTAINMENT, for CULTURAL PROGRAMS, for DISCUSSION.

- NOBODY WAVED GOODBYE • The world's best movie about young people in conflict today
- NOTHING BUT A MAN • The best feature film in America on human relations
- CITIZEN KANE • By Orson Welles, noted eye-opener
- THE MIRACLE OF FATHER MALACHIAS • A parable of modern society
- CROSSFIRE • The best action film on anti-Semitism
- THE INFORMER • Directed by John Ford
- THE TRIAL • By Kafka, directed by Orson Welles

Write for "MOVIES THAT MATTER"
FREE catalog of distinguished films in 16mm

BRANDON FILMS, INC., Dept. M
221 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y. 10019

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND METAPHYSICS

By Peter R. Baelz

A "metaphysics of love" is what Peter Baelz proposes for theistic faith. He suggests that love is a primary moving force in today's world and that metaphysics has a double function: to analyze the structure of human experience so as to do justice to the claims of religious experience, and to construct a conceptual scheme which will say what can be said of the being and activity of God in relation to man and nature.

PAPER \$1.75

THINKING FAITH STEPS ON THE WAY TO A PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY

By Fritz Buri

Fresh understandings of the ways in which philosophical categories can be brought into direct relation to the substance of Christian faith to clear away many of the fundamental enigmas that result from the erosion of theological thought. Here is something different from a system which allows "grace to fulfill nature"—something excitingly new.

\$3.50

THE CONDITION OF THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER

By Roger Mehl

This book provides a strikingly unique analysis of the relation between Christianity and philosophy, studied in terms of the Christian philosopher's distinctive consciousness of himself as a man of faith and the bearing of this faith on his role in theological and philosophical learning. Five specific and engaging problems are considered in depth.

\$4.50

NEW MEANINGS FOR NEW BEINGS

By Richard Luecke

With brilliant insight Luecke considers life's double set of meanings—those of the world and those determined by the gospel—and their embodiment in worship where Christians must act in harmony with authentic faith and respond to a changing world.

\$5.95

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

FORTRESS PRESS
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19129

men in the country. Apartheid is a "necessary evil," a "temporary political necessity," a "transition step," an "interim economic tool." Most leaders project a day when apartheid will no longer be useful, at which time men and races will live in peace and harmony as one nation.

The U.C.M. seems to be peopled by those who have chosen to live between the times, by those who prophesy that tomorrow is born today. It is led by those who resist the temptation to think that life is better elsewhere, or that complacency is more rewarding than risk.

On balance, there is no neat summary, no succinct symbol, no easy prediction for the reality and the future of the U.C.M. in South Africa. Perhaps it is no more or no less than the gathered Christian community in any other age or any other location. It is simply the people of God struggling to do the truth, to act in love, to confront and question power and authority, to be held accountable in the end for having brought justice one step nearer for the disinherited of this world.

In so doing, one knows the meaning of Soul Brother.

Ed. Note: Late word has just been received that the first edition of the U.C.M. magazine, One for the Road, was banned in late August by the South African government and that the U.C.M. past president, Basil Moore, has had his passport lifted. Additional reprisals are anticipated.



TUNED-IN CHRISTIANS

by Jerold J. Savory

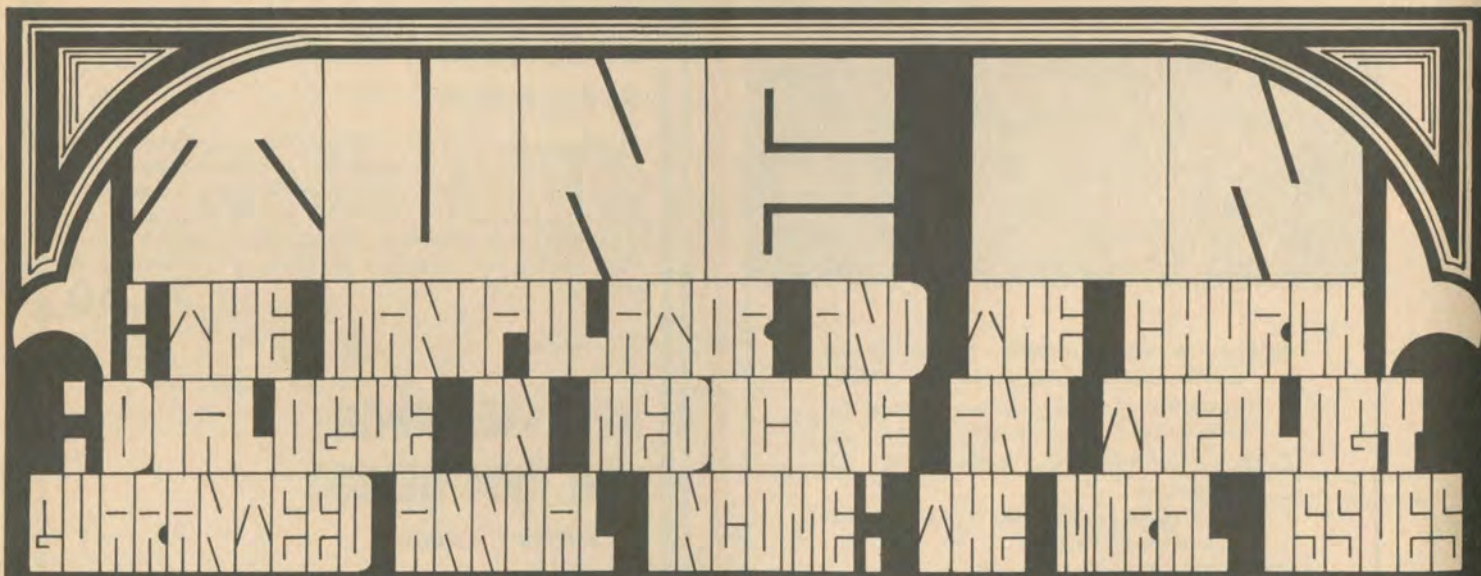
Full of avant-garde views that have shaken up as many readers as it has excited and delighted, **TUNED-IN CHRISTIANS** is a challenge to today's thinking young adult. Exploring all sides of what it means to be a Christian in today's world, this new book comes up with what many young adults are looking for—a call to change with the change and a demand for a new people for a new church. **TUNED-IN CHRISTIANS** explores the Christian's search for identity, his doubts, and the revolutionary changes needed in his church. **TUNED-IN CHRISTIANS** is the book you have been waiting for!

at your local bookstore

Only \$1.95

THE JUDSON PRESS

Valley Forge, Pa. 19481



Maxie D. Dunnam, Gary J. Herbertson, and Everett L. Shostrom. This sequel to the popular **MAN, THE MANIPULATOR** is a definitive study of psychological manipulation in the modern church. Guides ministers and laity who wish to see their church become more vital and actualized. \$3.50

Edited by Dale White. From the first Convocation on Medicine and Theology—a penetrating dialogue between doctors and clergymen highlights advances in medical knowledge and deals with ethical problems. Some issues—population explosion, prolonging life, organ transplants, and abortion. Paper, \$1.95

Philip Wogaman. Guaranteed annual income—possible, yes, but is it ethical? Dr. Wogaman throws needed light on an important subject. He surveys arguments for and against it, spotlights the various proposals, examines possible effects. Must reading on a pressing problem. Paper, \$1.95; cloth, \$3.50

AT YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE
THE JUDSON PRESS

Who is responsible for the mess we're in?



WE ALL ARE!
Dissent is not a pastime
--it's an obligation.

THE NATION 333 Sixth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10014

FREE OFFER: We'll send you The NATION free each week for two weeks—
or, if you subscribe now, we'll extend your normal subscription by four
bonus issues.

- I'll join the fight for **1 year** (48 issues), plus
four bonus issues. I enclosed \$10.
(Add \$1 postage to Canada & Mexico; \$2 other foreign)
- I'll try you for **two** issues, **free** of charge.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

M10-68

**JOIN
THE
FIGHT.**

Contributors

HUEY NEWTON is Minister of Defense for the militant Black Panther Party, Oakland, California.

STEVEN H. JOHNSON, program secretary for the University Christian Movement, is a persistent and perceptive advocate of university reform.

MARC SOMMER's compassionate portrait of the North Vietnamese is the result of a recent two-week visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He and three other American students (Naomi Jaffee, John Stielstra and David Tobis) made the trip at the invitation of l'Union Des Etudiants du DRV. Marc is a reporter for Liberation News Service.

AL CARMINES, with this issue, begins his third year as *motive* film reviewer. Always a sensitive and provocative critic, he now joins the ranks as creative filmmaker. His first film, *Another Pilgrim*, has been greeted with much critical acclaim. Al is director of the arts at Judson Memorial Church, New York City.

MAL HANCOCK, an old friend of *motive*, sends his work from Minneapolis. A new collection of his cartoons, *How Can You Stand It Out There!*, was published recently by Citadel Press.

ARTISTS:

DOUGLAS GILBERT is a consistent and perceptive photographer who lives in New York. **SI DUNN** is an avid photographer with a strong moral conscience. He is a student at North Texas State. **JOE ZINN** works in publicity at Tennessee A & I. His wide-ranging talent finds outlet in dramatic photos from the dance, theater, and the social revolution. **RICHARD BELLAK**'s striking photographs are powerful statements of the tenacity and integrity of creative men and women; he lives in New York. **TOM DAVENPORT**, a frequent *motive* contributor, is a New York freelance photographer who recently returned from Taiwan. **ARNOLD LUNGERSHAUSEN** is one of the inexplicable windfalls for *motive*; his work moves in new and unusual directions. **RICHARD ASH** graduated from Wichita State, and will be teaching this fall at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls. **KEITH ACHEPOHL** is a new contributor whose work is deeply moving; he is on the faculty at Hope College in Holland, Michigan. **ROBERT ECHER**'s eerie intaglios accomplish the impossible: they are perplexing yet illuminating. He teaches at Washington State in Pullman.

POETS:

RICHARD RUSSELL has most recently published in *Prairie Schooner* and *Sage*. He lives in San Antonio. **WILLIAM D. TAMMEUS** is a race-relations, urban-affairs reporter on the Rochester (N.Y.) *Times-Union*. **RALPH ADAMO**'s work appeared this year in *Shenandoah*, *Confluence*, and several other poetry magazines. His home is Metairie, Louisiana. **ROBERT MOORE** sends his fine poems from Corvallis, Oregon; like space-dust, they come to rest everywhere.



classified

SNOOPY FOR PRESIDENT—249 other underground buttons. 1/25¢, 5/\$1, 50/\$5, 125/\$10, and 1,000/\$75. Free catalogue to all. Free sample to stores. A Big-Little Store, 1671 Washington, San Francisco 94109. Dept. M.

MATH MAJORS: Earth's surface is constant; population tends to grow exponentially. Work for free birth control everywhere. Grand Central Station 4069, NYC 10017.

DEDICATION FOR THESE TIMES: "I Will WORK As If Everything Depended on Me; I Will PRAY As If Everything Depended on God." 4"x8 1/2" plaque, mahogany finish, gold bevel, \$2.50. **IDEA PLAQUES**, Box 178-M, Rye, N.Y. 10580

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE, 4"x8 1/2", typographically incredible. Also, "WARNING: Do Not Denigrate on These Premises." Each, \$1.50; Deluxe, \$2.50. Wry Idea Co., Rye, N.Y. 10580

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—\$1.25. Rates, Schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. Economical, yacht like cruises as low as \$12.00 daily. TravLtips, 40-21BH Bell Blvd., Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

NEED MONEY? Be a sales representative for a socio-political-satirical new poster line. Ideal for individuals and organizations. Write for complete poster profit kit: **GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT**, Box 427, Wayzata, Minn. 55391.

GOT ANY QUESTIONS? General research assignments on all subjects conducted by research specialist. Quick, accurate, reliable. Moderate rates. Lawrence Sork, Jr., 1015 Geary Blvd., #101, San Francisco, Calif. 94109.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You! Good jobs, Adventure. Latest factual Handbook describing Australian assisted passage, entry requirements, passport-visa, advantages, opportunities \$1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032PC, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

ROMANTIC, DREAMY, COOL, COOL! From your personal handwriting let me tell you how to shape up your intellectual and romantic outlooks. Send a 25-word handwritten statement—anything you wish—and \$3.00 to Jilly G., Box 47, Caldwell, N.J. 07006. Do it today. You'll be groovier!

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STICKERS, Low-cost, custom-made, advertising for Organizations, Special Events, School Projects, Political Campaigns, Slogans, Business, Entertainment, and Theatrical Productions. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. **REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC.**, Dept. M, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

THE FUTURIST, bimonthly publication of the World Future Society, reports forecasts by scientists and others for the coming decades. Membership or subscription: \$5 yearly. World Future Society, P.O. Box 19285, Twentieth Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20036.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas" and special reports on summer jobs, government careers, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial, newspaper and social work overseas. Only \$2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-M, East Islip, New York 11730.

INVEST YOURSELF, a catalogue of service opportunities, lists several hundred specific projects and placements, with 26,000 openings, as well as names and addresses of 100+ North American voluntary service sponsoring and supporting agencies. Send 50¢ for single copy, third class mail. Add 15¢ per copy for domestic first class, 25¢ for foreign air mail. 25 copies—\$11.00, 50 copies—\$20.00, 100 copies—\$35.00 (and multiples thereof), 500 copies—\$150.00 (and multiples thereof). Write: The Commission on Youth Service Projects, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 832, Box M, New York, New York 10027.



Subscription Order

PLEASE SEND MOTIVE

- NEW SUBSCRIPTION RENEWAL
- 3 YEARS—\$9.50 (24 ISSUES)
- 2 YEARS—\$7.00 (16 ISSUES)
- 1 YEAR —\$4.00 (8 ISSUES)
- CHECK ENCLOSED BILL ME LATER

NAME _____

STREET OR BOX _____

CITY _____

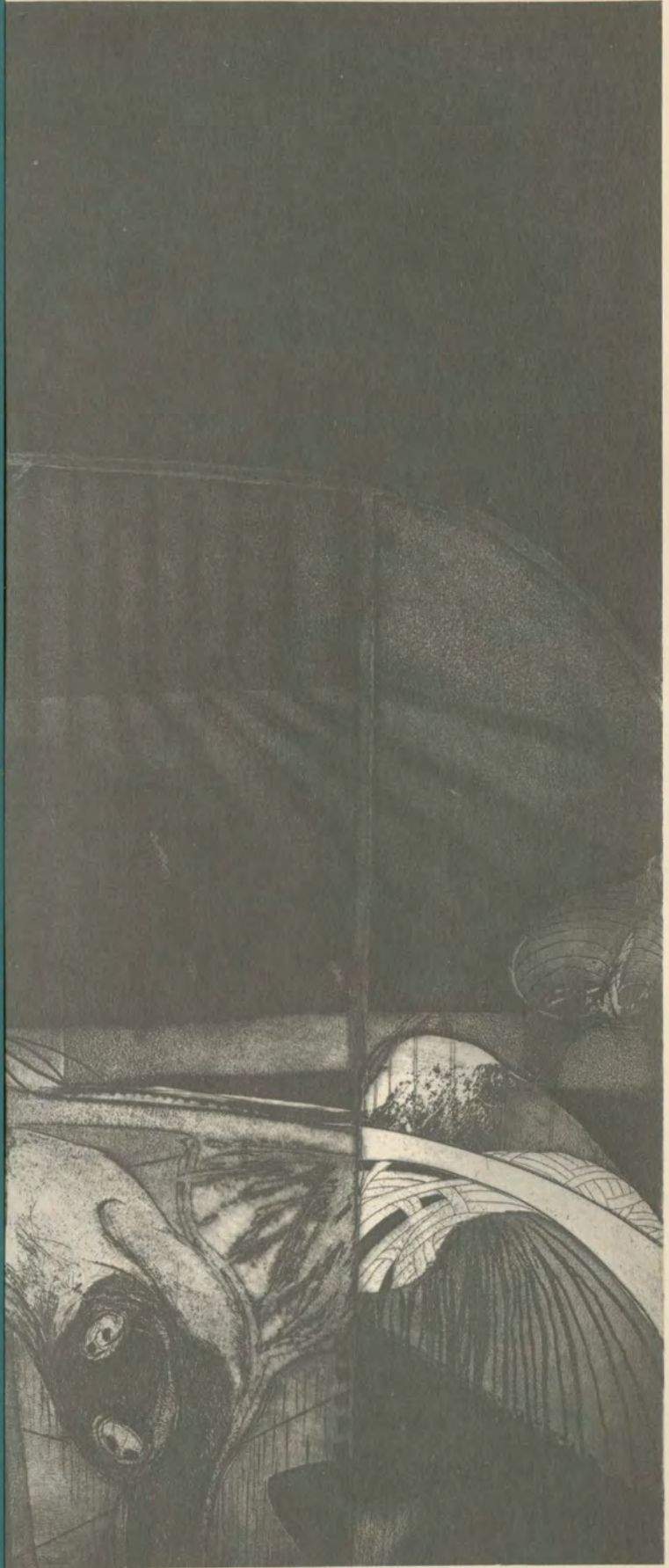
STATE _____

ZIP _____

Please check one:

- Undergrad. Student
- Grad. Student
- Faculty

- Clergy
- Seminarian
- Other



ROBERT ECHER

Contributors

HUEY NEWTON is Minister of Defense for the militant Black Panther Party, Oakland, California.

STEVEN H. JOHNSON, program secretary for the University Christian Movement, is a persistent and perceptive advocate of university reform.

MARC SOMMER's compassionate portrait of the North Vietnamese is the result of a recent two-week visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He and three other American students (Naomi Jaffee, John Stielstra and David Tobis) made the trip at the invitation of l'Union Des Etudiants du DRV. Marc is a reporter for Liberation News Service.

AL CARMINES, with this issue, begins his third year as *motive* film reviewer. Always a sensitive and provocative critic, he now joins the ranks as creative filmmaker. His first film, *Another Pilgrim*, has been greeted with much critical acclaim. Al is director of the arts at Judson Memorial Church, New York City.

MAL HANCOCK, an old friend of *motive*, sends his work from Minneapolis. A new collection of his cartoons, *How Can You Stand It Out There!*, was published recently by Citadel Press.

ARTISTS:

DOUGLAS GILBERT is a consistent and perceptive photographer who lives in New York. **SI DUNN** is an avid photographer with a strong moral conscience. He is a student at North Texas State. **JOE ZINN** works in publicity at Tennessee A & I. His wide-ranging talent finds outlet in dramatic photos from the dance, theater, and the social revolution. **RICHARD BELLAK**'s striking photographs are powerful statements of the tenacity and integrity of creative men and women; he lives in New York. **TOM DAVENPORT**, a frequent *motive* contributor, is a New York freelance photographer who recently returned from Taiwan. **ARNOLD LUNGERSHAUSEN** is one of the inexplicable windfalls for *motive*; his work moves in new and unusual directions. **RICHARD ASH** graduated from Wichita State, and will be teaching this fall at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls. **KEITH ACHEPOHL** is a new contributor whose work is deeply moving; he is on the faculty at Hope College in Holland, Michigan. **ROBERT ECHER**'s eerie intaglios accomplish the impossible: they are perplexing yet illuminating. He teaches at Washington State in Pullman.

POETS:

RICHARD RUSSELL has most recently published in *Prairie Schooner* and *Sage*. He lives in San Antonio. **WILLIAM D. TAMMEUS** is a race-relations, urban-affairs reporter on the Rochester (N.Y.) *Times-Union*. **RALPH ADAMO**'s work appeared this year in *Shenandoah*, *Confluence*, and several other poetry magazines. His home is Metairie, Louisiana. **ROBERT MOORE** sends his fine poems from Corvallis, Oregon; like space-dust, they come to rest everywhere.

motive magazine

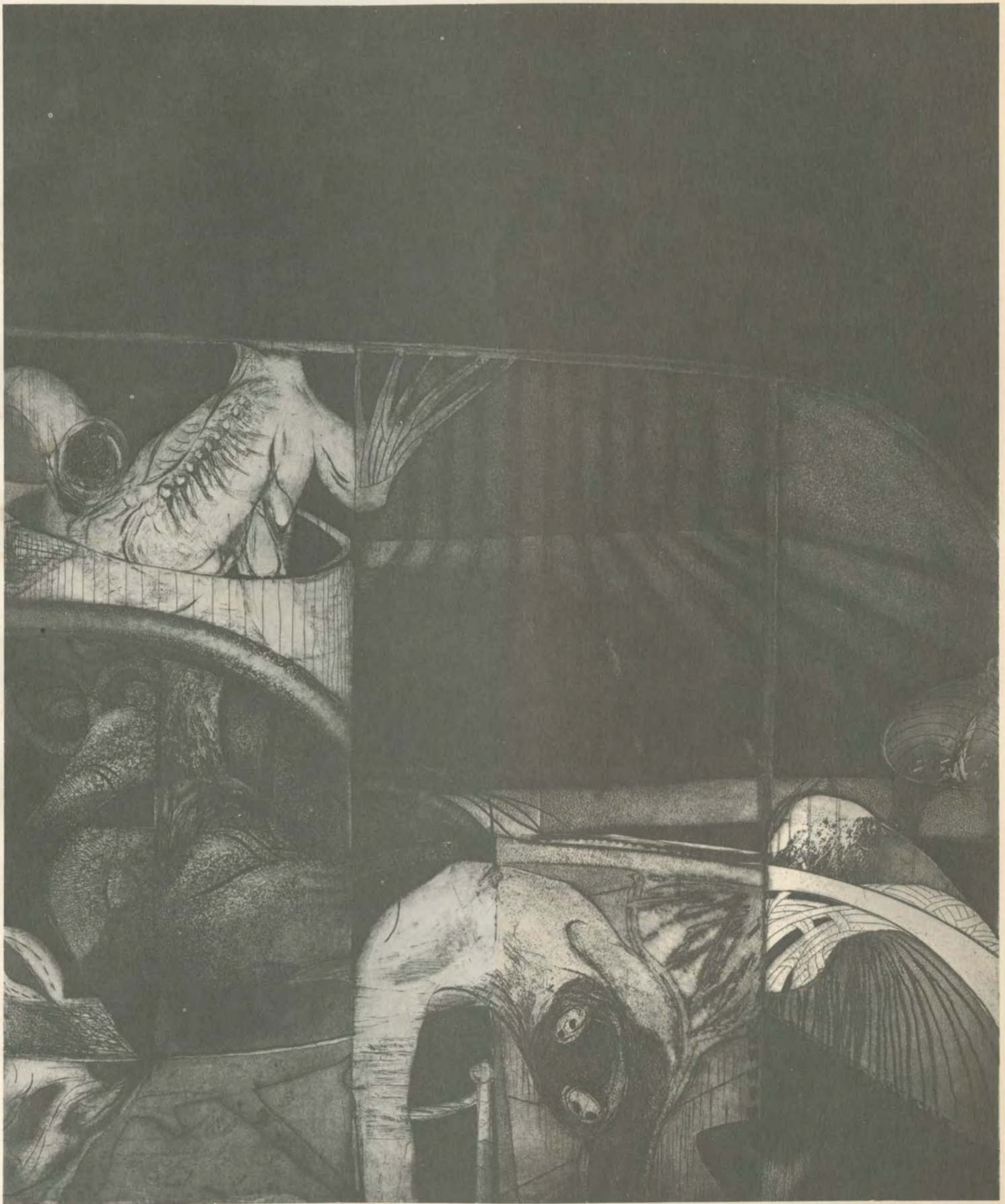
P.O. Box 871

Nashville, Tenn. 37202

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
No Postage Necessary If Mailed in the United States

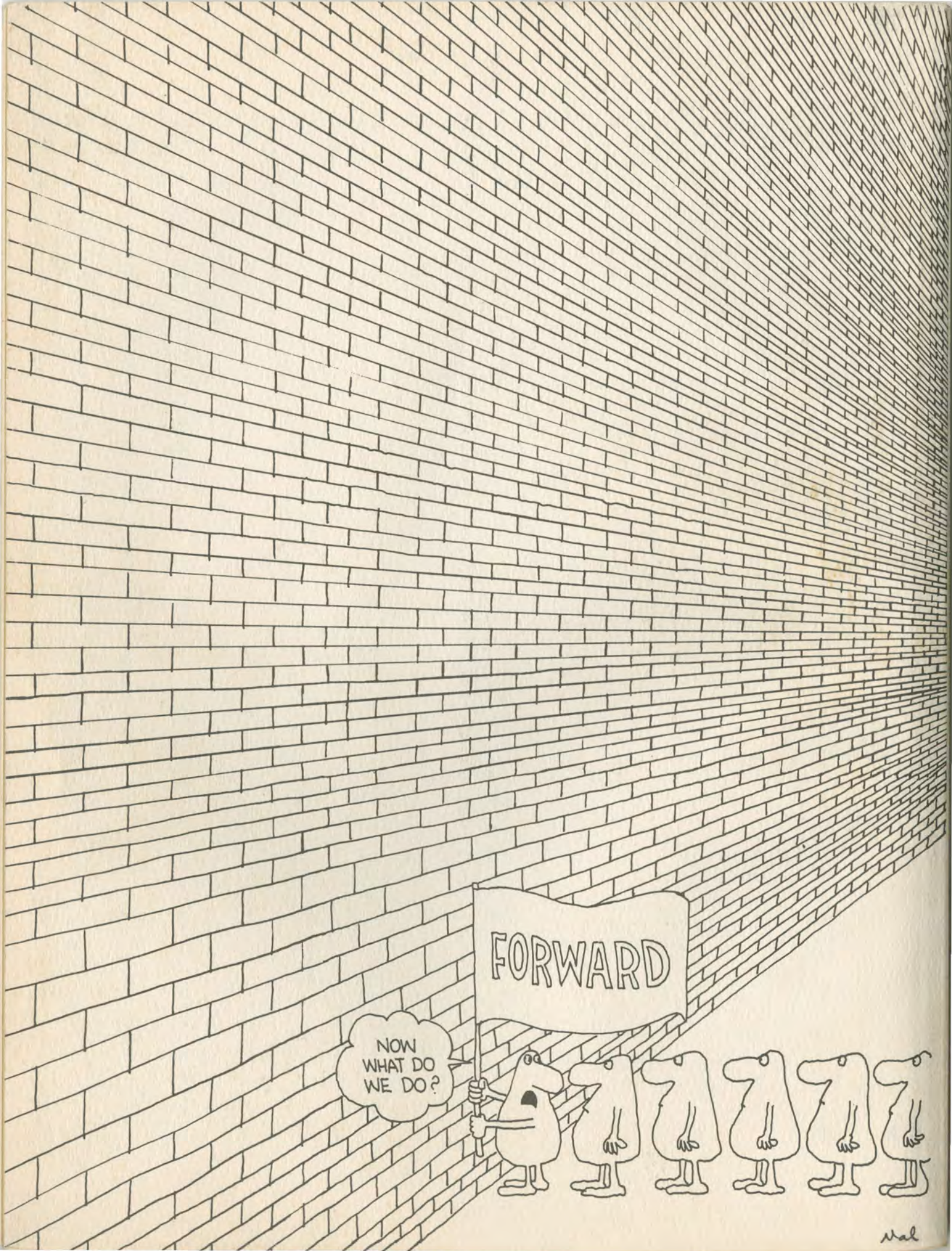
Postage will be paid by

First Class
Permit No. 607
Nashville, Tenn.



INTAGLIO: ECCE HOMO

ROBERT ECHER



NOW
WHAT DO
WE DO?

FORWARD