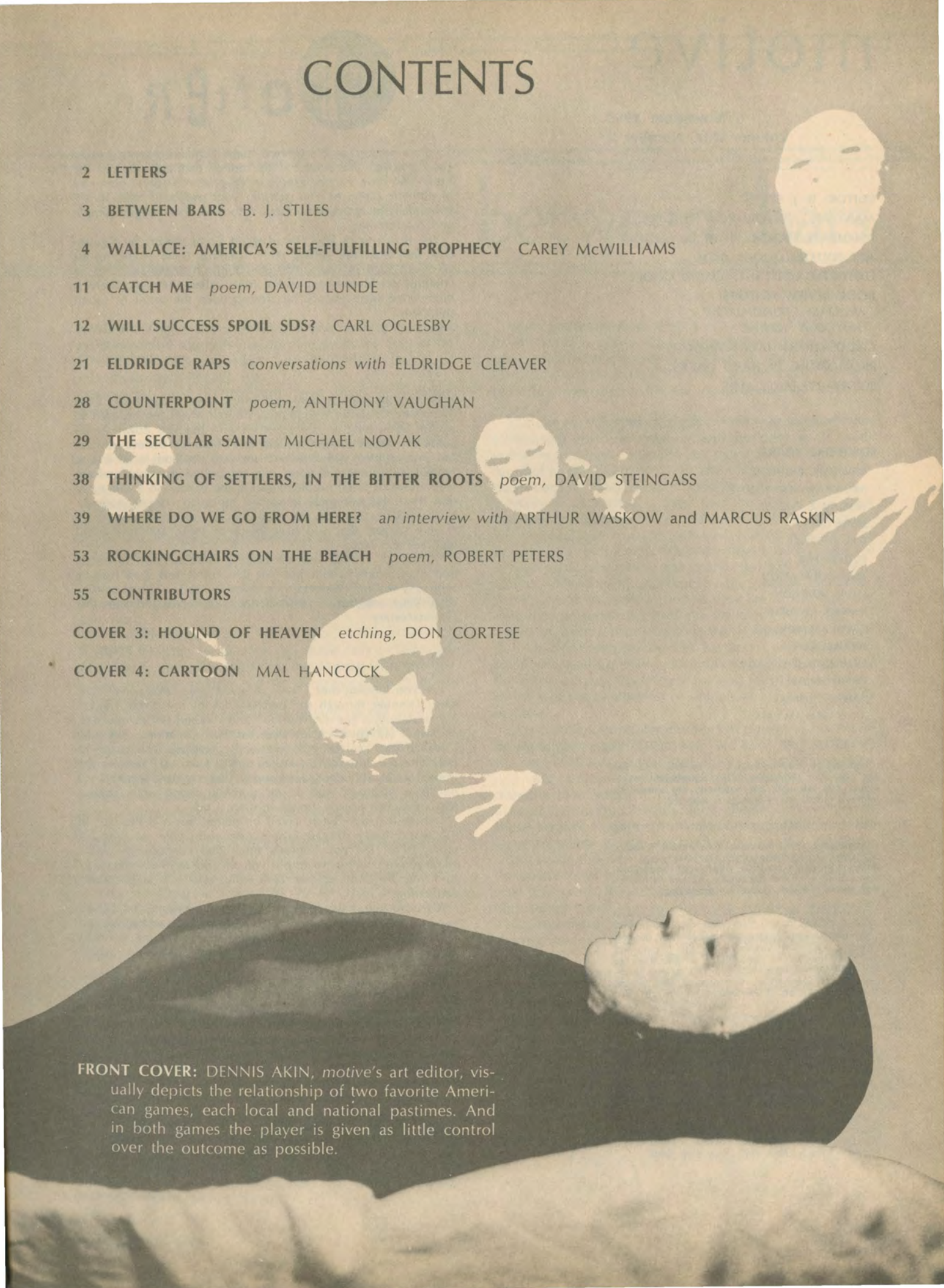






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FRONT COVER: DENNIS AKIN, *motive's* art editor, visually depicts the relationship of two favorite American games, each local and national pastimes. And in both games the player is given as little control over the outcome as possible.

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I am a new subscriber to *motive* and I think it's great! I especially enjoyed the letters to the editor that appeared in the April 1968 issue. For the most part they were beautiful examples of pathetic piety. As you perform your prophetic role, it will continually be attacked by those who want their religion simple and comfortable.

Yet, it is articles like "Two-Legged Compassion" by Nguyen Due that keep me yelling and marching. Look at the results of efforts such as yours; President Johnson finally saw that he couldn't get himself out of the mess called Vietnam. There is hope once again—which has always been the result of sound prophecy.

ROBERT FLAGG  
s. f. theo. seminary  
san anselmo, calif.

Being a graduate student and having been brought up in the Tennessee Conference Methodist Church, I've been exposed to *motive* for a long time. I don't want to put you down, as do some of your outspoken readers, but I honestly believe you are too preoccupied with the Vietnam war, sex and racial issues. Now, I will be married soon, may be drafted any time, and am well aware of racial problems facing the nation, so I will agree that these are extremely important topics to college students. I also realize that you do print articles on other subjects; I merely suggest that you have more of these and less about war, sex and race.

In essence, I think you are beating these subjects to death, and many students will just get tired of it and stop reading *motive*. I will not suggest any specific topics for future articles, since your imaginative performance in the past indicates this is unnecessary.

R. I. MILLER  
clemson university

Are you kidding me? I have received your "magazine" now since October through the benevolence of my home church. My subscription has now run out, and I intend not to renew it. At first, I felt your articles were extremely hilarious; but now I realize you are really serious and, therefore, can come to only one conclusion: You are all sick!!! I am as liberal as the normal college student; I wear my hair slightly longer; I do not hate Negroes; and I see nothing wrong with Eugene McCarthy. You people, however, disgust me.

I know that our system could be better, but it is the best in the world today. If you love communism, why do you not move there? Do you honestly think that communists would allow you to continue writing as you are able to in a democracy? And you are carrying love to a point where it is becoming nauseating.

If I were you, I would thank God each morning that I lived in a nation which permits such misinformed, disenchanted and inflammatory writing as is in *motive*. Your magazine is doing more harm than good for those deplorable conditions which do exist in these great United States.

You will undoubtedly print this to be able to say to your loyal followers that you are fair to all sides. I, however, find your magazine very shallow and a sham. A church should be able to find better things to help alleviate our social problems than printing a derogatory and inflammatory magazine. I will no longer be receiving this farce and so will not be able to see my name in print. This, however, is not my motive; I would, rather, warn people about your *motive*.

What is your hang-up, anyway? You are an insult to all but the very small mind, and I suggest you give up before you cause some very serious damage. After all, there are a lot of nuts running around, and your magazine could cause them to do something unfortunate. If you really wanted to do something for Christianity and human love, you would cease the publication of this trash.

DON TOOMEY  
cary, illinois

# between bars

America's quadrennial political orgy is nearing its climax but the passion has grown stale. The promises offered by all the lovers are redundant and the suitors lost their potency almost a decade ago.

Democrats and Republicans have been committing incest for so long that it seems their 1968 offspring sum up the all-time deficiencies which result from in-breeding. And the American Independent Party gyrating to the Wallace tic is a bastard Nemesis spawned by a senile Democratic father and an overly cosmeticized Republican mother.

Outside the center ring, the disenfranchised and the defeated are throwing sour-grapes and the apathetic will stagger out of their bourgeois stupor to vote their favorite prejudices. And those who have the most to lose or gain by shifts in power prate like praying mantises about democracy and freedom and law and order and stability. The voter totters under the weight of these pious political paroxysms.

So what else is new?

One is tempted to say that this is the way politics has always been and always will be. But anyone who falls for such a platitude in 1968 will be ill-equipped to respond to the political shifts in the offing.

As one looks to November and reflects on the events of the past eleven months, it seems more realistic to be concerned about how we survive the next Administration than to fret about who that Administration will be. There are real differences of course among the three or more presidential candidates and parties, but those real differences are little discussed by either the voters or the candidates.

Who is President—and Vice President—and which party is in the White House is not an irrelevant question. Humphrey/Muskie are obviously going to be more sympathetic with and influenced by the left than are Nixon/Agnew. A Republican/Wallace coalition is far more believable than a Democratic/Wallace alliance, but one can take little comfort in that distinction since both parties have been threatened and influenced so greatly by George Wallace. In short, those who have been hopeful about social change through political reform have little rationale for deep involvement in the presidential campaign.

This judgment, however, does not permit anyone the luxury of dropping out in this election in my opinion. To not vote in November is to decrease the margin between either of the major candidates and George Wallace. In essence, a non-vote is a vote for Wallace, and if one is willing to give Wallace that much of a chance, then he should take the full responsibility for deciding to vote for Wallace. Such a decision seems unthinkable unless one is deeply convinced that the politics of destruction is the best alternative open. I'm pessimistic about the American scene, but I'm not so desperate that I can vote for Wallace as the best strategy for change.

More important than *who* is in power is the question of who is *not* in power. Our future seems to depend more upon what those who aren't in power do than upon what those who appear to hold the reins of power do. The hand of history lies now with the opposition, not with the victor.

The defeat of the radical right in 1964 was parlayed from a trouncing into a reformation, and the ideology of Goldwater has become palatable to many more than voted for Goldwater-the-candidate. The preachings of Goldwater became the policies of Johnson.

Many of us argued in 1964 that the choice was clear and that the premises were moral. In part, we obviously were wrong, but more importantly, Lyndon Johnson maneuvered his plurality which came from a moral mandate into an autocracy which was challenged too late. America's moral hegemony was shot to hell. Senators McCarthy, Kennedy and McGovern tried to plug the moral leak, but they did not repair the break in the Democratic dike.

The erosion will not be stopped in November. It may be redirected temporarily. But the hopes and efforts and trusts wrapped up in the McCarthy-Kennedy protests and the inroads being made by third and fourth party movements will not be aborted or contained by the November decision.

It is not likely that the young, the poor, the black will be significantly re-engaged with the two party system in the next four years. Significant blocks from all three areas will vote in November and all the candidates will try to translate their support from these constituents into significant trends. But the long-term allegiance from any of these sectors is quite problematical especially if these three segments cancel each other out in this election.

But again, it is less important what these three segments of society do in November than how they act during the next four years. The anxious center of America will probably anoint Nixon/Agnew as escorts for Miss America in 1968, and the defeated Democrats will try to extrapolate themselves from exile by 1972 by reuniting behind some charismatic Prince Charming. We have yet to see whether the radical minorities can be brought into a new coalition which will move beyond simply remaking a party or refurbishing a federal government.

In this issue of *motive*, we have tried to focus on projections for the future, especially on those thinkers and activists on the left who are projecting the course the opposition is likely to take after November. The discussion that follows seems to me symptomatic of the convictions and planning most likely to influence the mood of the future.

B.G. Stiles

# WALLACE



# America's Self-fulfilling Prophecy

by

Carey

McWilliams

For some decades now, political scientists, preoccupied with discovering "what really happens" in politics, have sought to determine who gets what. They have neglected, on the whole, the equally significant question of what does *not* happen in politics, of who gets little or nothing out of the political game. Concerned with the distribution of rewards among the winners, they have left out the losers, and in recent years the chickens of neglect have come home to roost.

Robert Dahl's influential study, *Who Governs?*, sought to provide an answer to that question in New Haven, Connecticut a year ago. Riots in New Haven's black Hill section gave a clear demonstration that there are some who do *not* govern. It was the beginning of the end. In the long term, politics cannot forget that when someone gets, someone else pays. In 1968, the losers are presenting the winners with an overdue bill for damages.

That overdue bill is not a bad symbol of the fact that Richard M. Nixon, the chronic loser of American politics, now stands to be elected. Nixon's image need not be changed; it is doubtful if there will be any winners in 1968 except those who remain fairly uninvolved. In any event, Nixon — if he and his *opera bouffe* running mate do not yet contrive to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory — will not win the election; the Democrats will lose it.

Vietnam and the attendant nastiness of Chicago will play a role in the impending debacle, but probably not

the decisive one. Both are symptoms of a long-term rot, a slow decay which would have caused collapse sooner or later in any case and which the Asian conflict brought, at most, a little earlier than might have been expected.

The Democratic defeat will be the result of a defect inherent in the party's role in recent American politics. It has been the party of those in want, and of those who sympathize with their need. As a result, it has been under moral and political pressure to deliver *now*. The middle class following of the Republicans could endure years in the wilderness in the interest of preserving purity of principle. So, for that matter, could the upper middle class liberal left which clustered, reluctantly, around the Democratic banner.

The sheer need of the Democratic following, by contrast, made it necessary for the Democrats to become a party of the short term, impelled by interest and by conscience to engage in constant compromise in hope of immediate results. New Deal ideology began with Keynes's dictum that we will all be dead in the long run, and used it to justify sacrificing the broader opportunities provided by economic collapse to the immediate humanities of recovery.

It has been the policy of decent men, tenderer than the ideologues who opposed them; but tenderness is often blind. There has always been, in Democratic policy, a lack of direction and a predominance of drift. Worse, its vague humanitarianism has concealed an inhumanity

of its own, less severe but no less real than that of its duller, less sensitive opponents on the right.

Democratic compromise has taken place between the poles of poverty and of organized power in economic and social life. Whatever else it did, the New Deal did not "drive the money-changers from the temple." Driven by the need of their voters, Democrats have been willing with fair consistency to sacrifice the interests of those whose needs were less than desperate, who had not cried out *in extremis*.

Certainly, that accounts for much of the insensitivity of many Democratic politicians to the complaints and needs of students and of the young middle class. Confronted with the problems of men who live under the lash of want, most Democrats have found it hard to conceive of student needs and discomforts as real, and have been tempted to see them as another form of panty-raid that will sometime or another pass out of fashion.

Over the Democratic decades, a broad middle sector of American life has been not only ignored but asked to pay the costs of social policy. The great organized interests have been able to keep pace with or to outrun change in American life. Inflation and increased taxes have been effectively countered by lobbies in Washington capable of bending policy at critical points, by prices passed on to consumers, planned obsolescence and guided subsidies.

Even labor and the racial minorities, forced to use the strike, the demonstration and the riot, the weapons of the weak, have managed to use organization to win some gains and to prevent other losses. Middle sector America has remained outside the "group struggle" and has suffered accordingly.

**L**ower middle class and middle class America, the stratum of the clerks, the public servants, small businessmen and small farmers, semi-professionals and suburbanized workers, has partly been its own victimizer. Organization would have been difficult in any case, but these have persistently rejected it, clinging to a belief in individual self-sufficiency, the "independence" which — very mistakenly — they attribute to those higher up the ladder of status.

Many who lack such status-motives have clung to the virtues of an older time, the stern creed of honesty, work and frugality. Yet all these beliefs are hardly the responsibility of middle Americans themselves. They were inculcated in the schools, the churches and the public forums until they became a matter of mental second nature.

For more than a few, the old creed was a Rock of Ages, a fixed point to cling to in a world which seemed to have dissolved into a swirl of change. Even the workers and the minorities clung to the creed until the last stages of despair; and the workers are falling back on it as the Depression falls away in the wells of ancient memory.

Sitting of an evening in Queens or Inglewood in a twenty year old suburban house now falling into decay, exhausted from the daily commuter's battle, contemplating his rising property taxes, his medical bills, the cost of credit needed to pay for all the things he never seems to

catch up with, it is no surprise if the middle American falls into an angry, puzzled depression. Automation threatens his job; this is now the universal case of all Americans. His employers or his clients are threatening to move to the greener pastures of towns which offer exemption from taxes, industrial revenue bonds, and low wage rates.

In the towns themselves, small businessmen think their own dark thoughts. "Attracting industry" means more than the heretofore escaped problem of air pollution; it means an increasing bill for services which, because of the tax advantages which must be granted to "attract" business, will fall on the local citizen himself. But he has little alternative.

The farmers outside town are growing older — the average age of working farmers is in the 50s — and are tired of what amounts to a wage of 35¢ an hour. Each day, some die while others, and even more their children, migrate toward the cities. With each farmer, the businessman's clientele drops one more unit toward the breaking point at which he must close his doors. New highways are in the offing, and many of his customers already prefer to join the commuter stream into the cities.

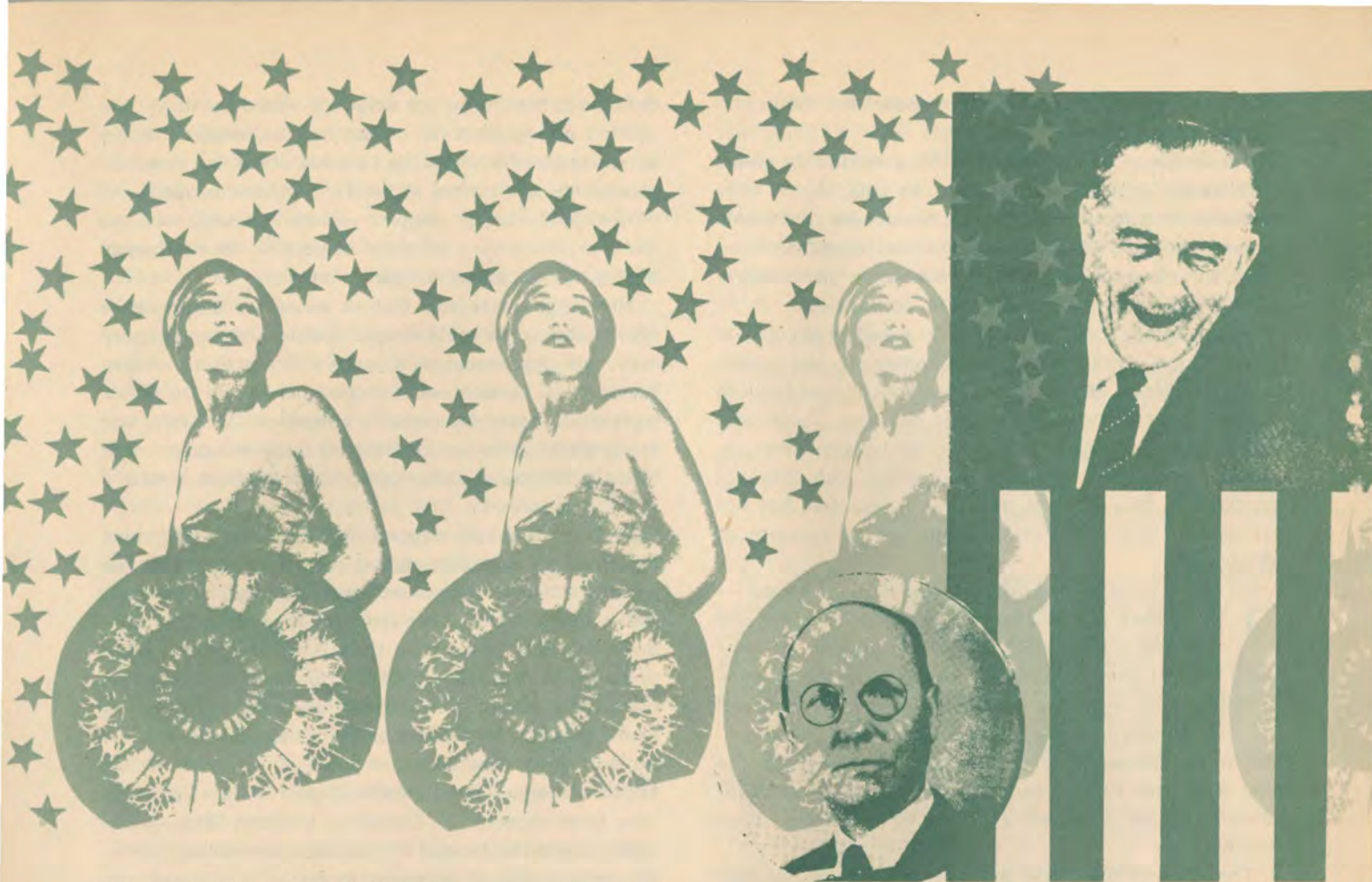
Over all the diverse environments hangs a common pall: the threat of an outer world which seems to speak only with the tongues of force and of importunity; technological changes which sweep away the old securities; new, smug, strident voices which mock the old decencies of life.

Once, it was a characteristic of the South that it sensed its own marginality. Outside the dominant world of American economic and social life, the South was the dependent of alien forces which it could not control. Able only to scramble for equally marginal fly-by-night industries which extracted a pound of social flesh for every ounce of economic benefit, desperately clinging to myths of a better past, it vented its fears and its angers in violence against blacks and in histrionic obstruction in Washington. The Southern condition, once a regional fact, has become the common condition of middle America. It is logical that the South should furnish it with a spokesman.

George Wallace is the master spirit of the election (though many middle Americans, for reasons of prudence, will vote for Richard Nixon) and the mocking echo of political neglect; but his is a power not his own. In fact, when Wallace recently told the *New York Times* that but for him, the rightist reaction would be more dangerous than it is, he may have spoken the truth for perhaps the first time in his extended political career.

There are many possible enemies for middle America. It could, if it had the understanding, center its hostility on the great forces of the age which threaten all states and all men; it could follow the less demanding but significant course of hating the jumble of American economic and political life through which the great interests drive a straight path, unopposed by any general public awareness. The difficulty with these potential foes, the real demons which haunt middle America, is that, like





COLOR LITHOGRAPH: FATHER KNOWS BEST

SUZANNE FOSTER

all demons, they are invisible.

Those who possess the tangible powers of the earth are allowed to keep their spirit secret. Blacks and students, by contrast, too weak to operate behind the scenes, must make a public demonstration of the intangible, human resources — loyalty, commitment, devotion — which are their only powers. Sometimes, when small power and gentle proof will not suffice, they are driven to suggest greater power by proving that their members are devoted enough to risk punishment by breaking the law.

Middle America, which has neither the tangible powers nor, in its human isolation, the resources of solidarity and devotion, becomes resentful of the enemies it can see. It does so, moreover, because in secret it envies the violator of law, even suspects that he is an ally.

The mood of middle America is one of ambiguity about the law. It has kept to the law and the rules and the only pay-off seems to have been indignity. Like Nathanael West's Southern Californians, it begins to suspect that it has been cheated. Yet middle Americans have invested their lives in the laws and rules, and to reject them is to confess that those lives have been wasted and that what remains is the dust of the earth.

An attack on Justice Fortas is more than an assault on the liberalism of the Warren Court; Fortas is a convenient symbol of the legal sharks, the cunning men who skate outside the borders of ethics yet inside those of the law. He suffers for the need of middle Americans to

believe that the custodians of the law, and not the law itself, are somehow at fault.

It is pointless to tell those who rage against welfare "chiselers" that a life lived on welfare, chiseled or not, is hardly enviable. What they really complain of is their own employment and their envy of freedom from work. It is equally irrelevant to twit Wallace, the defender of state autonomy, with being from a state which survives on federal grants; he only typifies the status of middle Americans who are dependent and who *resent* the dependence.

There is still greater folly in observing that Alabama has a high murder rate or that those who "defend" the law often do so in lawless ways. Crime, violence and assassination will all be associated with those who demand an iron "law and order" in the loudest voices. They will insist on a savage punishment of offenders because they know, unconsciously, that it is *necessary to keep them inside the law*.

Liberal, intellectual America, fresh from applauding "Bonnie and Clyde," can hardly claim much superiority. Americans have always admired crime on the grand scale and have envied it, which is why they insist on the villain losing in the end. Middle America adores J. Edgar Hoover because he is the guardian of its law-abidingness, the symbol of the fiction that in the end, crime does not pay. The worst crimes are the most tempting; James Earl Ray vaulted, in a moment, from obscurity to prominence. Infamy and fame are separated only by the thin lines of morality and failure. As the first becomes uncer-

tain, the second becomes more essential for those who would remain within the law.

The language of resentment in this campaign has been surprisingly gentle toward blacks. In part, this is only fashion; overt racism is no longer respectable. Yet it also reflects the fact that the demands and resentments — even the violence — of black Americans are comprehensible to their middle American compatriots.

The “unprejudiced” American who is willing to concede fairness *now*, without any consideration of past unfairness, sees blacks as demanding “too much”, but he does not see their demands as morally perverse. Those who favor some sort of repression do so because their interests — as they see them — conflict with those of blacks. The fact of black militance is resented, but not its *nature*; it is still part of some sort of universe of discourse.

**T**he real tones of hostility — or even of hatred — have been reserved for “hippies”, the New Left, and the peace movement. These are not, for the most part, the children of middle America; and the massive anxiety it feels regarding its own children can be blamed on the influence of the children of others. The movements are composed of the offspring of abundance, the kids who have had it easy (“The heir to American Capitalism,” *Forbes* captioned a picture of a straggly haired youth).

The upper middle class and its children have not paid the costs of social progress. Integration in the schools and in housing they have countered by private education and movement to the suburbs; and middle America has been left to foot the bill of centuries of racial neglect.

The middle Americans do not resent the advantages and the high road to success possessed by others. Their ideology will not let them. They are bitter, however, that so many of the young princes show — as they interpret it — so little sense of obligation, so much blithe willingness to split for Canada to avoid military service, and such fire in denouncing the colleges and the institutions whose insides middle Americans can only hope to see at much cost and Spartan sacrifice.

To try to explain that student America disobeys and protests from a profound sense of obligation would be

difficult at best (even the evidence would be shaky; the splitters and evaders far outnumber the resisters). It becomes impossible given the fact that liberal-left America, saccharinly sentimental about the problems of racial minorities and foreign peoples, seems incapable of even minimal concern — let alone respect — for the human dignity and dilemmas of middle America.

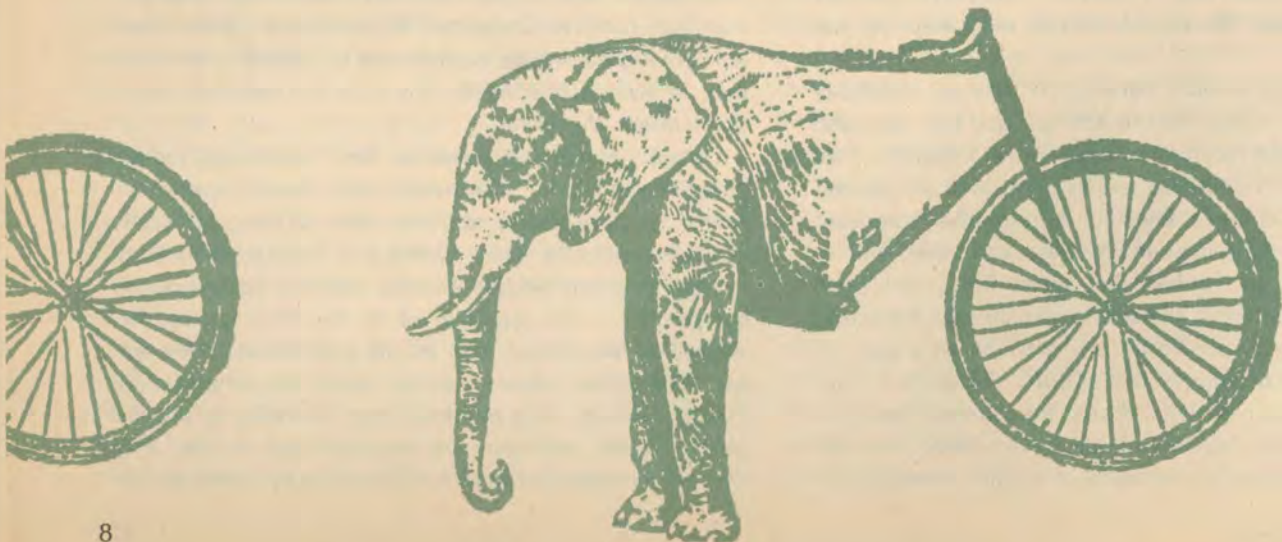
The language is still that of *epate les bourgeois*, a combination of Menckenesque disdain, righteous superiority, and psychoanalytic diagnosis. The action — whatever its real content — is too often masked by visible signs of disregard for ordinary amenities. (McCarthy was as successful as he was because his cause moved so many to make the rather minor compromise of cleanliness and attire in its service.)

Middle America, trapped by its own ambiguities, better off but more threatened, deeply involved and personally isolated, dependent and resentful, is slow to move and to arouse. The last four years, however, have done the work of decades. It has been fairly silent while political outrage and political tolerance combined to mount the ladder of confrontation; but — to borrow Paul DeBruhl’s description of the “Silent Generation” — no one is so silent as when he is about to throw up. Middle America’s eventual vomit spewed up — as might have been expected — George C. Wallace. Since middle America sets the tone of the nation at the polling places, if nowhere else, it promises to be an unpleasant four years.

\* \* \* \* \*

The political future, as always, is uncertain; but all the events of recent years may, in the short term at least, mean little in the way of change. The end of the Roosevelt coalition has regularly been prophesied since 1945, and just as regularly has failed to materialize. A Nixon presidency will certainly provide both incentive and opportunity for the Democratic remnants to close ranks and concentrate their fire. Since the Wallace threat and the increasing activism of Republican conservatives portend a drift to the right, a number of those who now feel their New Deal gains secure may return to Democratic ranks.

A Nixon administration could win the unsettled allegi-



ance of many, but it would have to act rapidly. The greatest likelihood of a renewed lease on life for the Democrats is the near-certainty that their nominee in '72 will be Senator Edward Kennedy, and no one — not even an incumbent President — is likely to prevail against his combination of charm and legend.

Nonetheless, the game is up; the parties of the age of Roosevelt will soon be a thing of the past. The ethnic-based city organizations are suffering from a slow decay, and the trade unions from a rather more precipitous one. The white South has been reduced, in the Democratic party, to that spectrum — from moderate to liberal — that was a mainstay of the New Deal and is willing, for whatever motives, to go along with the national party. Mississippi is gone for good, and the other Southern Democratic parties are likely to suffer further attrition to the Republicans and to the far right.

**T**he moral is a fairly obvious one. Sometime, fairly soon, the younger liberal-left will become the majority in the Democratic party; and it behooves them to begin to adjust to the fact. The tactics of opposition are not appropriate to rulers, a moral as well as a political truth which today's protesters find it hard to appreciate. Certainly, it is time to begin asking the obvious question: where will the Democratic majority of the future come from?

Some of the elements of the new coalition are obvious. First, it will be strong among the now-young and the students, though current strength in the polls will suffer some erosion when some begin to move into "conservatizing" roles in economic and social life.

Fourth-party fulmination aside, what the demonstrations at Chicago proved is that the liberal-left student is trapped by the Democratic party. He did not demonstrate at Miami because he hoped for nothing from the GOP. He demonstrates more against Humphrey than against Nixon because he *must* make the point that he cannot be ignored (as indeed he cannot, for students and similar voters are the mainstay of the party's working force). Men become violent when they are neglected by those they love, and the passion here is nearly total. For the student, to be excluded by the Democracy is to have no voice at all.

To the students may be added all those of similar liberal-left ideology: the intelligentsia, the academics, the liberal suburbanites, and — for the most part — the Jews who do not fall into any of the other categories. This element is widely dispersed, like students themselves, but it is concentrated in the megalopoli of the Northeast, a few areas in the Old Northwest, and on the Pacific Coast.

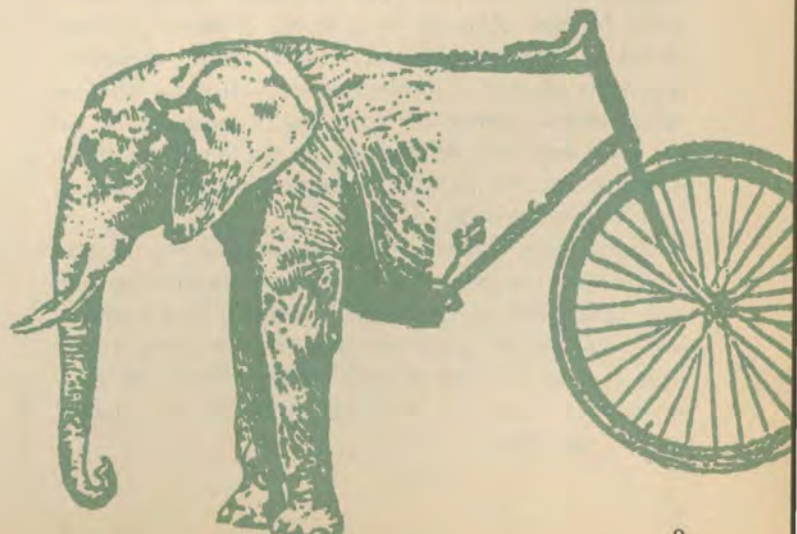
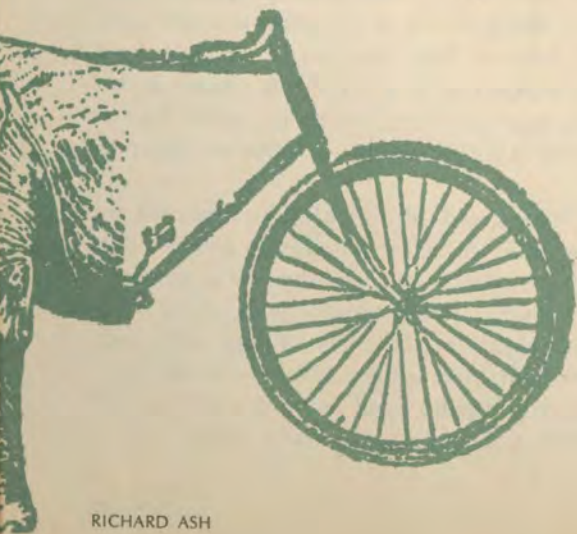
Third, in addition to those elements of the old party organizations that remain true to their allegiance and to the more liberal trade unions, there will be the blacks. Party allegiance is, for black America, now almost a given. How could it be otherwise where Hubert Humphrey is the right-wing of one of the two parties? In fact, the blacks bid fair to become the new Irish, the core of the regular party.

At Chicago, this was already evident. Julian Bond, especially, played the game of politics by the rules and with finesse in a way which won hearts among regulars without alienating his own supporters. Black politicians — particularly those of the future — will not be "liberals" or "leftists", though these may continue to be their allies; they will be concerned with the interests of their black American constituents.

The operative word is *interest*, not purity of principle. That indicates the likelihood of a growing gap between urban, black America and suburban liberal America — simply the new old politics vs. the new politics. That much is already evident in 1968; black Americans are the only major bloc which seems to be sticking with Humphrey. Outrage means different things to men who have lived subject to outrage from birth than it does to the denizen of — or the would-be *emigre* from — suburban America.

Finally, add in the other racial minorities: Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, a good number of Japanese-Americans, in Hawaii at least, perhaps even the American Indians.

**T**he total of all these core party groups is far short of a majority. Presuming that the new Democrats do not want to share the fate of the old Republicans, they will have to seek voters elsewhere. This, frankly, will be a hard task. At the ideological level, liberals have



been at a disadvantage for years. Even in 1964, a third more Americans called themselves "conservatives" and a majority listed "philosophy of government" as one of the attractive elements of the Republican party in general and Goldwater in particular.

Since — *pace* Daniel Bell — ideology seems destined to play as important a role in the middle class politics of the 20th century as it did in the bourgeois politics of the 18th, this is disturbing. In fact, when a recent survey asked Americans to name persons they would classify as "radical" in American politics, Hubert Humphrey was named by 63%.

On concrete issues, the public has proved more amenable to taking positions on the liberal side. That, however, partly reflects the fact that the "issues" debated in American elections have been part a re-hash of the virtues or vices of the New Deal, part a cautious twiddling with immediate crises.

Certainly, most Americans have little understanding of the racial crisis or possible solutions to it. The negative income tax and other, newer approaches to poverty that have been current among the intellectuals for several years have not penetrated the community at all. Humphrey's proposal for "new cities" — while the height of common sense — probably seems as threatening to most Americans as it does promising.

The American left has almost wholly failed in the task of political education. In the years of the Eisenhower desert, propelled by the Southern Civil Rights Movement as well as its own internal motives, it did not do badly. The problem is that since 1960 (if not since 1945), the American radical has *relied on the Democratic party organization* to do his job for him.

It was his task to discern the issues and to propose the solutions. It was their task to sell his ideas and proposals to the electorate and to build the liberal conscience on which radical ideas could be erected. Despite the analyses of radical intellectuals who have seen the slow decay of the party, though not always in the right terms, he has not yet abandoned the belief in that division of labor.

For the eight years of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, political education of the general public has lapsed almost altogether. This is excusable, in part. The Vietnam protests put a premium on *immediate* results, which could be best achieved by a highly coherent, intense, visible minority. Yet that only emphasizes the degree to which the protests — justified or not — had the inherent defect of the Democratic party itself: concentration on the short term. The decline of *both* the left as a political educator and the party as a political organizer, springs from the same source.

Maybe there is some hope. The precinct organization which McCarthy moved with such success from state to state (and which — incidentally — would have been entirely nullified by a national primary; McCarthy would have had to face the general public without the early primary successes in small states) should have taught people something.

Even in the short term, labor and effort with the voters pay some rewards. The Goldwaterites confused a registration-canvassing effort with political education, and payed the price. Getting people to vote — even presenting an attractive candidate in a favorable way — is not the same thing as developing the attitudes of citizens before a campaign. Increasingly aware of media pressure, citizens are fairly resistant to "selling" techniques *during* a campaign: that job must be done beforehand.

Democratic regulars are suspicious of the McCarthy-Kennedy students and their allies. First, it is new and untried: no one knows whether the six months' burst of energy is a flash in the pan which will disappear if the war is removed as an issue in American politics or if the Democrats nominate Senator Ted in '72. Second, the movement has thus far been tied to the *interest* of those involved in it — ending the war and the threat of the draft.

Aside from a few salient examples of martyrdom, it has not required great moral courage. No one has really "turned the screws" on radical America in the way that was characteristic of the days of the earlier McCarthy or of the white South in the days of the movement there (and the way the white South — now less bothered by student pressure — still does; witness Memphis). When short term interest disappears, will long term commitment remain? The answer may be yes, but at this point, no one knows.

Commitment in this sense does *not* mean what the left has been in recent years: an internally oriented pattern of communication, designed to reinforce the embattled or — as has been too often the case — to provide a justification for inaction. (The neo-Stalinist argument that it doesn't matter unless everything is changed, so do nothing about something, is as powerful today as it was in the 40s and 50s).

Still less does it demand the kind of pietism which, in the ancient accents of American Protestantism, is concerned with the purity of one's own soul while those of others languish. It demands, rather, a willingness to sacrifice purity, to be involved in the difficult task of dealing with those who do not see, and to attempt to make them see, hear, and understand.

That task may demand concessions in clothing, in rhetoric, in personal style. It may even demand the hard decision which divides what is important in one's goals from what is less so. That, however, is the way men grow: not by responding to a trivializing society by insisting on their own trivialities, but by facing the human task of deciding what is worthy of ultimate devotion and of life.

Surely, the coming task of political education will require that the walls of self-righteousness and self-pity be breached by the forces of civic, democratic concern: one which approaches fellow citizens without the effusions of sentimentality or the sneer of superiority, but with the permanent truth which, at this historical pass, demands human recognition and awareness, that we all need each other, and that no man stands alone.

*C*ATCH ME

*Catch me now. It is not only weariness that holds me still. I have wished for the poise of the elm trees on midwestern streets awaiting the slow onslaught of disease. But my limbs tremble in the absence of wind. What I've hidden has grown; it will own me like cancer. I have seen myself looking in my window with blank eyes; my mind is changed.*

*I am under the mistletoe hoping you will negotiate the jungle my hands are planting, the labyrinth of poisoned bamboo, the snipers that leap from my head. Opposing us are all the forces of habit.*

*But even the time of the tree grows short. The darkness laps toward us like the tar that remembers outworn species.*

*I can make no apology: it is to say yes and no at once. It is a manner of speaking which I've learned from myself.*

*Love, it is not what I mean.*

DAVID LUNDE

# WILL SUCCESS

by Carl Oglesby



The beginnings could not have been more casual. While I was at Dartmouth this winter, I became re-acquainted with an SDSer I'd met two years before on a New England speaking trip—Rick Dodge, a graduate of Williams, a one-time SNCC affiliate, a Resister, and a roving New Leftist who was living then over the river in Vermont.

Rick had for some time been close to the daughter of Eldridge Haynes, president of a New York-based firm (Business International Incorporated), and through that relationship had come to know Haynes himself.

BI apparently exists to serve the political and sometimes legal needs of some of the biggest American "multi-national com-

panies." It lobbies (for example, for liberal trade policies) both at home and abroad. It sells expertise on such special business problems as investment in socialist countries. It maintains an international data-gathering network and makes business intelligence available to its clients through a series of newsletters (*Business Europe*, *Business Latin America*, etc.), occasional papers, and consultations. One of its apparently major undertakings is an on-going series of international conferences, called Roundtables, in which business executives meet with U.S. and foreign representatives to explore means of extending international economic integration and development.

BI's clientele includes America's corporate giants. It seems to have direct pipelines to most governments. It enjoyed special access to President Kennedy. It jointly hosted with the UN this year's UNCTAD II conference in Geneva (United Nations Committee to Aid Development). It played a key role in shaping the Kennedy Administration's Alliance for Progress.

Practical as its undertakings are, BI is still an acutely ideological organization, by which I mean that it has a conscious sense of it-

self as an agent of historical change and holds a clearly defined perspective: Modern history is the process of the industrial organization of society, and the main contemporary instrument of this process is the emerging multi-national corporation. BI sees the increasing integration of world economic functions as crucial to liquidation of international belligerence and Third World poverty and prosperity of democratic values. Big corporations exist to serve these objectives: they are the world's best developers and spreaders of technology and freedom.

Free-enterprise marketplace competition has been essentially superseded by the requirement for long-range planning and controlled market expansion. For the role of the rugged individualist of the Nineteenth Century, the imperatives of industrial technology and matured mass production have substituted the committee of specialists. In a world marked by acute disparities of material wealth and the threat of revolution, the simple maximizing of profit rates can no longer be the dominant purpose of overseas corporate policy, which instead must be geared to the need for global development of wealth.

# SPOIL SDS?

(This holds, too, domestically: corporations must either accept social responsibility or abandon their long-range planning aspirations.) All nationalisms are outmoded and hazardous. A global federalism is politically and economically necessary.

In his conversations with Rick, Haynes began to develop the idea that, barring a few understandable misconceptions on the part of the young people (notably about the role of business in world affairs), the aims of the young radicals were essentially co-ordinate with those of BI. Did SDS oppose the Vietnam War? So did BI and an increasing number of the companies with which it had ties. Was SDS concerned about racism? So was BI. Did SDS find no excuse for poverty in a nation this wealthy? Neither did BI. Was SDS fighting the hysterical anti-communism of America's foreign policy? BI, too, advocated detente with the USSR, a gradual realignment of America's China policy, and eventual rapprochement with Cuba. And if SDS and BI differed about why these changes were needed, the one putting forth an "idealistic" and the other a "practical" case for change, then that could as easily be the basis of cooperation

as of hostility. Wouldn't it be a good idea for representatives of BI and SDS to meet somewhere together for quiet exploratory talks?

Rick had in fact broached this possibility to me in our very first meeting early in 1966, and had sent me a few letters about it during the intervening period. When the proposal came up again in New Hampshire and I expressed my willingness to be involved, Rick, operating always as the intermediary, began to push for a definite date.

The meeting finally took place at the Gotham Hotel in New York on June 7th.

**T**he meeting lasted from mid-morning to mid-afternoon.

The discussion was spirited on both sides, candid most often, and was very basic in its issue content.

Our side was represented by myself, Rick, Mike Locker, Jon Frappier (who works with Mike on the NACLA staff), Sol Yurick (of Brooklyn MDS and author of *The Bag*), and Eqbal Ahmed, a Pakistani who teaches at Cornell, a friend of mine for several years, and an expert on the Algerian Revolution. Fred Goff of NACLA



and Mike Spiegel also were to have attended, but were finally unable to.

The other side: Haynes and his son, Elliott, BI vice president, along with two other people from BI and about eight business executives, most of whom bore titles like "Vice President: Overseas" from some of the biggest of the multi-national companies: chemicals, construction, drugs, electronics.

The session was free-flowing and, once begun, stuck to no particular agenda. It is hard to summarize also because the businessmen were not always of identical views. Nevertheless, I think it is safe to say that they approached consensus on all of the following points and achieved it on most.

(1) The New Left's criticism of current American policy is sound, but the New Left has not been nearly as effective in putting forward a positive program for change.

(2) A reactionary response to the country's problems (such as Nixon: almost all of them favored McCarthy) will be a disaster.

(3) New Left community-organizing work is healthy and good. The urban political machines are obstructive and should be broken by popular insurgencies.

(4) New Left campus agitation (Columbia was in the immediate background) is also good on balance. The tactics at Columbia were perhaps a trifle Ruddy, but the cause was legitimate.

(5) America's China policy is ill-omened and should be reversed. China, that is, having demonstrated her ability to achieve great-power status, must be dealt with as such: commercially and then politically integrated into the concert of great powers, as with the Soviet Union. (It was claimed that a growing faction in the Pentagon supports this view of China policy.)

(6) Continued political and economic pressure on Cuba is useless.

(7) Massive social and economic reform is required both domestically and throughout the Third World. U.S. corporations must play a key role here. They alone have the technical and financial resources to end (the revolutionary politics of) world over-population and hunger.

(8) Historically, the overseas behavior of the big American companies has been short-sighted and perhaps occasionally ruthless. The businessmen conceded a few United Fruit-type imperial horror stories. But they argue that this is largely a thing of the past, and that the situation resulted in the first place not from a flood of investment money into the Third World, but rather from a gross deficiency of plant-building investment capital. (Risk capital does in fact by no means predominate in the com-

position of U.S. foreign investment.) Further, they seem to be more aware than most Leftists (even those who read Guevara carefully) that a major obstacle to world development is the imperialist balkanization of the global South. They see the remedy in the creation of such formations as the Central American Common Market—the "Free World" alternative to pan-continental revolution.

This last point defined the major debate of the day. Our side insisted that the structure of the corporations made it impossible for them to contribute significantly to the real social development of the ex-colonial or neo-colonial world. The opposite is true. The need to maximize profit rates, a built-in and permanent need until there is a socialist transformation of industry, will always override the social needs of peoples. Their response to this was the very heart of neo-capitalism.

True, they said, the primary need of prewar capitalism was to organize the forces of industrial production, and the human being was often sacrificed to this objective. Now, however, large-scale industry has developed to the extent that further production (machine-based: laboring man increasingly stands to the side as supervisor) can proceed only through the organization of the forces of consumption. Hence, the new function of a bureaucratically consolidated Keynesian capitalism is to produce consumers. Labor is henceforth to be more and more concentrated in the machine. A very Marxist idea, by the way: the abstraction of labor.\*

\* This point deserves more extended treatment than it can be given here, and people interested in pursuing it in depth should read Martin Nicolaus' "The Unknown Marx" in *New Left Review*, 48, without a doubt the most important contribution to Marxism which the New Left has produced. (SDS's Fred Gordon has pointed out that Marcuse leaves out two dimensions, the historic and the economic. Louis Althusser (*NLR* 41) fills in the first, Nicolaus the second.)

In outline: the businessmen's argument stops short of a confrontation with its inner contradiction. So long as the power to consume is tied to the exchange of labor for wages, men must work in order to buy (and they must buy, of course, to keep the machine going). But the machine's implied need to maintain and augment men's buying power is only the other side of the machine's explicit need to curtail human labor in behalf of lower production costs. The machine wants buyers for its products, but to create buyers it must also (under capitalism) create workers, which contradicts its inner tendency to replace human labor. The dilemma is broken (a) through commercial expansion or imperialism, which tries to guarantee that the market sector will always be larger than the wage-earning sector; (b) through technical fascism, in which the consumer is abstracted as the State, which in order to buy from itself is required to militarize the political economy; or (c) through socialism, in which labor as a traded "commodity" is no longer the basis of value and exchange. (Wealth, said Marx, is properly measured in terms of free time.)

In spite of this important disagreement Haynes and the other business people felt that the session had been profitable enough to be continued by that group and repeated by other groups of businessmen and New Leftists across the country. Our side's basic skepticism was no doubt a bit numbed by the openness of the businessmen. No definite plans were made, but we parted agreeing to stay in contact and determine soon upon other dates.

After the SDS Convention in mid-June, Locker came to my house in Yellow Springs to outline a book we have a mind to do together: a political description of ruling-class institutions and ideologies. The idea for this book dated back to the first of the year,



when, with Locker's help, I was formulating the thesis sketchily presented in my "Yankees and Cowboys" series printed in *The Guardian* (April issues). The episode with BI fortified our conviction that the Establishment is living at the moment a desperate political life. The need for our book-length treatment of this view had been sharpened. It was sharpened even further when one of our sessions was interrupted by a phone call from one of the business participants in the June 7th Roundtable.

An agreed-upon condition of the BI session was that no one would publicly quote any of the participants. My feeling is that this condition takes in the phone call, and that there is no reason to violate it. So I will call this person Mr. X (he's neither George Kennan nor a Black Muslim, by the way).

Mr. X talked and I contributed a few monosyllables. The gist of what he said is as follows.

(1) The likelihood approaches certainty that Nixon and Humphrey will be nominated in spite of what he considers a clear popular preference for Rockefeller and McCarthy.

(2) This is a procedural disaster for the remains of American democracy.

(3) It is a policy disaster for the country: Nixon and Humphrey are virtually political twins; Nixon is more obviously reactionary, but Humphrey's open commitment to rotten-borough politics nullifies whatever trace of liberalism may be left in him. He will be, in effect, the same as Nixon. And the country (read: the Yankee Establishment?) cannot stand the kind of Administration either will produce.

(4) McCarthy is clearly the best of the lot. No final solution, he nevertheless represents (even if in spite of himself) a popular will for a Leftward response to current problems.

(5) McCarthy will not be able to force his way through the Democratic Party structures, tied up by Humphrey, unless it is clearly demonstrated to the Convention that the nation's demand for McCarthy is genuine and militant.

(6) SDS should therefore consider—since only it has the capability of organizing the young, the country's "key constituency"—that it may have an obligation to

do whatever it can do to "drive the nominating decision out of the back rooms and into the people's hands." It could do this most effectively at this moment (it should abandon none of its other on-going programs) by staging a massive demonstration in Chicago. This demonstration should be as militant as it needs to be—"up to and including tearing the whole place down."

(7) This need not be done under a pro-McCarthy banner; but the action would be clearest and most justified in America's eyes if it were.

(8) Logistic problems are appreciated, but SDS should also consider rendering a similar service to the Republican Party in Miami.

(9) Mr. X would do "whatever was possible" in support of such an action.

I discussed this phone conversation with Locker, and within a few days sent a letter off to Elliott Haynes. It was much less an answer to Haynes' letters than to Mr. X. I asked specifically that Haynes convey the contents of the letter to Mr. X.

In brief, I said that the possibility of a New Left action at the Chicago Convention was real, but in no case should it be pro-McCarthy. What McCarthy imperfectly represented was indeed something bigger than himself, but this only meant that the New Left, if it supported anyone in that camp, should support the young supporters of McCarthy, who are destined to be betrayed by the man himself. The best way to do that was to increase the presence of a real alternative to America's defunct political institutions and their ideologies. This might mean that SDS would support or somehow ally with a Peace and Freedom Party presence in Chicago, if Eldridge Cleaver were the PFP's Presidential candidate. If it were possible on this basis to have further SDS-BI conversations, then we could go a step further.



It's getting so you can't tell whose nobody anymore.

I thought that this would be the end of the whole thing. But in a few days, I learned that my letter was a satisfactory basis for going a step further.

This next meeting took place in BI's New York offices. It was attended by Mr. X, Elliott Haynes, Locker, and myself.

The talk lasted for about two hours. Mr. X conceded that SDS should not try to support McCarthy. Beyond that, he claimed to see that it was important for SDS to retain its radical independence of Convention liberal or Left-liberal movements. At the same time, he saw a need for the developing of a continuing organization based somehow on the McCarthy nucleus: an organization energized primarily by young people but open and hospitable to older and straighter people, and committed to action in the electoral arena. He did not think it was impossible for the PFP to become such an organization, but because of his relative ignorance of that party he could not be more definite than that.

To the extent that his proposal implied that there would be a place for himself in such an organization, it was again necessary to pose the question of imperialism. What was his attitude toward Che? And if it was less than fully supportive, how could there possibly be a basis for the kind of coalition which he seemed to be suggesting?

Che, he answered, is surely not the villain most Americans take him to be. It is even fair, he thought, to see him as a hero in the tradition of Bolivar. But he argued that there must be a better response than violent revolution to the problems that beset Latin America. American policy, in essence, was henceforth obligated to combat revolution by making revolution unnecessary. But, in any case, he thought that differences on that question should not automatically destroy the possibilities of cooperation on other questions.

His program in a nutshell: create new political groupings at the grass-roots level to force a sharp revision of America's social priorities. Activate the big corporations for the technical and financial support of the new program. Super-reformism with populist trimming.

If it is fair to conjecture that these events constitute an Establishment probe of the New Left, then we have to pose the question: What is its motive?

(1) Co-optation: This will occur to everybody first. The purpose is to repress the New Left and the mechanism is absorption. To draw the New Left into "practical politics" is to force an adulteration of its critique, a moderation of its militancy, and the isolation of its emerging revolutionary ethic. Two Yankee attitudes might converge here. First, the New Left has become intolerable and will have to be repressed, the preferable mode being co-optation, but if that fails, harsher measures will follow. Second, the New Left cannot or should not be repressed violently, but its present autonomy (a) represents wasted political energy and (b) may provoke a Right-wing attempt at violent repression which will only make everything worse. The main thrust, in both cases, is to rid the American setting of a revolutionary politics.

(2) Utilization: It can also be a Yankee view that we are needed (after a little political scrubbing up) for the New Coalition.

Almost certainly, the United States is undergoing a political trauma the likes of which it has not seen since the formation of the New Deal coalition. Underneath the dead weight of the existing two-party system there is an increasingly conscious minority impulse toward realignment of powers and redefinition of national priorities. The particular genius of the two-party system has been that each party was virtually a duplicate of the other: though the mix was different in each, both

were conservative-liberal coalitions. Those coalitions can no longer adequately formulate our national problems or generate realistic solutions to them. Both parties organically responded to the crisis by a process whereby their Left wings began hesitantly to think about evacuating their places in the old coalitions: McCarthy for the Democrats and Rockefeller for the Republicans, two reluctant renegades, embody the remote possibility of this process, but with the customary ambiguity and ambivalence. Clearly, these two are closer to each other than either is to the other candidates in his party. We know very little about the damage these insurgencies have done to the parties' machines, but we may assume that it is considerable and that it may worsen. A Humphrey nomination, for example, may destroy the Democratic Party in California and New York. Similarly for the New York Republicans with Nixon.

To this already melodramatic equation, add the Wallace factor. If the election is forced to the House, Wallace's power will obviously be immense. The consequences of this are so ominous to the Yankees that Humphrey and Nixon convention victories spawned the illusion of an independent Rockefeller-McCarthy ticket on grounds that third place must not be conceded to the Cowboys. Of course, such an extravagant adventure was only considered for one awful moment before the Establishment determined to rally behind Humphrey anyway and make him the outright winner in the Electoral College. When Nixon wins anyway, there will be a quiet but furious effort to purge the worst elements of Wallaceism. Even without an explicit merger of the Left wings of both parties, the reduction of politics to the Humphrey-Nixon choice still might require the preparation (if only on a contingency basis) of a Left opposition to function through and beyond the campaign. We should remember, in



fact, that Rockefeller's San Francisco speech in early July explicitly called for a new coalition. With characteristic caution, Rocky was vague about its make-up, but the presence of rock bands at his rally was no political accident.

Without trying to develop a full analysis of the social and economic forces behind all this political turbulence, I want to urge that we keep several major points in mind.

First, we ought to understand the Frankenstein-monster irony which some Yankees seem to be waking up to these days. Their ambitions in post-War Europe led them to institutionalize the Cold War in the Pentagon (the monster) and to saturate American politics with a highly volatile anti-communism, a nearly religious ideology built for demagogues which exhibited its frightful instability for the first time in the person of Joe McCarthy. Today, because of internal developments in the structure of American capitalism (horizontal monopoly on a global scale becomes its primary mode of organization) and external changes in the world political situation (socialist countries can be commercially dealt with and pose no unmanageable threat to global monopolies), the Yankees would perhaps like to defuse the monster and the monster ideology which had formerly served them so well.

But that's hard. The *Life* magazine which twenty years ago was explaining to Americans how terrible their recent wartime allies really were now finds itself desperately trying to explain that they have all-of-a-sudden outgrown the worst of their killer instincts. In attacking anti-communism, the New Left in some ways indirectly supports the Yankee aim of integrating the industrialized world: it helps to create a new national mood, more hospitable to that aim.

Second, however, is the Yankees' "two communisms" predicament. America's foreign prob-

lems are centered now in the Third World rather than in Europe. In part, this is because of the essential integration of Soviet and U.S. aims in Europe. But in more important part, that integration, accompanied necessarily by a moderating of U.S. anti-communism toward the USSR, is itself created by American diplomacy as the necessary condition of its onslaught against Third World revolution. That is, in order to pursue a militantly counter-revolutionary policy in the Third World, the U.S. was obliged to create a European "quiet zone" which in turn required a softening of anti-communism in Europe. As Rudi Dutschke has pointed out, this simultaneous need to soften (in Europe) and harden (in the Third World) its anti-communism—and "need" is precisely the right word; this could not have been avoided—is the dialectical heart of the failure of U.S. policy in the '60s. The U.S. is thus undergoing a distant relative of the Russian dilemma of the mid-'50s. For the Russians: How can Stalinists de-Stalinize a foreign policy (Eastern Europe) without abandoning Stalinist aims, and without also de-Stalinizing domestic policy? For Americans: How can the European rear be secured as the material pre-condition of the crusade against Third World rebellion when the political means of such security (the softening of anti-communism) will destroy the base of the crusade's legitimacy? No answer: American preparations in Europe for the new imperial adventure unavoidably prepared Europe for anti-Americanism, something formerly checked only through the polarization of the Soviet Union.

Third, the Yankee finds himself on the verge of being torn by still another contradiction, this one also originating in his historical and developing relation to the Third World. With the advent of managed monopoly capitalism, the traditional need for external market and even resources colonies begins to fade. A Keynesian

consumer capitalism does not experience the piercing expansionist imperative characteristic of the less-developed producer capitalism. At least in theory, it is structurally capable of surviving in a closed-market system. Should the Third World somehow decide not to "develop," if it were simply to disappear overnight, the U.S. system would not have to collapse.

But the Third World wants to develop. That it might contrive to do so outside the U.S. hegemony is frightful to those whose main political idea is that all industrial societies must be globally integrated under the general policy guidance of a world ruling class. Since these ex-colonies are determined to industrialize themselves (unless they do so they remain babies with candy), the formerly economic need for white theft appears as a more acutely political need for white discipline.

Black radicals have made the point that the ghetto is to white America as the colony to the mother country. Harlem is a colony. This observation, a major breakthrough in all other respects, neglected an important distinction. Namely, peoples are colonized in order to be plundered—raw materials, cheap labor, and so on; but peoples are ghettoized in order to be liquidated—or at best, quarantined. Black Americans were in a truly colonial position in the anti-bellum South. But since the Yankee's destruction of the slave-based Southern economy, they have been pogrommed into a ghetto position. The machine which destroyed their explicit slavery by making it irrational also destroyed their capacity to develop by making their labor superfluous. Secondary exploitation is obviously at a fever pitch in the black ghetto; but it was not in order to make this possible that the ghetto was created. Farmers were pushed into cities to become industrial workers. Slaves were pushed into cities to be controlled. Harlem is precisely a ghetto: a

colony which has been de-colonized by the mother country because it no longer serves a useful function in the production process.

But if people will refuse to live in slavery, they will also refuse to live cast-off lives. The abandoned slave becomes a menace to the peace simply because he chooses to continue his absurd existence. Therefore, he must be pacified. The ruling class is just now discovering that repression doesn't work because its effects are both short-term and infuriating, that welfarism doesn't work because its organic tendency toward bureaucratization destroys its consciousness of purpose, and that open genocide would tear the country apart. One pacification technique exists: the extension of the consumer economy to the ghetto. Explosive if left alone but not eradicable, the ghetto can be contained only through inclusion. Big capital knows this, which is what its "liberalism" is all about. Small capital knows it too, at least intuitively, which is why it accurately links integrationalist liberalism to Rockefeller and inaccurately curses Rockefeller as a pinko. Goldwater, Reagan, Wallace: for these champions of a declining capitalist sub-class, the fight against "integrationism" (which they think "black power" merely intensifies) is the same as the fight against the monopolies which devour their private business lives, their world.

What seems to be happening now is the first materialization on a world scale of the ghettoized colony. Harlem, that is, may be a better image for Columbia, say, than Columbia is for Harlem. Harlem is not a colony like Columbia. Columbia, rather, is becoming a ghetto like Harlem, and therefore, like Harlem, inescapably rebellious. Hypothesis: The ex-colony's importance to the advanced West does not lie primarily any more in its stealable riches, but rather lies in the dual threat (a) of its autonomous industrial

development, and (b) of its permanent explosiveness if industrialization does not take place. So the dual and obviously difficult aims of the Western ruling class become (a) suppression of any industrial development which promises to break free of Western control; and (b) the artificial stimulation of industrialization within its hegemony.

In sum: *the primary pivot of neo-imperialism is not economic advantage but political necessity.\**

The emerging program of this neo-imperialism, a program whose necessity and contour have already been outlined by monopoly capital's technocratic vanguard, is total world pacification based on controlled world industrialization. The world ruling class must discover some way to get "risk capital" to the pre-industrial countries without losing control of the industrial power which that will create. (This is why their development programs more insistently concentrate on specialization of labor by country and the creation of supranational institutions like LAFTA and CACM: the first ensures dependencies which cannot be satisfied on a merely national level, and the second legalizes the specialized country's de facto subservience to the group—always dominated by the U.S.)

The problem for the Yankees is that this is by no means a classically capitalist program. It is a program which capitalism must undertake, but it is also a program which implicitly controverts capitalism's basic drive to accumulate capital for investment at a maximized rate of profit. Are Rockefeller and Company, as the Right Wing claims, subverting American capitalism? Is Rockefeller a communist? That puts the face of a

\*The latter presupposes, of course, the presence in some mode, some degree, of the former, but we have to understand that the basic economic motive sometimes exerts its influence through mediations which generalize and distance it. For example, the economic motive behind the Vietnam War.

joke on the body of a truth. Remember Marx: communism is born from the womb of capitalism—violently no doubt, but the birth metaphor is decisive. There will come a point—this is the basic Marxist prediction—at which the matured contradictions of a matured capitalism can be resolved only by the passage to a higher state of social organization. Rockefeller knows two things: first, that his business is to make profits; second, that he somehow has to solve social problems. These are imperatives, and they fundamentally contradict one another. Neither can be escaped. Deny the second: social breakdown remains chronic in all ghettos, here and abroad. Deny the first: capitalism's leading feature fades.\*\*

DOYLE ROBINSON

INK



Fourth, to the foregoing Yankee woes must be added the threat of domestic fascism. Nixon may win the Presidency, but perhaps only by striking a bargain with Wallace. What if Wallace demands what most of the country seems able to tolerate and a good bit of it passionately to desire, namely the active persecution of the black movement and the student Left?

The Yankees could care less about me and you, and the blacks. But they face here a version of the

\*\*What, by the way, is the New Working Class? Precisely those generalists and social organizers who see and understand this problem and who are capable of responding: "So much the worse, then, for capitalism."

"two communisms" problem described above. Policy for the front cannot long deviate from policy for the rear without destabilizing the whole system. In brief: the aggressive anti-communism (or some variant of it) which would necessarily accompany a massive crackdown on the Left could not be isolated. It would inevitably flood over into other policy areas. It would bring to power the kind of men who think the "answer" to Vietnam is to fight harder and perhaps against China, who would reactivate the militant anti-Soviet line of the '50s and hurl more money to the Pentagon for a new round of the arms race, sharply cut back on Federal Welfare and civil-rights programs, destroy AID, and accelerate the already-visible tendency toward a new protectionism in U.S. trade policy. The Great Society would be finally destroyed and the Grand Alliance would be shaken. In such a situation, the Yankee cannot do business. His envisioned world order would convulse.

The Yankee has problems. Haunted by the old Cold War, frustrated by Vietnam, the Third World, and the blacks, fearful of the ignoramus close to power, he seems to begin to understand that these problems have common roots somehow and that the current period is somehow transitional. He is confusedly responsive to the term "New Politics," because it bespeaks his own mood, his own uneasiness. He supposes that's just what he needs, a new politics; and he knows that his new-looking programs—they amount to the making of a "private government" through the foundations—must discover the political means of their realization. In a nutshell, the New Coalition, in which the New Left is perhaps being offered a provisional membership.

*Nothing doing.*

But my view of these contacts is that they have been instructive, and if the businessmen want to

continue them I see no reason why we should break the meetings off. It might be good, for example, for our growing numbers of Cuba veterans to attend such sessions: a kind of decompression chamber.

In any case, we have a primary obligation to know that the world is shaking today under everybody's feet. Maybe we are approaching the moment which we have been building toward for several years now. The contradictions of the American system, of the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, are dilating rapidly and registering their effects everywhere, in all our institutions and habits of thought. And there is a very strong chance that our chief mission in the imaginable future will be, in essence, a fight against the grandest, slickest fascism of them all. This disorder is too deep for things to remain as they are. Instability is the universal rule.

And given the strong likelihood of the political and practical failure of any forthcoming corporate-liberal responses, we simply have to assume that the center may not hold. Maybe it has already cracked. An event of such magnitude is rarely spectacular. Then the question is: Who can pick up the pieces first? No question: a nation furiously convinced of an overriding need for order will have to turn to the Right, there being no organizational capacity that can rival it for experience, achieved institutional strength, and police power.

Our current role is to prepare our jungle base. That does not mean inventing secret identities, meeting places, codes, or "underground" networks. We have yet to undergo the necessities which alone can mother a skill in such things. Our real resistance partisans are possibly already born, but they have not yet been made.

Our task, rather, is to start work on the jungle base by creating its possibility. This jungle of War Zone D—what is it, so many vines and tunnels?

It is above all the people. *The People*: that is the whole proper meaning of the jungle, the underground, the resistance, and the revolution. With them, everything is possible; without them, nothing but corruption or death. "To be a socialist now," in the words of the British New Left's May Day Manifesto, "is to be . . . where profit and convenience are hurrying, threatening, discarding men; to be where a wage is fought for, or a reduction of hours; to be where a school or a hospital needs urgent improvement, or a bus service, a housing development, a local clinic needs to be fought through . . . to be a student expected to pass quietly through to a prescribed job with no share in the definition of his subject or in the government of his institution; to be a teacher, struggling to maintain his ideals against a bureaucratic grading of children and a perpetual shortage of resources; to be a social worker, knowing that where people are in need there is always shortage, of skilled helpers, of building and equipment, of the necessary respect; to be out in the streets, in the rush of society, demanding attention for what is happening to the unregarded poor, in our own and other countries, breaking the system of human indifference and opposing the preparation, the complicity, the lies of war; to be in any or all of these places and conditions, and to connect, to explain, what is actually happening, so that ordinary people can begin to take control of it."

This faltering system of Yankee power: we couldn't support it even if we wanted to, couldn't want to even if it glittered with a million reforms. Our task is to create the conditions essential for surviving; to fight and hold out against and then to conquer the coming beast; to prepare for what Dutschke has strikingly called "the Long March through the institutions." That means we must prepare our jungle in the people. We must prepare our base.

# ELDRIDGE RAPS

The following interview with Eldridge Cleaver is an edited version of a transcript from the nationwide radio talk show, "Night Call," originating in New York City and moderated by Del Shields. The questions are by persons from all across the U.S. who were hooked into the program by an open telephone line. Cleaver, Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, answered questions from his home base in Oakland, California. The talk fest is produced by the United Methodist Church's Division of Television, Radio and Film Communication (TRAFCO).

ETCHING: I AM A MAN

BETTY LA DUKE



**QUESTION:** Just who and what are the Black Panthers?

**CLEAVER:** The Black Panther Party is a political party that originated in Oakland, California, and was started by Huey P. Newton who is the minister of defense of the party, and our chairman, Bobby Seale. The party seeks to organize black people so they can move and take control of the life, the politics, and the destiny of the black community.

What really makes the Black Panther Party stand out from other groups that have originated in that community is the fact that we feel it is necessary to use guns in a defensive manner against aggression, particularly by the Police Department, vigilante groups, etc. Because we have used these guns for our defense, this is what most people have come to associate with the Black Panther Party. But this is only one point on our platform. We have a ten-point platform that outlines the basic grievances and the basic desires and needs of black people as we see them, and we seek to organize the people in the black community who have never been organized before, such as the so-called lower class black people who are not candidates for membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

**QUESTION:** Since you have written *Soul on Ice*, and the book has been widely hailed in this country, how do you resolve your relationship now as minister of information for the Black Panther Party and as a social critic?

**CLEAVER:** I think that the two work very handily together. We're dealing with the same thing, you know. There's no conflict in my book between my politics. The book tries to pass on information, and my position in the party sort of passes on information. We're dealing with interpretations of what we're all involved in, and I see that they work out very well together. As a matter of fact, the book itself has helped considerably in getting a lot of the program and activity of the Panther Party across.

**QUESTION:** You mentioned earlier that the guns of the Black Panthers are to be used for defensive purposes. We've talked about America as being a violent country. Does not this defensive stand add to this violence?

**CLEAVER:** Any act of defense could be categorized as violence if there is any type of conflict involved, but I think that some violence or conflict is justified. For instance, I think a man who moves to protect himself from an attack, though he uses a violent means to dispel that attack, is completely justified in doing so. The right to self-defense has always been recognized in society, and simply because we have a very violent situation on our hands in this country doesn't mean that we have to forego this particular right.

**QUESTION:** What are your feelings about the new gun control law? Do you feel that this particular law is penalizing the blacks?

**CLEAVER:** Yes, I do, particularly here in our local area where we see these vicious politicians who are known to be open enemies of the black community. We see them out in the forefront of the forces calling for gun

control. At the same time they're calling for gun control, they're escalating the armament and the preparation of the police department and supplying them with all kinds of new weapons; and we feel that this is aimed directly at the black community.

We live in a time when black people are becoming more and more impatient. The philosophy of nonviolence has been murdered along with its prophet Dr. Martin Luther King. The power structure of this country knows that the black liberation struggle is turning to violence as an alternative, so they're moving now to disarm people before anything happens. All of this ballyhoo about gun legislation, we feel, is aimed at disarming the black liberation struggle and the allies of that struggle in the white community.

**QUESTION:** Would you define the defensive program of the Black Panthers in terms of guns? Do you promote vigilante groups?

**CLEAVER:** No, we don't promote vigilante groups, and we don't approve of them. We feel that the primary problem confronting the black people today is the problem of being organized. The chief impediment to organization of the black community comes from the activities of the police department. The police department functions like an occupied army in the black community, and it intimidates black people. It disturbs meetings, prevents black people from having peaceful assemblies, and the very presence of the police, with the history they have with black people, makes them an undesirable element in our community. We seek to remove them from the community because they are constantly killing and terrorizing our people.

We feel that before much more progress can be made, this particular problem has to be dealt with. So we call for the immediate withdrawal of the white racist policemen from our community, and we call for enactment of the principle that those who police our community must live in our community. We want the community to control the policemen who police our communities. We feel that it's a form of community imperialism to have a police force occupying our community that is controlled by the white suburbs. This is an obnoxious situation, and we want it to end.

**QUESTION:** Have the police department and the Black Panthers ever sat down at the same table and attempted to negotiate any of the problems?

**CLEAVER:** There have been very minimal direct contacts, such as when we've staged benefits and rallies at auditoriums where security has to be discussed; but they prefer to do that behind closed doors. They want to meet with us behind closed doors as they've done with a lot of other groups in the black communities.

One of the main problems that we have today is their coming into the communities and putting different groups of black people on these poverty programs



CHARCOAL DRAWING

DON CORTESE

and buying them out if they agree to perform in a certain manner. We've been approached by some of the flunkies of the power structure to see if we would be willing to accept some of their Uncle Tom money, but publicly they try to pretend that the last thing they would do would be to condescend to talk with the Black Panthers. This creates a situation exposing them to a lot of people who feel that public officials and public servants should be open to all elements of the public, and they have an image of being very opposed to everything in the black community, particularly the militants who speak out.

**QUESTION:** In a recent issue of *Ramparts* (June 29, 1968), the article about the Black Panthers (*The Persecution and Assassination of the Black Panthers as Performed by the Oakland Police under the Direction of Chief Charles R. Gain, Mayor John Reading, et al.*) ends with the sentence: "And the chances are, too, that the cops will go on, steadily and inexorably, trying to bust, and if necessary kill, every Panther in Oakland." Mr. Cleaver, what is going to be done to stop police brutality and killing?



**CLEAVER:** I think that if the people who are standing on the sidelines don't move to harness the police departments of this country (not just in Oakland, because this is something that's going on all over this country), there will be no alternative to the black community but to wage a defensive war against the police. I think this is a very likely possibility.

I know that people are psychologically and materially prepared to do this because it's becoming a matter of life and death. For instance, Bobby Hutton was murdered in Oakland on April 6. Here in a big area there have been about four other shootings and killings of young black men by police and so the last straw has already been placed on the camel's back. Unless these police departments are brought down to a level where they are acceptable to a community, there can be nothing but a reply to them, in time; and it seems that that's the way it's going to be.

**QUESTION:** Tell me a little about the Peace and Freedom Party with which the Black Panther Party is working.

**CLEAVER:** The Peace and Freedom Party is composed primarily of white people who were disgusted by the two party system — the so-called Republican and Democratic parties. They've broken away from those two parties, and the type of corrupt policies that they've been practicing since they've come into existence, and formed a new third party that seeks to align itself with the legitimate aspirations of the black community and with the anti-war movement in this country. It seems to chart a new direction in national politics.

We felt that this was a positive sign coming out of the white community and we saw no reason not to work with them, because we share some of the same goals and attitudes.

**QUESTION:** Who do you think black people should support for president?

**CLEAVER:** I think you should support me for president. I am running against Dick Gregory on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Gregory, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Mrs. Coretta King have been proposed as possible nominees. I think I have it sewed up.

**QUESTION:** Do you think you'll get rid of Reagan in California?

**CLEAVER:** If we can't get rid of Reagan, we can't survive. Our survival depends upon getting rid of racist politicians like him.

**QUESTION:** Why did Dick Gregory call off the boycott of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago?

**CLEAVER:** Richard Gregory issued a public statement regarding that decision. He didn't want to be involved in any provocative situation that might lead to violence be-

cause a few things had happened about that time. I don't know if it was an uprising, or a shooting, or some event with overtones of violence. This was during the time when the racist pig, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, issued the orders to shoot and kill the black people if they were thought to be looting. Dick Gregory said he would cooperate in that effort; he didn't want to have anything to do with any trouble or uprising. This is a good example of the wishy-washy way Dick has always moved in those matters. This is one of the reasons I oppose his nomination for the Peace and Freedom Party. I wouldn't want to see his politics institutionalized.

**QUESTION:** Do you have any particular message for the black college students as to what they could do to help benefit the whole of Black America?

**CLEAVER:** I say to black students and potential students that they should return with their hearts and their minds and their souls to the black community to relate to the brothers and sisters who have not had the opportunity that they've had. They should use their intelligence and their skills to help organize the black community for its survival. We are faced now with the prospects of oppression on an international level by a very racist and inhuman power structure which, as it winds up the war in Vietnam, turns to a second war, which is the war against black people right here in Babylon. I say to college students and to all people who want to see a new world and a better world that they should unite to form the type of power block that can defeat this racist power structure and put it in the garbage can of history where it belongs.

**QUESTION:** Don't you believe that Ghandi did a great deal more with nonviolence?

**CLEAVER:** It may be. To a great extent he liberated his country with the use of nonviolence, but he was dealing with people other than the racist yankees that we must confront here. He was dealing with a minority of occupying forces. We're dealing with the majority of a very complacent people who surround us, who have us dispersed throughout their population, who have a tradition of murdering and treating us in a very brutal and violent fashion, and who don't seem to be able to recognize the fact that black people have suffered beyond any more tolerance of a continuation of these conditions.

To those who urge us to use adoptions from other lands, adoptions that in effect leave us merciless before very vicious enemies, we would say to them to take their nonviolence and go preach it to the racist President of this country. Teach nonviolence to LBJ. Teach nonviolence to Chief Charles Gain, the number one pig in the Oakland Police Department. Teach nonviolence to the racist policemen all over this country who are murdering the children of black people. Don't come to the black community and teach the victims of this violence to be nonviolent; teach the perpetrators of violence to be non-violent and then we can talk about it.

**QUESTION:** What would you recommend that the typical whites do to help you?

**CLEAVER:** I think any white person who is interested in the welfare of mankind should take a good look at what's going on in this country. This is what's really happening. The white students of this country have already taken a look at what's going on, and they don't like it. So I say that they should organize themselves into machinery that will be capable of dealing with the revolution from what we call the white mother country.

We feel that we have black people here who are colonized by the white people. We refer to that as the relationship between the black colony and the white mother country. We feel that we need to wage a national liberation struggle in the black colony and a revolution in the white mother country. Young white people who are interested in doing this should organize themselves in a fashion to deal with the politics and the economics and the social practices in this country and should be prepared to work with those elements in the black community who understand this process, and who are willing to work with them. We think that with this type of coalition, we will have the strength to bring about the revolutionary changes that this country must have if there's going to be a future for our America or for mankind.

**QUESTION:** You talk about revolutionary changes. Let's see if your argument makes any sense. First of all, you've got to consider, if you talk about violence, what percentage of population is Negro in the United States, and you've got to recognize that you are outnumbered by about 10 to 1. You've also got to consider how many resources in the United States are Negro-controlled. How many factories, how many food-production arteries do you control? Do you own the trucking companies to get your men and machines from place-to-place, when the revolution takes place? How many airlines and how many communication systems are black controlled? You're asking black people to organize and be willing to die for the country?

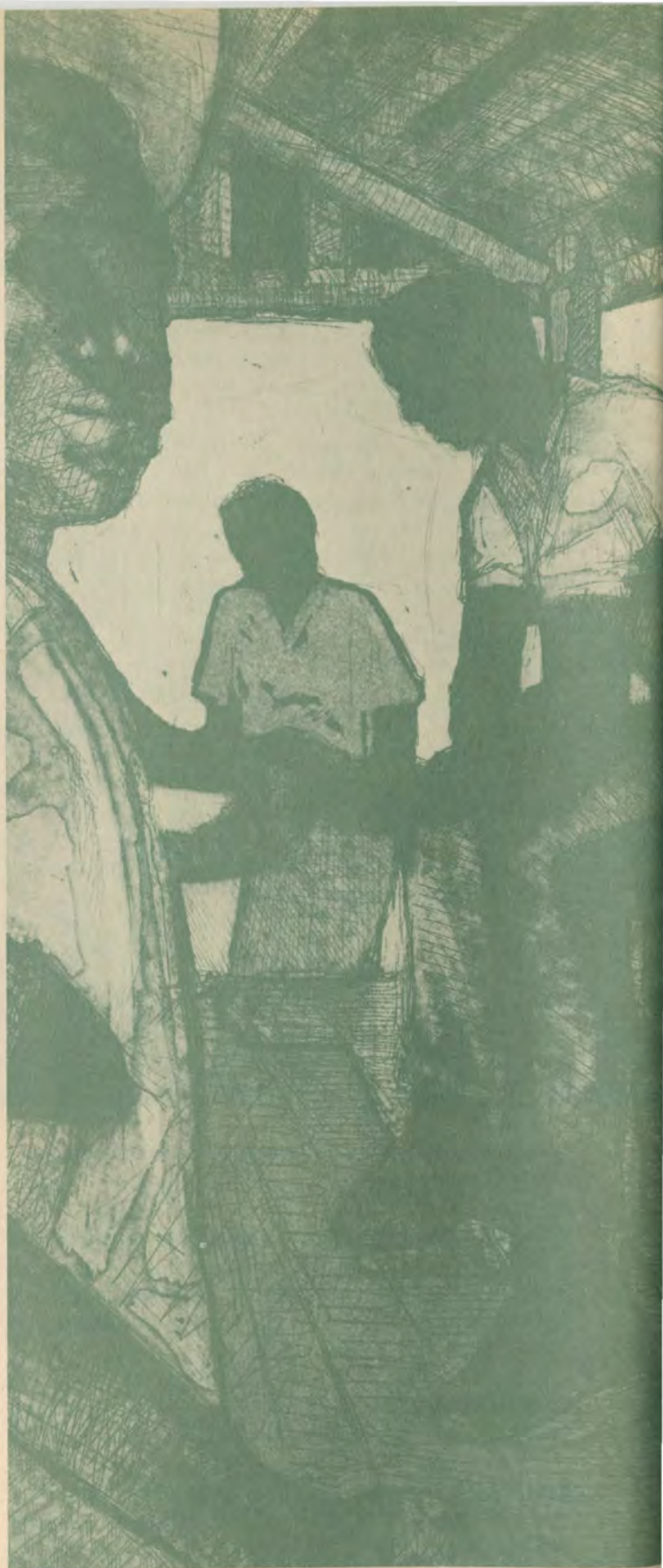
**CLEAVER:** I also said kill, didn't I?

**QUESTION:** Kill and die. Well, that's a tremendous responsibility — you're asking them to kill and die.

**CLEAVER:** Let me ask you a question. Are you a white man or a black man?

**QUESTION:** I'm a white man, sir.

**CLEAVER:** I thought so. Let me tell you this. You can count off your statistics about everything that you control. And if you had it sewed up tight, then you shouldn't be concerned about what black people can do in this country. But we know that with all of your numbers and with all of your materials and superiorities, with all these



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things that you have going for you, you're in big trouble all over the planet earth. You dig it? We know that, and we don't look upon this situation as being just something confined to the geographical boundaries of the United States or the North American continent. We see this as



BRENT MATZEN

a world-wide contest, and in this world-wide contest, you are in very much of a minority, and we are with the majority. So you don't just have 20 million black people to deal with, you have 700 million Chinese, 300 million Africans, and unnumbered billions, and millions and mil-

lions, and millions, and millions of mad black, brown, red, and yellow people to deal with. And you know that.

We don't care about your atomic bombs. We don't care about your tanks, your guns and how many guns you have. Because when the push comes to the shove, we would do the same thing that the Viet Cong is doing in Vietnam. We will lay and wait, and we will take your guns from you, and we will use your guns against you. Your plants and your factories are right here in our neighborhood. You put them there because you didn't want them in your own neighborhood, because they give out their smoke and those foul smells. These resources are here and we will move against them and disrupt the economy of this country and force you to destroy all of your liberties and all the beautiful things that you love.

In order to suppress the 20 million black people in this country, you are going to have to destroy this country, and we say that if we can't have freedom here, then let us be destroyed because you don't deserve it. If we can't be free, you don't deserve to even talk of freedom, and your numbers and all that. You're moving in a fog, and there ain't nobody digging it but you.

**QUESTION:** I'd just like to make one more point. You ask these people to kill and die because the white people in the United States are trying to suppress the black people. I don't think that's true. They may be trying to suppress you, but they're not trying to suppress black people. That's another thing.

What percentage of the Negro population of these millions of people that you are talking about are sympathetic to your cause?

**CLEAVER:** I think that they're all sympathetic.

**QUESTION:** It seems to me that before you can have people take other lives and be willing to give up theirs, you're going to have to at least come up with a logical, viable cause for which to die and kill.

**CLEAVER:** I think that we already have that cause.

**QUESTION:** How much of the so-called racial disorders is actually racial and how much of it, in your estimation, is economic?

**CLEAVER:** The philosophy of white supremacy (the whole concept of all non-white people being inferior to and servants of white people) is something that developed after whites came out of Europe and began to travel around the world and to find all these people who didn't have the weapons that they had and who they were able to . . .

**QUESTION:** They have technological superiority . . .

**CLEAVER:** They had a type of unethical savagery. For instance, when the white man came to America and encountered the Indian, the red man tried to help him to survive. You know, they teach you that in school: The

settlers were starving and the red men helped them. Well, it was just a difference in the type of background from which the people came: backgrounds that enabled the whites to prey on their fellow man.

It's very important that people understand that there is a distinction between the economics of the situation and the racism of the situation. Historically, we could say that economics was primary and that the racist philosophy that was developed later on was done to justify the whole process of exploitation of the non-white people. As the Europeans began to colonize them in Asia and Africa, Latin America, and so forth, they developed this philosophy to justify what they were doing to these people, only after they started doing it. Now, everything about this country has been permeated by this philosophy in order to justify it. When people encounter this, they encounter a mixture of economic exploitation and racism. Economics and racism go hand-in-hand. People who confront this situation daily, and who haven't had time to do elaborate studies of the situation, don't have time to distinguish between the economics and the racism.

**QUESTION:** Mr. Cleaver, if you're so unhappy with America, or if this nation is so unsatisfactory, why don't you go back to Africa?

**CLEAVER:** I think that after we send you back to Europe, we might go back to Africa.

**QUESTION:** The crime rate amongst the Negro is the highest as far as the United States is concerned, and I say that the black people are committing genocide against the white people.

**CLEAVER:** You can say that, if you want to. But I say that the crime rate, or what you call the crime rate, is not nearly high enough. Black people are put into a position where they either have to go out and beg you white people for things to survive, or they have to go out and take it. So I say if they're not able to get it in any other way, that they should push the crime rate to high heavens and just take it all — everything you've got. You don't deserve it, because you have an anti-human attitude towards other people.

**QUESTION:** I say, sir, that if anyone wants to work they can work.

**CLEAVER:** Do you know there are millions and millions of people in this country who want to work and who can't find jobs?

**QUESTION:** There are plenty of jobs available.

**CLEAVER:** Well, why don't you go out to one of the unemployment offices and tell those people who are standing in those lines that there are plenty of jobs available? Why don't you do that?

**QUESTION:** Well, the jobs are available, but they cannot guarantee help. And I think your violence polarizes the situation. You're not bringing the white people and black people together.

**CLEAVER:** We want to bring people together who have their heads together. It wouldn't be any good to bring people together who have their heads so untogether, you know.

**QUESTION:** Mr. Cleaver, does the Black Panther Party accept or welcome the help of white people?

**CLEAVER:** Yes, we work with white people all the time. We have good relations with a lot of white people. We have a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party which, as I said earlier, is composed of white people. We work with different groups on the campuses, and with white people who have had a chance to see us in action and who know what we're involved in and what our aims are.

This is distinguished from the racists in the power structure who want to keep people divided. They don't want to see white people and black people work together on anything that seriously contests the *status quo*. They're the ones who spread racism through their control of the mass media; they try to spread the idea that the Black Panther Party is some type of irresponsible gang of hoodlums, whose only ambition is to go out and kill and murder and invade the suburbs and all that magic. But the white people here in this area work with us, and we do a very good job, and there's no problem in that area.

Our problem comes from the racists who fear the development on a national scale of a working coalition between black people and white people who want to move to change this country. This is what they fear and this is why they move to suppress all tendencies and all manifestations of political expression that are moving in that direction. Any white person with any sense who wants to do something to bring about a better world has never had a hard time talking to black people or relating to black people because black people have been so down on hatred, they have been so much the victims of racism and racial hatred that it's almost impossible for a black person to really become a racist as white people are. This is not one of our problems.

**QUESTION:** Is it possible then that the white and black can live together?

**CLEAVER:** If you're speaking in ultimate terms as to whether it will be ultimately possible for white people and black people to live together, I think it will be up to white people. Black people are willing to live side-by-side with other people. But the question is this, how are



we to move and survive against a hostile population that on the one hand sends in a few of its numbers to talk nonviolence to us, to talk brotherhood to us, and to talk about living together, while on the other hand the very working and functioning of this system is daily grinding black people down and keeping them down? While other people's standard of living is going up, ours is falling or standing still. It's very difficult for us to be concerned about brotherhood when we see the operation of this country destroying us.

**QUESTION:** What do you mean when you talk about black? Is this a descendant from Africa, or is it a Negro, or is it everyone who is non-white?

**CLEAVER:** You know the saying: if you have one drop of black blood in you, you're not white. You know how white people run around saying that. Well, they were classifying the various people as not belonging to their superior group. But we have people in our group who run from those who can pass for white, you know, like Adam Clayton Powell, who could very well be a white man, or from Senator Brooks on down to brothers and sisters who are pure black and who have never had their blood lines corrupted. We all are the descendants of the people who were brought here from the motherland and fatherland of Africa.

**QUESTION:** Would you include someone like a Mexican-American or an Indian as black? You say black is a descendant from Africa.

**CLEAVER:** Yes, we do include that as a descendant of Africa because Africa is the home of the black man. The Mexican people refer to themselves as brown people, and I've heard Indian people refer to themselves as the red man.

**QUESTION:** You use the simile, then, about your brothers in China. Yet, they're not black.

**CLEAVER:** I didn't say my black brothers in China; I said my brothers in China. They're my yellow brothers if you want me to be specific.

**QUESTION:** If the Black Panther Party was to decide to forego the idea of defensive measures, do you think there would be more acceptance of the party?

**CLEAVER:** Yes, I think that a lot of people would see that as a good sign, but I think there actually would be a very great disservice to mankind, for if we abandoned our position of calling for a cessation of the brutality and terror of black people, then we would, in effect, be endorsing evil. And we say that it is the duty of people to stand up and to impeccably oppose all manifestations of inhuman behavior.

## COUNTERPOINT

To make love with the proposition  
That we love  
Is a contradiction

Like watching a black  
And white movie  
Through different colored glasses.

Listen: the Great White  
Giants,  
Who threw cities onto the world like dice  
And built syllogisms  
To count their blessings in,

Have  
Stumbled, spavined by a counterpoint . . .

Listen. Listen. Stop counting  
And measuring, baby  
Don't scream.  
Breathe. Breathe. Breathe.

Tied together in the nights of our hair  
We cannot know why our eyes  
Burn like fires  
In the store-front windows.

—ANTHONY VAUGHAN

# The Secular Saint

By MICHAEL NOVAK

The quest for human values in our society has moved outside the churches. If one wishes to be radically religious in our society—that is to say, radically committed to a vision of human brotherhood, personal integrity, openness to the future, justice, and peace—one will not, commonly, seek an ecclesiastical outlet for one's energies. One will, instead, find community under secular auspices, create one's own symbols for community and integrity, and work through secular agencies for social and political reforms. The saints of the present (and perhaps of the future) are no longer ecclesiastics, churchgoers, or even, necessarily, believers in God. The saints of the present are, in the word of Albert Camus, secular saints.

Dostoevski had feared that atheism would mean nihilism: "If there is no God, everything is permitted." But his fears have not been realized. In America, atheists retain the chief moral imperatives of Judaism and Christianity; they sometimes become the most serious and imaginative leaders in the attempt to realize these values in society. Judaism and Christianity have succeeded so well in commending basic human values that perhaps churches are no longer necessary. In the childhood of our culture, they instructed us; in our adulthood, we are on our own. However, the chief problems in our society have once again become theological. For a time, while many people believed that knowledge is power and Goethe's Faust was altering St. John's Gospel from "In the beginning was the Word" to "In the beginning was the Deed," it seemed that theological problems were no longer real. Men galloped ahead

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*The Secular Saint*, which originally appeared in *The Center Magazine* (June 1968), will be a chapter in the forthcoming book, *A Theology for Radical Politics* by Michael Novak, to be published this winter by Herder and Herder.



ETCHING

DON CORTESE

in the pursuit of knowledge and technical mastery. But, suddenly, the technical power of the human race has become immense. The leading problem for biological scientists, geneticists, psychologists, engineers, chemists, and others is not so much "Can we do X?" for it seems obvious that, given time and resources, we can do undreamed-of things. The vexing problem has increasingly become: "Of course we can do X; but *should* we?"

The value-free discourse of the last generation no longer suffices. When men turn to imagine the cities of the future, they find themselves asking: "What do we think man is like, this man for whom we are building the city? Which things are important to him? What, in the long term, are the basic human imperatives, the fundamental priorities? Which arrangements of a city most allow for the development of human potentialities?" We have moved from the area of discourse of John Dewey's social planning and pragmatic adjustment to the area of discourse of Aristotle's "architectonic," that is, to questions of ends. We have moved from what Péguy called *politique* to what he called *mystique*. We have moved from technical considerations to considerations of values. We have moved from value-free discourse to discourse that is, in the largest sense, theology: a vision of man and his ultimate commitments.

Many people, of course, will dislike the connotations of the word "theology"; they are, after all, atheists. But "ideology" has even less pleasing connotation. It implies, as Daniel Bell has argued, a rigidity of program and vision, combined with a passionate dedication that borders on fanaticism. It is bad enough to be called a theologian; it is worse to be called an ideologue. But a more important consideration is that the astute reader of theological discourse will soon discover that every sentence in such discourse, however obliquely, refers

to human actions, or dispositions, or programs. Both Judaism and Christianity insist that men take their historical responsibilities seriously; both have theories of time that require the expectation of a future different from the present; and both insist that men must labor to prepare the way for that future. The "kingdom of God" is the prototype of utopia. Often this "kingdom" also has an otherworldly, apocalyptic concomitant; yet, in its own right, it is a concrete, historical this-worldly ideal. Theology studies ultimate visions of communal relationships and personal identity, insofar as these affect actual human experience.

The generation immediately preceding ours replaced vision with pragmatism, ideals with compromise and adjustment, theology with technique. So effectively did that generation succeed that its methods swept the fields of government, churches, business, and the university. The profound crisis of the world wars, in which some hundred million persons died, shook the optimism of visionaries. The cold war, with its threat of nuclear annihilation, inculcated a sense of ideological modesty, of adjustment, of restraint. The pre-eminence of the scientific and technological disciplines taught a whole generation of students the difference between descriptive and normative discourse. Rewards went to those who learned how to describe; discrimination between alternative norms was seldom undertaken, and radical criticism of implicitly accepted norms was not allowed. For value-free discourse leaves questions of values aside (usually by incorporating them implicitly). A pragmatic view of life operates *within* a system of values; it seeks to bring about reconciliation and adjustment; it cannot call the whole system into question. To indulge in ideology, "metaphysics," or theology thus becomes suspect, subversive, and dangerous. Even Albert Camus, in

*The Rebel*, found himself arguing for a reasonable moderation, in the name of rebellion.

Every historical movement bears fruit for the human community; pragmatism is no exception. If it is romantic and exciting to begin a new movement by bolting from the old while consigning it to hell, it is evidence of a larger freedom to be able to learn from the old without totally rejecting it; to replace it without relinquishing its benefits. The New Left sees in the Old Left much to admire. It also sees gaping inadequacies. The new generation is working to construct a philosophical outlook able to save the admirable qualities of the old while making up for its deficiencies. A Christian theologian, I believe, does well to commit his life to such an enterprise.

The inadequacies of the old order have become apparent at four points: the questions of hope, evil, idolatry, and personal dignity.

*Hope:* The young think that those former radicals, professors, editors, and managers of our society who matured during the cold war do not hope enough. Because they do not hope, they surrender the quality of human life to an appalling irrationality. They accept life in a nation almost half of whose wealth goes into armaments; they thus make the destruction of the world almost inevitable. Given the power and proliferation of nuclear weapons, it seems unbelievably complacent to rely upon a strategy of "muddling through." If we can destroy the entire world, the young believe, then the probability seems rather high that we will—unless a far bolder and more energetic effort than anything so far proposed is made. Those now in power prepare the future; the lives of the young are directly at stake. The young hope to live. There is desperation in their hope.



Moreover, in the civil-rights movement the young have discovered direct evidence of the power of hope. Against an immemorial racism, against a centuries-old pattern of acquiescence, the young dared to protest. They dreamed: "We shall overcome, some day." Moreover, President Kennedy pleaded for the nation to "get moving again," and urged the young to "ask what you can do for your country." The young did not, then, have to accept; they could question, dream, and act.

In this light, Albert Camus has become something of a danger to the New Left. "Camus was terribly important in helping us break through the immobilizing pessimism of the fifties," Steve Weissmann writes. "Now there is a fear

that his philosophy can too easily become a pose." For Camus himself seemed unable "to move beyond nationalism" and to deal with the struggle of the Algerians for independence. Camus himself was not constructive enough; he did not imagine enough. It is time, Weissmann adds (in  *motive*, January 1967), "to get beyond *Welt-schmerz*, beyond existentialist preoccupations." It is time, in other words, to build a new world. Yet the new hope is not optimism; it is just enough hope to act on—a very guarded hope. It is a hope hovering very close to despair. It is a hope that has discovered evil.

*Evil:* The young men who worked in Mississippi from 1960 to 1965 saw their friends beaten

with whips by officers of the law. They noted in 1964 that white people were shocked by the murder of the white Reverend James Reeb, although they seemed unmoved by the murder of a Negro youth in the same place only a week before. The young labored for weeks in Newark to get a single traffic light installed. They felt the sizzling hatred of white citizens in Cicero, Illinois. From all such experiences, and many more, the young radicals have come to feel that life in the United States is not reasonable, or open, or honest. They have come to experience in their own flesh the racism of the American people, the widespread American cult of a superior race, and American insensitivity to the sufferings of colored peoples.

LITHOGRAPH, ETCHING, FLOCKING: ASSASSINATION BOX

ROBERT ECKER



Moreover, the young who are called upon either to serve in the armed forces or to go to jail have also watched their government become involved through half-truths, misrepresentations, and lies in an ugly and brutal intervention in Vietnam. They have heard the United States speak of peace, while at every step it is taking the initiative in military destructiveness. They have recognized clearly how high military spending ranks in the economic priorities of this nation, and how closely military industry directs technological investigation in the universities. The wealthiest civilization in history gives top priority to making war and making ready for war.

The young, in short, have a profound sense of their own complicity in evil, evil on a mass scale never known before in our history. Every dollar they spend—even on a fountain pen—might somewhere, under a different set of priorities, be saving the life of a child. The system of priorities is irrational beyond belief. The United States keeps three million men under arms, and has spent vastly more in the destruction of Vietnam than was earlier spent, in those days when it might have helped in peaceful and creative aid to Vietnam. Is justice, they ask, merely a pretty word?

*Idolatry:* Perhaps the greatest shock to the New Left, the trauma in which its sense of identity was born, was the position taken by the leaders of the Old Left at the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City in 1964. There, instead of siding with the cause of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the leaders of the Old Left revealed that their prior commitment was to "consensus politics," that is, to pragmatism, to the ongoing enterprise of the Democratic Party. Again, during the days of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, many of the young noted the prior commitment of liberal professors and ad-

ministrators to the corporate *status quo*, a liberal *status quo*. They concluded that in such company one may tinker and adjust, but one may not question the premises. By and large, they felt, the performance of liberal professors regarding the Vietnam war manifested the same ultimate acquiescence.

Thus there arose among the young a fresh analysis of the political situation in the United States. According to the Old Left, the number one danger is the resurgence of the Radical Right. Compromise, consensus, and moderation are required to keep the Right quiescent. According to the New Left, the number one power in the United States is "corporate liberalism"—an alliance of technical experts, well-paid professors and communications specialists, managers, staff politicians, professional social workers, and tycoons of the new technologically based industries. These people together accept the present system as given. Many of them recognize its inadequacies and labor to change it from within. But they are well-paid by the system. They are its organizers, its leaders, its brains and nerves. They are its priests. The New Left could not accept this system. Of nothing do they speak so bitterly as of "the Establishment." In the eyes of the New Left, the Radical Right is no danger at all, only a mirage by which the Old Left justifies its own caution, a devil summoned up to dramatize the continuing need for the sacramental system of corporate liberalism.

Martin Luther said against the medieval system: "Here I stand. I can do no other." The young radicals say against the American system: "Resist." The issue at stake is whether the American system as presently established defeats the very goals it claims to stand for; whether, in short, the system has come to be worshipped in the place of the values that justify it. "Let God be God," Luther wrote, even at the price of division. "Let

America be free and just," the radicals assert, even at the price of revolution.

*Human Dignity:* At the heart of every claim made by the radicals is a criterion of personal dignity: personal freedom. Corporate liberalism continues to employ the word "freedom," but the young do not discover much freedom in the inevitable choice they face between fighting in a war that they see as unjust and going to jail for five years during their twenties. Nor do the young see much "freedom" left for the Vietnamese by American involvement in Vietnamese affairs since 1945, and especially since the massive military destructiveness began in 1964. But neither do the young discover much freedom in the industrialization of the universities—grants and monies for the knowledge-industry depend heavily upon research directed toward military purposes, in alignment with the present technological priorities of our society.

The issue of human dignity, however, cuts still more deeply. The young do not think of life in a democracy as a matter of "social adjustment." They do not define themselves as "useful members of society" nor as individuals who wish to "make a contribution to society." For two fallacies would underlie such definitions. In the first place, a human being is not a means but an end; he is not even a means to the betterment of society; not even an instrument of consensus, harmony, or smooth functioning. Society exists for men, not men for society. In the second place, the assumption that man is an atomic individual—one who, to be sure, "finds his place in" and "contributes functionally to" the social mechanism—is also incorrect. The primary reality of human consciousness is not the individual but the community; the individual person develops creatively only in the context of a community. Such a community, to be healthy, must respect the uniqueness of each person. Each

person, to be healthy, must respect his brotherhood with all others. Community and person are interrelated and cannot be understood apart from one another.

The underlying model for freedom employed by many thinkers of the Old Left appears to be that of atomic particles whose freedom consists in lack of restraint. Such atomic particles are impermeable by one another. They protect their freedom by manifesting tolerance for one another as they pass in their separate orbits or as they combine in cooperative functioning. For the New Left, such an underlying model is too mechanistic, too impersonal, too inhuman; in their eyes, it is ripe for manipulation. Someone, somewhere, rationalizes the system of particles and directs their flow, reducing tensions "creatively" by adroit adjustments. Freedom in such a system is only the appearance of freedom, such as academic people commonly seem to manifest.

By contrast, the model of freedom employed by the New Left depends upon the sense of community and the sense of identity. These, in turn, are seen to arise from the conscious appropriation of one's own inner life, of one's own range of experience, understanding, judgment, and decision. In this sense, freedom is not given by the system through its lack of constraint nor by others through their tolerance. Freedom is seized from within; it is a matter of developing one's own inner life, of becoming awake to one's own experiences, one's own insights, one's own judgments, one's own decisions, and of exercising these with greater consciousness. From such a model derive the slogans of the radicals about moral feeling, personal knowledge, authenticity, participatory democracy, and even—insofar as a rudimentary consciousness of community identity and community pride is a prerequisite of human dignity—black power.

It is not so much that the freedom spoken of by the New Left contradicts that spoken of by the Old; it is rather that the freedom of the Old Left is not sufficiently interior, sufficiently personal, or sufficiently rooted in the inner growth and development of the human person. As a legal juridical criterion of action in the public forum the freedom of the Old Left is indispensable.

The freedom spoken of by the New Left cannot be legislated; it can be exercised even in prison, even in a concentration camp, even—since it is the last citadel of human dignity to give way—under torture. In American society, millions who benefit from the freedom prized so highly by the Old Left do not exercise the freedom prized so highly by the New. Hence, the New Left argues, the hollowness of so much of American life—the vacant eyes watching television, the tired eyes of the men on commuter trains, the efficient eyes of the professor and the manager, the sincere eyes of the television politician. Americans, they argue, do not know who they are, only what they are useful for; they are bored and apathetic because they are manipulated; they are violent because they secretly resent the lies they are forced to live. Unable to live with themselves, Americans level the earth, build and destroy, attempt to master matter and space and human history. Americans play god.

This is the final reason why as a Christian theologian I believe I must support the New Left. Only God is God, and He is not a local God. ("Worship your local God!") America is not God's country, nor are we godly and our enemies godless. The system under which America now lives is not divine; the "American way of life" is an idol. In this sense, to be a Christian one must be critical of America. For the older order of American life is inadequate. The American revolution is unfinished. More radically than others, the young

have perceived our necessities. They will, if they keep up their courage, lead us to a new sense of personal identity and of community.

The New Left acts. Even without a theory, even without a program, there are still immediate experience and immediate feeling, and these have so far sufficed to launch a revolution. But even in terms of philosophical theory the young have prepared the way for a revolution. Commonly in the philosophical discourse of the last few generations it has been imagined that action springs from beliefs, convictions, theories. First one gets straight the content and the logic of one's beliefs. Then one applies one's beliefs to action. Even pragmatism, insofar as it took scientific discourse as its model, tended, despite its own intention, to separate ethical hypotheses from ethical action, and to separate both from ethical feelings. The view of human action adopted by the New Left is much more unitary. No dualism is allowed to separate the emotive from the cognitive. Action is not imagined as following from ideology; rather, the relation is the other way around. If ideology is to be acceptable, it must grow out of, and remain in touch with, action. First one feels and then one acts, and only as needs arise does one theorize.

Such a theory of human action, to be sure, has its deficiencies; but it also has one important power. It is for real. It keeps one's feet on the ground. It keeps one in contact with one's own heart, instincts, and intuitions. In such a viewpoint, authenticity becomes the chief touchstone of moral excellence. Where is a man? Is he present in what he says and does? Is his body on the line? Authenticity, while rare, is beautiful. The only disadvantage is that even a Nazi (as Albert Camus discovered in a letter from a German friend) can be authentic. One can be an honest, passionate, intuitive masochist, murderer, or thief. Authen-

ticity as a moral criterion is primary and necessary; but it does not measure everything that secular sanctity requires.

The source of radical action is immediate feeling. The goal has been succinctly put by Carl Oglesby: "We want to create a world in which love is more possible." There are, however, two main criticisms lodged against radical action, even by those within the movement: first, the movement has not yet been able to develop practical programs for the full-scale revolution it envisions; second, the movement talks as if it is working for all men but, so far, its appeal and its ability to communicate are limited to a few. Does some secret root account for these limitations?

It seems so. The movement has arisen from a large complex of conditions and causes; but one thing nearly every strand of the movement has protested against is the spirit of abstractionism, the substitution of the part (usually the theoretical part) for the whole. In the name of experience and in the name of moral feeling, the young have protested against "the system"—against ideologies, interpretations, theories, rules, regulations, patterns, forms. They have protested in the name of a "something more" that has been overlooked: real people, real emotions, real institutions, including their own, of which "the system" takes no account. They have proof in their own lives that "the system," for all its securities, provides no knowledge about how to become a genuine human being in our age. The reaction, then, is against abstractions and toward experience—a typically American reaction, healthy and profound.

The tragic flaw in such reactions, however, is that, inevitably, experience, too, is only part of the whole. Besides abstractions of theory there are also abstractions of experience and abstractions of sentiment. Avoiding the spirit of abstraction on one front, the

movement has not been able to avoid it on others. Prophetic minorities in history commonly rectify a balance by holding to one clean line; and in doing so they cast a lovely light. But they are inclined to be inhuman, to move upon too narrow a base, and to falsify human possibilities by prematurely foreclosing them.

For this reason, one sometimes wishes that Dostoevski had told the Legend of the Pure Protester to counterbalance the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor. While the Inquisitor knew that ordinary people prefer bread and games to moral excellence, the Pure Protester, in the name of ordinary people, often prefers moral excellence to people. Purity, indeed, is a privileged breeding ground of intense hatred, contempt, bitterness, and despair. What begins in joy ends in disdain. What begins as brotherhood ends as moral segregation. The Grand Inquisitor fed the people mystery, magic, and authority; such inhibitors prevent people from living a full, independent, critical life of their own. The Pure Protester feeds his followers morality, symbolic protest, and authenticity; and these, too, narrow down the full range of human life as it is lived. The gentle Christ, saddened by the Inquisitor's corruption of the liberty of the children of God, must also contemplate the demands laid upon those same children by the Pure Protester. Purity, in order not to be destructive, must be tempered by forgiveness, gentleness, a sense of one's own dishonesties, a recognition of other human ideals—even of bourgeois, middle-class, and coalitionist ideals:

"Out there beyond the movement there is a huge void, barren of any pretense of thought or social vision. This void, moreover, is beckoning to the erstwhile radical to come and join it. The temptation is great, and in the back of our minds lurks the suspicion that some day we will, in spite of ourselves, be part of the hollow world. Consequently, the move-

ment turns inward, in a frantic attempt to convert and rehabilitate its own before they are swallowed up. I have the suspicion that many of the student groups do more good for their own members than for those in the 'outside world' they are trying to help." (Dennis Hale, "The Problems of Ideology," *New Politics* IV.)

It is sometimes striking to find members of the New Left arguing as bitterly as theologians (and even evincing *odium theologicum*), conducting themselves like self-righteous members of a special sect, confident that their purity of doctrine and purity of life distinguish them from others. It is as difficult to be a secular saint as to be any other kind of saint, and only a few, apparently, achieve the goal. "The one tragedy," Leon Bloy said, "is not to have been a saint." Most men, today as yesterday, share that tragedy.

Let us suppose, then, that the radical movement desires to construct a new system of life in America, political, social, economic, educational; in a word, a more human system. Immediately, then, three questions arise. First, what goals are to be established? Second, from what human potentialities are these goals derived, and are these the most fruitful potentialities to call upon? Third, what programs give promise of success in realizing these goals?

The first premise of the coming revolution might be established in the following way. The goal pursued by the new radicals is the establishment of a human community in which individuals decide upon their own identity and the forms of their community life and in which offices and roles are filled in a fair way. The main part of such a definition of goals is that every human being is invited, upon encounter, to respect and appreciate every other human being. If the community allows persons to live merely contiguously, like mechanical parts in

the same social machine, it is less than a human community ought to be. Human beings are valuable; despite the use or disuse they make of their lives, they are beautiful. If the radical movement aims at building a human community, its goal is a community that includes all kinds of people. Such a community requires a great deal of tolerance: the sun shines on the just and the unjust alike.

At this precise point, the moral purity of the new radicals is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, their power clearly comes from moral sources. Wherever the organization, the authority principle, the status, or the symbol begins to replace moral outrage, radical movements wither on the vine. Of this revolution more purely than of any other what Charles Péguy wrote is true: "The Revolution is moral or not at all." On the other hand, those who feel moral outrage are easily singled out among the many who do not. If five per cent of the college student body of the United States is radical, the vast majority clearly is not. How, then, will the radicals relate themselves to the others? If their goal is a human community, these others will have to be included, too. How will we build a new society in America when vast numbers prefer things the way they are, or at least acquiesce in them? For every young person shocked to the depths by the sight of a police officer beating a white demonstrator, there are others who do not wish to become involved and many others who easily forget. Not many lie awake at night.

But a community of men, if it is to be for all men, must come to

terms with the inertia of human beings, their thick indifference, their concern for the life and security of those nearest them, the ease with which they lie and deceive themselves, their deep laziness, their conceit. Moral outrage, then, may often become a luxury by which, in the name of humanity, one masks one's hatred of the people nearest at hand. The perception of Stokely Carmichael goes straight to the heart: White middle-class students should not use the Negro community as a means of personal salvation, nor as an escape from the sickness of

napalm into comfortable living rooms and student dormitories; the contradiction between visual image and deeply held values was so great that a facade collapsed. For a moment, action followed horrified insight. But in the long run, and in most cases, insight does not suffice. Many men are capable of seeing and not seeing, of seeing and forgetting, of seeing and not caring, of seeing and doing nothing at all, of simply refusing to see, or of seeing something else. Morality is not, after all, written on the heart like words cut into stone; an inward look sometimes reveals nothing at all.

Besides having the ability to see, therefore, men need to awaken themselves to motivations for wishing to see, and to further motivations for being willing to act according to what they see. Insights are not deeds; intentions are not deeds; not everyone who is honest is also committed, and not all who are committed persevere. A movement which charges itself with leading a revolution in the quality of human life must deal

with many kinds of men in many stages of their moral development. There is also the question of human potentialities. The radical students are probably correct in identifying the sense of identity and the sense of community as primary human potentialities, in whose absence life is less than human. But one might also like to see them press harder for the need to liberate that human drive to enlarge one's own horizon without which a man cannot transcend his present state of development.

Four human operations, chiefly, contribute to the development of



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DON CORTESE

their own society.

Many in the New Left once appeared to accept a Socratic moral theory. They seemed to feel that if the American people could only be awakened to see the evils in American society, they would rebel against them. As Dennis Hale remarked in *New Politics*, the New Left has a pronounced faith in the power of public opinion to extort reform from the power structure once injustices are demonstrated, clearly, for all to see. To a certain extent, and in limited cases, this confidence has been justified. Television brought the hideousness of racism and the terrors of

a man's horizon: experience, understanding, reflective judgment, and deciding. By "experience" I mean to cover all the data and stimuli of conscious life, both external, like persons, sights, and sounds, and internal, like images, feelings, and dreams. Sometimes this experience is direct and immediate, and then I call it first-awareness. Sometimes it is analytical or reflexive—we are aware of being aware—and then I call it second-awareness. "Floor people" simply do what they enjoy, perform immediately, are first-aware. "Ceiling people" watch themselves perform: "Here I am standing on the beach, listening to the pounding of the surf, feeling the wind blow through my hair."

By "understanding" I mean the act of insight by which we see the point of a joke, catch the meaning of a lecture, devise a strategy for dealing with a complex situation, see patterns and connections in another man's behavior. Often understanding is pre-verbal: it occurs in a flash and one may have to think a while in order to find words for it; sometimes there are no words. But, in its second moment, understanding becomes conceptualized, verbal, articulate, communicable. If too much emphasis is placed upon this second moment, understanding becomes like memorizing and playing logical games with words. If too much emphasis is placed on the first moment, understanding becomes romantic, loses its clarity and safeguards, and degenerates in the end into the exchange of mutually resonant grunts. The first moment of understanding (the personally acquired insight) is the living, vital one. The second moment (the word, the conceptualization) is the pragmatic, useful, scientific one. The two moments need each other for self-protection; but they are not always at peace with one another.

The third critical human operation is that of reflective, critical judgment. The question

answered by the operation of understanding is, "What's the point? What does it mean? What should we do?" By contrast, the question answered by the operation of judgment, though simply voiced, requires a much more complicated set of component operations. The question is, "Is that so?" and it demands evidence. Not every bright idea is a sound idea. It is the function of judgment to decide which of many possible understandings are in fact accurate. But to make such decisions one must have criteria. And criteria are, finally, personal. To make a judgment is to invoke a set of values—concerning what is to count as evidence, which values should be given which weight, and how to discriminate what is relevant from what is not.

There are, in turn, two common ways of making judgments. One way is merely to assert them, setting no special store by them, and remaining detached from them. The second is to commit oneself to them and to be aware that in making any judgment whatever one is choosing one's own criteria and values. In this sense, to make a judgment about any fact is to speak of oneself as well as of the fact. Men, in short, are inseparable from their world, inseparable from "reality." There is no such thing in the end as an impersonal, objective, neutral, noncommittal point of view. One may merely assert a judgment, without committing oneself to it. But, even so, merely to assert is to forfeit responsibility while yet to incur it. For even to assert a judgment is to have chosen certain criteria of relevance and evidence from other possible criteria. To refuse to commit oneself is to be playing a game; it is to make oneself into a kind of recording machine in which various sets of possibilities are dispassionately mapped. Nowadays we have machines to perform such tasks; men are capable of further operations. No one should commit himself prematurely; but a life made up merely of assertions

is itself a commitment, and not the most human one, nor the most admirable one.

Finally, there is the operation of deciding. It is not enough simply to make a good judgment about a situation. There is the further question of "What are we going to do about it?" Marx was fond of saying that human intelligence is not called to reflect the world, but to change the world. Speculative intelligence is but one moment of the same intelligence of which practical intelligence is another: "What are we going to do?" The new students are correct at this point; they recognize that a man has not revealed his profoundest values until he has put his body where his words are. Only in deciding does a man reveal the depth of his criteria for judging those values which guide his understanding and his experiencing. An inner dynamism unites each of the four operations. Experience raises questions for understanding; understanding raises a further question for judgment; judgment raises the matter of decision. Only at the term of this dynamism is a man to be counted fully a man.

One's human development, then, may be articulated as the progressive expansion of one's own horizon. To live according to this expansion is to live according to "the reality principle." By constantly extending the range of one's experiences, understandings, values, decisions; by constantly stepping forward into the unknown; and by constantly taking risks, a man grows into and shapes both his own identity and his world. By contrast, to retreat from experience, understanding, judgment, decisions, is to refuse to grow; it is to constrict the circle of life and to diminish one's taste of reality. Experience alone is not enough, understanding is required; but not any understanding will do—one requires the discipline, the skills, the development required for judgment; and judgment without action is a barren sepulchre.

In the end, there arises the question of political and social programs. American society has a fantastic ability to assimilate its own critics and prophets. No sooner does a man speak harsh words than national television and national magazines cajole further statements from him; soon he is lost amid detergents, mouth rinses, comedians, singers, and politicians. He becomes a "personality." He is "newsworthy." The young radicals need a strategy for defeating mass society and mass media. If the goal is personal identity, responsibility, genuine community, there are no automatic means, no methods reducible to the routines of mass production. One must go on one's way, living one's own life. Here, too, the medium is the message—and the message is that each one's life is his own. Each must awaken and be converted at his own pace—no gimmicks will do the job.

**O**n the other hand, the institutions in which men live affect the probabilities of actual occurrences of such awakening. The routines of mass production and the consumer economy on which they are based inhibit the unfolding of the reality principle at almost every point. The work men do, the selling that replaces communication, and the daily tasks that establish their life habits do not encourage them to find either their own identity or genuine community. They sell their talents; they produce objects; they accumulate goods. *Having* rather than *being* is the category through which they are led to evaluate the world.

It is a radical question whether a capitalist system, even the modified socialist-capitalist system under which we now live, is capable of promoting the reality principle. It appears, rather, to stunt and mutilate the human spirit. On the other hand, the socialist-capitalist economic system does tend to eliminate poverty, physical misery, illness, and other chronic sources

of suffering, at least among certain privileged races and nations of people. If the socialist-capitalist system were not in fact racist, and did not tend to concentrate its most rapid developments among the already rich, its benefits might be more widely sung, or at least entered into the ledger against its human emptiness. The union laborers in the United States, for example, do not starve; their children go to school. These accomplishments for the last fifty years must be accredited, even while one notes the racism, the narrow cold-war politics, the passion for television and pro football, in which the union member works out his life. One could almost cry out in anguish that the suffering and sacrifices of past generations should have come to a grown man with a can of beer who finds his chief fulfillment in a televised game watched by thirty million others.

Yet a community that is human, it appears, must deal with the conditions of life so lucidly stated by the Grand Inquisitor. Many men do not want freedom but rather, want bread and entertainment. There is an urgent need for as many others to rebel as possible. The fact remains that many men do not, will not, rebel. The point of any realistic political program is not, then, to convert the world all at once to liberty and justice. It is to find the lever of power that will promote the liberation of a few more men every minute of every day; it is to create the kind of institutions in which, at least, there is room (for those who so wish) to breathe. One cannot hope that all men will join in this creation. If even only a hundred men are free and at work in genuine community, life on earth has salt and savor. One of the great practical needs of American life, therefore, is a vocation to poverty, community, freedom, and service. The new radicals are in fear because they have no models they can follow for life—for a few years of service, perhaps, but then, inevitably,

the "sell-out." How can a man be in the world but not of it? Not even a thousand years of theology have solved that question. A man must run the risks; there is no other way.

But there are at least two separate strategies. One strategy is to live a more or less separate life, sustained by communities of special intensity. This was the strategy of the early monks, some of whom, like the Benedictines, have been able to live according to their basic spirit for fifteen hundred years. The hippie communities of San Francisco and elsewhere represent a kind of contemplative order; the activist communities represent a kind of practical down-to-earth reforming order. The second strategy is to work out a way of living in every part of the actual world, in every profession, in every way of life. The equivalent to this strategy is a lay movement, organized and unorganized, by which committed individuals work within whatever corner of the system is given to them in order to wrest from it the closest approximation they can to the values they most deeply cherish. The radical students need friends in the business world, in law, medicine, government, the military. One must be grateful for help from every possible corner. It takes a lot of men in a lot of places to change the quality of life on this planet so much as by a featherweight. The effort required is enormous. It should not surprise us, in view of the herculean task and the absurdity of the system under which we live, that many of the best minds of our generation have gone mad and many others have simply opted out.

We have no right to expect the world to be more than absurd. Even the sign of Jesus, the cross, is absurd. Atheist and believer share the same dark night of the soul. Let as many as can work together in that night, shaping an ecumenical movement of those who hope to diminish the number of stunted lives.

### THINKING OF SETTLERS, IN THE BITTER ROOTS

Spinners good enough to say the end  
First, and tuck the middle  
Around as they went,  
Neat as a piecrust.

Searching back to find direction  
Out of their direction,  
We find only the punchline,  
Water-logged and colloquial.

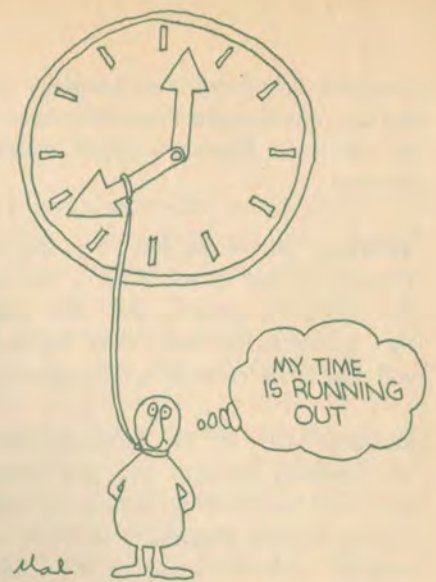
We find beards with cold eyes,  
Who shoveled gods from themselves  
And survived three-thousand miles of earth,  
Making wagon wheels from trees.

We shed more each year, passing  
In their essence.  
Soon we will stand where they began,  
Fresh animals in another spring.

—DAVID STEINGASS



# WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?



A biting cartoon recently surfaced from one of the Latin American student left publications. Picturing a professor in his library, its caption reads: "It is the duty of every theoretician to hope that someone else will make the revolution." Neither Arthur Waskow nor Marcus Raskin could be accused of leaving the revolutionary scut-work to others; both men have the necessary facility of racing from demonstration to study and back again without losing any sense of direction. This joint interview was conducted for motive by Sue Thrasher of the Institute for Policy Studies staff, in late September.

**MOTIVE:** What are the lessons of Chicago, both for the Democratic Party and for its radical antagonists? Is further repression along those lines a probability?

**WASKOW:** I think there were two things that came out of the convention. One was that a large portion — but no more than a quarter of the country — was fantastically shocked by the police repression in Chicago, and was radicalized in two senses. For the first time people who cared about peace really saw some deep connections between the question of peace and the question of American society. They saw a feedback in both directions between the way we behave at home and the way we behave overseas and began to think that maybe the United States was prepared to make war on its own citizens as well as on the Vietnamese.

The second way people were radicalized was that there was a sharp drop in the legitimacy of one of the major political institutions, the Democratic party, among that group of people. But I don't think it was more than a quarter; and there wasn't any way that those people were able to invent, at least in the first week after the convention while they still felt some urgency, for them to be able to act. There was no way that the Movement was ready to act, except perhaps the fourth party way; and that has its own problems, which maybe we can come back to.

Then there was a second major discovery and event (because it was partly a discovery and partly a change). It is very clear now that the Wallace phenomenon, of which the police are only a part, has very strong roots in the lower middle class and the working class. Radicals have to consider it very seriously, understand it and think about how liberals, radicals, and the Movement can address the lower middle class and the working class, which they have almost ignored for the last eight years.

So Chicago is both a tentative victory for us with the first group, and at least the crystallization of a major defeat with the second group. Even with the first group I don't think we've turned the victory into anything real yet.

**MOTIVE:** Do you have any different ideas, Marc?

**RASKIN:** Well, one thing the convention did was to get parts of the upper middle class to begin thinking that there is something to the things that the Movement has been saying about America. To what extent what happened in Chicago would politically benefit the demonstrators or favor the left, however you want to put it, is unclear. I have a feeling that by the time the campaign plays its way out, the question of the convention and what happened at it will not be as important as it presently looms in people's minds — at least in the upper middle class students' minds. One important issue, of course, you noted: the actions of the police and the military were not accidental. The way they handled the crowds is the way they've been taught to handle crowds, mainly over this past generation, in different parts of the world, which is something to which Waskow alluded. This method is now going to be visited upon Americans at home.

There is another point that should be made: The Republican convention was far more unruly. People were killed and over two dozen were injured in the Miami ghetto. Of course, the people not being white and the incidents occurring in a seemingly unconnected way made the middle class view what happened at the Miami convention as not being very serious, if they thought of it at all.

Another thing to come out of this is the probable bankruptcy of the political convention system as a way

of finally choosing the President. Over the next four years, we will more than likely hear discussions of ways to choose a President other than the political party system.

**MOTIVE:** Where do you think the various political factions are going to go? That is, the Kennedy people and the McCarthy people; and what kind of strategies are they going to be using over the next four years? How will they coalesce with the Humphrey people?

**RASKIN:** Many of the McCarthy people, and many of the Kennedy people, will stay within the Democratic party and will give lip service to supporting Humphrey. I don't believe that many of them will be adventurous enough to leave. Some of them are getting their first taste of politics, in the sense of power (they now talk of "taking over" the Democratic party). Consequently, they are not going to be in a mood to move out of the Democratic party unless, over the next few years, the situation in the Democratic party and in the country so worsens that it's perfectly clear that the Democratic party structure can't in any way meet those problems and that these people themselves — some of the McCarthy people, some of the Kennedy people — have been put in fear for their own situations in terms of the possibility of jail or in terms of jeopardizing their class positions. For example, if parts of the university class were now to find that over the next couple of years they might face jail terms, they would be more willing to leave the "two party" system.

**WASKOW:** Watching the Kennedy people has been the most instructive of all. There were three different directions in which people who were for Kennedy have gone and they are very clearly delineated by class. New class people, the university people, went to McCarthy and the peace movement — that's why they were oriented to Kennedy in the first place. The underclass, the blacks essentially, went home in despair, frustration and bitterness at the assassination. Working class people have, to a remarkable degree, ended up with Wallace. Reporter after reporter confirms that if you check at a Wallace rally a lot of the people there say they were for Bob Kennedy before he was killed. That may sound silly politically or ideologically, but I think Kennedy represented to the working class a last chance at a kind of anti-establishment, very Irish, very Catholic toughness with which they were willing to go even though it seemed to be pro-black and pro-university. We may end up regretting the loss of the political Kennedy much, much more than we might ever have expected because he held that coalition together.

**RASKIN:** There are large numbers of people now who are going to vote for Wallace who would have voted for McCarthy, too, from the middle west. The Wallace vote is very important in the sense that it makes clear how upset people are with the two party system, and

how they're upset with their own lives. In a long-term analysis of what the lower middle class (or the working class) is doing, I think it's more important to analyze other institutions that help to govern their lives, like the corporate structure of the labor movement, and to show how, if you begin to change the basis of the labor movement, you can, in fact, wean those people away from supporting the racism of a Wallace. The labor movement itself has become so much a part of the corporate military structure — keeping men in line in the factories and buying into military contracts — that it has not been able to talk honestly with people on the line about where their money is going, and about the basic issues of working conditions and workers' control of the factories.

**MOTIVE:** Is it inevitable that the honest frustrations of the lower middle class end in support for a Wallace, or could these people be guided to the Left? Is the strength of the left always going to be broken apart against the rocks of American racism, as the Populists were?

**WASKOW:** It's not inevitable that this kind of energy end up behind a Wallace or some other racist, though I think there is a great deal of traditional American racism bound up in it. The thing that really haunts the lower middle class and the working class is the sense that Marc mentioned — that they are the people who *work* in the country. They work hard, very hard, and they make a bare living — adequate but not by any means affluent. It's these guys who probably take the deepest economic squeeze in the country. As they see it, it's they who pay for the loafing classes — the universities and the welfare recipients — and that infuriates them. Every demand that comes from the universities and the ghettos infuriates them the more because they think it's going to come out of their pockets; and every rejection of conventional law and order that comes from the universities and the ghettos simply infuriates them again. And in the question of out of whose pockets it comes — they're right; and they ought not to be paying for it. They are, but they ought not to be. The tax structure depends enormously on the property tax and the sales tax, which hit them hardest. Even the income tax, after what has been done to it over the past 15 years, ends up biting them the hardest. The result is that they feel fantastically squeezed and extremely angry. And one more thing: the New Left, the Black movement, the peace movement, none of them have addressed that anger by saying where the money ought to come from. It is the untouched issue, even on the left; or the issue of corporate profits, the price structure, the wage structure and so on.

**RASKIN:** I would add one point to that. I think Wallace, as we've said before, has been able to exploit the idea that the working class and the lower middle class are the ones who are paying for the poor, the universities, and so forth. The fact is that most of the taxes go to the military class; and that's where the money, in effect, gets frittered away.

**WASKOW:** Of course, a lot of it ends up in the universities, and in the post-university, new class enclaves like the big corporations.

**RASKIN:** But there is a real feedback. The labor leaders are very much tied into the military system, to the national security system, and they think that the only way they can keep their jobs in the unions is to keep bringing back the contracts. Once the labor leadership buys into the defense system, it becomes impossible for the labor leadership to show people on the line that there are alternative modes of getting contracts, not tied to the defense system. Consequently, they can't really deal honestly with the question of where the money is going or with the problems that Wallace raises, many of which have real meaning.

The second problem is that the nature of property is changing. There is a whole group of people in the society — the lower middle class and the working class — who believe in authority, believe in property, in the way that it was defined for all of us through the education system. Now there are large numbers of people in the upper middle class who (as Bazelon has said) view education as the property; and yet, in the lower middle class and working class, property is still defined in very old terms. These people feel themselves very threatened by black people moving in next door to them. They feel very threatened (on the authority side) because here they are: they get up in the morning, they work hard all day, they come home at night and somehow there is no stability or security in their lives.

**WASKOW:** I think it's the definition of work, rather than the definition of property, that bothers them so much: that is, their commitment to hard work as opposed to the sense of the new class (and even of the underclass) that people may be on the verge of a breakthrough toward not working or, at least, of not laboring in the old sense. Instead, they're becoming able to do things for money which they *enjoy* doing.

**MOTIVE:** And it's in the New Class and the underclass where we're a lot closer to a *political* breakthrough, too. But things seem to be at an impasse for the moment. Where do you see people involved in the New Politics — to use the phrase in its older, Left-activist sense — going now?

**RASKIN:** The three ways that people have mainly talked about have been (1) remaking the Democratic Party, a la Lowenstein and company; (2) the New Party; and (3) taking to the streets again, which has been the slogan of part of the Movement, but which hasn't had much content. It doesn't look to me as if any of those three things is going to be an effective kind of politics, at least as things stand.

**MOTIVE:** OK; let's try those in order. Then maybe we can talk about what *would* be effective. Marc, does the Democratic Party have salvage value?

**RASKIN:** In terms of the Democratic party, I think we'll find that many voters feel themselves only nominally Democratic. They don't take the party structure very seriously, although it is taken seriously at the tops of the bureaucracies and the hierarchies in the country. There is no way you can get into the Democratic party to change the structure of the society without first going into the other structures of the society. It is not enough to say that you are prepared to work to take over the Democratic party unless you are prepared to run candidates against, say, the heads of the committees in Congress and if you don't win against them, to pull out of the party.

**WASKOW:** For me, the ultimate clarification of the difficulty of working inside the Democratic party was the whole business of Daley. For delegates committed to McCarthy or interested in Ted Kennedy or committed to McGovern during Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of the convention, the great hope was Richard Daley. It was Daley who was going to save us, maybe, by going for Ted Kennedy. It was clear what that meant. It was clear that people felt it, dreamed it, hoped for it intensely. *It meant that Daley was the absolute key figure in the national Democratic Party, and that without him no change could be wrought.*

**RASKIN:** That's right; and six weeks before that time, one of the people who managed McCarthy's campaign told me that they had Dick Daley on the ropes, unquote, and that he was going to be convinced by the various polls that Humphrey was a loser.

**WASKOW:** I really think there was a moment in Chicago — I think it was not foolery on his part — when for real political reasons he wanted to get Humphrey off his back because of what it was going to mean in losing Illinois; but it would have been the same Daley. He would not have issued different orders to his police simply because he had decided to back Ted Kennedy. One can almost see that as the worst of all possible choices; "we" would have won if Daley had gone for Ted Kennedy and then unleashed the police. We can just imagine the situation if Kennedy or McCarthy had been beholden to the guy who had just brutally smashed a constitutionally protected assembly.

**RASKIN:** You, see, that's extraordinary, that people felt it would have been a victory to have had Ted Kennedy. While Ted Kennedy has been medium splendid in terms of his domestic record, the fact is that it's only been in very recent months that he has spoken up forthrightly about the war.

**MOTIVE:** Where do you think the McCarthy kids and the people who worked for McCarthy are going to go now?

**WASKOW:** Every McCarthy delegate I talked to was very cynical about victory through Kennedy. They felt that he was a very conventional politician, that he would only pick up the marbles after, not just McCarthy, but the McCarthy movement had worked overwhelmingly for 6 or 8 or 10 months. But all of them did feel that it would be a victory, though a sour one, to have forced not only Johnson but also Humphrey out of office.

But what this all meant to me is that the reform in the Democratic party can't be made unless we are talking about the expulsion of Daley, who is its cornerstone, as things stand now. It's very different to talk about expelling Daley from the party as opposed to talking about expelling Eastland. Eastland was marginal. He could be expelled and — in effect, by putting in the Loyal Democrats from Mississippi — he was. But to expel the guy on whom the Party rests nationally is going to be a very different task; and it's very hard for me to understand how Lowenstein, O'Dwyer and company think that they can accomplish that by 1972.

**RASKIN:** Especially since it is likely that they will lose their own races this year.

**WASKOW:** Of course, they expect Humphrey to lose his, and they then expect the energy that came welling up in the last 2 years to force Johnson out of office to come welling up again.

**RASKIN:** To talk about what will happen in this country in terms of the political parties without talking about the probable trajectory of the war, the probable trajectory of the economy and what's going to happen in the black community, as well as what's going to happen in the universities and the labor movement is a big mistake. We fall into the trap of discussing the Democratic Party as if it were a separate entity rather than as the reflection of these basic interest groups or other interests that it really is.

**WASKOW:** It seems to me that the guys who are trying to reform the Democratic Party would find that by 1972 the most they could do would be to split it.

If one could imagine the war ending and the cities cooling for several years, then I can imagine a confrontation at a convention four years from now in which California, New York and their allies break from Illinois, Texas and their allies and we end up with two Democratic parties rather than a new party, in any real sense. That seems to me the best that could conceivably come out of the reform strategy, and it doesn't seem to me likely that even that much is going to be accomplished. Even all that depends, as you pointed out, on the notion that everything else is going to stand still, which it's not.

**MOTIVE:** The second alternative people have talked about has been the New Party. Is that an effective way for people to go? Obviously, the two of you disagreed about this.

**WASKOW:** My own feeling is that electoral politics is a numbers game. If you don't have the numbers, if what you have instead is commitment, you ought to be involved in direct action or something very close to it. I don't think the New Party has the numbers at this point, mostly because neither Senator McCarthy nor anybody like him has agreed to run for President. For that reason, although we have to begin constructing a party that can operate both electorally and non-electorally, it seems to me that it's a mistake to focus on Presidential candidates when we're going to get less than 1% of the vote this November.

**RASKIN:** Well, as you know, the New Party will not focus on the Presidency this year except as an instrument to build New Party structures in each of the states. The issue of direct action has to be cleared up. If you are saying that a political party should now undertake to show how to democratize other institutions, and should begin projects which are somehow para-governmental in structure (little schools or health centers, or little theaters or what have you), I agree. I think that's exactly what has to be done. The one difference in tone is that we can get across the fact that electoral politics in its present frame is a sham. Because it is a numbers game, because it represents fewer and fewer people, because fewer and fewer people vote for certain offices; fewer people think that those offices or the political party or actually voting for the government has any meaning. We have to get across the fact that through a political party structure, we are able to begin projects and programs and have confrontation; and by the same token, we must make clear that the fact that A gets 12 votes and B gets 10 votes and C gets 3 is not the real issue. We have to build the party of principled program as well as projects which go in the direction we want to go.

**WASKOW:** How can that be done in a Presidential year in a party founded around anger over the Presidential choices? It would seem to me that exactly what you said about showing the nullity of the three choices we see now for President would be very important. I talked about the notion of running a "Vote-No For President" campaign as a way of doing that and then simultaneously trying to create an alternative set of tribunes for the real opposition in the country and legitimating those tribunes with some kind of demonstration of support from around the country, whether it's voting in freedom elections or marching to show the numbers behind them. At this point, the least effective demonstration of support is going to be won by a party supporting candidates who are not national political figures, forcing people to make the choice between a candidate that most of them can't regard as a credible President and candidates whom they don't want to support in the old party. That's why a vote-no position, which doesn't force them into that choice, would be a much better direction in which to go.

**RASKIN:** The feeling of the people who have been working in the New Party has been the other way. Their view has been: you vote to build, you vote to construct something different, you have an organization that really shows what a political party could be like.

**WASKOW:** That's not voting.

**RASKIN:** That's right. Voting is the least important issue of a political party, and elections may turn out to be the least important political activity.

**WASKOW:** O.K. Then I would argue that the New Party should deliberately adopt as its first priority a major project which is not an electoral one. You should stress that alternative, given the situation of the Presidency. After all, the press and everybody else focuses around the Presidency when they talk to, or about, the New Party.

**RASKIN:** My whole direction has been to use the external forces which have been around in the national community, which first built the Movement, which then helped build McCarthy, and which McCarthy himself in turn helped build, as the basis for showing that the two party system is not something set in concrete. (Wallace has helped to do that, as well.) Now the question is how, internally, we build a political party to show that it's here to stay for this generation. I think the answer to that is a program that makes clear, first of all, that we're going to have a reassessment and change in priorities. (Taxes are going for the wrong purposes; the military structure has to be confronted; we've got to get out of Vietnam.) Secondly, we must now begin talking about how to democratize other institutions. Third, we must begin talking about kicking off new projects.

**WASKOW:** This business about democratizing other institutions — one of the toughest questions is how we build, out of the uprisings of the university campuses which are attempting to democratize the universities, any equivalent kinds of actions anywhere else. (For example, the alliance of the French students and the working class; although they had a history of revolutionary consciousness, at least in theory, behind them.)

**RASKIN:** The other point about that situation in France was that because the students did not have a program, and because the Communist Party turned out to be very similar to labor bureaucracy in the US, no sort of change could really occur in France.

**WASKOW:** I don't think that's settled, at all, and I think if we had that kind of a wave of action in the US, we wouldn't expect to win in the first wave. It would be a fantastic victory even to imagine young workers behaving the way they did in France. The problem here is that we can't even imagine their acting that way.

**RASKIN:** I think I can. If the wildcat strikes which have occurred over the last couple of years (which have gone up very much) are any indication of the unhappiness and anger in the factory, it is conceivable that, given the situation where people begin to see more clearly what their real interests are in the factory, there will be rather large labor disruptions.

**WASKOW:** That'll be combined with real attempts to take over institutions like the students at Columbia?

**RASKIN:** I don't know the answer to that. However, we can now show in a positive way how a university should be reconstructed. Say, the president of the university should be selected by means similar to those for the chancellors of the universities in 14th century England, where they were elected by the students and the faculty. (Indeed, I would say even the worker personnel at the universities would join in.) The presidents of the universities would become responsible in part and become rejuvenated figures in the university through an actual political process. That can be seen as one way of changing the university and that also suggests what can be done in other hierarchic institutions.

**WASKOW:** But is that a serious political possibility? On the campuses, I think, it is now clear that there is enough energy; and in the black community, too. But that's the New Class.

**RASKIN:** In the working class it is very unclear, and in that case I think you're right, because workers may not see themselves *per se* as workers; they may see themselves equally well as military reservists. Consequently, we're never really sure what they view as their role; we're never really sure what they see as their ideology, except maybe the ideology of authority.

**WASKOW:** It's clear they don't see themselves as owners in community. There is hardly any base in the United States for them seeing themselves, jointly, in common, taking over a factory. There was that theory, that background of theory, in France. If the working class is to turn on in a decent direction in the ways you were talking about, then that's going to have to grow. That's at least one road; the other road is the somewhat more traditional share of the pie, the economic squeeze thing. The Movement hasn't addressed either of those roads very seriously. I don't think, for instance, that a serious way to address it is to say they're going to send college kids out to organize in a factory (which is the one proposal).

**MOTIVE:** You've both been pretty hard on the Movement so far. Can it reorient itself to the new political situation of a center-rightist coalition? Can Movement people establish rapport with the Wallace supporters?

**RASKIN:** Another point is how to begin to organize workers to the idea of self-controlled time. The upper middle class (and to some extent even the people on relief) have self-controlled time, but the working class really does not feel that it does. We're really again talking about how to go in and change and organize in the corporate structure. I can see situations where the Bill of Rights could become very important here. For example, the free speech amendment could be used as an instrument to go in to organize on basic issues in the context of the plant; especially where it can be shown that the workers themselves never get a chance to discuss or to debate the basic issues. The first amendment becomes a very powerful instrument to go into the factory and to talk about the organization of the factory during the day. Not only the factory but also the office complex and the shopping center.

**MOTIVE:** But at this point the Movement is bound to the universities as a political and social base, at least in large measure. Is that viable for the long haul?

**WASKOW:** I think we had better deal with something which is very strong in a certain part of the student movement: the fascination with street tactics and street fighting. A very literal translation of guerilla-ism. Many students don't feel that way, of course — but the people who do tend to be better organized. And the initial reaction to the events in Chicago seems to be a stronger push in that direction.

**RASKIN:** I think that taking to the streets is not terribly viable over a long period of time. What *is* viable is a situation where you confront and build simultaneously; you have to have programs and progress as well as confrontation. That part of the Movement which is either mindless or believes that programs will develop out of the struggle in the streets is making a very serious error — both in tactics and in terms of any sort of *human* way out of the virtually impossible situation in which we find ourselves.

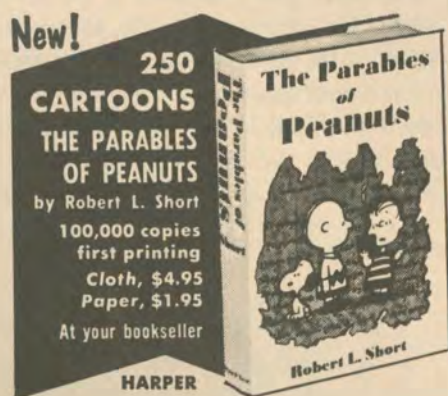
**WASKOW:** This whole question of the university as one of the social bases that seems to work comes up against the street fighting question, because the two places

where people have begun to believe very strongly that they have to become street fighters have grown out of the Columbia situation and the Berkeley situation. Berkeley has now had the equivalent of a small-scale black uprising *from whites*, twice this past summer. At Columbia, out of their experience with the police and their fury over the way the police behaved there, some students have reacted by believing that they have to become street fighters in order to be effective radicals. That's an important part of guerilla action. Obviously the other place besides the campus where we are talking about effective organization, the black communities, have also developed some kinds of street fighting, both chronic and crisis.

That goes back to the question of violence and non-violence. There is a constant debate — I heard it among a number of people in Chicago — about whether it was decent, desirable and so forth to respond to police attacks which were clearly unconstitutional, to police beatings and tear-gassing, with bricks at police cars; and whether the chanting of "pig, pig, pig," was (aside from being constitutionally protected) a good thing to do. I, at least, find myself a little unsure about how to advise people. A guy who comes out of the Jeffersonian ideology and believes in the Declaration of Independence has a rough time saying that violence is not a legitimate response to repression. On the other hand, it doesn't seem to me to be nearly as effective a political response as non-violent alternatives are. I'm not saying that simply because I'm afraid that the cops and the army have more violence on their side. I don't think that's the important question. I think that if it is effective politics, through creative disorder, then the army and even the police (who are much tougher than the army) will crack, confronting decent politics. So that fear doesn't worry me. We can't organize people if you worry about that fear too much. We keep saying "they're overwhelming, they're overwhelming," and people never become free to create something new. Still, how do we deal with the traditional American assumption that, when bullies beat us, it's legitimate to fight back, or do we want to deal with it?

**RASKIN:** Non-violence has not as yet really been written into American law as I understand it, but the right of self-defense has been and is more basic to American law. The thing which bothers me when we talk about street fighting is that it conjures up images of the Weimar Republic and street fighting in the 1920's in Germany. Of course, street fighting in America has an honorable tradition with the labor movement and so forth. In some sense that question is irrelevant. I, being basically a coward, wouldn't want to join.

**WASKOW:** But, don't dismiss it, because it's a very deep existential question for the people on the street. People I've talked to in Chicago said over and over again that for them it's a very important question. Do you throw the brick at the police car or don't you? At the moment,



it really becomes important. For instance, there was a lot of difference between Lincoln Park and Grant Park in the way people responded. I think the movement must somehow talk that out. We had a long discussion with one of the demonstrators just a couple of nights ago about the whole question of fear and violence and non-violence. Fanon keeps saying that the only way finally to break through your fear of the oppressors is to use violence against them as they are using it against you, and that the only reason not to use violence against them is fear of them. Certainly one has to avoid the so-called tactical non-violence that is simply based on fear that the other side has more violence at its command. But then this question came up. Dissonance theory in social psychology might suggest that if you throw a brick at a cop, you then afterwards realize that you must not be afraid of him any more because you threw a brick at him; that you must not respect him as a symbol of legitimate authority any more because you threw a brick at him. In that way you might argue that the violence does, in fact, become liberating and destroys the old and illegitimate authority. On the other hand, one of the guys I was talking to said that wasn't what happened with him, that he stopped being afraid, not when he attacked the police, *but when they attacked him*. They delegitimized themselves. He's sitting there saying "There wasn't any reason for them to do that," discovering in that process that they had ceased to be an authority.

**RASKIN:** I think the problem really goes beyond the way we're raising it so far. It goes, really, to the question of what we think human nature is and why we're bother-

ing in the first place. One primary situation is that when we're in pain and oppressed, it doesn't matter how we get out of the bag we're in; so people use violence, non-violence, demonstrations, whatever comes to mind. On the other hand, I think we're in a somewhat different situation in this country. What we are really asking is how to relate day to day action and activity with the sorts of objectives that we want. If we end up using violence as our basic means, we can't escape the fact that we have taken a basically very reactionary view of human nature. That reactionary view is that there is no way to bring about change except through violence.

**WASKOW:** I guess I agree with that. I've been trying to figure out why the other view has taken more ascendancy in the Movement, at least in the last year, more and more since the Pentagon.

**RASKIN:** That really relates to the fact that violence is not necessarily an ideology of only the right or the center. Violence is American as cherry pie, as Rap Brown says, and because it is, it is not something that remains with one sect or with one group. It is something which becomes part of the nature of the way people in America generally handle their problems. It is only the idealist or the utopian who says, "Wait a minute, there may be another way of doing it." He's different from those who argue the non-violent position in terms of law and order; they are perfectly prepared to use the color of their class power — that is their violent means. And, of course, they can't be taken seriously as advocates of non-violence.

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**WASKOW:** We also ought not to blink at the fact that the left has used far less violence, even in the open sense, even in the physical sense.

**RASKIN:** It's somewhat laughable to talk about whether or not to throw a brick when Wallace is campaigning on the statement that, if a demonstrator tries to stop his car, he'll run over him. There's no problem there — only with this other ethical view of whether or not to throw a brick. In some sense that teaches us there is a moral basis to what a left or radical view of society is attempting to bring into being; and that's healthy.

**WASKOW:** One of the reasons for the beginning, at least, of a slide into focusing on violence and street action, is that the people committed to non-violence have not been very serious about thinking tactically. If you believe that it's valid to be in the streets on some occasions, and if you're committed to non-violence, then you do have to think in terms of some immediate tactics, in the sense of protecting people from the violence of the police. I suppose it comes from the traditional American association of non-violence with sweetness and light, rather than toughness, that makes them tend not to think in those terms. It's important for people committed to non-violence to begin thinking about how to protect demonstrators without attacking the police.

**RASKIN:** I think that the real question with regard to violence is somewhat different from how we've phrased it so far: there will probably develop the "between" position, which will be damage to physical property.

**WASKOW:** That has already begun in some places: in California, attacks on draft boards, on ROTC buildings; in the East, the burning of Selective Service records . . .

**RASKIN:** And this has been going on for quite a while in the ghettos, as well.

**WASKOW:** That's partly what I meant when I said the left or the insurgents made far less violence. The black uprisings begin almost entirely with attacks against property and not against people; but they are responded to by very great violence against people by the police and National Guard.

**MOTIVE:** How do you deal with that issue?

**WASKOW:** There seem to be some kinds of property which themselves contribute toward violence; and, since the property is not people, it isn't immune to violence. The draft records, on which Phillip Berrigan first poured blood and then burned, are probably good examples. Those records were an integral part of the war machinery. Burning them did not hurt any human being but, in fact, protected a number of human beings. I find it very hard to think about that as violence. The records seem clearly to me to be much more violent than was the act of destroying them.



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**RASKIN:** There is a long and honorable history, starting with the Peasants' Revolt of the 14th century. Burning records will probably become more and more popular.

**WASKOW:** As you keep pointing out, so many of the records, even the ones not explicitly committed to violence, like the selective service records, are in fact, cramping and destroying humanity in the society generally. One of the reasons I kept pressing the whole street question is that I have been hearing people and have been talking myself about inauguration day as a time when the Movement will again be together, this time in Washington. What I've heard is much like the very early talk about Chicago — people somehow flare up at the idea of being there. Suddenly people somehow know that that's a place they want to be at a time they want to be there, without knowing why.

**RASKIN:** We have to step back a little and see what the last several years have brought us. It's perfectly plausible that every three months there is a national rumble. In an anthropological sense, there are certain events where people blow off steam — the cop, the soldiers and the demonstrators in the streets.

**WASKOW:** In a sense, I suppose, the institutionalization of the words "the long hot summer" . . .

**RASKIN:** We could begin to look at those riots in anthropological terms and see them as consumer raids by one

tribe against the tribe next door. We can look at it that way and see the "national rumble." Every three months we have a national thing and everybody talks about it and really prepares for it and waits for the next big event; so there's a convention, there's an inauguration, there's a football game. While they have interest in both an imperial and an anthropological way, they don't have any real meaning beyond that except as we could argue that they weaken the fibre of the empire. We can begin to see how America, which is so brilliant at institutionalizing and packaging marginality, institutionalizes and packages these rumbles. The press begins to see as important in terms of getting out what's happening through the media. These events get sponsored, and so forth. Therefore, we have a situation in which the structure of the society really isn't changing. What's happening is that they're colonizing, totalizing you into a series of events which change nothing.

**WASKOW:** But it's always very hard to make that distinction. Marcuse found that he had gone much too far in thinking that American society had totalized everything, even the revolutionaries, and that they were merely escape valves.

**RASKIN:** That's an interesting point. My argument is that there may be totalization but there are still open spaces for the projects which can make the difference. My concern is that the projects and the program are not necessarily those events which end up clarifying the colonizer-

colonized relationships. All such events may merely lead to totalization.

This is a different argument from the one which says that what you are doing is stimulating the Right. I'm not interested in that question because the Right is already mobilized. Those who argue that the Left arouses the Right in this way don't really understand the dynamics of American history. The real question is that it's not taking advantage of the spaces which make it possible to build. I am concerned that such advantages be taken. The New Party is one example of that. New institutes are another.

**WASKOW:** Somehow we think differently about these things and end up in much the same place. I keep imagining an institution we would like to have in the future and then moving it into the present, knowing that it stands outside the law and order of the present and is therefore disorder (but, hopefully, creative disorder) and that it represents a decent alternative, a decent goal. If we're building it in the present, it forces the rest of the society to respond to that image of a decent future.

Coming back to the national rumble business and inauguration day, — and also talking about the rhythm of decent politics after Chicago, where the veils were torn off the system and it's clear that it's run by force and

that consent is withdrawn very widely — the decent rhythm suggests that this is a moment for alternative creation in the present day. Now I wonder if inauguration day couldn't be used in that direction. Dick Gregory has been talking for a while about a Black House and about himself and maybe some other people who as alternatives would be counter-presidents. We might think about the ancient tradition of the tribunate, in which exactly those people who refused to accept the legitimacy of the establishment in Rome, the plebs, put up people whose job it was to veto decisions. We may not have the power yet to literally veto but it seems to me we're getting somewhere. The real opposition in this society is getting close to the position where it can demand legitimately that it be allowed to veto certain kinds of things even if it's still a minority.

**RASKIN:** I'm very nervous about using Rome as a model. We'd be much better off to stick within American tradition. Better Calhoun than the tribunate.

Eugene McCarthy says now we should really build the Senate, because the Roman Senate saved Rome, or attempted to, which, of course, is wrong. I'm very concerned about using such past analogies because the picture which I have of the Roman Senate is really basically a Fascist, or, at least a demagogic one.

**WASKOW:** At least, let me say, the tribunes were not a creation of the Senate. Remember, what happened was that the plebs withdrew from Rome; they seceded literally. They walked out of the city in the equivalent of what would be a general strike or a sitdown, a peculiar kind of combination of both. Then they elected their people and said that since they had shown that the city couldn't run without them and since they were outraged by some of the decisions of the consuls, they insisted that their men be able to veto these certain kinds of activities. That's not the same as the Senate, which was intended to represent the aristocracy.

**RASKIN:** What I'm concerned about is that the early part of our discussion began with Bob Kennedy. In some sense, I think that those who worked with Bob Kennedy, consciously or not, had a view of him as a tribune. They felt that, in effect, he would be able to jump beyond certain congressional institutions, certain authorities, and to speak directly to the people as a tribune.

**WASKOW:** What you just said is a crucial issue. You said speak to the people as a tribune. The tribunes weren't supposed to do that — they were supposed to speak *for* the people. It was the people's power, mobilized, that was supposed to be the real power. Of course, that did degenerate, and Caesar used the tribunate tax as a pawn.

**RASKIN:** Exactly. In effect, on the back of the plebs come the demagogues.

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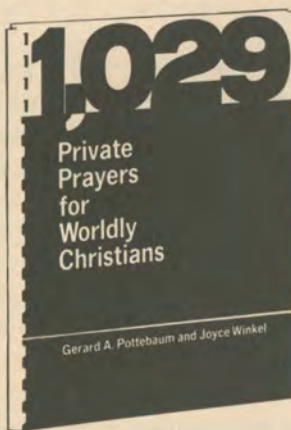
**WASKOW:** I grant all that, and not just for rhetoric's sake. I've tried to work at that too; it's very important. Yet we do live in one of the great powers of all world history, as a continental power. Even if it weren't an imperial one across the ocean, it would still be a continental power. If there is mobilized localism and decentralization and all those things, and even if it saps the strength of the overgrown center and militarism and all that, there are still going to be moments — and very important ones — when great national errors will have to be confronted. Maybe 50% of the way down the road it will already be strong enough to stop the military ma-

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chine in its tracks. I know the problem, that if you have to mobilize massive power to confront massive power, you may end up simply exchanging one massive power for another. Somehow, we have to figure out a way to dismantle constantly while building the Movement. In some ways, I think the Mobilization notion has done it. This very peculiar process, in which every six months or so the hope has been that all the local organizing comes together, presents a national gigantic NO to the military machine, to the Democratic convention or what have you and then goes back and does local organizing for another six months.

**RASKIN:** Yes, that goes on, but nothing changes.

**WASKOW:** I don't think that's fair to say. The great confrontations saying "no" have made a difference and have helped energize and inform the local organizing that has gone on between time. Certainly the level of organization in this country is much higher than it was 3 years ago, when the teach-ins began.


**MOTIVE:** Take a look at some of the rumbles that have occurred. Take a look at the Pentagon event. What, in fact, has been the result of that?

**WASKOW:** I think the Pentagon event had a great deal to do with the McCarthy campaign. It freed some people from the great myths — the controlling myths of the military, the state, and the nation — and with even more people it said there is an energy loose which we must go to meet, at least halfway. For instance, I sharply remember Joe Rauh saying 3 weeks before the mobilization, "perhaps we ought to try for a peace plank in the Democratic platform, but it would be absurd to try a Presidential campaign," and 2 or 3 weeks after the mobilization saying, "The kids are ready to tear the society down; we must move forward much more vigorously in politics and we must try a presidential campaign." As for McCarthy himself, I think the atmosphere of the Pentagon seige and the Resistance events on the campus over the Dow sit-ins had a great deal to do with his decision to run for President. And McCarthy was only symbolic of what was happening to solid, adult, liberal people around the country.

**MOTIVE:** Then, in effect, you really have a kind of progressive, cumulative view of history — that forces that have been unleashed against the military-industrial are growing stronger and that they will be able both to thrive and perhaps to win.

**WASKOW:** If you substitute "may" for "will", yes, I think they have been growing stronger. There is now beginning a coalescence or coalition on the other side, which hasn't been very strong until very recently, and we are in a fantastic race to see if we can organize faster than they. It does seem that in the two places, the underclass and the new class from which I've thought that the best energies were likely to come, there has been a great advance in 3 years in the level of organization. It may turn out not to be enough.

**RASKIN:** There has been a great advance; but I think that the advance turns out to be transitory with many people. Their interest is for a moment and then it passes away because they find themselves unable to know what to do. It becomes a very complicated issue in terms of organizing or talking to people. In the New Party, starting from the idea of the turning on of people as the basis for forming it, I find that people get very upset once they say "yes." Then they're waiting for you to tell them what to do and you don't tell them. Because people, in effect, have been colonized for so long, they really don't know how to do very much. Consequently, you find thrust upon yourself a choice of either telling them what to do, in a leadership way, or of appearing to fink out on them, because you don't want to put yourself in a position of telling them what to do. The question of the nature of leadership turns out to be an abso-



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lutely central issue in the black community, in the upper middle class and perhaps in other areas of American life, of people who are prepared to make a break, who are prepared to change. One answer is that the projects you start will both be replicated and draw people to them so that they find what they are supposed to do. The starting of an empty form, like a political party, must have, programatically and project-wise, well worked out particular things that people can see and be attracted to. The problem of leadership and anti-leadership is going to be the central issue, if, as I think, the issue in the 20th century is that we're switching from an authoritarian, totalitarian system to something else, an egalitarian one.

**WASKOW:** Clearly it's a very tense line to walk — the line between allowing people to stay castrated by being a leader, and finking out after calling them to action. One can avoid doing everything, without doing nothing, to put it simple-mindedly.

For example, many of the people — especially the young people — in the McCarthy campaign did not know how to organize a political campaign at all. They almost certainly wouldn't have learned if there hadn't been some people, even some much too prone to authoritarian leadership, instructing them in the way it had been done. The kids invented many new ways. With an aversion to the old politics and to leadership principles and all that, they have been able to invent new kinds of politics. But I don't think they would have gone in without any education in the old forms, without somebody, even Tom Finney types, bouncing around saying "Well this is the way we always did it." I found it very useful to sit next to Mike Feldman on the floor of the convention. He was acting as floor manager for the McGovern camp on the peace platform, and I literally asked him question after question about why Mayor Daley might have hesitated and toyed with the Ted Kennedy idea, and why he finally decided against it. Certainly I got, from one of the more decent players of the old politics, a better education in why those guys would act the way they do. I didn't at all regard Mike Feldman as my leader, yet he was floor leader of our delegation and of the McGovern-Kennedy delegations on an approach to action on the peace plank. People listened; they didn't always follow. Maybe that's the point, something about teacher without leader, somewhere in there is a very important function. Mike Feldman was in a very interesting position. He doesn't hold levers of power in Washington, certainly since the death of Robert Kennedy; even when the Ted Kennedy possibility became real, nobody began to think in terms of a President Kennedy from whom Mike Feldman might have patronage. Our delegation had become used to thinking of itself as based on the city, and yet it was important to all of us to understand what he was trying to do.

**RASKIN:** There is much to the idea that political leadership should be an educative one in some sort of new way. This issue has come up in a rather important way in our



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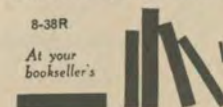
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lives. At my trial in Boston, one of the issues which was brought against us was that we had led young people to resist the draft. Of course, that was roundly denied and debated by the defendants. At one point Dr. Spock commented on that from the stand. He said that he would never do it (and indeed I'm sure he never did, as I never did). The reason, he said, was that this was an intensely personal decision and it was not good psychological practice to encourage someone because it would end up very badly. The prosecutor immediately picked this up and insisted that this was the height of manipulation, that these intellectuals were manipulating the young with some secret technique. The real point is somewhat different. If you have a theory of education and of politics that involves turning on and getting out, almost a combination of entrepreneurial and intellectual, (that doesn't mean getting out in the sense that you cop out, it means getting out in the sense that Bob Moses decides to leave SNCC and the MFDP because he doesn't want to be a leadership figure, because somehow that saps the energy from people) that means something far beyond manipulation. It's to say that we're serious now about attempting to show that the roots of authority in people come from themselves, from the actions which they perform, and to show that the forms can be created by one or by a group of people; but that, in the last analysis, they have to get out from under; they cannot be viewed as leadership. This may mean that they're prophets; it may mean that they are sophists; it may mean a number of things. But that group of people surely shouldn't remain the leaders or act in such a way as to promote others as continuous leaders of other people.

**WASKOW:** Right, but they also mustn't leave too soon. If Bob Moses had walked out of the Mississippi Summer Project in July, people would not have learned either from where he had been or from his walking out. They would have collapsed because they hadn't learned enough yet. It seems to me that the most important point is that a guy has to know the moment to leave — not that he has completed his own education; he has to leave *before* that — but that he has given a crucial push to the education of other people.

**RASKIN:** All of this then really goes back to the fundamental question, a deep personal and psychological one. That individuals don't cop out but they don't become authoritarian — that's one. Secondly, that what we're talking about in the New Politics and in the new education is just that sense — the sense of responsibility and existential commitment, but, by the same token, not using those feelings as an instrument for exploitation, which would then build a new hierarchic structure all over again. If we can build this new sense of responsibility in the society generally from the position that we stand for, we will build the sort of courage and projects which can confront the direction of the country in an honest way.

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# Contributors

**CAREY McWILLIAMS**, a frequent contributor to *motive*, teaches in the department of political science at Brooklyn College.

**CARL OGLESBY** is radical scholar in residence at Antioch College. A consulting editor for *Ramparts*, he is currently working on two books.

**ELDRIDGE CLEAVER** is minister of information for the militant Black Panther Party for Self Defense in Oakland, Calif. He is author of the bestseller, *Soul on Ice* (McGraw-Hill).

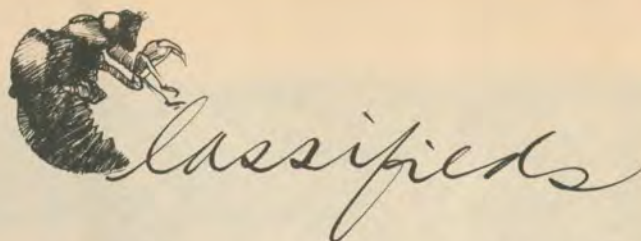
**MICHAEL NOVAK**, a member of *motive's* editorial board, is chairman of the humanities department of State University of New York, Oyster Bay. His incisive essays have been published widely.

**MARCUS RASKIN** is co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. Acquitted last spring in his trial with the Boston Five, he has recently been among the prime movers in founding the New Party. He edited with the late Bernard Fall, *The Vietnam Reader* (Random House/Vintage Paperback), and once—before the Center stopped holding for good—was a member of the Special Staff of the National Security Council.

**ARTHUR WASKOW** is Resident Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies. A leader in the peace movement for more than a decade, Waskow was once legislative assistant to Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D., Wis.); in more recent times, he has appeared simultaneously on the steering committee of the ill-fated National Conference for New Politics, the editorial board of *Ramparts*, and the District of Columbia delegation to the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Portions of his forthcoming book on the next forty years of politics have appeared everywhere from *Cavalier* to *New University Thought*.

**NOVEMBER POETS:** The English department of the University of California at Riverside is the rockingspot for **ROBERT PETERS**, whose collection *The Sow's Head* will appear this fall. Another California poet, **DAVID STEINGASS** of Newport Beach, has published widely. **ANTHONY VAUGHAN** is a student at Lawrence University (Wisconsin) making his first appearance in *motive*. Good prose-poems are very hard to find—but **DAVID LUNDE** manages to make them in Dunkirk, N.Y.

**ARTISTS:** **RICHARD BELLAK's** photos sum up the furious resentment of those opposed to Establishment insensitivities. **SUZANNE FOSTER**, a new contributor, is a student at Colorado University. **RICHARD ASH** again creates symbols for the truly contemporary experience. **MAL HANCOCK's** cartoons lace this issue with a humor that is close to tears. **FORD BUTTON** keeps everyone looking over one's shoulder for the artist's smiling face. **KEITH ACHEPOHL** catches the underlying genius of man: that we shall all die. **DOYLE ROBINSON** wields his pen-weapon in Baltimore. **BETTY LA DUKE** is a free spirit in Ashland, Oregon, whose work is appearing for the first time. **DON CORTESE** works within Syracuse University and is a premier printmaker. **BRENT MATZEN** teaches at Southwestern College in Winfield, Kansas, and is one of the young, talented unknown, rare breed of the midwest. **MIKE CHICKIRIS** develops his substantial talents in photography in Athens, Ohio. **ROBERT ECKER's** "Assassination Box" reminds us of the fragility of life and of our society's inclination to kill off its best men, and settling for the mediocre.



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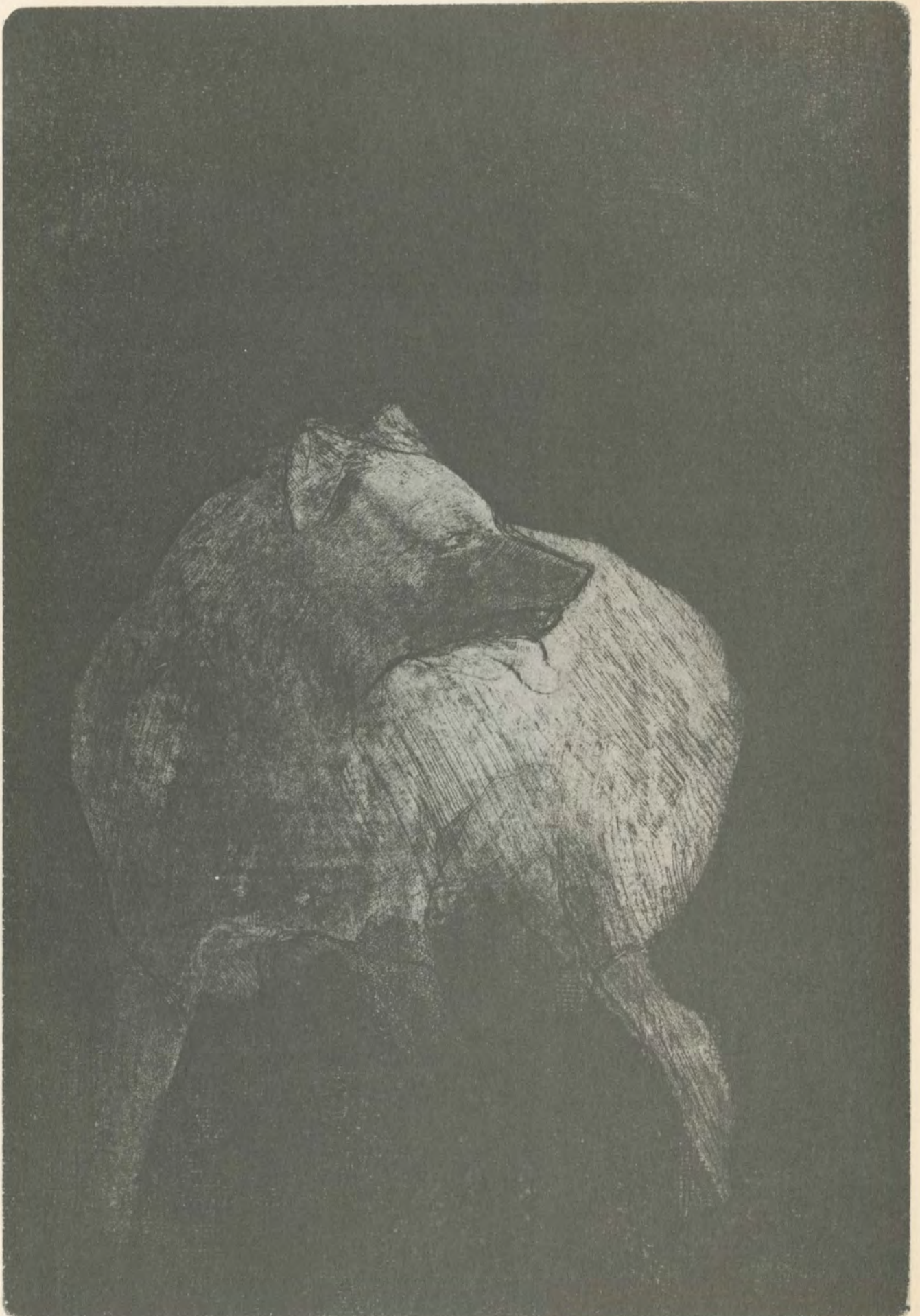


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