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PHOTOGRAPH

ARNOLD LUNGERSHAUSEN



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SO OLD,

BOULDER, Colo.—SDS hadn't been West since a San Francisco meeting in 1966. Now, in October 1968—the year of The Hump and Janis Joplin, post-Columbia and post-Westmoreland (Remember *him*?)—here were 600 SDS members converging on the University of Colorado's Memorial Center for a crucial three-day National Council Meeting—the first since Chicago and the last before Election Day.

At a press conference an hour before the NC began Friday night, Mike Klonsky, one of three SDS national secretaries elected in June, talked about the meeting.

"Right now we feel SDS is primarily a campus organization. At this NC we're going to be talking about ways to reach out beyond the campus to oppressed people in other classes—young workers, blacks, GIs, students in other countries."

Klonsky, 25, speaks with the accent of a southern Negro, although he was brought up in Los Angeles and graduated from San Fernando Valley State College with a degree in English. He uses phrases like "messed-over" and "brothers and sisters" and talks like the toughest kid on the block. He was arrogant with the reporters, but a kind of power emanated from his tough talk.

"We'll be talking about connecting the student struggle with the struggles of these other classes. It's a common struggle against a common enemy—the ruling class," Klonsky said. A reporter asked him to define "ruling class."

"The Man, the power structure, the pigs," Klonsky answered.

Someone asked him if he was going to vote on Election Day. "Yeah, I'm going to vote—in the

SO SOON

SDS speaks again

By

Mark Lieberman

streets. Don't you see that the movement doesn't depend on which politician is in office? I'll be in the streets on Election Day. Won't you?," he asks, turning to Bernardine Dohrn, a 26-year-old graduate of the University of Chicago Law School.

Bernardine agreed with Klonsky. "The most crucial way to reach young people is by more Chicagos. We must be exemplary in our actions and more dynamic than passive. We must confront repressive institutions in the streets, like we did in Chicago, where working-class kids and young blacks and SDS kids fought the cops side-by-side. Remember that 60 per cent of the people arrested in Chicago were not students. They were working class kids from the West Side who joined the fight after it had begun."

Bernardine is SDS inter-organizational secretary, and as such, is concerned with what she calls "building a broad base of support for the revolution."

"It's no longer a luxury to be in the movement. It's a necessity for more and more young people as the system exposes itself in its most brutal forms every day. The contradictions in the system and the tensions in the power structure are such that the system can no longer allow *itself* the luxury of letting groups like SDS exist.

"You can see this all over the world. In Mexico, for example, the slaughter of the students was not merely that: I see it as a preamble to a right-wing coup. What will the U.S. do if this happens?" she asks.

This "New Left Internationalism" was one of the things given most attention at the Colorado NC. Speaking at Friday night's session, Klonsky termed the conflict between Mexican students and troops

"a slaughter" and the phrase "noche triste"—the night of sorrow—joined "Chicago" and "Columbia" as one of the meeting's catch phrases.

Klonsky concluded the press conference by backing the journalists to the wall: "There won't be no pictures in the meeting, no tv, no tape recorders and no attribution of statements made from the floor." (No one asked him how he intended to enforce this last.) He did not mention that the university regents had insisted the meetings be "open to the press—including the electronic press and still photographers."

Thus began The Press Hassle. SDS feels they have been mistreated by the "bourgeois press" and, as Klonsky said, "You've got to remember you're dealing with revolutionaries who may not want their picture taken."

* * *

A 5-by-10-foot glossy photograph of Glenn Miller, trombone in hand, hanging over the stage in the ballroom had been covered by a banner reading, "Venceremos!"

About half of the 500 seats in the center section of the room were occupied when the first session of the NC began at 7 p.m. Tim McCarthy, of Washington, D.C., who was running the meeting, said in a soft Virginia drawl, "Now ah'm gonna read the press some rules we decided on." And he proceeded to repeat what Klonsky had said.

A reporter from *Time* read a statement, signed by all the newsmen who were at the meeting, which stated that the press agreed to deal directly with SDS, without regard to university decisions.

McCarthy said, "It's our job to decide what press relations will be—we're the news."

Just after the membership had decided to accept the press statement someone handed McCarthy a note which said that the university insisted "all members of the press—including television and radio" be allowed into the meetings. Friday night it was a moot point: none of the tv or radio newsmen were present.

McCarthy closed the discussion with a threat: "We intend to hold our meeting here, in accordance with the contract we signed with the university. If we have to liberate this ballroom, we will." There was a great deal of cheering.

The first of the national secretaries to speak was Fred Gordon. It was an unfortunate choice. After the excitement and talk of "liberation" and "confrontation" which had characterized the discussion of press relations, Gordon's speech didn't interest the audience.

He is a slight, scholarly young man with a Harvard philosophy degree. He talked very softly. He was very short, and barely reached the microphone, but no one told him to move closer to it. He cautioned the delegates against making judgments about the "right" or "left" wings of electoral politics: "The real enemy is the state. The state, not its members, is imperialist and racist." Gordon was the first speaker to note the irrelevance of liberalism to the New Left: "SDS was born out of an antagonistic dialogue with liberalism and liberalism is a casualty of the Vietnam War."

Bernardine Dohrn spoke next, sitting on the edge of the stage. "Since Chicago we have developed a national image. Now it is up to us to take this opportunity to increase our membership and widen the scope of the revolution. SDS must move into the trade schools, the teachers' colleges and the new working class for support.

"For young workers, the only alternatives they see are the politics of liberalism and the politics of security. We must make more Chicagos, so that, by our actions, we show them a third alternative—the politics of liberation."

In his speech Klonsky made a distinction between the class struggle and the liberation struggle: "Eldridge Cleaver chose Jerry Rubin of the Yippies as his vice presidential candidate because Rubin represented the *cultural* revolution in the country, not the political struggle."

Klonsky talks about protesting the presidential election: "The power structure is creating a situation in which we have no choice but direct action. We can no sooner condemn fighting in the streets on Election Day than we can condemn black people for taking up weapons in self-defense against the pigs."

By the time Klonsky finished speaking, less than

a hundred people were left in the ballroom. The rest had filtered out to the hallway, where they stood in groups of two and three, each of which seemed to contain an ideological struggle.

While many delegates were discussing the secretaries' speeches, a good number were concerned about what would happen the next day, when the university attempted to enforce its decision to allow tv cameras and tape recorders in the meeting.

One young man with a red beard said, "After Chicago I don't want to see any more clubs."

* * *

On Saturday the university opened the sliding doors which had divided the ballroom into thirds. This put SDS in the middle section, which had been roped off.

In the west section platforms had been set up for tv cameras. A member of the SDS chapter at CU said, "If you signed the press agreement last night, you'd better stay in the delegates' section."

The meeting was to begin at 9 a.m. McCarthy, Klonsky and about a dozen delegates were standing on the stage when Medill Barnes, a cameraman from KOA-TV in Denver, and a radio newsman from Denver's KIMN (a Top Forty station) walked into the press section and began setting up their equipment.

At 9:15 McCarthy announced, "All right, everybody inside, let's get started." Delegates who had been waiting in the hallway began entering the room and taking their seats. At the same time, McCarthy and Klonsky, along with the delegates who had been with them on the stage, jumped off the stage, charged into the press section and began pushing Barnes and the KIMN reporter toward the door. There was a brief scuffle, a camera was smashed, and the journalists did not attempt to return to the hall after being pushed out a rear door.

University security police had entered the ballroom as soon as the pushing match began, but they did nothing except protect the newsmen as best they could. No one was hurt.

The Glenn Miller Ballroom had been liberated.

After a hastily called conference the university regents announced, "It appears that a majority of the working press concurs in this judgment (the decision of SDS to prevent tv and radio coverage) and the conference will . . . continue with tape recorders and cameras excluded . . ."

SDS won The Press Hassle.

When the adrenalin had settled, the business of the day began: debate on a proposal by the Progressive Labor faction.

Jared Israel of Harvard SDS presented the proposal which involved both a strategy of worker-student alliances, and various tactics for implementing this strategy. Israel urged the delegates to, "lead students to link up their struggles with working people, beginning with campus workers and workers in university-controlled facilities," and called for "more

militant tactics such as stopping on-campus recruiting by companies whose workers are on strike."

The proposal was debated for four hours before being defeated. And, while there is much talk within SDS of worker-student alliances, the defeat of this, the only major resolution which dealt with the question at the Colorado NC, gives credence to the accusation that the student movement cannot, through lack of will, or will not, through lack of inclination, bring off such an alliance. Even when subsequent speakers discussed uniting with workers, it was always with "young workers," or "black workers," i.e., the fringe of the labor movement, which, in the words of one PL spokesman, "had not yet been caught up in the politics of security."

* * *

During the debate on the PL proposal I walked outside and sat down next to a young man I had seen in the meeting. Steve is a junior at CU, majoring in English. He comes from Lynbrook, L.I., was on the deans' list at Columbia, but transferred to Colorado "for the mountains."

He says he'd like to teach, holds a National Merit Scholarship and readerships under two professors. He's been in SDS for two years.

"If Nixon wins," he says, "I'd think of leaving the country. He'd bust SDS the first chance he had; he's already said he thinks it's 'treasonous.'"

I asked him what he thought was wrong with America.

"Just for openers, 'majority rule' doesn't in any way imply that the 'majority' is concerned, intelligent or ethical. The majority of the American people is degenerate. The majority is committed to the *status quo* and is against change because of its desire for material security. As a revolutionary I am committed to destroying the manifestations of that *status quo*, i.e., genocide in Vietnam and repression such as we saw in Chicago."

The old question: "How would you replace the American system of government?"

Steve looked toward the mountains and thought for a minute. "I'd replace the bureaucracy with *people* power: student power if you're a student; worker power if you're a worker; black power if you're black. But I'm not sure there wouldn't be resistance to this kind of society too. At any rate, things here are going to get a hell of a lot worse before they get better. The system is a self-perpetuating entity with all the flunkies—cops, soldiers, bureaucrats—it needs to do its work."

What happens to the movement if the repression gets too severe?

"Some of us will go to Canada or Europe. Those who stay behind to fight in the streets will be wiped out."

Evelyn is a graduate student in German at Michigan State. She got her masters degree in spite of the fact that she was suspended for a semester for pro-

testing the presence of CIA recruiters on campus.

"The administration said I wasn't 'fit to teach,'" she says. "Anyway, they let me back in and now I'm working on my PhD and teaching two courses."

Evelyn has been in SDS for three years. Like many other members, she sees no difference between the presidential candidates.

"I think Nixon will probably win, but it will be no different than if say, Wallace won. What's wrong with America today is not a result of who's in the White House. It's the whole structure that's wrong. I think that if Cleaver won it might make some difference, but only in that electoral politics could be used as a platform for something broader. That's how I view my teaching."

Did she think the system could be altered and saved?

"Certainly not. The contradictions are overwhelming, and the liberals give us band-aids of reform. You can't expect people to be anything *but* alienated from a system where wealth and profit are the bases of decision-making. By definition a capitalist system means some people are going to be on top and some on the bottom. That's not exactly humanizing, is it?"

* * *

Most of the delegates were in the basement cafeteria of the UMC after the Saturday afternoon session ended.

Two boys looked even younger than the youngest I had seen, and one was wearing a black armband.

Greg was a tall, blond boy with steel-rimmed glasses, who wore a faded flannel shirt and bell-bottomed dungarees with "LAPD" (Los Angeles Police Department) stenciled across the behind ("jail pants," he told me. He had gotten them first-hand).

He and his friend, Joe, who still wore braces, had driven from Los Angeles to Boulder for the NC. Greg was 17, Joe a year younger. Both were members of high school SDS chapters at their schools.

"There are also chapters that I know of in Chicago, Boston and New York," Greg said.

Greg goes to Beverly Hills High. His father makes, believe it or not, plastics. His mother is what he called a "downer-freak," i.e., nearly addicted to tranquilizers. "Sometimes in the morning you can pound on the door for five minutes before she wakes up."

Joe is a senior at University High and a National Merit Scholarship finalist. He says, "I may go to college but I don't know if it will do me any good."

Both boys were critical of high school curricula. They viewed changing them as the main job of high school SDS.

"They're shaping our minds, not teaching us," Greg insisted. "High school has become a form of

channeling where you're trained to become a manager in order to sustain the system."

I asked Greg about his armband.

"I'm an anarchist," the boy replied.

"I define anarchism as the presence of an order in a form where everybody is on his own trip. Capitalism has trained men to be greedy, but they're not intrinsically that way. Anarchy would mean a return to the only rational form of government."

Both boys objected to the way history was taught in their schools. Joe said, "We get a racist, biased viewpoint, written from an imperialist position. Unless you read on your own, you never find out the American dream is bullshit. The teachers sit down and read to you. I've been able to read since I was four and I don't need anybody to read to me."

Greg added, "Black history courses must be added to the curriculum," and laughed at the teaching of 20th century American history: "They told me what a groovy guy Teddy Roosevelt was."

At a workshop that afternoon on organizing high school SDS chapters, Greg talked further about restructuring the educational system.

"We have to take a strong stand against military recruiting in the schools. The physical hassle (dress codes, hair rules) and mandatory attendance have to go. As for curriculum, the function of schooling traditionally has been to teach you to cope with your environment. Now you're channeled into a 'good job,' or, if you're white and get good grades, into college."

* * *

The ballroom was full by 10 a.m. Sunday and McCarthy announced that the first item on the agenda would be the presentation and discussion of opposing resolutions concerning SDS action to protest the elections.

Before he could continue, however, a Negro who had been at all the sessions asked to be permitted to speak. McCarthy (calling the Negro "brother," which sounded strange in a Virginia drawl) recognized him.

"We've been hearing a lot about revolution here. My brothers and I started the revolution, but so far we're the only ones dying in the streets: You're *talking* about dying . . . I want to know what SDS is going to do for black people. I also want to know how many black SDS members there are." (There were less than 10 Negroes at the meeting and not all of them were members.)

The audience was silent for perhaps 10 seconds.

The Negro, thinking perhaps they, and the four SDS officials on the stage, did not understand that this was a real, not a rhetorical, question, repeated it: "What are you going to do to help me and my brothers in our struggle?"

Someone shouted, "How do we know you'll be around when the revolution comes?"

The Negro replied, "I got nowhere to hide, man."

The exchange was ended.

The relationship between the New Left and the blacks has always been rather ill-defined. While there were hours of rhetoric at the Colorado NC about how "large-scale support for black rebellions" was a good thing, there was not even a workshop during the weekend to discuss how to bring this about, although there was a workshop on "Liberation of Women."

Hutchings says, "In an attempt to gain power . . . in other words, to have a revolution . . . you have to organize at all levels in the white community: the students, the older people, the intellectuals . . . Therefore, as we begin to see the . . . white new left movement progressing in this direction, we feel that it will gain more respect within the black militant movement and also within the black community . . . Therefore there is that possibility of working relationships."

This was the paradox: Both the New Left and the Black Power movements are astute enough politically to know that there is, in the nation, one, not two bases of power. "Unity" is the much-banded shibboleth of both groups, yet both are seeking the support of the same groups: Where, for example, should the sympathies of a hip, young, black steelworker and reader of Marcuse lie?

The issue of how SDS should relate to the blacks was skirted at the Colorado meeting, and it is only in the streets, as people like Mike Klonsky have said, that the two groups meet. And even then it is only because of the dogs at their throats, not out of mutual regard, that they are not at each *other's* throats.

* * *

The first of the two election proposals was the PL position, presented by Rick Rhoads of CCNY. "On Nov. 5," he began, "tens of millions of Americans will be forced into a non-existent choice between . . . moralist "liberal" and "conservative" racist imperialists.

"But hundreds of thousands of students and millions of Americans refuse to choose . . . They are looking for answers outside the 'system' . . . Many are looking to us.

"We propose," Rhoads continued, "that SDS organize a national March on the White House on Election Day.

"In Washington we should begin with a rally putting forth these themes, leading to a march on the White House and a demonstration in front of it. If violence occurs it will be initiated by the Government. Chicago has shown us that is likely."

No one told Rhoads the "March on Washington" thing had been done for several years and that the combined efforts of Chaplain Coffin, Joan Baez and the Fugs had failed to levitate the Pentagon. Listening to the PL proposal was like hearing a Roy Wilkins speech: You couldn't tell if it had been taped in, say, 1962, or was being given live at that moment.

There were more serious objections to the PL proposal than its quaintness, however.

Bernardine Dohrn, one of the sponsors of the "Boulder proposal" which was finally accepted as SDS Election strategy, spoke after Rhoads.

"What we're trying to do is dramatize the *universality* of the struggle against the hoax of 'representative government,'" she said, "and we're not going to do that with a single, massive march on Washington, even if we could plan it in three weeks. The march on the Pentagon took three months to plan."

Only an hour of the final session of the meeting remained when Neil Berger, a stout 17-year-old from Los Angeles stepped to the microphone to present the High School SDS Resolution.

About 20 high school SDS members had gathered around Berger and several kids looked over his shoulder as he read.

"The atmosphere of the American high school is repressive, non-productive and inhuman," Berger read. "Instead of the education of young people, the high school attempts to press upon them the bankrupt values of a decaying society . . . They are not taught to think for themselves, but trained to accept a system which channels their minds and bodies for private profit.

"Knowing that the school cannot change . . . unless we change the system which uses it . . . we will organize in the high schools to overthrow that system by confronting the issues that directly affect them."

It was a document remarkable, in a weekend of verbal overkill, for its brevity and lucidity. The conciseness and coherence of its argument were more remarkable when one considered that it had been conceived and written by children not old enough to drive in most states.

The resolution had three provisions: first, it called for the appointment by the national office, of a coordinator of high school SDS activities; second, it requested that "college and non-student chapters of SDS make high school organizing a large part of their program"; finally, it called for national circulation of the *Los Angeles Free Student*, a paper published by the 10 Los Angeles SDS chapters.

An objection to the first provision by 17-year-old Stuart Rose of Newton, Mass., set off what was perhaps the most revealing exchange of the weekend. Stuart spoke on behalf of members who, while not objecting to some sort of coordination of high school activities, refused to have supervision imposed on them by the national office.

"We're the ones who know how to reach high school students; we're the ones who are suffering the repression; we're the ones who have struggled alone so far, without any help from you," Stuart told the delegates, most of whom were in their 20s.

"And we don't want you coming into our chapters corrupting us with dope and philosophy. Dope is counter-revolutionary."

(Incidentally, this was the first mention of dope in the whole weekend.)

It was incredible! Here was the SDS being accused of being *reactionary*. Before the boy had even finished his objections Bernardine Dohrn and Mike Klonsky were jockeying for positions at the stage microphone.

After a brief conference, they decided that Klonsky, one of the most forceful speakers in the organization would rebut the charges the kids were making.

Klonsky insisted, "There's no difference between organizing high school kids and organizing any other group of potential supporters for the movement."

It was not the right thing to say. You could see the hope go out of the kids' faces as Klonsky spoke: He had been a bit too frank. To the national office, the high school movement was nothing more than a building block in their "base of support."

The only recent precedent was the obvious one: Gene McCarthy's ill-fated Children's Crusade, which, though doomed from the start, had attracted thousands of idealistic kids, only to end their political education (or begin it) in the streets—and hotel suites—of Chicago.

The High School Resolution was accepted by the membership in spite of the objection, and Chairman McCarthy allowed no further discussion on what he called, "the youth culture."

The NC was nearly over. Before it ended I talked to Eileen, a 17-year-old freshman who had objected, with Stuart Rose, to the imposition of a national coordinator on the high school movement. She has worked in that movement for two years.

"It was awful," she said, looking toward the ballroom. "SDS has passed high school resolutions before. What we wanted in there was to talk about implementing the resolution—and they weren't interested."

"How can SDS relate to us as brothers and sisters when they act in a condescending manner? An issue which may seem trivial to them in Chicago is very big to kids in the high schools. Sure, they laugh at our organizing around dress codes, but they can wear what they want, and maybe they've forgotten what a drag it is for someone to tell you what to wear."

"At our meetings there's none of this bullshit," she said, pointing to the ballroom where the final speaker was eulogizing, at length, the work accomplished at the Colorado NC.

"I don't know," the girl said. "They're so *old*."

THE OPPOSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By COLIN LEGUM

There are a number of striking parallels between the United States and South Africa. They are modern, fast-growing industrial societies of roughly the same age. They are ruled by elites who, having sprung mainly from western Europe, cast off their imperial bonds through wars of independence. They retain vivid elements of their not-so-distant frontier society days, they have shared the experience of civil wars, and they insist that their leaders should be God-fearing men.

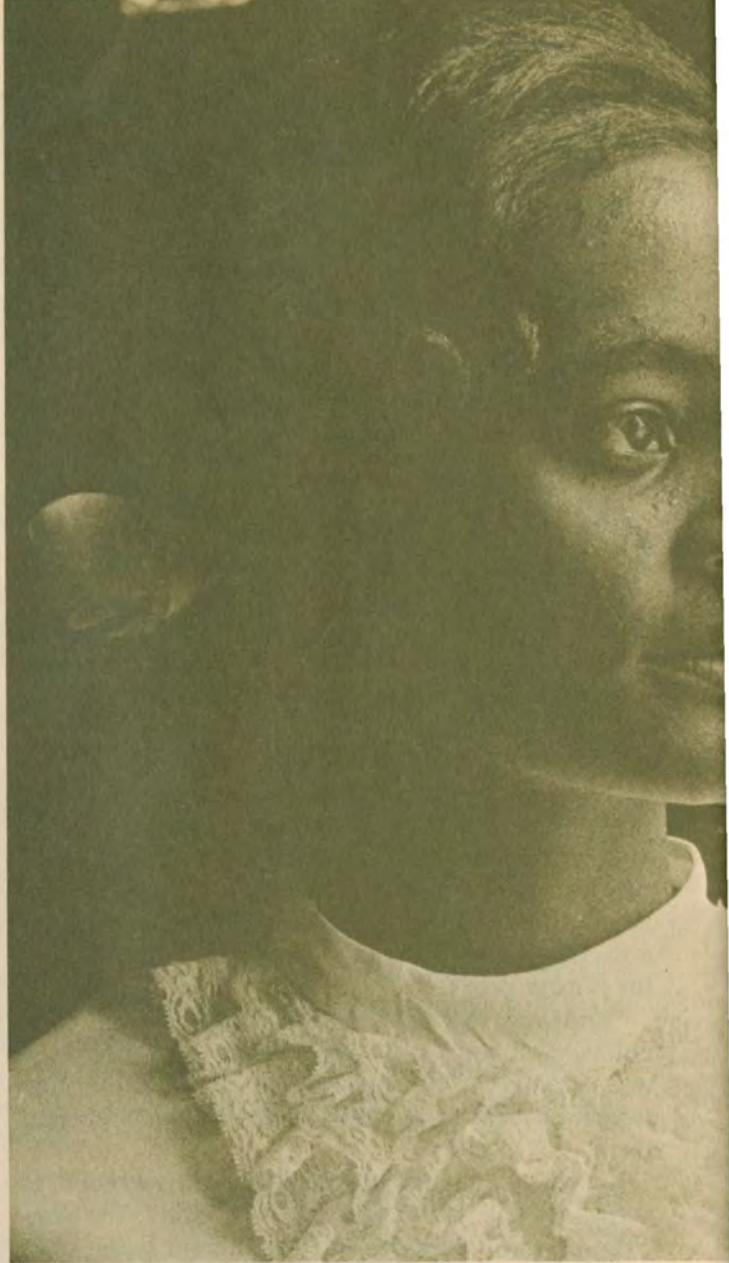
Size apart, there's one crucial difference between them: South Africa's colored peoples are the indigene inhabitants of the country, and outnumber the whites by

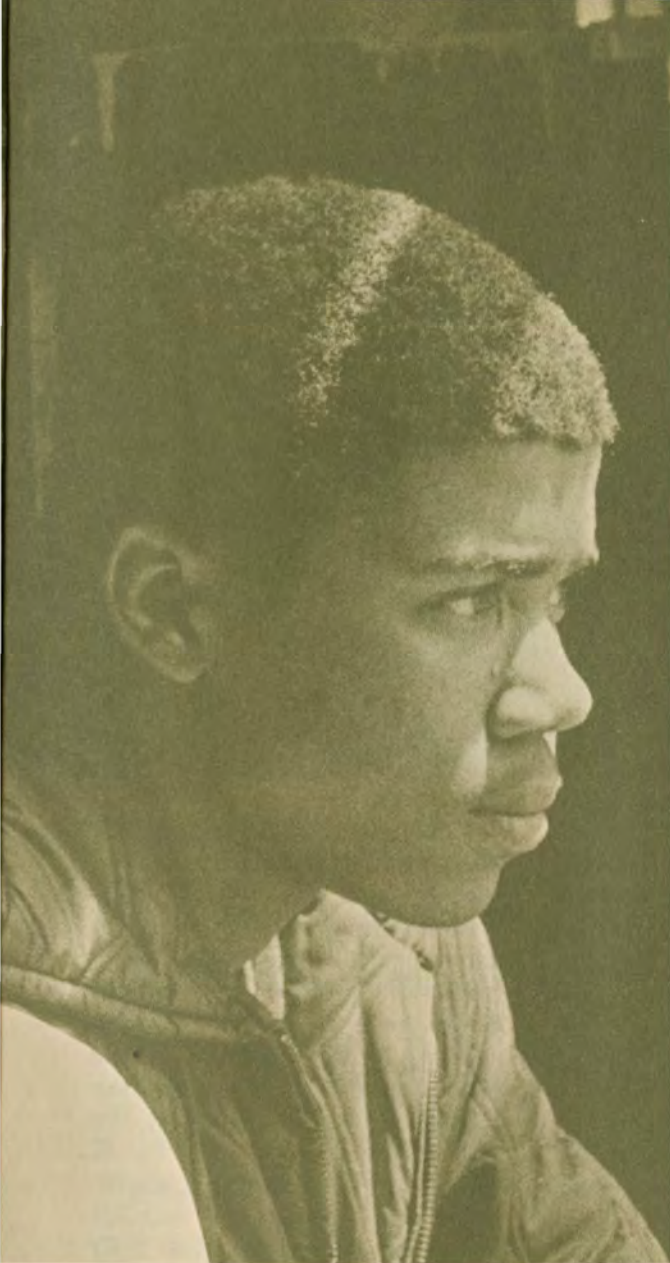
four to one. Black Americans are mainly immigrants (through slavery), and comprise a minority of one in seven. Another, but not so crucial important difference, is that in the United States the political system encouraged whites of various Caucasian origins to combine together in one or other of the major political parties. The South African experience has been to set the two white races—the Afrikaners of predominantly Dutch origin, and the English-speaking South Africans of mainly British stock—against each other in rivalry for political supremacy. There's one other significant difference: after the civil war, Americans set themselves the ideal of equality of citizenship between whites and

blacks; in South Africa it was otherwise: the ideal was permanent inequality through segregation.

So there is in South Africa an island of political democracy reserved exclusively for a minority of its people, all of them white. But surrounding this island is a sea of people—constituting the great majority—who are not allowed to enter into the life of the democracy—except as temporary workers, mostly unskilled, in factories, shops, farms and in white homes. The occupants of the democratic island devote a large part of their efforts to throwing up dykes to keep out the 'heathens beyond the gates.' On the island are people who themselves disapprove of the

PHOTOGRAPH





ROHN ENGH

Some Similarities and Contrasts to the U.S.

system under which they are expected to live. Their concern is to prevent new dykes being continuously thrown up, and to build instead bridgeheads into the sea. These white dissenters, operating from the island are regarded as a 'Fifth Column,' the traitors inside the gates. For them, the laws of repression are similar to those applied against the would-be invaders of the white island sanctum.

The apartheid Republic of South Africa is an outstanding example of the Exclusive Society. Its time-hallowed *status quo* rests on the premise that one group of citizens—the white minority of three millions—are exclusively entitled to operate all the power levels in the system, and are entitled to the

lion's share of all privileges. In the communist-type Exclusive Society these rights are reserved for members of the minority Communist Party; in South Africa they are distributed, not on ideological grounds but simply on skin color. That is why it has been described as a Pigmentocracy.

Color is the fundamental determinant of power in South Africa. This distinguishes the apartheid republic from all contemporary societies in which serious race problems are encountered. South Africa's power structure is specifically designed to ensure that total power remains exclusively in the hands of three million whites. It not only provides for the whites' security, but also enables them to

retain their position of economic and social privilege over a colored majority of thirteen millions. Security and the maintenance of privilege are held to be inseparable.

Contrary to the dominant political tendencies in other modern societies, differences in race and color in South Africa are consciously and methodically emphasized to buttress the *status quo*. Racial and color prejudice and discrimination are embedded in the country's power structure. The irrational force of prejudice is harnessed to the rational purpose of maintaining a system of discrimination to ensure the survival of a *status quo* based on color.

The Role of the White Opposition

Just one limitation attaches to the role of the opposition operating within the white parliamentary system: agreement to defend the *status quo* rooted in the notion of *white supremacy*. Only when white South Africans challenge white supremacy do they forfeit the rights normally accorded to a constitutional opposition.

It is against this background that one must interpret the paradoxes of the Republic. Its protagonists can, with justification, claim for it all the virtues of a parliamentary democracy: free elections, a parliamentary opposition, a relatively free press, and so on. All these exist in the country; but only for the minority within the charmed white circle. Those whites who challenge the concept of white supremacy must accept the same disadvantages of the police state that it holds for the out-group—the excluded non-whites. Thus, the Liberal Party (led by Alan Paton, author of *Cry, the Beloved Country*) was left with no alternative but to disband itself or to face prosecution for admitting non-white members. The liberal-minded National Union of South African Students (who were hosts to the late Robert Kennedy) are continuously harried by the police, infiltrated by informers, threatened with the law, and their leaders methodically banned, year after year.

This state of affairs raises important moral and tactical questions for both white and black challengers of apartheid. How can they survive politically, while still operating as effective opponents of the *status quo*? What methods must they adopt to resist tyranny and to help produce a different kind of society that will make full citizens of all the country's inhabitants?

The white parliamentary opposition's role is simply to oust the governing party; it does not seek to change the fundamentals of the white supremacy society. If elected the United Party would, in one form or another, continue the

practice of apartheid through enforcement of strict racial segregation and by denying votes to non-whites. The only exception among the parliamentary parties is the Progressive Party, represented by a single member in parliament, Mrs. Helen Suzman—and her days are clearly numbered. In order to retain the slender foothold in parliament, the Progressives have had to compromise their own principles by excluding their non-white members to comply with a recent law. Should opponents of apartheid abandon their own principles in order to survive politically? This is the kind of question with which white opponents are constantly faced.

Many white opponents of the regime have long since decided there's no useful role for them within the system of white politics. Instead they choose to work through bodies like the Institute of Race Relations, church groups, or the Black Sash, to oppose racial policies.

The Institute is a prestigious body of churchmen, academics and professional people who engage in research into social and economic problems; their publications provide the most reliable documented evidence of the real effects of apartheid. The Black Sash is unique. Composed of women (mostly from the highest income brackets), they engage in demonstrations, undertake research based on social casework and the practical work of counseling for victims of apartheid. Their most publicized role is that of silent protesters. Donning a simple black sash, they have stood in relays for days outside parliament, and other public places, in defiant acts of mourning over breaches of the constitution. Their method of silent, patient, unfrightened and dignified protest has kept alive the conscience of a white community otherwise passively, or actively, acquiescent in the regime's increasing acts of tyranny and racism.

The Christian church in South Africa is notoriously divided—not only between the majority of the members of the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church (D.R.C.) and the other religious faiths, but outside of the D.R.C. also between the Church hierarchy and their communities. By and large, the Christian communities (as in America's Deep South, especially in earlier times) deny the 'brotherhood of man' in their daily lives; the great majority are staunch upholders of white supremacy. The churches' leadership is, on the whole, opposed to apartheid. Its role is complicated by the question of how to reconcile its Christian duty with the attitudes of church-members—a dilemma familiar enough to Americans.

South Africa has traditionally been well served by brave church leaders who have defied their communities and the State. In recent times, men like the late Archbishop of Capetown, Dr. Joost de Blank; the former Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. Ambrose Reeves; the champion of the Hereros and the Nagas, the Rev. Michael Scott; the Bishop of Stepney, Father Trevor Huddleston; the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr. Hurley, have refused to temporize with their Christian faith. But it's not been easy to combine opposition to the State with maintaining their authority in the church.

The role of church leaders opposed to the State is delicate and difficult even when they are backed by their own communities; it's much more complex and challenging when the church members are themselves largely supporters of State policy. This dilemma is most acute for preachers and theologians who reject the Dutch Reformed Churches' attempts to supply scriptural justification for apartheid. Operating as minute minorities within their own church, they cannot even join with other Christians like the World Council of Churches. But there are heroes among Afrikaner Calvinists who have stood alone or



PHOTOGRAPH

ROHN ENGH

in small bands, risking censure by their church, estrangement from their fellows, social ostracism for themselves and their families, and slander by an outraged Afrikanerdom.

The Rev. W. C. Beyers Naude is a foremost Afrikaner dissenter. Not only did he place his eminent position in the church hierarchy on the altar and accept the ostracism of his people, but he has overcome combined State and church pressures to create a unique instrument to oppose apartheid and promote ecumenicism. The Christian Institute—founded with a distinguished church theologian, Professor A. L. Geys—both interdenominational and multi-racial. Its journal, *Pro Veritate* circulates among a small but influential group of churchmen (scores of them in the Dutch Reformed Church—a sharp thorn in the side of the authorities; but so far they have been unable, whether by slander or police harassment, to muzzle this Pastor Niemoeller of the Afrikaner people.

The Role of the Non-White Opposition

A basic difference between the roles of the white and the non-

white opposition is that all non-white political opposition is unconstitutional. Denied access to parliament, denied freedom of organization, movement and public assembly, all their political activity occurs under the vigilant eye of the police and the hooded lids of the ubiquitous informer. All non-white opposition is conducted under severe restriction and intimidation. Political leaders live under the threat of terrifying sanctions against themselves and supporters. Banishment is a weapon widely used against a wide spectrum of opponents of government policy. There are twenty different kinds of banning order, applicable equally to the whites and non-whites. They range from house arrest to exile in remote parts of the country, and from a total ban on publication of any material by, or information about certain categories of banned people, to indefinite detention on Robben Island. These bannings are administrative, not judicial acts. The Courts are not available for those who fall under suspicion of the authorities, unless there's a decision to prosecute criminally. Anybody may be arrested, at the whim of the police, and may be detained in solitary confinement

for an unlimited number of periods up to 180 days at a time. The usual consequence of the simplest banning order is loss of employment; frequently it also means the break-up of the family. This denial of political and legal rights and the enforcement of harsh penalties are typical characteristics of the police state. How does an opposition operate under circumstances like these?

Until 1960 the African, Colored and Asian political organizations were allowed to exist openly, although subject to constant police harassment. They operated mainly through racially separate Congresses with some attempts to coordination of their activities. Their alliances showed a strong preference for integration with sympathetic white organizations. Their role was necessarily extra-parliamentary. The most distinguished of these organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912; its leadership was mainly Christian and middle-class. Their methods and attitudes closely resembled those of the NAACP in the United States. Influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of non-violence, the ANC resorted to passive resistance on major issues; for the rest they petitioned, urged, pleaded and appealed to the white conscience for justice, while warning against the likely outcome if white society sought permanently to exclude non-whites. Their goal was unchanging: achievement of 'a Shared Society' between citizens of all races; the creation of a non-racial society.

All this changed after the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 when 69 Africans were shot dead and 178 wounded. The subsequent Unlawful Organizations Act proscribed a number of political organizations, including all the non-white congresses. It marked the introduction of clandestine political opposition, and the abandonment of non-

violent methods as the only acceptable weapon of opposition.

The place of violence in the role of an opposition denied all forms of constitutional redress is an issue of anxious debate in South Africa, although naturally less so among whites than non-whites. A small number of white liberals (mainly students) have committed themselves to violence through the Armed Resistance Movement (ARM); most were imprisoned.

openly and publicly committed to a policy of non-violence; this means that it will oppose when its duty is to oppose, but it will oppose by non-violent means. But it does not mean that it will cease to oppose merely because opposition has become dangerous. It means also that it will not consent to the use of violence by others, not encourage it, or connive at it. . . . I fully expect violence to be a feature of this struggle. What do

of those who reject violence in an increasingly violent situation: "I am sure that there are many, many thousands of people in South Africa who hate and fear violence and who do not wish to play a purely passive role in its presence, but would like, if they could, to present a spiritual and good and active alternative to what is evil, violent and destructive. In a clash of opposing nationalisms, both of them always trembling on the brink of violence, we might call this alternative the 'third force.' It would, in my opinion, be this third force which, if it were not able to prevent the clash of irreconcilable forces, would be always present as a factor to be reckoned with, and an alternative to them both.

"We must not yield ourselves to that pessimistic theory which maintains that the history of the impending future will be that of one violent force ranged against another, and that all peaceful people will be crushed between them. Such a third force must expect to be bruised, but its survival will depend on its strength and power, and by its strength and power the future of our country will no doubt be determined."

The issue was much more sharply argued over within the non-white opposition. The leader of the banned ANC—the late Chief Albert Luthuli, the only South African to win the Nobel Peace Award—affirmed to the day of his tragic death in 1967: "I firmly believe in non-violence. It is the only correct form which our work and our struggle can take in South Africa. Both from the moral and the practical point of view the situation in our country demands it. Violence disrupts human life and is destructive to perpetrator and victim alike. . . . To refrain from violence is the sign of the civilized man. . . . Yet I do not regard peace as a passive thing. The non-violent policy I am advocating is a positive one. . . . It demands moral courage and taxes our physical courage. . . ."

PHOTOGRAPH

ROHN ENGH



The tiny Communist Party also formally embraced violence as 'the correct tactic.' Speaking for most liberals, however, Alan Paton steadfastly rejects violence. "The Liberal Party," he has said, "is

we do? Do we stand hopelessly by? Is our role alternatively to respond to and to reject appeals for help made by other organizations? I am sure it is not."

Mr. Paton has defined the role

But Chief Luthuli failed to carry his movement with him. His own deputy-leader, Nelson Mandela, facing charges for organizing a guerrilla movement in 1962, explained why he had come to a different conclusion: "The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices—submit or fight. That time has now come in South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power, in defense of our people, our future and our freedom.

"It has not been easy for me during the past period to separate myself from my wife and children, to say goodbye to the good old days when, at the end of a strenuous day at the office, I could look forward to joining my family at the dinner table; and, instead, to take up the life of a man hunted continuously by the police, living separated from those who are closest to me, in my own country, facing continuously the hazards of detection and of arrest. But there comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live a normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the government has so decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlawry upon him. I was driven to this situation, and I do not regret having taken the decisions that I did take. Other people will be driven in the same way in this country. . . .

". . . The conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force . . . was a conclusion not easily arrived at. . . . It was only when all else had failed . . . that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of struggle. . . . We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us no other choice."

So, after fifty years of African political belief in non-violent methods of opposition, a movement arose dedicated to armed struggle through a guerrilla activity based on centers outside the Republic.

The factor of violence—black violence responding to white tyranny—has now become a feature of South African politics. Still, all non-whites are by no means convinced that violence is necessarily the only alternative available for opposition. Their grounds for rejecting violence often have less to do with moral objections (as with Luthuli and Paton) than with its practicability. As a result, many still pin their hope in seeking ways of cooperation; but this, too, is only because they see no other way. Within the Christian community, strong non-white pressures are applied against a white brotherhood of Christians who connive at apartheid.

Some groups seek to maneuver within the interstices of the system. The most significant of these groups is that of Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who is willing to cooperate in establishing a "Bantu homeland"—in the Transkei, one of the eight areas designated to become "Bantustans." Chief Kaiser Matanzima's group believes that, however spurious the apartheid promise of eventual independence for Bantustans, it nevertheless offers them a way of asserting a degree of political control and influence, however limited. The attitudes and language of Kaiser Matanzima has a lot in common with the 'State Separatist' wing of America's Black Power movement. "If the whites don't want us that's fine," they say, "for we don't want them either."

So white racism finds its answering echo in black racism. It was Marcus Garvey who first found that his 'Back to Africa' movement had an ally in the Ku Klux Klan. Now in South Africa, Matanzima is ready to exploit the policies of the white supremacists to get what ad-

vantage he can for an autonomous Transkei. There are attractive subtleties in this form of opposition. For one thing, it guarantees political survival while giving some room for maneuver: Matanzima's collusion with the practice of apartheid is important to the credibility of government policy.

But Matanzima's opponents don't see it this way. Even in the Transkei, the majority of people support the Democratic Party which opposes Matanzima's ruling party in the Transkei Territorial Assembly. Their case is that since the apartheid regime does not seriously intend ever to grant full autonomy to the Bantustans, Matanzima is leading his people into a deadend. Worse, they say, he actively helps the regime to a claim of respectability for its apartheid policies since it enables it to point to evidence of "African cooperation in creating their own separate homelands." This helps to bolster the propaganda of apartheid at home. More crucially, it helps advance South Africa's cause abroad by providing a respectable rationale for governments which have failed to find convincing policies regarding their relations with South Africa.

International Involvement

It's only to be expected that appeals for external support will be strong in situations where opportunities for effective internal opposition are severely limited, and where the balance of power is overwhelmingly on the side of the *status quo*. In South Africa—as in most authoritarian societies—the extra-parliamentary opposition groups, with few exceptions, place a high priority on developing philosophies and techniques intended to maximize the potentialities for international involvements. What form this involvement should take, and who should become involved, are often issues of dispute within the opposition front. The disagreements are over the kind of international involvement that should be encouraged, and the choice of foreign alliances.



PHOTOGRAPH

GLEN PEARCY

For instance, opposition groups divide over whether outside involvement should mean active intervention through economic sanctions or even actual military commitment. Although there's fairly widespread agreement about the suitability of the United Nations to control external involvement, there's no such agreement when it comes to discussing particular foreign nations or foreign alliance systems. Some wish to relate only to western nations and to African countries. Others, with lit-

tle faith left in the West, look to the Third World complex, or to the communist world. Here, too, there are differences as to whether to base policies on appeals to Peking or to Moscow. The orientation towards outside support is a factor in determining opposition policies and tactics.

Dissent and the Individual

Finally, there's the question of the role an individual can play in opposition politics. It's often easier in South Africa for an in-

dividual to operate alone, or with a small group, than through larger organized groups, subjected as they are to police penetration and harassment, as well as by internal dissensions brought on by frustration and anxiety. The Republic has produced a number of remarkable people who, against all odds, have bravely stood out as individuals to make a moral protest, or to organize a particular type of oppositional activity.

Nina Sita, an elderly Asian businessman, is an outstanding example of an individual who—despite his advanced age, ill-health and vulnerable economic interests—has resolutely engaged in Gandhian forms of non-cooperation rather than submit to the authorities' attempts to expropriate his home in pursuit of their policy of racial separation. Most of the last twenty years he has spent either in fighting court actions or in prison.

Dennis Brutus, a poet and a sports lover, has devoted himself—often single-handedly—to opposing racial segregation in sports. It's very largely due to his efforts, loyally supported by a white friend, Chris de Brolio, that the South Africa Non-Racial Organization was successful in having the official South African team excluded from the Olympic Games. This is not the place to examine the rights and wrongs of this kind of activity; suffice it to say that opponents of apartheid believe that racism in sports is an essential and vital way of carrying their protest to the world community. Dennis Brutus has suffered imprisonment on Robben Island (after being shot in the stomach by police); he has been under house arrest; and is now in exile.

Mrs. Helen Joseph, a labor organizer, has already spent most of seven years under house arrest; but she still resolutely refuses to gain her freedom by accepting the offer of a one-way ticket out of her adopted homeland.

South Africa has very many more opponents than supporters of apartheid. Not all

those who oppose apartheid oppose the *status quo*; but since the *status quo* excludes almost four-fifths of its inhabitants from full citizenship it's not hard to conclude that the great majority would strongly favor change of the established order. However, only a fraction of those opposed to the *status quo* are, any longer, actively engaged in political opposition. This does not mean they are acquiescent: compliance rather than cooperation is perhaps the best way of defining the attitude of the coerced majority.

Still, there is no lack of men and women of all four racial communities—white, black, colored and Asian—ready to oppose the police state, even though the penalties of openly working against the *status quo* are so harsh—involving not only the loss of civil rights (which most don't enjoy anyway), but the loss of livelihood, the

break-up of families, imprisonment without trial, and banishment.

These activists are united on the goal of achieving a non-racial society; their disagreements are mainly over tactics.

The place of violence in opposition politics is one of the most divisive issues which cuts across racial lines. The scope and nature of international involvement is another area of disagreement.

Some still believe in the possibility of changing white attitudes; they have not finally lost hope that moral persuasion and the encroachment of reality will change the attitudes of the ruling elite. Non-violence is a weapon still greatly favored. Even those—like Nelson Mandela—who advocate the need for 'meeting violence with violence,' do not reject the value of non-violent methods of opposition.

Within the privileged white society, a minority (estimated variously at between 5 and 10 per cent) seek to gain understanding for the need to transform the *status quo* by working within the institutions of the Establishment, e.g., the church, commerce and industry, the labor unions, and parliament.

Militant opposition—though not widespread—exists in a broad cross-section of the whole community.

No single method of opposition has clearly proved itself more successful than any other. So the opposition fills many different roles, all of which contribute towards keeping alive the need for active struggle and against, and dissent from, a system which robs a majority of South Africans of their dignity and their natural entitlement to be regarded as members of a civilized society.

PHOTOGRAPH

ROHN ENGH



LIKE A WOUNDED MAN

It cries up
and down the alley between these
two buildings like a wounded man.
It knows that a door
is something to be closed.

I go about
my work, yet
when it cries I move
to my window hoping
it is below me.

At present he
dreams of the sun
in a vestigial coal window.
His silence moves
me.

I decide to make
an effort to get some milk.
At the coffee machine I can
pull out
the cup after the cream trickles
in. The cup
begins to fill;
my hands are powdered cream.

ROBERT McROBERTS

DAVID DRIESBACH

There are times during the creative process that the artist feels he has little control over his work. It seems, during these moments, that the work develops a life of its own, a force which directs the late stages of the work. Aside from these mysterious moments, however, the artist is free to make rational choices regarding the medium with which he wants to work, though there is an almost endless variety from which to choose. And, he can determine specifically, at least in the early stages, what his subject will be, without limitations.

It is interesting then, since artists tend to ignore previous use of media by building their work on the improvisations of modern technology, and are not confined to a reusing of subject matter, that an artist like David Driesbach would choose to make

use of the past in both media and subject matter. And does this in order to articulate his thoughts about life in the mid-20th century.

The reason, of course, is that Driesbach chooses to subordinate his artistic ego to something greater than expositions of mere form, which is currently the case with the ABC artists. Driesbach's focus is the dilemma of man, a dilemma brought about by his own folkways. Using a metal plate, the burin, etching needle, scraper and aquatint, Driesbach speaks powerfully of man's follies, his general sap-headedness. Though the artist cannot hide the affection he holds for humanity, a light, held high in the fog of stupidity by many of the Driesbach figures, illuminates the truth of a world of men filled with witless passion: man as his own victim.

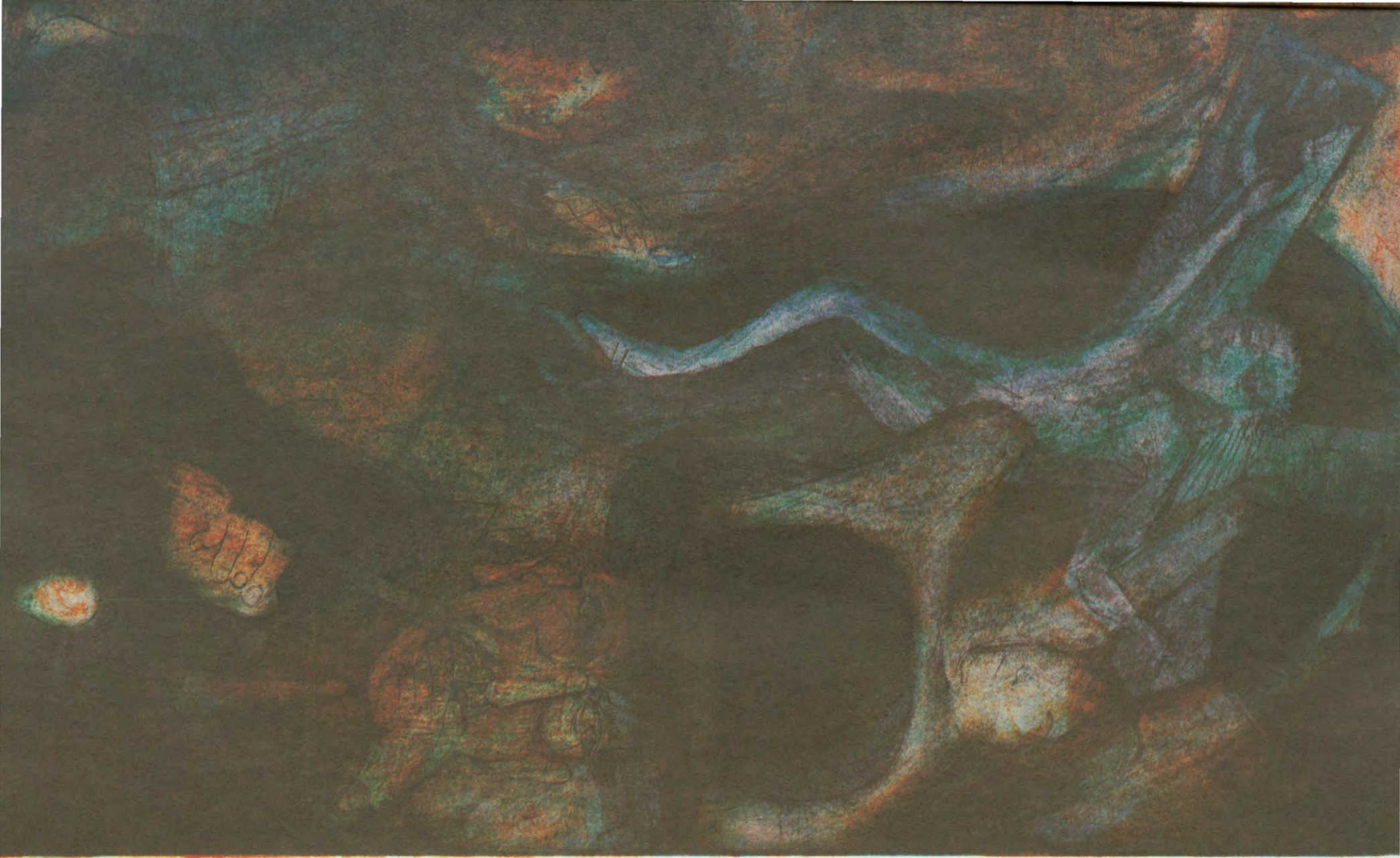


STRIKE

15³/₄" x 17¹/₈"

The
eyes become
the artist's vehicle
allowing us
to
participate
in a vision of
something
farther than
we can
see.





VERONICA

23½" x 22¾"

15 1/4" x 23 3/4"



MAN IN A TREE



PROMISED LAND

13 1/2" x 10"

23 3/4" x 35 3/4"



THIEFS OF LOVE





23 1/4" x 18"

ST. LUKE PAINTS THE MADONNA

HERE COME DA JUDGE

9" x 14 1/4"





CASTAWAYS

4" x 8"



OUT OF THE NEST

5" x 10"

23 3/4" x 35 3/4"

MERCHANTS OF DESPAIR





HOLY NIGHT

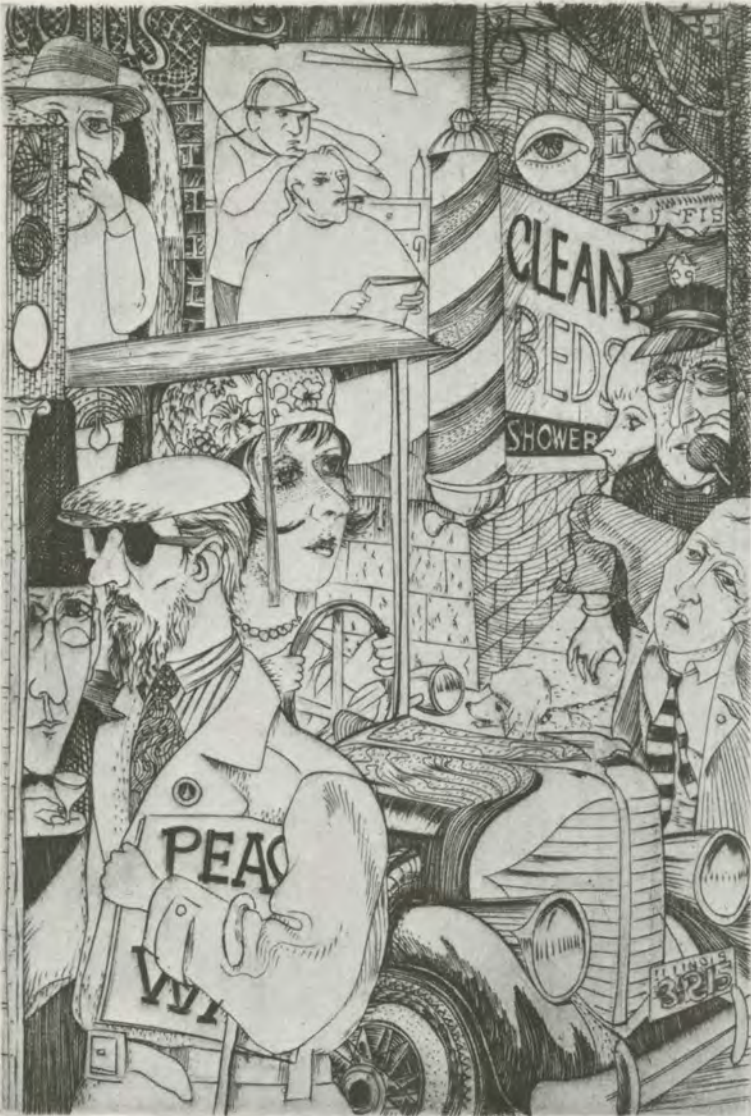
24" x

*The expressionist variation on a nightmare tune,
a hymn of malevolent magic.*



PENNY LANE

5 1/2" x 8"



DRIFTERS

4 3/4" x 8"





David Driesbach is on the faculty at the University of Northern Illinois, De Kalb. He struggles, as do most artists who teach, to keep a proper balance between the classroom and the studio: to try and sustain, side by side, the practical and the impractical. The vitality of his work suggests the degree of success he enjoys. It is not too much to say, however, that this kind of life prompts the content of his work.

DOMESTIC INTERIOR

22½" x 18"



n oon in the booksho p

There is terror in the bookshop
there is no end to books
the presses groan at their making
the mind reels at the thought
of all the books
marching grim as sheriffs
stiff on the shelves
stern reminders
of our duty.

I remember a boy
reading Jack London
under a blanket
with a flashlight

Gone
that book
the flashlight too
gone, corroded
with battery acid
the blanket gone too
given to Goodwill
gone that boy
rubbing sleep with wonder
from his eyes

Only a man here
in a bookshop
in a stolen moment
feeling terror

EUGENE McNAMARA

By HAP CAWOOD

Threatening to roast nine men in lighter fluid isn't the most socially acceptable way of communicating, but even Marshall McLuhan's fans would agree that the medium has a message in it somewhere.

This was how convicts in the Ohio Penitentiary expressed themselves August 20 when they held nine guards hostage for some 30 hours. After trying to negotiate a truce, troops blasted a hole in the cellblock wall, rescued the hostages unharmed and telegraphed the families of five convicts to pick up the corpses of their kin, deepest sympathy. To many people, that ended the two violent monologues: The savages got uppity and got put in their place.

Ohio pen's inmates aren't exactly misguided school truants. And the threat of murder isn't a device that arouses public sympathy in Ohio—or in North Carolina, Indiana and Georgia where similar confrontations occurred this year. But the story behind the Ohio pen rebellion shows how prisons help provide the medium for messages that most people would be more comfortable not understanding.

Most of the United States' "correctional institutes" are designed for banishment—places where lawbreakers are stashed a few years or a few decades. On some magic date, most of the men are supposed to come out penitent, pleasant, and pacified. Although the Ohio pen is in downtown Columbus, its high stone walls, built in 1835, keep the society of about 2,500 convicts hidden. Many men are jammed into dorm cells. Hundreds of others are crammed, four each, into 8 x 11 two-man cells with bunks, an open toilet, cold water sink and shelf. The aisle between the bunks is so narrow only one man at a time can walk. Here they stay up to 18 hours a day. They march to meals and eat at long tables; the inmates are pressed so close they must shove their food in their mouths without moving an elbow.

Recreation? One hour twice a week they can go to the cavernous gym. As years of boredom wear down their minds, many lose interest in everything. The vegetables are easier to keep.

Like most prisons, the Ohio pen has degradation ceremonies, the institutional procedures that strip men of identity. Since the prison's main objective is custody, it is run by a custodial rather than a treatment staff. The custodians are the guards. Their job is to keep order, not to change attitudes. Thus the inmates have a manual of more than 250 rules telling them when they cannot have their hands in their pockets, for example, or how far under the blankets they can sleep.

Control comes in many ways. Mail might be withheld from an inmate (and is censored in any case). Dr. Sam Sheppard, found not-guilty of murder after ten years of incarceration, was denied visits and mail from his fiancée and later wife, Ariane; he describes these Ohio pen maneuvers in chapters 20 and 21 of his book, *Endure and Conquer*.



INTAGLIO

The Ohio Pen Incident



SUSAN B. HALE

The Medium Is The Message

To maintain "discipline," the pen has a "summary court." This kangaroo court is run by three guards who invariably find inmates guilty as charged. Prisoners have virtually no defense against any sentence given them.

The most common form of punishment is time in the correctional cell, more accurately described as the Hole. As many as a dozen inmates may be stuffed into the 5 x 7 windowless cell with no lights, reading material or hot water. Prisoners in the Hole are fed dry bread and coffee for breakfast, clear broth for lunch and, every third day, a hot meal. Although the men suffer headaches, nausea, nosebleeds, dry throats, and a loss of any sense of time, they are denied medical attention. One inmate was "corrected" so effectively he said he could pull his teeth out with his fingers.

(Such cells are common in many prisons today. Some use heat to "sweat out" prisoners. Others are located near humming generators, an updated version of the Chinese water torture. The prisons in Arkansas have kept control by whippings, beatings and the "Tucker telephone"—a hand generator delivering electrical shocks into the toes and genitals.)

Since inmates are stripped of common forms of self-identity, they must carve status out of the raw materials they find—the domination of other inmates. Thus the inmate culture is formed; often it is legitimized as convicts are given roles by staff. Homosexuality is rampant. In the prisons, inmates often form "marriages" with one partner in the wife's role performing such duties as straightening up the cell and making up the bed.

Homosexual jealousies and racial segregation have recently caused much tension in the Ohio pen. Last June 17, a work gang in the coal yard was further upset over a ten-day "correctional cell" sentence given a prisoner. The work gang protested by refusing to work. The warden responded by throwing 23 of the protesting workers into the Hole. Again, the medium: force. It apparently was not recognized that the men had a right to express a grievance. Obviously, feelings were strong, since they had everything to risk in the one-sided society.

At this time, guards were talking up the "possibility" of a riot and demanding raises.

A week after the strike, inmates in the print shop set off a five-hour rampage that burned \$1 million in property and injured 50 prisoners, some of whom were fighting the fire. The warden called for a probe to find the guilty prisoners and 44 were charged with inciting to riot. When civic groups called for a full investigation of the prison situation, Gov. James Rhodes refused.

Five days after the riot, the guards got a pay raise.

On July 8, the warden resigned. The new warden was Marion Koloski, an experienced Ohio prison official who went in talking of new programs and re-

spect for prisoners. When the guards threw some men into the Hole, Koloski took them back out. Guards didn't like this and complained of "favoritism." The custodial philosophy felt threatened by these concepts of inmate dignity. Complained one guard: "Under Koloski we felt we were supposed to be servants to the inmates rather than to the public." Seventeen guards were fired and 60 more resigned: they didn't like Koloski.

On August 20, a few inmates pounced on some guards making their rounds, took the keys and ordered about 100 prisoners out of their cells and into the cellblock. Many didn't want any part of the rebellion but felt they could not betray their buddies. Some prisoners said guards provided weapons and plans for the rebellion to get Koloski fired.

Eleven guards were caught but two were released, one because he had heart trouble, another because he had been kind to a convict. The other seven were taken to a top cell—they are stacked on top of each other—and told they would be splashed with lighter fluid and set afire if the cellblock was attacked. Many of the hard-core rebels were high on drugs stolen from the hospital dispensary during the June fire. Significantly, other inmates offered the guards cigarettes, assured them that the threats were bluffs and saw that they were comfortable.

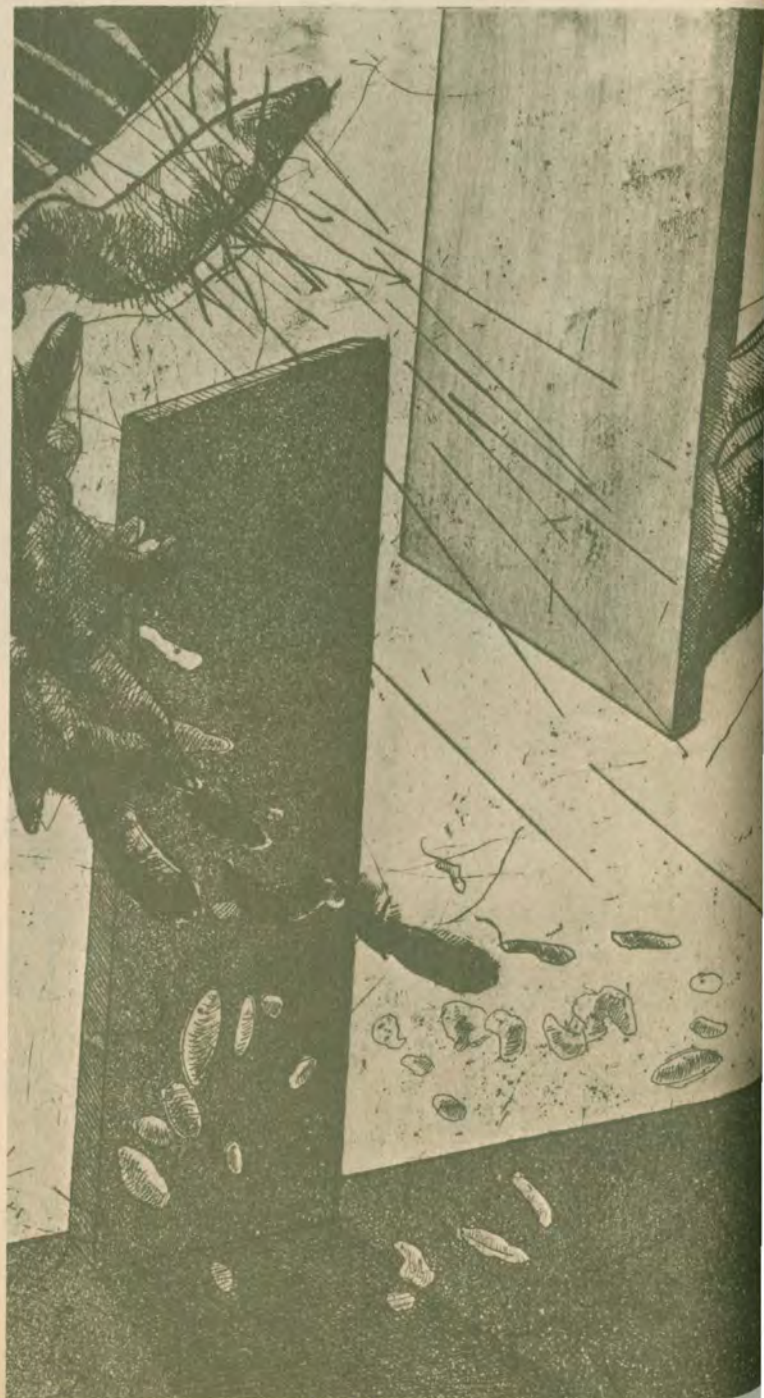
Koloski talked with an inmate representative and agreed to several demands, including a chance for the rebels to air their grievances with the press—a common request since most prisoners realize that any help they get will have to come from outside their system. (They are not allowed to write any letters complaining of prison conditions.) Finally, the prisoners asked that officials drop charges against those being held in "confinement" on suspicions of having instigated the June riot; the warden said he couldn't do that since it was in the hands of the Franklin County grand jury. So the talks broke down. Meanwhile, guards were mad at the warden because he was sending fried chicken to the rebels, while the guards had to subsist on bologna sandwiches.

The Jewish chaplain went into the cellblock but was unable to persuade the convicts, split by confused leadership, to give up. When some convicts suggested keeping the chaplain hostage too, a mass of inmates formed a wedge and pushed the chaplain out the door to safety.

As the dynamite was set, the inmates braced. Some cried. When the wall blew in, guards stormed through the hole with national guardsmen, state troopers, and city police, all shouting "Kill the bastards." They came in shooting. One convict jumped on a hostage to protect him. Newspapers summarized the aftermath with the sanitary conclusion that five convicts were killed and at least ten known injured.

Across the street from the prison, workers stood on the roof of the Columbus Bolt & Forging Co. to watch the show. A Columbus news agency, Electro-Media, recorded the observations of the workers immediately afterward. "They shot two of them as they were stripping off their clothes," said one, "It's a damn disgrace." Another: "One guy was crawling and they shot him." Another: "The city police beat the hell out of a man who was undressing. I must have seen 50 or 75 beaten . . . with gun butts." Such observations prompted The *Dayton Daily News* to send two reporters, Dale Huffman and John McMillan, to dig out the story of the shootings. The day after the rebellion, the workers who had seen the shootings said they could not talk or they would lose their jobs. Several weeks later,

ETCHING



Huffman and McMillan brought out their story:

Thomas Bradshaw, Jr., stayed in his cell and was shot there. Bullet wounds near his testicles indicated he was shot while lying down. Bradshaw was serving one-to-five for breaking and entering; thus it is not likely that he would have done much to risk parole for which he would soon have been eligible.

Wesley Neville, Jr., known as a "cooperative" prisoner, had been comforting the hostages. Powder burns show he was killed from up close. Perhaps Neville was mistaken for one of the inmate ring-leaders. On the other hand, Columbus Police Major Dwight Joseph emphasized that inmates were shot for "refusing to obey orders" to get into cells. Perhaps Neville didn't get to a cell quickly enough since he was a cripple.

JOOP BRANS



Walter Baisden was taken into the courtyard, stripped naked and ordered to lie down. Prisoners and the rooftop observers said Baisden was beaten with gun butts and, when he raised his arm to ward off blows, was shot. Then he lay there and "bled out," as the prison doctor phrased it.

It is not yet known how or where the other two were killed.

Several days later Koloski was promoted to the state's central office, a victory for the dissident guards. Two state patrol officers with no background in penology were put in charge of the prison. The new warden says he promised to keep using the Hole; some of the guards who quit under Koloski came back.

The Ohio pen represents what is wrong with most of the prisons in this country. Such institutions, built to deter crime, are in fact costly graduate schools of crime. They will not be made effective until people want to build a correctional system that works.

First, sentencing laws have to be reformed from a behavioral point of view. The prison system is based on the notion that all who commit crimes need to be in prison. The behavior of individual convicts during the Ohio rebellion shows how different each one is. Experts say that half the nation's prison population doesn't really need to be there.

Second, people should build institutions around the needs of the men to be put into them. Most prisoners are eventually freed, thus it is in society's interest to make a maximum effort to help them become law-abiding and productive citizens.

Third, society must build institutions that give men a chance to earn back their self respect. Some states, and the federal prisons, let qualified men work outside the prison during the day, for example. These men learn meaningful jobs, keep their families off welfare and earn the self-respect that is a prerequisite to changing attitudes.

Fourth, society must not tolerate degradation in its prison administration. Angry as lawbreakers make us, no one benefits by refusing to let men believe they are capable of being more than savage, for then the system itself becomes savage to deal with the men as it perceives them. Correctional institutions should be adequately funded and controlled by treatment professionals. There is punishment enough in the incarceration itself.

None of this has anything to do with forgiveness or turning the other cheek. Common sense tells us that the behavior of lawbreakers must be changed if society, in the long run, is to be protected. Society must design its correctional institutions around that aim. If citizens cannot reform their prisons out of decency, they should be willing to do it out of self-interest.

Father

his beginnings
are definite

but badly
translated

always enters
never departs

enters to fill a room
till it throbs

to fill a landscape
till it trembles

with his voice
loud as war

with his odor
of damp

earth-sucked
stones

with his rigidity
of a spear

or an
opinion

I have seen him
in hurricanes

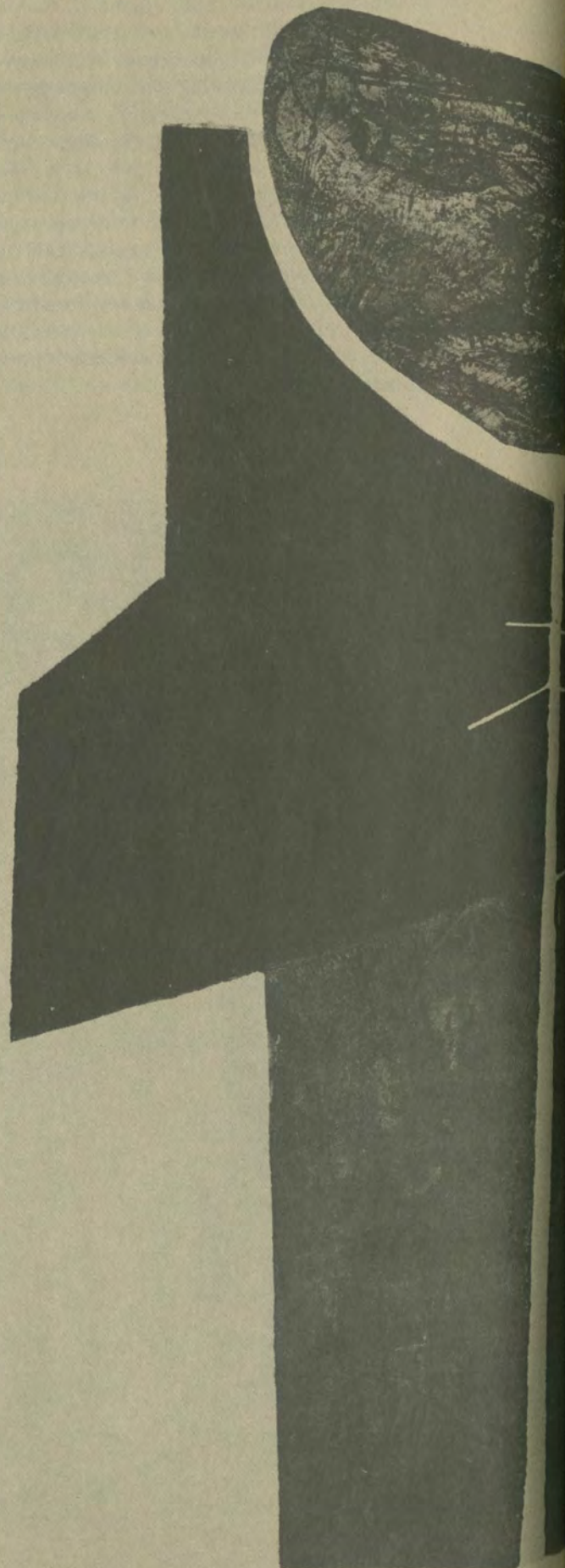
and standing
in trees

I have heard him
in mountains

and smelled him
in graves

he walks
with me now

directing
my bones



By Morton Marcus

The Discovery of Fire

tonight

bird feathers
blaze in the sky

trees of fire
branches of flame

red teeth of wolves
spraying out sparks

villages
burn like bushes

red wings struggle
to rise from the roofs

flames belly dance
in windows

like widows abandoning
their husbands' names

dreams ignite
in the children's sleep

weeping girls carry
flames in their hands

and bring them as offerings
to their neighbors' huts

mothers
with flame-filled mouths

babies
swaddled in fire

spears of fire
through an old man's skull

fire
fire

flowers of fire
thorns of fire:

in the first light
before dawn

hollow footprints
smoke in the earth

The Revolution of The Christian

By JÜRGEN MOLTSMANN

Translated by M. Douglas Meeks

ETCHING

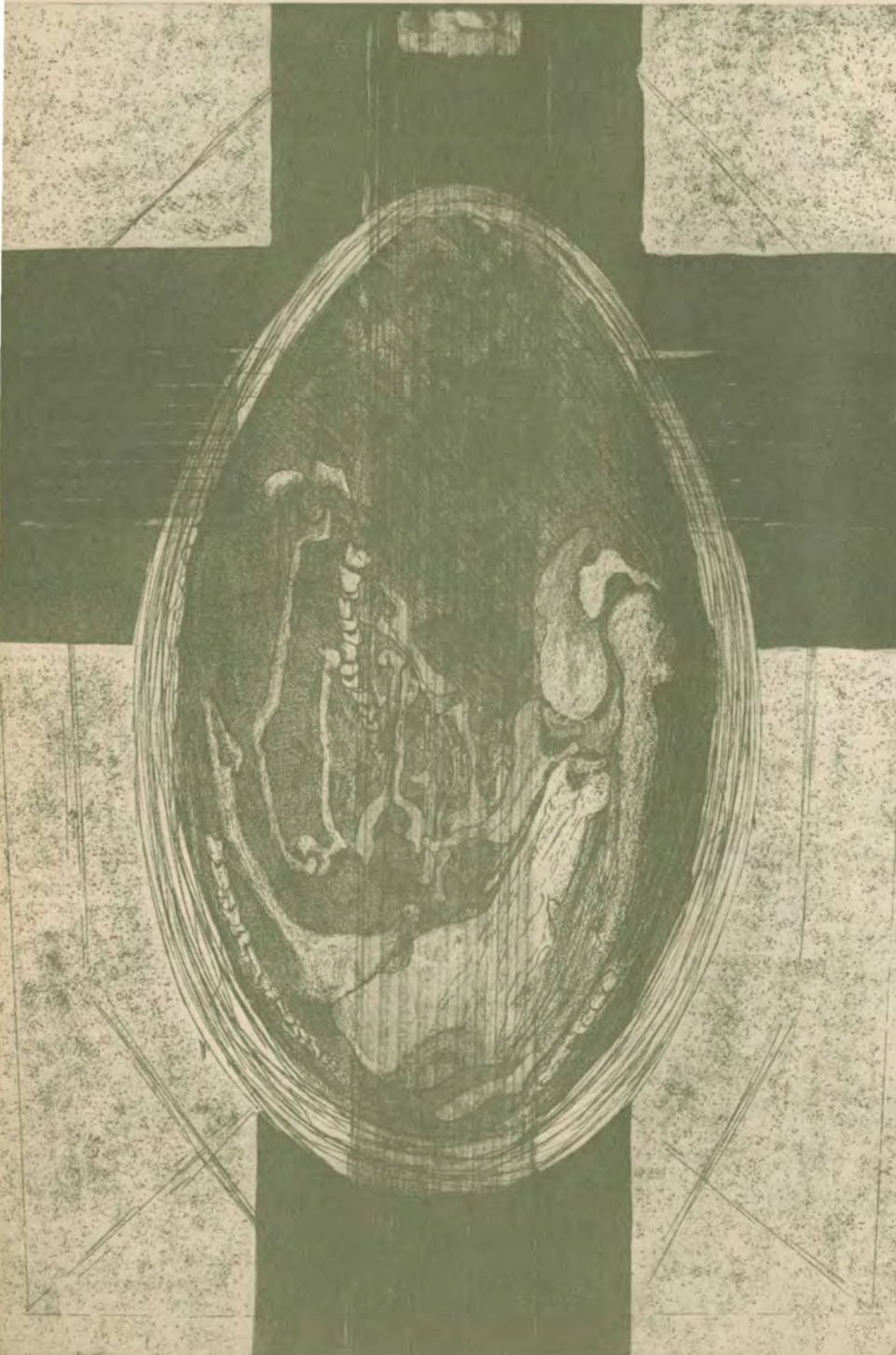
RODNEY FREW

The dialogue between Christians and Marxists in Europe has completely changed during the past few years. Recently, on my way to give lectures in Prague, I bought a copy of *Time* magazine in Frankfurt and read the long article on the "God-is-dead movement" in the United States. When I arrived in Prague, a series of articles by the Marxist philosopher Gardavski on Jacob, Jesus, Paul, and Augustine was given to me. The title was: "Buh neni zcela mrtev"—"God is not quite dead." That is symptomatic of the changing fronts between Christians and Marxists.

When the Paulus Society met last year in the Czechoslovakian city of Marienbad, this realignment was recognized openly.¹ The Christians—Catholics and Protestants—attempted to demonstrate the relevance of the Christian faith for this world. They accentuated the engagement of the church with society, the hope for the earth, and the necessity of a Christian critique of unjust social conditions. The Marxists, on the other hand, revised their well-known "critique of religion" and asked for a new openness of men for transcendence. It was expected that the theologians would be assigned the care of transcendence, while the Marxists would assume responsibility for the formation of this world in a revolutionary way. However, paradoxically enough, we found it to be exactly the reverse.

Professor Prucha from Prague, a scholar of the Lomonossow University of Moskaw, confronted his comrades with this query: "Our Christian friends have awakened

motive



Freedom: and Marxist Struggle

This article will be included as a chapter in the book, *Openings for Marxist-Christian Dialogue*, edited by Thomas W. Ogletree, to be published in January by Abingdon Press.

in us the courage for transcendence. For a long time we Marxists have tried to criticize and retard the Christian striving for transcendence. Should it not rather be our task to encourage the Christians to be even more radical in their striving for transcendence?"

Professor Machovec, philosopher of religion in Prague, supported the view that after the solution of the economic problems, the "search for the meaning of life" would become more and more the crucial problem of the future.

Roger Garaudy said to the audience: "What would your [i.e., the Christian's] faith be like if it bore not in itself the latent atheism which prevents you from serving a false god? What would our atheism be like if it would not learn from your faith the transcendence of a God of whom we have no living experience?"

Lastly, there was Dr. Gardavski from Brünn, whom I have already mentioned, asking: "Can the Marxian atheist expect of a Christian the same responsibility for the future of mankind as he himself is willing to bear? Can he assume for himself co-responsibility for that idea which is meaningful to Christians, namely to work for the coming of God's Kingdom?" And he said "yes" to both questions. Due to recent Christian achievements, such as Vatican II, the Encyclical "Populorum Progressio," and the Geneva World Conference on "Church and Society," Christianity looks different to a sensitive Marxist than it did to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

On the other hand, Christians also have to acknowledge that

Marxism in Europe has changed since the time of Stalin. The humanists lift up their heads. Their Marxism is no longer a dogmatic ideology but a critical philosophy. Under these presuppositions a new dialogue can begin today. For today we are *both* struggling with new problems that were not encompassed in our traditional doctrines.

Some men base their community on answers alone. Such communities are always biased, factious, and confessional. But they cannot be universal. However, there is also a community of men based on asking. This is the community of the seeking and hungry, neither biased nor confessional. It is a community pervading all parties and churches, uniting men in their common experience of deficiency and not-knowing. Such a community of questioning and seeking can today unite Christians and Marxists.

Formerly, the Marxists appeared to us as dogmatists who had the right answer to all questions. Today, Christian theologians appear to be possessors of an unquestionable and incontrovertible truth. Often they have answers to all human questions and are astonished that people are unwilling to pose questions to them any more. Bertolt Brecht once wrote a nice almanac story: "I have noticed," said Mr. Keuner, "that we scare away many people from our doctrine because we know an answer to everything. Couldn't we, in the interest of our propaganda, comprise a list of questions which seem to us to be completely unsolved?"

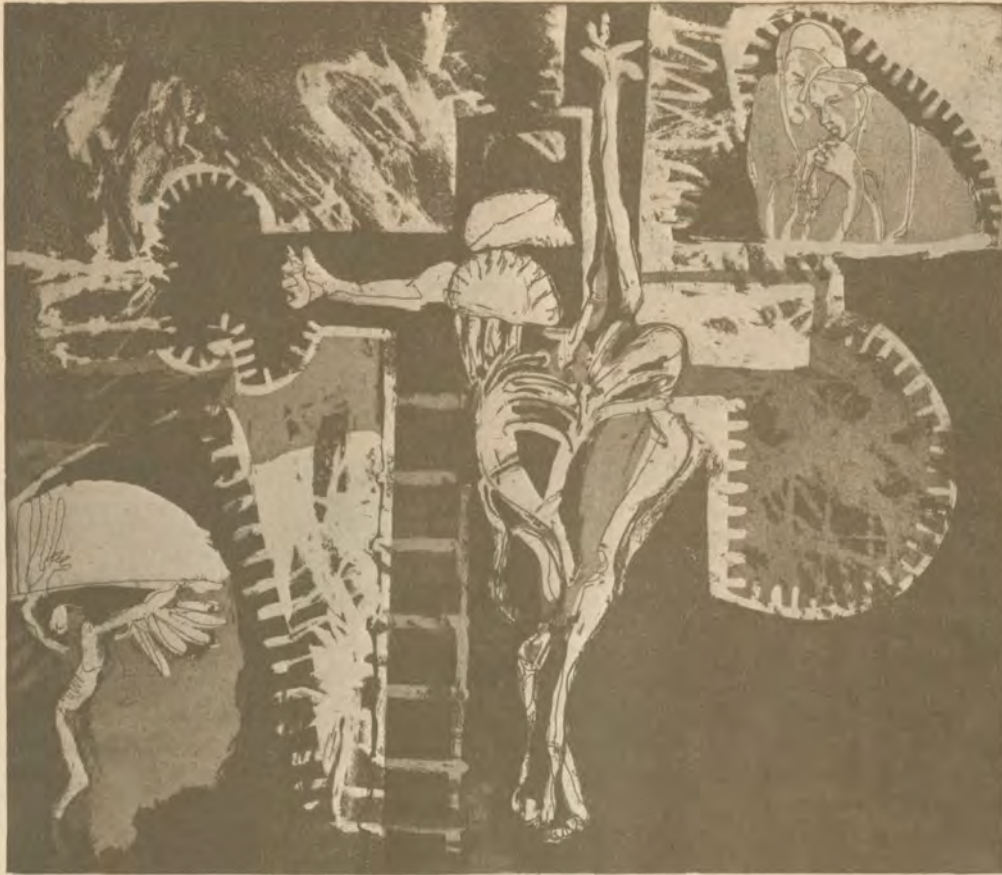
It seems to me that Christian theology of today should turn away from a dogmatic theology to a critical one, from beginning with answers about God to the unsolved asking for God. The tense of asking is the future. In the process of asking persistently and eschewing the satisfaction of trite compensations, man becomes open to the future and thus exists in time and history.

By way of asking he goes, as Abraham once did, from his country and his kindred and his father's house. By way of asking he opens himself up for the unknown future. By way of asking for God and ultimate freedom he enters into worldwide solidarity with the whole "waiting creation" of which Paul speaks in Romans 8:18 ff. A "theology of hope" is a theology of questions that can be answered only by the coming of God through the kingdom of his freedom. It can, therefore, be ecumenical if, behind the conflict between the different answers of the churches and ideologies, it detects and brings to awareness the deeper community of asking and seeking, a community bonded by man's poverty and existing for the sake of a wider future.

I shall now attempt to outline some of the characteristic points of a theology of freedom as it is possible in the new dialogue between Christians and Marxists, Liberals and Socialists.

The Religion of Freedom²

The Christian faith understands itself authentically as the beginning of a freedom that was, hitherto, unseen to the world (John 1:18; I Cor. 2:9). Christian



ETCHING: THE STRUGGLE

BOB PELFREY

faith not only believes in freedom but is already freedom itself. It not only hopes for freedom, but rather is in itself the inauguration of a free life on earth. However, it is only a historical beginning and not yet the universal fulfillment.

There is a fundamental difference between the "realm of freedom," which we hope will ultimately free the whole creation from its misery, and the beginning of freedom here in the midst of a world full of bondage and slavery. Christian faith is freedom in struggle, in contradiction, and in temptation. The realm of freedom, however, of which the present beginning is faith, is freedom in its own new world—that is, God's free world. The difference between freedom in faith and the realm of freedom is the motor and the motive power for our work of realizing freedom in history.

Is Christianity a religion of freedom? At the starting point of biblical faith, we see the creative symbols of freedom: the Exodus of Israel from bondage in Egypt, and the resurrection of the crucified Christ into the coming kingdom of God—a deliverance *in* history and

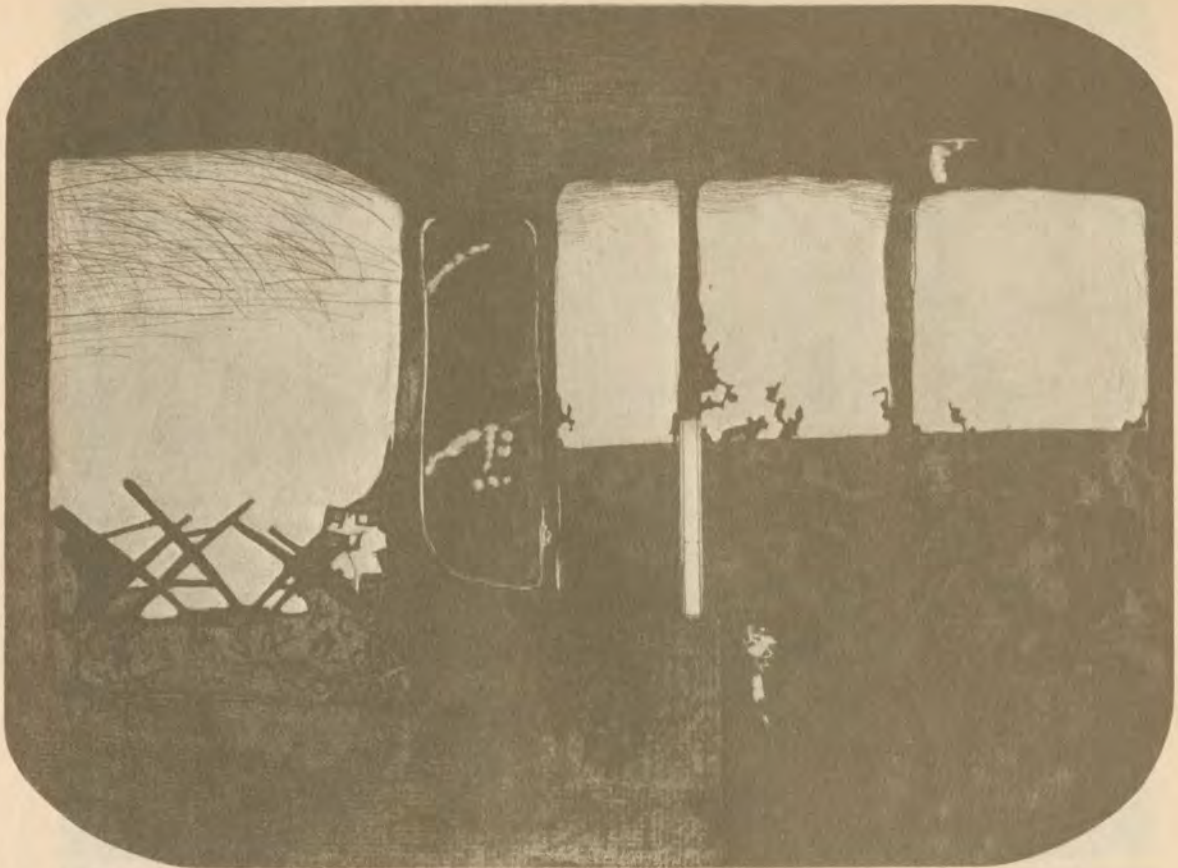
a deliverance *from* history.

The future for which Christian faith is hoping is a new creation in which the whole groaning creation shall be set free from the bondage of evil and death. Christians who believe in God believe in the coming, creative God, who will create out of the misery of the living creatures the kingdom of his glory, a new being in which he himself will dwell. In their faith, Christians participate in the creative freedom of God.

Thus, faith should no longer be described in the terms of Schleiermacher only as a *schlechthiniges Abhängigkeitsgefühl*—i.e., as the "feeling of absolute dependence" in religious submissiveness. Faith can, on the contrary, be described as *schlechthiniges Freiheitsgefühl*, as the "feeling of absolute freedom" in the spiritual communion with the creative God. As the Gospel puts it: "All things are possible to him who believes" (Mark 9:23 RSV); "with God all things are possible" (Matthew 19:26 RSV). "For all things are yours, whether . . . the world or life or death or the present or the future, all are yours;

and you are Christ's; and Christ is God's," proclaims the apostle Paul (I Cor. 3:21-23). Thus, Christian proclamation is actually the religion of an exceedingly great freedom, even though the Christian church has often concerned itself more with authority and order than with this freedom.

This freedom in faith must be made clear to the atheist as well as to the religious man of today, for he is still thinking: Either there is a God, then man cannot be free; or man is free, then there cannot or may not be a God (cf. Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Sartre, N. Hartmann, and others). Those are actually the alternatives in the mythological world of religions. For in that world the half-god Prometheus becomes the hero of man's freedom over against the gods. He is still the philosophical saint of Marxism. Here, God and man are considered to be of one and the same essence. Thus, what you grant God, you must have taken away from man, and what you grant to man, you must have taken away from God. When will we stop measuring God and man with the same yardstick?



ETCHING: THE SUN HAS DISAPPEARED; OR CHICKEN LITTLE'S DILEMMA

NANCY VICKERY

In the Old Testament, however, things are different. Jahweh is here the God who leads his people out of the house of bondage. Thus he is the God of freedom, the God ahead of us. One acquires social, political, and world-surpassing freedom from God, not against him.

In the New Testament, Jesus is believed in as the Messiah of freedom because he sets sinners free through his word and liberates the sick by his wondrous works. Those who labor and are heavy laden, the humiliated and offended, the poor and hungry find freedom and justice in him. In his resurrection from death on the cross we can see freedom dawn, freedom from the power of death and from the misery of the eclipse of God.

In Jesus we can see the Messiah of God's freedom on earth. For he did not seek to be master of mankind but took the form of a servant. His suffering works as the unburdening of man in order to set man free. For freedom is always born out of unburdening. Freedom of faith is born out of his serving, joy out of his suffering, life everlasting out of his death.

Kings and emperors have called themselves God's representatives on earth, founding their authority in the supreme authority of God. However, if we believe the crucified Christ to be the representative of God on earth, we see the glory of God no longer in the crowns of the mighty but in the face of that man who was executed on the gallows. What the authorities intended to be the greatest humiliation—namely, the cross—is thus transformed into the highest dignity. It follows that the freedom of God comes to earth not through crowns—that is to say, through the struggle for power—but through love and solidarity with the powerless.

Therefore, in spite of Romans 13, Christians are hoping for a future in which "every rule, every authority and power" will be destroyed (I Cor. 15:24) and the crucified shall reign, "the first among many brethren." Already here in history, they will strive for neutralizing and destroying the differences between the powerful and the powerless, master and slave. The community comprised of Jews and heathen, of masters

and slaves, becomes the prototype and sacrament of men's hope for a world of brotherhood (I Cor. 1:20-29).

Therefore, Christian freedom is not a special one, different from that freedom for which all mankind is longing. Nor is it a partial one that is exhausted in the practice of a certain religion or cult. If it really is the beginning of the realm of freedom in the midst of all the misery of this world, then Christians can only demonstrate this freedom by using their own freedom for the actual liberation of man from his real misery. Privileges are always the perversion of freedom. If religion induces not new freedom *for* the world but only new chains, then—according to the word of Karl Marx—the liberation *from* religion would bring about more freedom than would religious liberty.

Which aspects of concrete freedom do Christians claim for themselves? They do not seek the liberties of liberalism, in which each one may go to heaven according to his own fashion if only he does not impede the fashion of others.

Freedom is no private affair, but



PHOTOGRAPH

JOE ZINN

is always freedom *for* others. Therefore, the Christian faith cannot acquiesce in the liberties of individual people. To believe is no private hobby, but hope for the whole, for society, for mankind, for the earth. On the other hand, socialism cannot be the heir of Christian freedom, for neither a social nor a political system of life is able to realize already, here and now, that future of freedom for which the Christian faith hopes. The Christian faith will find its peace only when it rests in the realm of God's freedom. Until then, however, it remains a troublemaker in every society that is content with itself and coerces its people to regard themselves as happy and fortunate.

Thus Christians must seek the freedom for their own original mission in every form of society. Specifically, they must search for (1) the freedom of proclaiming God's liberating power publicly, (2) the freedom of assembling a new congregation of brothers out of Jews and heathen, masters and slaves, black and white, (3) the freedom of critically cooperating in the process of community ac-

ording to the criteria of creative love. But Christians will also always seek for possibilities of working together with Liberals, Democrats, and Marxists for the sake of the realm of freedom. For the hope for an all-embracing and ultimate freedom and the belief in a creative future have inspired all our freedom movements. But in none of them has it been materialized until now, for every revolution for freedom has evolved new unfreedom in the world, too. Let us now survey briefly the history of the revolutions for freedom.

All those whose struggle for freedom commits them to participation in dialogue—namely Catholics, Protestants, Liberals, and Communists—are rooted in particular historical revolutionary freedom movements. Therefore, they understand freedom differently. But since all of them stand in one and the same history in which people have searched for freedom, they find a deep community existing among themselves.

Today the Marxists criticize Christianity by pointing to a his-

torical distinction. For them the history of Christianity is the continuous conflict between a Constantinian wing, in which the state church is linked with the ruling powers, and a chiliastic wing which is united with the humiliated and oppressed in a revolutionary way. This distinction is correct to a large degree. But it flings back to the Marxists like a boomerang, for we must equally distinguish between a Stalinistic Marxism, showing the symptoms of a byzantine or bureaucratic state ideology, and a humanistic Marxism, which is, in a self-critical way, allied with those who are humiliated and disappointed in socialist countries as well.

These mutual self-distinctions are very helpful, for they indicate that in our present day the front in the struggle for freedom runs right through the churches and parties. The nonconformists of all countries and parties recognize each other in order possibly to form a new alliance. But the history of freedom reaches further, as one may suppose, than these very important alternatives.³



PHOTOGRAPH

MARTIN DWORKIN

Freedom out of Christ

When the Christian faith came into being in the ancient world, a new kind of man was born. For him the act of existing no longer meant entering into a relationship with the eternal rules of polis and cosmos, but now meant to be set free through Christ for a life of free decisions. Thus, life in history was made meaningful for the first time. The past was considered as the power of sin, the future as the dynamic of grace, and the present became the time of decision.⁴

This was the pattern of the Christians' struggle against the idolatry of nature, of fate, and of political power. Christians did away with the idolatry of nature because they believed in God the Creator. They did away with the idolatry of fate in history because they hoped for the kingdom of freedom. They demythologized the cult of Caesar because they worshiped God in the name of the Crucified. Christianity always took a stand for the coming theocracy of freedom; otherwise it would not have been persecuted. Christianity was thus to some extent historically justified in participating

in the Constantinian effort to Christianize the world of that time, for Christians considered Constantine to be the emperor of peace over the expected kingdom of freedom (Eusebius of Caesarea). However, out of this realization of freedom there grew, at the same time, its well-known disappointment. Out of this situation was born the next task in the history of freedom: the liberation of the church from the power of a Christian Caesar.

The Freedom of the Church

The spell of the Constantinian age—that is, Christian faith in terms of the ancient Roman religion—did not break until the great revolution of the papacy and the church reform of Cluny in the Middle Ages. In the struggle between Pope and Caesar concerning "Ecclesiastical Investiture" the church recovered her autonomy and, thus, the possibility of acting freely.

But there was more in it than meets the eye: The kingdom of God on earth was now embodied in the power of the keys of the Pope and the church, rather than

in the government of an anointed Christian Caesar. *Libertas Ecclesiae* became the slogan for the "realm of freedom" in the Middle Ages. However, this new Christian freedom had its price—namely, the clericalization of the church. Clericalization marked a bad consequence of the magnificent liberation of the church from the emperor. Everybody could see that this church was not yet the "realm of freedom" itself.

The Freedom of a Christian Man

The Reformation was not simply a protest against the clericalization of the Christian freedom. Here the birth of a new kind of man took place once again. According to Luther's treatise, "The Freedom of a Christian" (1520), and Calvin's chapter on "*de libertate Christiana*" (*Institutes* III, 19), freedom is born out of the justifying gospel in everyone who believes. If Christ himself is the ground of freedom in everyone's life, everyone becomes "a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none." However, if the ground of this freedom lies in the crucified Christ, every believer voluntarily becomes "a perfectly



ETCHING: PUPPETS



BETTY LA DUKE

dutiful servant of all, subject to all." In the congregation of brotherhood without hierarchy everyone becomes "Christ" to his fellowman. The privileges of the clergy are liquidated for the sake of the "common priesthood of all believers." Every worldly work is understood to be a divine calling into the liberation of the world from the realm of satan.

The reformation of the Christian freedom, however, brought forth its perversions, too. The redresses of the princes and landed nobles who truly loved to fight for *religio et libertas* finally developed into a Protestant form of Constantinianism, a new particular religion of the national well-being, oppressing the enthusiastic wing of the reformation and dividing the unity of the church. And here can be found the origin of the well-known resignation on the Continent which no longer seeks the kingdom of God and man's freedom outwardly in social and political change, but inwardly alone, deep in the ground of the individual's soul.

These new chains of freedom were effectively broken first by

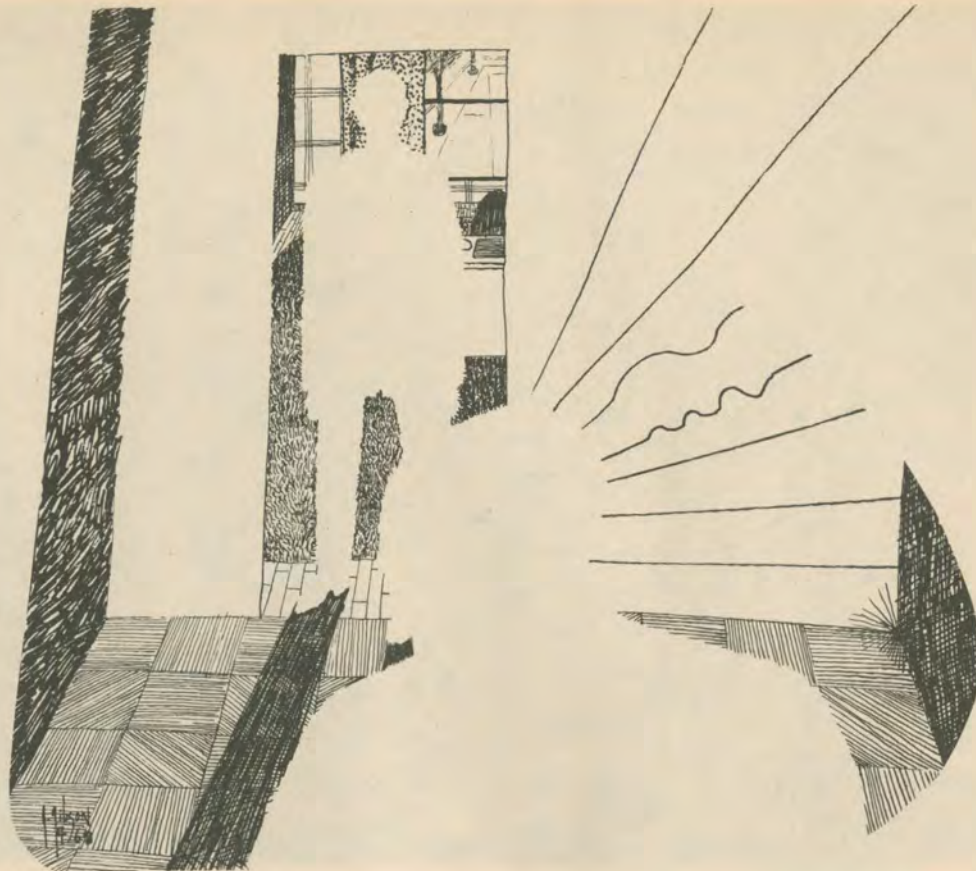
West European reformations. In the name of the common "kingdom of all believers" Calvinism struggled against the absolutist sovereigns. In the struggle for freedom of conscience the state was neutralized in England.

The Presbyterians succeeded in establishing the right of free congregations against the state church. The Congregation consists of free people who are all born to be rulers, not slaves, because they all exist in the image of God, said John Milton. Therefore, the crown rests upon the democratic constitution of the free and not upon the head of a single person. The freedom of the image of God was thus maintained over against the sinful supremacy of men over men. The perversions of this freedom movement originated from the fact that freedom and the right of lifting up one's head were limited to the Christian man. This is the reason why this movement was soon taken over and surpassed by the humanism of the Enlightenment, for the realm of freedom is characterized by universality and breaks up all limitations and barriers created by man.

The Freedom of the Citizen

In the definition of human rights in America and France, freedom finally becomes a secular phenomenon. Man is born free. This freedom of man is not to be denied or abandoned. It has to be the irreducible basis of civil rights in society. Everybody has the right to determine freely and to seek his fortune and happiness as long as he respects the same freedom of others. Therefore, everybody has the right to criticize all kinds of "happiness" imposed on him from above or by other people. These personal liberties are unforgettable once they are articulated.

The free development of the humane in every single person is the presupposition of the humanization of society. But these liberties have also brought forth their inevitable disappointments. There was, first, the disillusionment of the French Revolution. People had stormed the barricades for the sake of "human rights," with the despicable result that political rights were disposed of by the propertied citizens. On the other side, there is the general



DRAWING

JIM GIBSON

misery of the bourgeois society, which "does not permit man to find the realization but rather the barrier of his freedom in the other person," as Karl Marx rightly pointed out.⁵

The Socialism of Freedom

The civil revolution had not done away with the difference between "man" and "citizen." This became the starting point for the next, the socialist revolution, which wants to liberate men from economic slavery. Its way, thus, leads from the propertied bourgeois society and its private men to socialism and its "men in society."

From the political emancipation of men it turns to the social emancipation of men, from which the "human emancipation of every person" is expected—"an association, in which the free development of every person implies the free development of all men" (*The Communist Manifesto*). This represents a change from the society of *having* to a society of authentic human *being*.

The starting point of this socialist revolution lies in the disillusionary

experiences of the French and capitalistic revolutions. Its goal of making man free from his economic misery is a new and significant step toward the universal and eschatological hope of freedom for the whole suffering creation, which is the Christian hope for the salvation of the body.

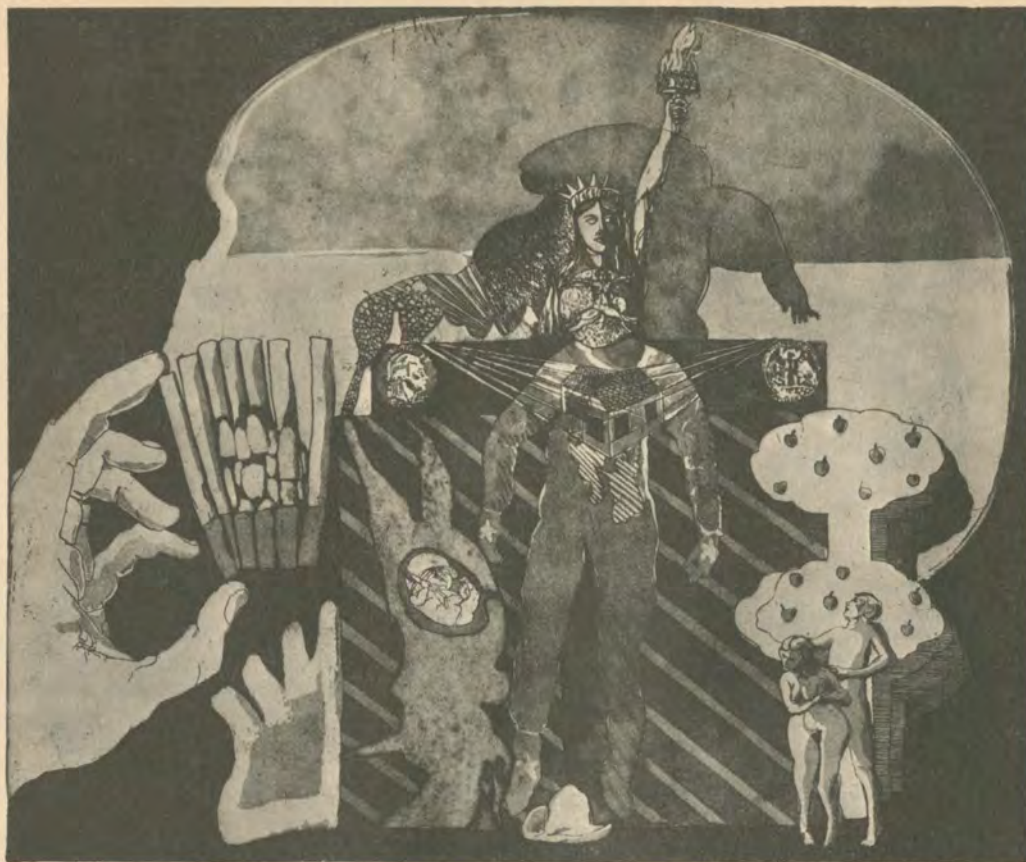
Nonetheless, this movement of freedom has its perversions, too, and has also added its own chapter to the history of the disappointment of mankind. This disappointing experience is not simply represented by Stalinism, which is horrible to many people. It lies rather in the foreboding that the expected "human emancipation of man" will not come automatically when the economic liberation of men in the socialist industrial states has taken place. This disappointment will certainly become the motor of post-Marxist revolutions.

The relation between the "realm of freedom" and the "realm of work" remains ambiguous even in Karl Marx. On the one hand, he describes the "Kingdom of freedom" as a sudden transition or change of quantity into

new quality. Then the realm of freedom suspends all labor, changing all work into absolutely free "self-activity." "In a communist society, there will no longer be any painters but, at most, people who among other things, like to paint," he says in his early writings.⁶ On the other hand, in his later writings Marx described the "realm of freedom" as the outcome of the "realm of work." If this is the case, however, the "realm of freedom" will be forever combined with the "realm of work" and can move forward only in the leisure hours of men guaranteed by automation and the shortening of working hours.

Everybody knows, however, that a man with more leisure time does not necessarily become a free man. "Should it be the effect of the great revolution that the number of French sportsmen and anglers is being enlarged?" Jules Romain asked rightly. Consequently, we must make clear whether and how men may become children of freedom so that they may engage in free work.

Are we, here and now, children of freedom, or is freedom the



ETCHING

BOB PELFREY

reward of our good deeds? If freedom is nothing more than the reward for or success of our deeds, then men will always remain unfree. That is the question of the Reformation to Marxism. That is the question of the freedom through faith to the modern form of justification by works.

The disappointment that in the last analysis Marxism has only advanced industrialization without bringing about the longed-for humanization frustrates the young working people of today in the East, just as competition frustrates their counterparts in the West. The disappointment that the demanded "abolition of the state" has only strengthened the bureaucracy of the ruling elite is today also agonizing Marxists. "In the citizen of the French Revolution the bourgeois was hidden. God have mercy on us, what may be hidden in the comrade," said the Marxist Ernst Bloch in 1930.⁷ In struggling against the freedom of competition in the capitalist society, Karl Marx is, in a deeply Christian sense, right when he says that true freedom means "for you to have been the mediator

between yourself and the species, so as to be known and experienced in yourself as a completion of your own essence and as a necessary part of yourself and therefore to know me confirmed in your thought as well as your love."⁸

But what is the "true essence of the species of men," and which group is authorized to determine it? Did not certain groups in society use such collective categories as the "true essence of the human species" and the "universal moral code" in order to mask their claims on power? Truly, it is contradictory to the freedom of man to be made happy from above and to be put under categories of his essence represented by a party or a church. That is contradictory to his history, which is open to the future. Isn't there also a personal freedom of man, which is not the freedom of profitmaking wolves but which presupposes human progress in science and culture?

Today we find exactly these basic ideas of a liberal socialism in the Polish Marxists Adam Schaff and Leszew Kolakowski: It is im-

possible to make people happy by force. But you can eliminate the enormous causes of misfortune (A. Schaff).⁹ Whoever defends personal freedom defends human progress (Kolakowski).

Integration of Freedom Movements

The freedom movements based on Christian faith, on the church, on the conscience, on the citizen and socialism have succeeded one another in such a way that the one caught fire in the disappointing consequences of the preceding one as each strove for greater freedom. So far, no one of them has brought about the "realm of freedom" itself, but each one has opened a new front in the struggle for freedom.

None of these revolutions was as yet the "last battle," although everyone set out under this apocalyptic sign, be it the struggle against Antichrist, against the beast coming out of the "bottomless pit" (Rev. 17:8), or against the class enemy. Therefore, these movements have always corrected each other. The older brother on the road to freedom must warn



ETCHING

BRENT MATZEN

his younger brother lest he give up liberties already won for the sake of a new one.

A revolution has to assimilate the tradition of the former revolution, otherwise it achieves not more freedom but simply another liberty. On the other hand, tradition must adapt itself to revolution, otherwise it will not prevail over its own disappointments. Such an integration of Catholics, Protestants, Liberals, and Marxists is possible once all of them learn to look beyond their own systems toward the future of the realm of freedom.

Up to now, Christians and Marxists have been involved in a struggle of different ideological positions that excluded and limited each other. Today we have come "de l'anathème au dialogue" (*From Anathema to Dialogue: A Marxist Challenge to the Christian Churches*, R. Garaudy). We are criticizing each other in order to help each other to realize the best of both our positions. We shall be able to go beyond the dialogue toward cooperation if both sides compre-

hend that they do not have "positions" or "standpoints," but are rather ways directed toward a yet unknown human future.

In many respects these ways could run parallel and supplement each other. In the first place, it is common to Christians and Marxists to suffer under the real misery of mankind. This suffering is always the negative form of hope for the future of men. The Marxists see the misery of man represented in his political dependence, in his economic slavery, and in his being tied up with nature and fate. Thus, freedom implies to their understanding the abolition of the dominion of men over men, the ending of exploitation of men by men, and, finally, the exaltation of a united mankind in which man will be the creator of his own history.

Christians understand that the misery of men lies not simply in their not yet realized possibilities, but even deeper in man's real impossibilities or his lost possibilities. He is enslaved under the dominion of sin, that is, the failure of life because of selfishness and fear. He is handed over to death,

transitoriness, and nothingness. Finally, he is exploited by law, which commands him to live in freedom without giving it to him. Hence, freedom implies to Christians the liberation from the curse of the evil deed through grace; it implies freedom from death and fear through hope in the coming God, and freedom from the law of works through faith.

When we compare both sides we do not find them simply opposing each other. What Christians call the misery of man includes, by all means, political, social, and natural misery, and does not exclude these forms as *Christianity Today* does: "Man's problem lies in his sins against the creator, not in domination by capitalistic economic forces."¹⁰ The real possibilities after which Marxists are striving to overcome this misery are also possibilities for the Christians' struggle for freedom.

Nevertheless, the two sides are not exactly identical. Wherever freedom from misery and inhumanity can really be achieved, socially and politically, there Christians discover the imma-



PHOTOGRAPH

BRIAN SHORE

nence of their hope. But wherever in the necessary struggle against evil in the world new dependencies are being produced, there Marxists discover the transcendence of hope. For the realm of freedom is always more than the fragments of a free life which we may accomplish in history.

Immanence and transcendence of freedom are not divided dichotomously into two realms, like earth and heaven; rather they form dialectically two aspects of its history. The immanent significance of hope for salvation is visible wherever the emancipation of men from the chains of slavery takes place *in* history. On the other hand, hope for salvation out of this hostile world of history is the transcendence of all attempts to make this world the homeland for all people. If we conceive that salvation be the transcendence for the immanent emancipation movement of men, then the Christians' "beyond" is not a compensation or "the opium for the people" anymore, but is the power and the ferment of emancipation here and now. Traditionally we have always combined reconcilia-

tion with God with the conservation of the earth. But there is no reconciliation without transformation—that is, without personal repentance and social revolution.

Since Feuerbach and Marx, Christians and Marxists have readily "divvied up" "heaven" and "earth." Heinrich Heine mused: "We relinquish heaven to the angels and the birds."

Today we find an attempt to combine both again. Marxists are pleased to quote the sentence of Teilhard de Chardin: "The world will not be converted to the heavenly promise of Christianity unless Christianity has previously been converted to the promise of the earth." On the other hand, theologians are delighted when Roger Garaudy says: "The Christian can open the Marxist to the idea of transcendence."

I think we can overcome this kind of division and combination if we begin to take notice of the eschatological category *novum*. Why do Christians seek their salvation in heaven, and why do they feel redeemed by heavenly promises, if the first heaven will pass away and be replaced by a new

heaven? (Rev. 21:1.) Even the Christians will not be "in heaven" safe from the future of the God who judges and creates everything anew. On the other hand, one can ask why the Marxists seek their salvation on the earth and feel secure in earthly promises, if it may be likewise true that "this" earth does not endure but will pass away.

Neither heaven nor earth, neither history nor transcendence are, in the last analysis, secure places. There is salvation only in the new creation of heaven and earth, history and transcendence. The "powers of the future world" are historically effective in the "criticism of heaven" just as in the "criticism of earth," i.e., in the liberation from religious and ideological superstition as well as in the liberation from the anonymous and repressive powers of society and from the obstinacy of human work.

We need this power of the new and of the future in order to act with certainty in the midst of the ambiguities of history and of human activity,



PHOTOGRAPH

JOE ZINN

even our own. All struggles for freedom are ambivalent: How can alienated people struggle against alienation without, in their struggle, producing new alienations? That is the question for the Marxists who see the guilt of Stalinism. How can sinners struggle against sin without producing new sins? That is the question for the Christians who suffer under the guilt of the church. How can the kingdom of nonviolent brotherhood be won without using violence? That is the open question on both sides.

For the most part, moral and revolutionary enthusiasm has overlooked this "cross of reality" (Hegel). Therefore, enthusiasm turns into resignation so quickly. By believing only in the "hereafter" the church has tried to view this cross of history as a tragic "vale of tears." In this posture, it was simply waiting for a far-off salvation, while in the meantime stabilizing conservative and repressive powers. Both ways of thinking are one-sided. Revolution of freedom is alive where people hear the categorical imperative "to overthrow all circumstances in

which man is a humiliated, subjugated, forsaken, and despicable being." Karl Marx is completely right in this. And if his critique of religion ends with this categorical or eschatological imperative, it is better than all demythologizing of Christianity by theologians too well adjusted to the social, economic, and political *status quo*. This revolution of freedom, however, attains its end only if we find the certitude that future and freedom do indeed gracefully meet us in our revolutionary struggle.

While Bertolt Brecht was in exile during the Third Reich he wrote his most thoughtful poem:

We who wished to prepare the soil
for kindness could not be kind
ourselves.
But you, when at last it will come to
pass that man is a helper to man,
remember us with forbearance.¹¹

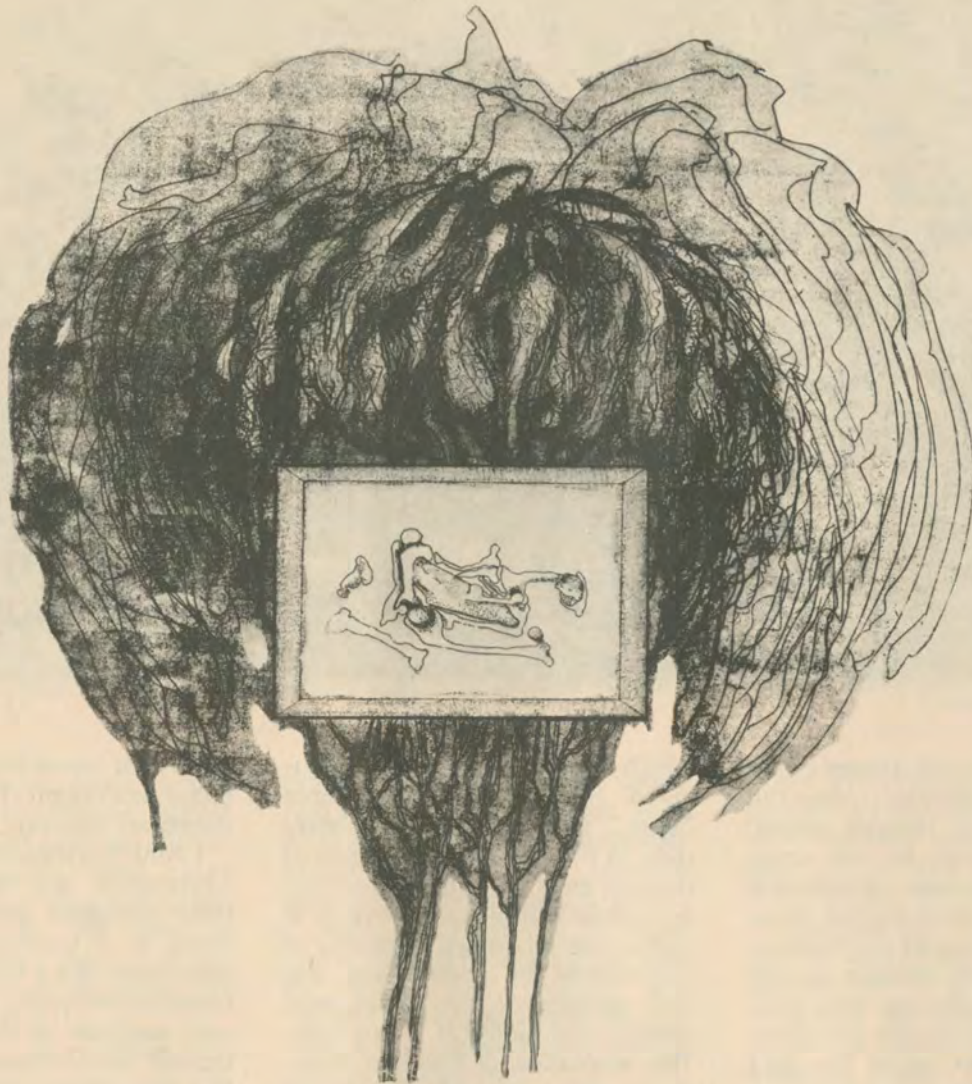
In a secular way, he has taken up what the continuous plea for reconciliation means to the Christian faith.

It is time now for all the different freedom movements to cooperate in a brotherly way, for the

misery of mankind has not become less urgent. The disappointments are growing.

I think it is impossible to reduce Christianity and Marxism, with their divergent positive conceptions, to a lowest common denominator. But a Christian-Marxist cooperation in the present necessary negation of the negative is indeed quite conceivable. In the first place there can be created a common future only out of the common averting of common threats by evil, such as atomic war, catastrophes of famine, and so forth. This method has the advantages (1) of solidarizing very different men and groups, and (2) of leaving open to them the freedom of shaping their own future.

We may not know what true humanity is and how a just order of the world looks. But what mankind should not be and which order of things is false we can know by consideration of the past and also by consideration of the future's possible development. Only in the concrete negation of the negative is the other, the positive, open to us. *Solidarity* in suffering and in struggling against



evil, *liberality* in goods of the positive, and the *future* belong inexorably together.

None of the mentioned freedom movements has already brought freedom itself, but we find roads leading to its future in all of them. The realm of freedom is greater than all of them. It inspires all our endeavors, but it also condemns all our presumptions and comforts us where we become guilty.

At all frontiers of life the summons of the prophet Isaiah is to be heard—"to bind up the

brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives" (Isa. 61:1)—for these are the opportunities of the messianic age, in which, because Christ is born, we live.

notes

¹ Cf. "Marienbader Protokolle," in *Neues Forum: Zeitschrift für den Dialog*, Vol. XIV (Vienna, June/July, 1967), 162-63.

² Cf. my article, "Die Revolution der Freiheit," in *Evangelische Theologie*, Vol. 27, no. 11 (1967), pp. 595-616.

³ Cf. Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Die europäischen Revolutionen und der Charakter der Nationen*, 3rd ed., 1951.

⁴ Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner's, 1961), chaps. 38-40.

⁵ Karl Marx, *Fruhschriften*, Landshut edition (1953), p. 193.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

⁷ Bloch, in *Spuren* (1930), p. 32.

⁸ Marx, *MEGA*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 546.

⁹ Adam Schaff, *Marxismus und das menschliche Individuum* (1965), p. 236: "If one begins to construct definitions of happiness and to derive out of them obligatory norms of conduct for man—naturally for his own welfare!—then even in socialism the danger of 'making men happy' 'from above' can suddenly emerge. The attempt to make men happy through coercion and according to the currently accepted models of happiness can become the cause of an enormous unhappiness . . . Since there is not such a thing as a happiness which applies to all, one should not seek to create a uniform model of a happy life for all." The real foundation for the activity directed toward human happiness lies not in the understanding "that we make men happy but that we eliminate the exceedingly offensive causes of his unhappiness."

¹⁰ "The Danger of Christian-Marxist Dialogue," in *Christianity Today*, Vol. XII, no. 2 (Oct. 27, 1967), p. 27.

¹¹ Translated by M. Douglas Meeks; originally published by Suhrkamp Verlag; copyright Stefan S. Brecht.



1 KUPFERBLECH AND TWO TASTZIRKEL

John Russell, *Max Ernst*. Abrams (1968), 359 pp.

A few days ago I was fussing over the contour of a pot that I was making in my ceramic studio, a small space in my garage enclosed by walls made of old doors. Suddenly three of my six-year-old son's friends came in to investigate. Quickly losing interest in my squinting and scraping, each of them took some clay scraps and began rolling them between their fingers preparing to throw clay balls around the room. While looking for a target they noticed cobwebs that were everywhere and began making rapid calculations of the chances of getting a spider on themselves. The figuring was brief and ended when one of them said hopefully: "Maybe we'll only see daddy long-legs. They never hurt people." And another replied: "Yes, when you see daddy longlegs you know where the cows are."

The incongruous but rhythmic logic of spider-fright would have delighted the surrealist painter Max Ernst. Upon hearing its sound conclusion, he would surely have rushed to his atelier and begun making images prompted by the child's hopes.

But, characteristically for Ernst, the images he developed would be far removed from the obvious illustration of a line of arachnids marching onto the pasture and up a cow's leg. For his approach would be to "raid the unconscious world, interpenetrating the conscious and the unconscious," and the initial urges would quickly evolve from any phenomenon of the rational world toward its best and truest explication in the irrational. In such metamorphoses, for example, those spiders would instantaneously become fieldstone and grass, while the cows would become the artist's sensibilities and hang suspended in the sky as some webless and vulnerable spinner.

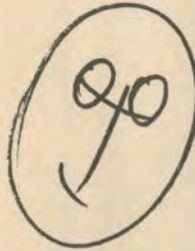
For the pragmatic, such concerns with the irrational are enormously puzzling. For what can be made of an activity that dismisses intellection and common sense as obstructions to significant statements? Plenty. The language of Ernst is Surrealism, a general term applied to a philosophy that is oriented around dreams and fantasy. The extraordinary contemporary relevance of such a point of view is that it is a language of intuition as a means of vital experiencing, making the unconscious an instrument of life direction. And it's a language that makes superb sense as one moves away from verbalization and intellection toward liberation of oneself as a sensual person.

Those in practical America will find Ernst's work insignificant and generally offensive, but it is not to them that he speaks, but to the future. He speaks to those whose vision of reality is perceived beyond the mechanics of language, who intend to fracture the American facade behind which the sick or the dead lie hidden. And his work is "support for a way of behavior" that is directing the young toward a more authentic sensual life.

The illuminating, ephemeral Surrealist transformations of Ernst are the main events of Russell's book, and marvelously the author makes these delicate constructions, erected out of that part of the mind still moist from the waters of the primordial sea, intensely interesting. One must see the paintings in order to weigh Ernst's accomplishments, but the titles give some clue to their exquisite emphasis: Two Children are Threatened by a Nightingale, All Friends together-The Friends



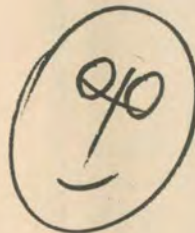
"The Christian faith is O.K. but I can't stand the church!"



"It's just a bunch of hypocrites. At least I'm realistic about myself."



"I know I'm a sinner and I don't mind if others know it."



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OLOV HARTMAN serves as pastor in the National Church of Sweden and also teaches pastoral psychology at Uppsala University. He is the author of a number of religious dramas, and of five novels, one of which, *Holy Masquerade*, is available from Eerdmans.

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In close collaboration, the artist and the author have filled this book-form with as much magic as the constructions which prompted it. The artist has designed the cover and supervised layout giving it a surprise consistent with the content. Writing without gobbledegook, Russell manages to evoke in vivid detail a sense of the actuality of the artist's life, while wedding the artist's experiences in the "real world" with those of the world of imagination. The result is an enormously absorbing account of a unique man who has spent a lifetime describing things "long known, long sensed, long experienced."

—DENNIS AKIN

OUT OF THE LITTLE BOXES

Sally Cunneen, *Sex: Female; Religion: Catholic*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1968), 171 pp., \$4.95.

"Woman cannot be a priest, because she is equal but beneath man."

"Christ did not ordain any women, nor did he ordain any Italians."

These are but a pair of the sprightly comments that adorn or ruin this book—depending on your prejudices. Ignoring momentarily the question of ordaining Roman Catholic women (except to predict it will join celibacy and birth control as the major red herring tugging Peter's nets), I'll discuss some of Mrs. Cunneen's other interests.

Through the work of Father Andrew Greeley and various social scientists, sociology and Catholicism have now approached each other gingerly. I say this because I doubt how much effect the discovery of what Catholics *actually* believe and do has on those hierarchy—and laity—who are sure they know what Catholics *should* believe and do. Specifically, Mrs. Cunneen's book began with nearly 5,000 questionnaires mailed in 1965 to readers of *Cross Currents*, the liberal Catholic quarterly edited by the Cunneens in West Nyack, New York. The respondents included men and women, clergy and laity, Catholic and Protestant, American and Canadian—plus a sprinkling of rarer Catholic humans like a female theologian, a Mother Superior, some divorcees.

When tabulated, the almost 1,500 Catholic responses (814 men, 635 women) indicated the average readers were in their thirties, Irish Americans of middle income, "liberal Democrats," 97% "practicing Catholics," more than half of them educated in Catholic schools at all levels. To supplement this admittedly non-random sample, Mrs. Cunneen interviewed other Catholics, whom she also quotes. These were "women who might be expected to differ from the *Cross Currents* audience. . . . These contacts provided some perspective on areas of tension and strengthened my conviction that the questionnaire audience, although more educated and vocal, shared a wide range of attitudes with others."

What are these areas of tension? They range from lay-clergy communication including the sacrament of Penance, through racial justice and future of parochial schools, to opinions on sex education, birth control, celibacy. Generally Mrs. Cunneen's respondents give less positive, more impatient answers than, for example, those in Father Joseph Fichter's *Priest and People* survey. To quote some startling percentages: less than one-half find parish Masses adequate; 59% judge Confession inadequate or irrelevant. Accompanying comments range from, "You can't have an agape with 1,500 people, dovetailed into the assembly line of hourly Sunday Masses" to "The Mass is basic for me; the Eucharist is real; the known union with Christ is experienced." Another married woman admits, "After I tick off the negative aspects of my parish, I realize I've done nothing to change them."

Over half the married women interviewed admit to using some form of birth control other than rhythm. Although three-quarters of these women admit difficulties in reconciling traditional teaching with desire for smaller families, better education

and professional development, this comment by a mother of five is typical, "My attitude has evolved as I believe the Church's is doing. Only mine has done it much faster, since my life is much shorter."

Of course, 86% of the married women believe couples should determine the number of their children, but (wow) 58% of the nuns agree openly. The importance of this, I believe, is that Catholics increasingly abandon the "don't quote me" attitude and brave fear of giving scandal, antagonizing superiors, etc., in order to express their real attitudes.

The book's age range (18 to 80) also hints at the variety of opinion. A typical conservative comment by a Cincinnati housewife: "Any Catholic who doesn't feel he's always a part of his Church has only himself to blame." Or the brash naivete of the teenager who, when presented with Cardinal Suenen's re-statement of "Woman's choice is to be Eve or Mary. Either she ennobles and raises man up . . . or she drags him down with her in her own fall," asks, "Does this man really exist, or was the statement made in the Middle Ages?"

To return to the problem of woman's everyday status in the Church (which to me is more crucial than whether she will attain priesthood), the questionnaire section on whether woman possesses "feminine nature" proves a watershed of opinion on several topics, such as sharing roles in marriage, women in professions, and the like. Paraphrased, the question amounts to whether women are essentially different from men (Freud), or whether most differences are socially conditioned (Simone de Beauvoir).

With a range of five possible choices, over half the single women and 43% of nuns check "conditioning" as the cause of "woman's nature." Forty-three percent of priests and 37% of brothers consider women "essentially different" although another two-fifths of each group check "conditioning." Of married men, only 19% check "essentially different"; 42% check "conditioning"; 30% feel they "can't generalize"—the largest percentage of this answer.

First of any group check "male prejudice," i.e., assertions about feminine nature "are made largely by men because it has been convenient for them to believe them." Does this mean American women have grown beyond the woman power stage which, like black power, is unusually interested in arousing rancor and assigning blame for indignity and injustice? Betty Friedan and Caroline Bird (*Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down*), take note.

Mrs. Cunneen theorizes, ". . . the striking difference that exists between the opinions of the married men and those of the priests indicates that living intimately with a woman is apt to modify a man's attitude to the entire sex." That is, an individual woman whom one loves is primarily a person, not a generalized archetype of either spirituality or seduction.

Personally, I applaud the decline and fall of the "little boxes" approach. As one mother notes:

The Church has long had three pigeonholes into which she has been pleased to see her women fit—1. the religious life; 2. marriage and motherhood; 3. single life and the professions. But woe to the woman—the nun-professional, the mother-professional, who is not found to be nesting neatly and docilely in only one of these boxes. . . .

Nor do educated Catholics buy new cliches. Mrs. Cunneen's warning: "Today these old stereotypes are fading, but we are

developing new ones as the mass media uncover the story of the mother of six who says, "I'm through!" or the nun who says, "I'm human!"

Happily this is not a bitter book. At worst, some statements, as in Mary Daly's *The Church and the Second Sex*, betray exasperation and desperation over a hierarchy that may admit privately, "Of course, it's obvious women possess skill and intelligence for modern professions," but do little publicly to revise canon laws.

At best, Mrs. Cunneen's women ask Catholics to toss out "eternal feminine," "God's plan for woman," and inhuman theologizing on marriage and sexuality, to forget St. Paul on women's hats and show fidelity to St. Paul on "growing up in Christ" in whom "there is neither male nor female." They beg the Church to reform itself as a model to combat prejudice elsewhere.

I suppose the dream shared by many respondents is arrival of democracy in the Church. Aware of shortcomings both in themselves and in the Church, they want to take responsibility for constructing a Christianity far more relevant to human needs and possibilities. An increasingly typical group are those who have made certain decisions (birth control, participation and/or communion in fellow Christian liturgies), which differ from official teaching, yet continue to term themselves "practicing Catholics."

In short, Sally Cunneen's book accomplishes several valuable aims: to record what pleases or dismays certain American Catholics in this post-Vatican II "time of discovery"; to energize discussion of the role these Catholics may yet play in democratizing their Church; to hearten the depressed, whether a liberal pastor with a reactionary congregation, or a laymen's council maneuvering under a conservative bishop. "The 'new Catholic woman' is no more 'new' than the Church, which is to say that both are always changing—faster than ever at the present. . . ." Unfortunately this will never be fast enough for the young, the revolutionary, or the previously silenced.

On with the revolution—read Sally Cunneen!

—CAROLE SPEARIN McCAULEY

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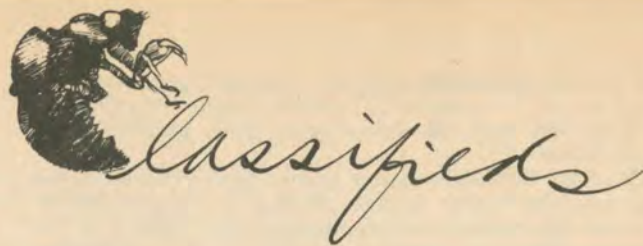
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JÜRGEN MOLTMANN is professor of systematic theology at the University of Tübingen. He is author of several scholarly works, including the highly acclaimed *Theology of Hope* (Harper & Row).

ARTISTS: There is no clear imperative that artists should continue to work in a culture that is progressively debilitating in a human and esthetic sense. The amazing persistence of the artists whose work we seek for *motive* (and the vitality of their work) indicates, however, that they choose to stay and work in it because there is much yet to save. These concerned, creative men and women are represented in this issue by: **Arnold Lungershausen**, Grosse Point, Mich; **Rohn Engh**, Star Prairie, Wisc; **Glen Percy**, Newton, Ga; **Susan B. Hale**, Wisconsin State, Whitewater; **Joop Brans**, Rotterdam, Holland; **Betty La Duke**, Southern Oregon College, Ashland; **Rodney Frew**, Southwest Missouri State, Springfield; **Bob Pelfrey**, Pasadena, Calif; **Nancy Vickery**, Colorado University, Boulder; **Joe Zinn**, Tennessee A&I, Nashville; **Martin Dworkin**, New York City; **Jim Gibson**, Northern State College, Aberdeen, S. Dak; **Brent Matzen**, Southwestern College, Winfield, Kan; **Brian Shore**, Kent, Ohio; and **Tony Saltzman**, Grand Rapids, Mich.

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ARTISTS: There is no clear imperative that artists should continue to work in a culture that is progressively debilitated in a human and esthetic sense. The amazing persistence of artists whose work we seek for *motive* (and the vitality of their work) indicates, however, that they choose to stay and work in it because there is much yet to save. These concerned, creative men and women are represented in this issue by: **A. J. Lungershausen**, Grosse Pointe, Mich; **Rohn Engh**, Star Point, Wis; **Glen Percy**, Newton, Ga; **Susan B. Hale**, Wisconsin Dells; **Joop Brans**, Rotterdam, Holland; **Betty La Follette**, Southern Oregon College, Ashland; **Rodney Frew**, Southern Missouri State, Springfield; **Bob Pelfrey**, Pasadena, Calif; **Tom Vickery**, Colorado University, Boulder; **Joe Zinn**, Tennessee A&I, Nashville; **Martin Dworkin**, New York City; **Jim Gorman**, Northern State College, Aberdeen, S. Dak; **Brent M. Smith**, Southwestern College, Winfield, Kan; **Brian Shore**, Kent, Ohio; and **Tony Saltzman**, Grand Rapids, Mich.

BOOK REVIEWERS: **CAROLE McCaULEY** is a freelance writer and member of the Grail Movement, and has most recently written as translator and adaptor of several contemporary French literary works. **DENNIS AKIN** is our very own art editor.

POETS: **MORTON MARCUS'** two poems will appear in his new collection *Local Stones* (to be published in January by Charles Hitchcock's frenetic Kayak Press). He writes from the site of a mountain in Santa Cruz, California. **ROBERT McROBERTSON** teaches at the University of Wisconsin's Superior campus.

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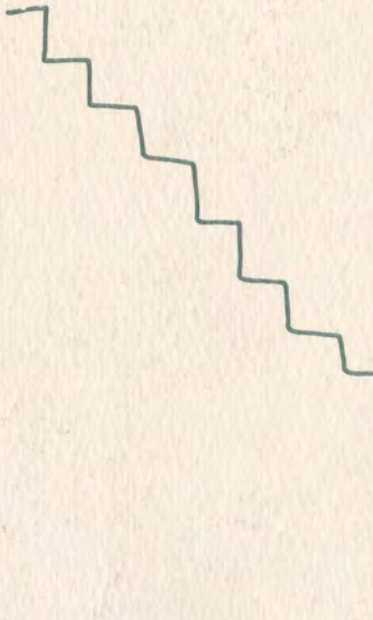
by
Tony
Saltzman



"Why won't Mother ever let us go up into the attic?"



"There's something awful up there."



"What is it?"



"I don't know, but sometimes I hear, like, whimpering in the night."



"I gotta find out."



"If you've come for the rent, you aren't getting a penny until the plumbing is fixed!"