

motive

february

1970

sixty cents





PHOTOGRAPH

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RICK SMOLAN

COVER: WALTER EARL's intaglio on a photograph, EINDEKKER, gets at the McLuhan notion that the visual image makes up the vocabulary of the young. In addition, there is the hint that vision such as this is characteristic of intensely moral men and women. Earl is a student at Northeastern Louisiana State College in Monroe, La.

motive

FEBRUARY 1970

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In regard to the article "Psychedelics and Religious Experience" by Alan Watts in your November 1969 issue, I am very disappointed.

I am a member of the Narcotics Guidance Council of the Town of Queensbury which is under the direction of the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission. I feel this article will encourage more young people to experiment with the very dangerous hallucinatory drug (LSD). I find no Christian help in such an article. I believe in freedom of the press but I also feel a so-called magazine aimed at our college students should offer them help and not try to confuse the issues. Articles similar to this are a dime-a-dozen and readily available to our young people. What they need is some articles that will intelligently combat such trash. Church magazines ought to produce articles in support of our faith. I might accept such an article as printed if there had also been a presentation of some of the facts dealing with the danger of LSD.

REV. ROGER U. DAY

queensbury community methodist church
glen falls, new york

Your October and November issues were worthy of the magazine—especially did we flip over the photo essay in the November copy. We had feared the worst after the May fiasco—we still await hopefully the *liberation* of that censored issue! The issue on women has passed through the hands of several friends—who read it eagerly and grooved with it.

Please don't let the frightened old ladies intimidate you—the Now generation reads you and digs. Come next Fall, I plan to use *motive* regularly in my course on Perspectives in Religion (like this is a "promise" for about 20 new subscriptions at that time!). Shalom.

MRS. WILLIAM J. URBROCK

lycoming college
williamspport, pennsylvania

Please cancel our subscriptions to *motive*. Your magazine has deteriorated to the disgusting point, and we do not wish to make such filth available to our youth. We do not object to controversial material, but we do object to the subversive and pornographic items. No wonder our churches are having a difficult time to raise enough money to meet our askings for benevolence and World Service; Christian people will not support with their money, the very things which they are opposed to and which tend to destroy the church.

REV. G. RUSSELL SHAW

united methodist church
glendora, california

I assume that readers of *motive* are aware of the world's social revolution and wish to guide it from destructive into constructive radicalism. I assume also that they assume that institutional religion (including Communism) is part of the problem. A study of historical human evolution indicates that the perilous condition of civilization today is due chiefly to *human predation*, which has disorganized village and neighborhood communities and dominated religion. We can build a better world by firing up three closely related enterprises: exploring religion; renewing the village or neighborhood community; and probing the main predation-based institutions: war, rent on land and interest on money.

Jesus' ideal of God's kingdom, which he inherited from the great Hebrew prophets and psalmists, includes: care of the environment instead of war and violence; the free assignment of land instead of the selling or renting of natural resources; and the lending of money interest-free. Karl Marx has denounced ground-rent and the charging of interest. If Communism in addition would denounce all war and violence, and accept loving care of the natural environment and the capitalist contribution of free enterprise *detached from the tribute on land and money*, the Communist social program would be similar to the "kingdom of God" ideal of Jesus.

The church might be defined as a non-institutional community of communication aiming to promote the development of the self-governing ecological communities of God's earthly and earthy kingdom. There would be nothing privileged or precious about the church so defined. Any one would be welcome, regardless of race, social layer, culture, age or sex, who repents of his involvement in the predatory institutions of history and is willing to share the strenuous preaching, counseling, healing and serving incidental to the wider coming of the kingdom of God. This peacemaking spiritual fellowship would have to work partly through existing institutions—sacred, educational, economic, financial, political—some of them *long-standing traditional after-effects of human predation*. This may call for speaking, writing, voting, some detachment from predatory institutions, and some building up of viable units of God's kingdom. It may call for protest, demonstration and disruption to win *opportunity for face-to-face negotiation*. Only through negotiation arising from *mutual forgiveness and respect* will a new creation be achieved.

The enemy of mankind is not disobedience to law (sin or crime), nor is it capitalism or Communism, or "the establishment," or technology. It is *primitivism*; yes, paleological primitivism, handed on through centuries of tradition in religion, science, education and political organization. Primitivism is the assumption of *opposition* between God and man, soul and body, spirit and flesh, space and time, space and matter, parent and child, teacher and pupil, ruler and ruled, landed and landless, affluent and impoverished, city and country, man and nature.

Confronting primitivism, Jesus preached a mature gospel in which God forgives unconditionally because God is the all-powerful and ever-present spontaneous cause of all we do! Our one creative divine soul forever creates, through our necessarily transacting and often conflicting bodies and minds, a variety of organic wholes. We of one world may vision the "kingdom of God" as an *ecological world federation of federations of self-governing ecological communities*. With this present vision we can enjoy the eternal God of love here and now through doing what we are fit to do in establishing organic wholes of the wider "kingdom of God" in this generation.

WENDELL THOMAS
lugoff, south carolina

I would like to add my strong disagreement with the editorial practice of censorship which was effected recently. The editorial staff of *motive* has shown ample evidence in the past of responsible leadership, and there has been no reason for anyone outside the staff to exercise any censorship whatsoever.

Last spring we presented our graduating seniors with a gift subscription to *motive*.

WILLIAM A. SEXTON
american protestant church
brussels, belgium

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

I, too, am a taxpayer and loyal American (notice daring use of my real name), but that does not prohibit me from appreciating *motive*. I am writing to encourage your endeavors. To put it in establishment terms, this is a "vote of confidence" for both your great regular issues and also your super great special issues such as the one on woman. Possibly someone might inform the Methodist Church that as far as many of us non-Christians are concerned, the ideas presented in *motive*, and particularly the freedom necessary to express them, are the church's only salvation.

May you continue to maintain a forum for poets, artists, radicals, revolutionaries and other humans.

SHERRY DURREN
kalamazoo, michigan

We of the Women's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild of the First United Methodist Church of Gallatin, Tennessee, have either read or have been informed of the contents of the March-April issue of *motive* magazine. We have further been informed of the type of future publications intended by the new editors of *motive*. Knowing this, we now ask that subsequent issues contain more suitable material for our young people, material that will better help them prepare for life in today's indifferent society.

In the past, the articles in *motive* have appealed only to the intelligentsia of college students. We ask that you gauge your material so that it will reach all types of students. *motive* has the power to give the average student more of what they need to keep their Christian faith. They are under pressure every day to compromise their faith, letting their culture dictate their ideas, their attitudes, and their values. It is vitally important that our children have basic Christian standards on which to rely. They must be prepared to face life with confidence and unshakable faith. *motive* can help in this task.

Students are well aware of current social crises. *motive* can speak actively on these issues, answering on a Christian basis the many questions that concern these young people. They need answers, not radical, subversive material that tends only to further frustrate them.

For the sake of our young people and the name of the United Methodist Church, *motive* must strive to redeem itself and become a Christian magazine with high moral standards.

(SIGNED BY 108 WOMEN)
first united methodist church
gallatin, tennessee

I was very pleased with the November issue of *motive*.

WILLIAM LEHMAN
william lehman buick, inc.
north miami beach, florida

I think your magazine is fantastic. The art work, the articles, the poetry are all great! Please never die.

Could I make one suggestion of a topic that you could perhaps base an article or whole issue on? I would like to see an issue devoted to discussing wedding rites. There seems to be a lot of interest devoted to making weddings personally meaningful to the couple and as a result weddings currently are as unique as people. It would be great to see what is happening in connection with the "exchanging of rings," and where these new ideas and the old traditions are coming from.

PHYLLIS G. HOHMAN
edinboro state college
edinboro, pennsylvania

You have helped me to listen to new voices in religion, and I find their insistence on honesty and reality very encouraging and refreshing. However, a spiritual experience that is induced by drugs is neither honest or real; it is all fake and unreal. Too bad they cannot be "naturally stoned" with the beauty of nature around them and the wonders of man. I have had that spiritual experience as I open my being to that. I also find God revealed in the sanctuary of a church where I commune with a higher power in prayer, restate the faith in great hymns, listen to the Bible and contemporary readings and hear the spoken word of a fellow seeker (the pastor).

Why don't you be honest and real and print the many dangers, ruined lives and psychological illnesses drugs have caused? Is that a "spiritual experience?"

MRS. ROGER H. SHARPE
pastor's wife
woodsides church
flint, michigan

"*motive*" is pink if not out and out RED. Your comrades must be very proud of you. You have used the Communist tactics of depressing, confusing and demoralizing the reader magnificently.

If you are printing this magazine in the name of realism or truth you have piteously missed the mark. I agree that our society has great pits of putrid sickness but none of these oozing sores can ever be healed until the selfish, materialistic nature of man is changed. Each man, individually, in his own heart, must be changed. Billy Graham said it well, "Christianity changes men and men change the world." As sickening and vile as we are, Christ is still willing, even eager to bring about this vital change in each of us. HE is TRUTH. HE is REALITY. HE is the way and the only way out of our terrifying dilemma.

Don't scream for truth, for justice until you have guts enough to show both sides. Don't fill your readers with hate, prejudice, discontent, confusion and cowardice until you are willing and able to destroy these cancerous attitudes by guiding them to Christ, who alone can replace them with life, love, understanding, peace, wisdom and courage and power.

Any idiot can run with the pack criticizing and destroying everything in sight that seems wrong. But the "changed" man, applying his faith, his belief that Jesus Christ is the real, living, working Savior of the world, can destroy the wrong. He alone has the right; because he alone, through Christ, is capable of replacing it with something better.

I encourage you to incite, to inflame your readers to change the world, but show them how to build a better one. Show them how to back a winner; the ONLY winner: Jesus Christ.

BECKY ROYER
linden, indiana

We're all very impressed with the November *motive*. The pictorial essay and the Vernon Clark article were particularly moving. The latter completely unnerved me. You're doing such a fantastic job—both with the magazine and with the new life-style the staff is expressing. Salutes and kudos!

MARY McANALLY
united presbyterian church in the U.S.A.
new york, new york

I went through the November *motive* carefully and will read it equally carefully when I find the time. It reflects well the mood of youth of our time. In my seventies and retired, I still find myself with youth and in resistance, as thirty years ago when with other Methodist missionaries at outbreak of war, we helped start *Kristagraha*, the Christian nonviolent movement, which brought our recall by our mission in 1940.

But that *mood*, alas, does not yet have in it what corresponds in our setting with the Indian Gandhian building of the "society within the society"—their 75% of time, energy, leadership, etc. (This is where the change of institutions comes in.) Nor do I find the resistance, on its negative side, one of any real solidarity, imaginative planning and execution, or on any real *offensive* in the struggle against anything in the old establishments (as in the Gandhian struggle in India); and here again is where new institutionalization comes into play—the building of an alternative society—the human community—is not possible while the market-capturing statisms of our Western society and its motivation of our "art of acquiring the maximum inequality in our own favor"—as Ruskin called it—remain the way of life of our people.

But who among us Americans, to say nothing of us "youth," care that in the nineties of the last century our nation began the master-minding of the present open-door imperialism and still continues it as world leader; the special order that now stands in the way of any attempt at effective organizing of a world "free association?" That this has been the great subversion of our own democratic way in the world as first constitutionally charted? And who cares even to think, that we are still outright "colonial" as a power in Puerto Rico, which is ruled under our Federal Public Law 600 without a single voting representative? How can we *lead out* into the vital movement the world needs?

But enough. My very best to *motive's* new staff.

RALPH T. TEMPLIN
journal of human relations
wilberforce, ohio

BE IT RESOLVED, We the Administrative Board of North Charleston United Methodist Church do hereby register our concern and disapproval of the use of vulgar and obscene language in movies, magazines and media in general, but specifically in the literature published by our church and distributed by our church to our youth, particularly in *motive* and *engage*. We think that the use of this language in church literature can in no way further the cause of Christ and that the continued use will further confuse our "confused youth" rather than help them.

Most of our youth are taught not to use language that a national magazine would not print, but used dashes. We would expect our church publications and programs certainly to set an example and not add to the confusion.

ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD
methodist church
north charleston, south carolina

Geneva

Dear Sya,

It has been several months since we last walked along Lake Geneva, watching the *jet d'eau* race to the sky, and then plummet to the water below.

I think the following story will interest you.

In San Francisco a cartoonist by the name of Dan O'Neill was fired by the *Chronicle*, a local newspaper. It seems that the publisher simply couldn't understand his cartoon strip, and thought no one paid much attention to Dan's work. But that was the publisher's mistake. Dan's followers (he was surprised by how many he had) lit up the *Chronicle* switchboard with their protests. The free people of San Francisco rose to his defense because they liked his politics, wit and theology. The free people made the publisher re-hire Dan, and so he continues to draw what they like. (A small cheer for that, eh?)

It seems that Dan, like so many of our friends, is an ex-seminarian. He is a 27-year old religious refugee, just the kind of person Calvin would have welcomed to your city of Geneva. There are so many religious refugees these days, both in this country and overseas. A friend from Ceylon, a long-time member of the SCM there, wrote to me recently: "I am sick of church related organizations . . . they are too fearful to act in faith and in accordance with the will of God." Do you feel that way, Sya?

Ah, well, they have always said February is a bleak month. But Dan's wit should help us through the issue of *motive* we have edited for February. You will note a rather unrelieved challenge being made upon organized religious understandings. We have brought together conscientiously written critiques of the church

in Japan, Texas, Detroit, Geneva and Nigeria/Biafra. We have not brought them together willy-nilly, for the sake of shaking a stick at our benefactors throughout the country. No, we have wanted to raise two fundamental issues for on-going debate: the churches' relation to the poor and their relation to violence as a means for change. We need clarity on these issues because the churches are foundering on them.

You know very well the "sacred thresholds" your friends have crossed in demonstrating their concerns about university reform and the painful conditions of migratory labor in Europe. When your friends went through that window into the administration building at the University of Geneva, history could not be the same after that crossing over. We are trying to come to grips with the question of which thresholds are to be truly respected and protected, and which are not because they deny human rights.

None of this is new. The older families of Geneva were horrified by the kinds of people welcomed by Calvin. But he protected religious and political refugees against those entrenched families. Has anyone come forward to protect your friends? There aren't too many people willing to do the same here.

Ah, well, February is a bleak month. Maybe we can look forward to the day when (to choose one example) no private medical doctor has a high-level income while so many ghetto children have such low-quality medical care.

Take care, and do write when you find the time.—R. Maurer

DETROIT

As the National Council of Churches met here during the first week of December, the big news in the Motor City was that car sales were down 11 percent. Inflation and tight money were among the reasons given. Little noted was the fact that NCC assets and income were down approximately 19 per cent—and the reasons were more than economic. Denominations aren't getting the funds they either used to get or expected to get. They are on the defensive, trying to meet purely denominational costs and letting extra-denominational spending slough off. Thus the NCC reflects the fact that the denominations are being hit where they hurt—in the pocketbook. A look at denominational budgets might even help poor and oppressed groups understand why the church is increasingly uptight with their demands for sharing the wealth.

The practical truth of the matter is that churches are big businesses with payrolls, overhead, mortgages, depreciation, investments, markets, bookkeepers, PR men and sundry bureaucrats in addition to some ministers with more transcendent interests. During the post-World War II euphoria that saw babies boom and Ike sanctified, churches performed like the Dow Jones Industrial Average. From 1945 through 1962, church membership annually grew faster than population; so did church giving. The same period gave birth to the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, the ecumenical movement and other "extravagances"

of institutions that could afford to risk themselves in liberal Christian adventures. Even *motive* received large increases in subsidy from its Methodist parents and guardians. All this was nothing, though, compared with the billion-dollar church-building boom in that period.

But what ended in 1962 as a spectacular 17 years of growth could very well have been the beginning of 17 years of decline. Annual church giving for American Protestants leveled off at \$3.5 billion in 1968 and began heading downward. Membership leveled off at 71 million persons and appears to be declining despite population increases. The flood of young adults in the population hasn't exactly crowded church pews; and to the extent that churches have tried to be "groovy" they have alienated old church supporters—especially those with money.

With the bubble burst and the euphoria over, the situation could force denominations and local churches to look deeper than budget balancing—perhaps even deep enough to see God's work in all this. The Old Testament tells of the building of faith that accompanied the destruction of the Temple. The New Testament tells of Jesus throwing out the money-changers; and St. Matthew reminds us: "Where your treasure is, your heart will be." But the nature of man—and specifically the nature of money and power—suggests that even Christians of good intent will not read

toward a civil future

these signs. Rather, we will try to shore-up all the power we have accumulated. This has already begun in terms of (1) "local control" of churches to the detriment of national and world involvements; (2) the increasing importance of rich and conservative laymen in setting church priorities and directions; (3) the movement of church authority further away from the New Testament and further into investment control; (4) a reaffirmation of denominational loyalties and a halt to ecumenical causes except when a good return on investments is guaranteed; (5) a "cleansing" of the church to be rid of ministers who do not bring in the goodies (members, dollars, new buildings); (6) the "giving" of funds only to those blacks and others who will be indebted to the institution for life; (7) cutbacks in expenditures representing a complete reversal of priorities—vital programs cut first, salaries last; and (8) a final acquiescence to mass culture in an attempt not to offend people with the revolutionary good news of liberation in Jesus Christ.

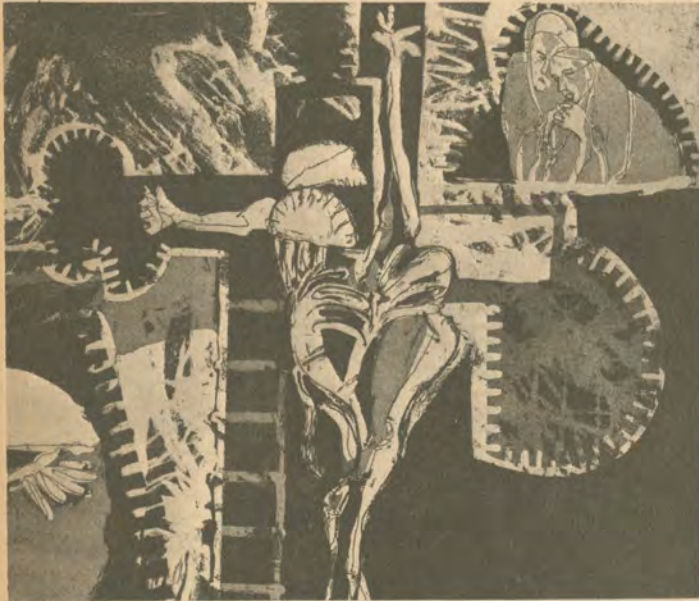
Like so much else in our society today, congregations are being polarized, and church bureaucrats are showing every intention of identifying with those who would protect and build church assets. One of the messages to the NCC denominations here was to "get off your assets" and to stop acting as if *Christian* and *church* were mutually exclusive terms. Another message—barely heard above the shuffle of papers—was that the words *radical Jesus* are a redundancy.

The Rev. Will D. Campbell preached late one night in a hallway outside the Cobo Hall arena where the NCC met. He said that the churches ought to sell everything they had—mahogany pews, organs, gymnasiums, the whole bit—and give all proceeds to the poor. For Methodism's Detroit Annual Conference *alone* that would mean \$119,121,404 in currently *listed* local church property and other assets. (Nationally, the United Methodist Church lists *local* church properties valued at more than \$5 billion.)

But God must know that, as rational human beings, we won't be so extravagantly irresponsible. So He is about His work in history creating new churches which live as well as preach Jesus as Lord, without economic encumbrance or religious pretention. The churches are rising from under the earth. Their disciples live in tents that move across the wastelands. They pray and break bread together beyond the shadows of church steeples. They know no material necessities except those of many brothers and sisters. They are the believers who proclaim Life—in all its joy and suffering—over Death—in all its waste.

Theirs is an old message with new language—a sign-language that barely filters through today's blood-stained-glass windows. It is meet and good that we not only see, but understand.

—Jim Stentzel



about the author:

I first met Takao-san in the fall of 1968. We were at Sanmaiso, that historic Christian retreat center at the foot of Mount Fuji. His voice, yes, I think that was what first struck me about him. His words would tumble out, rushing one on top of another—hard and very clear. Whether in Japanese, English or German, he speaks with disarming frankness, a trait not shared by many Japanese. And with the same commanding presence, he plays the piano and sings. He had once planned to be a concert pianist. While at Union Seminary in New York City, he would play the piano in the tower of Riverside Church. Though this article conveys much of Takao-san's theology and politics, it leaves hidden the music of the man.—SONJA HEDLUND, Brooklyn, New York

STUDENT RESISTANCE AT JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES

by Toshikazu Takao

Since last year, more than seventy universities all over Japan, beginning with Tokyo University (Tōdai), have experienced campus struggles. Only now has it become clear how basic are the questions raised in the process of these conflicts by the students of the Zenkyōtō. They have called into question the very existence of the university itself; the meaning of learning, even their own existence. In doing so they have assigned themselves—and therefore, every one of us as well—a crucial task: to push ahead on the road of thoroughgoing “self-negation,” and never to stop looking for the “essential starting-point.” By this fundamental questioning of their own existence they hope to create a completely new “self-identity.” So radical is their questioning that it debunks everything phony and denounces egoism in every form.

The students of Tōdai symbolize the radical justice inherent in the above questioning. With “success” assured them on graduation, they knew only too well the role of “oppressor” for which they were being trained. By repudiating such a self-image they revealed their own single-minded seriousness. One Tōdai man told me, “Many students are attracted to the Zenkyōtō because they appear so lacking in egoism.” Although the members of Zenkyōtō themselves often doubt the thoroughness of their own self-negation, the group is without doubt almost unique in its lack of self-interest.

People who are so lacking in egoism pose a threat to those within the establishment who cling to security by affirming the status quo or by adopting an attitude of lukewarm reformism. To force a return to fundamentals by means of a radical repudiation of self means the collapse of the latter's everyday, commonsense, stable way of life. The Zenkyōtō students' long journey through struggle in search of the thing they have lost aims at a state of affairs that can only be restored through this radical repudiation of self. The challenge of such an attitude triggers every kind of egoism into action. The veil of superficiality is ripped away: all that remains is to work together defensively in order to preserve each one's ego.

The cooperation of egos as a mass basis for action cannot be accomplished by focusing in on the essential point. It has to be a broad front which is expanded by appealing to the ego at every level of society. The essential nature of such a combination becomes the greatest advantage of the maximum number: a kind of stunted and subjective "happiness." Imagine how dangerous, even verging on madness, the return to the essential starting-point must appear to such an avalanche of egos! Listen to what the student spokesmen say. "Even if ninety-nine were to be happy, if there remained one that was oppressed, that person would be the basis of our understanding." (Hiraoka Masaaki) In fact, "... anyone who proposes a complete repudiation of that which exists cannot help but pursue a way that leads to madness. We are proud to be madmen. As long as the system itself exists, we shall continue to be madmen. Nor can we hope to restore that which is lost unless we are willing to accept the lot of the madman." (Tōdai Zenkyōtō, "Shingeki" The Attack, No. 3, *Gendai no me*, February, 1969, p. 162.) Such a proclamation reveals the magnitude of the threat to everything that is normal or common sense.

(translation by Cyril Powles)

This process of thoroughgoing self-negation, coupled with the return to the essential starting-point, as it is seen in the struggles at Tōdai, reminds me of that series of overpowering events which I hold to be the essential starting-point of the world's history. That is, the events which unfolded with Jesus Christ as their center which reveal so much about man's existence. For it was Jesus above all who trod the road of the most radical self-negation; who never ceased to call for a return to the essential starting-point; who was always breaking through all commonsense, everyday systems.

It was his purpose to create a new personal identity by pointing to the true "essential" and by facing men with the necessity for fundamental change. He rebelled against all privilege and authority which depended on a mistaken idea of tradition and led to human alienation. He came to bring good news to the poor, release to prisoners and liberation to the oppressed (Luke iv. 18). It was he who was willing to leave ninety-nine sheep to look for one lost lamb. So thoroughgoing was his pursuit that not only his enemies but even his own relatives looked on him as a "madman." Not only did he *teach* that he who sought to save his life would lose it; he followed his own hard saying by actually negating himself on the cross. And it was that act that led through paradox to his transformation into the Risen Lord.

Jesus' profound insight into their affairs, his intense yet fresh appeal, drew the masses to him. The people, with their feelings of frustration, their vague desire for change, possessed a common ground in their resentments and hopes which included a certain validity and awareness. But "the crowd" is apt to be a fickle and unprincipled band of egoists. This was precisely the kind of crowd that surged about Jesus. Their attempt to crown him king symbolized their preference for their own desires. So great was his popularity that it caused him to complain, "The birds of the air have nests and the foxes have holes, but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head" (Matthew viii. 20). Is the attraction of the Zenkyōtō for the *non poli* or ordinary students any stronger than was Jesus' attraction for this crowd? They tailored him to fit their own yearnings for a saviour, a newly appeared prophet, a king to lead them in rebellion. Yet how different were these crowds, as they waved palm branches and shouted "*Hosannah, Hosannah*" at Jesus' entry

into Jerusalem, from the ordinary students today as they surge forward to take part in departmental strikes or school blockades?

There were different types in the crowd about Jesus. For instance, there were the Sadducees. They were the *avant garde* progressives of that period and their mode of expression was liberal. But in reality they were political opportunists who would consent to dishonorable associations in order to expand their own and their family's power. Would my prejudices be showing if I perceived in them the likeness of the JCP-Minsei?

Next were the Pharisees, who were always opposed to the Sadducees. They withdrew themselves from the crowd (their name means 'separated'); an elite group who sought individual, inner salvation by flight from reality and self-nurture in purity. The pedantic student groups who avoid an overall understanding of society and hide behind reverence for impartial scholarship; who are always talking about *pure* learning; or the "specialized idiots" who want only a peaceful life: these are the modern representatives of these Pharisee egoists.

Then there were the priests. In Jesus' time the priests had drifted far away from their original calling to be mediators of true reconciliation between God and man, and man and man. They were an egoist group who propagated a self-deceptive and illusory ideal of community. They preached a false harmony and concord, on the basis of which they strove to preserve their own privileged position. They remind me of the professors at Tōdai.

Associated with them were the notorious scribes. These men had distorted the Law to make it a medium for self affirmation and self justification. In the name of legality and reasonableness they heartlessly neglected the most basic humanity. That was why Jesus condemned them so strongly (Matthew xxiii. 23-28). Their sin was the same as the priest and Levite on the way to Jericho whose only care was to maintain the status quo so that they pretended not to see the grievously wounded man on the roadside. I seem to see the face of a scribe in the cold legal logic of Acting President Katō, the lawyer whose only wish was to achieve the restoration of law and order on the campus.

Finally there is the Roman procurator, Pilate, who gave the final judgment that condemned Jesus to the cross. He was the literal personification of a mighty state authority. He represented a giant Leviathan that was willing to grant the semblance of independence and self-rule, but was always ready to smother opposition to the system, if necessary with

armed violence. The authority of the state attempts to erase the forces that oppose it with all kinds of schemes and wily stratagems. But when its ruses are exposed it crushes the opposition with naked force. In Pontius Pilate, it goes without saying, I see reflected the increasingly frantic authority of the state today.

Every one of these people, ironically, were agreed that Jesus, the agitator, should be liquidated. All of them were at odds in their individual struggles to gain hegemony in the society of their day. But in the face of Jesus' thoroughgoing pressure for a radical repudiation of self and for fundamental change, they were united on the one point of their egoism. For the sake of the internal and external peace of their egos they were even willing to throw away the purity of the faith for which their own fathers had died. So they shouted before Pilate, "We have no king but Caesar!" On this one point of egoism every kind of ego is willing to cooperate in nailing to the cross the one who "goes against common sense," the "radical political criminal," the "madman." The tragedy of Golgotha (the skull) is both deep and grave.

Naturally one cannot completely identify Jesus, the lamb who is silent before his shearers, with the students of the Zenkyōtō whose heads were bowed—blinded, beaten down, their bodies covered all over with burns—after their thirty-five hours of resistance. It would not be right to abstract from one concrete political incident like the Tōdai struggle and make generalizations about reality or human limitations. Nevertheless, if we accept with seriousness the fundamental nature of the questions raised by the students of the Zenkyōtō, we cannot avoid the feeling that, insofar as they concern the ground of man's being, they are also related to the questions that Jesus raised.

If we refuse to take these questions seriously and attempt to suppress them by an alliance of the human spirit and boundless desolation of egoisms, what will be the result? A deep

darkness. When Jesus cried, "My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?" and yielded up his spirit, the whole of Jerusalem was wrapped in deep darkness. When the Yasuda Auditorium fell in the growing chill of that winter evening, it was not so much a physical desolation that I felt as a deep inner emptiness. More than pity for the wounds of the Sampa students, this was the gloomy emotion of one who could do no more than watch, but who was, nonetheless, an accomplice in the havoc wrought.

In that sense I resembled yet another of the groups around Jesus. There were those who had not participated directly in his death, but who still could not escape ultimate responsibility: that is, his disciples and sympathizers. Jesus had shown them the way of radical self-negation, the essential starting-point to which they must return. But, torn between desire to follow and fear of the consequences, they discovered that the way of self-negation cannot be followed by sympathy alone. They reacted in two ways: by betrayal and by escape. Judas betrayed, while Peter ran away. At the root of both acts lay the empty egoism of self-preservation.

What happened to the peace of Jerusalem, upheld so dramatically and by such mighty power: the convergence of all those egoisms? Only forty years later, in 70 A.D., the city was completely destroyed by the Roman army. The cooperation of the egos of all those people—Sadducees, Pharisees, priests and scribes, even the crowd—only succeeded in producing one bitter scene in a farce. The state power fulfilled its own purposes by crushing them all.

The resemblance here also is too strong to be missed. The commonsense, ordinary students and the Minsei rushed to "normalize" the campus at Tōdai, working for the end of the strike. They joined with the faculty, who wanted "restoration" of order, to request the intervention of the state power. They thought that conditions had been restored for the holding of the entrance examinations, the summation of all their egoisms. But the state power, following its own overall plans, forced the cancellation of the exams. In doing so they betrayed their own design to restructure the university for imperialistic purposes. What a farce that made of the Minsei schemes, the "good sense" of the ordinary students, and the "efforts" of the faculty!

How tragic that farce really was might be illustrated many times over. It was repeated again and again wherever campus strife appeared. But when the farce was played out in the name of Jesus Christ its truly desolate nature stood revealed. In those "Christian Universities"—Kansei Gakuin, Aoyama Gakuin, Meiji Gakuin, Tōhōku Gakuin, Jochi [Sophia]—now ruined and empty, the "spirit of the founders," upheld by bringing in the state power, could be little else but a farce. To begin with, the whole concept of a Christian university, when it tries to be a true university, proves to be both theoretically and actually

BOB PELFREY

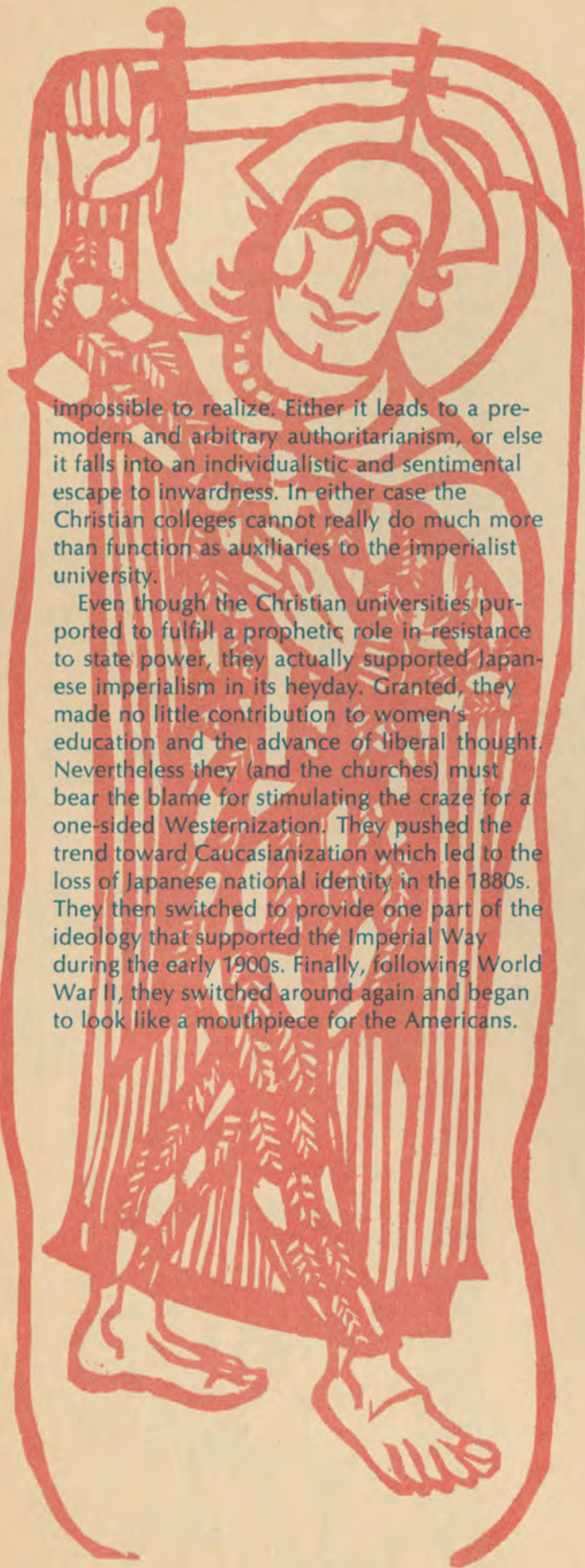


behold the lion shall lie down
with the lamb and they shall not

hurt,
nor
shall
they
kill.



WOODCUT: ISAIAH'S DREAM



impossible to realize. Either it leads to a pre-modern and arbitrary authoritarianism, or else it falls into an individualistic and sentimental escape to inwardness. In either case the Christian colleges cannot really do much more than function as auxiliaries to the imperialist university.

Even though the Christian universities purported to fulfill a prophetic role in resistance to state power, they actually supported Japanese imperialism in its heyday. Granted, they made no little contribution to women's education and the advance of liberal thought. Nevertheless they (and the churches) must bear the blame for stimulating the craze for a one-sided Westernization. They pushed the trend toward Caucasianization which led to the loss of Japanese national identity in the 1880s. They then switched to provide one part of the ideology that supported the Imperial Way during the early 1900s. Finally, following World War II, they switched around again and began to look like a mouthpiece for the Americans.

No document like the United Church of Christ's "Confession of Responsibility during World War II"—important as that may be—can sweep away the deep feeling of inner desolation that the history of the churches—and their related colleges—has left with us.

The stronger this guilt is felt, the sharper becomes our criticism of the present and the fiercer our passion for reform. That is why the Christian students—and particularly the *theological* students—in the older Church-related schools are so radical. At Meiji, Aoyama and Kantō Gakuin they have organized the Alliance of Militant Christians. At Meiji Gakuin these Christian students barricaded the chapel. Although it means a long quotation, it is worth hearing their reasons in their own words:

A fierce struggle is going on at Meiji Gakuin University to recover student autonomy. In the process it has become apparent that the barricading of the chapel is the proposition on which we must stake our existence.

The Chapel at present stands as the visible symbol of the "Christian founding spirit" of this "church-related" university. But what kind of Christianity do the authorities preach? Theirs is a kind of inverted image of a church-related college whose symbols are the chapel and compulsory courses in Christianity. The chapel has become an instrument for upholding the power structure. Chapel services are carried on at the same time—and by the same people—as a whole string of iniquities which, it has become clear during our struggle, the authorities have committed. Thus they cannot escape responsibility for having caused people fundamentally to mistrust Christianity.

That is why we have staked our own faith by protesting against the school authorities and have barricaded the chapel even though it has been to our own pain. By turning the chapel into a pile of rubble we want to proclaim, both to the authorities and to our fellow students, that Christianity and worship have become symbols of the absence and disregard of humanity. We want to create a true Christianity out of this stormy campus struggle through joint action with all our fellow students. The problem raised by our action will not remain limited to Meiji Gakuin. We are questioning by our act the mission of the whole church in Japan which faces a rapidly changing society. God does not exist in this chapel, however stately and imposing it may be. He is to be found rather in men's living deeds; in the midst of process and relations. We do not see our deed as just one round in an escalating process of political action. We want it to be seen as a query, as supplication on which we have staked our very existence. . . . For us Christians who study at Meiji Gakuin University it is our cross.

It was those barricades that the university administration called in the riot police to remove by force. But the deed was done without any real reference to the students at all; only in order to maintain the operation of a private institution of education. The militant Christian students proclaimed their resolution to carry on the struggle and are in fact continuing to fight. The inner desolation which followed the permission for state power to intervene is deep and harsh beyond measure. The administration knew nothing of the way of self-negation. They refused to return to the essential point. They were afraid to question themselves in any basic way. Instead they tried to carry out through legal action a "normalization" based on the logic of maintaining the status quo. When they crushed resistance in the name of Jesus Christ, they ironically assisted at the birth of a group of teachers and students who opposed, in the name of the same Jesus Christ, their legal "lawlessness," their fulfilment of their ego.

Militant Christians. This was a new type that had not previously appeared among the groups we have considered. Where did they derive the form they made their own? For them Jesus Christ is not the white man's teacher wearing beautiful robes, who never said or did anything ungentle. Reared the son of a poor carpenter, he knew the sufferings of an oppressed and exploited class. So he was the fighting champion of reform, always seeking the poor; always protesting against privilege; always pointing to the essential point of the rule of God's absolute justice; always demanding a fundamental "turn about" of revolution and repentance.

Even so, what was the process that allowed militant Christians to emerge from the kind of gang of deserters that Peter represents? What was the revolution that turned that huddled cluster in Jerusalem following Jesus' death into people willing to protest against evil even to death? The Scriptures maintain that the essential point in this revolutionary change was the Risen Lord. In other words, the road of self-negation, the return to the essential point, led not to death or nothingness but to *new life, eternal life*. It led not to despair but hope. No matter how strong that concentration of human egos might be; that fiendish alliance that even led to the abomination of the cross; it all fades into insignificance compared to the future of hope that had defeated it.

That is why the Christian must resist, stubbornly and persistently, every power on earth that is hostile to justice, life and freedom. In that light every Christian group or organization, even though it call itself church, or Christian school, if it combines with state power or is reduced to become an organ for defending the ideology of the establishment; if it does not identify itself with the oppressed and exploited classes; it cannot belong to the Jesus Christ who pointed the way to hope, and therefore to resistance. In such groups there no longer remains any Christian identity. For such *identity* implies *identification* with the alienated and the exploited.

Where are we to go? Let me reply by showing concretely, in terms of my own experience, one possible way. Kantō Gakuin University where I belong is an institution with a Baptist background. Its history is short and its scale small. The campus struggle began in May, 1968, with the loss by fire of the student residence. The struggle spread to include questions about welfare facilities, a

general election for president and the democratization of the campus in general. But the real battle began at the end of January, 1969, with an incident in which the administration had cooperated with the police in the interrogation of an arrested student. This struggle developed to include discussion of basic problems: the nature of the university's autonomy; the understanding of state power; the fundamental purpose and content of learning; the social status of the faculty, and so forth. Recently the discussion has advanced to the point of questioning the essential nature of the university itself and its continued existence.

With the main building barricaded just as the entrance examinations were supposed to begin, the university is faced with the possibility of actual dissolution. But the faculty, after immensely protracted discussions, announced that they were resolved on no account to invite the police to step in to remove the barricades. They intend to cope on the basis of conversations alone. For a private university—especially for one that is heavily in debt—to carry out such a resolution will involve serious difficulties. But the faculty, after innumerable discussions, have confirmed this resolution. Behind their decision stands a common understanding about university autonomy, the true meaning of learning, and the real nature of state power. They have analyzed the history of postwar education, discerned the distortion of educational policy at this time, and defined the structure of the faculty meeting. There is no doubt that Kantō Gakuin University is singlehandedly groping toward a new pattern for the Japanese university, and doing so in a manner hitherto unseen in the history of Japanese education. I would therefore like to suggest, by giving some concrete examples, that our experience can be of use to all universities in this country in a cooperative venture for the future.

At the end of their long discussion the faculty meeting concluded that the autonomy of the university consists of an autonomous faculty and an autonomous student body, both of whom are concerned with true learning. True learning they understood as a groping after humanity. This in turn involves the welfare of people who are exploited and oppressed. Any state power which tends to oppose such principles the university must definitely resist. Our educational system—if we analyze it as a whole, in its political, economic and religious aspects—has undoubtedly acted since the Meiji era as the ideological arm of the imperialist structure required by monopoly capital.

No sooner had the phony democratization of the postwar period begun to break down than a forceful reorganization of imperialism emerged based on neocolonialism. Today the interference of state power that is backed by the Mutual Security structure with the autonomy of the university is too blatant to disregard. Accordingly those people in the universities who understand this situation must carry on a definite and effective resistance. Working from this understanding our faculty vetoed all dependence on police investigation. They clearly stated—both within and without the university—their opposition to the Ministry of Education circular on student activities.

Of course we realize that this is only a beginning; that from the students' point of view it has not progressed beyond the stage of reform within the established institution. However the "people's university" that we are aiming at—or the "self-administering university" that the students advocate—cannot be realized overnight. Even if it were to appear at this time it would inevitably be crushed by the state power. If it is not to deteriorate into utopianism the process of reform must always be accompanied by concrete tactics. In order to realize the vision of a people's university, supported but not controlled, by and for the people, in which the difference of status between a state and a private institution is abolished, we would need a solid popular base. For this a long-term strategy and tactical deployment of a high order are both vital requirements.

Ours is not the ordinary utopian dream of a community of learning which the Minsei are supposed to support. Already in our university we have affirmed the principle of "participation by veto" as the concrete form of student representation. But we cannot yet talk about "joint struggle" by staff and students as long as the present structure of fees, salaries and

administration remains. Our faculty is still undeniably part of the old establishment under that structure. At the same time Kantō Gakuin is not Tōdai. We have affirmed the principle that all basic decisions should be made through mass student-faculty bargaining sessions (*taishū dankō*). We are investigating ways to carry out a radical, overall reorganization of curriculum, staff and structure. We have promised to dissolve the Department of Student Affairs and the Welfare Guidance Committee. We are studying concrete methods for giving shape to the principle of student participation by veto.

Such activity will undoubtedly challenge the present establishment, as the case of the Shibaura College of Engineering has revealed. Only when our faculty has shown by direct action its willingness to resist the state power will they gain the trust of the students of the Zenkyōtō. Many difficult problems still remain to be discussed and solved. The responsibility of the faculty for having failed to act as true educators has been exposed. We have confused the processing of information with true scholarship. We have acted as if scholarship were a personal possession or private hobby, unable to realize how this attitude alienated our students. We have not fostered creativity and imaginativeness through true dialogue. Consequently we have no other way left to go but the road of radical self-negation, returning to the essential starting-point and questioning our own existence at its very roots. We have no idea where this road may lead us. But if we actually seek an autonomous university and true freedom to learn, there can be no other way.



INTAGLIO: ONLOOKERS

RODNEY FREW

We are today being driven both to speak and to live as true witnesses. Moreover we are being made to realize how existential is the commitment that such a situation requires. To witness (*marturein*) is the original meaning of the word "martyr." To witness to true self-negation and to a return to the "essential point" requires of us the resolution to "die." If we fear to be martyrs we cannot be witnesses to the truth. A true witness cannot live according to his own purposes, but only by self-negation. Insofar as we profess, as university people, to be seekers after, or witnesses to, the truth, we are committed to that way of self-negation, that return to the essential point, even at the risk of death. Without that commitment how else can we qualify to talk about truth? No, not *about* truth. We have to witness *to* truth, with everything—body and spirit—that we are. The expression, "personal identity is the only truth," in such a context takes on added and serious meaning.

I have made use of a daring, and perhaps even dangerous, illustration in order to examine the radical question that has been forced on our attention. Truth is always proclaimed by ordeal and suffering. The non-truth

INTAGLIO: EIN IX

WALTER EARL



of the Nazis was revealed by the blood of millions of butchered Jews and brought into harsh relief by the death of Bonhoeffer. The non-truth of white supremacy was corroborated by the blood of Martin Luther King. The non-truth, the inhumanity, of monopoly capitalist imperialism has been made manifest by the bitter struggles of the Vietnamese people, amidst blasting and burning to death; amidst putrefaction and torture.

Behind all these ghastly sufferings of mankind we Christians see the passion on the cross. We quail before the harshness and severity of the world's history. And once more we are made to feel the depth and breadth and height of the range that is covered by those words, "self-negation," and "return to the essential starting-point." For this "starting-point" lays bare even the most inward and hidden realities of life. As was already proclaimed concerning Jesus long ago, "This child is destined to be a sign which men reject; . . . Many in Israel will stand or fall because of him, and thus *the secret thoughts of many will be laid bare.*" [Luke ii. 34-35]

Now is the time when the campus struggles that began with Todai are forcing the secret thoughts of every one of us into the open. This is the decisive time, the *kairos*. What a depth of symbolism and meaning it reflects, that it all began as an incident which shook the very foundations of that year of hollow festivity, the Meiji Centennial! At the time when a

century of aggression and robbery was being hidden under euphemisms like progress and prosperity, it was Tōdai—which had provided the manpower for that century of domination—that laid bare its desolation, both within and without. The event shook Nichidai, true ally of the provincial capitalists; it engulfed in ever-increasing struggle more than seventy campuses all over the country. Truly a moving and symbolic happening!

In the passion of Christ hope becomes active by the proclamation of the resurrection. The resurrection life overcomes even real suffering. Certainly the struggles at Tōdai will continue in new and deeper dimensions, nor can the fight at Nichidai be brought to an end at once. The battles at Meiji Gakuin and all the other universities throughout the land that call themselves "Christian" must be carried to their ultimate conclusions. The Mutual Security Pact has to be destroyed and the campaign for national defense smashed. The movement for civil rights must be developed with more persistence and the criminal war in Vietnam denounced more furiously. The Vietnamese People's Liberation Front must win. The creed of violence of the superpowers, whether of East or West, must be repudiated. To accomplish all this the awakened peoples of the world must unite. For the sake of justice, life and freedom, we have to tread the way of radical self-negation, always keeping our eyes



PAINTING

BERK CHAPPELL

on the essential starting-point. Striving, mind and body, toward the promised future, we must make trial of concrete acts which will express our faith and hope and love.

Remember Jesus' warning:

Everyone, therefore, who listens to this teaching of mine and acts upon it, will be like a sensible man who built his house on a rock. And the rain fell, and the rivers rose, and the winds blew, and beat about that house, and it did not go down, for its foundations were on rock. And anyone who listens to this teaching of mine and does not act upon it, will be like a foolish man who built his house on sand. And the rain fell, and the rivers rose, and the winds blew and beat about that house, and it went down, and its downfall was complete. (Matthew vii. 24-27)

Let us reject every alliance of egoism. Let us follow the way of self-negation revealed just once so clearly. Let us return to the essential starting-point. Let us work for the creation of a truly new personal identity. ■

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A Question

Editors' note: No doubt, you have been reading a good deal about ecology in other publications. This vital, all-encompassing subject has been receiving increasing attention as the dimensions of environmental deterioration and population stresses appear more and more as a crisis in an economic, political and ethical system.

We have asked Senator Gaylord Nelson to highlight a small portion of this enormous subject in order to do two things. First, we wished to note the occurrence of a National Teach-In scheduled for April 22. We realize this is only a small step, but, as a Japanese student once said, all important movements begin with baby steps.

Second, we wish to announce that the April and May issues will focus on the subject of ecology. We will not belabor the "deterioration" aspects of the crisis to any lengthy extent; there are many other publications doing this task already. Rather, we are putting together a "what you can do" issue, as well as discussing the radical question of the *meaning* of this environmental crisis in relation to the American system of institutions.

There will also be a generous treatment of ecology by artists, poets and cartoonists.

In all, the April and May issues will be designed to facilitate organizing. We hope the April issue will be helpful to groups participating in the National Teach-In.

of Priorities

by GAYLORD NELSON

The planet earth is the only known body in the solar system capable of supporting life. And each day, the vital life supporting resources of the earth are severely strained by an indifferent society with misplaced priorities.

Concerned scientists and environmentalists have been issuing Cassandra warnings that the reckless pollution and destruction of the planet are in a crisis state, rapidly approaching disaster and survival.

Dr. Paul Ehrlich, a noted ecologist, recently wrote a chilling magazine article about the seemingly limitless capacity of the seas as an ideal dumping spot for the waste of our society. He predicted that the oceans are facing imminent destruction by a society with its priorities on progress, war and space, with virtually nothing spent to improve the quality of or preserve natural resources.

The irony of Ehrlich's projection—that the oceans may be finished within 10 years as a source of food protein—grotesquely defies the scientific dreams that the oceans, with fish farms and undersea gardens, would feed a future world jammed and starving by unchecked population growth.

Never in the history of the human race has man been as close to extinction as he is today. Each year, new species of animals are added to the list of disappearing animals known as "endangered species." And each year, man watches the list grow, knows his wanton disregard for nature is the cause, but still feels that some sacrifices must be made for progress. He forgets, however, that eventually man will find himself included on the list of "endangered species."

Man cannot escape. Day after day, the thin coating of air that surrounds the earth is mixed with the poisonous smoke, soot and fumes of the belching smokestacks and sleek vehicles of an industrial, successful society.

The rivers and lakes of the planet are the dumping grounds of all the byproduct wastes of progress and indifference. And since the waters of the world are really the life bloodstreams of earth, then their destruction is destruction for all.

The real loser to man's irresponsibility is the youth of the world, who stand to inherit an ugly world their elders have left for them—a world of deadly, polluted air and water, overcrowded development and an insufficient amount of open space to get away from the pressures of a congested society.

Because youth has the most to lose, the only hope for saving the environment will depend on the energy, idealism, and drive of the oncoming generation to demand that the national priorities are not billions for war machines or space adventure, but billions for making earth a livable place.

To help marshal such a direction of that effort, I have proposed a National Teach-In on the Crisis of the Environment that will have students, scientists, politicians, community leaders and citizens meet on April 22 for a massive educational effort.

On that day, it is hoped that the campus groups will focus public opinion on national and local environmental problems, make necessary steps to protect the environment, and take the leadership in making the quality of life a matter of first priority to the country and the world. ■

the RICH and the POOR in THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

about the author:

One hot day a few summers ago, Tom Boomershine came bounding into my office. He was directing a drama workshop for Neighborhood Youth Corps trainees, and they had just gone through the first complete performance of an original review entitled "East Harlem Swings." With great exuberance, he announced, "Mel, I've just made a great discovery—all drama is religious!" "Tom," I replied in shocked tones, "remember who's paying your salary and you'll discover that no drama is religious!"

This little episode tells something about Tom Boomershine and how he lives and moves and has his being as a servant of Christ. First, he is a man of talent, appreciating the rich cultural heritage of mankind and able to contribute to it. Second, he is a man of enthusiasm, finding life exciting and full of discoveries. Third, he is a man of perception, able to see the activity of God in the commonplace as well as the unusual. Perhaps one could say he is not always politically prudent, but finally one must say that he is a man of courage, unafraid and unashamed to proclaim the good news of God's gracious activity in the affairs of men to all who will listen, sympathetically or not.

—MELVIN E. SCHOONOVER, New York City

by Tom Boomershine

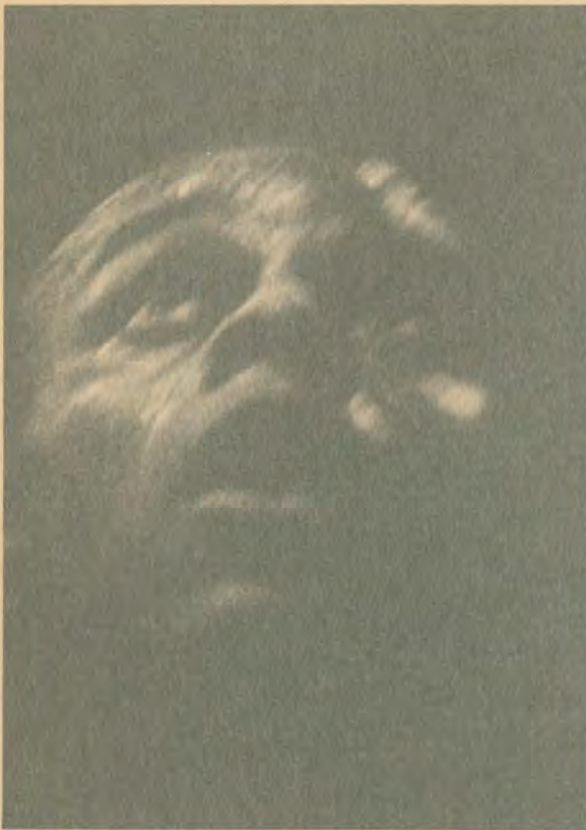
PHOTOGRAPH

GLEN PEARCY



Theological education is in trouble. The number of students preparing for the ministry is steadily declining. Many who begin quit after one or two years. Some seminaries have already closed. There have been many explanations for this fact: secularism, scientifically oriented culture, the minister as a generalist in an age of specialists, a decline in belief in God. The thesis of this article is that theological education in the United States has become separated from its own tradition by orienting its life style and general policy of action around the middle and upper economic classes rather than around poor people. The problem with theological education is that it has become divorced from the power which gave it birth, Jesus and the early Church, whose ministry was primarily oriented around the poor. This is then an attempt to criticize theological education from a Christian understanding of the force that governs life and death. The evidence comes from a series of events last spring at Union Theological Seminary.

A brief summary of what happened: the events at Union grew out of James Forman's presentation of the demands of the Black Economic Development Conference (hereafter the BEDC) for \$500 million in reparations from the churches at Riverside Church on May 4, 1969. On May 11th Riverside Church responded. Students at Union who were supporting Forman went to President John C. Bennett that evening and asked for an immediate meeting with the Board of Directors to consider the following demands: 1) that the Board of Directors endorse the principle of the Black Manifesto; 2) that the faculty and Board of Directors give \$100,000 from their own personal resources to the BEDC; 3) that the Board of Directors raise from the endowments and other sources \$1,000,000 for the BEDC. President Bennett said that such a meeting was impossible, whereupon the students occupied the administration building that Sunday evening and held it all day Monday. When it was agreed on Monday evening by the Board that a meeting would be held on Thursday night, the students moved out of the administration building. For the next three days there were intensive discussions within the student body and the faculty, as well as worship services, during which more than \$5,000 in cash and more than \$10,000 in pledges were collected for the BEDC from the students and some of the faculty. Finally, on Thursday night, after a three-hour meeting with the students and a four-hour discussion in a closed-door meeting, the Board committed itself to raise \$1,000,000 and to ask each member of the Board to contribute to a fund, these monies to be distributed (with some qualifications) under policies to be determined by the black community of Union. The Board also decided to reinvest \$500,000 of endowments as loans to black enterprises in Harlem. The students replied, "You have not met our demands!" And walked out. In the next five



PHOTOGRAPH

BRUCE MISFELDT

days, more seminary-wide discussions were held to decide whether it was essential for the seminary to endorse directly and commit itself to the support of the BEDC. It was decided that the Board's action would not be actively resisted for fear that the total action would be rescinded; but a strong protest was lodged at the regular Board meeting on the following Tuesday, Commencement Day.

So the question is raised: how can an unprecedented action of this sort be called the symptom of a sickness within the institutional life of theological education? A closer examination of two of those evenings will help to clarify the situation. The first happened on Tuesday night, the day after the occupation of the administration building. The evening began as an open meeting attended primarily by students who had occupied the building to discuss strategy for the meeting with the Board, worship for the seminary community,

and publicity to other seminaries. Earlier that afternoon there had been discussion of the Manifesto, tactics, theological issues, etc., and the evening meeting followed that pattern. The discussion went on and on, increasingly involving technicalities, definition of terms, and petty theological arguments. Finally Cain Felder, a black B.D. senior who had emerged as the leader of the group, gave a report from the committee which had been projecting strategy for the meeting with the Board. Suddenly in the middle of his presentation he was unable to continue; he stood in silence for a while and then walked out. The black students followed him. The meeting was temporarily over. Nobody knew what had happened.

The black students called a meeting of the group that night. The front of the chapel was crowded with more than a hundred students, sitting on kneeling cushions, lying on the floor and standing in the choir loft. The black students told one by one what had happened. They had left because they were deeply disturbed at what was happening in the group, but they were not able to explain why until they had talked among themselves for a while. Two major themes from their statements stand out in my memory. First, they sensed that the rest of the group did not realize how important this action was and how seriously it had to be taken. For the first time, a "liberal" theological seminary was faced with a stern demand from within to contribute major amounts of capital to the black community. If the seminary acted, it would be an important precedent not only for other seminaries but for Protestantism in general. Second, they realized that there was a difference in levels of commitment within the group. They told about their lives before coming to Union and their dreams for the future. Each expressed his commitment to see this action through to its conclusion regardless of the cost, whether it be a fine, expulsion from the seminary, graduation, the draft or imprisonment. They were ready to lay everything on the line as part of what it meant for them to be Christians. But many of the other students were clearly not ready to risk that much. They asked the rest of the group to say where they stood.

An incredible night followed. Until 5:00 a.m. young men and women stood up and told about their lives; their guilts and their loyalties; and they made a decision. The emotional level was high; there were long periods of silence. Many honestly admitted that they had reservations that were too serious and left. Others stayed. Some people were almost incoherent;

some of the obvious white hang-ups about blacks were disturbing. But that night a group of people wrestled with what it meant to be a Christian and a human being in relation to a concrete social issue. And on that Tuesday evening, theological education became more than a set of propositions or a discussion about "profound" theological issues; it became a commitment for poor people, and for most of the students, to the Christian faith. The black students had cut through the morass of theological speculation to the issues of faith, commitment and discipleship. Nevertheless, I later heard from two different members of the faculty that this kind of "pentecostalism" had more profoundly alienated many members of the faculty from the students involved in the action than any other event during that week, including the occupation of the administration building. That response on the part of some members of the faculty is a profoundly disturbing insight into their concept of theological education.

On Thursday evening, May 15th, the climactic meeting with the Board of Directors took place. It was held in the living room of President Bennett's apartment. The Board intended that it be a cordial conversation. But we asked for tables for our materials and grouped ourselves at one end of the room. Our initial presentations recounted the events of the week and some personal experiences which had brought us to this meeting. We sharply focused the essential issue; that the seminary commit \$1,000,000 to the BEDC for black economic development, with black control of its use. Later in the meeting another woman from our group documented how a large percentage of the seminary's major endowment funds had been derived from fortunes made in cotton in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The responses of the Board members were mixed.

A few were quite positive. Most agreed that it was a good idea and went on to describe what had already been done, or why it was impossible to do more. A few said that they definitely opposed the seminary either raising or giving funds for black economic development or anything else outside of the seminary itself. In their view, the Board of Directors was responsible for the development of Union Theological Seminary and nothing more. There was considerable argumentation back and forth between the two groups. On both sides and for every individual in that room, a lot was at stake. The general response of the Board was sufficiently negative, so we were certain the answer would be a flat refusal. When we left, we were in despair.

We had asked the Board to inform us that night of their decision and told them that we would be in Lampman Chapel. A few of us started singing hymns. The group grew and soon the chapel was filled with students spontaneously singing hymns. That in itself is a notable event. But, even more unusual, the words of those old hymns suddenly came alive and we were aware of being a part of a great tradition. Phrases like

Not alone for mighty empires, not for conquests of the sword,

But for conquests of the Spirit, give we thanks to Thee, O Lord.

and

Riches we heed not, nor man's empty praise,

Thou mine inheritance now and always

rang with a kind of integrity and power that was genuinely surprising to this group of often cynical seminary students. Interspersed through the singing were shouts; "Yea, that's the way it is!" "Sock it to 'em," "That's it, baby," and "Right on!" Students came from all over the seminary to join the singing and to argue about which song would be next. It was a beautiful time. And it went on until 2:45.

Our group returned. Mr. John Irwin II, the chairman of the Board, read the resolution:



ROHN ENGH

PHOTOGRAPH

The Board of Directors of Union Theological Seminary affirms the imperative at this moment in history of black economic development under black control and expresses its gratitude for what it believes to be the movement of the Spirit upon the Seminary community on this issue.

To express its commitment to this imperative and to express its further concerns, the Board takes the following actions: 1. To ask each member of the Board to express his personal concern by making a gift to the seminary through a special fund, the use of which to be determined by the black community of the Seminary, through a committee composed entirely of black students, faculty, alumni and Directors. 2. To recognize our particular obligation to our neighboring community by investing \$500,000 of endowment funds in black enterprises in Harlem. 3. To endeavor to raise at least \$1,000,000 as special funds to finance the involvement of the whole Seminary community in projects directly related to the life of the people in the surrounding area, under policies to be determined by the black community of the Seminary, through a committee composed entirely of black students, faculty, alumni and Directors.



JACK CORN

PHOTOGRAPH

As I listened, the singing echoed around the seminary quadrangle and into the room. Outside were the dim lights on the lawn, the quiet of the early morning and the powerful singing. Inside we were listening to a resolution from the Board of Directors of one of the major Protestant theological seminaries in this country committing major funds to black economic development. I remember thinking: "In this setting they had to do something." Indeed the Board had recognized what had happened: ". . . the movement of the Spirit upon the Seminary community." But we had agreed that if they did not do what we had asked (we had assumed they would do nothing) our spokesman would state the obvious: "You have not met our demands." And we would leave. Since they had refused to give the money to the BEDC, that is what we did.

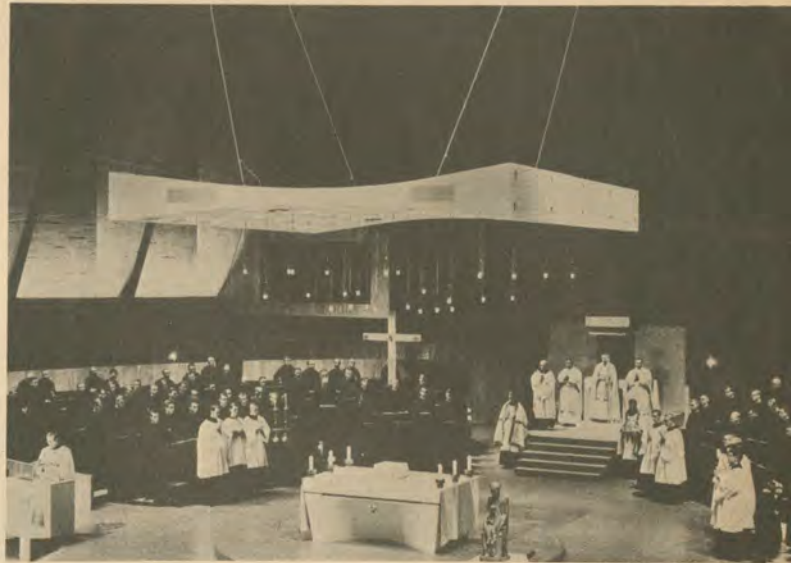
The essential issue was that of control and in fact the Board's action kept the major control within the institution of the seminary. The reaction of the black students reflected this fact in that they were unanimously opposed to this mechanism. They did not want control given to them because it would put them in a difficult position in the black community as well as in the seminary community.

It is an old issue: the problem with the Board's action can be seen in its similarity to the policies of 19th century colonialism. Demands for control by nationals became unavoidable. Control was given to the nationals who had been educated in the homeland because they were far more susceptible to being controlled by those in the homeland. Control was not given to national organizations run by and for nationals because it was assumed that any hope of controlling policy would thereby be lost and the money would be misused. The most frequent result of this pattern of action, however, has been to undercut the credibility of those nationals who

have been educated in the homeland with their own people, thereby eliminating them from positions of leadership. Thus, the overall result has been precisely the opposite of what had been hoped. The more productive pattern has been to give aid directly to national organizations and allow the nationals who have been educated to emerge as leaders with their credibility intact and without any binding obligations to the colonizing country.

Likewise black control will never be a reality in the U.S. until it is given to blacks who are not obligated to white institutions; indeed, obligation to white institutions is probably the major problem for most black institutions today. Control must be given to black institutions which are free to be responsible first and foremost to black people. The importance of the BEDC is that it has the potential to be such an institution. And through institutions of this sort the best leaders, some of whom will be those who have been educated at places like Union, will be able to maintain positions of viable leadership in the black community and the funds given really will be spent in the best interests of black people. For example, it is most unlikely that an organization controlled by blacks would decide that the first priority for its projects of black economic development would be to involve the students and faculty of a seminary. But the request of the students that the money be given to a black institution was denied and the control given to the blacks who are a part of a white institution, Union Theological Seminary. This was the major reason for the strong protest of the students at the mechanism established by the Board.

These events brought into focus some of the pervasive realities about theological education which are by no means solely limited to Union. Rather these events point to some of the basic characteristics of theological institutions throughout the United States. Consider, for example, the location and general atmosphere of theological seminaries. They are found in areas that were, at least originally, wealthy,



usually in the suburbs or in the country. They were constructed as a refuge from the world, far more similar to a millionaire's estate than to a slum.

As a result, the style of life of a theological seminary approximates that of the upper class, with its premium on leisure time and detachment from the world. The language of theological study is highly abstract in content, rational in its manner of presentation (whether oral or written), and restrained in tone. Such language is certainly not characteristic of the victims of the dominant class. The literature produced by theological education has its primary orientation toward the world of scholarship and is almost never directed to the poor—except to use them as “examples.” The faculty of theological institutions are keenly professional and technically proud men whose life-style is that of the scholarly community which, while not overwhelmingly wealthy, is at least that of the upper middle-class. Thus, for example, a period of foreign travel and study is an important credential for the best positions in the best theological seminaries and is a frequent part of most faculty members' lives. Seminary students are primarily the children of the middle and upper classes; it is still very difficult for a black man or, for that matter, a white man from a poor family, to be admitted into a seminary. The major reason is that admission invariably demands a college education. Thus the seminaries can plead that it is really the fault of a college education. But it is an empty plea.



INTAGLIO: SKETCHBOOK

BOB PELFREY

Finally, consider the Board of Directors. A Board is composed with few exceptions of business executives, ecclesiastical executives, ministers to wealthy congregations and wives of both businessmen and clergy in similar positions. Each member's prime credential is close contact with persons who control large amounts of capital; they are the seminary's liaison to the upper class. This is largely for fund-raising purposes, but since the Board is also the final policy-making body for theological education, the orientation of theological education to the upper class should come as no surprise. Policy making groups determine the basic direction of an institution.

In general then, theological education operates within the basic framework of graduate school education in America. It is a creation of the middle-upper economic class, run under policies determined by the upper class in order to serve the institutions of the middle and upper class. The leadership of the black students, and their ability to cut through the confusion and confront first their fellow students and the seminary itself, was partly a result of their being able to see the seminary from a different perspective, the perspective of black people. The scandal of the faculty at a manifestation of an emotionalistic and confessional type of religious experience that

is often characteristic of the poor is deplorable, but perfectly understandable. Furthermore, the concern of many of the members of the Board to avoid alienating the seminary's upper-class constituency is only the other side of its lack of concern about continually alienating the poorer classes and minorities throughout its history. The Board's fear of giving control of significant funds into the hands of blacks is likewise natural, given its position. That is, the events described above make sense within the framework of an institution which is primarily oriented to the wealthier white classes.

How is this pattern of theological education to be evaluated? Being a doctoral student in New Testament, perhaps I inevitably see contemporary situations in relation to parallel situations in the first century. But after all, the New Testament should loom as large as stock market reports to Christians. For the purposes of this discussion, three different styles of theological education can be isolated in the first century: those of the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the followers of Jesus. The Sadducees were a priestly group closely allied to the upper class. The education of a young



WOODCUT: CRUSADE OF THE PSEUDO-SOULS

NELSON OESTREICH

Sadducee prepared him to relate to the Hellenistic rulers of Palestine as well as to perform ritual and legal functions in the Jewish community. Sadducean attitudes toward the lower classes ran from paternalism to disdain. The language in which they were trained was highly sophisticated; their communities were so isolated within the wealthy sections of the major urban area, Jerusalem, that they were largely able to ignore the needs of the poor, although being responsible for the distribution of some charities through the Temple. As a result they were politically and doctrinally conservative. Their basic orientation was always to the past.

The Pharisees drew students from the middle class (though very rarely from the poor) and these students had to have a certain gift intellectually, since a major part of their training involved fantastic amounts of memorization. However, they oriented their movement toward the lower classes far more than the Sadducees. They were primarily responsible for the expansion of the synagogue which was designed to educate everyone in the fundamentals of the Torah. As a result, their training was to a much greater degree oriented toward the needs of the common people. Therefore, they were politically and doctrinally much more flexible in their function as religious

judges and were inclined to be more lenient than the Sadducees. They were very critical of the upper classes and especially of the Sadducees. The Pharisees as a movement were extremely concerned about cultic purity and the observance of the Law; they were men who were "separated." Thus, although their basic patterns of social relationship were quite different from those of the Sadducees, they were, for reasons of cultic purity in accordance with the Law, unwilling to associate with those who did not observe the dietary laws or the laws of ritual washings, those who collected taxes for the Romans, or those who were openly criminals. The result was an inevitable aloofness on the part of the Pharisaic groups from "the people of the land." But they were far less tied to the upper classes than the Sadducees.

The three-year course in theological education Jesus conducted for his disciples stands in marked contrast to both the Sadducean and Pharisaic schools. His students were recruited almost exclusively from the poor. They were selected, at least in part, because they were willing to give up everything—home, family, fortune, stability—in order to share in His ministry. Primarily they did things—healing, teaching, caring for people's needs—and then retreated into the wilderness for periods of

reflection. They probably studied The Old Testament to understand and interpret what was happening. Their exegetical work was carried on in the most intimate relationship to the events that were happening to them. The people to whom the disciples learned to relate were primarily the poor and the language that they learned equipped them to communicate effectively with the common people. Thus, Jesus' theological "school" was composed of poor people, conducted in the midst of poor people, and took its basic life-style from poor people.

Why did Jesus orient his teaching to the poor? And why did both he and the early Church, which to some degree continued his mission, receive their primary response from poor people? Jesus proclaimed the coming of a government into the world, the Kingdom of God, which judged people not by their wealth or their wisdom but by their love for God and for their fellowmen. Indeed, wealth was a problem for a positive relationship to God and to one's fellows. For that reason he advised the rich young man to give it up. His proclamation was that true blessedness would follow not from the accumulation of material wealth but from the treasures of the spirit. Thus, poor people were more open to participation in Jesus' movement than the rich, and he was particularly, though not exclusively, concerned about relating to the poor.

Seen from the perspective of the New Testament, how does contemporary theological education look? In most ways, seminaries in our day are close to the Sadducean style of life. The social and economic orientation, the style of language and the relationship to the poor are similar. The Pharisaic concern about relating the basic teachings of the religion to the common people finds a parallel in certain theological institutions; moreover their separation from those who are "unclean" is also present now. Therefore, Jesus' condemnation of the unwillingness of the religious establishment of his day to associate with prostitutes, robbers, addicts or just plain poor people, rather than executives, eminent scholars, important politicians or other members of the controlling class, stands in judgment on us just as much as it did of them. In no major way is there a parallel between the dominant style and direction of theological education today and the style and direction of Jesus' ministry.

This diagnosis of theological education,

therefore, finds that it has affirmed Jesus Christ as its Lord and as the center of its beliefs, but has taken the models of "this world" and, more specifically, the economically and politically dominant classes as its guide for action. In this, theological education today is no different than the rest of graduate and professional education in America. Graduate and professional education does not affirm Jesus Christ as Lord, and theological education does not live it. By orienting its life around the economically dominant, which is to say, white America, theological education has accepted the basic values of that class. In that sense, it is in radical discontinuity with the ministry of Jesus and the early Church. Assuming that Jesus does reveal what God is like and that he has accurately shown us the shape of the age which is breaking in upon us and to which we must relate ourselves if we want to live, the basic direction for theological education is clear. It must disassociate its goals and modes of action from the values and needs of the upper class and derive them instead from the values of early Christianity and the needs of the poor. In the light of this diagnosis, the Board of Directors' action is a significant event in the recent history of theological education. It is the first step in the direction away from a relationship to the world which has developed over almost 200 years in American theological education. It was a halting step but, in spite of all criticism, this action could become a decisive turn in a new and right direction. The task now is to move

BROTHER JUDE

DRAWING



decisively in that new direction. Given the alienation that presently exists between theological education and the poor, there are two ways of improving that relationship: 1) for poor people to become a part of the institutions of theological education, and 2) for theological education to relate itself to the institutions of poor people.

First of all, then, poor people should be included in every part of theological education. There should be poor people on the Board of Directors, on the faculty, and in the student body. There are specific problems which need to be raised in relation to each of these groups, which have implications for all seminaries.

1) *The Board of Directors.* At present one of the major reasons a Board of Directors is composed of people from the upper class and their clerical representatives is for fund-raising purposes. This is a valid concern. But the Board of Directors is also the group which determines basic policy for theological education. This function should not be carried out by people who represent only one socio-economic group. A solution would be for these two functions to be separated. The Board of Directors as the major policy-making body should be composed of a broadly representative group of Christian clergy and laymen, rich and poor. A significant commitment would be to replace one-third of the present Board with representatives from the poor. The present Board could continue in its fund-raising role as presently constituted as a separate committee of the Board of Directors.

2) *The Faculty.* In terms of the actual lifestyle and implementation of policy, the faculty is the most important group in the life of theological education. One of the constituting definitions of a faculty member is expertise in increasingly narrow and technical areas of academic study. The result of this criterion for a teacher is to place primary emphasis on academic information as the product of theological education. It is a critical situation when the only students who have models in seminary education are those who plan to be theological professors themselves. Faculty should be selected for various types of expertise, of which academic excellence would be one. But another could be extensive and intimate experience in, for example, the cultures of poverty throughout the world and an ability to tell graphically the stories and explain the dynamics of the relationship between Christian faith and that world. A per-

son like one of the disciples could never have made it as a teacher in either one of the scribal schools of his day; even Paul would have been excluded. And yet these men were the teachers who founded the Church. What were their qualifications? Not great learning, but commitment, experience, verbal acumen. In one sense their situation was unique; there has been only one Jesus Christ. But men like them today have a lot to teach the rest of the church, and are presently excluded from any teaching role.

I speak here from personal experience. As a seminary student associated with Union Theological Seminary off and on since 1962, I can honestly say that I have learned as much about the meaning and style of life of the Christian faith from a few of the members of the churches I have served in East Harlem and on the west side of Chicago as I have from my professors. It is imperative, in my judgment, that theological education find some way of making this kind of teaching without academic degrees an integral and required part of theological education. Christian theological education must divorce itself from exclusive allegiance to the standards of academia. And coincidentally, the best check to paternalism is the recognition that the man you treated as a child has a lot to teach you.

3) *The student body.* The events of the past spring have provided concrete evidence for the conviction that a larger number of black and poor white students would be a major benefit to theological education. Some steps have been taken in recent years to admit more blacks, but few of them are from poor families. Most poor students, black and white, will never qualify according to present admission requirements. The requirements for admission must be made more flexible and special programs for support and assistance to the students who have been the victims of our educational system must be established as a regular part of theological education programs. In this area, theological education is behind its university counterparts in some fields. In addition to inclusion of poorer students and students who do not meet traditional entrance requirements in the regular programs of theological education, new, special programs are needed. For example, there is a great need for a theological education program which would train the black "deacons" of middle age who are working as assistants, program directors, recreation supervisors, etc. in many lower class churches so that they can become fully ordained pastors. Likewise many uneducated pastors would benefit greatly from a program

of theological education if such programs were available. Theological education must help to meet these needs in poor communities.

Thus, one way of changing the orientation of the seminaries is to make poor people an integral part of their lives as institutions. However, this is unwise if done alone. (A major critique of this article, for example, is that it is primarily concerned about what poor people can do for theological education rather than what it can do for them. In my view the primary reason for including poor people within theological education is to help the institutions more effectively meet the needs of poor people.) Therefore it is even more important for theological education to support and be intimately related to the institutions of poor communities. The action of the Board of Directors at Union is a step in that direction. Seminaries can help to strengthen indigenous institutions which are working for social and economic development. The decision to loan \$500,000 of endowment funds to black enterprises is an important beginning. The commitment of significant capital funds is even more important. In taking these actions, theological seminaries must also attempt to make clear to other ecclesiastical and educational institutions the reasons for their action and encourage them to take similar steps. A second major area in which seminaries can help is to provide or arrange professional consultants for these organizations. But in these actions, theological institutions must commit themselves to give up control of the decision-making process by which the money is spent. The control must be in the hands of the members of the poor communities. Funds are needed to finance the involvement of the people themselves in projects for economic development far more than to finance the involvement of the seminaries in such projects. A large number of seminary students and professors working in black communities will not solve the problems of black economic development. The task of theological education, and the Church which it serves, is to act in the interests of other institutions than itself. It is called to be a servant of the poor.

The giving of substantial funds need not exclude, however, increased involvement on the part of the members of seminary communities in poor communities. A year of field work, or even better, of actual residence in a poor community, is an important educational experience for any middle or upper class

student. Members of the faculty and the Board of Directors would be far more capable of leading the seminary community in this new direction if they had some structured non-leadership relationship to the poor at some point in their experience. The striking parallel between the relationship of the Sadducees to the lower classes in the first century and the relationship between the religious leaders of our seminaries and the poor in the twentieth century must force us to find some way to break out of that disastrous alienation.

These are only suggestions of possible directions for action which are intended primarily to provide a starting point for concrete discussion in particular situations. The first event, however, must be a resolute commitment to change the direction of theological education not unlike the commitment which the students made on that Tuesday night at Union. It is a decision of discipleship to Jesus Christ which requires that we be willing to give up everything—families, salaries, sabbaticals, seclusion, possessions, buildings—for the sake of the Kingdom of God. We must be ready to go where the Spirit leads us. And such a decision would involve considerable institutional and personal cost.

The alienation of contributing members of the wealthy from a policy of this sort would reduce funds, as would the diversion of funds to economic development for the poor. The result would inevitably be a reduction in faculty salaries. Extensive scholarships to poorer students would mean that graduate and B.D. scholarships would have to be reduced. Part of this reorientation would mean that theological education and the people involved in it would be poorer. Seminaries would also become much less peaceful places as the problems which plague the poor became more intimately the seminaries' problems. Such a reorientation might mean that theological education would die in its present form. Perhaps this will be necessary. But Jesus told the truth and his prediction directly applies to the situation of theological education today: "He who finds his life will lose it and he who loses his life for my sake will find it." ■

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GOD IS A ROCK

by Dan O'Neill

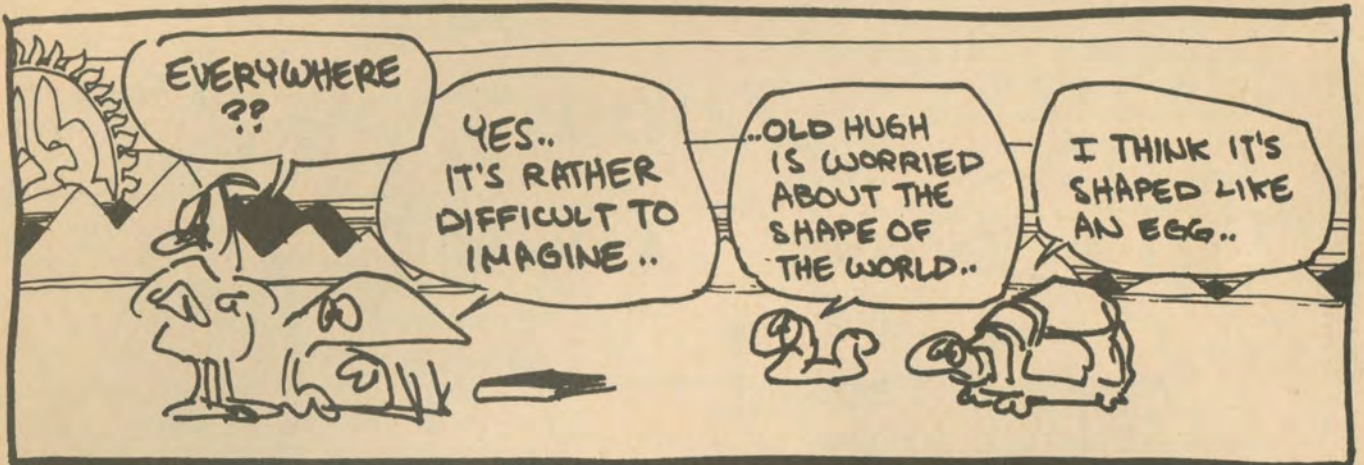
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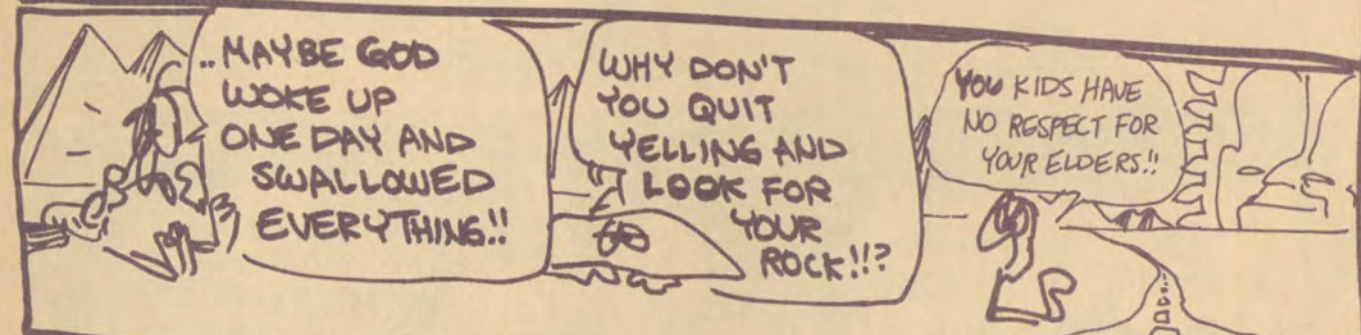
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The REGION of the DAMNED

by Stan Steiner

about the author:

A few years ago, returning to New York City from one of his frequent trips to the Navajo country, Stan Steiner was greeted by his young son with the usual question: "What did you bring me, Daddy?" The gift was not a gaily-wrapped package to be impatiently opened, but instead a story to be read and re-read about a Navajo boy and his horse. The tale was so warmly received that the child immediately asked his father: "When are you going to have it published?" The reply was the appearance in print of "The Last Horse," a children's book, beautifully illustrated by a well-known Navajo artist, Beatien Yazz.

We relate this anecdote for it illustrates clearly there are no generation or culture gaps between Stan Steiner and the youth he knows so well and the minority groups of whose problems and dreams he writes so forcefully and sympathetically. He inspires confidence, trust and friendship through his patience, his sensitivity, and perhaps above all his ability to truly listen. We have seen his capacity for anger, too, with people who depreciate the feelings and aspirations of others of minority cultures.

With the skill of a sensitive poet, and the understanding of a dedicated human being, he is able to take the innermost thoughts of a person, mold them, translate them into poetic phrases, and return them to that person, who then can say: "Yes, that's how it is!"

—JENNY VINCENT, San Cristobal, New Mexico

W. R. LIDH



WOODCUT: HARVEST SCENE

From the forthcoming book, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (Harper and Row, \$8.50). Copyrighted © 1970 by Stan Steiner.

On the empty streets of Rio Grande City, Texas, a gray dust covers everything, like a patina of death. The faces of the people are as gray as the walls. In the old cowboy hotels and empty bars, with their antique and wheezing fans, no one talks to a stranger.

"It's a town of ghosts," a gaunt man says. He is called "The Skeleton" by some.

"Who haunts it?" he is asked.

"The devil," says the gaunt man, "or maybe the Texas Rangers."

Gilbert Padilla, a taut and intense farm worker from sunny California, had come to the region of the damned to lead the *huelga* of the cantaloupe pickers and to organize the Farm Workers Union if he could. No one in this "feudal town," as Padilla calls it, has ever organized a union, and the *huelga* will be lost in beatings, jailings, and fear.

"We are afraid," a migrant worker says. His look is part of the death.

In the yard of his union office, the rotting house of a campesino, Padilla looks at the dusty town, the muddy street where the scraggly chickens peck futilely at the dry, caked tire tracks. "Cesar Chavez said to me, 'There's some problem in Texas. Go and see what's wrong.' That was in January, 1967. I have been here ever since." He smiles so slightly that his lips hardly quiver. "We do have 'some problem.' One problem we have is that the Rio Grande Valley is still in the Middle Ages. South Texas is a place of lords and serfs. Or maybe slaves."

A bony cow munches weeds in the wreckage of a junked car. Barking dogs fight over garbage. In bare feet a little girl in sackcloth plays in the mud of the road. Her lips and feet are covered with sores. It looks like any town in Mexico, without the exuberance and bright colors. Nowhere in the United States are there more dead and decayed towns than those of the farm workers in the beautiful valley of the Rio Grande.

"This is the poorest place in the whole country," says Froben Lozada, a local school-teacher.

Clusters of shacks in the hidden edges of the fields resemble the back country of Guatemala. These are the edges of the colonies, of the poor. Unseen from the highways, the *colonias* are ignored by the towns and counties; they are less tended than the town dump.

An ordinary *colonia*, like any other, is that of Madero (Timber). It is a cross between a Hooverville of the Depression and an Indian village of a century ago.

In a thicket of bushes and trees are huts built of straw and mud, old boards, and road signs. Some of the huts have outhouses. Some have compost heaps in the bushes. Flies swarm by the thousands. On the abandoned cars, where children sleep, chickens squat. Under the trees are old beds with sagging mattresses. There is no room in the huts. There are no stoves. In the winter the people burn wood in washtubs and carry the ashes and coals into the huts for warmth when the temperature drops below freezing, as it often does.

Across the Rio Grande in Mexico it is the same. Carlos Nuno, an engineer employed by the Mexican Government in the bordertown of Reynosa, tells the conference that 50 per cent of the houses in Mexico have "only one room, 60 per cent lack water, and 39 per cent have no windows." Nuno might be describing any of the *colonias* of Texas.



WOODCUT: DECISIONS

KRIS HOTVEDT

Half of the "houses" in the Lower Rio Grande Valley—46 per cent—have neither plumbing nor hot water, estimates Professor Claude Arenas, of the Department of City and Regional Planning of the University of Texas. At a conference, "Housing Problems in the Valley," sponsored by several federal, state and local governmental agencies, in the summer of 1968, he tells the audience that 35,000 new houses are needed. But he is pessimistic. "I suspect the situation will get worse. The only question is the rate at which it will get worse."

In the Lower Rio Grande Valley wages have been so depressed they resemble those of the Depression. The random survey of seventy-one farm workers in twelve barrios and *colonias* revealed that forty-six who labored in the cotton and vegetable fields earned 45 to 75 cents an hour; twenty-six received 45 to 50 cents. The cantaloupe harvesters did better, earning 50 to 85 cents an hour, while the skilled tractor drivers were paid 60 to 90 cents an hour. One man, a cantaloupe picker, reported he earned \$1 per hour. His was the highest wage reported. This was in the summer of 1967 when Padilla came to Rio Grande City.

And in Starr County, of which Rio Grande City is the county seat, 75 per cent of the families, in 1960, lived beneath the poverty line of \$3,000 a year. One-third of the families earned less than \$1,000; one-third subsisted on welfare and surplus food.

"Many of the migrant farm workers in the lower Rio Grande Valley were living under conditions close to peonage or slavery," Father

BETTY LA DUKE



LITHOGRAPH: SCARECROW IN THE WIND

Theodore Hesburgh, the chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and president of Notre Dame University, was reported to have said (the *New York Times*, December 13, 1968) after an investigation of the plight of the *colonias*. That winter "180 rural slum villages with no roads or utilities" were studied. Father Hesburgh was appalled. He instructed the Commission's staff to determine whether the federal antipeonage laws were being violated.

Colonias are a separate world. The irony and anger of their names describe them: Blue Town, Ojo de Agua (Eye of the Water, or Whirlpool), Rancho Alegre (Happy Ranch), Campo Alto (High Field), Relampago (Lightning Bolt), La Paloma (The Dove), La Tijera (The Scissors), La Feria (The Fair).

There are dozens of these *colonias* in the valley, and there are hundreds in southwest Texas. Unseen and uncounted, the families that live in these *colonias* are not even statistics.

Into the region of the doomed comes the union of farm workers, and the Migrant Ministry of the Texas Council of Churches. The Reverend Edgar Krueger, a boyish-faced, soft-spoken evangelist of the United Church of Christ, who has worked for eight years in the fields with the migrants, is sent into the valley. He helps found the *Colonias del Valle*, a "weedroot organization," of twenty-three of the poorest *colonias*. He begins a self-help program, to build up the communities. "I really believe in self-determination," the young minister says, "so the people in the *colonia* can speak for themselves."

The *Noticias de las Colonias del Valle* (The News of the Colonies of the Valley), a single mimeographed sheet, is issued by the Reverends Edgar Krueger and Nehemias Garcia, the "migrant ministers." "In some areas 70 to 90 per cent of the people are without work and without money," reports *Noticias*. "The vast majority of farm worker families have no welfare payments, nor any other financial support when they are without work. Farm workers are excluded from unemployment insurance."

When Christmas comes, the men of the *colonias* who are blessed by charity distribute boxes of food to the hungry families: ten pounds of beans and two pounds of lard for every four to eight people, a box of salt, a can of tomato sauce per person, and two cans of milk for each child under the age of two years. It is a "real Christmas spirit," says the *Noticias*.

"It's worse here than on the Mississippi Delta," says the teacher, Froben Lozada, who has lived and taught in both regions. "The people here are poorer than the poorest blacks. And they are even more thoroughly forgotten by the country. Who ever heard of the *colonias* in the East? Who cares about these people? No one! No one!" Unless you live in the *colonias* you cannot imagine "what a hell hole it is," Lozada says.

A woman organizer for the National Farm Workers' Union in the Rio Grande Valley says, "It's hot here. The weather drains all your strength. The water is bad and the scorpions drive me buggy. They have quite a few of them here, as well as rattlesnakes and rats. This evening Ishmael came in with his little kid who had been bitten by a rat. Tamar was bit by a scorpion yesterday."

The lemon-and-blue sky illuminates the *colonias* with brilliant light. Old carcasses of cars become iridescent. In contrast to many colors of the sun, the stately palms, and the lushness of the farms in the valleys, the gray hunger seems even more like death.

Under the palm trees the tourists bask in the sun. Come to vacation amid the "palm-lined citrus groves and fresh vegetables in super-abundance as far as the eye can see,"

DRAWING

JIM GIBSON



says a brochure of the Lower Rio Grande Valley Chamber of Commerce. "This is the Fun Coast of Texas." Civic pride has named it "The Magic Valley." "Ever pick a sweet, juicy, ruby red grapefruit or an orange right off a tree?" asks a tourist come-on.

Froben Lozada says, "It would be more accurate to call it the Tragic Valley."

"The Valley, for all practical purposes, is an underdeveloped country," Professor Claudio Arenas says, ". . . similar in economic problems to African and Asian countries. The best solution for the Valley is to model itself after Puerto Rico, or possibly Israel."

Gilbert Padilla, "the Skeleton," is the appropriate man for this ghostly, forgotten valley. On the Day of the Dead, the union newspaper jokingly printed a *calavera*—"skull song"—dedicated to the lean organizer:

The skeleton came
And said, "What a shame
This poor Gil Padilla
Is so skinny and tame."
But Padilla arose
And gave such a fight
The devil, he said,
"I'll come another night."

On the door of his union office there is a black and red flag. He holds it in his hands. The colors are those of the flag of nonviolence of the *huelga* but without the Aztec eagle; it is just black and red, the colors of anarchy and revolution. Is that what the colors mean?

"Here, I think," Padilla says, looking at the flag carefully, "the red stands for blood and the black stands for death."

At night the silence of a border town is broken by the howl of a dog, or an unknown cry, or a shot. "Loud rapping on the door . . . the shuffling of booted feet on the wooden porch . . . harsh, guttural commands shattering the night stillness . . . the fear that the next gun-butted head will be one's own . . ." Unfamiliar noises in the rural quiet. These are the sounds of the night in the towns of the valley of the Rio Grande, where the Texas Rangers ride forth on what may be their last ride, in the summers of the *huelga*—the strike of the melon pickers.

Late one evening in 1966 four carloads of Texas Rangers pull up abruptly in front of an empty movie house—the old Mexico Theatre—in Rio Grande City. Inside, beside the silent screen and shabby seats, the United Farm

Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) has set up strike headquarters. The melon pickers of the La Casita Farms, one of the country's cornucopias of cantaloupes, have walked out of the fields. For the first time since the "Cowboys Strike" of the turn of the century the bucolic sloth of South Texas is threatened.

Into the dilapidated theater the Rangers burst with leveled shotguns. They hold their weapons at waist height, aiming low. But there is no shooting. Everyone freezes.

His face set, Captain Alfred Y. Allee, the commander of the Rangers, a tall and imposing lawman, wearing his impervious Stetson hat and chomping a cigar, demands to know the whereabouts of Magdaleno Dimas, a "trouble-maker." One of the Rangers barks, "Where's that son of a bitch, Dimas? We're going to get him." It is a scene from an old western flick, but the shotguns are real.

The young man with the sad name, Magdaleno Dimas, had gone hunting that afternoon for doves. Jim Rochester, the manager of the struck La Casita farms, who is also a Deputy Sheriff, charges that Dimas threatened him with his hunting rifle and yelled "*Viva la huelga!*" to his face. The yell is illegal, for there is a court injunction against the cry of "*Huelga!*"

Randall Nye, the Starr County Attorney, who is also the lawyer for the La Casita Farms, later was asked by Federal Judge John Robert Brown why he had a union member arrested, charged with "disturbing the peace," merely for yelling, "*Viva la huelga!*"

"He said it loudly, Judge," Nye replied.

Magdaleno Dimas is obviously a headstrong young man. He is bearded, besides, and has a prison record for "assault resulting in murder"—a young man of disastrous temper.

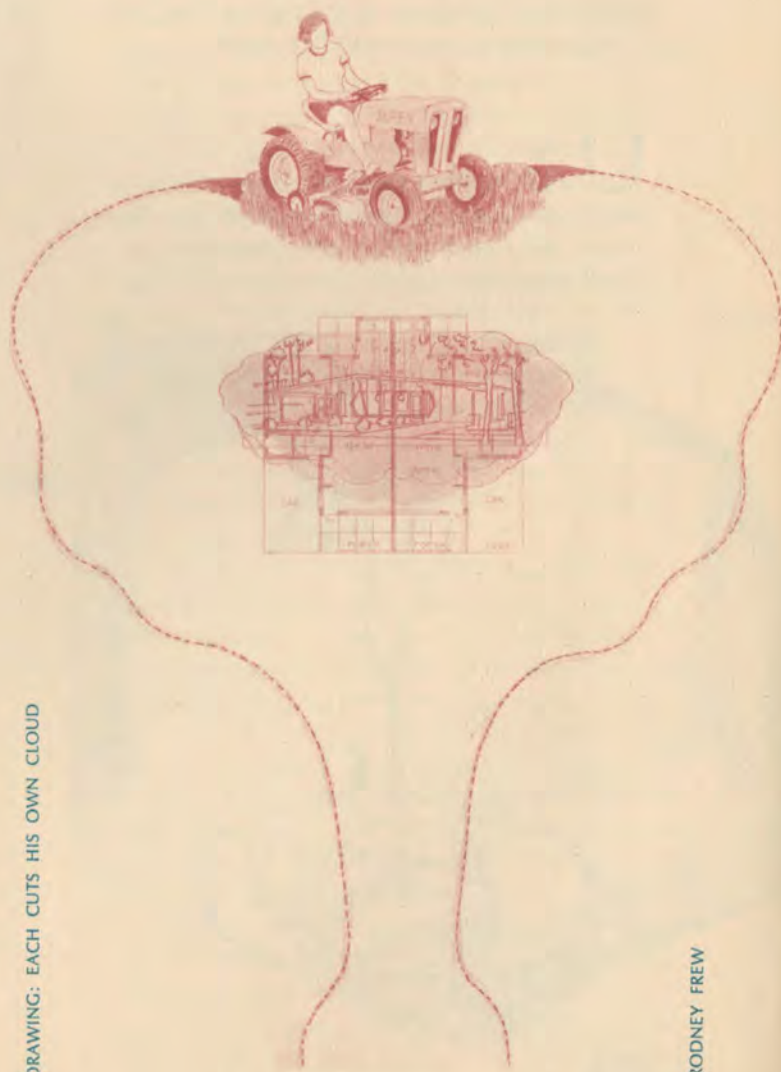
In the cantinas they say that the Rangers "have it in for Magdaleno. He hates the *rinckes* [Rangers]! He talks back." On the brick wall of the Mexico Theatre in Rio Grande City, under the list of *Héroes de la Huelga*, the name of Magdaleno Dimas is written. One of the Rangers reportedly tells a newsman, "I'd like to hold my foot on Dimas' neck until his eyes bulge out like a toad."

Dimas is not in the theater. They corner him in the house of a fellow striker. Rangers surround the house, smash the front door, break the lock, and burst into the room, shotguns cocked.

In the jail of Edinburg, Texas, a woman farm worker who has been imprisoned for picketing

hears what happens from an eyewitness. She tells the story without telling her name. Like many of the Mexicans in the valley her identity is anonymous. "When they saw the guns," she says, "[the men] put their hands in the air. They thought the Rangers—especially Captain Allee—were drunk. [They] were told to lay on the floor. They [the Rangers] were cursing them the whole time, saying they were going to kill the bastards. Then they proceeded to kick Magdaleno and smashed the back of his head with the shotgun barrel. He is in the hospital in a critical condition, with a broken rib, concussion, blood clot near the spine."

The broken body of Magdaleno Dimas is taken to a hospital in McAllen, Texas. He is treated by a local physician, Dr. Ramiro Casso,



DRAWING: EACH CUTS HIS OWN CLOUD

RODNEY FREW

who tells the newspapers, "It is the worst beating I have ever seen given by the police. The Rangers are a bunch of thugs."

But Captain Allee denies that he or his officers roughed up their prisoner. In leaving the kitchen the two men fell over each other and that may have caused any bruises they had.

"I just cracked him [Dimas] slightly on the head," says the Ranger Captain, "with a gun butt."

Unconvinced, the farm workers' union brings suit against the Texas Rangers in the U.S. District Court for Southern Texas. The union charges twenty-three counts of harassment of its members and asks the court to restrain the Rangers and Starr County officials from "selectively arresting and prosecuting" the striking melon pickers. In a further action the union challenges the constitutionality of the Texas statutes concerning mass picketing, the use of "abusive language"—that is, yelling "Viva la huelga!"—and laws against "unlawful assembly." Sixty of its members have been jailed on such charges, it says.

It is unheard of that poor farm workers, and Mexicans at that, take the Texas Rangers to court. Gilbert Padilla remembers. "When I took the Texas Rangers to court, everybody told me I couldn't do that. State Senator Joe Bernal, of San Antonio, said to me, 'You can't do things like that in Texas.'

"You can do these things," I told him."

In the hearing before the Federal Judges the unswayed Captain Allee testifies that he is not opposed to the union. "They can strike from now until doomsday. I don't care as long as it's done peacefully. I'm not prejudiced."

He was simply doing his duty in making the arrests, the Ranger captain says. Dimas had a gun. Under the circumstance he was quite lenient with strike leaders. "I could have broken his neck if I wanted to," Allee tells the judges. "I could have shot him three or four times. I could have killed him if I wanted to, and maybe I should have."

Law and order is not a church tea, Captain Allee has said on another occasion. "I've always said if a man really wants to lose his religion, and lose all he's got, just get him to be a peace officer." He has been in several "shoot-outs." He has killed men, but "I hated to do it," he says. "I've never killed unless I had to. It isn't pleasing to take somebody else's life. If you can keep from killing a man, well, I think you can sleep a little better at night, so that's what I've always tried to do."

"Like lawmen of old, Captain Allee is the law in Rio Grande City and the only thing twentieth-century about him is that his 'peace-maker' is an automatic pistol and not a six gun," comments *Inferno*, a barrio newspaper in San Antonio.

According to the frontier ethic of Alfred Y. Allee one talks straight and shoots straight. As he says, "I have never been a man to flower anybody up." He voices a family tradition that is in his blood, for his father and his grandfather were Texas Rangers before him. The aging lawman is sixty-four, worn by the years but hard-handed as ever, and unflinching in his dedication. "I took an oath," he says simply. "I guess I'm just dedicated to the State of Texas."

"One of the finest men I've ever known," says Homer Garrison, Jr., director of the Texas Department of Public Safety, which nominally is responsible for the work of the Rangers.

But the poor of the *colonias* and the dusty towns of the valley see a different legend. "The Rangers are pigs!" says the anonymous woman farm worker in her jail cell. "I have been in jail three times. Twice roughed up by the Rangers and the third time a State Senator was present. Everyone who is arrested is beaten and has his arms twisted and is thrown against the walls and cars. . . . Even the judge stands by while you're being pushed around. Once in jail, you're liable to be beaten by the jailkeeper.

"Say a prayer for all of us here," the frightened woman pleads. "It's like being somewhere and you have nowhere to appeal."

"The Rangers are regarded with great resentment and distrust by many Mexican Americans," declared the staff report *The Mexican American*, prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

State Senator Joseph Bernal of San Antonio, who witnessed some of the arrests and beatings, rises to the floor of the Texas Legislature to request an investigation of the Rangers' behavior. The legislators are in an uproar. "A shouting match quickly ensued among a number of Senators before Bernal was voted down," reports *Inferno*. In Texas the one thing more sacrosanct than the Alamo is the Rangers.

In Washington, D.C., Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas denounces the ordering of the Rangers into the Rio Grande Valley as strikebreakers. He urges that the Rangers be withdrawn, and swipes at his old political opponent, Governor John Connally, in the

process. But Bexar County Commissioner Albert Pena goes further—the Rangers ought to be disbanded and retired to the pages of history, he declares.

Once or twice before Texas legislators have sought to curb the Rangers. In 1902, John Garner, who was to become Vice President of the United States under Franklin D. Roosevelt, suggested that the Rangers be abolished. He considered them outdated. In 1913, State Representative Cox of Ellis tried to eliminate the budgetary appropriation of the Rangers, saying, "There is more danger from the Rangers than from the men they are supposed to hunt down," and "they are the most irresponsible officers in the state." All attempts to curb, censure or disband the Rangers failed; so did Bernal's.

For the Texas Rangers are more than a living legend. They reflect the community's mandate—nonetheless real for being unstated—to subjugate La Raza in the Rio Grande Valley and in all of Texas.

Randall Nye, the County Attorney, was succinct and honest when he explained to the federal court hearings why he had called for the Rangers. "The situation became electric in early May, 1967. The harvest season was about to begin. Evidence indicated to me that something was about to happen. I felt the situation needed the attention of the Rangers." The "situation" was the strike of melon pickers on the La Casita farms, one of the largest melon growers he represented.

Men are even arrested for praying on the courthouse steps (the prayers "disturb the peace"). The Reverend Edgar Krueger, migrant minister of the Texas Council of Churches, is seized by a Ranger and his face held inches from a speeding freight train. "That preacher

was ramrodding the whole thing," says Captain Allee. In all, scores of striking farm workers are jailed.

On the picket lines of the melon pickers new signs appear: "RANGERS NEEDED IN VIETNAM" and "RANGERS GO HOME."

"Most who work for La Casita would like to join the union, but they're afraid," a migrant worker tells Peggy Simpson of the *San Antonio Express*. "But the strike has already helped us. La Casita wages have risen. The farmers treat us kindly just seeing those pickets around. Sometimes they would push us hard, make us work fast. And now they're more reasonable."

A woman farm worker says, "I don't think the union will succeed. We are afraid to join it. Here you lose your job like . . ." and she snaps her fingers.

But the union does not succeed. The *huelga* drags on to defeat. In two years of bloody organizing, only a handful of growers, each of them a small Chicano farmer, signs a union contract; not one of the large corporate farmers.

Southwest Texas is a rigid society, unbending and divided. Although the people of the barrios and *colonias* are an overwhelming majority of many towns and counties, they have been relegated to the periphery of political patronage and the fringes of the professions. The seats of economic and political power are tightly held. In many ways it is still like a conquered country.

Here is "the perfect place for a people's war," a union organizer reports. "But we're nonviolent, and we believe it, because we would have all been dead by now any other way."

In the barrios some nod their heads in agreement; some do not. Violence has been more frequent than nonviolence, and the frustrations of the younger men are equaled only by their angers.

The school teacher Froben Lozada says, "Who the hell has always been violent? It's the white who have always been violent. Preach nonviolence to them, not to the Mexicans. Why teach nonviolence to the Mexicans? So they can get their heads banged up by the Texas Rangers? As if nonviolence is going to cushion the blow.

"I don't see any change coming. If there is going to be change, it won't come through the election thing. That'll just dish out a little more money and buy a few more Mexicans with street-cleaning jobs."

WOODCUT



KRIS HOTVEDT

His skeptical view of achieving change by voting is widespread. In southwest Texas elections have often seemed a *fait accompli* of a one-party system and a one-party vote. Politicians come and go, but social inequity stays. The county seats—whereby, through the peculiarity of the Texan political system, the power of the county judge is unchecked—further solidify the status quo. Then, too, the irregularities in vote counting have created a distrust of the ballot box.

"It's not our bag," says a young farm worker. The resident of the barrios and *colonias* tends to look at the elections as a game played by the gringos and the respectable *venditos* for high stakes. He just votes.

Elections in Starr County are a feudal pageant and an elaborate ritual. Wherever there is a ballot box, the opposing political parties set up ornate tents, sometimes tassled and decorated, sometimes of canvas, sometimes a wooden booth. The voters, by an old custom, visit the tent or booth of their party before going in to cast their ballot. It is an ancient tradition that has no legality in election law but has been going on for fifty years. And it is rigorously adhered to. By the custom the secret ballot is rendered redundant, for everyone knows how everyone else will vote.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party is on the ballot for Starr County posts. The old party is called the Old Party. The new party that has ruled the county for twenty years is called the New Party. And then there is the perennial upstart, the New New Party. Between them the Old Party, the New Party, and the New New Party have dominated political life for generations.

Yet in the election of 1968 an independent party—called, of course, the Independent Party—enters the pageant for the first time. It has the support of those people jarred by the old and new parties' acquiescence in the fear the Texas Rangers have introduced into the county. The union is one of its strong backers. And its prime purpose is the defeat of Randall Nye, the County Attorney, who had summoned the Rangers.

To everyone's surprise the Independent Party sweeps out the old regime. Not only does it elect its own man County Attorney, but its candidate, C. C. Valle, wins the *jefe politico* job as County Chairman. La Raza activists have for the first time upset a reigning dynasty in Texas politics.

WOODCUT: QUEST



KRIS HOTVEDT

The Valley Evening Monitor, a conservative newspaper, begins its story, "Starr County voters staged a 'quiet revolution' . . ."

"We were trapped between the economic power of the growers and the political structure of the law. Maybe now we have a chance," says Gilbert Padilla, weighing the election in his mind. "I am optimistic now."

"I think maybe the *huelga* was not lost after all. We will win."

"You know, I'm a mild guy. I don't hurt a fly. If it doesn't get in my way. What motivates me to stay here? Same thing as people here. I'm real mad, even so, it will take a man's whole life to change Texas. But, it is my life now."

He says these things matter-of-factly. There is no bravado, and his eyes are calm. Padilla is stating a fact of his life, like the hour of the day.

"What makes you think you can change Texas?" I ask.

"Because I will change it," he says.

Nothing changes. On the dusty roads of the dusty towns the dust rises. The dust falls. The dust settles as it was before the elections and the strike. Into the poverty of the valley come reporters, investigators, Senators, and tabulators of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, congressional committees, and the Citizens Crusade Against Hunger and Malnutrition. They come and they go.

The years go by. After two years in the valley, Gilberto Padilla packs up his hopes and leaves. From California the union sends a new organizer, Antonio Orendain, to begin again. Where has "The Skeleton" gone?

"He is sick," they say. "In a hospital in California."

"What is wrong with him?"

"He is sick," they say, "with frustration."



In the courts the farm workers' suit against the Texas Rangers is lost in a legal labyrinth. The case is never tried. "Who, I don't know, but someone is holding it up," says Reverend Krueger. His own suit against the Rangers, brought by the Texas Council of Churches, is dropped. His church superiors have three times asked the young minister to sign a "compromise agreement" that absolves the Rangers. It reads, in part: "The parties of this lawsuit, whose signatures are affixed below, are desirous of bringing the lawsuit to a peaceful conclusion, without fixing blame therefore."

Reverend Krueger refuses to sign. He "can't pretend these things didn't happen," he says. He is fired from the Migrant Ministry of the Texas Council of Churches.

"He made a lot of trouble," regretfully explains Dr. Harold Kilpatrick, the executive director of the church body. "We're tired of fighting city hall, courthouse, school boards, and things that look like the establishment. If we are to get anywhere we have to enlist [the help of] the power structure."

"IS THE CHURCH FOR THE POOR?" questions a sign carried by one of scores of pickets outside the meeting where the young minister is dismissed. "THE CHURCH IS FOR JUSTICE, WHERE IS JUSTICE FOR REV. KRUEGER?" and "IS THE TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES UN-CHRISTIAN?" read others. The pickets come from the Colonias del Valle, PASO (the Political Association for Spanish Organizations), MAYO (the Mexican American Youth Organization), and even the conservative League of Latin American Citizens, whose San

Antonio leader, Frank Gonzales, condemns the "wholesale surrender to these forces of oppression that have kept Mexican Americans in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in the condition of servitude."

We have lost the "only arm" we had with the Texas Rangers," says Reynaldo de la Cruz, the president of the Colonia del Valle. But on the picket line Reverend Krueger is seen arm in arm with the protesters.

"I told him not to get involved in revolutionary situations," says a high official of the Texas Council of Churches. "Krueger represented militancy. I am taking a strong stand against militancy. I'm getting a very favorable reaction in the valley, especially from the Anglos. . . . The rich have problems as well as the poor, maybe more." As for the poor, "We'll continue our band-aid measures. It may be a twenty- to twenty-five-year job."

The young minister smiles and says, "I was fired by those who want a more paternalistic Christmas basket approach. But it's too late for that.

"In the *colonias* the men are eager to work, but there is no work. These men are fed up. Our government better become aware of the extremely volatile situation that exists here in the valley. We're asking for real rebellion if more jobs are not forthcoming."

A gray-haired man stands up in a *colonia* meeting and quietly says that if things get worse, "We will have a revolution." He reflects a growing frustration, Reverend Krueger says.

It is not the gray-haired men, the polite and patient older generation, who expect no change, who accept defeat, who will resort to violence, he believes. "The youth are becoming more and more impatient, and they won't wait for another generation for life to change; they are explosive," Reverend Krueger says. "It is the Vietnam veterans returning to the valley who could cause an explosion. These young Mexican Americans, with their medals and sacrifices, won't accept closed doors, and a society that won't accept them.

"They are coming home now. They and the high school and college youth are an explosive generation. And they are accustomed to violence.

"Something has got to give," the Reverend says. "And it will."

In the dark heat of the summer nights in South Texas the melon pickers once more meet and talk. Now they are alone. They are planning for many long, hot summers. ■

THE OCCUPANT

He keeps camouflaging his house
with fallen walnut twigs
and angry letters to the Interior . . .

Because there is a target in his rec room,
a riddled target embedded in cement block,
that someone tried to hide behind the juke box.

Because his daughter, in long black panty hose,
is meeting her philosophy teacher
behind "the bandshell" these nights,
and bothers to keep him posted.

Because tied to the juke box is a tag which yells:
DO NOT MOVE.
He likes to move.
He likes to know what's going on.
He can remember slipping in his nickels
and dancing to "In the Mood."

Because his wife is at Newcomers, Books,
Cancer, Heart Disease or Antiques,
but he can't be sure
—he lost her itinerary.

Because why would anyone move the juke box
to hide a target?

Because he took a knife to the blocks
and couldn't pick out the bullets
—they were too far in.

Because his mother writes: "When we die
our bodies will scream"—
and adds to that love, season's greetings,
and a postscript he can't understand.

Because he rubbed putty in the holes
and put on several coats of white,
and felt better because the rec room looked nicer
and everything stood out much clearer . . .
but only for a moment.

Because the postscript finally unfolds, to declare:
his father's place at the table
has been replaced by chrome legs
and a row of identical hard green flowers.

Because he often thinks he is the only one
who doesn't know the joke . . .
and because he keeps piling twigs
around his windows and doors,
and writing letters that come back: ADDRESSEE UNKNOWN.

—GARY GILDNER

THE POLITICS OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF

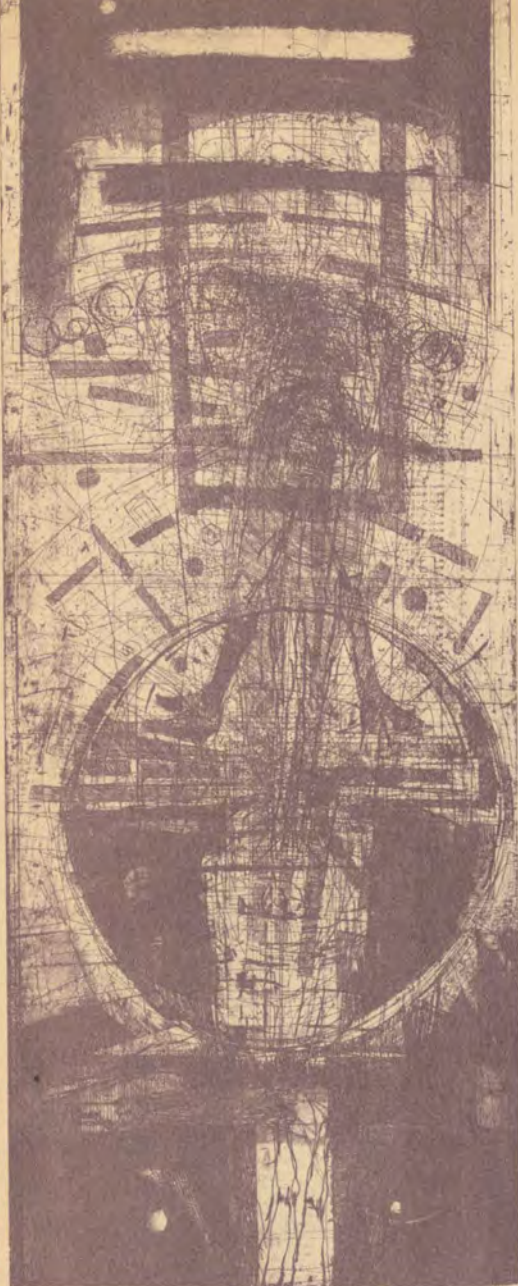
"... our government is interested only in the humanitarian aspect of the Nigeria-Biafra problem at this time, and is not giving any support to a political solution, other than a military victory on the part of the Federal Government."

Sen. Eugene McCarthy, Oct. 4, 1968

by the Africa Research Group

In meeting halls and church basements throughout America and Europe, the charitable affluent have long conducted their crusades on behalf of the world's poor and deprived. These crusades have embodied what has been portrayed as the highest expression of Western Judeo-Christian ethics, namely, humanitarianism. Its moral imperative has been expressed in countless organizations formed to answer the call to aid the distressed.

In 1968 Biafra became such a cause. As photographs of starving Biafran children began to appear in the Western press, Europe and America discovered the Nigerian Civil War. The imagery of death provoked a direct response from the public; relief forces were mobilized in the capitals and cities of every major Western nation. While relief was seen as only humanitarian, it was, from the beginning, profoundly political in ways that many have still not come to appreciate.



about the author:

Most of the Africa Research Group's members come from the American student movement. One of their aims is to create non-exploitative working arrangements among themselves; hence, the Group is a collective with no internal division of power or labor. As a collective, all members of the Group do bureaucratic office work as well as research and writing. Likewise, all writing is collectively produced; hence articles such as this one are published over the Group's name. The few members who receive pay live on a subsistence salary; the rest hold jobs in addition to their work in the Group. While the center of the Group is in Cambridge, members live and work in cities throughout the U.S. and Africa. Their hope is that, through their work, an informed and powerful movement will be built within the U.S. which will effectively confront and end the institutionalized forms of oppression which America now leads and which continue to enslave Africa.

There is little knowledge about American imperialism in Africa available to either Africans or Americans. The Africa Research Group is a collective effort on the part of a number of American, European and African students, professors and journalists to provide such knowledge. This article on relief is excerpted from a larger chapter of a book the Group is preparing on the Nigeria-Biafra war.—HUBERT JESSUP, Cambridge, Mass.

Our purpose is not to argue against the relief effort for Biafra, but to raise the discussion of relief to a new level. Our argument is that relief is political and must be seen in a specific political context. Further, because of this political context, the relief effort to date has not been effective in relieving the suffering of the Nigerian Civil War.

The relief shipped thousands of miles to Nigeria goes through millions of miles of political difficulty. Internationally, the relief agencies are political instruments deeply enmeshed in a network of voluntary organizations prepared to serve United States' international purposes. Many of the agencies engaged in feeding the hungry on both sides of the war are committed to the extension and rationaliza-

tion of American power. For them and for the government they serve, relief is one of the many political instruments through which American influence can be maintained and increased. This paper will seek to bring out the evidence for this thesis.

Relief also functions as a political ideology. By providing the images through which the Civil War is seen—tribalism, genocide, etc.—it shapes the way people understand the conflict. These images function to distort the problem and obscure the origins of the war. While they awaken humanitarian impulses, they deaden political understanding.

To assess clearly the role of relief agencies, and the "humanitarianism" they cultivate and exploit, it is necessary to examine and demystify the popular images promoted by the ideology of relief as explanations for the war.

For most Westerners, especially Americans, the image of Biafra is starvation accompanied

by its political expression, genocide. Cultivated by Biafran press agencies, particularly by Markpress (a professional, semi-official agency based in Geneva and operated by an American), the two images of starvation and genocide were communicated forcefully to millions through the power of the mass media. The images are not completely incorrect. While verifying data is made difficult by the nature of the war and the use of figures for propaganda by both sides, it is certainly true that starvation occurred in Biafra on a massive scale. At its height during the fall of 1968, estimates of deaths due to starvation ranged from 10,000 (Joint Church Aid) to 5,000 (Red Cross) to a few hundred (U.S. and Nigeria governments) people per day. And starvation has continued on a lesser scale to the present time. Forgotten in many accounts were the thousands also starving within federally held territory.

While starvation has occurred, additional evidence is needed to substantiate the claim of genocide. Biafra argues that Nigeria is carrying out a deliberate policy of systematic massacre against the Biafran people, claiming as evidence the 50,000 Ibos killed in the 1966 pogroms in the North, the two million Biafrans dead of starvation because of Nigeria's blockade of relief supplies, and the 100,000 Biafran civilians killed by advancing Nigerian troops and bombings of civilian targets. (These figures come from Colonel Ojukwu's press conference, July 18, 1968.) Nigeria, for its part, stoutly denies any such policy, basing its claim on the thousands of Ibos who continue to live unmolested within Nigeria, the many Ibos who hold high civil service and political positions in the government, the rehabilitation effort organized by the government to help Ibos re-establish their lives and livelihoods in the North, and the care given to Ibos in "liberated" areas.

More important than the debate over genocide is its function as a political weapon. At the beginning of the war, the Ibo people were mesmerized by the fear of genocide. An atmosphere of collective paranoia existed with what appeared to be a plausible and frightening basis in reality. Through the specter of genocide, the Ibo people were organized to support Ojukwu's secession—more by mass psychological mobilization than by any appeal to a progressive program. This image of genocide catalyzed a people into a fighting machine, converting Ibos and other ethnic groups into Biafrans. It consolidated the population behind Ojukwu's leadership, creating and preserving solidarity and determination, while retarding any significant political dissent or ethnic division within Biafra. Psychologically and politically the fear of genocide became Biafra's glue. Externally, the image of genocide has galvanized sympathy from around the world into physical and political support for Biafra. Saving Biafrans was difficult to distinguish from saving Biafra. The image of genocide became one of the most important weapons in Biafra's arsenal, and the catalytic impulse for the Biafran relief movement. Saving Biafrans was associated with saving Biafra.



PHOTOGRAPH

ED CARLIN

While the relief effort for Biafra has been global, the U.S. government and citizenry have played a major role. Similarly, the U.S. has recently been a major influence in Nigeria, helping to structure a neo-colonial system to facilitate American exploitation of Nigerian markets and raw materials. As the "showcase" of American sponsored development in Africa, every major U.S. overseas arm was used to penetrate the country with the purpose of grooming a pro-Western middle-class. It is only in this context that one can understand why Nigeria became a major recipient of U.S. AID funds, grants from the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations, and the intervention of the World Bank and other U.S. controlled multinational instruments.

But then, the showcase window cracked. Intra-class conflicts within the ruling elite developed as the inevitable competition for political control and its closely linked economic benefits increased. Ethnic tensions were manipulated as each faction attempted to strengthen its position. A "model" parliamentary government was swept aside by a series of coups, leaving the country's unsolved economic and political problems in the hands of ill prepared military men and civil servants. Ethnic animosities, inflamed by sharp class tensions, erupted into unabated violence against minority tribes in every region, especially against the Ibos in the North. As violence and fear spread, the breakdown of Nigeria into civil war became irreversible.

As political conflict degenerated into civil war, the U.S. faced a difficult problem. Its neo-colonial strategy had previously been to pro-

mote unity in Nigeria as a foundation for establishing access for economic penetration. With the dissolution of that precarious unity, American strategists sought a middle-ground which would allow continued support for Nigerian unity while not completely alienating the Ibo elite which ruled Biafra. Under domestic pressure from a respectable pro-Biafra lobby composed of both conservatives, like Senator Dodd, and McCarthy liberals, the U.S. opted for a low profile approach. By declaring an arms embargo and political support for the Federal side, the U.S. could profess support for Nigerian unity; by providing relief supplies the U.S. could still provide concrete help to Biafra's cause. In this way the U.S. hoped to weather the storm of the civil war and emerge in the post-war peace with the continuing support of the middle-class on both sides upon which America's penetration strategy depends. In this strategy the relief agencies performed a pivotal role by providing the "neutral" instruments needed to keep the channels of influence open.

On both sides of the fighting line, badly needed food supplies have been rationed out through carefully selected and well-connected agencies. Nothing testifies to the political nature of relief so much as a careful look at the relief agencies themselves. In general they share an interface of purpose, and often of personnel, with other more official instruments of U.S. influence. While tensions and conflicts certainly exist between these agencies and various agencies of government and business, they basically share a common approach to development problems and political solutions. (In the case of the Nigerian Civil War, the U.S. government now represents the largest source of financial support for Biafra relief, paying over 50% of the total relief bill.)

There are two separate but related questions concerning the relief agencies involved in the Nigerian Civil War: (1) Whose interests do they serve and (2) Why have they been unable to meet the needs of the hungry and distressed on both sides of the war? We wish to look at three agencies which have played the

most important role—the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), the Church World Service (CWS), and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

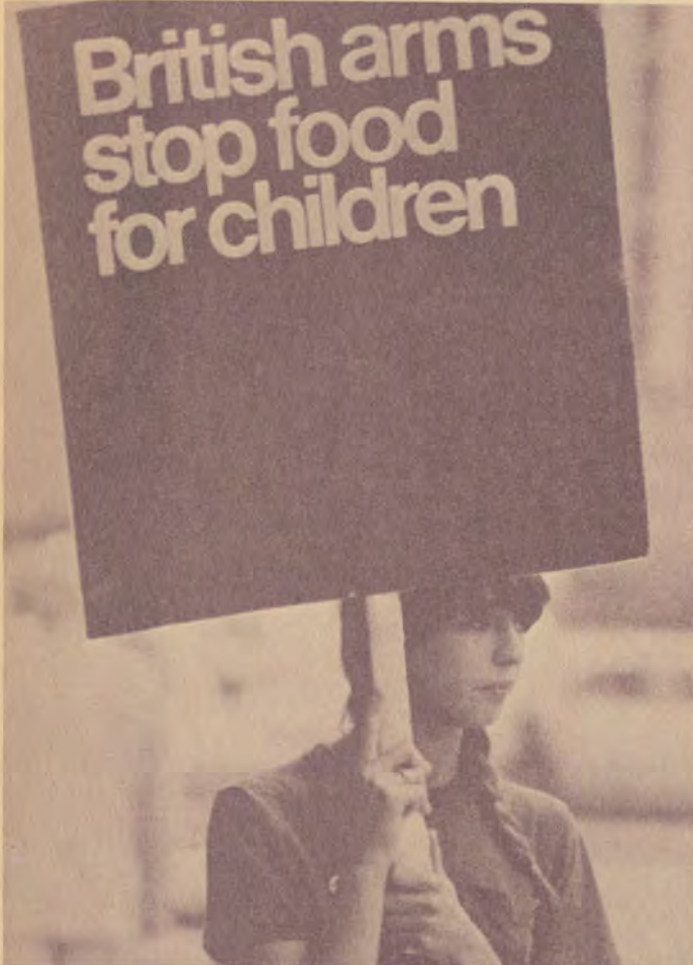
Edward Swanstrom is the Catholic's Bishop for relief. He has directed CRS since it was founded in 1947 to aid refugees favored by the U.S. government. (Swanstrom also heads the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Services, a para-government coordinating body and clearing house that helps give political direction to all U.S. relief agencies.) Swanstrom's attraction to Biafra springs in part from a legitimate concern for the largest Catholic population in Africa, a continent where Catholicism in general is declining. Working closely with the Vatican's international relief agency, Caritas, Swanstrom has arranged for U.S. surplus food for Biafra and surplus planes to get it there. Through the ecumenical coalition, Joint Church Aid, Swanstrom has been the prime mover in organizing pressure on the U.S. government to increase its support for the relief effort. His political position was strengthened because CRS had helped the government before, particularly in Vietnam.

In 1954 CRS, with the help of the CIA and the Seventh Fleet, organized a massive relief effort for the 700,000 Catholic refugees who "fled" from North Vietnam into the South. Justified as a humanitarian gesture, this relief was actually an integral part of a well-conceived strategy of building political support for a reactionary Saigon government in order to avert the widely predicted victory of Ho Chi Minh in the promised elections of 1956. From this beginning the CRS has remained in South Vietnam. In 1965, for example, it sponsored a large-scale food distribution program for the families of men who "joined" the so-called Popular Front. In the Fall of 1967, Michael Novak, a lay Catholic theologian, reported in the *National Catholic Reporter* after a tour of South Vietnam that "the largest single program of CRS in Vietnam is distribution of food rations as part of the salary of South Vietnam's armed forces." CRS in Vietnam has thus played an essential role in helping the U.S. build an army for the unpopular Saigon government. For this work CRS has earned the reputation among other relief agencies in South Vietnam, according to Novak, as "the most hawkish of the relief agencies" and the one "most willing to co-operate with the U.S. military."

While CRS support for Biafra is politically different from its work in South Vietnam, the \$5 million CRS is reported to spend in Biafra needs to be seen as part of the network of American international power.

PHOTOGRAPH

BRIAN SHORE



Church World Service is the overseas relief arm of American Protestants. Although the Protestants spend less abroad than the Catholics, this agency is also given its tone by a staff with a background in para-government work. CWS Director James McKracken came to this post after a three-year stint (1954-1957) as Chief of Operations for the Tolstoy Foundation, a CIA-funded Cold War instrument. He is also a director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.

In recent years, CWS has been divided internally by debates about how closely it should work with the government. In 1962 CWS withdrew from relief work in Taiwan because of its disgust at helping the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai Shek. At the time, church officials admitted that the "U.S. was using the churches as a front for its foreign policy" and wanted out of such a role. In 1967, after staff members circulated private memos alleging CIA use of missionary and relief workers, the Division of Overseas Ministries, CWS' governing body, adopted a weak policy prohibiting further cooperation with the CIA but leaving the door open to other forms of government service.

In the Nigerian Civil War CWS has provided financial support to both sides of the war. In Biafra it has followed the lead of the Catholics, chipping in close to \$4 million towards the airlift, but also seeking American governmental support in the form of shipping payments and surplus food.

The International Committee of the Red Cross is a Swiss-based relief agency with an international reputation for neutrality. A closer look at its position in the network of Western power indicates that its neutrality is conditioned by the political interests of the governments it serves, particularly the United States. The personnel most closely associated with its work in Nigeria-Biafra, for example, have close connections with the United States: Auguste Lindt, the first ICRC representative in Nigeria-Biafra, is a former Swiss Ambassador to the U.S.; Robert Naville, the new president of ICRC is strategically linked to American financial circles as a director of a leading Swiss bank. Of all the contributors to the Biafra relief effort of the ICRC, the U.S. as of June, 1968, has given more than \$20 million; the next highest is West Germany with almost \$3 million.

When American policy supported the Nigerian strategy of a quick military victory, it was felt that ICRC services would be needed

after the victory to assist refugee work. Thus, fewer than 60 ICRC-sponsored flights into Biafra were made until the middle of September, 1968. Early optimism of a quick victory faded, however, so American policy had to adjust to the prospect of a prolonged war, with numerous casualties from starvation. The ICRC then began to make regular flights which were supported by the U.S. By the end of 1968, ICRC had made over 650 flights. But the ICRC relief effort was finally undermined by the inherent contradictions of the American policy it served. In June, 1969, Nigeria forced the ICRC out of the country because of its political dealings.

Despite the impact of relief on starvation within Biafra, not enough relief reached the suffering to end their misery. Church officials reported in early December, 1968, that the level of starvation had been reduced from approximately 10,000 to 200 per day due in part to relief food. Even so, starvation continued to exist on a large scale. In November, 1969, an NBC televised news report indicated that starvation, if continued at its present level, might mean the deaths of up to 2 million people in addition to the thousands who have already starved to death. While these figures, given the situation within Biafra, are only an approximation, they clearly indicate that the relief effort has not been successful in feeding all the starving. Why is this so?

Nigeria is a product of imperialism and continues to be shackled by imperialist bonds, which must partially be held responsible for both the war and the inability of relief agencies to alleviate war-caused suffering. Relief agencies, as part of the power structure of imperialism, cannot, even if they desire to do so, act contrary to the interests of the countries which support them. America, the newcomer to imperialism in Africa, was reluctant from the beginning to provide support for relief efforts because its interest solidly fell in line with the Nigeria of its creation. Consequently, relief efforts for Biafra were hampered both by lack of the resources which the U.S. Government could have provided and by stubborn political opposition to any form of support for Biafra. Only when it became strategically important (after "a quick victory" did not materialize) did any substantial change occur in favor of supporting relief efforts. Even then the support given was too little and too late. The U.S. government is not interested in Nigeria or Biafra for humanitarian reasons. Instead its

interests lie in the economic, political and military advantages which Nigeria offers. Imperialism placed the relief effort low on the totem pole of penetration.

Internal obstacles are also partially responsible for the inability of relief agencies to alleviate suffering. Both sides continue to find fault in any particular relief proposal, claiming that some political or military advantage would exist for the other side if such and such plan were adopted. Thus land routes into Biafra have been ruled out as have daytime flights and river routes. Only the illegal nighttime airlift has functioned, though it is grossly inadequate to meet the needs of hungry people. Even these flights have been threatened and sometimes barred by the Nigerian government. Both sides have seen relief in political terms from the beginning. Both ruling elites seem willing to let their people die before jeopardizing their political positions.

So there it is: an unfootnoted and, no doubt, unpopular argument which suggests both the need for a more profound analysis of the origins and implications of the war, as well as an action program which might begin to transform this international system which subordinates all third-world countries, including Nigeria and Biafra, to underdevelopment and dependency. If the problems of Nigeria are political, and the relief agencies themselves are political instruments, then the response of a morally outraged citizenry must reflect a new political consciousness.

The ideology of relief needs to be transcended. Not only has it reduced explanations of the war to the level of imagery but it obscures the ultimate source of oppression. In the hands of corrupt elites, relief became a type of patronage to solidify political support. For imperialist powers, the "good works" of the relief agencies are translated into propaganda justifying foreign intervention as basically humanitarian and benign. As an ideology, relief thus focuses attention on the symptoms of the problem rather than illuminating its causes.

A new political analysis is need. We must by-pass the simplistic explanations which on the more popular extreme focuses exclusively on tribalism and genocide, or takes refuge in a conspiratorial theory which pictures foreign agents fighting to divide up the oil wells. It must focus on examining the contradictions in Nigerian society and their relationship to the international economy. It has to look at political conflicts in Nigeria in class terms and examine



PHOTOGRAPH

DOUGLAS GILBERT

the ways international capital has shaped and manipulated these classes for its own profit. (The Africa Research Group is at present preparing such an analysis with the aim of identifying those American institutions which have had a major effect in structuring a situation in which black men kill each other rather than seeking out their more "objective" and objectionable enemies.)

Such an analysis leads necessarily to the urgent task of building a movement which is explicitly anti-imperialist in character. In the report of his second visit to Biafra, Conor Cruse O'Brien, an early partisan of its cause, points out in passing: "We saw the reddish hair and other signs of kwashiorkor (caused by protein deficiency) rather more often, but not startlingly more often, than one sees of such cases in West Africa in peace-time." The problem of West Africa and indeed the problem of all oppressed nations is not necessarily most acute in times of war. There is always the more urgent and

RODNEY FREW



INTAGLIO: GOOD DEED DOERS

less visible challenge of the brutal peace—the deformation and stagnation of the economy, the exploitation of human and mineral resources, and the low life expectancies with thousands dying of curable disease.

It is in this context that the generosity of the West, its charity and its relief is symbolic of the deeper crime. The affluence which permits liberal humanitarianism is based on the very poverty toward which it is directed.

This is not to say that the West has no obligations to fulfill to the peoples of Africa. Quite the contrary. As Fanon has written, the people of Africa demand that the help offered to it by Europe, and by extension America, should be the ratification of a double realization: the realization by colonized peoples that *it is their due*, and the realization by the capitalist powers that in fact they *must pay*. Thus, the relief of the West must become the reparations of imperialism. But for that to happen, if the experience of Vietnam, the Congo and Bolivia is any guide, revolutionary movements will have to challenge and defeat the self-interested forces ranged against them. The experience of

three years of fighting in Nigeria is beginning to affect the ways Nigerians and Biafrans relate to the conflict. In the western states of Nigeria, radicals committed to the pan-African stance are not prepared to see a return to the status quo so desperately desired by the British. At the same time tax-riots in the same states are expressions of popular discontent with unrepresentative elites, and echo the need for more radical social change. In the East, perhaps because of its increasing isolation, Colonel Ojukwu speaks vaguely of a "Biafran Revolution"—his words contain the seeds of a more radical vision.

The duty of mother country radicals, then, is to avoid encapsulation in emotionally driven liberal crusades and to seek to generate active support for anti-imperialist struggles. Our job is to enlarge understanding of the war and to seek to transform those structures which promise only more dependency and despair for the peoples of the world. That task begins at home—in the glass offices of the Ford Foundation, the posh parlors of the Chase Manhattan Bank (which banks in Nigeria through its South African colleagues at the Standard Bank) and outside that ever so White House. It begins with us. ■

Time and distance prevented our doing a biographical sketch of S. Rama Nathan, whose article appeared in the November, 1969, issue (pp. 48-54) on Sri Ramana Maharshi.—ED.

about S. Rama Nathan:

When I first met S. Rama Nathan in 1944, he was a teen-aged assistant director of a Tamil film in which I was actor. Bubbling with wide-spread cinematic imagination, Rama Nathan wanted to direct several avant-garde films. He went to Singapore in 1949 where he directed 24 Malay films. In 1957 he returned to India and has directed two Indian films here.

But the creative urge in Rama Nathan constantly expanded itself toward the literary field, and many of his writings (on films, literature and fiction) have been published in British, Indian, Malayan and American magazines. He is now working on several short stories, television scripts and a novel for American audiences.

I have been amazed at Rama Nathan's versatility in being able to adapt himself completely and easily into such sharply contrasting atmospheres as an orthodox South Indian

temple and a cosmopolitan dance hall in Singapore. Perhaps this virtue of spontaneous adaptability would also explain his knowledge of all kinds of music—oriental, western, modern and ancient. Rama Nathan listens to Schubert's SERENADE and AVE MARIA, or the waltzes of Johann Strauss, with the same rapture he finds in Duke Ellington's "blues," or a Thyagaraja recital on the South Indian nadaswaram (wind instrument played in South Indian temples).

He has also acted in more than 200 radio dramas in English and Tamil as well as in the Tamil and Malay films he directed. Rama Nathan aspires toward utilizing his wide-ranging travels in India, Ceylon, Malaysia and Singapore in his stories based on the multi-racial peoples of these areas, their excitingly divergent cultures, customs and ways of life.

—R. BALA SUBRAMANIAM, Madras, India

TOSHIKAZU TAKAO is an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ in Japan. His department at Kanto Gakuin University in Yokohama was recently dissolved. **CYRIL POWLES**, his translator, is a Canadian Anglican priest currently teaching at the Central Theological College in Tokyo. **GAYLORD NELSON**, former governor and currently senator of Wisconsin, is an outspoken conservationist and a leading critic of what we are doing to our environment. **TOM BOOMERSHINE** remains at Union Theological Seminary in New York City where he teaches New Testament. **STAN STEINER**, long-time friend of *motive*, continues to write from Santa Fe, New Mexico. The **AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP** receives its mail at P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

CARTOONIST: DAN O'NEILL makes metaphysical statements for the San Francisco Chronicle and Glide Urban Center Publications, which recently published his book containing "God Is a Rock." He invites you to color his cartoons with felt pens.

POET: GARY GILDNER's first book of poems, *First Practice*, was published in 1969 by the University of Pittsburgh Press. He resides in Des Moines where he is preparing a second collection, *Holding On*, which will include "The Occupant."

ARTISTS: If *motive* were a pheasant in a field of stubble, then its artists would be the plumage that distinguishes it from the crows. The feathers of this issue are provided by: **RICK SMOLAN, BOB PELFREY, NELSON OESTREICH, RODNEY FREW, WALTER EARL, BERK CHAPPELL, GLEN PEARCY, BRUCE MISFELDT, JACK CORN, ROHN ENGH, BROTHER JUDE, W. R. LIDH, KRIS HOTVEDT, BETTY LaDUKE, JIM GIBSON, ELIZABETH EDDY, BRUCE McCOMBS, ED CARLIN, BRIAN SHORE** and **DOUGLAS GILBERT.**

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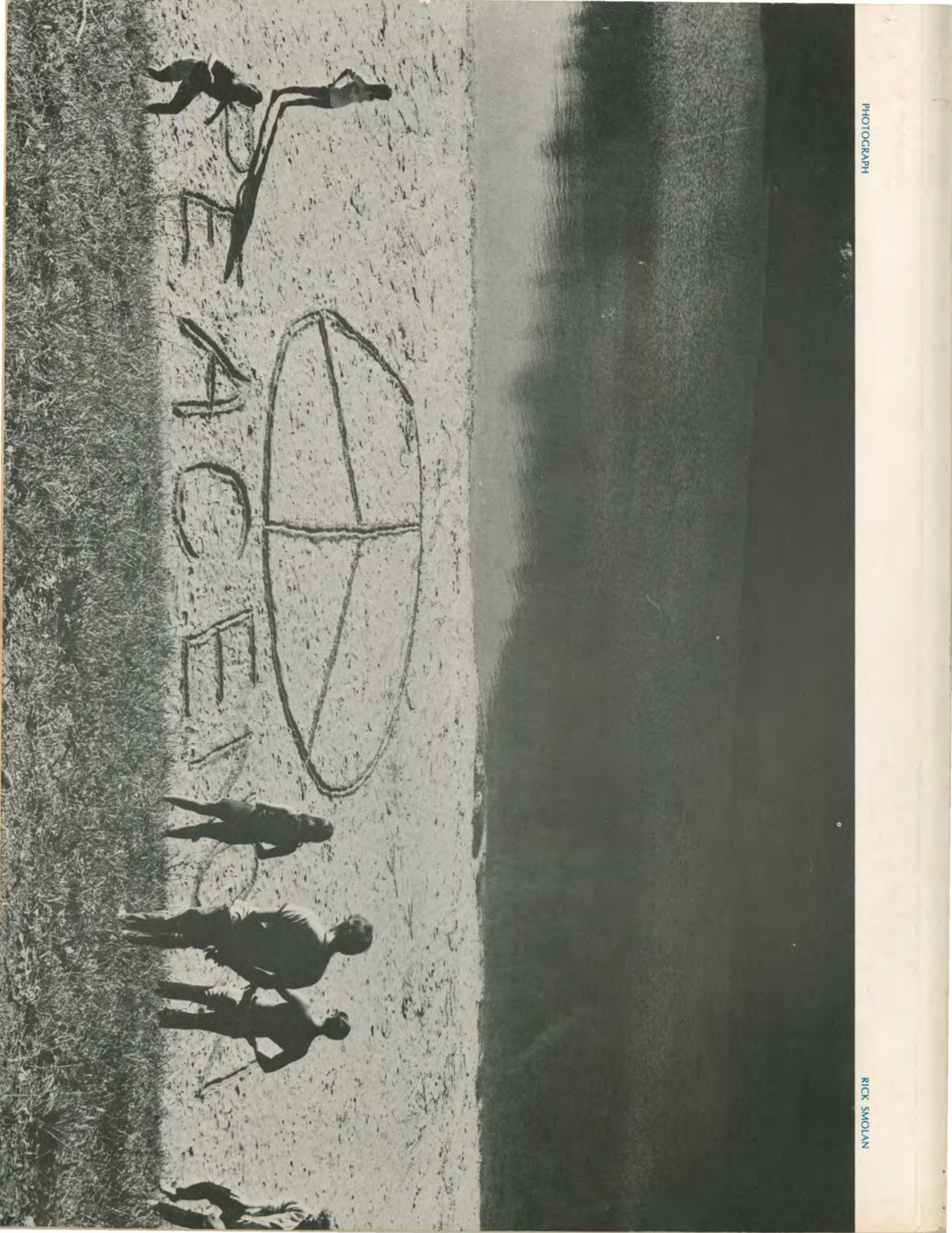
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