

motive

march

1970

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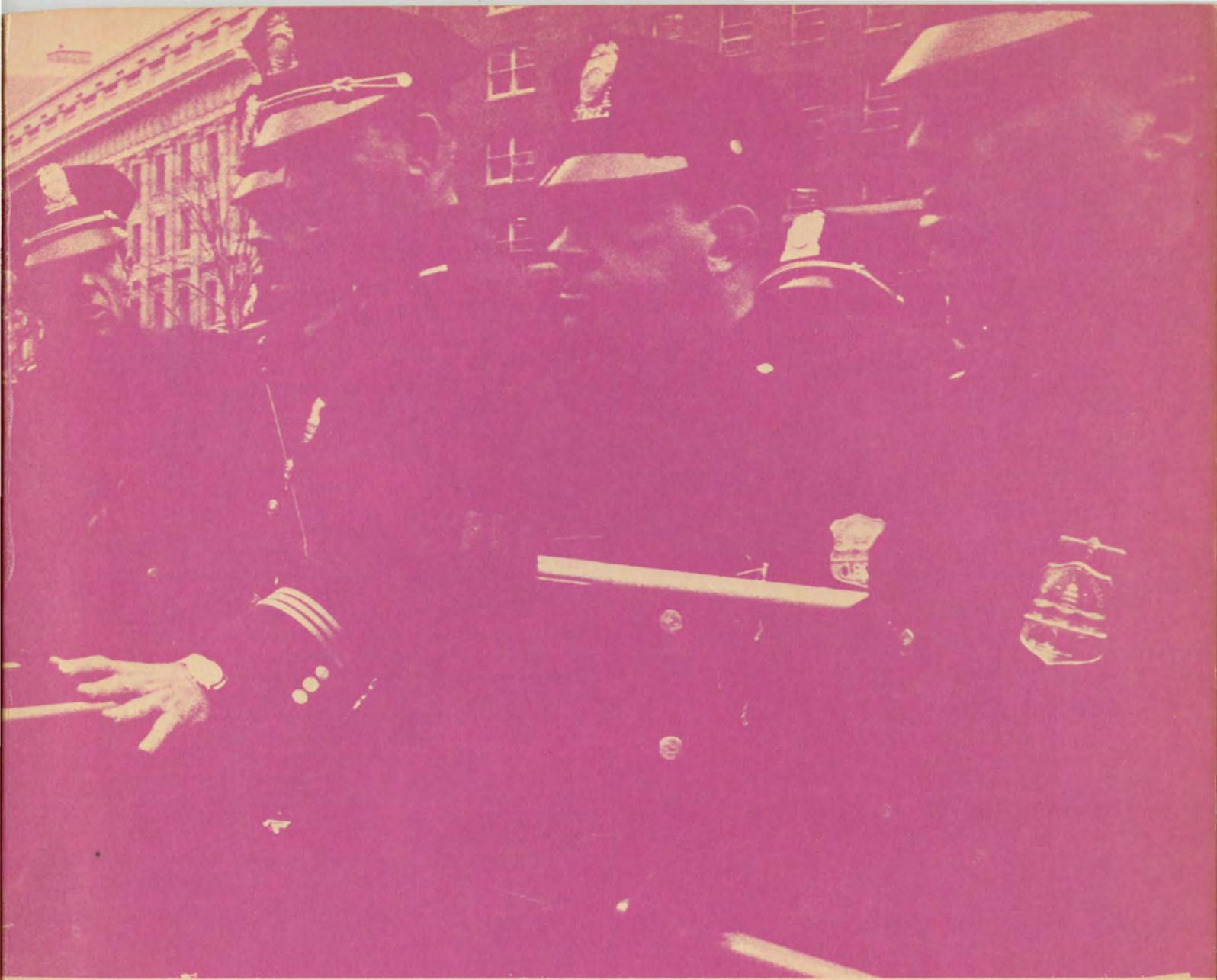




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RICK SMOLAN

FRONT COVER: Rick Smolan has captured the response that the young give to life. The response is WOW . . . FAR OUT . . . CAN YOU DIG IT? Rick is a student at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa.

BACK COVER: The "Litany for the American Christian" by William R. Johnson, Jr. is reprinted with permission from *Theology Today*, October, 1969.

MARCH 1970

motive

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Volume XXX, Number 6

ROBERT MAURER

strategy and planning

JAMES STENTZEL

substance and production

DENNIS AKIN

art and design; Carlisle, Pa.

JOANNE COOKE

culture and community

SHARON CONNELLY

communications and
celebrations

ALAN D. AUSTIN

poetry and ideas;
Washington, D.C.

MARIE MOOREFIELD

circulation and marketing

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CORRECTION: We apologize to Peter Wild and to our readers for the inaccuracy of the lay-out of his three poems in the December, 1969, issue. While all the copy was there, the titles were not clearly indicated. These were "Goats," "Death by jets of steaming water" and "Heartbreak." With these titles in mind, the unfortunate jigsaw puzzle will fall into place, and the proper lay-out will become evident.

—ED.



I've just finished reading "Loving the America that is" by Pete Young in your Dec. '69 issue. Wow! ! ! I surely must love that guy now!

I was brought up in Paris, Tenn. which, I must say, is the greatest place I've ever lived. I've also lived in Kentucky, New Orleans, Kansas, and now in Los Angeles. Anyway, I came out here in the summer of '69 looking for all the groovy stuff that's supposed to be going on out here. I was immediately disappointed. I had to come all this way to find out that my school-mates and neighbors in Paris are real people, driving around in their souped-up Chevies, drag racing on the highway and fighting on Saturday night on Brewer Street and cruising around the Dairy Queen. I finally realized that these people are alive and they dig it and I had the most fun in my life living with them.

I did the hippie bit for awhile. It's depressing to me. So many of the people are lost, egotistical, and totally unconcerned with anything but their own bit.

I used to worry all the time about what was going to happen to the world and what I could do. Now, I've decided that everything happening just adds to the whole picture, someday it will be complete, all the history books will tell a story and they will have an end to the story.

I enjoy watching the evolution of the world. Who am I to put myself in its way?

JUDY WAHL

los angeles, california

My appreciation and congratulations on the December issue of *motive*. The scene is crucial and I think you have given it the greatest treatment possible. I am grateful for your touch and guiding hand with *motive* this year. It is not the most enviable job in many people's eyes.

MRS. CAROLYN D. WILHELM

United Methodist Board of Missions
new york city

Keep up the good work—your efforts are much appreciated here at home in maintaining publication of your excellent journal. It's really more than a journal—it's an honest, forthright, contemporary and challenging literary and artistic creation. You certainly have much to be proud of.

RAYMOND KLUYTENAAR
stamford, connecticut

This letter is written to protest the publication of the magazine *motive* by the Division of Higher Education of the United Methodist Church.

The Montrose United Methodist Church Administrative Board, on December 2, passed a motion in opposition to this magazine as objectionable.

Our Charge Conference, on December 17, passed the following motion:

Moved by Warren Williams and seconded by Clinton Smith that the Charge Conference of the Montrose United Methodist Church object to the magazine *motive*. Motion passed unanimously. The presiding officer of the Charge Conference was our District Superintendent, Dr. Alfred L. Crayton.

We object to the magazine for the following principal reasons:

1. Language, i.e., four and five letter words which are usually confined to the walls of toilet rooms.
2. Suggestive Art Work.
3. Political views.
4. Philosophies.
5. General Content of Magazine.

The above five objections are not meant to be all inclusive—other objections could also be cited.

If publication is to be continued, we feel that it should express a positive view of the Methodist Faith.

We realize that our Methodist Youth can purchase on many newsstands magazines which are much more specific and graphic than is *motive*. However, these general publications are not sponsored and sanctioned by the United Methodist Church and we would certainly hope that our youth, by virtue of their training at home and in our Church, would be more selective in their magazines purchases.

We assume that some part of the money paid to the Church by each member is used to support *motive*.

MRS. PEGGY KINGSTON
secretary, charge conference
prospect street

WARREN R. WILLIAMS, JR., CHAIRMAN
parish pastoral relations committee (1969)
giffis street

CLINTON T. SMITH, CHAIRMAN
administrative board
1 church street
montrose, pennsylvania

I would not send it to a dog much less to a human being. The Methodist Church should not allow this to be distributed.

CHARLES M. EARLEY
norfolk, virginia

I only recently obtained your address from the Wesley Foundation at Southeastern La. College, where our daughter is a freshman. The Wesley Foundation, along with the *motive* magazine, plays a great part in her campus life. For this, we are thankful parents.

The December 1956 issue of *motive* contains an article, "A Touch of Reality," by William D. Ellington. This young student from Boston, Mass. held a revival in Venice, La. and went alligator hunting with my husband and wrote this article when he got back to Boston.

Our copy that Bill sent us has gone through two hurricanes and looks rather "shabby." If possible, I want to purchase at least two more copies.

MRS. SIDNEY J. FRUGIA
venice, louisiana

I have been reading *motive* for the last few months and am impressed by two major things: the relevance of your content along with your excellent employment of the media and the amount of controversy you have engendered.

My own personal feelings regarding *motive* were best summed up by Norman O. Brown when he wrote "I think that's a pretty groovy magazine you all in the Methodist Church got going there." In response to your detractors it appears they generally regard the content of *motive* as un-Christian and anti-Christ as they seem to believe the name Christian should not be attached to your magazine. I would posit these people do not believe controversial ideas belong in a church magazine and have forgotten that Christ was above all a controversial figure who, when he voiced his opposition to the Sanhedrin (the ruling court of the day), was voicing his opposition to the establishment of his day. I find it in the realm of possibility that your detractors would view Christ as an anti-Christ, and would urge them to study the life of Christ and the meaning of the word Christian. I sincerely hope you will continue to disseminate relevant articles and will not be forced to become apologetic for expressing your ideas.

ALAN M. LAGOD
san jose, california

We owe you a deep debt of gratitude for restoring relevance back to religion. Time after time you have supplied me with articles which have been the central focus of an hour's discussion in my Humanities classes. I particularly admire your bare-fisted, free-swinging articles on subjects which others would not touch. Particularly good is Will Campbell's article in the current issue (December, 1969). There are too many sacred cows in our society which have grazed unmolested too long.

Another thanks is due you for art work and poetry that is never an insult to the intelligence but is always provocative and stimulating.

In short you are the best reason I would have to change from a Presbyterian to a Methodist—but then I discovered your magazine in our church library where there is a complete file. Thanks and please continue to ignore the tiresome cranks who display their ignorance on your letters pages.

R. H. FLANDERS
council bluffs, iowa

Under no circumstances, whatsoever, would I ever think of renewing my subscription to *motive* magazine! I have received your publication for the past two years, and it has been a bitter disappointment for me.

The majority of all the poems, articles, and what you choose to call "art" are anything but uplifting or inspirational. I would classify it as atheistic for the most part, for in many instances its contents downgrade Christ's teachings of high ideals, morality, as well as reverence for the God and Saviour of the Christian Church per se. What I have read in *motive* impresses me as coming primarily from emotionally disturbed or mentally sick people. Everything is depressing—the crude, dull, shadowy "etchings" and drawings by your so-called "artists"; the context of almost all the so-called "poems"; and the advocacy of free love, free sex and other immoral and strictly un-Christian suggestions!

How disappointing that any Christian Church would—or could—endorse such a publication to be distributed to their youth—and especially the Methodist Church, which for many years has had a fine record of truly dedicated Christian people!

Sorry that *motive* magazine has not lived up to my high expectations!

MRS. JOHN W. MEREDITH
st. louis, missouri

Jersey City, New Jersey

Dear Sya,

I write to you from a city in which three Black Panthers have been jailed for a year without having been brought to trial. I am confident this is not an exceptional case. Rather, the will of this country is aimed at the demise of the Black Panther Party, and there are no limits on the tactics to be used.

The popular image of the Panther here is as a gun-toting rioter. The press, Senate investigation committees, and the Nixon administration have fired a fear that the Panther wants, and indeed has launched, the violent overthrow of the government. "Just look at all those weapons in their headquarters," we hear. "Why else would they stockpile them unless they wanted to kill us all?" This false image-making has been employed as a skillful cover to mask a concerted effort to eradicate the Black Panther Party. But the cover is wearing thin. Underneath lies the real threat: the basic institutions which are supposed to guarantee our liberties are buckling under pressure to get the Panthers. Provisions for a "speedy trial" and against "excessive bond" have already bitten the dust in this macabre cowboys-and-Indians scenario.

That the Panther is armed is his attractiveness to ghetto dwellers long accustomed to police who have treated them with contempt. That the Panther has declared he is armed for *self-defense* underscores the basic non-violent nature of the black community. Like the Deacons for Defense of the latter civil rights days, the Panthers stand as a counter-threat, reacting against provocative police actions.

I think it is beside the point, Sya, for middle-class citizens to pooh-pooh the Panthers' equation of power and the bearing

of arms. Vietnam provided us with that formula. And furthermore, we hardly know first-hand the intimidation and humiliation of ghetto life caused, in part, by those officially sanctioned to bear arms—the police. It is also spurious for us to try and decide who fired the first shots, Panthers or police. Rather, the important question still remains: Who creates the climate for this continual confrontation between the Panthers and the police?

The answer lies in Jersey City, and in other cities where Panther programs have had some success. It is the Panthers' attitude toward their own kind (free breakfast programs, health clinics, and other service programs) that has caused the nation-wide effort to incapacitate Panther activities. The Panthers have been determined to provide services which white agencies have promised, but never delivered. Not the "threat" of armed assault, but the reality of really caring for the poor has alarmed the white establishment. Let's look at Jersey City.

With its anti-recidivism program (ex-convicts being a sizable portion of many ghetto populations), the Panthers and others began to organize a constituency around bread-and-butter issues, as well as a forceful identity. They had a basic commitment to their own community, *per se*. Unlike other leaders who used the community as a stepping-stone into the white world, the Panthers stayed at home—where the real suffering is. Potentially, then, they had an attractiveness which could have been a direct threat to the long-time white political control over the ghetto. With the inner core of cities becoming increasingly black, the Panther Party loomed as a viable alternative to continued white political and economic domination. It was no accident, then, that the roughest treatment, including the killing

toward a civil future

of several Panther leaders, has been meted out in Chicago, the epitome of the Democratic political machine. Nor is Jersey City much different.

The Panthers' approach is direct. They go to food merchants on a straight, charitable appeal. When the merchant comes forward with some goods, the Panthers then say: "The poor are hungry this week, and we thank you for helping feed them. But the poor will be hungry again next week, so we'll be back." And it has been crystal clear by their stance that the Panthers could not be deflected from their goals with the methods of yore—poverty programs, official appointments, bribes—into "safer" slots. The only alternative for the powerful (as in Vietnam) has been the careful orchestration of false image-making on the one hand, and violent repression on the other.

Where are the churches in all of this? There have been some notable exceptions to the general pattern of confusion and retreat from this kind of confrontation. Several ministers in Jersey City had supported the Panther programs by providing material services, publicity and interpretation. But their congregations finally made them leave their churches. Elsewhere outside church support has been provided in small measure; it has always depended on the willingness of churches within the area of conflict to call for it. In general, however, the usual church response has been initial protest, followed by the closing of church doors as the conflict escalated. Many churchmen simply do not have the stomach to cope with the rank nastiness experienced by anyone poking his nose into the business of repression.

In Wilmington, Delaware, for example, the churches literally locked their doors

against outside assistance as an official effort to break the back of black community organization was in full swing. Co-operating with "outside" churchmen would have meant recognition of their analysis of the seriousness of the situation. In Wilmington the churchmen accepted the image-making of those in power, especially as contributions to their churches were withdrawn by members of the "better" families in town, and phone calls were received urging caution. In St. Louis, after an initial outcry against the brutal beating of two Black Liberators in a precinct stationhouse following their arrest on minor traffic violations, the churches retired from the scene once again. In all, there seems to be a massive psychological withdrawal of commitment by the churches to protect the rights of individuals and communities in conflict with the state—especially those whose stated goals have to do with caring for their own poor.

You see, Sya, about a year ago, three Black Panthers were indicted by a Grand Jury on numerous counts which involved scrafing a police station. (It was first reported in the Jersey City newspaper that white persons were seen driving by; then the story was changed to black persons, then later to Black Panthers.) Isaiah Rowley, a long-time community organizer, and his two friends were then locked in a cell and a very high bond was set. The result: Pre-trial detention without hope of a trial. They're still there. You see, there is little respect for constitutional safeguards when the Law wants to get its man!

We look forward to a day when our legal system is separated from its rural roots and mythologies, and becomes an instrument to keep the Law in order.—**R. Maurer**

Alice's coming of age in America seems to parallel the self-doubts which both the church and the country have undergone in her lifetime. From a sturdy middle-class family and secure adolescence during the complacent 1950's, the road to a church-related college and seminary seemed a predictable course. Armed with a B.D. (but no ordination) Alice spent three years in Geneva and Paris doing church-related work and benefiting from the mind-expanding atmosphere of living another language and culture. Since her return to the USA in 1965, Alice has been a major mover and thinker in the Committee of Returned Volunteers. She was a primary author of the 1967 CRV position paper on Vietnam which linked CRV opposition to the war to a sophisticated theory of economic development and national self-determination which CRV feels American imperialism denies the Vietnamese and other Third World peoples. As the times have become more complicated and turbulent, so has Alice's family charge, to "hurl thunderbolts at evil," become more difficult to fulfill. In 1965 she moved to East Harlem as a part of seminarians' concern for the people of the inner city; in 1969 she moved out of Spanish Harlem, overtaken by the decay of the city and its citizens. The sort of young woman who might easily have won the D.A.R. award for citizenship in high school, her patriotism led her to demonstrate in Chicago in the summer of 1968 and to observe the Socialist experiences of Cuba in 1969. Deeply committed to the church and its mission, today she pickets outside the First Spanish Methodist Church in support of the militant Puerto Rican Young Lords who have occupied the church to demand space for its community hot breakfast and day-care programs.

—MARLYN DALSIMER, New York City

I am HATE of North
 Vietnam
 he is no longer
 he is dead
 we are alive
 we are looking into
 another's eyes





¡QUE LOS DIES MILLONES VAN!

The Ten Million Are On Their Way!

By ALICE HAGEMAN

In collaboration with Rafael Ruiz

How will we celebrate July 26?" we asked our guide, Eloisa, as we arrived in Havana from the airport. "By working in the fields," she replied. "This year we're not having any July 26,* or Christmas, or New Year. We'll celebrate everything together next July 26, after the ten million tons harvest." Thus began our exposure to Cuba and to the long-awaited ten million ton *zafra*, or harvest.

This is the Year of the Decisive Effort,** an effort for which Cubans have been preparing for more than five years. Not since the literacy campaign in 1961, which resulted in the reduction of Cuba's illiteracy rate from 24 to 4 percent, has such a massive mobilization of the population taken place. Sugar again dominates the scene as it once did during pre-revolutionary days. What, if anything, has changed? And how, if at all, is Cuba's lot

* July 26 is the anniversary of the date when Fidel and others tried, in 1953, to seize the Moncada fortress in Santiago de Cuba. Although their effort failed, the Revolution marks July 26 as the beginning of the final phase of the 100-year struggle for independence.

** The Cubans give a name to each year—such as, Year of Agriculture, Year of Education, Year of Heroic Vietnam, Year of the Decisive Effort.

different from that of other developing countries? These were some of the questions which we raised from our perspective as members of the Committee of Returned Volunteers on our trip to Cuba during the summer of 1969. Most of the members of the CRV have done volunteer service in Asia, Africa or Latin America.

Since our return to the U.S. we have tried to understand the U.S. role in widening the gap between rich and poor nations and to discover effective ways of opposing and exposing U.S. policies in the Third World. We hoped to learn in Cuba how development takes place, and a new society is created, in a Third World country where the U.S. presence is felt through opposition rather than exploitation. In addition, we were interested in looking closely at the international aspects of the harvest and in discovering whether any form of volunteer service can be of use in revolutionary developing countries.

We have come to realize that the piecemeal, band-aid, maintenance-type work which most of us have done in the name of development fails to touch many of the root causes of poverty. We have, in our "service," contributed little that is positive and perhaps much that is negative to pre-revolutionary societies. However, we also know that volunteer service has contributed much to our own international education. We wanted to test out whether (and under what conditions and auspices) an opportunity for learning about a revolutionary developing society by working in it could be made available to persons from industrialized countries.

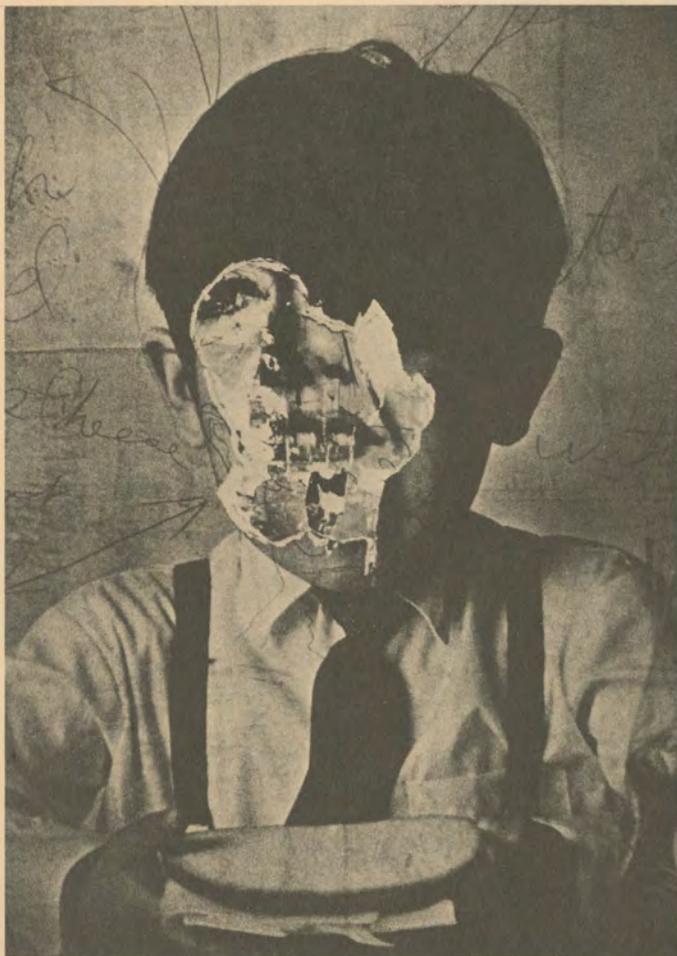
During the one-hundred years of struggle preceding the revolution, sugar was seen by many Cuban patriots as the source of Cuba's exploitation and underdevelopment. Enormous areas of land, much left idle, were owned by few families and corporations; profits went into private (individual and corporate) pockets; the whole country was dependent on the fluctuations of the international sugar market for its economic viability, and on the U.S. market for the sale of its crop. The life of one of the approximately 400,000 cane cutters was one of poverty, hunger, and ignorance. He worked only during the four months' harvest season, and received an annual per capita income of \$100. He lived in a house made of palm

leaves, earth, and mud, lighted by kerosene, with no toilet and probably not even an outhouse. His diet* was primarily rice and beans, with occasional dried fish; he rarely ate meat or fresh fish, eggs or bread. His children rarely drank milk and probably had no schooling at all.

Immediately after the revolution steps were taken to bring full employment, land reform, industrialization, new markets and independence from U.S. influence in decision-making. Decisions were made to terminate reliance on a one-crop economy and to move from the centrality of sugar to industrial and agricultural diversification. The swing away from sugar was so vigorous that some cane fields were even rooted out. Efforts were made to develop cattle, fish, nickel, tomatoes and potatoes. Learning through trial and error was the pragmatic path followed during those first years of the Revolution. Almost anything that would help in meeting the needs of the people was given a try. And the Revolution brought a change in the life of the cane cutter. He began to work all year long, and to receive a more living wage. He either has a new prefab house or hopes for one in the near future. His children drink milk and go to school at least through the sixth grade. His family shares with the rest of the country in the rationed (so now more equal) distribution of meat, fish, eggs and bread.

In 1962, with the growing awareness of the \$150 million balance of payments deficit (destined to increase each year unless something drastic was done), the Cubans began to realize that they had to produce large amounts of capital quickly. Although their ultimate goal was industrialization, the hard fact was that this process is very slow. In the meantime they were forced to continue to rely on the existing agricultural economy. After evaluating potential revenue from other sources, the Cuban planners realized that none could possibly finance the short-range import needs, let alone the long-term capital needs for investment in machinery and equipment utilized in agricultural and industrial development. Consequently, sugar became

* Out of the total population before the Revolution, only one in 25 ate meat, one in 100 ate fish, one in 50 ate eggs, one in 35 ate bread, and one in nine drank milk. Persons who included these elements in their diets generally lived in the cities, not in the cane fields.



PHOTOGRAPH

BOB COMBS

once again the primary capital-producing commodity.

In the spring of 1963 Fidel Castro announced a sugar production goal of ten million tons for 1970. The Revolution was returning to primary reliance on a single crop --but this time it would play a role within, not against, the Revolution.

The problems of this year's *zafra* are innumerable. For example, one of the first decisions of the Revolution was to do away with the seasonal employment of the cane cutters which characterized the past, and to guarantee them permanent employment. Consequently, the harvest must depend upon the mobilization of vast segments of the population for the temporary work of the peak season. Most of these persons are not skilled in cane-cutting, and many are city-dwellers unaccustomed to life in the country. This means that, although spirits may be high, efficiency will doubtless be quite low. We saw this operate in our own "productive labor" last summer; although we were eager to learn, it took much time and patience to teach us how to do the work correctly—and even then our pace was much slower than

that of the Cuban *campesinos* with whom we worked.

Another major difficulty is the machinery needed to process, transport, and (in still rare instances) cut the cane. The U.S. embargo has been very harmful in this area. In effect since 1960, the embargo prohibits Cuban import of any U.S. goods except food and medicine. The embargo also exercises pressure on other countries by prohibiting entry into U.S. ports to any ship which has carried goods to Cuba. Since they cannot order parts, the Cubans have invented make-do repair systems, and there has been minimal importation of new machinery. Nevertheless, the antiquated state of most machinery, the difficulty in obtaining replacement parts, and the shortage of trained technicians (many of whom left the country during the early days of the Revolution) further complicates the harvest.

There are also significant administrative obstacles. True, the government is in a better position today than ten years ago for carrying out such an effort, for it has had time and experience to plan for implementation of this long-set basic priority in the economy. Nevertheless, in view of the large number of volunteers working in the fields, there are bound to be major disruptions in food supply (keeping the volunteers fed) and in public services and bureaucratic functions (taking up the slack left by those who go from their desks and other jobs to work in the fields. This affects even the highest diplomatic levels. For example, one acquaintance who has been part of the Cuban Mission to the U.N. went immediately into the cane

fields when he returned to Havana from New York.)

Finally, there is the problem of expanding and modernizing transportation facilities. Since each ton of sugar is produced from approximately eight times its weight in cane, it is necessary to move *eighty* million tons of cane to produce ten million tons of sugar. Since cane must be processed within 48 hours of its cutting or it loses most of its juice, the cane must be transported rapidly.

The problems are undeniably very great. The hope is that after ten years of experience the government is now in a better position to resolve them than at any previous time. Again and again, as we assessed the potential for the success of the *zafra* as we saw it, we raised the question of whether the energies unleashed when people control their own resources, as now in Cuba, will be adequate to the enormous task of development. Must the poor always be manipulated and exploited by the rich? What will it mean for the future of socialism in Cuba, and change in other developing countries, if the efforts going into the *zafra* are not enough? What options are open to developing countries which seek both rapid growth and the welfare of the whole of the population? These questions are open. They can only be resolved, if ever, after a much longer period of effort and intense struggle.

In large measure recipients of the Cuban sale of ten million tons of sugar in 1970 reflect the alliances which she has developed since the Revolution, and the results of her efforts at diversification of markets. The Cuban sugar production also goes one step further in developing a division of labor among Socialist countries.

The help of the U.S.S.R. has been indispensable in sustaining the Cuban Revolution. Without Russian economic and technical assistance, the Cuban Revolution could never have survived until this harvest. As an additional sign of its support, the Soviet Union in 1964 contracted for five million tons, or one half of the 1970 harvest, at 6.11 cents per pound. This is one to three cents above the "free world" market price, or a difference of \$20-60 million per million tons. The Russians have found that it is cheaper, even with costs of transport, to buy Cuban sugar than to produce their own. Contracting



PHOTOGRAPH

AL CLAYTON

for the sugar also enables them to engage in trade rather than provide an outright subsidy to the economy.

China will purchase one million tons at 6.11 cents per pound. Eastern European countries account for an additional one million tons, also at approximately six cents per pound.

Cuba is reserving for internal consumption some 600,000 tons. Finally, under the International Sugar Agreement, Cuba can sell 2,150,000 tons to some 70 countries in the "free world market" at something between three and five cents per pound.

In his July 26, 1967, speech at the national celebration for the 1953 attack on the Moncada fortress, Fidel said, "Through work we will create human wealth; through your work we will create human awareness."

It is clear that the major purpose of the 1970 *zafra* is accumulation of capital. However, the way in which the *zafra* is being carried out shows how the Cubans are approaching the equally significant issue of creating human awareness.

Something around half a million persons are directly involved in cutting sugar cane this year, while many more are involved in providing supporting services. Recruitment is being carried out through all sorts of local grass roots organizations—factories, schools and universities, youth organizations, Women's Federations and CDRs (Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, local block organizations). Volunteers live and work in units of 25 or more—from a particular factory, or university faculty, or block, or even church group (such as the group of twelve pastors who cut cane together in the spring of 1969). A special effort is made to encourage women to take part, and many posters around the country make appeals about woman's role in agriculture. Mobilization on this scale is possible in the new Cuba because structures have been created which help people understand the importance of their participation.

The major effects of mobilizing large numbers of volunteers to cut cane and to contribute their efforts to the harvest are three: in strengthening consciousness about the nature and importance of agricultural work; in the concrete joining of theory and practice; and in guarding against the development of a new soft urban class.

Agricultural work, once thought menial, has taken on new status since the Revolution. "Productive labor" it is called today. And the whole population knows that the future of the country depends in large measure on what happens in the *campo*, at this point particularly in the cane fields. In addition, they know that the fruits of today's labors are for all, not just for the privileged and wealthy few. The harvest will bring the capital to pay for the machines necessary for further development, as well as for imports of certain foodstuffs like wheat and other items unavailable in Cuba. All come to understand that they have a personal stake in the *zafra*. In one middle-class family I visited, the wife complained a lot about rationing and shortages of foods more easily available before the revolution. Her husband, a pastor and member of the local CDR, kept pointing out that, contrary to the situation in many Latin American countries, they had food on their table each day. He also reminded her that things would get better for them when they got better for everyone—in contrast with the individual, personal privileges of the old days—and that the *zafra* was going to be important for helping this to happen.

A major goal of the Revolution is to create a new man in a new society. Voluntary work is the most concrete place in which the joining of revolutionary theory and practice takes place and *consciencia** is created. Here people experience agricultural labor, the basis of the economy, as very hard work. Here they gain a visceral awareness of the need for educating technicians (often including themselves) who will solve the problems faced by the economy, and make both professional and voluntary labor easier and more productive. This awareness can lead to support for the long-term discipline presently imposed upon the country—including the policy of reinvesting more than 30 per cent of the G.N.P. into the economy. For example, we considered our own consciousness about problems of development to be fairly high, but realized we had a new understanding after several days of

* *Consciencia*, one of the most frequently used words in the Cuban vocabulary, has all the connotations of conscience, consciousness, conscientiousness and commitment.

hot and arduous work in the fields. This experience led us to reconsider our own personal plans for work on issues of development in light of this experience. It also made us a bit more tolerant when we were tempted to join in complaints about shortages and long lines.

Persons who live and work in the fields together over a period of several weeks also learn new things about their fellow workers or students. This period provides a unique opportunity for political education about what their work is for, as well as for learning to work together cooperatively in a new context—learning which may well carry over when they return to the factory or school from which they come. “Formal” education can also be integrated into the life of the camp, as classes take place throughout the week when persons are not actually in the fields. For example, in the camp which we visited on the Isle of Youth, basic education in language and mathematics took place each evening, most frequently with those who have already received more schooling (perhaps into high school) teaching their peers who have had virtually none. Education in this context seemed to us to have a much higher potential for being more related to the problems of daily life and work, and less subject to charges of irrelevance.

Finally, the pattern of city dwellers going to do voluntary work in the fields provides a major guard against the development of a new soft urban class, comfortably settled in the cities and removed from the problems of the countryside. In Cuba nearly everyone in a position of responsibility leads an active life, and is kept from falling into a bureaucratic rut or escaping into the isolation of academia.

The time spent working in the fields also upsets established authority patterns—as, for example, students and professors work side by side and together follow the directions of the work boss. In our own work we saw Cubans in authority over us defer to work leaders in the camp. We watched as persons whose facility in articulating (perhaps our own area of greatest assurance) was more limited excel in their ability and endurance in productive labor. In Cuba I learned to wield a hoe for the first time in my life. I feel great admiration for the *campesino* who

carefully showed me what I was supposed to do, stood by patiently while I awkwardly charged into a heavy growth of weeds around a citrus tree—then whipped off down the row with great skill and speed accomplishing about five times as much as I in a far more thorough and effective way.

The harvest brings a new consciousness about the meaning of development to everyone in the society. In contrast with other developing countries, where frequently only the elite are aware of the issues, Cuba has everyone involved in the *zafra*. For several hundred thousand this will mean actual participation in the physical work of cane-cutting. Others participate more vicariously. Billboards all over the country proclaim that the ten million tons harvest is everyone’s achievement. *Granma*, the daily paper, has a regular column, “What are you doing for the ten million tons?” Young and old respond—describing their intentions to go to the fields, and/or what special effort they are making during the year and how the work they are doing in their present locale contributes to the overall effort. This is all part of a general political education about the interrelationship of issues, and helps people be aware of how all together they are working for the development of their country. For example, on July 14, the first day of the harvest period, the person interviewed was the trainer for the Cuban swimming team. He mentioned occasional trips to the fields for volunteer labor with boys from the team, and then stated that Cuban victory in the Central American and Caribbean Games would be another form of victory over imperialism, complementing that of the *zafra*.

He has said, “The revolution must be made at a violent pace. He who gets tired has the right to get tired, but he does not have the right to be in the vanguard.”

In Cuba, being a *responsable* (a responsible one or a leader) is not to accumulate special privileges, but rather to work harder than others. The new man is being formed not in abstract discussions but in concrete actions, in looking to the example furnished by others. For instance, when the Soviet fleet came to Cuba last summer, the Russian Admiral and sailors were photographed with Fidel cutting cane in the fields, rather than at formal state receptions as in most other nations.

Fidel asks nothing of the people which he does not do himself—a pattern of leadership familiar perhaps to Christians, but noticeably absent in most other contexts. Everyone is called on to be an example to, and encouragement for, everyone else. Those who excel will be singled out as exemplary workers, and will perhaps be selected by their peers for the great honor—and responsibility—of Party membership. Those who are so chosen join others who have been elected to represent the places where they live and work to come together at different times to make major policy decisions on behalf of the whole country.

The harvest points up, and contributes to, some of the transformation which has taken place in the churches in Cuba.

In the early '60s most church persons who co-operated with the government, or who supported the revolution, were viewed as anti-Christian collaborators. Gradually that attitude has softened, as seen in a few specific instances during 1969.

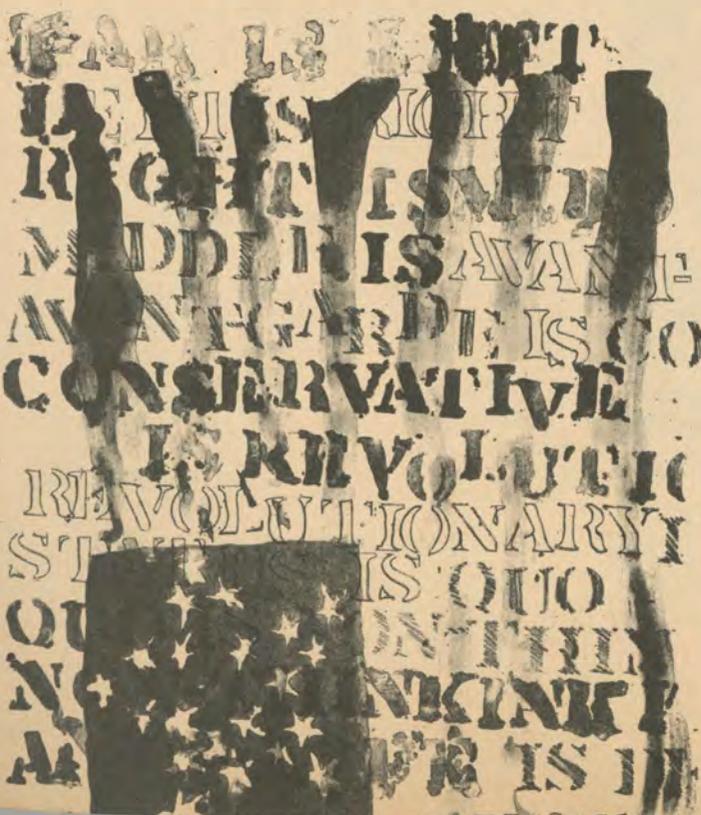
Probably most notable among Roman Catholics was the April pastoral letter of Cuban bishops. Most widely discussed—and object of controversy in many parishes—was their call for an end to the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba. Also of great importance was their interpretation of the significance of work in a developing country. This reads in part, "The importance of work in the perspective of a renewed social morality of development must lead us by force to renew our spirituality regarding work." They use as their authority

the papal encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*, which they cite as follows: " 'Work is for all something willed and blessed by God. Man created in His image must cooperate with his Creator in the perfecting of creation and communicate to the earth the spiritual imprint he himself has received.' Because 'everyone who works is a creator,' and further because 'when work is done in common, when hope, hardship, ambition and joy are shared, it brings together and firmly unites the wills, minds, and hearts of men; in its accomplishment, men find themselves to be brothers.' "

Among Protestants the most significant development was the participation by a group of twelve pastors in cutting cane for the 1969 harvest. In a service which I attended at the First Presbyterian Church in Havana this summer, one of the illustrations for a sermon on Christian involvement in society was drawn from this experience. The pastor, Raul Fernandez Ceballos, explained to me that he was helping to open parishioners to the possibility of themselves doing volunteer work.

An additional result of participation in the harvest has been the opportunity for dialogues between Christians and non-church-related persons. When I mentioned that I was going to visit Adolfo Ham, head of the Cuban Council of Churches, our guide Nelson said, "Oh, I know him. We cut cane together last spring." Nelson went on to explain that he had been educated in a Presbyterian School in Havana (there were few public schools before the revolution), but that since the revolution he had had no further contacts with church people. He spoke appreciatively of the contribution of Ham and the other pastors to both the work and the spirit of the camp, and noted that it was encouraging to see church persons participating in this kind of activity. He interpreted it as a sign that church persons and secular persons could work together and cooperate.

A further area of lively discussion, in addition to voluntary participation in the harvest, is the pastor's involvement with secular work. In a discussion on this question at the Assembly of the Cuban Presbyterian Church this summer, Carlos Piedra, a young black pastor (the only black Presbyterian pastor in Cuba) defended his position of working full-time in a sugar mill while also



RITA MESSINGER

LITHOGRAPH: FAR IS LEFT

...serving two small congregations part-time. When all the arguments had been heard, the the strongest counter to his plea for secular work seemed to be that, although secular work may be a good way to serve the people and to understand the world outside the church, it will also certainly cause the minister to neglect his congregation.

The ten million ton harvest has generated enthusiasm and expressions of solidarity from all over the world. In a fashion reminiscent of the Spanish Civil War, international brigades have formed in many countries.

The *zafra* of 1970 has been dedicated to "the heroic people of Vietnam," and the Vietnamese who come to join in the effort are held in special esteem. Their presence is an incarnate witness to the interrelationship between issues, and especially the ties between Asian and Latin American struggles against U.S. imperialism.

The Venceremos (We Will Overcome) Brigade, formed of some 700 young persons from the U.S., is the expression of U.S. Movement solidarity with the *zafra*. Their presence there, in two groups each staying for two months, is a sign for the Cuban people of opposition to U.S. policies towards Cuba by persons from the U.S. We hope it may also provide us with some guidance about new forms of volunteer service. The Brigade

ETCHING: THE CARDINAL VIETNAMPIRE



MAURICE SCHMIDT

is making available a special opportunity to develop the human, and especially the international, awareness of a sizeable number of young Americans through participation in the concrete, arduous labor of cutting cane in a revolutionary society.

There is no question that life in Cuba is difficult and that the need for discipline, for "decisive effort" and for restrictions on personal consumption will continue for a long time. However, it is becoming increasingly clear to many of us that struggles such as those of the Cubans for the 10 million tons and of the Vietnamese for self-determination represent the only alternative open to Third World countries which refuse to sink further into poverty and control by the rich. Thus I can only hope and pray that the 10 million tons will be harvested, that Cuba will succeed in her attempts to stem the tide of her underdevelopment and that she will withstand U.S. attempts to force her once again into subservience. Perhaps other Third World nations will take heart from these struggles and strengthen their own efforts to bring about a better future for all their people.

It is impossible to talk about the Cuban *zafra* without referring to its U.S. opposition. I have already mentioned the embargo, the economic pressures. In addition there is the constant threat of direct military intervention.

Last summer we visited Playa Giron, landing site for the Bay of Pigs. We looked at the U.S. materiel used in the invasion, and walked past the simple markers indicating the names of Cubans killed in the defense of their country against my own. On that day I felt more ashamed of my nationality than at any time since the Marine invasion of the Dominican Republic. How can my government, and my people, be so opposed to efforts to bring decency and dignity to all, to bring education and clothing and housing and food and medical care and useful work? In the Magnificat, Mary had a vision of the mighty being put down from their thrones and the humble lifted up, of the hungry being filled with good things and the rich sent away empty. It seems to me, at the very simplest level, that this is what the *zafra*, and the Cuban Revolution, are all about—and why both are so important to the future struggles in the Third World for self-determination and reversal of the widening gap.

"¡Que los dies millones van!"—and reassure those of us who dwell in this land of deep darkness that the forces of evil do not always prevail, that sometimes human effort can by sheer determination bring into being something new and creative and life-giving. I would like for that to be one of the endings to the story of the just-finished Disaster (not Development) Decade, and one possible alternative to the destruction being rained on so many parts of the world by the forces of the United States of America and her allies.

"¡Que los dies millones van!"
"¡Hasta la victoria siempre!"
"¡VENCEREMOS!" ■

FOR FURTHER READING

- Edward Boorstein, *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*, Monthly Review Press, 1968. \$3.45 (paper)
Lee Lockwood, *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*, Random House-Vintage (paper), 1969, \$2.95.
Mike Goldfield, "The New Man and the New Order in Cuba," *Viet Report*, April-May 1968.
(Reprints are available for 25¢ from Venceremos Brigade, P.O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.)
Transaction, April 1969, special issue on Cuba.
Of particular interest are articles by Joseph A. Kahl ("The Moral Economy of a Revolutionary Society") and Maurice Zeitlin ("Cuba—Revolution Without a Blueprint")

ABLE OR CANE

You, straw-stuffed swaggerer,
What would my knife find?
Dust would attack my allergy.

You, Able for what?
The soft, white underbelly of success
Is ripe for cutting.

See me? Though raised in sugar cane,
I am black as night.
At harvest, I gain only refusal.
Your confidence slices through my sanity.

See me? I am multi-hued.
I am blue with suffering.
Cows could graze on my green skin.
As for sin, I think sin itself is inequity.
Is God, then, guilt?

Now, I will prod through your being
Into my further fear.
What of retribution? The unknown? My own death?

With your last breath, Brother,
Admit, reversed, you would do the same thing,
Pressing steel through my tight-lipped bulk.

But O, I think I have found blood after all!
You must forgive me for killing you.
I was just trying to see
If you were ever really alive.

—KAY D. WEEKS

AT THE TRIAL for the conspiracy 8

there is a high velocity in this room

I calmed it
with my blue
magnetic hands
moved it
like a tense
bird

into a corner

where it shivered
and wept
like a prehistoric
dream

—ANTHONY VAUGHAN

DIACETYLENE C
G

TRIFUN GA

TRISPHENOL



SARIN GB

VX

CS

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Rhodesia's thousands of miles of borders are the scene of guerrilla warfare as Blacks engage modern military units in a vicious form of running war. While spending 13 years as a Methodist missionary and as president of the United Church of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia), Colin Morris found he had to declare himself on the matter of nationalist Christians fighting, and possibly killing, for freedom. His recently published book, *Unyoung, Uncolored, Unpoor*, is a prophetic and subjective declaration on the ethics of violence in which he says "yes" to fighting to a Rhodesian who asked the question, "Can a Christian take up guns and sticks against his fellow man?"

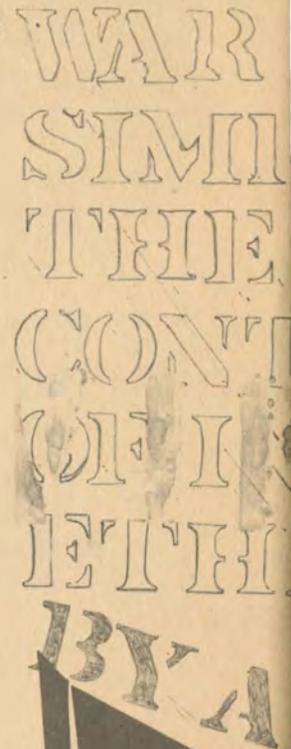
The excerpt printed here is from the concluding chapter of the book. As such, it is taken out of a larger context in which Rev. Morris acknowledges the difficulty of choosing revolution. He believes that the man who fights for the right of mankind to be human should anticipate sharing the fate of Jesus Christ. He argues that violent and non-violent actions are necessary counterpoints (i.e., that the U.S. needed both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.) and that either movement can be co-opted or destroyed if used at the wrong time in the wrong way. To support his case for justifiable violence, Rev. Morris biblically challenges the traditional church view that Jesus was innocent of sedition against the Roman authorities.

By publishing the following excerpt, *motive* does not condone acts of violence by staff members or readers. But then few of us personally or directly experience the violent repression that black Rhodesians, Vietnamese, Black Panthers and many others experience daily. These forms of systematic violence—against the young, colored and poor—must be harshly judged. But perhaps we need to be less hasty in judging violence that emanates from these oppressed groups. At specific times in specific situations there may not only be reasons for such violence—there may also be a precedent in the Jesus of history.

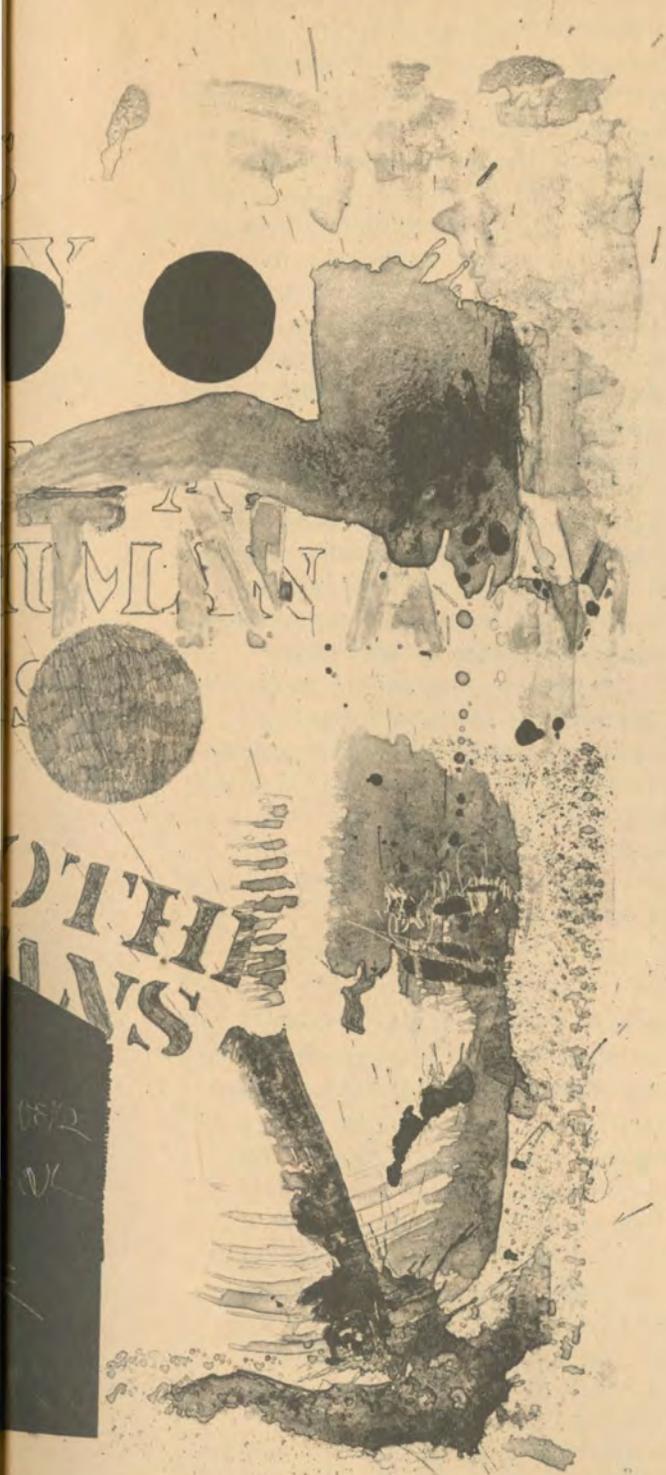
SALVATION BY VIOLENCE

by Colin Morris

RITA MESSINGER



LITHOGRAPH: MORE MOON'S RISE



"Salvation by Violence" is from Unyoung, Uncolored, Unpoor by Colin Morris. Copyright © 1969 by Abingdon Press.

The world of the unyoung, uncolored and unpoor, for all its technical innovation and physical speed, is a static world because no new human possibilities can break out from its inner deadness. In this sense it is a Godless world. In resisting whatever will catalyze necessary change, it is fighting against God and so is ripe for destruction. Hence, "Salvation by Violence" may not be far wide of the mark. God is the inspiration of every strategy which breaks down the old to make way for the new. He is behind all the revolutions of our time. Not every one of them is achieved by violence, but many are.

To expect the Church to come to terms with such a rigorous truth is to cry for the moon. To my knowledge, the Church as represented by her hierarchies, assemblies and professional saints has never supported a revolution. It is an odd thing that the Church is able to rest without too much discomfort at the heart of the most elaborate system of violence the world has known—Western society—and yet cries to high God about the evils of violence if some desperate peasant tries to hit back at the juggernaut which is crushing him. After the U.S. Strategic Air Command, the Church's Jesus is the world's most effective peacekeeper—for keeping things, that is, the way we want them.

The Church's abhorrence of revolution cannot be explained simply by saying that she shares the general corruption of the West, though that is true. Indeed, in contrast to the rock-hard complacency of her society, the Church at least has the grace to feel uneasy about the deformed shape of the world and show contrition for her share of the responsibility.

The problem is much deeper. Revolution would rob the Church of the thing she values most—not her wealth, property and privilege, but her sense of continuity with the past. She boasts of being the guardian of the faith once delivered to the saints, and in her rituals re-enacts events of two thousand years ago. She derives comfort from the things which don't change: "Change and decay in all around I see, O thou who changest not, abide with me," or "We wither and perish—but naught changeth thee"—a somewhat bleak assurance, I always feel. Her frantic hold on the past is seen at its most absurd in that doctrine of the Apostolic Succession according to which the authority of bishops depends upon their having been tapped on the head by someone who was tapped on the head by someone who was tapped on the head by St. Peter—a plain case of elevating Evolution over Resurrection and trusting in dead ancestors instead of a living Christ.

It is not difficult to identify the true enemies of revolution within the Church. Popes, Cardinals, and Archbishops with their princely trappings, traditional privileges and antique charm are no more bulwarks against revolution than were the bewigged aristocrats of Louis' court on the eve of the storming of the Bastille. They are living proof of the need for revolution. Nor is Fundamentalism, with its overheated gospel of individual salvation that would vaporize you more effectively than a laser beam, an anti-revolutionary force. Literal interpretation of the apocalyptic bits of the Bible may even prepare conservative Christians to expect cataclysm, although they draw all the wrong conclusions from it.

The real enemies of revolution in the Church are the reformists, the new theologians who are trying to get a new accommodation between the Christian faith and a society which needs to be swept away. If they are successful, they will provide a Christian rationale for the continuance of the West, and to that extent hold back the future. It would be quite unjust to allege that such radicals are not concerned for the plight of the world's depressed millions; far from it, they are well represented in the protest marches and picket lines. But their basic aim is to ensure the survival of the Church, and to help Christians to hang on to their faith in a time of revolution. These are honorable motives,

but largely irrelevant to the task of getting justice for mankind.

As the tempo of change accelerates, we must expect theologies of revolution to burst out all over the Church. Yet nothing we in the West have to say about revolution has much value, because we have more to lose than gain from it. Deep down in our gut, at a level lower than our consciences, we like things the way they are. It is as hard for a Westerner to face up squarely to the prospect of revolution as for a patient to amputate his own leg—he finds it terribly difficult to cut deep enough or let sufficient blood. Any theologian writing about revolution on a full belly and from a position of privilege will instinctively try to hang on to much that ought to be dispensed with. He is talking about revolution but thinking in terms of reform. A really honest Western theology of revolution would probably be apocalyptic rather than politically radical—preparing men for life in the catacombs. For just as nineteenth-century pagans received the gospel in awed silence as a power from another world, so we in the West will sooner or later be the dumb recipients of a terrible truth from outside which cannot be fitted into our traditional schemes of thought.

For this reason, I am afraid that left-wing Christian thinkers, anxious to demonstrate the relevance of their faith in a turbulent time, are wasting their energy in trying to express Christianity as a revolutionary ideology. This is not because their ideas are wrong, but because they are thinking in terms of an ideology at all. They want to structure revolution; to impose a system upon it which will cease to be scaffolding and become a straitjacket. Most of the men who make revolution in our day will do so not because they have convictions about God, man, society or anything else, but out of a terrible anger and a deadly despair.

The moral is plain. Herbert Butterfield, in his *Christianity and History*, advises his readers, "To hold to Christ, and for the rest be totally uncommitted." In practice this is impossible. You cannot have the Person without the System, Christ without Christianity. You can claim that Jesus is at work throughout society, or that his spirit is operative in men and movements totally divorced from the Church. But the Christian, in any moral sense of that term, is anti-revolutionary because

he is committed to a system which will try to impose order upon revolution and, if successful, destroy it. Whether, on the other side of revolution, we might catch a glimpse of a Jesus who is not trapped in the system, we have no way of knowing, though the Resurrection as the transcending of a historical dead end gives us hope that this should be so.

But in the meantime we are faced with a straight choice, and it is an intolerable one. Only a strong man can let go his hold on every institutional manifestation of Jesus in the confidence that Jesus will not let go of him. This is precisely what the Christian who contemplates revolution will have to do. I don't think it was a coincidence that Bonhoeffer's search for "religionless Christianity" came to a head when he was in prison awaiting death for a revolutionary act. For a short while he had entered a world to which his theology was not only irrelevant but a handicap; where a man might have to reverse the drift of a whole lifetime and do the unthinkable—hate rather than love for Jesus' sake. I think it was Tertullian who said that one of the greatest sources of happiness in heaven would be the spectacle of Roman emperors roasting in hell. One of the themes of down-to-earth theology of revolution might be the role of healthy hate in nerving men to do what any normal understanding of love could never allow. But it will take a theologian with a strong stomach to write that sort of thing.

Even if the Church is against you, I'm sure that Jesus is not against you. How could he be? The present system makes it impossible for millions to love their neighbor. Those in deadly competition for a crust of bread, or burning with resentment that their children starve while others flourish, know no law but that of the jungle. Even ordinary human affection withers in the fiery blast of perpetual conflict. Writing of the condition of poor families in Mexico City, Oscar Lewis, quoted by Harvey Cox, comments:

The most striking things about these families are their general malaise, the rarity of happiness or contentment, the rarity of affection . . . above all, where hunger and discomfort rule, there is little spare energy for the gentler, warmer, less utilitarian emotions. . . .¹

Love is between people. How can the hungry love the well-fed, or blacks love whites when they are thrown together in a system which treats the one as more than a person and the other as less? Love, compassion and forgiveness have no place in the animal world, and that is where the majority of mankind lives.

Jesus said that the truth makes us free. By the same token, there are some truths which only free men can appreciate. The children of Israel had to be free before they could reject other gods and pledge themselves to Jehovah. Only free men can enter the Kingdom of God. This freedom is not exclusively political, but that element is central in our day. It is not systems of philosophy or theology which destroy a man's humanity and drive him into a corner where he has neither freedom of thought nor freedom of action. Political systems do that. So do economic laws and social patterns.

The little people of the earth who are trapped, as the Spaniards say, between the sword and the wall, may not be far from the Kingdom of Heaven, but the required effort is beyond them. And those who preach Justification at them—that it is God's grace rather than their own efforts which saves them—have little idea of the spiritual demoralization and utter despair that numb the responses of those who hang on to life by a thread. God has done nothing else for them, why should he save them, and even if he does, what has changed?

Those who through cynicism or fear discount modern revolutions because they are unstructured—carried out without any master plan—are deluding themselves. We are living in the time of the death of all systems. Revolution begins as a blind thrust for freedom, not as a crusade to change the world. A man suffocating to death in an airless cellar does not plan the rest of his life before kicking down the door. This is why the dialogue between Marxists and Christians, begun in the 1950s, to which radicals pin such hope, is largely an academic exercise. It is an operation to mate two discouraged systems on the off-chance of giving birth to a third which will save the world, or at least our own skins. The radical fervor of each soon hardens into a new orthodoxy.

Since the summer of 1966, China has been tearing herself apart as the architect of the

original revolution, Mao Tse Tung, thrashes around trying to break out of the system he has imposed on his country. In less than two decades, the revolutionary flow has iced over and solidified. And Regis Debray, now languishing in a Bolivian prison, has commented that Castro's success in carrying through the Cuban revolution was due in part to his failure to read beforehand the writings of the classical theorists of revolution. He was free to act entirely as the needs of the moment dictated.

The students who first occupy university buildings and then settle down to debate their next move, are not, as their detractors sneer, *ersatz* revolutionaries because they have no master plan. This is the shape of revolution in our time—begin by smashing down the barricades and then see what the terrain looks like on the other side. Imprisoning or killing left-wing intellectuals in the belief that they direct the mob will not hold off the reckoning. Revolutions are no longer made by bearded scholars writing



THE SILENT MAJORITY ALSO CONDONED HITLER
DEMOCRACY SPEAKS OUT

PHOTOGRAPH

RICK SMOLAN

their major works in the Reading Room of the British Museum. Indeed, there is a widespread contempt for intellectuals on the other side of the barricades. Writes Debray:

Castro once blamed certain failures of the guerrillas on a purely intellectual attitude to war. The reason is understandable: aside from his physical weakness, the intellectual will try to grasp the present through preconceived constructs and live it through books. He will be less able than others to invent, improvise, make do with available resources. . . .²

This is another reason for distrusting theologies of revolution. They try to relate the "new things" God is doing to what he has done before. They stem from that Western thirst for explanation which is prone to locate God in the ultimate *Why* of things instead of the immediate *How* of them. Christians claim to be the People of the Exodus with no settled abode on earth, but they have a horror of uncontrolled change and shy away from the concept of perpetual revolution—one upheaval succeeding another as a new tyranny replaces the old and must in turn be dislodged. In such a time of confusion, there is no *Why* of things that the human mind can fathom. So if God is not in the *How* of things, he is strictly irrelevant.

Every revolution requires what Regis Debray has called the freeing of the present from the past because the past contains no redemptive element, no untapped possibilities. Only the death of the past offers mankind a new chance. For this reason, the Messianic role of preaching the Gospel to the poor and releasing captives belongs in our day not to the Princes of the Church, many of whom are mere tinkers with society, nor even any longer to Marx and Lenin and Mao, but to those who are making revolution *at this moment*. Ten years from now, their revolution will probably have degenerated into a new oppression, but for the time being, large sectors of mankind are given hope. Martin Luther once warned:

God's grace is as a passing storm of rain which does not return where once it has been: it came to the Jews, but it passed over; now they have nothing; Paul brought it to the Greeks, but it passed over; the Romans and Latins had it, now they have nothing. You must not think you have it forever.

"You must not think you have it forever"—what is true of God's grace applies equally to the spirit of revolution. Indeed, doesn't the one embody the other? Revolution is evanescent, short-lived. You Rhodesian freedom fighters may overthrow the settled regime and usher in a new era, but the day will come when others will have to get rid of you because your rigid grip is throttling to death that to which you have given birth.

So the prophetic mantle of Jesus passes to Marx, Lenin and Mao, and then on to

Castro, Ho Chi Minh and Torres. But none is entitled to wear it for long. Each has his time of creativity and inspiration, and millions are rescued from oppression and hunger as a result. Such times pass; success destroys the revolution and the struggle must begin again. The law that both good and evil consequences flow from all human actions leads us to expect such a pattern of events. Yesterday's prophets of mankind become its enemies tomorrow. But such men in their time deserve to be called prophets because they have challenged the belief derived from the Greek element in our civilization that history is predetermined. They have taken their stand as the Hebrew prophets did, and as Jesus did, for an open future which will be what men make it.

Unstructured revolution can only succeed where a society is ripe for dissolution. Otherwise overwhelming fire power, modest reform, or judicious bribery will nullify it. Fidel Castro did not overthrow the Batista regime by superior tactics or majority support. He gave a sharp push and the system collapsed under the weight of accumulated corruption. This is why the West has cause for fear. Student revolt, Black Power, Latin American guerrillas are, in themselves, a derisory challenge unless . . . unless the rottenness of the West's foundations will no longer bear the weight of material affluence soured by spiritual arrogance. Then one day, like a forest giant eaten out by ants, it will collapse if a child leans against it.

It might be justly claimed that my expansive talk about world revolution is a far cry from the specific issue which concerns you; that it is idiotic to see revolution in the West foreshadowed in the firing of a handful of shots for freedom in the Zambesi Valley. I admit the truth of such criticism and would only reply that I am not such an incurable romantic as to think of revolution as the immediate prospect of worldwide upheaval or even total national disruption in the West. It isn't possible to be revolutionary all the time and everywhere at once. The immediate goal is more modest—persistent intervention at the pressure points of society, not in the first place to destroy the power of the unyoung, uncolored and unpoor, but to erode away their self-confidence, the arrogant assumption that the world is organized for their exclusive benefit.

Any action, however limited, which threatens the institutions of the West with the aim of sweeping them away rather than reforming them, is truly revolutionary. But to get this far, the radical has to smash down a barrier in his own mind and recognize that Western society has exhausted its capacity for change—it is at an evolutionary dead end. The tactics of the reformer and the revolutionary may be identical. It is their loyalties which are different. The revolutionary no longer has any sentimental attachment to the traditions and way of life of the West. He takes no pride in its achievements, nor is he mesmerized by its power. He is dedicated to smashing that power in the name of all humanity which has become his family, nation, and race. No narrower loyalty makes sense to him.

The ferment in Latin America, Africa, and Asia is already undermining the West's ability to make other people miserable by imposing its will upon them. Millions of mice are nibbling away at the extremities of a moth-eaten lion. For British radicals, the Rhodesia freedom struggle is crucial. The byplay between the British and Rhodesia Governments underlines the determination of the unyoung, uncolored and unpoor to preserve for as long as possible the privilege and supremacy of their own kind in Southern Africa. Rhodesia is a microcosm of the world struggle. Those proposals for a constitutional settlement of the Rhodesia rebellion which issued from H.M.S. Fearless were more than a device for unloading an acutely embarrassing political problem. They symbolized Britain's irremediable preoccupation with the past. Mr. Smith's government did not sail away from the Fearless bearing in its hands an officially blessed independence only because it was too dim to see that it had won. The safeguards on which Mr. Wilson insisted and at which Mr. Smith balked would have been totally unenforceable for the same reason the rebellion was not crushed in the first instance—Britain's abhorrence of using force against her own kinsfolk.

Black Rhodesians must now take matters in their own hands, not merely to win their freedom but also to repudiate once and for all the right of the unyoung, uncolored and unpoor to haggle among themselves over the lives of the rest of mankind in a more

sophisticated version of the old slave market. Only when Black Rhodesians, and White ones of good intention, snatch their country out of the West's grasp will she realize that the old game is up.

You do not need to be told you are in for a tough time, yet you and your revolutionary brethren of the Third World are the envy of thousands of young people, and some not so young, in the West. Your revolution is under way. But what about Western radicals who feel anger and disgust at the antics of the powerful Troika who rule their world, and yet don't know what to do about it? In many ways, they are living their revolution through you. It is a genuine expression of Christian love to accept an unconditional commitment to justice and freedom for others. But what about their own revolution? Yours cannot now be halted; theirs cannot get started.

Most of your fellow travelers in the West have reluctantly rejected any prospect of the renewal of their society through existing political structures. There was a day when Britons of spirit and idealism might look to a socialist party to spearhead the struggle for world brotherhood, and by so doing to release new power into its own society. But radical anger at the Labour Government's cynical squandering of generations of sacrifice has passed by way of contempt into a numb realization that the space occupied by socialism in British society covers a gaping hole through which one looks down into nothingness.

The signs of doom hang over Britain. The collapse of parliamentary democracy and the deep contempt felt for politicians; ferment in institutions such as trade unions, universities, and churches; social dislocation at every point from football crowd violence to the growth of racial intolerance; permanent economic crisis which is symptomatic of something more fundamental than badly misjudged fiscal policies—all tell the same story. Things are coming apart from the center outward.

There are those who take comfort in believing that revolution is out of the question in Britain. They forget it has happened before. According to Pitirim Sorokin, the land of political sobriety suffered no less than one hundred and sixty-two major or minor revolutionary clashes between A.D. 656 and

A.D. 1921, from the Great Rebellion at one end of the scale to an insurrection of the Wessex Yeomanry in A.D. 725 at the other. It was one of Britain's prophets of national complacency, the Earl of Stafford, who, in 1638 wrote, "The people are in a great quietness and if I be not mistaken, well satisfied with His Majesty's Gracious Government and Protection." Four years later, England was being torn apart by civil war.

The affluent West likes to think that only countries whose population is sunk deep in poverty and oppression are ripe for revolution. Hence, say the apostles of a totally unfounded optimism, Britain's prosperity is an insurmountable barrier to revolution. As One Man One Vote has been the rallying cry of colonized peoples seeking self-determination, so One Family One Car is seen in the West as the best guarantee of political stability.

This is a dangerous assumption. As Crane Brinton has pointed out in his *Anatomy of Revolution*, the four classical revolutions of the West all occurred in countries which were economically progressive. Stuart England, in the years of personal rule before the Long Parliament, had more widely diffused wealth than ever before in her history. Nor was there any grinding poverty in the New England of the Stamp Act. In France revolution was made possible by the refusal of the prosperous middle classes, lawyers, bankers, civil servants, and farmers, to go to the aid of a government which got into deepening trouble throughout the 1780s. And even though Russia suffered a complete breakdown of government in 1917 as a result of her defeat in the First World War, she had, in the first decade of the twentieth century, taken great strides toward economic maturity in the Western style. Material prosperity is not a safeguard against revolution. The divisiveness of greed sometimes succeeds in shattering the unity of the State where the barefooted peasantry fails.

Britain is already bobbing around like a cork in the wake of an ocean liner as the tidal wave set up by the outward explosion of the depressed two-thirds of the world threatens to engulf her. Soon even the most complacent sectors of her society will be unable to see their nation's relationship to a world in revolution in terms of knocking sixpence off every half-crown's worth of overseas aid.

They will have to choose between the past and the future for survival's sake. And Britain's only future lies with the poor world.

She cannot afford to match the stakes the U.S. puts down to stay in the imperialist game. The dispatch of a handful of Bobbies to Anguilla stretched her purse; a Vietnam is totally beyond her. And the West will have to finance bigger and better Vietnam-style operations if she hopes to stay on top in those parts of the world where she has no business to be anyway. Britain's Moment of Truth cannot be long delayed. Then all kinds of forces will come into play whose nature and direction it is impossible to predict at the present moment.

If there is one thing sillier than discounting the possibility of revolution in the West, it is to idealize it. Those who choose to walk through fire must count the cost. Extremism is an appallingly narrow way of life. I am not just thinking of the sacrifice of good food, bright lights, and a warm bed for the

heat and stench of the jungle, but of the irreversible change which takes place in the character of those who reject the sum of human values in favor of one burning obsession. In 1868, the anonymous author of a short pamphlet called *The Revolutionary Catechism* wrote:

The revolutionary is a dedicated man. He has no interest, no business, no emotions, no attachments, no property, not even a name. In his innermost depths he has broken all ties with the social order. He knows but one science, that of destruction. The tender sentiments of family, friendship, love and gratitude must be subjugated to the single cold passion of the revolutionary cause.³

Desperation is the driving force of extremism, and desperation is the supreme simplifier, reducing all the complexities of life to one sharp, blinding issue and its inevitable resolution. Without warping his character, man cannot make a single good—not even social justice—the central business of living, with everything else relegated to a subordinate place. Unreasonableness is the essential attitude of extremism, for those who see reason cease to be extreme and are lost to the cause. It is the sheer intensity of concentration upon a single dimension of life or even upon one apocalyptic event, which sends brave men to their doom, unable to distinguish between martyrdom and suicide, sacrifice and waste. Man has a great capacity for histrionic gestures. Revolution provides him with a stage, a skeleton plot, and an audience.

Can the Christian do it? Can obedience to Christ be confined within such narrow limits without degenerating into fanaticism? I frankly doubt that the Christian faith as we have learned it can accommodate the revolutionary who really means business. But then I don't believe that the Christian faith as we have learned it can open a way into the future, either. The revolutionary is probably the truly tragic figure of our time, risking the loss of salvation that his brethren may be saved and have wholeness of life. Yet it is surely true that the manifold acts of our life have no value unless the total act of living can be justified. And it is necessary for at least one of the things we do in living to have absolute value.



PHOTOGRAPH

RICK SMOLAN



The Christian who becomes a revolutionary takes the risk that in a world locked up in the past, the blow which opens the way to the future may count as the "one thing needful" about which Jesus talked. He steps beyond any traditional understanding of Jesus into a spiritual and ethical No Man's Land in the hope that the future is where God

about the author:

I realize you are not going to believe what I am about to say. But I guess I wouldn't have believed it either, until I went to work in the Republic of Zambia in 1966. You see, to speak of Colin Morris is to speak of a legend in his own life time.

What was it about this man Morris? How did he become the President of the United Church of Zambia and a confidant of Kenneth David Kaunda, the President of Zambia? The Africans knew, and they spread the stories over the drums and in the halls. They had seen him live out his convictions in post and pre-independence Zambia, and they dug and trusted this man.

Zambians often say that if it had not been for the sermons and actions of this one white churchman, they would have burned down all the hypocritical European churches in the country.

But, you know, one shouldn't really tell that kind of story. A whole legend might grow up around it.—REV. DOUGLAS PARKS, New York City

is. We men of reasoned faith tend to forget that we come from bloodthirsty stock. The story of our salvation began when a captive people smashed their way into the future, taking Moses' word for it that they would find God there rather than among the tombs and monuments.

Or possibly another image is more appropriate. Maybe the revolutionary reverts to being a pre-Christian and stands where John the Baptist stood. He not only warns of the wrath which is to come, but also embodies it, laying the axe to the root of the tree in order to prepare the way for the one who is powerless to be born into our dead world.

At any rate, even if my theology is all haywire, surely the man who fights for the right of mankind to be human has a pretty strong claim upon God's mercy. ■

NOTES:

1. *On Not Leaving It to the Snake* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1968), p. 106.
2. *Revolution in the Revolution?* (Hamondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1968), p. 21.
3. Quoted by Gaucher, *The Terrorists* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), p. 3.

SPECIAL PROBLEM #4: NIGHT PATROL

We are all black boys now, going
Tiptoe into a new ghetto:
And I'm the lead nigger. Under
Charcoal I tell myself I know

What blackness is: a shelter in
The slow night. So don't even grin,
Baby. Keep your thick mouth shut and
See with your ears. This patrol begins

When you are black enough and know
The overlay. *Yet in the woods*
My color is so thin it hardly breathes;
Coordinates give way to moods

That shift like shadows over azimuths
That won't stay shot. Leading a file
Of followers over the quiet crackle
Of enemy terrain, I feel

No shelter in the moonless night.
My color has betrayed me. Loose
Like old skin on a young boy's face,
It turns unholstered into the juice

Of doubt, obstructing someone's justice. But
The feet, well trained, feel on; they go
Sweatless over the demarcations
Of patriots unborn. So follow

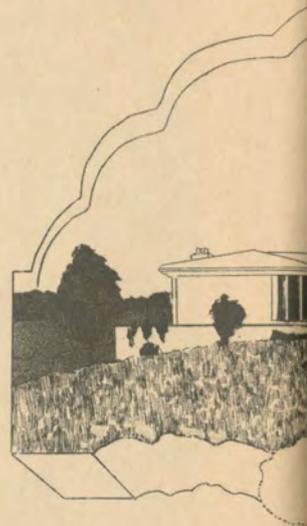
Them, niggers. Stay faithfully queued.
Tomorrow we'll have the enemy's balls
For breakfast. *And tomorrow too the sun*
Will shine, accenting the rested walls

Of darkness, lighting for the eyes
What under no moon, and beneath
Charcoal, even white niggers know:
The reborn ghetto, silent as a wreath,

Its midnight corpses swept like used
Dust under rugs, its distance rolling
Toward stores of overlays unmarked
And files of blackened boys, patrolling.

—WILLIAM KLOEFKORN

The High Cost of Saving Face the American Way



by Isao Fujimoto

We should have learned by now that the main lesson of any war is that there is no victor. It took 15 years for the winners of the First World War to realize that they had lost it; it took only 5 years before the winners of the Second World War had realized that they had lost it. The winners of the Third World War have realized that they have lost it even before its launching.¹ So what insanity drives our nation to sustain a war that we all know will claim no victor regardless of how it is refereed at Paris or rationalized in Congress?

As an Asian and as an American, I find the war and the stereotypes it thrives on deeply disturbing. Part of our insanity is sustained by rhetoric that we are engaged in a holy war, that our enemies are less than human. Ironically, stereotypes that have been perpetuated about Asians seem to apply more to Americans.





RODNEY FREW

ETCHING: SPLIT-LEVEL SCHEME

We have accused Asians of being overly concerned about saving face which, among other things, involves resolving a situation without undue embarrassment.² To an Asian, saving face means preventing humiliation to one's opponent as well as to one's self. When the opponent loses face an Asian also considers himself discredited. To an American, saving face seems to mean avoiding humiliation at all costs even if one has to lose his head in the process. We miss many signals because of this overconcern in keeping ourselves from looking so bad. For example, a recent lull in the fighting in Vietnam was interpreted by astute observers as a signal for serious negotiations. But instead of picking up on this possibility, our reaction has been to demand that the Vietnamese admit that they have stopped fighting. By insisting that a person say "Uncle" without giving allowance for the intricacies of dealing with a tense situation, we risk more than humiliation.

We charge that Asians value life less than we do, that life doesn't mean as much to them. But there are facts that suggest we don't value life as much as we say we do. As one indicator of the concern for life consider rates for infant mortality. Infant mortality rates are reflective of such conditions as availability of nutrients to infants and to mothers, access to services such as medical help, and morale and concern of the general public. The startling fact is that the infant mortality rate in Vietnam is identical to that in Mississippi—36 per 1,000. But what is more alarming is that the infant mortality for non-white people in Mississippi is nearly 50 per cent higher than that in Vietnam. In fact, infant mortality rate for non-whites in the entire U.S. is comparable to that of Vietnam, a country that is undergoing destruction and total war. But it isn't just Mississippi and related southern states that have higher rates of death occurring to non-white infants under one. Included also are states such as Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania.³ Our country is supposedly at peace, yet if you look at these figures and especially those pertaining to the minority, it's hard not to wonder whether the minority population in such places may not also be experiencing a stage of siege and oppression comparable to that in Vietnam.

We stereotype the Asians as being inscrutable and devious, and accuse them of interfering in the internal affairs of our country. Calling a telegram from Hanoi concerning a day of moratorium as an interference in our internal affairs is heresy in contrast to what we have done to annihilate their villages and towns. Which is interference—sending a telegram or dropping bombs day in and day out for a thousand days?

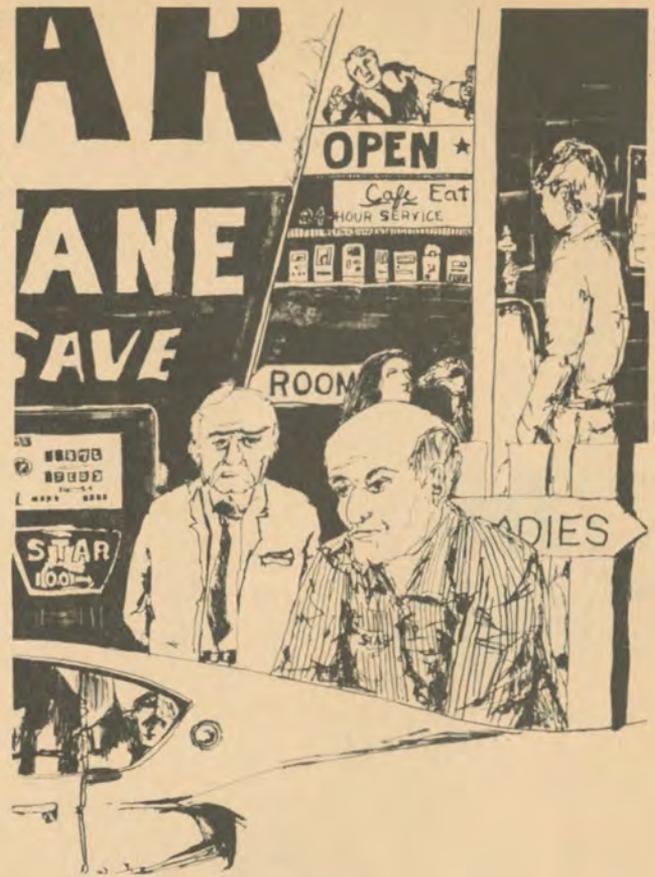
If being inscrutable means masking our intentions, then we disguise our actions by words such as “advisor,” “fighting war to prevent war,” “democracy,” “to terminate with extreme prejudice.” But they cannot hide our confusion and our calculated intent to destroy. “Vietnamization” is another inscrutable term. In fact, that term only reflects how Americanized the entire Vietnam war effort has been.

We assure ourselves that the U.S. goes only to the aid of people who ask for our help and where freedom is in danger. But whose freedom and what kind of aid are we talking about? And how free are we even to talk? Some of our leaders have said those who speak out in a time of national crisis are abusing the privileges of democracy. But the sad record shows that the democratic process was by-passed in getting us into this war in the first place. As for battles in the name of freedom, there are struggles for freedom and self-determination going on in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique—why are we not there? How much of our non-involvement is related to the fact that the freedom fighters are black and the oppressors white? And as for Vietnam, has it ever occurred to those who run it in the name of freedom that we may be fighting on the wrong side?

Our attempts at explaining how we can get out of Vietnam are just as inscrutably devious. In a *New York Times* interview, President Nixon explained that “the way to avoid being involved in wars in Asia is to continue to play a significant role in Asia.” Translated, this means “we get out by staying in.”⁴

What kind of people and a nation have we allowed ourselves to become? What we have attributed to Asians—low regard for life, overconcern with saving face, of being devious—really apply to us. This hurts

LITHOGRAPH: COLONEL M/M IS VISITING



CHARLES YOUNG

because it is saying to a people who have prided themselves for being frank that we're not levelling with ourselves.

A lesson that should be clear is that not only is war hell, and more often than not racist, but it is also fantastically expensive. Some politicians have expressed reservations about our spending 28 billion dollars on Vietnam this year. But many have failed to realize that this year we have also spent \$21 billion on interest payments for debts accrued in our waging World War I, World War II and the Korean War. We deceive ourselves in being alarmed only about the immediate cost of war. The Second World War cost \$381 billion. But the benefit paid to veterans—many maimed for life—from the Second World War is estimated to reach the staggering total of \$476 billion. In addition, we have some \$200 billion to pay out in interest on our war debt. Thus the total cost of the Second World War will be over \$1 trillion 57 billion. It's estimated that fighting the Vietnamese war will cost us \$400 billion—much more than the Second World War. We must remind ourselves to add in the cost of our debt to veterans and interest payments to the bankers financing the military-industrial complex.⁵

Another way to measure the aftermath of war is through the influx of people from the country that we've battled. After our wars in Asia, immigration—silent, invisible but nevertheless steady—comes in the form of war brides, maimed victims and orphans. Whether it be Japanese war brides, Korean orphans or napalmed Vietnamese children, the evidence of our involvement comes home.⁶ This trend has not only occurred after our war with Japan, our conflict in Korea and the current holocaust in Vietnam, but it is already happening as a result of our interference in Thailand.

So what do we do about all this? We Americans consider ourselves a generous people, but we should not confuse *ex post facto* acts of generosity which can be covers for our failures to take moral stands when it counted the most. I am reminded of two examples.

When I was being taken away to a concentration camp in this country during the last war, a few friends who dared come see us off brought with them coffee and doughnuts. These were acts of generosity and appreciated as such. But people of good will should be reminded that this is all you'll be able to do if you wait till a time of crisis to speak up and act.⁷

The other example is a familiar one, especially around Christmas time when television cameras focus on G.I.'s giving parties for orphans and passing out candy to urchins on the streets. Our failure to see beyond this gesture is reflected by the American television viewer whose response is invariably: "Why, isn't that nice? Aren't our soldiers good and kind people?" And herein lies our blindness and our confusion. The real question should focus not on the selected behavior of the soldiers but on our role in bringing about conditions that create orphans. What's the connection between a G.I.'s presence and the fact that the orphan

is also there? What have we done or not done that brought that situation about? Such moments of so-called generosity do not erase the fact that a soldier's job is to kill. It is not pleasant to recall that SS troops in Germany also acted kindly, soothing crying babies as they walked Jewish mothers and the children to the gas chambers. Gestures of coffee, doughnuts and candy cannot sugarcoat the sores left festering by our having rationalized our responsibilities away.

How about us in the university? We are in the eye of the hurricane. We sit in the serene middle while forces of destruction to which we are a direct party rage all around us. We produce 80 per cent of the officers through our R.O.T.C. programs. Many of our universities have made themselves beholden to the Federal government by dependence on research funds to run the university. Schools such as Cal Tech and MIT derive over 80 per cent of the university's budget from such funds. And the sources? In 1964, for example, 90 per cent of almost 15 billion dollars of Federal research expenditures to universities came primarily from the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission and National Aeronautic and Space Administration.⁸ Regardless of how you rationalize the work on atomic weapons, nerve gas, defoliation or counter insurgency, the fact is our universities are involved in efforts directly linked to the war. The university is a direct partner in this national commitment of destruction. But just as the university can be a partner in destruction, can it not be a moral and intellectual force for action and thought that is both wise and humane? A new generation is testing an affirmative answer.

Every generation has a tendency to see itself charged with remaking the world. The United States seems to have accepted the charge of remaking the world with violent fervor. But in trying to remake the world in its own image, it seems to have taken on as its motto the quote of the U.S. Army Major who said of a Vietnamese village: "We destroyed

it in order to save it." Matthew Arnold summarizes this ludicrous horror in *Dover Beach*:

And we are here as on a darkling plain,
swept with confused alarms of struggle
and flight as ignorant armies clash by
night.

Rather than remake the world in this way, Albert Camus charges this generation to "keep the world from destroying itself." ■

NOTES:

1. Milton Mayer in his article "The Children's Crusade" published in September 1969 issue of the *Center* magazine, was the one who pointed out that in wars the "winners are the losers."
2. For an elaboration on the idea of saving face, see "The Chinese Concept of 'Face'" by Hsien Chin Yu, the *American Anthropologist*, 1944 (vol. 46, pp. 45-61.)
3. Sources to check concerning infant mortality rates include the *U.N. Demographic Yearbook* and *Vital Statistics of the United States* (the volume on mortality), published by the Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Brief summaries also appear in various Almanacs such as *Information Please*.
4. The Nixon quote on Vietnam and how to interpret it was mentioned in a recent *I. F. Stone Newsletter*.
5. For a detailed analysis of the cost of war see James Clayton's *The Economic Impact of the Cold War*, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969.
6. According to the 1968 Reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Justice, nearly 50,000 immigrants came here from Japan between 1951-60. A substantial proportion of this number consisted of war brides.
7. There is much written on the concentration camp experience of the Japanese in the United States. (A good source of information is the Japanese American Citizens League which is currently conducting a campaign for the repeal of Title II, Internal Securities Provision of the 1950 McCarran Act.) A discussion of this experience and its relevance to issues today appears in Isao Fujimoto's "The Failure of Democracy In A Time of Crisis," which appeared in various publications including *Gidra*, the *Pacific Citizen* and the *Black Politician*. You can write the author for a copy.
8. *The Depleted Society* by Seymour Melman discusses the university's involvement in the effort. More detailed is *The University-Military Complex* published by the North American Congress on Latin America, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York.

about the author:

Anyone visiting the University of California, Davis, who wants to know "what's happening" is soon drawn to Isao Fujimoto's office in Walker Hall. There, Isao will be found midst his "living library" overflowing with pertinent information from a variety of underground-overground resources on the university and society. Despite the tremendous reservoir of data, Isao's orderly mind quickly sifts through amazing detail to the essentials at hand. Through Isao's perceptiveness in capturing the pulse of the times, he has become a spokesman for student-faculty relations and innovations. He is recognized by the campus community as a person who understands the concerns of the young as they relate to the larger issues of society as well as a person who functions as an independent, reasoned scholar in the delicate field of human relationships. His ability to sense the important and unusual stems from his years as a reporter for the Stars and Stripes and from his work in community analysis. His view is tempered by his experience in a relocation camp during World War II. In result, he is well known for his ability to ask the important underlying questions that should and do concern society. Isao's energy and good humor have endeared him to a generation of students.

—MARY C. REGAN, Davis, Cal.

It's Alright, Ma (I'm Only Bleeding) —Bob Dylan

by

Washington, D.C., Women's Liberation

We all shudder, secretly and out loud, at the fears of unwanted pregnancy. Perhaps we have several children and one more would be too great a burden on a tight family budget. Or maybe we have immediate life plans of our own so that having a child at this particular time would be stifling. Or perhaps we are young and afraid to ask about birth control devices and just "let it happen" in the passion of lovemaking. Whatever the reason, each month millions of women wait, dreading the thought that this time luck ran out.

The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) views the issue of abortion as one symptom of the lack of control over our own bodies and lives. As we have struggled over the abortion issue, we have come to recognize that the specific demand of control over our reproductive lives implies much more than just abortion law repeal. It implies upheavals in economic and social organization so that people will gain control over technology and resources—and not have their lives determined for them. For a woman to have an abortion on demand and for all people to have good health care requires a system that is not based on profit for hospitals, doctors, drug industries and private insurance companies. Health care must be seen as a national responsibility. It must be approached with a system of preventive as well as curative medicine.

Although estimates of underground activities are uncertain, authorities generally estimate that between one quarter and two million abortions are illegally performed in the United States every year. Of this large number of "criminal" abortions, some 350,000 involve post-operative complications, such as infection, hemorrhage and, in some cases, sterility or even death. Mishandled abortions claim the lives of an estimated 10,000 American women a year; they are now the leading

cause of maternal deaths in the U.S.

Free abortion on demand means a society where a real choice for a future is open for women. Today this is not the case. Rather we live in a sexist society where a woman is defined by her marital status and her child-bearing abilities. Freedom for women means the freedom for other forms of life-work and identity than the family.

Free abortion on demand means that the medical world must deal with its MD-priesthood, where doctors have control over the lives of all their patients, and where the male/female /white/black hierarchies are painfully evident.

Free abortion on demand means a society that collectively takes care of its children, giving women a broader freedom to decide to have children as well as the freedom to decide not to do so. When a woman knows that a child will not force her into an isolated inferno, the choice to carry a fetus to term will be a real one.

There are several medically safe methods of abortion worth knowing about. These are used in hospitals and in countries without punitive restrictions. Here, in the back alleys and in countries with more restrictive policies, these are not used; dangerous drugs and unsafe instruments are substituted.

Dilatation and curettage (D & C), involves scraping of the uterus with an instrument called a curette. When done in the first trimester of pregnancy, a D & C is safer than either a full term pregnancy or, significantly enough, continuous contraception by use of the "pill."

Uterine aspiration, a comparatively new procedure, is used extensively in the Socialist countries with positive results. A suction tube

is inserted into the uterus which, like a vacuum cleaner, aspirates the material in less than two minutes. It is best used before 9 weeks gestation and local anesthesia may be sufficient when dilatation is not necessary.

A saline injection is more involved, usually performed when a woman is three months pregnant or more. A saline solution is injected into the uterus through the abdominal wall and the woman goes into labor, several hours to several days later. This is more painful and complicated than a D & C or uterine aspiration done at an earlier stage of pregnancy, but safe under proper hospital conditions.

Hysterotomy, surgical removal of the fetus, is done at later stages of pregnancy when saline solution fails to bring on labor contractions. Obviously, this is not a preferred method.*

The anti-abortion statutes discriminate unmercifully between the rich and the poor. A rich woman who wants an abortion can get one. She has the money to pay the fees charged by those practitioners who are willing to take the risks of performing an illegal abortion. Or she can pay for a round trip airline ticket to any of the various places in the world where a woman can readily obtain an abortion.

More significantly, the economically affluent woman does not find it as difficult to procure a hospital "therapeutic" abortion anywhere in the country. It is amply evident that a majority of therapeutic abortions are performed on private, not clinic patients. Investigation of the actual operation of the District of Columbia Anti-Abortion Statute reveals that it has effectively prohibited abortions for the poor while abortions are freely available for the rich. This does not in the least justify the fact that gynecologists' fees for legal abortions are two to five times as much for a D & C on an impregnated uterus, and that psychiatrists charge \$75 to \$100 a letter for twenty minutes to an hour of "consultation" in support of the gynecologist. Add hospital fees and the total is around \$700, which must be prepaid in cash, for what should be a \$50 operation. Some insurance companies

* Editor's note: This specific information is included because we consider it to be crucial information for women to know in discussions with a physician.

partially cover the costs of therapeutic abortion on married women under maternity benefits, but no maternity or abortion benefits are given to unmarried women.

There is now ample evidence that the Pill is not The Answer everyone had once supposed. Although it does an adequate job preventing pregnancy when taken regularly, the risks it poses for women's health are not minimal. Recently completed studies in England and at Johns Hopkins University suggest that The Pill considerably raises the possibility of blood clots, cancer, migraine, hypertension, weight gain, loss of hair, skin blotches and even death. That the FDA has not chosen to take it off the market when these indications are shown in humans, and not just in rats (as are effects of cyclamates), is an obvious slur on our welfare.

Interuterine devices, now seen as probable mass replacements for The Pill, involve similar health hazards, although not as great since they do not work through the hormonal system. In fact no one knows quite how they do work, and one theory is that they cause abortions to a fertilized ovum. Early indications show that IUDs raise the possibility of uterine and cervical cancer, plus other organic complications.

Diaphragms, although the least risky to health, are not foolproof. They are also messy and clumsy to insert, tempting one to go without rather than suffer the inconvenience.

It should be clear that there does not now exist any foolproof contraceptive that involves no health hazard to women. Furthermore, little research is being done on contraception for men, although a pill was developed at the same time as The Pill for women. It does not work on the hormonal system, but directly on the sperm, and its side effects at this early point of research seem to be only that it turns the whites of men's eyes red. Further experimentation may prove its effectiveness as well as freedom from major side-effects.

If women's contraceptive devices are not in fact foolproof, why is abortion (a final contraceptive measure) made to seem so sinful? Why are women made to suffer the mistakes made by medical research? No woman should be forced to operative risks, even within a hospital setting—high priority in research

should be placed on the development of a safe, simple contraceptive device.

In the area of legislation, the law-makers have passed anti-abortion statutes (i.e. compulsory pregnancy laws) of one kind or another in every state. Of the 50 states, 40 have strict abortion laws that permit therapeutic abortions only to save *the life of the mother*. Seven states have more "liberal" laws that allow abortions for the purposes of *saving the life and protecting the health of the mother*. These states are Alabama, Maryland, Oregon, New Mexico, Colorado, North Carolina and California. The District of Columbia, until recently, fell within this category. Three states, namely Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have laws that state that "unlawful abortions cannot be performed." However the term unlawful is not defined and is sometimes liberally interpreted.

Some states also include in their statutes the possibilities of obtaining abortion in cases of forcible rape (11), statutory rape (7), voluntary intercourse when the woman is "underage," incest (8) or when there is medical indication that the fetus may be deformed (9).

Most of this legislation places the blame for a mistaken decision to perform an abortion on the doctor. The law declares a doctor is subject to prosecution as a felon and to withdrawal of his license to practice medicine if he errs in deciding an abortion is "necessary." When a doctor must prove the correctness of his actions, he is not likely to enjoy such professional risk-taking.

Compulsory pregnancy laws are women-control laws. They were enacted a century ago before women could vote, and before physicians were willing to accept women as patients! They are one of the most punitive aspects of the double standard of sexuality which makes male sexual conquest permissible, even a masculine virtue, while exempting him from the responsibilities deriving from his actions.

These statutes are part and parcel of a system of laws and social standards which have the effect of making women the property of men and the victims of state and corporate interests. As long as our minds and bodies are in the hands of such interests, we will remain "second-class" citizens. We cannot

free our souls in a situation such as this.

Historically, starting as far back as 460 B.C., and up until 100 years ago (when legislation was enacted) the common law practice was that abortion was permissible up until the time of quickening (when the fetus begins to move—approximately five months). Even the Roman Catholic Church, until 1869, regarded abortions as permissible until 40 days past conception for a male fetus and 80 days for a female fetus (how they made these determinations of fetal sex is, of course, unclear).

But, by the end of the 19th century, church and state leaders had a vested interest in maintaining the numerical strength of their constituency to fight their colonial wars, to sustain the economy at home and to ensure control of hereditary lines. So came into being the church edicts and state rulings on the sanctity of life in the uterus, defined as coming into existence at the time of conception came into being. This is where we stand today, a century later.

Those who support a woman's right to control her own reproduction must be clear in distinguishing between repeal and reform of the compulsory pregnancy laws. There has been much talk in recent years of "liberalizing" the statutes of the Model Penal Code provision on abortion. The Code legalizes abortion where there is substantial risk that (1) the continuation of the pregnancy will gravely impair the physical or mental health of the mother or (2) the child will be born with a grave physical or mental defect, or (3) the pregnancy resulted from rape, incest or felonious intercourse.

It is apparent that only a small percentage of women wanting to terminate their pregnancies will fit within one of these categories. The vast majority of women are forced to undergo the highly degrading experience of feigning mental or physical illness or risking their lives at the hands of illegal abortionists. In either case they will pay exorbitant prices.

As we have said, "liberal" laws operate in practice so as to make abortions virtually unavailable to poor women. In the District of Columbia, which had long had one of the most liberal laws in the country, the Public Health Department has steadfastly refused to

engage in the hypocritical practice of accepting "pseudo-psychiatric" indications for therapeutic abortion, despite the fact that the private hospitals have for years performed abortions on paying patients on the basis of form letters from sympathetic psychiatrists.

Women's Liberation should fight for the repeal of all abortion laws and the elimination of all restrictions on a woman's right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy, including the commonly imposed hospital requirements that a woman under 21 must obtain her parents' permission, and that the married woman must have authorization from her husband. Of course repeal does not mean that abortion will be unregulated—it will be placed in the realm of other necessary surgical procedures, subject to the dictates of good medical practice.

At this time it appears that an attack through the courts may be the fastest route to the elimination of the laws. The laws of California and the District of Columbia have recently been declared unconstitutional and a direct appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court from the D.C. decision may soon result in a ruling with sweeping implications for the laws of other states.

Both the California and the D.C. decisions were based on rulings that the laws in question are unconstitutionally vague. They provide no standards for doctors who risk imprisonment should they wrongly guess as to what is legally permissible. Both courts recognized that a woman's right to control her own reproduction is constitutionally protected. It seems reasonable to assert that should a state legislature succeed in framing abortion legislation which overcomes the vagueness problem (thereby setting up standards which would preclude "on request" abortions), such a law must then be subject to attack as an infringement of a woman's fundamental rights.

The November 10 decision in the United States District Court in D.C. may spur legal battles in other states. Essentially, the decision states that any licensed physician in D.C. may perform an abortion on any woman requesting it. This enlightened decision removes the necessity of either the doctor or the woman having to prove physical or mental impairment if the pregnancy were carried to term.

As we work for repeal of all abortion laws,

Women's Liberation must also fight for free health care and for a shifting of research and treatment priorities from flashy cures for the rich and publicity for doctors (e.g., heart transplants), to preventive medicine and medical cures for common ailments such as colds, malnutrition and contraceptive problems.

A conference of groups which were calling for liberalized abortion laws met in Chicago this year and decided to change their stance in favor of repeal of abortion laws. Five immediate objectives of this new group, *The National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws*, are:

1. To encourage the formation of citizens' groups in all fifty states.
2. To recruit the maximum number of active members.
3. To utilize and increase professional expertise in the field of abortion by:
 - A. publishing an inexpensive newsletter at frequent intervals.
 - B. developing mass educational materials for use in any state.
4. To assist and expand existing referral services which help women get abortion care.
5. To recruit participation and endorsement of professionals, prestigious figures, and leaders from all segments of society.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), Congressman Spark Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), the New York Civil Liberties Union, Physicians Forum and the National Organization for Women are supporting the repeal of abortion laws as well as the American Baptist Convention, American Jewish Congress, American Public Health Association, Group for Advancement of Psychiatry, Planned Parenthood-World Population, Medical Committee for Human Rights, Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion and American Women's Medical Association.

White women in Women's Liberation had a lot to learn about conditions facing poor women, particularly black women on welfare. The first was that of racial and political genocide. Black and brown women going through childbirth or a surgical procedure involving their female organs sometimes came out with hysterectomies or tubal ligations (the severing and tying of the Fallopian

tubes so that an egg could never reach the point where it could be fertilized by the sperm). Others faced mistreatment or were refused treatment when going to emergency rooms while hemorrhaging after underworld abortions. We saw the different way doctors treated black and poor patients, as opposed to their treatment of more affluent white patients. Doctors face white women with more personal seriousness, concern and caution.

Perhaps the real picture of political genocide was exposed when we talked about contraception. Currently every woman who applies for welfare in the District of Columbia is asked if she is taking birth control pills, and if she is not, they are urged on her. While this raised in our minds the spectre of "compulsory" cancer, blood clots, hypertension, etc., in their minds it raised the political issue of compulsory population control and genocide of the race.

Does the United States see its self-interest in limiting the black, brown, yellow and red populations in this country and in the world? The spectre of impending political uprisings raises obvious fears for the present systems of United States control over physical and economic resources. Focusing on "population control" as a rationalization for repression, and political and economic control, allows the U.S. government to buy more time from the revolution. Such measures fail to take seriously the need for redistribution of resources in order to resolve the present crisis in which most of the world's food, water, land and mineral resources are in the hands of the rich few while the poor masses starve. Blacks have come to see this situation more clearly than whites, while people in the third world understand this most clearly of all. Because of the seriousness of this attempt to buy off revolutionary demands for redistribution of resources through the illicit use of population control, it is essential that we be truly sensitive to it wherever abortion/birth control issues are raised. Our concern is a woman's right to decide WHEN to bear children, NOT to limit her reproductive ability.

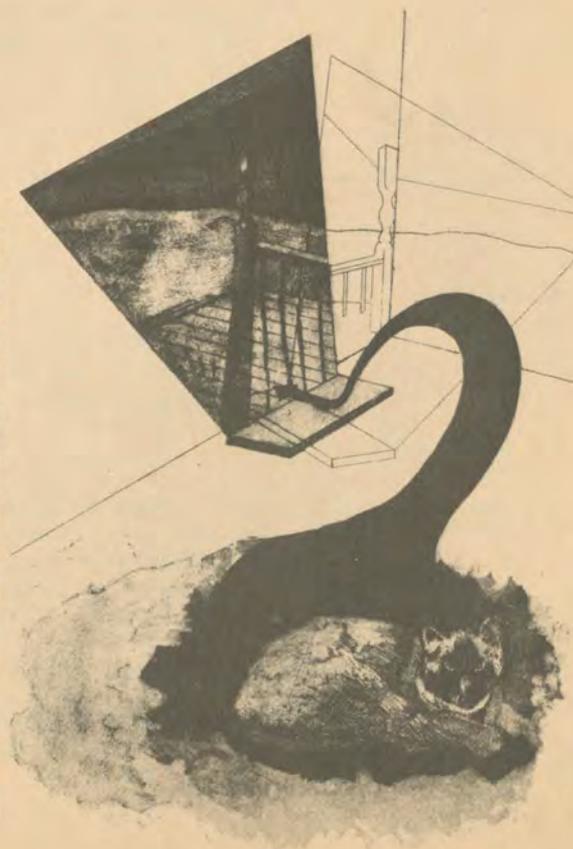
Medical resources must be reallocated and medical training must be redesigned so as to correspond with the real needs of patients, not with the teaching and research interests of

doctors. They do not want to do large numbers of abortions. Some OB-GYN people frankly consider it to be a boring procedure, especially compared to deliveries or removal of ovarian cysts or tumors in the uterus. Or they feel it will be too time-consuming to do all the abortions that are demanded.

There are more subtle reasons of doctors than just medical pathology or training and research given by doctors to impede a woman's right to control her reproductive life. One doctor put it this way: "If we give abortions on demand, won't there be more promiscuity?" Or, "In this day and age, if a woman gets pregnant she either wants or deserves to have the baby."

In the male-dominated medical establishment the question of a woman's "morality" is at issue. Our puritanical double standard of sex has never allowed women to freely express their natural sexuality. If a woman could function freely and honestly in accordance with her understanding of her psychosexual dynamics, how could she be kept in the home to service men? How could men maintain the initiative in the social/sexual structure? Somewhere in that system of

ETCHING: MY OLD TOM CAT SLEEPS ALL DAY—LOVES ALL NIGHT



RODNEY FREW

psychiatric references, consulting physicians and hospital board rulings, these kinds of attitudes are buried. These attitudes and interests will be difficult to crack even though doctors no longer need fear criminal prosecution.

We need to force the public health department, HEW and the nation to provide free abortion and adequate health clinics throughout the country. We need to struggle for free child care for all, day and night;

we need to struggle for wages for women doing for presently uncompensated services for society, like domestic labor, pregnancy and child-bearing. We need to be in the streets, in the hospital corridors, in courts and where women work and live. Direct and exemplary action of this sort gives women the sense that it IS worth struggling, that it IS worth confronting the system with our own ideas and resources, because we CAN create something better. ■

FOR MORE INFORMATION, SEE:

1. D. Lowe, *Abortion and the Law*, IX (1966).
2. Dorthea Kerslake and Donn Casey, "Abortion Induced by Means of the Uterine Aspirator," reprinted from Vol. 30, No. 1, July, 1967, *Obstetrics and Gynecology*, Hoeber Medical Division, Harper and Row, U.S.A.
3. Society for Humane Abortion, Inc. "Newsletter," Vol. 5, No. 1, April, 1969, P.O. Box 1862, San Francisco, California 94101.
4. Lana Clarke Phelan and Patricia Maginnis, *The Abortion Handbook for Responsible Women*, Contact Books, Inc., 7813 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
5. National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL), 250 West Street (Room 2428), New York City 10019.
6. National Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion, 55 Washington Square South, New York City 10012
7. Washington, D.C. Women's Liberation, P.O. Box 13098, "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009.

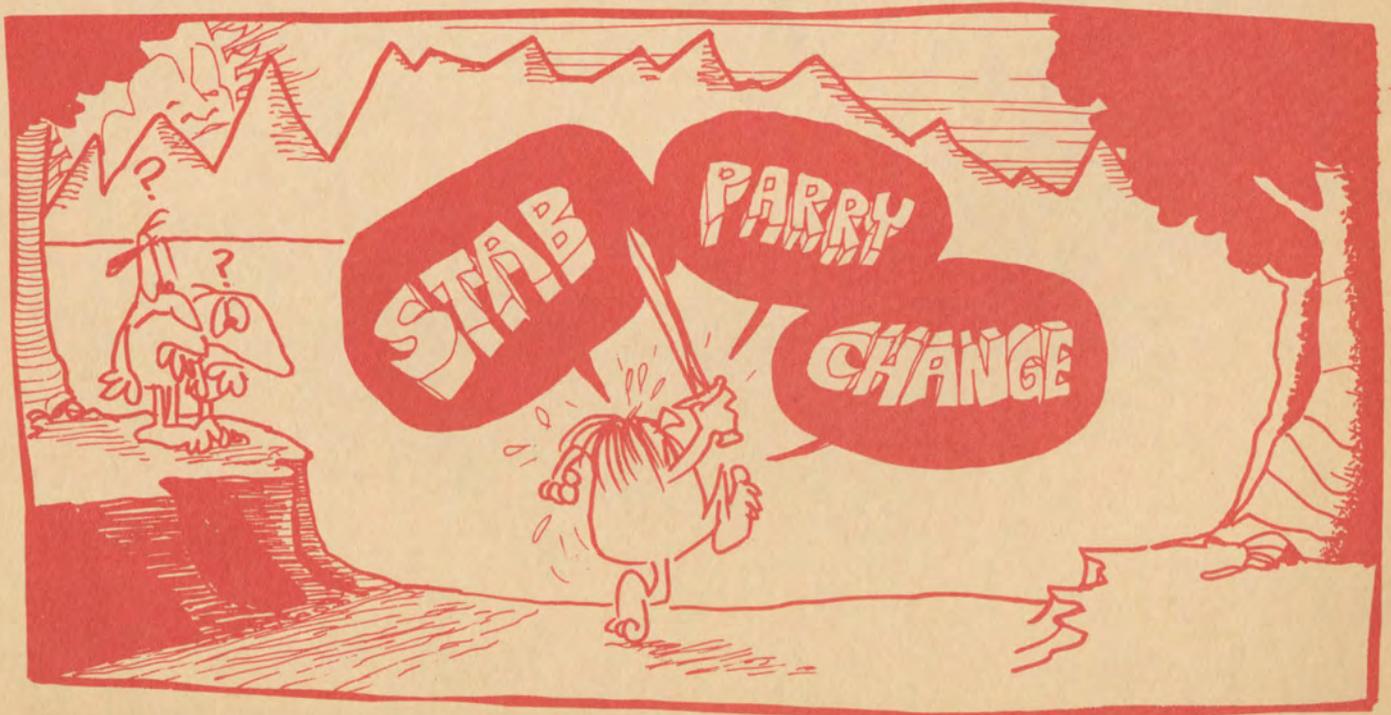
about the authors:

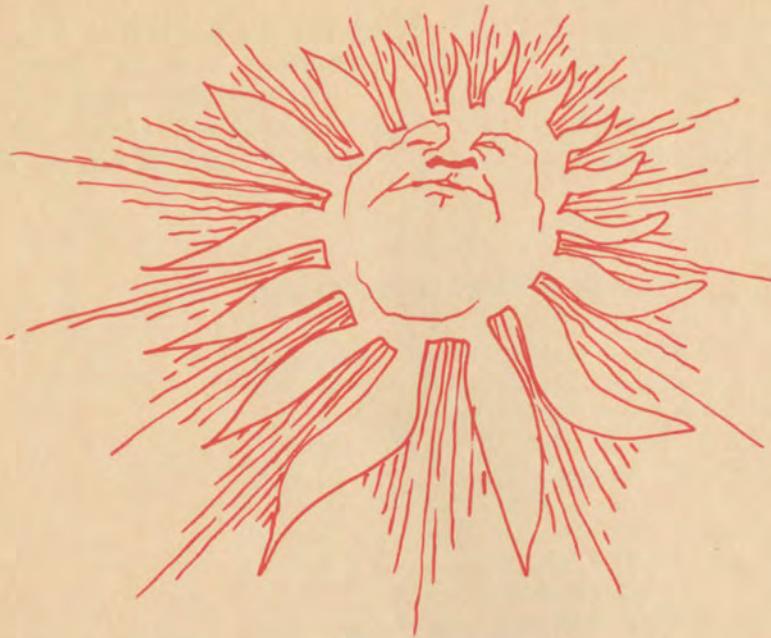
About two years ago, women in women's liberation started helping their sisters who needed information and advice about abortions. This service was not available anywhere in Washington, D.C. The Birth Alternative's group grew out of this initial effort.

In addition to developing a city-wide counseling service, the group compiled the facts and developed the philosophy which led to a major victory in the United States District Court—the overturning of the D.C. abortion statute on constitutional grounds. With this victory in hand, the District of Columbia can become a national focus in the struggle for repeal by setting up a fully equipped (politically and medically) abortion clinic to serve the needs of women nationwide.—WOMEN'S LIBERATION GROUP, Washington, D.C.

FIRE THE CANNON

by Dan O'Neill







- IN THE IMMORTAL WORDS
OF AL CAPONE ..
"SHUT UP, YERSELF!"



.. SO YOU CAN'T HAVE
CHANGE
WITHOUT
VIOLENCE!



O.K.. YOU
CAN'T HAVE
SUNSHINE
WITHOUT THE
SUN.. SO
WHAT?



ANITA'S VICTORY

A Tale of a childrens Park

by

Felicity Brown

about the author:

Felicity Emily Brown was named after one of the third-century martyrs of Carthage. She was born in 1958 and lived in Beirut until 1965, where she attended the British Community School and witnessed two revolutions. Currently she is attending Longfellow School in Berkeley, California. "Anita's Victory" is her first published work. She has had some experience in student organizing, counting of bail-money, and tear-gas; she has attended Berkeley Municipal Court as a spectator. A number of people who live in her house have been arrested on various political charges connected with the Peace Movement. She has traveled in Lebanon, England, New Hampshire and Arizona, and has ridden across America by train. She considers herself one of the "experienced world travelers" of whom the airlines speak. She is studying Spanish and hopes to take up Russian some day; she has acquired some proficiency on the violin. Like her heroine Anita, she hopes to become a lawyer.

-JOHN FAIRMAN BROWN, Berkeley, Cal.

Brenda Morrow was shopping with her mother. On her way down she saw an enormous parking lot, it was square and oh! it was so ugly. it was about an acre wide and on both sides were two gray splotchy sky scrapers. The cement was rotting and there were a couple of broken down cars on the lot. When Brenda went past, the smell struck her nose like the Richmond refinery. So that is why she went Home wondering how she could improve it.

Now; let me tell you a bit about Brenda. Brenda is chinese her mother, who is black adopted her and her chinese sister and two white kids. Mrs Morrow also had two of her own children one of which is twenty (her name is Anita) she is a law student and we shall hear more about her later on. Brenda her self is about eleven and is quite a brilliant kid. The two american kids, (one boy and one girl) are about 10 (there twins); Kevin, wants to be a soldier of peace and Mary wants to be a nurse.

This day had been Sunday. The next day was Monday and with it came school Mrs Morrow went into Brenda's room, Anita's room, and Kevin and Mary's room to wake them up, but not into the room shared by Brenda's little sister Harriet and Anita's little brother David (who is three) because Harriet is only one and a half years old and all she can say is baby talk "mommy daddy." Brenda and Mary and Kevin went to school on a school bus. She really didn't hate school but sometimes she got tired and thought other things would be more Pleasant.

Well, Brenda was sitting in the class and finally came math time and that's where everybody groans because even though the teacher was nice she was too keen on math. Brenda never really paid much attention at math time which really annoyed the teacher; Miss Mairfeild so when ever she caught Brenda dreaming she would sharply command her to "come back to class." well, right in the middle of one of her dreams came a hot flash of brilliance (I'll tell you what later) she almost jumped into the air and screamed. The teacher had been saying "now class I am going to pass out this Addition sheet and remember it is very easy to do but you must. . . . Brenda! What's wrong!" for it was at this point that Brenda's eyes flew wide open she started and made a little noise (you remember, her brilliant idea) "oh nothing" said Brenda hastily, but the teacher wondered what Brenda was up to she hoped it was not a nother one of Brenda's hairbrained or crazy Exploitations.

After school Brenda went to every class (In spirit) and told them; I will tell you what but not now. Well any way as you may imagine it would be hard to get every one together but this had happened before (I mean gathering classes) so Brenda went to the east Play ground and walked into a Place behind the bungalows and opened a trapdoor and struck a gong now this gong touched a wire and made a buzz in every class. This was a sign to meet after school for a meeting in the east yard.

Now let me explain to you about the trapdoor, trapdoors I should say for there's two of them. The one of bungalows is Behind the Bungalows it looks like only a crack in the asphalt with a bigger lump of asphalt But if you pull this bigger lump it comes up. You go down a pair of stairs and you come to a chamber (its small) and in it is a lot of wires and stuff like tools and switches but in the middle is a silver gong on a silver table and many wires going from it. Brenda went straight to the table lifted the gong and struck the table. The noise vibrated and went through the table and came through the bungalows and made a fly's buzz. Only the noise sounded like buzz Buzzzzzzzzzz Buzz Then she went to a secluded place behind the main building in the west yard and did the very same thing.

After school all of the kids came to the east yard and Brenda stood up in front of every body and said: "everybody I had an Idea and this is it. You know that lot on Cedar and what it smells and looks like?" when every one answered the affirmative she continued, "well I propose that we buy that lot and improve it" There was a lot of cheering and applause but one timid kid by the name of Ken said "but how shall we improve it?" There was silence; dead silence except Brenda who said "Oh you silly fool! were going to make a beautiful garden" "when?" asked Ken "Saturday at eight o'clock" "okay good by Brenda" said all and left.

That week was a busy week for the kids. Brenda and the most trustworthy kids (about 3) went to the owner of the lot. The owner was a hard man but by bargaining and saying that it wasnt worth much any way they finally agreed on 50 dollars. Mean while the younger kids went to the store (co-op hardware) and got seeds for fast growing flowers and pretty flowers like morning glorys, nasturtiums, Dahlias, daffodills and Iris'. They also got fruit or maybe I should say berries like strawberries, blueberries, Blackberries and cran berries and also some fifth graders got small tomato plants. The rest of the sixth graders got small trees and a box of grass seeds. They only got about 4 or 5 trees because they are hard to grow but these are the trees they got: one fir two cedars two euclyptus'.

Kids who had tools tried to get them but of course most kids parents said "No they'ed hurt them selves" but some parents aproved of the plan and said "Yes you may use the tools and We will drive you and your friends to the lot" That Saturday all met at the lot at eight sharp and one of the parents (yes some even agreed to come along and help) took up a pickaxe and started to pick at the cement and put it in a garbage can. While he was picking another parent started loosening the soil. Little and big graders (4,5,6) were making the soil fine ie breaking dirt clods and there we will leave them working happily side by side.

We will go three days and peek into the police station and the police are in a fine temper. Now how all this came about was, an old man of fifty oh! was he a tattletale, so he saw this going on (I mean the work on the lot) and he says "oh its privite property" so he goes to the police and says "Sirs there's some punks on that privite property on Cedar" The police stare at him and a lieutenant pulls out a pad of paper and a pencil and said "Talk on old man I'll put down the important facts" This old man is a little out of breath and he's got lung truble so he sounded like this "well pant, pant see there was a giant mob on the lot pant, pant and they were TRESSPASING!! pant, pant, pant." The Lieutenant wrote (Tresspassing on lot on Cedar mob of people). He passed it to a man at a desk and read it aloud "Trampling and tearing and tresspassing on privet property a giant mob of about ten thousand people." (he exaggerated the note because he had special gruge against people in large groups or other wize because he thought they were a threat to the comunity)

So now you see why the police station was in a fine temper. Well those police men were so strung up they realy belived that the people working on the lot had been tresspasing on privet property. The police go into rooms on the ground floor and came out looking ready for war. I'll tell you what they did they had on: one club, two guns, a helmet (the kind with glass Visiors), a bullet and missle Proof Jacket (by the by it didn't keep out insults) and a pair of rawhide boots. (oh yes also teargas, pepper gas and mace)

While the police had been geting ready someone at the desk had phoned the helicopter station and said "have three helicopters go circleing around the lot on Cedar" Twenty police cars had been gotten ready (oh I forgot to tell you the old man had strutted around and had left the station strutting like a peacock don't ask me why) When the police came out they went strate to the cars after inspection, they heard the helicopters whining over head and on the way they saw national guard trucks coming from the Presidio in San Fransisco.

Now lets go back to the people working on the lot. When they saw the threatning dust cloud of police cars and national guard trucks coming in the distance they must have felt like the Trojans when Iris warned them of atack from the greeks and the Trojans saw the threatening cloud of dust rolling across the plains. When they saw it they sent a runner (a swift one) to collect a lot of students (see, classes were out for the day) and tell them that they are to come to "The Lot" immedeatly before its too late to help them. The students, who had suspected some kind of dirty work on the part of the "comunity" so they jumped up and said they would surely come so they went sepratly and when they arrived they saw a terrable sight there were policemen, National guards and worst of all the county sheriffs. The policemen saw the more than a thousand people, they went into panick so they called for the county sheriffs. When the people and the armed forces met they called out "we bought the Lot" The forces only said "go tell that to the Judge." Then the people were Confronted.

Students, people and armed forces met with a clash. The smell of tear gas and pepper gas filled the air but they saved the mace for a last resort. Bullets went zinging throuw the air and people in near by houses didn't dare go out for fear of being shot or getting a gas in there faces.

This battle was valiantly held by the kids, it was hard on every one. Brenda's mother was anxious about her children so she said to her eldest daughter Anita "You are a lawyer. I would like you (since it is most likely they will be arrested) to make sure you are their Lawyer, and if the lot is theirs lawfully get as many witnesses as you can on the Seen because things like that gathers crowds." Anita said "of course and what about the other kids and the students" "You can be their Lawyer if you want to" "OK" Anita hurried of to see if she could be of any assistance when she arrived on the Seen she almost choked on the teargas, and the pepper gas irritated her nose. She heard a zinging noise and she ducked just in time to miss getting hit by a bullet fired from an angry county sheriff. Seeing she was a rich mahogany color he thought she was "just another Intruder of the peace"

Lets turn to see what the armed forces thought of the whole matter. Well I'll tell you all they were thinking about was to kill, kill, kill or maybe I should say to do injury to everybody especially Black people because as you know forces especially armed ones hate this particularly beautiful race because their skin has a different color from theirs.

Now lets get back to our smaller heroes and heroines. We will begin with Ken (his real name was Kenneth) and Mary. You remember Mary wanted to be a nurse and she was in fifth grade and she was quite a brave girl. When she saw the forces approaching she didn't flee in terror but she calmly waited for the onslaught with the rest when it arrived.

She had a little knowledge of doctoring so she was prepared with a First aid kit which had been brought incase anyone hurt themselves so she got to work immediately. There were certainly more people than armed forces but as they were using nonviolent resistance and they had not the modern tools of war they couldn't stand up against the forces long. In fact about an hour after Anita arrived the forces began arresting people. (I have to use "forces" because it takes too long to write national guard, police men and county sheriffs)

When the crowds saw the "threat of the peace" was only a lot of children and their parents they thought it was a pity that the forces had to attack them. The ranks of people on the to-be park grew smaller and smaller as police dragged them of the Lot. The Students had been arrested. Ken, the timid boy, the one we heard about farther back in the story hadn't even stayed when the police came. He said "the over confident person always gets in trouble" Some of the braver 6 graders really got it. But finally all the students and children were in either Patty wagons or national guard trucks.

Now some of my readers may be wondering about Brenda. Has she left? or is she arrested? I will tell you. She was in a national guard truck dizzy with a blow a national guardsman had given her on the head. She was holding harriet and david's hands. Brenda was half conscious. When she came to she was being roughly pushed out of the patty wagon. She was thinking "what happened to Kenneth and mary" She was still holding harriet and david's hand.

When she was walking into the office to be booked she over heard this: "No room here, gotta send them to santa rita Prison, students too. Weve only room for 70 kids. Send all the big uns to the rita prison. Send the students to san qentin if theres no room at the rita" The gruff officers voice sounded "Santa rita for them comeon" He grabbed them roughly by the arm and into the van

First they went to santa rita prison, it was ugly and the building was a dirty gray. The officer went in and when he came out he said to the kids "humph room for all of you" He pushed them into the prison, stuffed the kids in cells, clanged the door and left them there. Brenda looked at her companions in the cell and said heavily "well this is what came from it." a day later this is what they were saying "well I sure hope that Anita's our lawyer" A boy called William said "Ya shes a pretty good lawyer" "Well" said Brenda "we can only hope against hope" The Jailor came in and said "some one to see you" and he opened the door and there stood
 . . . ANITA!

All of the kids all together cried out "Anita how did you get here" "I was sent" laughed Anita. "Your mother is a great worrier and is a great one for flaping so she Isisted on me coming now before you got a different Lawyer" "Anita!" said Brenda "we were hoping against hope" "What luck" said another kid. There were several more comments like these and now I will tell you a bit about Anita

She is twenty as I have said before and is almost fineshed with Law school. In fact at the point in which she comes into the story she had finished law and she was quite smart so she was quite a good Lawyer already and I am sure that the kids were mighty glad to see her. She said "I've got an hour with you. Lets use it wizely. First is there a way I can get you out of trouble"

Do you remember when Brenda was unconscious? she missed this bit of what Anita said and just said "u-huh" Brenda wasent completely unconscious she was just drowsy so she missed it. "do you have any wittnesses?" asked Anita "What are wittnesses?" asked William. "They are people who saw what was going on" explained Anita "now that you understand do you have any?" A girl called Karen said "you are one" Anita Laughed and said "oh but I dont count because I am defending you" "oh" said Karen "I guess I just dont know law much" "well" said Brenda "There is our parents because they split and then . . ." "wait" said Anita, interupting "explain to me clearer" "ok our parents Split . . . I mean left and so they wernt arrested so they are wittnesses 'cause they saw what went on so they are wittnesses." "well" said Anita "remember they would have to be telling the truth and only the truth they would Have to they Must. They are Sworn in but they can't take sides they must tell exactly what hapened" "well" said Brenda "they'll do"

"Lets go on to more chearful matter Ill tell you we hired a maid when you got arressted and she has a habit of breaking things she tries to take three plates and she almost droped them she tripped over david's cart and she not only smashed the cart to smitheriens but sprained her ankle as well." "How funny" giggled Brenda "I mean not seeing that old cart; well I must admit (she said after awhile) that all of us, including david himself have triped over that ol' cart" At this point david interupted her by saying "well see what I told you it's magic. it gets from the garage to the driveway and now its smathereined" he added with a sigh he didn't pronounse his words quite right yet he was only four oh I forgot to mention that David had had a birthday so now he was four. Anita said "David I never gave you a birthday presant because I was so busy with school and finishing up and makeing quite a havvoc among the elders of Law because they thought I was to young" She paused "Like Littimer" after a uncomfotable silense Brenda added "Yes indeed like Littimer" (I will hasten to add that Littimer is James Steerforth's servant from "David Copperfield" Littimer looked as if he was thinking "Oh you are so young")

"Now" said Anita "lets get back to the subject I said I was going to say something new let me see" she mused "oh yes David" she said in her mystyrius tone of voice "I bought you another red wagin only it's made of metal instead of wood so it wont disintegrate so easaly Only I warn you, keep it in the garage so that poor old maid wont trip over the wagon or she will break a leg" "ok" said David so solom and under-standing that everyone including Anita burst out laughing because he sounded so funny

All of a sudden Harriet who hadnt said a thing but had just been sucking her thumb stolidly said "me want mama" every body looked at her in surprise and Harriet said again "mama" "her first words" cried Brend excitedly Then the door open and Brenda wheeled around to find the Jailor staring at her angrily and said "Shut your fat traps you blankity blanks all of my prisiners are complaining about the noise" when he left Anita had something to say "I have several Freinds who are willing to try and gather up the money to bail you out" an awed murmur came from the kids "and they are still getting ready theyve got to wait till sunday for churches but theyre going around and collecting from the people and our house looks like a bank" "I believe you" groaned Brenda "I can see it. But" She said with a worried frown "what about the maid" "We work in mothers locked room and youve got to swear yourself into secreacy" "ok" say the kids in unison

The whole free church was on the move and was alive and had been ever since the children were arrested They had several people out on the streets for money and had \$2000 in cash. In dollars they had two 50 dollar bills and one 100 dollar bill and in all they had \$2020 This was a total for one day, thursday and friday they rang up on door bells for a total they rang on 100 doors and 50 responded so as you see the citizens were devided half were of the Idea that the children had done something unforgivable and did not contribute and the other half thought that it is not right for children to be cooped up in a Jail or prison and were shocked to hear some had been sent to santa rita that made them contribute all the more so Friday they got about 10 dollars from each. Saterday they got \$200 Then they were getting little bits like asking the radio station to, when they Broadcasted to beg for money.

Sunday came and what a response they got! one or two churches felt giving plate money was not nessesary so they said no but most of the churches said of course so in about one week they got everybody out, to the relife of everybody.

I am now going to go into finer details. Mrs. Morrow was delighted to have her children back and further more she had a vage Idea of what was going on (You MUST remember that they bought the lot with there OWN money.)

The younger kids there mothers sort of folded them into there bosem and clucked at them but older kids are a different story there parents glared at them and said "havent you got any SENSE giving little kids a bad example" Some were grounded. As for schoolwork to all my child readers you probly know what a weeks worth of homework is like, stacks. well now you can imagine what it looked like and you might be surprised that the teachers were madder than hornets. Brenda's teacher looked coldly at her. the reason why is because they were respectable teachers and had never had Jail birds in her or his class. even ordinary teachers hardly have that happen it would be out of the ordinary. but any how it was a good thing that all of the school kids had been involved or some certain people would be the laughing stock of the whole school the kids were surprised at state of events and tried to make the teacher agreeable. Brenda even got A in math but her teacher was Cold to her.

At that presant moment her teacher was thinking "Shocking! I shant communicate with Jail birds they are dissagreeable anyway" they realy werent but good old respectable teacher (it was miss Mairfeild) thought that any body who had been in jail or prison was dissagreeable. unfortunite isnt it. It cant be helpt some people are just naturally unagreeable. after about a week and a half after they were arested the teachers said they couldn't stand it any longer They went to the principale in body and said "we wont put up with jail birds any longer" The poor old principal finaly blew his top "Stop complaining" he said slamming down his papers "They've been making extrordinaraly good marks there is no reason to complain if you make any more remarks I'll Fire you!"

This cowed the teachers and they filed back to their rooms muttering angrily well, they finaly got over their anger at having jail birds in their class, but do you remember Ken that timid kid who didnt get arrested was a teacher pet (Ken) and consiquently he got very goody goody and spoiled because he was pampered like a baby! Absolutely nobody wanted to play with him but he didn't care because he ate in class and teachers would always feed him parts of food all of the kids jeered at him when they learned this they called him "little puppy."

Now I should go back to another subject all people who get arested have to have a trial. some people because they have no money a lawyer is provided for them If they want a spesific lawyer they have to pay unless the lawyer lets them get him or her as a lawyer free Well, a week after the visit of the teachers to the principal's office the trial date was appointed it was october and the fall leaves were on the ground a perfect time for Halloween trick-or-treating but there wasn't going to be trick-or-treating for the kids that year. This was a great disapointment for the kids Because they had been planinng But it had to be. And now I am going to stop and wait for this to come up in about a couple of days.

(TO BE CONTINUDE)

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about the author:

Sometimes amid the jangling of 14 telephone lines, the constant stream of visitors and RFK's "Judy . . . what's next on my schedule?" Cromwell would poke her head out the inner office door, give a mock sigh and whisper, "I think I'm going to go out of my bean." But she never did. Judy was a crackerjack secretary, patient expert on miscellaneous information, one of the original office wits and totally dedicated to Robert F. Kennedy and his hopes for a better world.

Her abilities were soon recognized by Ethel Kennedy and she jumped from the hectic pace at the office to the happy frenzy of Hickory Hill. As social secretary she helped to coordinate the multitude of activities of children, dogs and adults that made the RFK home one of the most exciting in Washington.

—MELODY MILLER McELIGOTT, Washington, D.C.

We know that all Americans are malnourished to some degree. Most of us, however, while preferring hamburgers, potato chips and cokes, can afford beef, vegetables and milk. We have a choice—millions of our poor citizens do not. A less appetizing choice is made for them by County Commissioners and County Judges—a choice between surplus commodities or food stamps. Both are inadequate.

Surplus Commodities are created "hand-outs," foods purchased primarily for price-support programs for the farmer and, secondarily, as sustenance for the poor. Thus you see squaws, like stoic fullbacks, planted behind loaded vans in Arizona, blacks slumped languidly in the broiling shade of Louisiana, and becalmed fishermen squatting alongside salty school buses in Maine—all awaiting the flour, peanut butter, etc., that will soon be dispensed as the largess of the Government.

These foods were intended to be only a supplement to the diets of low-income families—but, for many, they are the entire stock. The last week out of every four those families go hungry.

Unsatisfactory as that may be, they are lucky. For there are thousands of other eligible families who are either unaware of the program or unable to take advantage of it. While the Federal Government purchases the food, the county assumes responsibility for its distribution. For low-income citizens,

NGER

PHOTOGRAPH



BOB FLETCHER

Something
you
can
do

by Judy Cromwell

however, the county actually establishes a treasure hunt. For example, in St. Louis County, Missouri, with a total population of 849,500 and a fractional population of 76,255 deprived citizens, there is only one distribution center—the airport. If you don't find the location of the prize, starvation is your booby prize. The imagination behind such a scheme is nothing less than astounding. Even for credit-card travelers who frequent the super-highways leading to the airport, the drive is harrowing. For the untraveled poor, it is impossible. The road blocks they must pass are these:

First, they must be aware of the program. But since most local officials are either under-staffed or unsympathetic to the needs of the poor, the programs are underpublicized. Rarely, if ever, is an effort made to notify, and certify all eligible families. Second, they must have access to a car, the money for gas, a discernible road map, knowledge of the day when the warehouse will be open, and a back strong enough to lift the 37 pounds of food that, at last, will be theirs to lug home. Third, they must not mind being herded into day-long lines.

Since most of these hungry and malnourished are AFDC mothers and their children, the elderly, and the handicapped, the program is nonsensical—and less than one-fifth of them are participating.

What can you do?

Through your county welfare office, aided by nearby Council Against Poverty

(CAP) and VISTA workers, you can canvass the county, informing and helping to certify all who are eligible.

For those who are shut-ins, you can arrange a car pool or a community bus that will deliver the food to their doors. You can also set aside rooms in churches and schools as makeshift warehouses where the commodities can be dispensed more than one day a month and that will be closer to their homes.

However, even if every eligible family were discovered, certified, and transported to the warehouse, there is another puzzle—the commodities themselves. How can the 22 available goods be prepared appetizingly? Consider the quandary of an Appalachian wife in the glow of a wood-burning stove or a Navajo mother hunched over the fire in an abandoned oil drum. They are limited by these primitive cooking facilities. Women from colleges and churches have, nevertheless, tried to concoct palatable recipes that can be cooked easily by the food recipients. They have accepted this culinary challenge in communities across the country and are presently conducting informal classes with neighboring welfare mothers.

These are some ways in which you can make the commodity program work at the local level. And it must be made to work if the hungry and malnourished are to be fed.

While the Surplus Commodities program is humiliating to its recipients, the Food Stamp Program is equally untenable.

Instead of lining up in front of the community to be loaded down with hand-outs, the recipients line up more privately, in front of welfare workers, for their month's allotment of stamps, and then line up once again at the check-out counter of their local grocer after selecting the foods they want.

This program casts the poor adrift in the food-industry mainstream:

... Adrift because the Ma and Pa stores, the supermarkets, and the trading posts in the ghetto, the barrio, and on the reservation charge more and offer less.

... Adrift because the stamp recipients, lacking storage space in their homes, must make frequent sojourns to stores and are unable to take advantage of sales.

... Adrift because they are unskilled in the arts of cost comparison and nutrition evaluation.

... Adrift because their insufficient monthly allotment of stamps is all too quickly spent.

You can help. As with the Surplus Commodities program, citizens need to be notified of the existence of the Food Stamp program, since the average number of citizens participating is one-fifth of those eligible. Transportation is needed once the distribution point has been located. And discrimination, which is widely practiced in many counties in subtle forms, must be observed, publicized and appropriate counter-measures taken.

What has become obvious is that neither of the present family-feeding programs can operate without volunteer efforts. The food programs are offered at the Federal level, but they have to be made viable at the local level.

A further—and concurrent—step must be taken before every American child is assured good nutrition.

The hot lunches which most middle and upper class children wrinkle their noses at are common fare in their school cafeterias. However, those same children who "Oh, no" the lunchtime menu are usually also receiving hot, nutritious breakfasts and dinners at home. The children who come to school with gnawing stomachs and sup in the evening on bread and beans frequently do not have the option of "Oh, noing" a school lunch.

By law, Federal money and Federally donated foods are available to match any school district's contribution on a 3 to 1 basis. School administrators must request the Federal participation—deposit their financial share—and dish out the meals. Up to now only a few states have defrayed a portion of the expense from their own coffers.

By law, free and reduced-price lunches should be offered to all children who are unable to pay the full price.

In practice only 3 out of 8.5 million needy children are receiving lunches. For example:

—in Arizona Pima Indian youngsters serve lunches to their white classmates and then, in a back room, have to gulp down their free food before the afternoon bell clangs.

—white youngsters from Appalachia dangle their legs forlornly over the school stage as their more fortunate friends wipe plates clean before them.

—monitors in southern schools are stationed beside garbage cans to protect the

leftovers from desperately hungry fellow students. . .

And the list goes on. Why such discrimination? Federal regulations clearly state:

that "schools must give free or reduced-price lunches to as many of their needy children as they can"—

that "schools in the program cannot keep lunch from any child because of his race, color, or national origin"—

and that "when lunch is served, no child may be made to sit away from the others, or be served in a different line or at a different time."

The discrimination exists because the law allows the programs to operate solely at the discretion of local school officials. Usually principals or school nurses make the arbitrary selections of those who will partake of free or reduced-price meals.

Teachers know that the curriculum is indigestible to a child who is hungry.

So do mothers. Several years ago a group of mothers in Memphis, Tennessee, walked the halls of Title I schools in their city, questioning the usage of those funds which were intended to educate the education-deprived. The classrooms were filled with children from poor families—the hungry children of a poorly administered program.

Immediately the mothers began knocking on the doors of principals, school board members, and the parents of those children who were not eating. A dialogue began between the school administrators and the families who had formerly been mute—and within months all the children in those schools were queueing up in the noontime lines.

Many more schools in Memphis remain unchallenged. It is obvious that the problem defies an immediate solution—but at least the problem is proving to be soluble.

Other food programs are available to special groups on a "shortage" basis.

Our most undernourished children bolt down cereal, bread, juice, and milk as part of the national School Breakfast program—but Federal funds are limited so participation is patchy.

Students and campers quench their thirst on the Special Milk program—cartons of milk that are purchased by public or private

child-caring institutions which, in turn, request Federal reimbursement.

Expectant mothers, infants, and children up to the age of six line the corridors of hospitals and clinics for an examination which will attest to their need for additional nutrition—then, under the Supplemental Feeding program, they go to a local warehouse where they trade in their "prescription" for packages of six foods rich in iron and protein.

The last program is vital, for mental retardation can often be traced to prenatal and infant malnutrition. Yet the administration of Supplemental Foods is flimsy, dependent entirely on the initiative and creativity of local citizens.

This plethora of Federal food programs—underfinanced and underadministered—is summed up by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in its own flurry of pink, blue, orange, and yellow throwaways. This rainbow of one-page instructions, intended for the layman, would swirl any reader into confusion and disgust.

Even if you immersed yourself in the regulations governing these Federal programs, for months at a time, you would end up screaming in frustration—and championing, as the only solution, an adequate income for every American, a free school lunch for every child and strictly enforced nutrition standards for every food producer.

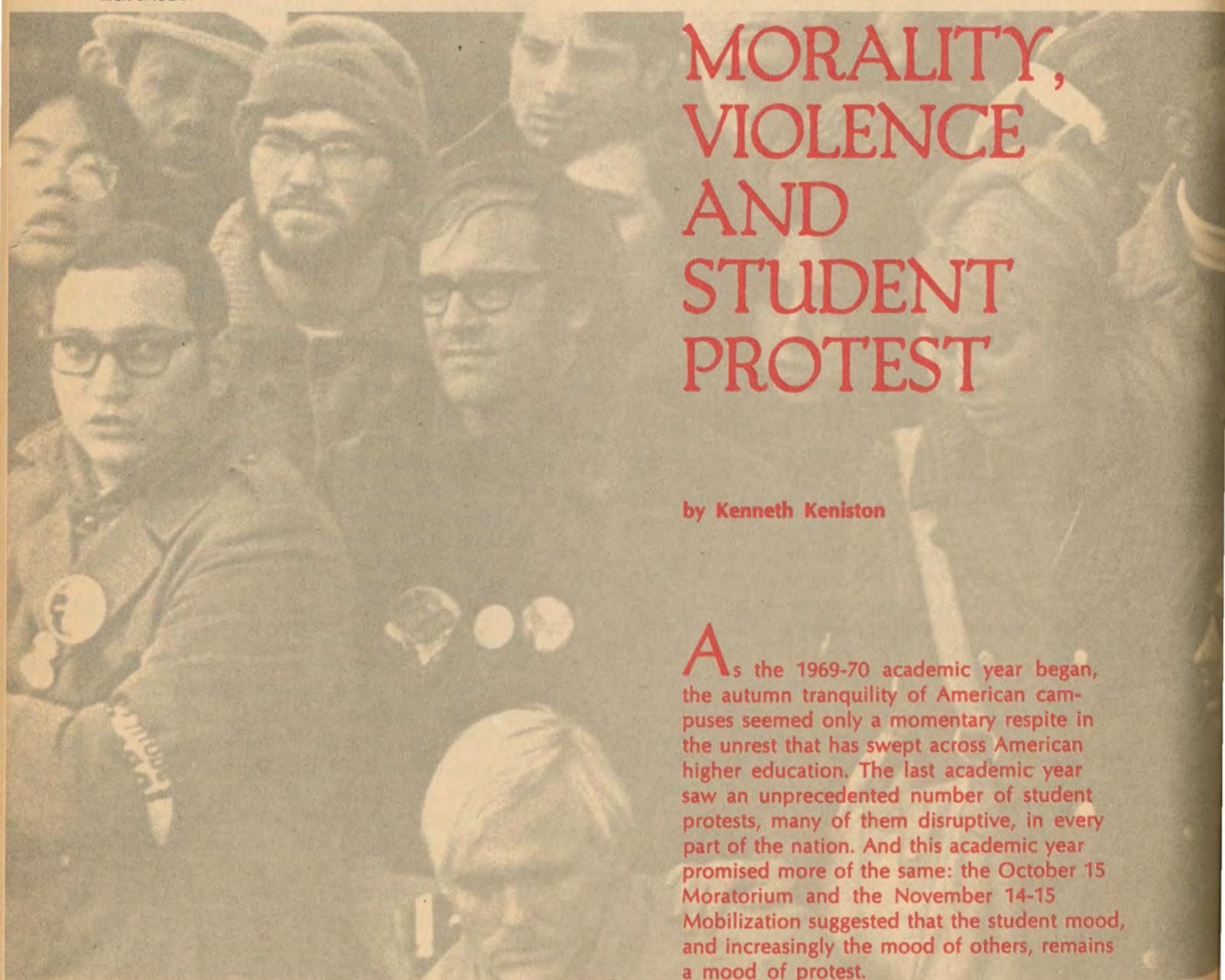
But—in the meantime—the House Agriculture Committee will continue to feed the farmer and not the poor; the United States Department of Agriculture will continue to offer stop-gap programs and not even enforce them; county officials will continue to refuse, or to emasculate, the programs that are available—and the poor will continue to be hungry.

If you think I am talking off the top of my hat, just pick up the telephone, and try to find out what agency has authority over food programs in your county. For a start, you might try the county welfare office, but, then, each county selects its own agency, and the welfare office may be only able to give you another lead. Talk with the administrator of the food program (once you have found where the agency is located), and discover for yourself what idiocy this Federally supported, locally run system for the poor actually is. Call in the afternoon, and don't eat breakfast or lunch that day. ■

about the author:

To find the person as engaging as his writing is all too rare. He has a refreshingly informal style in private conversation and small seminars. His attractiveness as a teacher and person was summed up for me by a medical student who said, "You get the feeling that you're understood." I'm sure this is also the key to his research. Ken's genuine interest in the student himself opens vistas that the detached researcher would miss. The students in his books come across as people we know. A tribute to how well they felt themselves known.—REV. DAVID C. DUNCOMBE, New Haven, Conn.

RICK SMOLAN



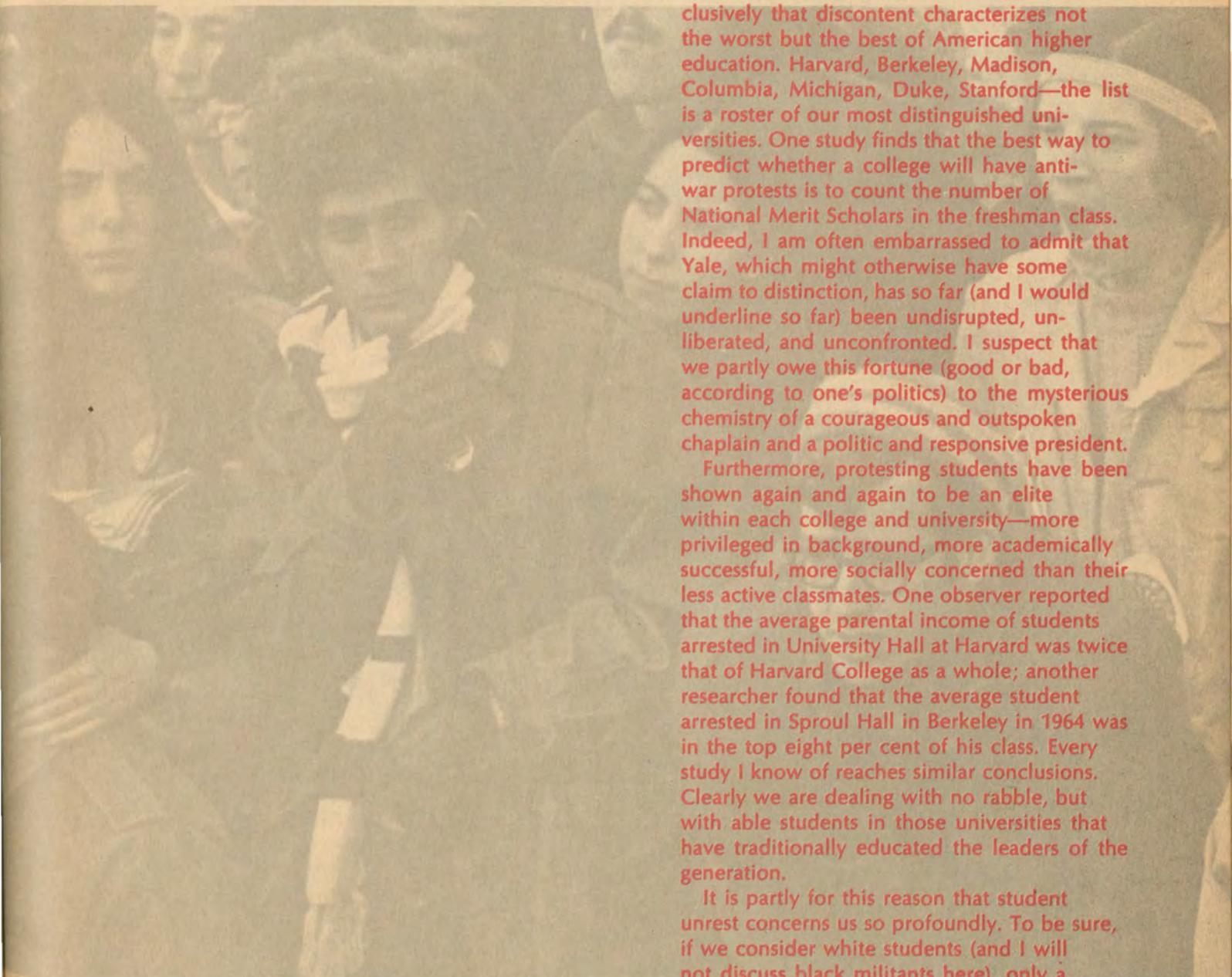
MORALITY, VIOLENCE AND STUDENT PROTEST

by Kenneth Keniston

As the 1969-70 academic year began, the autumn tranquility of American campuses seemed only a momentary respite in the unrest that has swept across American higher education. The last academic year saw an unprecedented number of student protests, many of them disruptive, in every part of the nation. And this academic year promised more of the same: the October 15 Moratorium and the November 14-15 Mobilization suggested that the student mood, and increasingly the mood of others, remains a mood of protest.

PHOTOGRAPH

Reprinted with permission from the Yale Alumni Magazine, November, 1969, pp. 53-59.



Were protest confined to a few distant institutions, or to an obvious rabble, it could be more readily dismissed. But last year, the continuing protests at Berkeley and the disturbances at Harvard have shown conclusively that discontent characterizes not the worst but the best of American higher education. Harvard, Berkeley, Madison, Columbia, Michigan, Duke, Stanford—the list is a roster of our most distinguished universities. One study finds that the best way to predict whether a college will have anti-war protests is to count the number of National Merit Scholars in the freshman class. Indeed, I am often embarrassed to admit that Yale, which might otherwise have some claim to distinction, has so far (and I would underline so far) been undisrupted, unliberated, and unfronted. I suspect that we partly owe this fortune (good or bad, according to one's politics) to the mysterious chemistry of a courageous and outspoken chaplain and a politic and responsive president.

Furthermore, protesting students have been shown again and again to be an elite within each college and university—more privileged in background, more academically successful, more socially concerned than their less active classmates. One observer reported that the average parental income of students arrested in University Hall at Harvard was twice that of Harvard College as a whole; another researcher found that the average student arrested in Sproul Hall in Berkeley in 1964 was in the top eight per cent of his class. Every study I know of reaches similar conclusions. Clearly we are dealing with no rabble, but with able students in those universities that have traditionally educated the leaders of the generation.

It is partly for this reason that student unrest concerns us so profoundly. To be sure, if we consider white students (and I will not discuss black militants here), only a



PHOTOGRAPHS

BY DANIELS



minority of America's almost 7,000,000 college students are vocally disaffected. Yet if this minority is selectively drawn from the future leaders of our society, does this fact not threaten the continuity of our culture?

The disaffection of able and sensitive youth today can hardly be exaggerated. As a research psychologist, I spend many hours a week in interviews with students. They are intelligent, able, thoughtful, and idealistic young men; only a few would consider themselves radicals. Yet again and again they say similar things. For example, "I've been thinking about the possibility of emigrating, and I wonder whether I couldn't be just as happy in Canada," or, "I used to believe that the system would crash through, but now I'm not so sure," or, "SDS turns me off, and I don't believe in violence or revolution, but sometimes I wonder if there is any other way." Unless we begin from an awareness that publicized demonstrations, disruptions, and disturbances are but the top of an iceberg of a far more extensive disaffection with the policies, institutions, and practices of our society, we cannot understand today's student protest.

But why is the disaffection of the educated, privileged young more extensive today than ever before in American history? The explanations offered are so numerous that merely to list them is to reflect the anxiety that student unrest generates. Among the explanations proposed are the theories "Oedipal rebellion," "historical obsolescence,"

"prolonged dependency," "computer-smashing neo-Luddites," "de-authorization of the older generation," "deviant socialization," "chip-off-the-block," etc. Thus it is with some diffidence and hesitation that I offer still another interpretation, and one whose only virtue is simplicity.

My thesis is that moral issues are at the heart of student revolt. One central origin of the widespread dissatisfaction seen at the most selective universities is a peculiar sense of ethical outrage that especially characterizes those who have been lucky enough to have the best our society can offer. On the one hand, this sense of impatient outrage has enormous constructive potential. It could promise that the energies of the young might be enlisted, as never before in American history, in the service of their fellow men. But on the other hand, it poses a danger of moralistic self-righteousness, of an ideological intolerance that does as much violence to those who possess it as to those whom it affects.

To explain what I mean, I must ask you to join me in a brief excursion into the theory of moral development. Students of human development have found that there are three stages in the development of moral thought. The first might be termed egocentric, and it characterizes the very small child. He usually defines "right" or "moral" as whatever he can get away with without getting caught, or as whatever satisfies his own personal needs. The egocentric stage is in a very real sense not moral at all, but pre-moral. The second stage can be called the



RICK SMOLAN

PHOTOGRAPH

conventional stage. It consists in equating morality with "being good" and "not being good" or with the current standards of the community, with what is legal, with what is prescribed by parents, authorities, the police, or the government. Morality is seen as "out there" rather than within one's self, and the moral order is largely synonymous with law and order.

The third main stage of moral development might be termed, in Erik Erikson's words, an ethical rather than a moral stage. It is a stage in which the individual begins to realize that what is truly moral and right may not be identical with convention or with the current standards of the community, and that any given moral code is not eternal, but rather amendable. Morality, then, is no longer seen as compliance with pre-ordained rules, but as an effort to lead an ethical life. *What is "right" is no longer identified with law and order, but rather with the long-range good of the community or—beyond that—the furtherance of some more general principle like the Golden Rule, the sanctity of life, or the categorical imperative.*

It is clear that not everyone passes beyond the conventional into the ethical stage. Quite the contrary: the evidence suggests that in American society as in all other societies, only a minority of adults can distinguish personal morality from the standards of the community. Most adult Americans, for example, clearly define morality as equivalent to whatever is conventionally viewed as right and wrong, e.g., as law and order. Only a minority, generally of the more educated, have a concept of right and wrong that is at the same time more abstract and more personal.

Now, in the light of these and other findings about moral development, how might we go about creating a very large number of young men and women who had reached the ethical stage—who no longer completely identified right and wrong with the existing standards, institutions, or policies of the community? The first thing to be done, I believe, would be to create an affluent society in which millions of young men and women spent their childhood amid material prosperity in families with adequate social status. We would also make sure that these children's parents brought them up with great respect for their individuality, granted them the right to make important decisions affecting their own lives, and encouraged them to ask questions and expect reasonable answers.

Having thus laid the groundwork in childhood, we would next grant to these young men and women, when they reached adolescence, a very extended period of education when they were freed from the responsibilities of work and marriage. During this prolonged adolescence and youth, we would expose them to the contradictions of conflicting cultures; give them time to read, think, talk, travel, and explore; barrage them with the evidences of the corruption and hypocrisy that exists in their or any society; and continue to encourage them to think for themselves. We would, in short, send them to liberal arts colleges of the highest calibre, and imbue them with concepts of free inquiry, the importance of intellectual and humanitarian pursuits, and the value of independence and understanding.

Now this project would not succeed with everyone. In fact, it has certain specific dangers. For example, if we sufficiently expose large numbers of adolescents and youths to the fact that corruption, dishonesty, hypocrisy and lack of high ethical standards



PHOTOGRAPH

RICK SMOLAN



are extremely common, some will react not by moving to higher levels of ethicality, but by regressing to the egocentric stage—that is, by becoming cynical, exploitative and hedonistic. But although a few will fall at least temporarily by the wayside, I suspect that our project would succeed with most. And what might we then expect of them?

The most obvious expectation is that they would not accept the status quo without questioning and challenge. They would be “troublemakers” with regard to corrupt, hypocritical, or inconsistent institutions, individuals and practices. People whose own morality is conventional would find it simply impossible to understand such ethical youth, and would confuse their ethicality with primitive egocentricity. And of course the greatest troublemakers would be those with whom our project had been most successful—the most privileged; the most talented; those granted the greatest independence, respect, and affection by their parents; those least insecure about their social status, their material prosperity or their political freedom.

Such young men and women would on occasion challenge even the highest authorities—national policies and national leaders.

They would be especially outraged at unjust wars and those who defend them. They would be indignant at social institutions that contradict the values they were taught to believe as children. For example, they would be outraged at a racism that none defends but most practice. They would especially insist that the institutions in which they live—their own colleges and universities—would exhibit the utmost ethical integrity. And finally, they would apply their same probes and challenges to their parents, teachers, and elders, continually pushing at the parental protoplasm to see if there were a solid bone structure underneath.

In brief, they would behave very much the way today’s protesting students behave.

The point is very simple: the psychological mainspring of student protest today is the ethicality of many of today’s college students. Empirical evidence supports this view. One study of students at Berkeley and San Francisco State found a majority of the protesters at the ethical stage, whereas the overwhelming majority (85 per cent) of the nonprotesters were at the conventional stage. I am suggesting, then, that we have created social, economic, psychological and educational conditions today that permit a larger proportion of the young than ever before to be ethical—to make their own independent judgments about right and wrong, to compare social preaching with social practice, and to develop a sense of personal principles that may transcend the concept of law and order or the existing standards of the community.

But this finding is, of course, paradoxical in the light of the fact and the wide-spread discussion of “student violence.” The mass media are filled with talk of Molotov cocktails, disruption, obscenity, arson, guns and threats. In fact, we hear very little about the high principles, noble hopes and ethical aspirations of the young, and a great deal about the angry, nihilistic, destructive and violent mood of student radicals. Is there some secret connection between morality and violence?

“Violence” is, of course, an immensely ambiguous word. If by violence we mean physical violence—hurting, beating, injuring or killing people—then I am less impressed with student violence than with the violence inflicted upon students. Whether we merely count beatings and bloodied heads, or whether we include students and their supporters actually murdered, it is clear

that from Mississippi Summer 1964 to Berkeley 1969, the physical violence inflicted upon students outweighs a dozenfold the physical violence they have wrought. So if we mean violence in this sense, the issue of student violence is largely a bugaboo.

But violence has other meanings that should concern us as well. For example, there is a violence of anger and violence of language, and both of these clearly exist among students. Furthermore, the term violence is sometimes used to mean disruption, and disruption has become a standard tactic of student protest. The tactic began with the civil rights movement in the South, where the sit-in originated and was widely used. More recently, however, it has moved north, and there is something about sitting in the college president's office that seems less moral than sitting in the store of a white restaurant owner in Georgia. Whether the act of disruption is really so different in the North than in the South is an open question.

The increasing tendency of students to use disruptive tactics partly springs, I believe, from their conviction that they simply have no other way to make their opinions heard and felt. When their sense of impatience grows strong enough, and especially when faced with evasion or condescension by college authorities, their level of moral indignation and anger rises, and at least a few will urge and sometimes take disruptive action. Here morality is translated into a moral urgency that brooks no delay and that is sometimes willing to infringe the rights of others. As the students' sense of impatience grows, there is a tendency to use disruption not as a last resort, which it should be, but as the first course of action, even before all other possibilities have been exhausted.

But there is another kind of violence that troubles me even more than anger, impatience, obscenity, and disruption. This is the metaphysical violence that denies the humanity of one's opponents, personifies evil, and forgets compassion and ambivalence in the pursuit of total moral purity. Indeed, to call this form of violence "metaphysical" may be to etherealize it excessively: its consequences are immediate, personal and destructive. This form of violence also exists in today's student revolt, and it seems to me to be intimately linked to the ethical impulse behind today's student protests.



PHOTOGRAPH

DOUGLAS GILBERT

The linking of morality and what I have called metaphysical violence is a paradoxical one. On the one hand, those who uphold personal principles in the face of an opposing community can be identified with the great moral heroes of the past: Christ, Socrates, Gandhi, Martin Luther King. But on the other hand, an apparently similar espousal of the highest ethical principles has been found in revolutionary fanatics who had no compunction in riding roughshod over human life in the pursuit of some abstract goal. Pascal said that "evil is never done so thoroughly and so well as when it is done with a good conscience." When does a high sense of principle lead to ethical integrity, and when does it lead to and justify violence?

The answer lies, I think, in appreciating that high ethical principles may be necessary, but they are not sufficient. Indeed, the high development of the ethical impulse, if coupled with an atrophy of other human qualities, may present special dangers of its own. When ethical precocity is combined with an absence of self-knowledge, compassion, empathy and love—with an absence of the traditional virtues of humility, mercy, and charity—then however great idealism may be, it is not informed by humanity.

What may happen then is all too familiar from the history of revolutions that have failed. The quest for ethical integrity may become a self-righteous and compulsive search for total moral purity at the expense of all else. The world becomes simplified and divided into two moral camps, the pure and the impure: on the one side stands good (the free world, the people's democracies or the Third Reich), and on the other hand stands evil (the Communist Threat, the capitalist-imperialist menace or the liberal-Jewish conspiracy). People also are divided into two groups, the pure and the impure; and the impure are experienced not as fully human, but as the essence of impurity—as police pigs, Communist dogs, capitalist hyenas, Jewish scum, white racists and so on. Because the impure are seen as lacking in ethical substance, their rights and claims are relegated to an inferior status. Only if they join in the struggle of the pure are they entitled to their full human rights. In the meantime, they deserve no empathy, compassion, insight or understanding; they possess no inner complexity; they become purely and simply The Enemy.

When this happens, however high the ethical principles involved, we may suspect that love, empathy, and insight—to say nothing of a sense of humor—have vanished. Let me be clear about this. The problem is not that violence is inherent in the highest levels of moral development. On the contrary, the opposite is more often true. But a special problem does arise when, as sometimes happens, principled moral judgment is not joined to comparably high development in other sectors of life. The problem is not the presence of the ethical impulse, but the absence of the qualities needed to humanize it.

Thus, the ethical impulse may express itself in determined ethical action, informed compassion, insight, and even humor. Indeed, it has been shown that those who think ethically are more likely to act ethically as well. But this is not inevitably the case. The special peril of principled ethical thought is that it may lend itself to simplification of the world into the realms of good and evil, and dehumanization of one's opponents, and the self-righteous search for total moral purity. From such metaphysical violence may spring immense actual destructiveness,

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all justified in the name of principle. In other nations, in other historical eras, this has indeed happened, and we are right to be concerned about it.

But so far it has not happened to most protesting students in America. On the contrary, the majority of student rebels, along with their high idealism, retain their compassion, their awareness, their own ambivalence, and their respect for the humanity and dilemmas of their opponents. The exceptions to this statement, while vastly over-publicized by the mass media, are few; and they rarely command the support of their contemporaries.

The lesson I would draw from these reflections upon morality, violence, and student protest is the need to respond to the ethical impatience of students with action. There are many reasons why student protest has so far retained its humanity. But one reason is the relative effectiveness of the student movements, its ability to be recognized, to be heard, and to effect real change. The civil rights movement has helped make Americans aware of how deeply racism is still ingrained in our minds and in the structures of our society. The student anti-war movement has made Americans question not only the war in Vietnam, but the relationship of our democracy to empire. And the student movement to restructure the universities is producing a long-overdue reform of American higher education. To be sure, all of these changes seem to student protesters, as to me, unduly agonized and slow. But there has been a response—not merely "dialogue" but action—and that response has helped keep dissenting students as a group from becoming isolated, embittered, and violent.

It does not take a psychologist to emphasize that the causes of student protest lie not only in the psyches of students, but even more, in the world we inhabit. The shameful legacy of racism, America's dubious imperial role in the world, the inertia and compromises of our universities—these are the simple facts against which the ethical impulse of the young is directed. If we wish to ensure that this impulse will continue to be informed with compassion and insight, then we can do little better than to join with students, and ask them to join with us, in addressing ourselves to the obvious wrongs and injustices of our society. ■

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C O N T R I B U T O R S

ALICE HAGEMAN is a free-lance writer in New York City who has been closely associated with Committee of Returned Volunteers. **RAFAEL RUIZ** recently returned to New York City after two years in Vietnam with I.V.S. **COLIN MORRIS** is a minister at Wesley's Chapel in London, England, and a special adviser to President Kaunda of Zambia. **ISAO FUJIMOTO** teaches at the University of California at Davis. The **D.C. WOMEN'S LIBERATION** group recently confronted a Senate committee investigating the Pill. **FELICITY BROWN**, 11, is a free-lance writer in Berkeley. **JUDY CROMWELL** works for the Center for Community Change in Washington, D.C. **KENNETH KENNISTON** is Professor of Psychology at the Yale School of Medicine. **WILLIAM R. JOHNSON, JR.** is a Th.D. candidate at Princeton Theological Seminary.

CARTOONIST: DAN O'NEILL does his thing for the San Francisco Chronicle. "Fire the Cannon" is from his book published by Glide Urban Center Publications.

POETS: KAY WEEKS receives her mail in Oak Harbor, Washington. **ANTHONY VAUGHN** has stopped organizing college students and is concentrating on high school students in Appleton, Wisconsin. **WILLIAM KLOEFKORN** teaches at Nebraska Wesleyan University in Lincoln.

ARTISTS: Artists who submit their work to *motive* take considerable risk. *motive* glories in their willingness to "risk it" with us. Thanks to: **RICK SMOLAN, RITA MESSINGER, JOHN MAST, BOB COMBS, AL CLAYTON, MAURICE SCHMIDT, THE DANIELS, RODNEY FREW, CHARLES YOUNG, BOB FLETCHER** and **DOUGLAS GILBERT.**

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A LITANY FOR THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN

(The people shall stand and join in singing the hymn "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" or some other suitable Christian patriotic hymn, and remain standing until after the Gloria Patri and the singing of our National Anthem.)

Minister: Lift up your hearts, O ye Americans.

PEOPLE: WE LIFT THEM UP UNTO THE LORD, FOR HE IS GOOD.

Minister: Let us give thanks unto the Lord for this our great nation.

PEOPLE: IT IS RIGHT AND MEET THAT WE DO SO.

Minister: Blessed are we to have a democratic government.

PEOPLE: GLORY BE TO AMERICA, MAY IT ALWAYS REIGN ON HIGH.

Minister: This nation is a Spirit. They that worship not this nation worship not the true spirit.

PEOPLE: GLORY BE TO AMERICA, MAY IT ALWAYS REIGN ON HIGH.

Minister: This nation is light. If we walk in the light as President Nixon is in the light, we have fellowship one with the other; and truly our fellowship is with the Thieu government and with our Allies who are of this light also.

PEOPLE: GLORY BE TO AMERICA, MAY IT ALWAYS REIGN ON HIGH.

Minister: This nation is power. They who believe in this nation shall have their power strengthened. Our helicopters, our jets, our rockets and our ICBMs shall mount up with wings as eagles: our tanks and our artillery shall run and not be weary; and our soldiers shall walk and not faint.

PEOPLE: GLORY BE TO AMERICA, MAY IT ALWAYS REIGN ON HIGH.

Minister: This nation is love. Behold what manner of love our country hath bestowed upon the American black man. Surely this nation should be called the country of brotherhood. Hereby perceive we the great love this country has for all men for it lays down its life for them in South Viet Nam, in South Korea, and wherever communism abounds.

PEOPLE: GLORY BE TO OUR COUNTRY, MAY IT ALWAYS REIGN ON HIGH.

Minister: Let us pray for our nation, for our president who believes in prayer and who requests that all Christians pray for him. Let us also pray for Secretary Rogers, Secretary Laird, General Abrams, and President Thieu; for they too seek divine Revelation.

ALL: ALMIGHTY GOD, UNTO WHOM ALL AMERICAN CHRISTIAN HEARTS ARE OPENED, ALL DESIRES KNOWN, AND FROM WHOM NO SECRETS ARE HID, CLEANSE THE THOUGHTS OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE THIS GREAT CHRISTIAN NATION WHICH THOU HATH ORDAINED AND COMMISSIONED TO PROTECT THOSE WHO CALL UPON THEE; PURGE WITH HYSSOP THE TONGUES OF THOSE RABBLE-ROUSERS CALLED PEACE-NIKS, DOVES, AND THOSE FALSE BELIEVERS WHO CRY PEACE, PEACE, PEACE. DO THIS, KIND FATHER, BY THE INSPIRATION OF THY HOLY SPIRIT, THAT THESE UNGRATEFUL ONES MAY PERFECTLY LOVE THIS NATION, AND WORTHILY MAGNIFY THE NAME OF PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON AND HIS CABINET, THROUGH THY SON JESUS CHRIST WHO DIED THAT DEMOCRACY MIGHT LIVE. AMEN. AMEN.

The Gloria Patri

ALL: GLORY BE TO GOD WHO PRESERVES THIS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC NATION AND TO THE PRESIDENT, AND TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WHO PROTECTS US FROM ALL THAT IS COMMUNISTIC AND EVIL; AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING, IS NOW, AND EVER SHALL BE, MAY THIS NATION STAND FIRM AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHRISTIAN CAUSE, THE SAVIOR OF BROTHERHOOD, AND THE TRUE LIGHT OF DEMOCRACY WHICH SHINETH IN EVERY PART OF THE EARTH. AMEN.

by William R. Johnson, Jr.