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Church

motive

MARCH 1971
Volume XXXI, Number 5

STEVE NICKESON
content and production

GINGER LEGATO
the visual appearance

ETHERIDGE KNIGHT
poetry

BRENDA BELL

ROY EDDEY
spherical tabulation

JOANNE COOKE

JAMES STENTZEL
internationalization

CORRECTION

The MPLA has brought one-half million people out from under Portuguese rule in Angola, this is roughly 10 per cent of the population and not "half the Angolan population" as reported in "MPLA . . . 15 years toward independence" Feb. 1971 *motive*.

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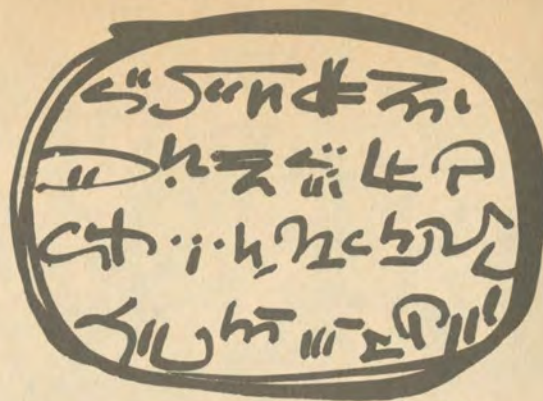
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write on!!

I am enclosing \$1.50 for a copy of the April/May 1970, issue, "Crisis of the Environment."

I must admit that even though I am a rather "conservative" person, I am not one of those who advocate abolition of your magazine. *motive* is a unique form of media with an opportunity to do a great deal of enlightening. I do feel that it would be only fair for you to provide a more balanced picture of our social situation, by devoting at least one issue every now and then to the conservative side. I believe that such a stance would increase your position in the Methodist Student Movement.

Many of us do believe that we need a revolution, but not one of physical-forceful human conflict, as so many of your contributing writers imply and others openly advocate. We need a revolution of the heart. We will only change man's evil nature by changing his attitude. It is the heart-felt religion that moved Wesley to establish the Methodist movement.

Therefore, we should spend more time and effort in studying the man Jesus that few people know: the carpenter who went into the forest to cut lumber, the powerful man who threw the moneychangers out of the Temple, the Savior who retorted to First-century revolutionaries, "My Kingdom is not of this world."

And so, I challenge you to give us on the Right one issue. May I suggest some possible contributors: Dr. Wm. Banowsky, Pepperdine College, L. A., author of "It's a Playboy World." Dr. Robt. Browning Rau, dir. of Plateau Mental Health Ct., Cookeville, TN, and a Lutheran minister. Dr. Jimmy Allen, Harding College, Searcy, Ark. And, the former staff of GO, Campus Evangelism, 2424 Burke Rd., Pasadena, Texas. I received this outstanding publication at MTSU until it was forced out of business for "being too liberal" by certain forces in the church.

With this excellent staff of writers, and your superb lay-out and art staff, a tremendously impressive issue could be born. Give our method a chance, and see how your out-reach grows!

LARRY CRAIG BOYD
mcminnville, tenn.

November is really a cool month—your publication is a masterpiece—most exciting thing I have seen in months. Haven't sat and read it yet, but the photography says a whole mess of things. I can hardly put it down. Color is fantastic. (Anybody between here and Nashville who is reading this postcard, you ought to subscribe.)

M.K.
oak park, ill.

motive

I read the Kingsley Hall and Mary Barnes pieces in the December issue with great interest. I'm particularly pleased to know about some people who have the commitment and faith to question the myths surrounding the state of being commonly referred to as psychosis. It does my heart good to learn that this state can have some positive values and does not have to be viewed as an illness. When is someone going to begin a similar kind of supportive community in this country? We need more experience and information about this kind of human communication.

Thanks for bringing this to the attention of your readers. I hope you will consider doing follow-up articles on the same subject.

SUE COUCH
nashville, tenn.

Ed.'s note: Dennis Jaffe, who first put us on to Mary Barnes and Kingsley Hall, has plans for establishing a similar center in the U.S. He can be reached through *motive*.

Yes, Virginia, there is a Christmas,
but not in the December issue of *motive*.

One glorious story of a donkey implied something about so-in-so—or whatever his name was—who some people talk about in December.

I guess the baby was thrown out with the bath, or maybe the "Christ" was thrown out with the "mas."

Maybe while you "dig Malcolm, King, Stok, Rap and Ali" you dig Jesus in the older sense of the word—"dug and buried."

With all respect to Mary Barnes, it seems that the only testimony of Christ from *motive* is that he is best pictured through a crazed mind.

Very interesting—I suspect that only a like-minded person could ever conceive such an idea.

ROBERT W. SMITH
first united methodist church
bartlesville, oklahoma

As long as I have been aware of *motive*'s existence (about four years now) I have truly dug it. I haven't always felt that I could grasp the context of every article but I've always appreciated their variety and their candidness. The art work is always of excellent quality; I can't think of another magazine your size (or maybe any size) which has such consistently fine work.

I've never seen *motive* on any sort of regular basis—I just run across it in various places from time to time, but the letters always are mentioning some controversial article you've printed, either praising or damning you. I think both you and the Methodist church demand a great deal of recognition from the secular world (and also if any other denominations had their eyes open) for continuing to struggle for some truth and reality amidst the typical pollyanna garbage most churches put out. Best of luck in the new year and may *motive* continue to be as up-front and loving as it always has been.

SARA GIBSON
bellingham, washington

We like the posters. They are an equivalent of a printed issue of the mag—but not permanently. You gently and unexpectedly nudge us to do more reading beyond words and sentences. That we have much need for.

BILL HAWLEY
cincinnati, ohio

Your posters were a great idea!

H. DORRER
milwaukee, wis.

I have just read your November, 1970, issue of *motive* and read very carefully the letter on pages 2 and 3 from the Administrative Board of the Trinity United Methodist Church, Homewood, Alabama.

The reaction of that church doesn't anger; it saddens. They have the right to object to the contents of the magazine, although I personally don't. They have the right to state their disagreements; that I cannot argue with. But how can any Christian Church make the statement that they have made in section 2 of paragraph M in their resolution, "This Administrative Board does not intend to give any support, financial, spiritual or otherwise, to *motive* magazine or those responsible for its publication, and this Board now goes on record as calling for the immediate cessation of publication of *motive* magazine, the immediate dismissal of all members of its staff and editorial board, and the immediate dismissal of all persons, including specifically, but without limitation, Dr. Myron Wicke, who through ignorance, neglect, willful action or encouragement have allowed the publication of this vulgar, useless magazine in the name of The United Methodist Church . . ."

How can any Christian Church or organization state in any way that they are going to cease giving spiritual help to anything and then with such hate and malicious say of a man the things they have said? They have earlier very outspokenly condemned the magazine for its stand on "encouragement of violence to obtain change," but who is being more violent? These hostile persons at Trinity United Methodist Church or the magazine? I don't see anything that they have accused *motive* magazine of doing as being more hostile than the unwarranted attacks they are making on a person, specifically Dr. Myron Wicke.

With such blinded hypocrisy in our churches, thank God for a magazine that is willing to consider a nation such as Cuba, which takes its obligations seriously to talk about ecology and environmental problems, to discuss American Foreign policy. These things are vital aspects of the ministry of the person of Jesus Christ that *motive* magazine is so unfairly accused of disregarding. Why have many churches forced Jesus Christ into such a narrow groove that He can't work among us?

Thanks, *motive*, for considering the total part of Christ's mission.

DAVID M. THOMPSON
harrisonburg, va.

I do not want to throw sour grapes concerning the poetry "Brother Preacher Thoughts," as I can appreciate what the poet is seeking to do. But, I do question the usage of terminology having negative feeling tones for persons who are not the primary interest of the work.

The "silly bastard" reference seems to add fuel to the fire of an already much maligned minority group of persons. In addition I would like to express the thought that the shock-disgust-reality method has its limitations and may quite unintentionally be counter productive.

The central motivational theme of the poetry is good, although even here it might be of greater effect were it gain a broader segment of black readers.

GARTH D. IREY
shiloh united methodist church
kokomo, ind.

Late last Fall, two of us from motive sat on adobe bricks in a yard in rural northern New Mexico and discussed this fourth installment of our Liberation Life Style series with several staff members of La Cooperativa. While one of the women nursed her baby, we drank coffee and occasionally refereed in a squabble between one of the resident dogs and a pup who apparently was just passing through. We decided that Valentina Tijerina would write the article. It reflects the unassuming determination of these people, who live and work with a rich sense of their own history. This article also holds in print the total mood of that afternoon.—Eds.

LA

People talk about how it used to be *mas antes* in Tierra Amarilla. They talk about how people used to work together—how they used to respect each other. It was true brotherhood then. I suppose it was the same in the other Land Grants, too.

In those times, the people used to get together and farm. Nine or ten families would get together with their teams of horses and plant acres and acres of land. And after it had grown and needed weeding, they would get together to weed and cultivate it. When it was time to harvest, they would do that together and all share the food. Their crops were good and didn't betray them. They stored enough food until the next harvest, and sometimes even stored enough for two years in case of famine.

If a family needed a house or barn, everyone would help to build it. Everything was done communally—even the making of blankets and mattresses, and drying and canning food.

In the winter, there were chores to do such as milking the cows, feeding the animals, and chopping wood. When these were done, there was time to visit with each other. They would sit around the stoves or fireplaces toasting and eating pinon nuts, telling *chistes* (jokes) or *cuentos* (stories) to the children, or talking about witches and hidden treasures.

But even though they had happy times, there was also time for respect. When someone said he would do something for someone, he didn't have to write it down. That was his word; he would rather die than break his promise.

The Land was also held communally in the land grants. This type of land grant is called *ejido*. There were no fences on this communal land. People would graze as many sheep and cows as they needed on this communal land, without anybody saying anything. And even though there were a lot of animals grazing on the sierra, the grass was high, as high as a horse's back, the people say. I've heard them say that the grass was so high that you couldn't even see the animals unless you were on horseback.

The people say that it used to rain and snow a lot more than now. The reason, they say, is that there were a lot more animals then than now. They say that animals have a lot of electricity on their fur, and that the electricity attracts humidity from the atmosphere, making it rain or snow.

COOPERATIVA

By Valentina Valdez Tijerina

There were a lot of animals then. None of the land was going to waste. Now the mountains and hills are bare. There are hardly any animals on them. The grass isn't as high as it used to be, and it doesn't rain or snow as much as it used to.

Then, the people used to go to the sierra to get wood for building or for fuel, but they only took as much as they needed. They weren't like the lumber companies that strip and bulldoze all the trees from the mountains, leaving them ugly and bare. The lumber companies care little that they are destroying the water reserve because of their greediness.

Our ancestors combined cultures and learned much from the Indian. The Indian taught us how to plant by the moon. The Indian also taught us how to preserve the land (The White man is still trying to teach us

how to preserve the land. But he has not set a very good example.)

The people *mas antes* had everything they needed. They had their own houses. They had enough meat and food. And most important they had their land. Now the people don't have anything because their land was stolen from them.

In 1832, more than 580,000 acres of land belonged to the heirs of the Tierra Amarilla land grant. By 1969, the people only had 10,000 acres left. In the San Joaquin Land Grant, the heirs owned 500,000 acres in 1806. Today, they have only 1,411. People ask, "But how could the land be stolen?" It was stolen in various ways.

In California, the land was grabbed up by gold-hungry diggers. In Texas, people were evicted or murdered to release the land. In New Mexico, the process in some places was slower. Professor Clark Knowlton and Dr. Frances Swadish have written about this process in various research papers. The following is taken from their research as reprinted in *El Grito del Norte* Vol 1, No. 4, a movement newspaper printed in northern New Mexico.

"A Catholic sister of charity wrote, 'In the years of Anglo settlement in New Mexico, the unsuspecting native Spanish Americans were victimized on every hand. When the men from the States came out west to dispossess the poor natives of their lands they used



ETCHING BY ED DICKEY

many subterfuges. One was to offer the owner of the land a handful of silver for the small service of making a mark on a paper. The mark was a cross which was accepted as a signature and by which the unsuspecting natives deeded away their lands. By this means, many a family was robbed of all its possessions."

According to these sources, merchants allowed the people unlimited credit from the store. When they couldn't pay, they would collect the land. Texans who came to New Mexico in the 1880's were perhaps the worst of all. They brought with them violence against the Indo-Hispanos with their traditions of peaceful community life. They treated the people as if they had no rights that needed to be respected. They drove off the people's cattle and scattered their sheep. Often they just took land with their six-shooters, killing people who resisted.

Through the years the people were cheated out of the land and its abundance in various ways. There was a case in Texas where a gringo hired a family to farm for him with the agreement that the family would get half the profit from the harvest. The poor family worked all summer planting, weeding and irrigating. When everything was harvested, the Texan took out his rifle and chased the poor family out. The family went to the sheriff, but all he said was that they were lucky to be alive. The poor family didn't have a place to go. They had to leave their animals behind, carrying with them only a few of their belongings.

A lot of Indo-Hispanos didn't take this robbery sitting down. Some of the people in the villages started fighting. A group called *La Mano Negra* (the Black Hand) was started in Rio Arriba County. In Mora and San Miguel Counties the *Goras Blancas* (White Caps) were started. These groups fought for their rights of honor, respect, land, and to hold onto their culture and language. They cut fences, burned haystacks, killed animals of the invaders, and sometimes hanged the men who were oppressing and abusing the people.

According to Professor Knowlton and Dr. Swadish, "The railroads opened the west more and more. By the 1880's New Mexico was full of ranchers and lawyers known to the Spanish Americans as 'black vultures,' for they cheated and fooled the people into giving up their lands.

"Some of the people started taking their demands to the courts. The Anglo solution to this threat was simple: hundreds of documents which might prove people's claims were burned up in mysterious fires, accidentally

thrown out in trash and so forth!"

This ring of lawyers introduced the well-known idea of an economic system based on competition and "free enterprise." This idea has destroyed the old village values of cooperation, unity, respect, and honor.

Some of the land which the lawyers and landgrabbers stole was subsequently bought up by the federal government. Now the people have to pay for permission from the forest service to graze their animals. They can seldom afford to graze more than nine or ten cows on forest service lands. At the same time, the rich Texan has maybe 300 head of cattle grazing in the National Forest. The lumber companies get rich on the lumber they take from the National Forest, while the people are lucky enough to get a few sticks for firewood.

The people don't earn enough to buy meat at the store. Yet if they are caught hunting deer for food for their families, they face a sentence of a five-year imprisonment. They have often watched the Texan who takes his deer-head for a trophy and leaves the meat to rot.

The people have little choice. If you own land, even if it's just five acres, you can't get welfare. If you have a small piece of land for grazing your animals, you don't have enough to farm. If you have enough to farm, you don't have enough to graze your animals. The people have been squeezed onto small plots of land which is all they own.

An economic, social, and educational survey by John Berma and Davie Williams published in *El Grito del Norte* Vol. 1, No. 2, reports about the quantity of land owned by the federal government. "Rio Arriba and Taos Counties together contain some 8,111 square miles which is federally owned. This is 69.1 percent of their total area." This survey also reports about the poverty of the people in the rural areas. "in 1959, almost half of the people (43 percent) in both counties received less than \$1,000 income a year!"

People who live under these conditions suffer from everything. Their health is bad because their nutrition is bad. They can't afford to go to the regular doctors and clinics. Because the children are undernourished, they can't learn as quickly.

This isn't the only reason that their educational level is lower. Since the land was taken over, the educational system itself has been bad for the children. Our children are taught in school that the white man was the only civilized human being that came to America,

and that the people he found here were lazy, ignorant savages. We are taught in school only about Davy Crockett, Kit Carson, and a blonde-haired Sally, Dick, and Jane. We are told constantly not to speak our own language. The educational system teaches us to grow up ashamed of ourselves, of the color of our skin, of our parents, and our whole way of life.

The report by Berma and Williams also states that life in these counties wasn't always as bad as it is today. There were huge quantities of corn and wheat once grown on these lands. There were huge herds of cattle. As the report states, "At one time there were flocks under single ownership (by members of the communal land-grant) which were as large as the present lamb crop of the entire county."

The thing that I want to point out is that by losing the land, we also lost our culture and language. This is one reason why so many of our people are juvenile delinquents, dope addicts, and alcoholics. These are the most sensitive of people who have felt the racism in school, in jobs, and in the movies, and have been made to feel ashamed of themselves. The government continues to do investigations, spending money to try and figure out why there is so much juvenile delinquency, and so many riots, failing to recognize that they are also responsible.

These are some of the reasons the *Cooperativa Agrícola del Pueblo de Tierra Amarilla* got started. The people wanted to hold on to what little culture and language they had left. There aren't too many places in the United States where people speak Spanish from birth.

One of the biggest problems is that our youth must leave the area and go to the city to find work. In fact, our people for years have been working for others—for other ranchers and other farmers. They've gone to work in the rich Anglo-owned potato fields in Colorado, and the Anglo has done what he wants with our people. He has given them poor living conditions and poor wages. When they come back, they've already spent their money just paying the rent and buying food where they've worked. The Agriculture Cooperative in Tierra Amarilla, a community owned and operated project, is one attempt to reverse these conditions.

During the first year of La Cooperativa, which was begun in 1969, we planted potatoes,

wheat, corn, onions, peas, and other vegetables. Some of the land had been used for grazing land and hadn't been planted in thirty-five years. The ground was so hard that the tractor would almost stand on end when we tried to plow it. Some of the land had never been worked and a lot of *chamiso* (sagebrush) and trees had to be cleared.

People from the community donated their little plots of land that were scattered all over. Some were as far as ten miles away.

Young volunteers came to help from Denver, San Francisco, and Espanola (New Mexico), and we had visitors from all over the world. All summer long we lived in tents, camping in the mountains and cooking in the open air. We really enjoyed it except when it rained. After dinner we would chat together around the fire. Sometimes we would listen to guitar and sing.

One of the biggest jobs was weeding the potatoes which were about a mile from the camp. We would walk over there, stopping to admire the view on the way. Then we would cross the river, sometimes getting our feet wet, and begin hoeing.

In the middle of that summer we heard that the doctor in Tierra Amarilla was putting his clinic up for sale. Dr. Dabbs had just returned from Vietnam where he had served with the Air National Guard, and had decided to sell his clinic.

For three years the people of this area, a distance of 90 miles from Durango, Colorado to Espanola, New Mexico, had been without a regular doctor. There was a baby clinic open one day a week, but it only treated babies, except in an emergency.

When accidents happened, people sometimes died on the two-hour drive to the Espanola Hospital. And the ambulance often takes an hour to get to the scene of the accident. People in this area are not in the habit of going to the doctor for any little reason. This is not just because of the distance. Once they get there, they are charged more than they can afford. For example, if a pregnant woman goes to the clinic or a doctor, she is charged \$5 for a visit, \$12 for a blood test, \$12 for a urine test, and an additional charge for medication. The delivery costs \$300. At this rate the people are in debt for the rest of their lives. And worrying about their debts causes high blood pressure and ulcers.

The people of the cooperative decided that a doctor was badly needed in the area. They decided to buy the clinic and run it as a community owned and operated clinic.

La *Clinica del Pueblo de Rio Arriba* was set up to offer the people better and cheaper services. For example, if a family can't afford to pay, they can pay La Cooperativa with stock or produce, or do volunteer work at the clinic. But some people don't like to see the poor start something of their own.

On the night of September 4, 1969, the clinic was burned down by arsonists. The people in the community were at the same time sad and furious. A few days before, a doctor from San Francisco had come to visit and had given first-aid classes to all the members. Two doctors practicing at a public health clinic at the Apache reservation in Dulce, New Mexico about 30 miles from Tierra Amarilla, had promised to work in the *Clinica* two days a week. People in the community were getting excited over the prospect of having a doctor again. But then the fire set us back at least six months.

Maybe the arsonists thought the people were too poor to rebuild the clinic. Maybe they thought the people would get discouraged and not go on with the clinic. But to the contrary, the fire only united the people more. Right after the fire a 24-hour guard was set up, and the clinic has been guarded ever since.

Because of the fire company and friends who helped put out the fire, the clinic wasn't completely destroyed. Several attempts were made after the fire to finish it off, but because of the guards nothing happened. When people would come to see the clinic, they would say, "Who could have done such a thing? Who would want to burn the only clinic in this whole area?" One of the guards said that a woman came who didn't say anything. When she saw the ruins, she started crying.

After the fire, we planned to rebuild the clinic right away, but unfortunately we ran into problems. The Chama National Bank located about fifteen miles from Tierra Amarilla held the mortgage to the clinic and tried to foreclose. We were not delinquent on our payments: we had paid three months in advance, but the bank just didn't want the community-owned clinic around. Luckily, a few friends who support the clinic loaned us money to pay off the Chama Bank and changed the mortgage to another bank. This delayed us several months, but finally we started rebuilding the clinic, with the insurance money.

But this didn't stop the powerful Anglos in Chama. When they couldn't take the clinic away from the community, they decided to open another clinic in Chama. The clinic is run by people who make no attempt to reach out to the poor community.

La *Clinica* has finally been rebuilt, and has a full-time dentist working through Vista. He was prevented from working for several months while the New Mexico Board of Health was deciding whether to give him a license. So now the dental program is working at full speed. People from all over the county come here to get their teeth fixed. People pay according to their ability to pay. If a family is large and has a low income, the family is given a discount.

But we need a license to get medicaid and medicare. La *Clinica* would like to have a free program but since it has to become self-sufficient, and has lots of expenses and plans for new things, like mobile units, etc., we have to charge people. People are really amazed by the low fees the *Clinica* charges. Getting a doctor has been more of a problem. . . The doctors who had promised to come from Dulce before La *Clinica* was burned and donate several nights a week were prevented from doing so by their commanding officer. Finally a doctor arrived in December and the *Clinica* began full-time operations in early January.

In addition to rebuilding La *Clinica*, work has continued with La Cooperativa. The first year's harvest was very good. We planted 60 100 lb. sacks of potatoes and harvested 300 100-lb. sacks of potatoes. This year's harvest was also good and we harvested a good amount of wheat, potatoes, turnips, lettuce, and beets. La Cooperativa is also building housing for volunteer workers and has started a hog farm which now has forty-six hogs of assorted sizes. We will butcher the hogs for lard, ham, bacon and sausage. We are also trying to raise some for the market. We are also trying to open a cooperative store. We have many other plans, one of which is a machine shop.

We have suffered by having our land stolen and our culture raped and our language destroyed. But through La *Clinica* and La Cooperativa we will go on struggling. Viva La Causa! Todo Poder A La Gente! ■



PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUGLAS HOLTHAUS

The 1990

Writing a constitution should not be the work of one person.

When he drafted a Constitution for 1990, Arthur Waskow asked for help from many who are seeking a more humane future. motive is glad to help in this search by publishing the 1990 Constitution along with Art's explanatory cover letter and a few responses, two more short articles on the Constitution will appear in April. Both Art and the motive staff would appreciate your responses to this section, too—Eds.

Draft Constitution

by Arthur Waskow

Sisters and Brothers:

I am enclosing one small piece of the draft of my book, Notes from 1999. The piece is the 1990 Constitution, written after the Revolution by a Congress of delegates from the movements, peoples, workers, and regions that created the Revolution. I am sending it partly because I detect a new and deepening interest, throughout the movement, in trying to describe the kind of society we want to build; and I hope this will be of some help to others in the movement as people wrestle through these problems in various ways. I would also very much like criticism and reactions, since this is still a draft.

Let me just explain how this piece fits into the book. It is in two halves. The first is a diary of a teacher, living in 1999 on a farm-and-city kibbutz with a base in Washington, D.C. and rural areas nearby, who has been asked by the kibbutz to write a history of the American Revolution from 1959 to 1999. His diary is an

expression of his great difficulty in getting to work on the book, difficulty occasioned by the deep conflicts of pain and joy revived in him by memories of the struggle, which cost him and his comrades dear even in the victory. Most of his diary is a flight from writing history to a description of life in 1999. During the 10 weeks of 1999 that the diary covers, however, he does begin to be able to work on the history.

The second half of the book is a collection of Documents of the Revolution, with his comments—both historical and personal—on them. They begin with part of the Port Huron Statement and some SNCC letters and the Operation Abolition stuff from Berkeley-San Francisco (1960)—i.e., “real” documents of the start of the revolution and the ‘60s, then go right on through the ‘70s, ‘80s, and ‘90s with movement calls and proclamations, letters, Presidential statements, Congressional resolutions, etc., etc. Each is followed by a comment

by the historian on what this meant, how it felt to live through, etc.

In this way I'm trying to give both a picture of society "after the revolution" (that is, after the abolition of the old Empire and the breakthrough to continuous revolutionary change: the "revolution" is not a single event) and a picture of how we created it.

Briefly, the next step in getting there, a brief description of the '70s and early '80s (it should be understood that I think this is one possible future, one we can help create. I am not predicting it as the most probable future): The '60s were just the first stage of the American Crisis. The first peel of the onion. Those affected were the outer skins of the onion, the marginal people: Blacks, students, Chicanos. But in 1970 the crisis is starting to cut deeper into the onion.

Why? The substructure of America, what keeps people alive, has been allowed to rot away for a generation while money was put into the Super-War Machine. Sewers are ready to fail, the health system is collapsing, houses haven't been built. The substructure has to be replaced, fast, if there is to be internal peace. That takes money, big and fast. Where can it come from? Maybe from taxing the rich? Sorry, they have a veto over that. Maybe from cutting the military budget in half? Sorry, they have a veto over that. Maybe from industrial expansion? Sorry, that takes more time, and what's worse it pollutes the air and water; and we-the-poisoned-people are close to having a veto over that.

Deadlock. The substructure collapses. The collapse is clearly the fault of the Establishment, not of Blacks or Yuppies. And this time it's the working class and middle class, the inner layers of the onion, who get hurt. Who get furious. Who get moving.

To these people, as of 1970, the illegal postal strike—and also the Teamster wildcat—and also the campus post-Cambodia strike—and also the first steps toward one-day "moratorium" events inside the Federal government—become very important. Because these events remind them of the power that inheres in refusal to work for the system. Suddenly political power seems to grow out of something other than the barrel of a gun. Not elections: they seem simply an elaborate way of collecting the power of the people and handing it over to someone else. What then? For the first time in at least a generation, during the '70s the phrase "general strike" is heard on American lips. And finally, in 1986, after the gradual dissolution or liberation of a long series of key institutions, it

is put into action, And works.

And, again briefly, to put some flesh and blood on the bare bones of the 1990 Constitution: The movements that created the Revolution continue, of course, to define the basic political boundaries of the society that replaces the old Empire. By 1990 there are autonomous Black, Chicano, Jewish, Indian, Quebecois, Puertoriqueno, and Italian Commonwealths in North America; there are Autonomous Regions in the Bay Area, the Northwest, New England, and about 6 other areas; there are Workers Control Alliances in all major industries on the continent; there is democratic and socialist planning, initiated by a Continental Congress of recallable delegates; the White House is a museum and the Pentagon a vast Department of the History of the American Empire, wherein all the people are busy publishing and evaluating all the documents they formerly kept secret. The USA in any recognizable sense is, in short, gone. The American peoples and workers are free. Political struggle continues, but in new forms—especially between technocrats and non-pro-

fessionals over control of the newly "workers controlled" economic and industrial institutions.

Finally, let me come back again to the immediate present and suggest what this indicates to me for political organizing in 1970:

1. To reorient our organizing among "white male middle-class Americans" not chiefly to address their complicity in each of those four roles in oppressing others (Blacks, Women, workers, Vietnamese) but chiefly to resist their own oppressions: especially, spiritual-psychological oppression; bureaucratic work controls; pollution-and-lousy-health-institutions (that is, the literal biological murder of the middle and working class); the war machine and impending nuclear holocaust.

2. To link the radical movements, through a new "anti-Death-Machine" coalition, with much broader currents of anger and bafflement in what is now non-radical America.

3. To seriously imagine for ourselves and make extremely clear to others new models, new futures, for ourselves and a democratic American society.

4. And to build in the present these new models, in communal-political forms—for example, but not only, the collective—that avoid the "Movement Heavy/Supreme Commander" syndrome without paralyzing us against all action and decision.

As I said, I would learn a great deal from your reactions to this "historical" sketch and the enclosed "Constitution." Please take the trouble to write me (c/o Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036) and let me know how you react to both. Basically, I would like to know whether you regard the "history" as reasonably likely, or seriously but "barely" workable, or crazy—and why; whether you regard the image of the post-1990 situation as sensible, or not; and whether you think the notions I've sketched of next steps make sense to you.

Thank you.

Air, Bread, Peace, and Liberation,
Arthur I. Waskow

THE CONSTITUTION

Preamble. The Federal Commonwealths of America are not a Nation or a Sovereign State. They shall not claim sovereign power to conquer or oppress other countries, or sovereign authority to maltreat the citizens of other countries whether resident among the Commonwealths or elsewhere, or sovereign immunity as against their own citizens. The Federal Commonwealths of America are rather a free association of free human beings grouped according to their own will. We, the workers and peoples of America who propose to live by this Constitution, reserve to ourselves the right of revolution against it or reconstruction of it.

I. Every person who is at least 13 years old, lives among the Federal Commonwealths of America, spends 30 hours a week in productive work, and chooses to belong to a Work Collective shall be a citizen of the Federal Commonwealths. Any person under 13 who lives among the Federal Commonwealths and is a member of a Living Collective shall be a citizen. A person born in the Federal Commonwealths but living elsewhere may reenter and reclaim citizenship at any time.

II. The basic politico-social units of the Federal Commonwealths shall be three kinds of Collectives: Work Collectives, Ethno-Collectives, and Living Collectives. Persons living in the United Commonwealths may choose to create, join, or belong to one collective in each category, but no more. Work Collectives shall be made up of people working together in the same area of production for at least 30 hours a week. Ethno-Collectives shall include collectives built around an identity in a racial, national, religious, philosophical, or sexual group. Living Collectives shall be made up of persons living close together, and if possible shall operate as a family. A Collective shall be made up of at least 10 and no more than 50 persons. Membership in all Collectives shall be wholly voluntary in both directions. All Collectives shall by three-fourths vote adopt a Statement of Internal Self-Government which shall define their decision-making process.

III. Any group of at least 200 Collectives with at least 5,000 total membership, but no more than 600 Collectives with no more than 25,000 total membership, may join together in a Comradery in the following ways: such a

group of Work Collectives in the same area of production may form a Work-union; such a group of Ethno-Collectives may form a Tribe; such a group of Living Collectives sharing the same geographic area may form a Neighborhood. Each Collective in a Comradery shall elect one recallable delegate to a Comrades' Congress, which shall decide according to majority vote of the delegates on matters delegated to the Comradery by the member Collectives. Work-unions shall govern the working pace and conditions at a given workplace, choose managers, etc. Tribes shall shape and celebrate ethnic or other identities, may provide schools, etc. Neighborhoods shall govern local planning, zoning, parks, recreation, housing, transportation, etc.

IV. Any group of at least 100 Comraderies with at least 500,000 total membership may form itself into a Commonwealth in the following ways: A group of 100 Work-unions may form a Workers' Alliance; a group of 100 Tribes may form a People; and a group of 100 Neighborhoods may form a Territory. Representation of the Comraderies in Commonwealth Congress, and other rules for internal government shall be decided within each Commonwealth. Workers' Alliances shall govern industries, make decisions within the norms set by the Continental Congress as to production and prices, develop new technologies, etc. Peoples shall form ethnic, sexual, or other identities and safeguard the rights of national, sexual, or other minorities. Territories shall plan the physical future of a geographic area and govern such other institutions within it as are delegated to it by the Neighborhoods.

V. The Commonwealths shall be represented in a Continental Congress according to their membership, with one Member of Congress up to 1,000,000 members and one additional Member of Congress for each additional 1,000,000 members of the Commonwealth. Each Member of Congress shall be elected by and subject to immediate recall by his or her Commonwealth and no Member shall serve for more than three years of his or her life. The Congress shall legislate on matters within its jurisdiction by majority vote. But whenever any People with at least 10 million members interposes a veto, the measure shall fail, and

whenever any Territory or Workers Alliance with at least 10 million members interposes a veto, the vote required for passage shall be two-thirds.

VI. The Continental Congress shall each January choose by majority vote a Cabinet of 10 persons who shall jointly execute and administer the laws, and may remove them at any time. No person shall serve in the Cabinet more than three years of his or her life.

VII. Wherever this Constitution prescribes election of a delegate, Congressman, or Cabinet member, the delegate may instead be chosen by lot from all those who would be eligible to elect, but shall in any case be recallable by majority vote.

VII. All persons living in the Federal Commonwealths shall be guaranteed the following rights:

1. All citizens over 13 shall have equal personal yearly incomes, and all citizens under 13 shall receive two-thirds of that income.

2. Every person who is not a citizen shall receive a personal income that is half what he would receive if he were a citizen.

3. All labor shall be voluntary. No person shall be conscripted to labor or service, military or civilian, or held to a contract for personal labor or service to or by any institution whatsoever, except through the processes of justice. But no person over 13 years of age who refuses to work shall be a citizen.

4. All property shall be owned by a Collective, Comradery, or Commonwealth, or by the Continental Congress. No person shall own any property. No public body shall own any property outside the Federal Commonwealths, except vehicles of transportation and non-capital goods that are sold within 90 days of leaving the United Commonwealths. The Federal Commonwealths shall hold no colonies or any other territory in which this Constitution does not apply.

5. All persons shall be wholly free to speak, associate, publish, assemble, celebrate, worship, and carry on sexual and familial relations in any fashion they please so long as it involves no coercion of another to do likewise. An Ethno-Collective, a Tribe, or a People may set limits upon these activities in regard to its members, enforceable only by expulsion. But

no Work Collective, Work-union, or Workers Alliance, and no Living Collective, Neighborhood, or Territory may set such limits.

6. The distinction between "criminal" and "civil" law is hereby abolished. All cases in which harm by one person or institution to another is alleged shall be treated as public issues in which the complainant shall be a presenting jury. Any redress may include the payment of money or of services from a public body or person to a public body or a person. No act except a physically violent attack upon another person which seems likely to be repeated shall be punished by the confinement of the wrongdoer, and then for no more than one year unless a jury shall unanimously, at the end of that year, conclude that the person is likely to repeat the violence, and extend the confinement for no more than two more years: All confinement shall be under conditions intended solely to make a violent attack unlikely, and all persons confined shall remain possessed of all their Constitutional rights. There shall be no punishment by death or physical violence, other than confinement. No person shall be required to testify against himself or herself, and every person shall have an attorney of his or her choice in all stages of the process of justice.

7. No person may be subjected to the processes of justice except by an initial presentment by two-thirds vote of a jury of 12 persons chosen at random from among the members of any Comradery of which he or she is a member, or if not a member of any Comradery by a jury chosen at random in the neighborhood where he or she lives. If it is charged that a person who claims citizenship is not performing 30 hours of productive work a week, the case may be presented only by the person's Work Collective or by a jury chosen at random from his Work-union.

8. Trial in all cases shall be by a jury of 12 persons chosen at random, of whom at least 4 shall be of the Neighborhood where the presented person lives, 4 of his Tribe if he belongs to one, and 4 of his Work-union, if he belongs to one. If the alleged wrong act was related to a person who was not of his own Neighborhood, Tribe, or Work-union, half the jury shall come from his own Comraderies and half from those of the other party. The jury shall decide by unanimous vote, and shall hear advice from the judge but shall itself be the ultimate judge of both the law and the facts.

9. All police forces shall be under control of a Comradery, shall be chosen at random from its members, and shall not have more police than one-thousandth of the Comradery's whole membership. All police shall be publicly known



PHOTOGRAPH BY C. C. CHURCH

and their names, addresses, photographs and biographies published every year. No person shall serve in the police more than three years of his or her life. No person shall be arrested (except during the actual commission of a felony); no house shall be entered bodily or by any visual, aural, electronic, or similar device; no conversation shall be recorded; no effects sequestered; and no similar police action undertaken in regard to a person without the actual service of a warrant, drawn upon probable cause and issued by a judge of proper jurisdiction, upon the persons affected. No police may question any person unless the person has an attorney actually present. No police may carry any firearm or other lethal weapon, except upon issuance and public announcement of a special warrant particularly naming the person and case requiring the issuance. If any police shall violate these provisions, he or she shall be dismissed from the police and prohibited permanently from serving therein, and the person accused shall go free and receive an indemnity of one year's income from the Continental treasury and another from the Comradery treasury. If any Comradery shall abolish its police force entirely and rely upon its ordinary membership for self-policing, it shall receive a bonus payment from the United Commonwealths of one-tenth of its regular yearly public grant, for each of the next ten years. There shall be no Continental or Commonwealth police forces.

IX. The Continental Congress shall have jurisdiction over the following subjects:

1. The level of the personal income of citizens, to be set in January each year.

2. The proportion of the gross national product and resources to be allocated each year to public purposes; provided that this proportion shall not be less than half and that once this amount is established, it shall be divided as follows: one-tenth to foreign nations whose populations live on one-fifth or less the average income (personal plus public) of Americans, this amount to be subdivided solely according to the populations of said countries; one-tenth at the disposal of Congress; five-tenths to be divided among the Commonwealths according to their membership; and three-tenths to be divided among the Comraderies according to their membership.

3. The management of the civilian administrative service of the Federal Commonwealths, provided that no person shall serve in it more than three years of his or her life and that at no time shall it exceed 100,000 persons.

4. The setting of prices and production quotas for major basic industries.

5. The preservation of a Continental envi-

ronment in which human, animal, and vegetable life is safeguarded.

6. The preservation of peace with other nations and the pursuit of world arrangements to make war impossible, provided that any Commonwealth may directly negotiate on behalf of peace with any foreign government or group.

7. The proportion of gross national product to be allocated each year to armaments for defense against domestic tyranny or actual foreign invasion of or attack on the territory of the Federal Commonwealth, provided that the proportion shall never be more than three percent; that there shall be no nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction; and that once the total amount is decided, half the arms themselves be divided among the Comraderies according to their membership, and the other half among Collectives according to their membership. There shall be no Continental or Commonwealth armed forces. No arms or armed persons shall go outside the territory of the Federal Commonwealths, except a maximum of 2,000 persons lightly armed from any single Commonwealth, if requested by the United Nations and approved by a two-thirds vote of all members of the Commonwealth, no more than five Commonwealths to be providing such forces at any one time.

X. There shall be a Supreme Court of 36 persons chosen by lot from the Continental Congress, 4 chosen each January to serve for nine years, to interpret the laws and this Constitution, in particular cases on appeal from other courts. It may issue advisory interpretations of this Constitution at the request of the Continental Congress or any Commonwealth. It shall have power to nullify laws, acts of Collectives, Comraderies, and Commonwealths, executive acts, or court decisions that contravene this Constitution. Any decision it makes under Article VIII that upholds the Constitutional rights of persons against the Continental Congress or a Commonwealth or Comradery shall be final. But any other decision may be reversed by a four-fifths vote of the Continental Congress, unless vetoed by a People with more than 10,000,000 members.

XI. The Congress may by two-thirds vote (except if vetoed by a People with more than 10,000,000 members) submit amendments to this Constitution to the whole citizenry, who may adopt them by two majority votes cast at least 12 months apart.

* Arthur Waskow is Resident Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies. He is now at work on *Notes from 1999*, a book about the Second American Revolution, from 1956 to 1999. This 1990 Draft Constitution appears as an appendix to the book. Copyright © 1970 by Arthur I. Waskow. The publisher is New American Library. Published by permission.

Comments on the 1990 Constitution

by Todd Gitlin

My first feeling about Art Waskow's 1990 Constitution was that it is a smorgasbord; some is tasty, some is ingenious (the veto provisions), some would go nicely on crackers (where are those damn crackers?), some is better as decoration than as food, and a bit is not even good as decoration. (You'll forgive the *bar mitzvah* memories, but Art brought them up with his 13-year-old citizenship clause.) My second feeling was a qualified celebration: it is past time for a revival of utopian thinking, even if first starts are partial, overly schematic, or insufficiently utopian. To change the metaphor, the instruments of utopian speculation haven't been used for a long time; they have to be tuned; and the notes sounded in tune-up are necessarily off-key. The point, however, is to get to the concert.

But something troubles me about Art's Constitution, more than my questions about this or that item. In fact, altogether I agree with most of his particulars, but that is not the point. Utopian novels have traditionally floundered in trying to explain how the utopia was achieved. More's original *Utopia*, as I recall, offered no explanation whatsoever. Huxley's *Island* offered the collusion of a farsighted Rajah and a canny Scots doctor—a happy unopposed alliance of Eastern and Western wisdom. William Morris' *News from Nowhere* is unique, to my knowledge, in presenting a hundred years of class warfare as the necessary condition of the decentral utopia, but even Morris was unable to explain, with feeling and precision, how the particular features of his utopia stemmed from the real configuration of social and ideological forces. He, like Huxley, finally had to presuppose some remarkable and confounding Enlightenment, though in Morris' case it was an enlightenment that accompanied political struggle. I gather from Arthur's letter that his book also offers a historical underpinning to the utopian future. But what I mean to say is that his Constitution can't be judged apart from its roots.

Let me try to clarify the point by illustrating it. Take the classical prescription, now updated: "All property shall be owned by a Collective, Comradery, or Commonwealth, or by the Continental Congress. No person shall own any property." Now what shall



PHOTOGRAPH BY GARY SETTLE

become of my writing desk if I don't choose to belong to a Living Collective (at least ten members, remember)? Will it fall to my Work Collective? But what if—being a post-Calvinist freak—I choose not to work 30 hours a week (will that be time-clocked, by the way?), and therefore disdain membership in a Work Collective? Suppose I don't belong to an Ethno-Collective either. Maybe I'm just cantankerous, maybe shy, maybe I differed with my last Ethno-Collective; there could be any number of reasons. But here I am alone with my desk, at which I write angry manifestos calling for revolution (or, for that matter, counter-revolution). Can I own my desk? Or does someone else have the right to take it to use as firewood?

I bring this up not to be clever, not to punch holes in the Constitution for the sake of punching holes. Beneath the logical problem is a problem of *social definition*. Is it to be supposed, in Art's historical projection, that by 1990 someone like me will have re-vamped his life-style to the point where certainly he would join a Living Collective? Is it to be supposed, in other words, that monogamous living as we know it will have become obsolete? If so, it can't be assumed, it must be argued that social and ideological forces are in the works to abolish privatist monogamy. For surely the Constitution would not propose to do so by fiat. That is to say, the Constitution would only make sense as a revolutionary—as opposed to bureaucratic—document if it recorded and institutionalized the common social sense of the people as of 1990—recorded, in other words, the direction in which social forces were already clearly moving.



WOODCUT BY MARKY BULWINKLE

The same point applies to the question of joining a Work Collective. Is it to be supposed that people like me would have overcome their bone-deep alienation to the point of wanting to work 30 hours a week, when we could live (presumably the half-wage for non-citizens would be sustaining) without it? The answer to that question requires a social analysis. In the next twenty years, what will have become of a youth culture in which many people choose not to labor? Will the movement have helped me overcome my alienation, or will it have heightened it, or left it untouched?

Or suppose it was a car, that vile private form of transportation, instead of a desk? What will have to have happened to the mental structure of most Americans *in twenty years* to lead them to prefer bicycles for short hauls and public transportation (presumably available) for longer? For a revolution takes place in the mental structure as it works in the political and institutional; the two take place together, or a revolution is merely a Grand Inquisitor's *coup d'etat*. To make the Constitution's property cause plausible, then, the book will require social and psychological and ideological analysis of the richest and most penetrating order.

With this in mind, I have to add that I find the twenty-year timetable almost grotesquely optimistic. Art's four-point agenda for political organizing, with which I agree utterly, makes it plain how far we have to go. My own analysis of the movement's first ten years, which I've already belabored in *motive*, indicates that the movement must overcome its own self-estrangement as it overcomes its own terribly limited class position. This interlocking project is almost unspeakably difficult. The level of organization, even among students and in the ethnic communities, is still primitive. The level of consciousness in the movement is still primitive, for consciousness is something much deeper than verbal gymnastics and breast-beating, of which there is plenty. (Think of how little progress has been made, among white males at least, in uprooting racism and sexism, despite all the talk.) And we are not even speaking yet of the epochal transformation which lies before the American people—those people whom we love to invoke and of whom we know so precious little—if they are to *mobilize themselves* and thereby obviate the movement's wretched isolation. It is fine for the phrase "general strike" to be "heard on American lips" in the '70s, but that is not the same

as the implications of revolutionary transformation being felt in American hearts.

It also strikes me as giddy to think that by 1990 there will be "autonomous Black, Chicano, Jewish . . . (etc.) Commonwealths in North America." The decay of the old order seems to be proceeding much more vividly than the construction of the new. But if Art's proposition is to be made plausible, histories have to be offered, taking account of repression and self-repression and all the shit we've been subjected to and inherited. I cannot imagine that history. (If Arthur can, more power to him.) The same point applies to the "Workers Control Alliances in all major industries"—right now there are none, with the possible exception of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, and there is not much talk about workers' control in America, least of all by the movement's authoritarians.

China's revolution took thirty years, from the founding of the party to the seizure of power, with the enormous "advantage" of an anti-colonial war to cement the nation. I don't know how to measure the duration of the Russian Revolution, but it's worth pointing out that before the army became riddled with Soviets (which were crucial in the taking of power), five million casualties had to be suffered in the war, including 1½ million deaths. Both were revolutions in a pre-technological pattern. Now we propose an unprecedented revolution for this country, sweeping beyond socialism: a revolution against centralism, against racism and sexism and ecocide, against industrial progress itself, *and against the totality of our heritage of ideas.* Maybe it does make sense to talk about twenty years, to act as if it were possible, but in my head it feels like a millenium, with only the first century completed. ■



PHOTOGRAPH BY GARY SETTLE

toward a civil future

It is self-contradictory to keep the 1990 Constitution in the futuristic framework where Art Waskow placed it. The already entrenched phenomenon of continuous change forced me to view the constitution *not* as where the Movement dreams to be in 20 years, but where it stands today. It is a pleasing and optimistic summation of where the Movement is in 1971. That is the strength of the document. It is today's prescription and prophesy, and Waskow is under-estimating the Constitution's current value by postdating its functions to 1990.

But that is not my criticism, nor do I have any quarrel with the basic structures of the Constitution. It is the document's revolutionary windowdressing that is wrong; it is misleading and potentially self-destructive. The advertising in the coverletter sets us out in the wrong direction because the document itself is simply not *that* revolutionary. The important beauty of the 1990 Constitution is the fact that it is as All-American as the Wednesday night bowling league. To deny that is to deny its greatest selling point and its present-day integrity and usefulness.

Look at the Constitution again and mentally pencil out words like "revolution," "radical," "commune," "Comradery," "Collective," "Worker's Alliance," "Tribe," etc. In other words, take off its contextual style and let its functions stand there naked. What does it do?

It memorializes (as does the 1789 Constitution) the long standing American suspicion of professional governments and politicians.

It continues the founding fathers' sentiment that ideology and abstracted high principles play a greater cohesive role in a society than the economic and governmental functions.

It institutionalizes the present American religiosity for cultural or group acceptance.

It furthers the American distrust of police and indignation at their existence, and recalls the romantic frontier days by placing the peace keeping functions in the hands of temporary amateurs.

Its grouping of the people suggests that it was influenced by the typically urban American belief in the agrarian myth.

It perpetuates the belief that each new American generation represents a redeeming and messianic force.

It reminds us that America has a longer standing history and stronger tradition of isolationism than internationalism.

It reaffirms America's concerned, but not overwhelming, benevolence toward under-developed nations.

And throughout runs the traditional optimistic faith that Americans can apologize to history and reclaim their innocence and destiny if only they can find some way of purifying themselves.

The Constitution's ties with Americana should not be areas of shame, but points on which to capitalize. The Biblical cliché that has the actions of the fathers (I hope not just their sins) being visited on the children is not a moral judgment. It is a fact that puts to the sons and daughters (our sisters and brothers) the liberating responsibility of reconciling themselves to their breeding and making the most of their parentage.

This is where the Waskow document is the strongest. It prescribes to the present day sons and daughters a realistic and liberating future that contains benefits for the rest of the world as well.

After seeing what the document is, we should look at how it will function, or how the

last two generations of American daughters and sons can best continue in their nation's traditions.

The 1990 Constitution is a wise and compassionate document. To the wisest and most compassionate child of most modern American families falls the unpleasant job of arranging for the old folks' journey to the rest home or the grave. We can be sure it is now time for that. The old patriarch America is ready to retire and is preparing for death in full history book tradition. It has rationalized away its unfulfilled and now hopeless dreams. It has built a technology that will come in and do the daily chores and it has made all the proper arrangements so the sons and daughters will inherit the richest estate on the face of the globe. The old patriarch is the last of that breed of immoral commoners who managed to pull themselves up to the vulgar level of the *nouveau riche* in order to bequeath the children and grandchildren lifetimes full of genuine refinement, education, sophistication, culture, security and good health. We will inherit the material wealth to buy it all and an abject poverty of spirit that will isolate us for ever.

In the 1990 Constitution I see the children are fully prepared to accept that inheritance in true tradition. We will soon be free to phase out the old man's business before it becomes our liability. We should do so soon and with a clear conscience because it is doomed to failure now and has long been a public nuisance. It is just that much better that we will be able to live (with careful planning) on the liquidated assets for many a generation before anyone has to start looking for a job.

In the meantime we will be able to do what tradition usually requires of the children of such an illustrious parent. We will seclude ourselves in our retreats and bring into them culture and education. We will be free to make new acquaintances among people of the same general means. We will have the opportunity to build new and livable communities that truly reflect all the noble aspirations of people with our status and liberated circumstance. We can be free to worry over and experiment with the structure of our new environment while at the same time be dilettante about our own individual duties in the operation and maintenance of those communities.

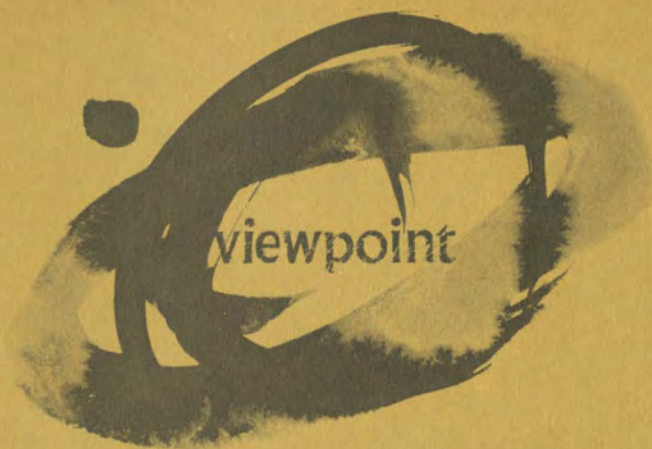
Our liberated time will allow us to do occasional charity work when called upon, but mostly we will be free to do what we like the best, and which we are best at . . . studying ourselves. Our liberation will give us the final excuse and the justifiable right to be self-centered (we will, no doubt, change the traditional American accent on that custom from the individual to the commune). We will be able to all live free, honorable and happy lives complacently secure in the center of a series of all-protective concentric rings of Community.

And above all that, it will give the rest of the world what it has long desired and deserved; the permanent retirement of that big rich family on the North American Continent.

—STEVE NICKESON



PEN AND INK DRAWING BY JAN HAVENS



TOKYO

AN ASIAN CRITIQUE OF '1990'

Art Waskow's article including the "1990 Draft Constitution" landed here two weeks ago, and my personal reactions to it have changed continually. First I thought the piece was quite radical, probably because of the newness of such concepts as collectives, comrades and commonwealths applied to the U.S. My next reaction was that I needed to hear much more about the revolution itself: how it would happen, to what extent people would decimate each other in civil war, whether people would risk their lives to fight for equal incomes, how in fact the super-structure would be brought down, etc. Finally I decided that, despite the missing information, the article was valuable: it showed that the Movement was beginning to do some important thinking and would no longer leave long-term planning to the inner circles of the super-structure.

However, most of these reactions proved to be as American as spiked cider outside the Yale Bowl. My education, or gentle up-braiding, took place during a two-hour discussion of the article with Moonkyu Kang, Asia Secretary for the World Student Christian Federation. Moonkyu, in addition to his

intimate knowledge of revolutionary struggles in Asia, has two strong traits: an ability to cut through irrelevancies and get to the essence of a problem, and an ability to present radical ideas without diluting them with emotional fervor or loud rhetoric.

During our talk, Moonkyu repeatedly touched on three basic criticisms of Waskow's article. I have combined his references into one statement in each of the three areas.

The Article is Arrogant

"I understand that Mr. Waskow is speaking to the American Movement about primarily domestic matters. Even so, if I may be very frank, this is an arrogant proposal, because it assumes continued affluence and privilege of Americans—affluence and privilege that is based on international exploitation. If the U.S. would pull back all its capital and all its military from abroad, and if it would stop all exploitive trade, then the U.S. wouldn't have the 10 percent of GNP to give away as foreign aid. But U.S. radicals don't talk much about giving up the whole world market.

"The only international reference in the paper concerns foreign aid. But I'm not really interested in a figure like 10 percent. First, I do not think any nation-state will ever give so much aid. Second, if they did, it wouldn't solve the economic problems of the world. One economist has said that developed countries would have to give 20 percent of GNP just to keep the gap from widening. Since Mr. Waskow is dreaming in his proposals, why not say 25 percent or 50 percent of GNP for foreign aid? But this might cut into the affluence and privilege of Americans, and their unwillingness to do this is my basic anger.

"Privileged Americans always see foreign aid as a crusade. Even U.S. radicals insult

me with their sense of messianic responsibility to liberate the world after they assure their own affluent comfort. Their concept of domestic justice is more developed than their concept of international justice, even though they use this phrase a lot these days. The Vietnam War is one example. Much of the U.S. Movement's war opposition is personal ('the draft is unjust') or economic ('it's bad for business') or political ('it's dividing the country'). Americans may say they oppose the war because of international justice, but they are more committed to personal and domestic interests.

"How about proposing international control of U.S. capital and of such things as the Ford Foundation? What are Waskow's international economic assumptions? Perhaps it's possible that, after 20 years of continuous American revolution, and presumably much bloodshed, the commonwealths will need foreign aid from each other and from foreign countries! And what if Mao or Castro refuses?

"This paper represents the dilemma of liberal-minded people: they dream of socialism in which they do not sacrifice liberal and capitalist privilege. Besides assuming the ongoingness of affluence, the paper suggests the continuation of power in the American super-state. Why should three per cent of GNP—\$30 billion today—go to the military? This is more than the GNP of most of Asia, and it would maintain the U.S. as a super-military power. If the U.S. stops exploitation abroad and at home, it will not need such expenditures. Also, Waskow suggests to me that a powerful super-welfare state will be needed to guarantee all those nice new sewers, hospitals and houses. This again is a liberal response to a purely domestic concern, and it assumes affluence.

"Waskow discusses the reorganization of

political power more than the assumptions behind economic power. I believe economic power is much more important as a force to free or oppress people internationally. To concentrate on talk about new communities is, I think, one of the luxuries of affluent Americans."

The Article is Naive

"I think it is terribly naive for any American to assume that revolution will happen of its own accord. Revolution is the struggle for power, and power is gained only through carefully-mapped-out strategies and goals. Revolutions don't just happen automatically, and they don't succeed without superior organizing and superior power. Romantic ideas of revolution never succeed.

"My feeling about this paper is that it enjoys, even unconsciously, the capitalistic freedom to dream socialism. His intentions are fine and his dreams interesting, but I would prefer a clear ideology, a clear frame of reference—it's too easy just to assume that there will be a general strike of the workers and the people. The workers are the most conservative element in society! Does Waskow really believe the opposite of Marx when he says the sub-structure collapses before the super-structure? Does Waskow recognize that the greatest power in the West isn't political but technological, and does he want to give this up or accept its decline?

"I criticize those liberal or post-liberal or even radical thinkers in the U.S. who think revolution will happen without a blueprint based on clear ideological and historical understanding. Americans prefer a neo-laissez-faire attitude based on spontaneity and optimism that something new will come about. They do not question the liberal tradition about the goodness of man and the good uses of power; they simply remain optimistic that history will move in that direction.

"This proposal reminds me of a sort of pre-Marxist, idealistic idea of socialism in the fantasy. You can't just dream of a Robinson Crusoe-type of idealistic island where you live peacefully making no distinction between civil and criminal. Such thinking is too naive to me because it doesn't understand man and history or power and structures. One who dreams such dreams might better migrate to Sweden than to die disillusioned in America."

The Article is One-dimensional

"Waskow says that he wants to relieve 'white, male, middle-class Americans' of their spiritual and psychological oppression. But I don't sense any great amount of such liberation in his Constitution, because it's so preoccupied with functional mechanisms and structures. Now, a functional understanding of society is important, but I don't think the understanding here will provide enough identity for the nation-state.

"The sense of community here is restricted to functional groupings. The problem is the lack of integration—that's always the problem. A community or nation-state historically is where an individual—through a synthesis of history, culture, values and so forth—can transcend himself and find meaning. I don't think the functional units, the ethnic and work groups, can provide such integration or identity. In reality, this identity comes first and then structures are built which express it; but here we have the structures first with the assumption that integration will somehow emerge from the structures. This is illogical and tends to absolutize the structures.

"What the U.S. needs is a healthier nationalism: not in the destructive sense of economic or militaristic nationalism, but in the constructive sense of an integrated and inclusive concept of person, of community, of the uniqueness of its culture and history and so forth. Inclusive nationalism is behind all struggles for liberation. Asians are keen to emphasize their own culture and history and to build revolutions as well as societies upon these.

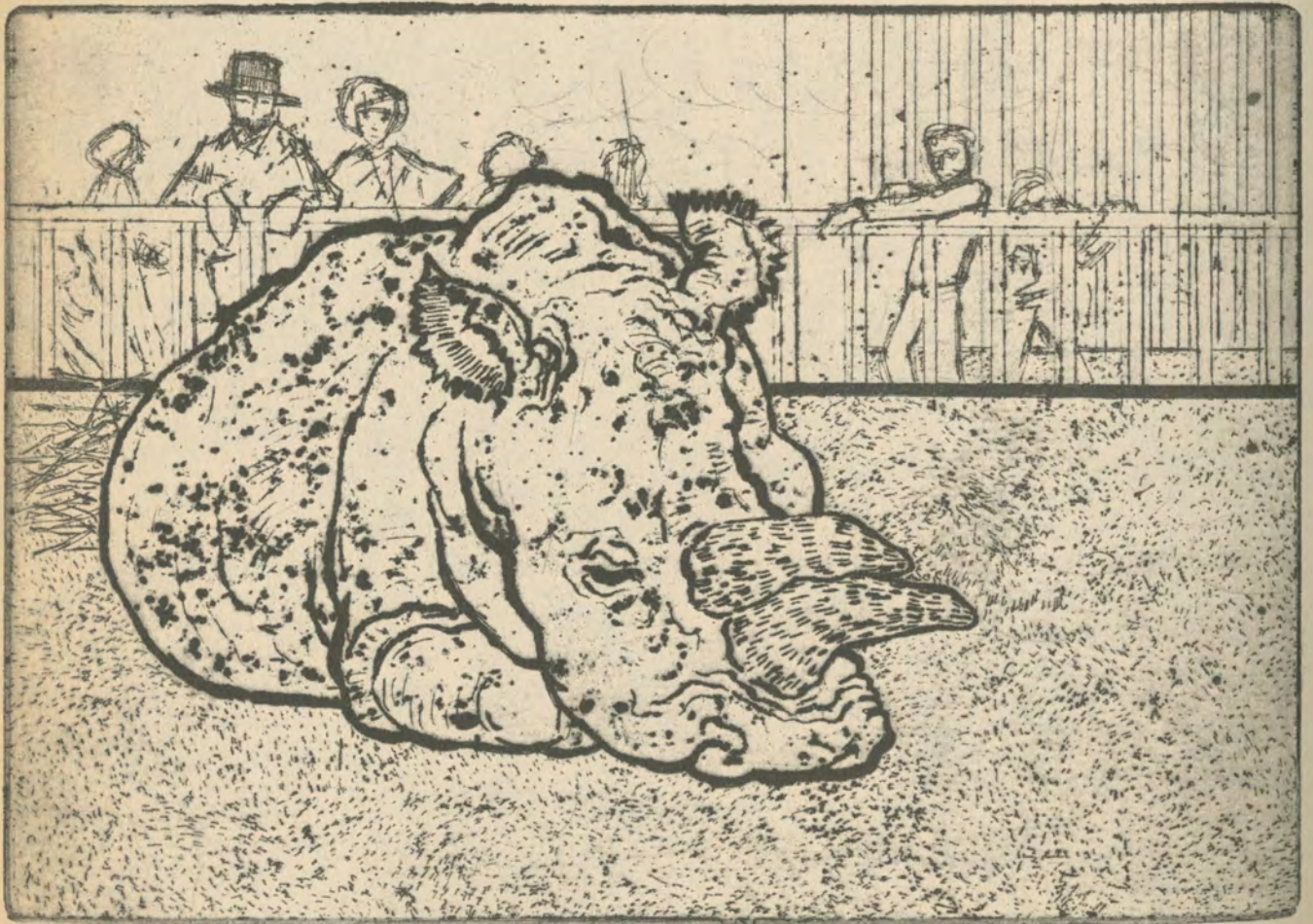
"Americans have failed to find a new integrity, a new unity incorporating their technology and their pluralism. I'm afraid Waskow doesn't really begin this process of integration. For example, pluralism has to do with a lot more than just ethnic and racial groupings with equal income—just as international justice has to do with much more than just 10 per cent in foreign aid."

Throughout the interview with Moonkyu, I felt the recurring implication that he felt revolution was not very likely in the U.S. In both the middle and the end of the interview, I asked him about this. The first time he said, "Because of the super-power of the super-state, even Marcuse thinks that the U.S. will still be pre-revolutionary in the year 2000." To close the interview he said, "Maybe we should think of it as an impossible possibility—we can't give up on it, can we?"

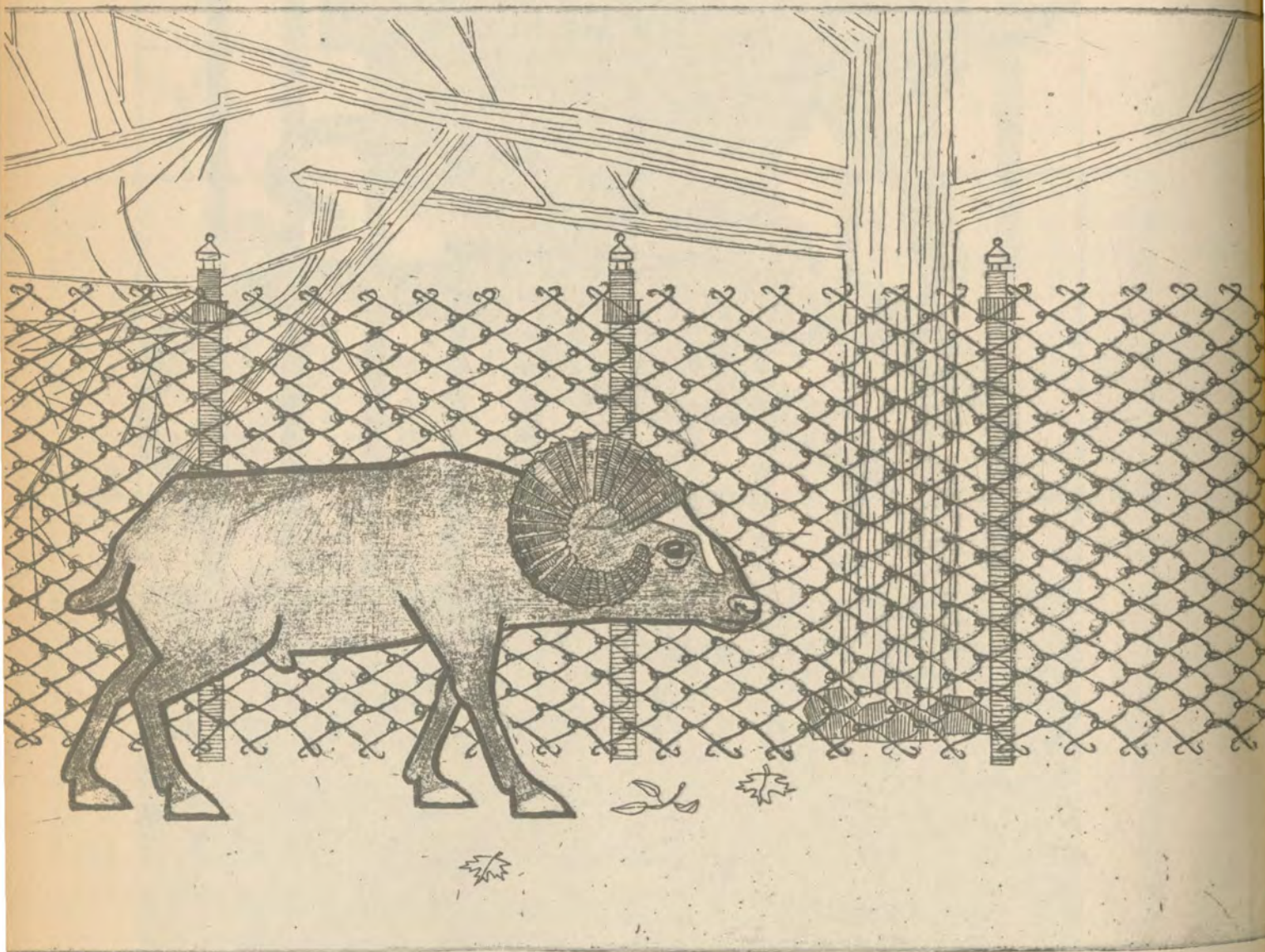
—Jim Stentzel



PHOTOGRAPH BY GARY SETTLE







SALT OF THE EARTH

I

The endless armies
 have come and gone.
In the north corner
 of the muddy field
they have left
 only an empty horse
grazing on the petals of the windmill.
There is concern
 for its welfare.
We would intervene
 but it is now the hour of the locust
and there are so many of them
 so many small things
 with which we must deal.

II

The armies are returning.
 They are not returning.
They will reclaim the horse.
The horse is of no value to them.
 They want the field.
Only
 the windmill
 is to be removed.
The locusts
 loudly coil within our ears.

III

We have taken bundled wheat
 to the mill.
The horse
 has eaten the harvest.
He lies
 bloated in the muddy field.

IV

The endless locusts
 have come and gone.
In the north corner
 of the muddy mill
an empty army
 is grinding a horse.

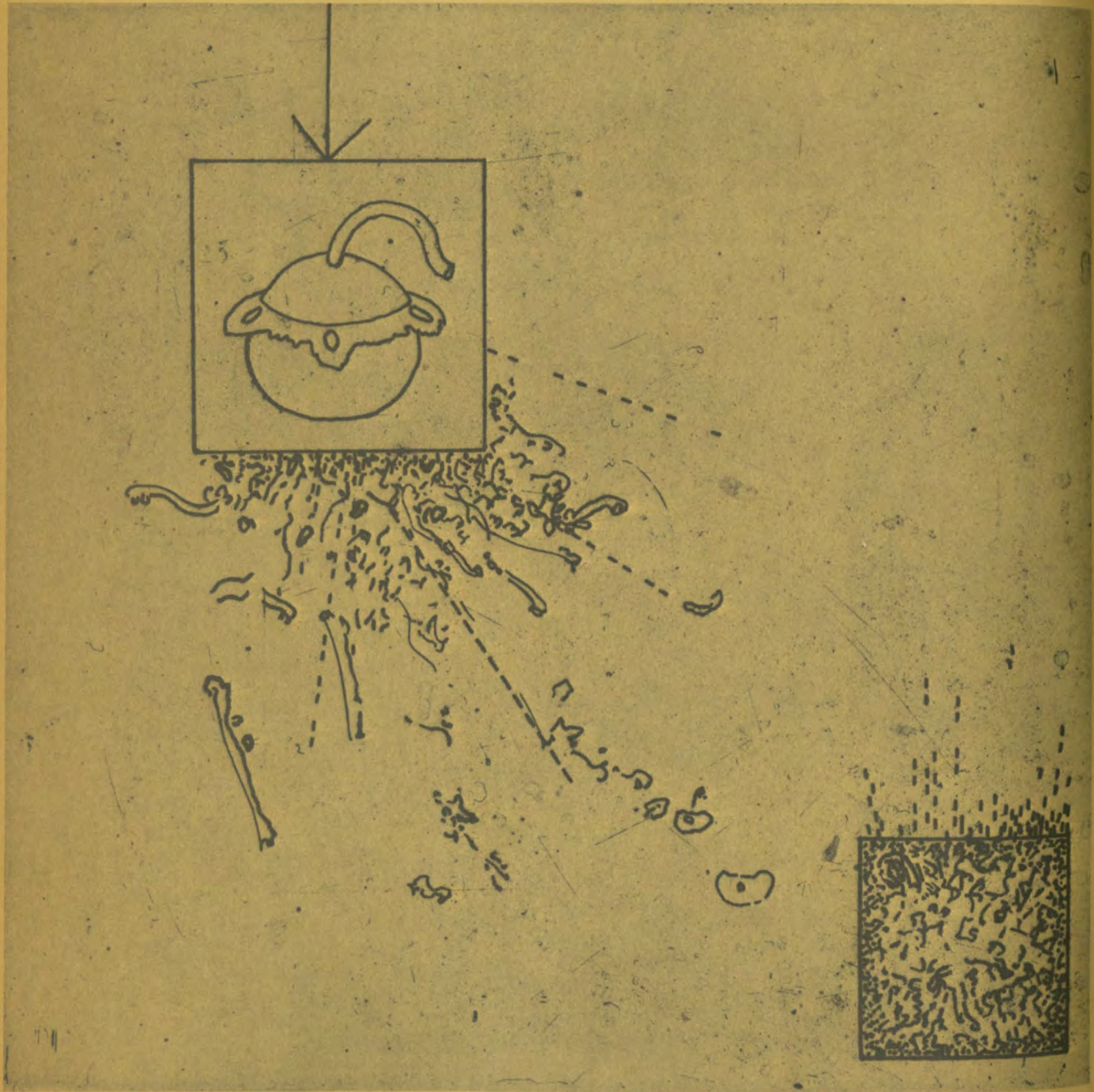
V

In the north corner
 of the muddy horse
empty locusts
 an army inside our ears
We must sow
 grain into the field
if it
 is to be harvested.

—T. CUSON

(First printed in "Poems of the People")

OKINAWA



ETCHING BY JEMISON FAUST

26 years of war and fleece

by Shinpei Ishii

Twenty-six years have passed since the dying Japanese Empire and the growing American Empire acted out the grand strategies in the Battle of Okinawa, the last and most bitter battle of the Pacific War. More than 160,000 Okinawan civilians died in two months of a war which they had no part in making.

Ever since 1945 complete U.S. military rule of Okinawans has made them further victims of wars they didn't make, as the U.S. war machine acted out its grand strategies toward China, Korea, Russia and Indochina. In the process Okinawans have lost not only their land but their basic human rights.

The 26 years have transformed Okinawans into organization for struggle. They have come to see their roles not just as victims of "injustice" but as victims of almost total expropriation. Except for members of the camp-follower subculture—pimps, whores, masseurs, bartenders and other hustlers (the "real Okinawans" that GIs see)—Okinawans have found they must fight for every aspect of their existence: political, economic, cultural and even physical life.

Okinawans were the chief victims of the Battle of Okinawa. But one hundred thousand Japanese soldiers and 12,000 U.S. soldiers also died in the battle, which is remembered for the new styles of fighting adopted by the two empires: the Japanese Kamikaze plane and the U.S. flame tank. The U.S. Army's official history of the battle refers to the Okinawan people primarily as a "nuisance."

The Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP, i.e. MacArthur) directed that Okinawa be taken entirely out of Japanese administration and placed under direct U.S. military command in January, 1946. At the same time the U.S. Occupation of Japan, on the momentum of wartime propaganda about America's democratic virtues,

was busily bringing about democratic reforms on mainland Japan. Okinawa was not only isolated from the reforms; it was simply ignored. It became a convenient dumping ground for incompetents and misfits in the U.S. Army. Crimes by GIs against Okinawan civilians in one six-month period included 29 murders, 18 rapes, 16 burglaries and 33 assaults resulting in injury.

However, as U.S. relations with the Soviet Union worsened, and as the Chinese revolution moved toward victory, U.S. policy in the Far East began to undergo major changes. On mainland Japan, the Occupation quickly changed its policies on reform and began what is known as the "reverse course." On Okinawa the U.S. military began to realize that it controlled territory far more valuable than a mere dumping ground. Okinawa began to be seen as the keystone in Far Eastern military strategy.

On Oct. 1, 1949—the very day that the People's Republic of China was founded—the U.S. began construction of permanent military installations on Okinawa. The 1950 U.S. budget appropriated \$50 million for this purpose. And when the Korean War began in June, 1950, the military importance of Okinawa was decisively established.

At the same time the U.S. increased its control of the Okinawan people while making it look "democratic." The official name of the government was changed from "Military Administration" to "U.S. Civil Administration" (USCA) and a "Government of the Ryukyu Islands" was formed, complete with a Diet and Chief Executive. However, the absolute ruler of Okinawa was the U.S. High Commissioner, appointed by and directly responsible to the U.S. Secretary of Defense, who could make law, abolish Diet law and fire Okinawan government officials at will.

In September, 1951, 49 countries signed the San Francisco "Peace" Treaty which brought peace to Japan and tightened the rule of the U.S. war machine over Okinawa. Clause Three of the treaty stated that the U.S. intended to apply to the UN for trusteeship over Okinawa, and that, in the meantime, U.S. rule over the islands would continue unchanged.

The "trusteeship" ploy was phoney from the beginning. There was no possibility for the Security Council, with the Soviet Union as a permanent member, to give the U.S. a permanent anti-Communist military base. Later actions proved that the U.S. had no intention of even requesting a trusteeship. But Clause Three served its purpose of providing pseudo-legal cover for continued U.S. rule of Okinawa for a generation.

None of the parties to the treaty, including Japan, sought the ideas or the approval of the people living in Okinawa. But the Okinawans expressed their thoughts nonetheless: 199,000 people, or 72 percent of the eligible voters, signed petitions protesting the "peace" treaty. The Okinawan Diet, as well as the governors of various Ryukyu islands, sent telegrams of opposition to U.S. Secretary of State Dulles (architect of the treaty), to Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida and to the chairman of the conference. All of their protests were ignored.

The day the treaty came into effect—April 28, 1952—is remembered as Okinawa's day of humiliation and betrayal. Japan had purchased her brief era of "peace and democracy" by selling all of her Okinawan people into bondage.

The U.S. bases proceeded to gobble up what would become, by 1970, a total of 55 square miles or 44 percent of the arable land on the island. The bases include golf courses, football fields, large lawn areas and rambling, ticky-tacky housing

projects in addition to airstrips, storage depots for nuclear and C-B weapons¹ and other military training facilities. Outside of the cyclone fences, one million Okinawans live pressed in the narrow strip of land that remains between the bases and the sea.

By seizing all of the best land in the center of the island, the U.S. military did much more than use a lot of space and fundamentally alter the ecology of Okinawa. By stealing the land of a farming people, it also totally destroyed the economic and social basis of their society. Colonialists traditionally implant a one-crop economy, and Okinawa's crop is military bases. The farmers, forced off the land, have been reemployed as cheap base labor or as part of the grotesque and overgrown "service industry" around the bases.

Nearly half of the Okinawan labor force is in bondage to the military, and roughly 30 percent (\$210 million) of Okinawan GNP is derived from the bases. To the American rulers, this is irrefutable proof of the benevolence of their regime; to the Okinawans, it is a measure of lost freedoms and lost dignity.

The U.S. seizure of the farm land was, of course, the key to their system of dominance. Until 1952, land was simply taken by force and without payment. Then the USCA responded to farmers' protests by providing for "contracts" for land use and rental payments. The contracts were so oppressive, and the payments so paltry, that 98 percent of the landowners refused to sign.

A year later the USCA responded to this "stubbornness" by issuing the Land Expropriation Law in which farmers were given 30 days to sign contracts or the land would be seized. Between 1953 and 1955 the embattled farmers were thus systematically driven off their land by armed

troops. Some of these farmers, including a group from the island of Iejima, further refused to work for the military. They adopted a new life as beggars who walked the length of Okinawa to raise support for their struggle.

Their struggle seemed to be succeeding when the U.S. Congress sent an investigating team to Okinawa to look into the situation in 1955. Okinawans, believing that the gross injustice would be obvious to any observer, held great hopes for the Congressional report. But the report, made public in 1956, sent a shock wave through the island.

The congressmen went out of their way to argue that total U.S. rule on Okinawa was right and proper, based on the right of conquest ("America won the war") and on the S.F. Peace Treaty. Seeing no injustice toward the farmers, it in effect told them to take the money offered and go somewhere else.

The result was the beginning of massive struggle and protest. Perhaps for the first time, Okinawans began to realize that their suffering resulted not just from military rule but from policies of the U.S. government. On June 20, 1956, public meetings were held in 59 of the 64 towns and villages in Okinawa. Five days later, massive rallies in Naha and Koza attracted 150,000 protesters. The farmers were joined by thousands of others to form an island-wide mass movement.

The land struggle won some concessions from the U.S. in 1958, including a 600 percent increase in rent payments, but the payoffs did not alter the fact that the farmers had lost their land and were driven from their homes. The struggle continued, and in 1966 the landowners in Gushikawa Village exemplified the new determination: they refused the higher rent and have succeeded in blocking land requisition for expanding supply bases in the area.

Throughout these struggles with the U.S. military, the central aim of the movement was reversion to Japan. Every Okinawan political party sought reversion, and the Okinawan Diet demanded reversion in practically every session after the war.

The demand for reversion was initially a radical demand, and the USCA went to great lengths to suppress it. As far back as 1953, the USCA forbade elected Diet members from taking office if they demanded reversion. Two of the political parties immediately formed a joint struggle committee on the platform: immediate reversion to Japan; opposition to colonialism; expansion of the right of self-government; direct election of the Okinawan Chief Executive; and an end to interference in elections.

¹ According to the U.S. military, there were 13,000 tons of lethal gases stored on Okinawa in December. In response to strong protest by Okinawans, the U.S. military has promised to begin removing the gases. But only 150 tons of mustard gas were scheduled for removal (to Johnston Island in the mid-Pacific) in January, and there are strong doubts that all or even most of the gases will be removed before reversion. The Okinawans are demanding guarantees of their safety during the removal process (seven of the 11-kilometer removal route goes directly through residential areas). However, the U.S. has only informed Japanese Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi that "the U.S. will offer compensation to local residents in case of an accident."

The USCA responded by ordering the joint struggle committee to dissolve, and it called for new elections. However, not a single candidate came forward for two months. Finally a lone candidate from the Democratic Party (the Okinawan branch of the conservative Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party) decided to run and automatically became a Diet member.

The McCarthy era in the '50s, in which anything outside U.S. policy was seen as "Communist," greatly informed the USCA during this period. The antics of the USCA would have been comic had they not been backed by so much power. The Okinawan Teachers' Union was a leading force for reversion in 1954, and its head, Chobyō Yara, was formally told by the USCA to stop his "Communist" idea of opposing the U.S. military. He was ordered to concentrate his efforts on educating children.

A few months later, the USCA publicly opposed May Day celebrations because they were "Communist." The opposition created such derisive laughter among Okinawans that the U.S. High Commissioner tried to extricate himself with a new statement. He declared that May Day was a classic festival dating back to ancient Greece; therefore, it could be celebrated, but since the "Communists have taken it over" non-Communists should not participate!

The celebration took place as usual. But later in 1954, the USCA became more obstinate by trying to outlaw Communism. It first ordered the Diet to pass such a law. When the Diet refused, the USCA decided to directly and openly attack the People's Party of Okinawa. It ordered two party leaders to leave the island within 48 hours as "undesirable aliens." They went into hiding, and the USCA began systematic arrest of other party leaders.

One of the 40 leaders arrested was Kamejiro Senaga, a member of the Diet who received the highest number of votes and support in the '52 election. Tried without a lawyer, he was sentenced to two years in prison for "harboring a criminal" and "distributing Communist leaflets."

Just as the USCA began to feel everything was under their control again, Senaga was released from prison in 1956. He immediately ran for mayor of Naha and won easily. The USCA retaliated by cutting off its subsidy to the city, by freezing the city's bank deposits and by promoting non-cooperation of businessmen with the new government. With this done, the USCA pressured the City Council to pass a non-confidence motion, forcing Senaga to call new elections.

Though only three of the 30 city councilmen were from Senaga's People's Party, the council was reluctant. But under continued pressure from USCA, the council passed a non-confidence motion in June, 1957. Result: in the new elections, the People's Party increased its membership on the council from three to 12.

The USCA desperately wanted another non-confidence motion, but now it would never obtain the necessary two-thirds vote. So it simply decreed that only a simple majority vote was enough for the motion. The motion passed, and Senaga again mobilized forces for the new election. But this time the High Commissioner introduced a new ploy: he decreed another law barring convicted felons from public office. With this, the USCA's frantic efforts to destroy both Senaga and his government succeeded.²

² Senaga lives, though. As a People's Party candidate in the first Okinawan post-war election for the 490-member Japanese Diet Nov. 15, Senaga won one of the five seats. Along with another victorious "progressive," Socialist Kosuke Uehata, he was severely criticized by the movement for running at all because of cooptation.—Ed.

By 1960, the Pentagon began to make clear its intention to turn Okinawa into a fortified nuclear base by deciding to put Hawk and Mace-B missiles on the island. The year was also marked by the revision and renewal of the Japan-U.S. Mutual Security Treaty (AMPO), first signed at the San Francisco Conference.

On the mainland, millions of Japanese signed petitions and hundreds of thousands went on strike or took to the streets to oppose AMPO renewal. Prime Minister Kishi was forced to resign, and President Eisenhower was forced to cancel his scheduled visit to Japan. In order to minimize his humiliation, Eisenhower decided to visit Okinawa instead. He arrived on July 20, the very day that AMPO was officially approved by the Japanese Diet (where the vote in the Lower House was taken after all opposing members of the Diet were dragged out of the room by the riot police).

The protest against Eisenhower's visit was led by a new organization called Fukkikyo (Committee for the Return of Okinawa Prefecture to the Motherland). The group was founded on April 28, 1960, to join together all the separate movements active on Okinawa: the land struggle, the reversion movement, the anti-nuclear weapons movement, etc.

The Fukkikyo leaders had planned to do no more than to have a demonstration and present a petition to Eisenhower. But as so often happens on Okinawa, the movement was far ahead of its leaders. The demonstrators surged through police lines and confronted the fixed bayonets of U.S. Marines at the entrance of the Ryukyu government buildings where Eisenhower was visiting. Eisenhower decided to cut short the visit and sneak out the back door to a car, which took him via an unpaved road to the plane which was waiting to take him to Korea. It was not, as planned, one of the General's greater triumphs.

When the U.S. began bombing North Vietnam on Feb. 7, 1965, Okinawans were once again struck by the essential value of their soil to the war machine. The 3rd Marine Division, whose home base was Okinawa, received orders to Vietnam that very day. The next day an entire Hawk wing left Okinawa for Da Nang by C130s. Shortly afterward, the 173rd Airborne Brigade left Okinawa for Vietnam, followed by First Special Forces, which had been training for guerrilla war-

fare in the northern part of Okinawa.

The U.S. had become somewhat hesitant to move B52s into either Japan or Okinawa because of their nuclear capacity. But in 1965 it resorted to a cheap trick: the military informed the Japanese government that it was moving its B52s from Guam to Itazuke (a major base in Japan) "in order to protect them from a typhoon." Then the B52s landed at Kadena (the major base in Okinawa) instead and the next day began bombing runs to North Vietnam.

Throughout 1965, as the U.S. stepped up the war, the Sato government stepped up its effort to become an "equal partner" with the U.S. war policy. In January, a month before the bombing of North Vietnam, Sato issued a joint statement with President Johnson in which he agreed that the U.S. military presence in Okinawa was "necessary to the security of the Far East." Soon afterward, Sato pushed through the "normalization" treaty with South Korea, thus solidifying both the hostility between Japan and North Korea and the militaristic union of Japan and the U.S. The treaty, Sato's attempt to reassert Japan as an international power, was ratified by the Diet in December—again after police occupied the Diet prior to the "vote."

Sato visited Okinawa in the fall of '65 to show his "sincerity" and to make numerous promises. But the demonstrations against him were so powerful that he escaped into the safety of a U.S. base, where he finally spent the night. The incident symbolized perfectly the position of the Japanese government—and Okinawans did not fail to see the point.

One of Sato's promises to the Okinawans was gradual reunification with the mainland government and the building of administrative connections and standardized law. But the first concrete example of this policy in action was the unification of police forces. This meant that Okinawa came under the jurisdiction of Japan's notorious riot police (kidotai), the para-military and highly trained force whose only purpose is to deal with demonstrations and "internal disorders."

Likewise, "standardized law" meant, among other things, that Okinawan teachers would have to begin respecting two education bills just passed by the Japanese Diet: one prohibited any political activity by teachers, and the other prohibited any

labor union activity. The bills had the clear and open political purpose of breaking the Okinawan Teacher's Union, which had been the backbone of the resistance movement. Furthermore, the Okinawan educational system by the time of reversion next year will have to give up one of the few rights the U.S. military gave them: locally-controlled school boards. All schools are to be placed directly under the strictly nationalistic control of the Ministry of Education in Tokyo.

In January, 1968, Okinawans were given further notice that reversion to Japan was, to say the least, a mixed blessing. First President Johnson announced that the USCA would no longer appoint the Chief Executive of the Okinawan government, and that general elections would be held. His reason for conceding this long-standing demand of the Okinawans was obvious: the U.S., unable to win the war in Vietnam, would need its Okinawan bases for a long time to come, and therefore would need to placate local opposition. Five days after Johnson's announcement, the military announced that the Guam B52s—still escaping that 1965 typhoon—would be permanently based on Okinawa.

The Sato government made almost ludicrous efforts to defeat Yara, the progressive head of the Teacher's Union, in the November, 1968, election for Chief Executive. It warned of poverty, starvation and the loss of 100,000 jobs if Yara won and the U.S. bases were run out of the land. Yara won easily on a platform of unconditional return to Japan—but within the year, his victory became more cooptation than victory for the movement.

Nine days after the election, at dawn on November 19, a B52 taking off for a bombing run to Vietnam crashed and exploded inside Kadena airbase. But emergency crews responding to the crash call ran in the opposite direction from the burning wreckage. They ran to the nearby and highly guarded Chibana ammunition depot. The reason soon became apparent: that was where the nuclear weapons were stored.

The event sent a shock wave through the island and marked a turning point in the movement. Until then the movement had been more nationalistic than anti-war. But the B52 explosion brought into focus the fact that the bases were an immediate and concrete threat to their lives.

Equally important, the Okinawans began to see that, because of AMPO, their return to Japanese control would not end this direct and concrete danger. Reversion to Japan began to be seen for what it was: the election of a handful of Okinawan representatives to the Japanese Diet; otherwise everything else, at least on the oppression scale, would be the same.

Hundreds of meetings and protest rallies were held beginning the same day as the crash. The movement stopped talking about better treatment, higher wages and shorter hours. They began talking about getting the B52s, then the nuclear weapons, then the chemical-biological weapons and finally the whole military off of their land and out of their lives. A new organization was born, the Kenmin Kyoto (the Prefectural People's Joint Struggle Committee for the Protection of Human Life). It called for a general strike on February 4, 1969, with the demand that all B52s be removed from the island.

The strike never took place. First the USCA issued a "General Labor Directive" prohibiting all persons from participating in any act intending to disrupt the activities of the U.S. military or important industry. The move was so crude, even for USCA, that even the Japanese government requested that the directive be delayed. The USCA complied.

However, this meant that the Japanese government had now inherited responsibility for dealing with the strike. Using a combination of promises and threats, the Sato government put pressure on the Yara government. The basic promise was that the Japanese would negotiate with the U.S. to remove the B52s within six months. The threat was that the general strike would delay reversion to Japan. Yara gave in, thus bungling his first encounter with Tokyo's professional politicians. The once noble fighter asked Kenmin Kyoto to cancel the strike because "I've been given the impression that the B52s may be removed sometime around June or July."

The executive committee of Kenmin Kyoto went along with Yara, to the great disappointment of most of the group's members. A number of wild-cat strikes occurred on February 4 anyway, but otherwise only a large rally took place. The Sato government did not open negotiations with the U.S. regarding the B52s. Nor did the B52s leave "around June or July."



PHOTOGRAPH BY SHINGEMASA SUZUKI

The Okinawan people learned much from the incident, though. They learned about their own strength and about the danger of giving away their power to representatives. And they learned to expect no help from either the Yara government or the Sato government.

As an alternative to the hated U.S. rule, Okinawans once quite naturally sought reversion to Japanese administration. But, during recent years, they have come to realize that they assumed a virtue in the present Japanese government which it simply does not possess. One writer said that Okinawans really wanted to return "to the Japan that ought to be." What they have gained is a promise to return, in 1972, to the Japan that is.

Reversion simply will not change the conditions on Okinawa. The alleged liberator has joined forces with the oppressor, and Okinawa has discovered that the weight on its back is not to be lifted; rather, it will be doubled. The military war machine will be the same; there will just be two task masters learning to run it cooperatively.

Accepting the fact of reversion at this late date, the fight will succeed or fail depending on the ability of the Mainland Movement to catch up with the Movement on Okinawa. In terms of consciousness, numbers, organization and determination, Okinawans may be 10 years ahead of Japanese radicals; but we cannot take anything like 10 years to close the gap. The some 200,000 Okinawans living in Tokyo have already begun to shake the general apathy and ignorance of Japanese concerning the realities of Okinawa. Unless Mainland Japanese stop thinking of Okinawa's problems as distant and remote, the "Japan that ought to be" might be lost no matter how strongly the Okinawans struggle.

STRATEGIES FOR EXPLOITATION Japan and the U.S. on Okinawa

by Ichiyo Muto

P rime Minister Eisaku Sato and President Richard Nixon issued a joint communique in Washington on Nov. 21, 1969, which was intended to be a triumphal note in the diplomatic history of the "Free World." They agreed on the reversion of Okinawa to Japan by 1972, and they phrased the communique in such a way as to please most everybody, including the Movements on both sides of the Pacific: after all, Americans wanted to "bring the troops home" and Japanese wanted to stop "U.S. military rule of Okinawa."

But if the communique meant a new direction for Tokyo and Washington, it certainly did not mean a change in substance for Okinawa. In fact, Okinawa would be strengthened as the strategic center for counter-revolution in Asia. In the communique and in his speech to the National Press Club the same day, Sato made clear that "Japan and the U.S. share the same basic awareness of the importance of U.S. bases in Okinawa to maintain peace" and that "the mutual security interests of the U.S. and Japan could be accommodated within arrangements for the return of administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan."

For Japan, the communique meant that it would effectively help the U.S. to maintain military bases in Okinawa and that it would commit itself to its own role of Asian counter-revolution—thus throwing off the "pacifist" and "irresponsible" cloak it has worn for the 25 post-war years.

For the U.S., the communique culminated a move that began in 1965 and accelerated since

1967. By volunteering to give up complete military rule of Okinawa, the U.S. closely followed previous Far East military strategy going back to President Johnson.

When Johnson began the bombing of Vietnam in 1965, he simultaneously initiated two long-range strategies toward Asia. The first was to keep as many troops on the U.S. mainland as possible, to minimize permanent troop deployments in the full arc from Korea to Vietnam, and instead to concentrate on sending troops directly from the U.S. to the spot of dispute whenever "insurgency" occurs. Secondly, to make this plan practicable, he needed a fully equipped, strategic center in Asia from which to deploy the forces in transit. Okinawa, already U.S.-controlled and conveniently near the center of the arc, was the perfect spot.

The Pentagon proceeded to fundamentally strengthen the facilities on Okinawa. The U.S. Army construction corps (Koheitai) on Okinawa thus received \$30 million from the 1966 defense budget, \$66.5 million in 1967, \$45.8 million in 1968 and \$29.2 million in 1969. For three years beginning in 1966, Kadena airbase was greatly expanded including the addition of two runways capable of handling even the SST. Work on two Naval ports began in 1967, with the Bay of Ohura prepared to berth Polaris-type submarines.

Nixon is continuing to strengthen and centralize operations on Okinawa. Kadena airbase is scheduled to receive a fresh investment of \$60 million through 1976, with \$13 million by next year for C5A terminal and refueling facilities.

How this whole strategy will work in real life was illustrated by the major U.S. airlift of troops from the U.S. to South Korea in March, 1969. Called "Focus Retina," the simulated war game consisted of airlifting 7,000 U.S. servicemen in a major test of the Johnson Doctrine. Kadena airbase in Okinawa was the vital transit base for refueling, checking of equipment and rest. Two indications of the success of the airlift are the expansion of the Okinawa facilities coupled with recent cut-backs of resident U.S. troops in South Korea.¹

Nixon, of course, has modified and expanded the Johnson Doctrine with his own Nixon Doctrine as presented on Guam two years ago. Forced by both the imperialist crisis in Asia presented by the Vietnamese people and the crisis of the budget and the dollar, Nixon made clear the strategy that is in effect today:

(1) The U.S. must reduce overseas expenditures by reducing the number of land troops in South Korea and other areas of Asia; (2) The pivotal bases in Asia, especially on Okinawa, must be expanded in an effort to concentrate new war facilities and functions; (3) Counter-revolutionary troops should be transported to the spot of revolution directly from the U.S. when possible; (4) Japan, as an ally, must take up its fair share of counter-revolution in cooperation with the U.S.; and (5) Okinawa must be organically integrated into the triangle with Korea and Southeast Asia as a joint American-Japanese military control center.

In exchange for its promise to return the administration of Okinawa to Japan, the U.S. received Japan's promise to do its fair share militarily. The "fair share" will hardly mean a take-over of the Okinawan bases, though, at least in the near future. Beginning next year, the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) plans to station only 1,100 ground, 800 maritime and 1,400 air defense personnel on Okinawa. They will be accompanied by counter-submarine reconnaissance planes, F104 jet fighters, mine-sweepers and other warships. Six months after reversion, 3,000 more SDF personnel will be deployed to take over radar sights, ground-to-air missiles (Nikes and Hawks) and other military equipment.

The function of Far East defense, by mutual agreement, will not be taken over by the SDF. The SDF will concentrate its initial efforts on defending Okinawa in general and Japanese shipping routes

in particular. The U.S. will maintain prime responsibility for air defense, specifically to defend the airbases which are so crucial to their military strategy. However, the door is left open for the SDF to eventually pick up a larger share of both air defense and Far East defense. The Pentagon will insist, however, that it have the prior right to use if not control the airbases in the future.

The immediate and short-range functions of the SDF thus fall into three basic categories, all equally important: (1) Japanese soldiers will be responsible for suppressing the struggle of Okinawans against the military bases—a task that Washington is pleased to give to Japan as part of the "Japanization of Okinawa;" (2) The SDF will be responsible for assisting the deployment of U.S. forces in transit to Asia and for generally defending the American bases; and (3) The SDF will assume responsibility for defending Japanese imperialism in Asia, while not taking from the U.S. the responsibility for defending Asian imperialism in general.

The reversion of Okinawa cannot, therefore, be seen as the U.S. imposing the serious responsibility of counter-revolution on Japan. Sato has willingly assumed this responsibility in the interests of Japanese monopoly capitalism and their growing sphere of influence in Asia and the world. At the same time, Japan wants to utilize the U.S. military presence in Asia to its advantage. The cooperation, and even the competition, of the two countries' vested interests in Asia are part of the emerging system of imperialist integration in which Okinawa is clearly the key.

How the cooperation and competition works is evident in the growing economic exploitation of Okinawa. American capital flowing into Okinawa increased from \$16 million in 1966 to \$240 million in 1969. The surge of investment is caused by a number of factors. The revolutionary surge in Indochina and the mounting tensions in Korea have heightened the risk of investment in those areas; Okinawa is a "totally secure" haven. In addition, U.S. capital wants inroads into the booming consumer market in Japan, and the whole market will be at its doorstep upon reversion next year. Finally, labor is "cheap" on Okinawa compared even to Japan.

Japanese businessmen have been slow to join the capital war. Until last June, Japanese capital investment in Okinawa was practically nil. Then the government began strongly encouraging the move in order to catch up with U.S. capital. It promised preferential tax treatment and Export-Import Bank loans among other enticements. The businessmen also came up with their own reason: the anti-pollution movement was gaining force

¹ The Pak Chung Hi regime, whose major source of support is the U.S. military, has felt quite threatened by the troop cut-backs and by the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. U.S. military-diplomatic channels have apparently allayed his fears, though, by stressing that it is pulling back but far from out.—Ed.

in Japan, meaning they had to begin taking their environmental destruction elsewhere.

Shortly after Alcoa announced in June that it was investing \$60 million in an aluminum refining and ingot-making plant on Okinawa, the five major Japanese aluminum manufacturers announced they would jointly establish the Okinawa Aluminum Co.² In response to large-scale investments already made by Gulf and Esso (projects which Okinawans demonstrated against), Japanese oil refiners have joined the move to tap rich off-shore oil deposits. Shipbuilding and electric companies have also begun the move into Okinawa. Still, Japanese investment in Okinawa represents only five percent of the American investment.

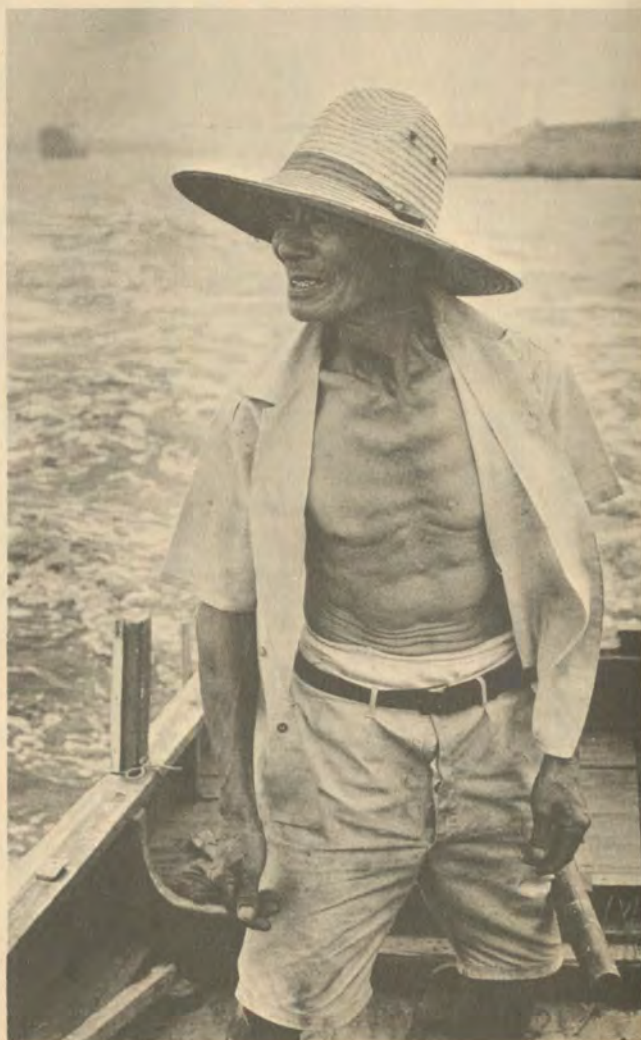
The capital war, while it will end total dependence on the military bases, will not mean liberation for the Okinawan people. They know the rationalizations concerning "cheap labor" and the movement to "take pollution elsewhere." Although some of the bourgeoisie in Naha are excited about the capital inflow, most Okinawans see it as so much more exploitation of their land, resources and people. The land problem itself could become acute; military bases already occupy most of the center of the island, and the businesses have designs on the whole shoreline. Thus the Okinawans will be squeezed into ghettos in between, where they can both breathe the polluted air and wait for an accidental nuclear explosion.

The Nixon-Sato communiques—as well as all the military and economic strategizing before and since—will hardly mean an increase in the oppression of the Okinawan people. The tragic reality is rather that the full oppression of 26 years of domination and exploitation will not be alleviated. Without getting free from the old super-giant of American imperialism, Okinawans are being enmeshed in a new cruel rule of Japanese imperialists. The imperialist integration will not increase oppression; it cannot. But the integration does make the struggle for liberation at least twice as difficult.

² Both plants will be highly automated and will employ few unskilled Okinawan workers. Many of the skilled workers will be imported.—Ed.

The Okinawan people did not need much time to read between the lines of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and to learn that Japan had sold them into bondage. They needed less time to gather from the Nixon-Sato communique that the bondage is to continue.

So will the struggle for liberation. In addition to unifying the struggles of the Okinawan and Japanese movements, I personally feel that we must concentrate on the clearest issue of the past 26 years: the land struggle. As reversion nears, the USCA, the Yara government, the Sato government, and U.S. and Japanese corporate giants are exchanging the best land among themselves. This must stop; all land taken over by the U.S. military since the war must be returned directly to the Okinawan people; and the Okinawans themselves must be left to decide how to use land that, in any historical, legal or human sense, is theirs and only theirs.



PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROSHI NOMIYAMA

from an okinawan journal

I arrived in Okinawa in September shortly after a major strike against the U.S. bases by the powerful union of Okinawan base workers (*Zengunro*). The strike was to protest abrupt lay-offs of Okinawan base workers—an act they are refusing to accept until the bases leave Okinawa and they can have their land back.

Much of my time on the island was spent helping to defend a black GI who took a few licks at a white GI who called him nigger. The military proved its charge of assault, of course, but we did manage to keep him out of the brig—a small victory.

The day after the trial, a group of 10 black GIs and representatives from *Zengunro* got together. The GIs arranged the meeting because of a strong interest in the union that developed during the strike. To my knowledge, the meeting was the first of its kind in Okinawa's post-war history.

The GIs first asked the Okinawans, "What kind of racist treatment do you receive on base?"

The union members began to answer by listing cases of racist treatment they had seen toward blacks on base. The blacks said, "No, that's not what we mean; we know about that. We mean racist treatment of Okinawans."

The Okinawans looked puzzled and consulted each other for a while. Then they asked, "Can you give us an example of just what you mean?"

Apparently the Okinawans thought that the word *racism* (*jinsu sabetsu*) applied automatically to the black condition. It had never occurred to them that it might also apply to theirs.

Part of the reason might have been the language barrier. But it was more than that—even main-

land Japanese usually fail to see themselves as victims of racism, though the American racist mentality makes no distinctions in Asia: "a gook is a gook." (Ironically, the Japanese do see Okinawans as racist victims on par with blacks.)

Anyway, the misunderstanding by the Okinawans broke the meeting open. Both sides spoke with great intensity and excitement, and I had the feeling of a curtain being lifted as the stereotypes of "occupying GIs" and "indigenous personnel" began to break down.

The blacks did not need to refer to their own racist treatment—the Okinawans knew all that, including the trial. The GIs concentrated on racism against Okinawans: the fact that Okinawan base workers cannot use the "American" johns or buy at the PX; the fact that officers' kids with summer jobs on base earn about twice what Okinawans with families do; the fact that even specialized workers are just "dumb labor" to the military—a trained mechanic might suddenly be ordered to carry boxes or sweep the floor.

Finally, there is the word *gook*. I was astonished that none of the Okinawans knew the word. "How do you spell it?" they asked, and they wrote it down in their notebooks. We had to explain how it was the equivalent of *nigger*.

As the meeting progressed, many of the barriers of ignorance and suspicion that have kept the blacks and the Okinawans apart

in the past fell to the wayside. By the end of the meeting, both sides were making declarations of solidarity and brotherhood. One of the declarations which contained the most exciting potential was a black commitment to *Zengunro* demonstrations in the future.

If the blacks had put the Okinawans up against the wall, or near to it, the Okinawans were also clear to point out the contradiction in the role of the GIs—continuing to participate in a system that oppresses themselves as well as the Okinawans and every other Asian.

The meeting was, by any standards, a great success. All of the participants seemed to sense its historic quality. More such meetings will take place through the winter and spring, with the possibility of a hitherto unheard of alliance forming on Okinawa.

Meanwhile, when Okinawans talk about racism, they're dropping the pity they associated with "poor black people." They're starting to add a racist understanding of America; they're starting to talk about the "poor Okinawans."

—Doug Lummis

THE WOMENS' HOUSE OF DETENTION
Here amid the nightsticks, handcuffs and interrogation
Inside the cells, beatings, the degradation
We grow a strong and bitter root
That promise justice.

—RITA MAE BROWN

THE DISCONNECTION

Strings lay all about
She told me
Strings and threads lay all about
And none of them connected
Or touched her outstretched hand.
She held out her hand to me,
It seems a year behind
She held out her hand
And I reached back with mine.
But the strings and threads tied up her brain
And she cried in anguish
She cried my name
She let go my hand to cradle her head.
And now she sits alone
Among people that do not matter
She sits and cradles her head
Afraid that it will roll away
But too tired to cut it off.

—RITA MAE BROWN

SAPPHO'S REPLY

My voice rings down through thousands of years
To coil around your body and give you strength,
You who have wept in direct sunlight,
Who have hungered in invisible chains,
Tremble to the cadence of my legacy:
An army of lovers shall not fail!

—RITA MAE BROWN

RADICAL MAN

Witness his ego
How it flies
Up from earth
Seeing no other
In rarefied atmosphere
It congratulates itself
On its epoxied excellence,
The Eternal I,
A marvelous me of malevolence
Such is my brother,
Such is our age.

—RITA MAE BROWN

The Political Economy of Junk

by Sol Yurick

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Tragedy of the kid junkie? How? Do it like Time-LifeHamillDailyUSNews&WorldReportBreslin. . . . Say something about the eyes. Coldness in the eyes; tombstones in the eyes of a pinkcheeked kid who's caught a Jones. Wan face. The shivers on a hot day and sweating on a cold one. Do the desolation row bit. Relate to bombed-out houses; war image. Crouching in the rotted doorway and living in the abandoned slum building. O.D.'s in the empty rooms far away from mama. Even highschool football heroes are on scag. Middle-class addiction, so therefore it is now *tragedy*. What was the daily body-count before it moved into middle America? Junkies in Larchmont and Scarsdale and Riverhead and Croton and Greenwich, don't forget those. Put in a touch about the hypodermic, the works in a hardtop cigarette pack. Mention hepatitis. Picture an arm, fisted and knot-muscle and the needle in; the plunger rising and falling, the blood sucking in and out, mixing with the stuff, the taut raised vein before the boot comes . . . and how some get erections and orgasms. . . . The kid pusher. And, oh yes, don't forget the faces. Maybe something about the faces, like Jewish kids about to be incinerated. Ah, that's a good touch. Junk has made them all tragic looking. And do the thing about the kidgirl prostitutes to whom come the fat-ankled businessmen and bored diplomats tooling down Flatbush Avenue in ticket-immune Cadillacs while cops a block away hassle long-haired kids. And the rise and fall of the market. They all talk about prices and the weight. Jazz about the slums. Slick look of the hard sixteen-year-old pusher, cool and sadistic and liplicking, holding the product off the market for twenty minutes more, with his pleafaced entourage of the junk-starved: there's nothing like humiliation transmitted downward and inward to break down old hangups and loyalties till shame is banal and guilt not even a memory. Oh yes, bring in some heroic social worker fighting against the odds. And the tough-minded social scientist ready to tread on a few toes. Little idiosyncratic touches: the stockbroker on cocaine. . . . And how high-level executives in New-York Life and Chase Manhattan. . . . Maybe it's not so idiosyncratic after all. . . .

But tragedy submitted to economics becomes comedy for anyone with a strategic and long-range outlook. After all, if one wants the exact *feel* of it, the sufferings of the junkie, the heroic and bitter struggle to kick, the recidivism, the rest of it, Nelson Algren's *Man With The Golden Arm* is still the last word.

The addict, no matter what his psychological perceptions about himself, no matter what theorizing psychiatrists do, is a social type generated in response to changes in the social economy in a time of world crisis. A mistake frequently made is to view drug consumption merely as an indulgence, a gratification, an escape rather than a market response to economic and social dislocation. Under capitalism, large combinations struggle to evolve

and, through control of product and marketing techniques, determine through what channels need shall be directed to feed. In a pressure-to-consume world, *all* pleasures can be made addictive: and the important thing to remember is that the *head*, intoxication, is a need, and needs can be channelled into markets which can relate satisfaction to product, in fact make gratification impossible without an attendant product. The addiction that has a built-in accelerative velocity and promotes a high rate of turnover is ideally profitable.

A little arithmetical probe: 500,000 junkies (I speak of junkies alone, but drug consumption should not be broken down into consumption of types and kinds of drugs: at this point in history it is one unified and contiguous market), an extremely modest estimate, spending \$20 a day on their habit (\$150-a-day habits are not unknown) add up to a market of more than three and a half *billion* dollars a year. (*Business Week* estimates three billion dollars a year.) Therefore, it's not a matter of psychology, individual variation, individual choice, tragedy, if you will: specific individuals may avoid that specific fate, but growing numbers of people cannot avoid becoming addicts. The junkie shivering in the doorway, a picture image-hungry reporters seem addicted to, is better understood in terms of his single-minded and back-breaking contribution to the Gross National Product. Can this state be undesirable then?

This is a time, especially in the last two administrations, when it has become necessary for our economy to expand in forced marches and this has created unbearable tensions. There is a need now for a new kind of labor force, always available, trainable and retrainable, mobile and readily allocable, a kind of army, really, yet retaining channels of opportunity and advancement for the fittest who are successful in the competitive free-enterprise market. This has created a series of dislocations which are personally perceived on the level of restlessness, of despair, of neurosis, psychosis, of shrinkage of available and traditional roles, and the growth of new, unbearable ones, the reluctant dropping off of the outmoded values and obsolescent loyalties.

Given this time when major institutions are breaking down (as they should and must, eroding inefficient and counterproductive relations) when enormous enforced population shifts have created what is now known as the crisis of cities, when basic social relations, particularly those relating to marriage and sex, are being devalued,* when legal

institutions are overloaded and cannot function smoothly, generating disrespect that has malfunctional and disruptive potentialities, when the modes and vehicles of public communication and service are breaking down because major priorities lie, for the time being, in the defense sector, we are in the midst of a crisis of superstructure.

These tensions are most transmitted to the young who are, economically, a deprived, one may even say a parasitic, grouping with certain elements of unified class interest which have been defined for them by mass media education. The first results of this disruption have been felt in the schools, creating further problems for industry as the population reservoir for further recruitment is threatened with dysfunction and infection creating an area of potential *revolution*. (It must be understood that the grouping being drawn most heavily to heroin is youth. To be sure there is a vast population of older addicts—alcohol and drugs—but a great number are not even aware they are addicts. Most of these addicts already have a work habit and an investment in ongoing society. It's not this segment of the population we're talking about.) It is the *young*, for whom drug-economic therapy is most dedicated.

How then, to prevent the fabric of society from becoming completely unraveled, does one achieve a reintegration of confidence, a restoration of the faith to fight off internal threats to economic and ideological world goals? How does one retranslate what is a failure of confidence in one mode of productive activity into confidence in a new mode of economic behavior, achieving, at the same time, a tractable labor force, still permitting the rising-expectations syndrome to find outlets for enterprise on the part of those growingly vast segments of the population who are, for all practical purposes, irrelevant?

How does one allow for the rise of new elites whose energies might otherwise be destructive if frustrated?

What product, or set of products, what set of economic relations tends, more than others at this particular time in history, to foster those aims and further the historical development of capitalism, proving to the world at large its fecund viability?

Only the imaginative use of drugs—especially heroin—fulfills these conditions which call for a vast acceleration of what only the most conservative would call the *illegal* labor force.

It has been our naive tendency to regard the legal sector as separated and contradictory to the illegal, just as we tend to think of negative numbers as opposed to positive numbers, failing to understand that all numbers, like legality and illegality, are *not* opposed, but part of one system. Traditionally, capitalism has developed to its commanding world position by working the whole range. Heightened illegal activity is both a response to an expanding economy and a mode of keeping options open for the creation of new capital and new capitalists. The rise in drug consumption is better understood if we regard the matter as a political and economic subsystem contiguous with the rest of the social economy; it is a model of imperfect competition and

* Women, who by demanding rights with disastrous economic implications, are on the verge of adding to the major crisis by defining themselves as equal on the market, or worse, even defining their very housework and childbearing roles—claiming that their very sexual juices lubricate the wheels of industry—as contributory to economic well-being.

uneven development, *laissez faire* on the bottom and monopolistic on the top. The junkie's hand is not so much raised against society; rather he is involved in on-the-job training in a true street academy: certainly, for the ghetto dweller, pushing, purchasing, and habit-resolution (the fix) may be his salvation, redeeming him for the market and thus society.

Further, in our panic, we fail to remember the historic role of intoxicants in general, and opium in particular as a civilizing force, one of the many adjuncts for the creation of capital, useful as well for the opening of rigid, closed societies to market conditions. Intoxicants break down counterproductive, counter-consumption, ritual customs where other educative (even forceful) means have failed: intoxicants are deconditioners and decustomizers. Specifically, while we all remember now the role of liquor in winning the long march against the Indians, we tend to forget its usefulness in keeping struggling pioneers on the job, settling the frontier when they were unable, in their short-sightedness, to perceive the dictates of Manifest Destiny. Inhuman jobs, such as clearing and settling the land by hand became bearable while drunk. Votes have been traditionally purchased by drink. Britain in the eighteenth century deliberately consumed surplus wheat as gin consumed by surplus labor.

We also forget, for instance, that China was opened to the West by control of opium, for which some very hard little wars were fought, and that many British and American fortunes (one calls to mind the Peabodys, the Cabots, the Delanos) were based on the opium trade. We fail to recall that such world leaders as Chiang Kai-shek got his start as a member of the underworld in Shanghai dealing in, among other things, opium. So valuable is this raw material that vast opium fields of Burma and Laos and Vietnam are still controlled by elements of the Kuomintang who deal through Taiwan and American middlemen. Nor must we overlook the role of Air America (a CIA airline) in flying opium runs out of Laos; Marshal Ky (then Colonel) took fliers in this market. There are those who will demur at the idea that the CIA may be pushers, or that American Indochinese policy is concerned with scag. But, as pointed out, when main-chance opportunities are closed or advancement too slow, people in key positions will not only find ingenious modes of success, but will find ways of using their strategic levers of power to move even national policy.

Nor can we forget that morphine, opium, heroin, cocaine, have been traditionally used in the South: one has only to remember the lumber and turpentine camps of some years ago. Furthermore, the use of intoxicants, sometimes disguised as medicine,

PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANK EMPSON



has been most helpful in keeping farmers' wives productive and on the job, producing a labor force, contributing to the vital agricultural industry in that time of transition before most of the lands were ready to be passed on to the more efficient and rationalized agribusinesses. In fact the full story of the intoxication of women has yet to be written. South American Indians are kept productive at labor-intensive jobs by chewing coca leaves, from which cocaine is made. We manage to function beautifully with an extraordinary level of intoxication among leading political types, to say nothing of the business executive class, but then, the role of civilizing the world is not an easy one and there are periods in history when individuals must sacrifice themselves for the future: you don't make an omelette without breaking a few eggs.

Operation Intercept heralded what was in fact a great leap forward, and its architect was Nixon. What was instituted was a kind of protective tariff, carried out another way, in favor of heroin. This was implemented all over the country on the local level by a stepped-up war against marijuana pushers, but a relaxation of the struggle against the heroin pushers who could be seen working in the summer streets unmolested. Kids themselves made the analysis that Nixon was trying to hook them onto bad stuff: why they were not able to resist will be discussed later. Of course it should be understood that aside from its other implications, marijuana is a much cheaper product and less profitable than heroin. But what was most dangerous about marijuana use was the potentially disruptive *mystique* of its community of users, and communalists consume much less than isolated individuals. Grassblowers give one another presents of love: smack heads invest with presents. New markets were rapidly opened up among middle-class youth and new sales territories were conquered in the suburbs, in rural areas, even in the colleges. We are in the presence of an enormous growth-industry, part of what *Forbes* has called the sybarition market.

High-consumption drug-taking among the young has prepared the field for heroin. Even among the young subjected to cultural leveling, there are still cultural and class differences beneath the dreary uniformity of their clothes and talk; but these differences merely reflect stylistic differences in the reasons why one takes junk in the first place. What all have in common is that they have been intensively trained to need, to consume. All junkies are leveled and ultimately function in the same way. Middle-class youth have been drawn to marijuana, hashish, acid, mescaline, speed. Accompanying these usages was a mystique of community and the vast attempt to set up alternate political and economic entities. Having assumed that the technological millennium was here, the basic task was to create Eden on earth again. But they failed to understand their status as a dependent class and to deal with the contributory tensions of dependency: they also failed to understand the generalized hostility from a population with other cultural investments: they had transformed consuming *things* into consuming *experiences*, so while there was an indication for the withdrawal of luxury and leisure spending, the internalized pressures to consume and spend were not withdrawn. It was possibly this cognitive dissonance which was most unbearable. As in all millennial situations, the investment in ecstasy was heavy and ecstasy was drug-related, creating an ambience for the use of drugs in any direction; at the same time increments of toxicity stored in bodies created conditions of perpetual intoxication and lowered resistance to what formerly would have been recognized as dangerous. At the same time this population succeeded in making of itself a kind of *lumpen* proletariat, with *lumpen* omniverousness, a secondary labor force. When the years of highness had taken their toll, youth was ready, in great part, for the calming influences of barbiturates and heroin. And heroin, as we have pointed out, is a way of bringing these self-primitivized and tribal individuals back into the twentieth century. This proved easier than many anticipated, for while many thought that true communalism had been achieved and the twentieth century could be resisted from the inside, the fact was that the drugs, all drugs, masked what was in fact a greater alienation of person from person; they felt together but acted apart: a further breaking down of social relations.

Further, now that the traditional modes of training for role and class have weakened more and more, youth, as a general grouping without a set investment in ongoing society, tends to be rebellious and is the class most likely to revolt. It is at youth then, that the main thrust of the sales campaign has been aimed. *Junkies do not band together in associations and are therefore politically defused*; in the world of the junkie it is a war of all against all: total competition. And it is most necessary to start these work habits early: the ten-year-old junkie is in the cards.

In the past, drugs have worked to politically pacify the ghettos, training youth to the work ethic and providing the opportunity to erect a whole infrastructure of distributors, salesmen, and customers who have an ongoing investment and will themselves work to depoliticize, contain, coopt, or kill off those who threaten the market; for political militance leads to the non-consumption of drugs in the long run, particularly heroin. We have only to remember the role played by heroin some years ago in breaking up the fighting gangs of New York City. If Jerry Rubin speaks of a whole generation of fifteen-year-old stoned terrorists, it is more meaningful to speak of a whole generation of fifteen-year-old stoned businessmen, providing the one area where the young, trained for little at this point, can be brought into intensive economic behavior by becoming pushers and junkies: where else can the unskilled make quick killings?

Are there drawbacks to the growth of an addicted population? What about the deaths?

To view the deaths of a few thousand children as alarming is to take the short-range view. The deaths are merely a function of the chaos of the market which is growing faster than it can be rationalized, leading to a woeful lack of standards in product preparation. A sort of industrial accident, if you will. In time, regulation will solve this problem. The deaths have to be entered and written off as one of the social overheads of this New Economic Policy.

The junkie himself is a high consumer of what is, as William Burroughs has pointed out, the almost perfect commodity. The ideal nature of heroin lies in the fact that each dosage incorporates a built-in obsolescence and demands a constantly escalating consumption *linked to the conditions of illegality, deprivation, unregulated dosage*. While insecurity brought about by intense competition and constant danger creates an additional increment of tension, this tension can only be relieved by heightened dosages and is a spur to heightened consumption, tied to the need to evangelize new consumers who help to reinforce and stabilize, by mere numbers, the world of the junkie. In short, the heightened national tensions in a time of change determine the velocity of national addiction, and the social relations in the world of the junkie determine the intensity of addiction. The point is that mere legalization of smack cannot alleviate the problem at this stage since the other need-relations of drug consumption, the mystiques, the rites, hipness, manhood, status, symbols of possession, sudden riches, guilt, legal insecurity and excitement, even romantic destruction of the self, the whole paraphernalia of addiction are not satisfied.

(Rich junkies do not have the same needs as poor junkies: there's a class content to addiction.)

The junkie is a veritable heroic Stakhanovite worker, almost pure economic man, living for the fix, the hunt, the fix, keeping his body alive merely to consume heroin at a rising rate, at the same time circulating enormous quantities of money, retaining only the modest interest of the fix which constantly diminishes (a sort of compound dis-interest) as his habit grows and the product continues to be adulterated. The actual heroin content of a bag is so low that it becomes obvious that it is the *whole pattern* of repetitive behavior, with the attendant feelings, that is most addictive, proving once again Nelson Algren's first law of addiction: we are all habituals. It is in the nature of a high-velocity, high-pressure business cycle that it demands total attention to that business alone. All previous relations that get in the way of the "getting and spending" cycle drop off: family loyalty, sexual feelings, love, cohort loyalty, friendship, brotherhood, compassion. The junkie will be driven to use any means necessary to get the money to buy the product. There's nothing like heroin consumption to teach the real meaning of the work ethic. It is on the junkie's back that a vast economic edifice is being built, one which resolves many economic and political difficulties.

For example; some of the spinoff industries called into being and supported by the junkie's work are:

Money-capital formation which takes a variety of paths before finding legitimate outlets, whether here or in some other country: the Mafia may bank in Switzerland but what investments are in the Swiss bank's portfolio?

Additional non-taxed supplements are provided for police incomes, for the heroin industry is a semi-protected industry. This works in two ways: bribes, and money realized from police resale of confiscated heroin on the junkie market. This money doesn't stop on the police level but is further drawn upward where it is distributed among district attorneys, judges, legislators, finds its way into political campaign chests.

Alarm over the spread of drug use leads to the beefing up of police forces all over the country and the potential growth of police forces as a separate political entity: crime-rise used as a mode of getting allocation of funds for personnel and technology. At the same time there are the makings of a vast spy force in the form of undercover agents who may be used for other purposes. One example of the rationalization of drugwork linkages is the example of addicts as narcos, supporting their habits by this work, persuaded by the possibility of legal penalty as well as the threat of having their drug supply dried up. This force may be used to insure tranquility in a time of national retooling.

Sybarition spinoffs, such as the vast growing market in prostitution. This is particularly useful among the permanent female unemployables of the population for fighting off the threat of Women's Liberation.

Medical and drug company growth accompanies the use of heroin. Doctors come up with varieties of cure for the problem. Under the lash of competition, drug companies are led to allocate more and more resources to the production of competing drugs, such as barbiturates and amphetamines. The production of methadone, presumably useful in the combatting of or substitution for heroin has grown enormously; and methadone, as some junkies report, is a better high.

Millions have been invested in the purchase of sites, deteriorated, decayed, or deserted buildings for rehabilitation centers: architects and remodelers have been hired; phantom, but paid-for plans have been generated for centers that have not been built, and never will be. But then the newer capitalism does not require tangibles, but faith in process.

There is, of course, a fantastic rise in the therapy market. Theories of addiction-cause and its cures proliferate. Studies are financed. Pilot programs are funded. New jargons develop. Again, each psychosocial theory of the cause and cure of the habit doesn't have to be valid: what is valid is the ability to sell the theory, to get funding for the theory, to convince some legislator (and possible addicts) that the program works, to demonstrate some successes, and to generate in the wake of failures still further programs. Social scientists compete fiercely on the open program market for funding, and competition is the spur to the growth of a body of scientific capital: the point is to get that program on the market first and sell it. This has also given rise to a new job category: the professional junkie who goes from program to program getting funds to keep alive, demonstrating the success of each program. There are those who carp that these theories are, in fact, forms of Lysenkoist science, rigged cure-accounts and all. This is to take a non-economic view of things. Admittedly there are no cures, nor has the *problem* been approached from the right angle, nor does anyone, to date, seem to know much about the total syndrome of addiction, but this is to assume that one considers heroin addiction a problem and not a way of generating enterprise and capital. In its wake a large apparatus of social workers, counselors, reformed-junkie lecturers, psychiatrists, writers of books and articles, psychologists, political, administrative, and clerical jobs is created, as well as a mode of job-retraining for a whole body of social and poverty workers whose situation is threatened by massive cutbacks in the poverty programs. More: being in key positions to see economic possibilities, many of these people break their bureaucratic/professional relations and enter the market as pushers and middlemen.

Most of the therapy rites in addict cure have taken their lead from the techniques evolved by Alcoholics Anonymous, a variant of Christian Redemption, built around the concept that addiction

reflects certain inherent psychological instabilities and character deformations. The pattern is familiar: the weakness, the temptations, the self-indulgence, the rise and fall and the redemption through recognition and perception of oneself as a child of original sin. To be sure these weaknesses are spoken of in psychological rather than in traditional Christian terms, but the whole Christian journey of self-degradation, self-negation, the trip through hell, the public confession, the self-abasement, the blinding insight, the revival, and the salvation is evoked. The aim is to reintroduce the *need*, if not to abstain, to at least self-regulate one's hungers, to introduce planning and long-range goals into the pursuit of instant gratification, and finally redeem one to the Protestant Ethic. This becomes a drama which is acted out again and again and can usually be sustained with the use of methadone.

Ingenuous black market activities have sprung up:

A recent item in a New York newspaper quoted a sociologist as saying, "Since the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement, drug addiction among young people in Harlem has dropped fifteen percent." I don't know about the percentages. And I think the sociologist would have been more to the point if he had said that *certain elements* of the movement were responsible for the decline in drug addiction among the ghetto youth.

These elements: Malcolm X, the Black Muslims, LeRoi Jones, John Coltrane, and other black artists, who have developed a black consciousness, have raised more junkies from their non-world than have all the prisons and so-called medical programs in America.

Not to belittle the old black magicians, musicians, and mythmakers, but in this day and time their bag is too permeated with racism to make our people whole. The old ones could not clear away the fog from our minds; they could only ease the pain a little; they gave us no clear light, so we turned from their bag, and until Malcolm and the others, had no bag at all. Malcolm et. al, took the eternal verities, wrapped them in myths and symbols and related directly to us here and now, and created a new ground of being for the black man. They gave us a new reality which changed not only the outlook of the junkie but also of ghetto youth whose outlook is, to a lesser degree, that of the junkie's.

This most unusual outlook is very similar to oriental fatalism, in that

for instance, *clean urine* is sold to users who have to report to probation officers.

Of course the most lucrative spinoff industry has been stealing, which has the feature of being able to loosen vast quantities of capital frozen in already purchased artifacts. An estimate of the amounts of material stolen is staggering. Roughly speaking, stolen goods are resold at anywhere from one-fifth to one-hundredth of the original value, depending, of course, on the condition of the goods and the pressing needs of the junkie (we have heard of a new IBM Selectric typewriter sold for \$20). This leads to the replacement of stolen items through personal spending, tax write-offs, insurance, which in turn stimulates the consumption market. Even factories deal heavily in the purchase of stolen goods. We are talking about something

on being

the junkie has tried to reduce the conflict between his inner and outer worlds by simply equating all values, all things to an absolute zero. (By outlook I mean the total expression of the individual, his experiences, tastes, sensitivity, wishes, and beliefs). And from this outlook comes his particular conduct which is a result of his interpretation of the clash between his self and the world.

It has been said that man is the sum total of his experiences. However, the whole truth, it seems to me, is that man is the sum total of his interpretation of his experiences. And in order to properly interpret his experiences he must have a set of myths, symbols, and patterns reflecting the universal truths, but within which he can see himself in relation to the world and have that relationship *verified*. That is what black consciousness is all about. Without it we are dead. Without it we have no vision. And the black ghetto junkie is the embodiment of no consciousness, of no vision.

In 1961 I had reached the state of no consciousness. I had just spent twenty seven days in the prison hole, twenty seven days surrounded by blackness and four blank walls. After the first three days the usual daydreams of women, the streets, and the joint had faded. After eight days I ran out of songs. After fifteen days I spoke my name aloud, and the names of all my relatives. I had to

It was the only thing I had left. When I emerged from the hole I had accomplished what I had unconsciously set out to do fifteen years before. I had almost reduced myself to a cipher, to a being void of involvement with myself or the world. I was past joy and sorrow. I was past the stage of rebellion. I didn't fight with the prison guards or the other convicts anymore. It was not worth it. Nothing was worth anything. I ate, slept, and eliminated.

But I was not completely lost. The old magicians, musicians, and mythmakers had done their work well. Bird, Diz, Monk, Muddy Waters, T-Bone, Lady Day, Mr. Hughes, Richard Wright, and a few others kept a little love alive within me. Yet, I had no vision, I saw no light.

I had begun this long journey to near total withdrawal from the world when I was twelve. First I began to despise my father. I had, until then, accepted his authority and power as being next to that of God's. But after an incident between him and a white insurance salesman and the discovery that he had little to do with the shaping of his world, or mine, my idea of reality changed. I began to feel menaced. I sensed a beast loose in the land, an enemy out to crush me. I did not know the name or the nature of the beast, all I knew was that something more dangerous than an earthquake was threatening my very being. And so, I ran.

like a thirty-billion-dollar-a-year turnover. This has provided for a new mode of distributing wealth without resorting to socialist or communist methods, retaining free enterprise.

The rise in the home-security market is stunning. Alarm systems, unbreakable locks and grates and chains are devised; dogs are bought; weaponry is purchased. Old forms of free association are revived; vigilante groupings and paramilitary police forces spring up once more.

In short, the growth possibilities are exhilarating. It would take one of Wassily Leontief's input-output charts to chronicle the basic implications of this infra-economy.

It will ultimately be necessary to rationalize the market. This should be done in two ways. In the ghettos, heroin consumption should be permitted to rise among the unemployables, continuing the depoliticizing effect and fostering free enterprise and competition in a free market. As far as the po-

tential work force is concerned, it will be necessary to find a chemical and artificially produced substitute for heroin, such as methadone, with a constant dosage made readily available to addicts, tied into an extensive Christianizing/therapy work program which will make for a tractable labor force: at specific times in the day one could have a break for getting stoned rather than a coffee break. Work loads could be met with the proper drugs: speed for speedups, downs for slack times. Already there is evidence that small ghetto employers give their workers fix money at lunch time. Further, artificial drugs could be made at home and thus reduce the disadvantage of America in the international balance of payments, and wouldn't be dependent on the vagaries of nature for production. If this market could be regulated, then we can avoid the mistakes of the pre-revolutionary Chinese. And in time, to stand F. Scott Fitzgerald on his head, the orgiastic future will no longer recede from us. ■

and being black by etheridge knight

I ran to my school and my books. But there, woven among the truths, was the beast, telling me that I was a very lucky little black boy to have been rescued from my cannibalistic fathers and brought to this land of freedom where if I studied hard and always told the truth I could become the President—but, on second thought, I had better content myself with becoming a postman. My inner authority didn't agree with this outer authority so I chucked the outer authority, and ran.

I ran to church. But the beast was there, riding the bass voice of some black preacher, telling me that I was born in sin—*black sin*, and if I paid a debt my black sins would be washed *white* as snow. I saw the beast in all the religious paintings and all the religious writings. And again my inner authority disagreed with the outer authority so, again, I chucked the outer authority and ran.

I ran to the army, the beast was there. To the law, but the beast was there, balancing the scales of justice. To the bottle, to the blade, to broads, but the beast was everywhere. And as my inner authority disagreed with each outer authority, I chucked it and ran. But I could find no rock under which to hide. Insanity was hovering nearby, for who can maintain his balance when all the outer authorities are arrayed against him, telling him that he *is not* while his self is telling him that he *is*.

Then I got a reprieve from destruction. I found narcotics, and with it came the junkie attitude which, as I have said, reached its crystallization in the hole in prison. Only by using narcotics was I able to fashion an order, however restless, in my person, and a harmony, however uneasy, with the existing society and its beast. I was non-involved, I was standing pat in prison—which, next to the church, is the very lair of the beast.

But one day as I sat watching television in the prison gymnasium, Malcolm spoke to me. From out of the screen his eyes and words shot through my brain and plunged into my soul, creating new symbols and myths or stirring up old ones generations forgotten. Sure, he said, "Fuck you, white man," but more important, he said, "Stand up, black man." As I sat listening to him I remember asking myself a similar question of him as did the high priest ask Jesus: "By what authority is this guy speaking and who gave him this authority?" It was plain that he did speak with authority and, what's more, this *authority agreed* with my inner authority. But still, I rejected Malcolm and his message. I had for too long sought this snug state of non-involvement to be shaken out of it so easily.

Slowly, however, I began to blink my eyes. More and more of his words filtered down to me via the black grapevines, words that substantiated that which I had always known. I

existed, black and good. And love. He also gave the beast a name and told me of his nature, and that the beast could be conquered.

I opened my eyes and saw other black men speaking, teaching, and singing with Authority: John Coltrane, LeRoi Jones, Archie Shepp, and others, going past the intellect, down to the root of Total Consciousness, down to a Love Supreme, down to pure sound, creating black images, and Love. I saw other black men of authority take to the pulpits and the streets and speak of a God devoid of the beast. I saw Outer Authority being created that did not conflict with black Inner Authority. I saw Love. I saw that to love black is not to hate white, and is good. I saw space being created wherein I could stand straight. And I become whole. I stopped running from the beast and began to fight him.

Thus did the black Musicians, Magicians, and Mythmakers bring me back to the land of the living and so it will be the ghetto young whose inner *to be* is denied them by the beast-permeated Outer Authorities. Education, improved social and economical conditions may well be the stones in the Temple of Living for the ghetto youth, but only the Black Musicians, Magicians, and Mythmakers can supply the mortar of Black Consciousness, and Love. ■ Reprinted by permission of *Black Lines*.

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CONTRIBUTOR NOTES

While writing the article on *La Cooperativa* **VALENTINA VALDEZ TIJERINA** was also in the process of gathering a Chicano arts and crafts display which was shown on the West Coast to help raise funds for the Tierra Amarilla project. Valentina also writes occasionally for *El Grito Del Norte*. The address of La Cooperativa/La Clinica is Box 104 Tierra Amarilla, N.M. 87575. Next month *motive* will carry two articles on Indians, Hippies, Whites and Chicanos, the rich and the poor of Northern New Mexico. With the 1990 Draft Constitution **ARTHUR WASKOW** makes his second appearance in *motive* (see Nov. 1969). Art is a part of the Institute for Policy Study in Washington, D.C. and is continually seeking new ideas to incorporate into his picture of America 30 years from now. He can be contacted at 1808 Wyoming, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. **TODD GITLIN** is one of the more prolific writers of the New Left. He most recently was published in *Psychology Today*. Todd's Dynamics of the New Left (*motive* Oct. & Nov. 1970) sparked

some ideas in David Wellman which will appear in the April *motive*. The last *motive* heard from our international editor **JIM STENZEL** he was on Okinawa which he called the Pentagon of the Pacific. He was bound for Hong Kong from there. **SHINPEI ISHII** works as an editor at a Tokyo publishing house and is on one of the editorial boards of AMPO. **ICHIYO MUTO** wears many hats around Tokyo as a writer, social critic and translator. He recently translated *Soul on Ice* into Japanese. **DOUG LUMMIS** is a Berkeley graduate student who has been in Japan for two years. He has been on Okinawa twice—in 1960-61 as a Marine and this past fall as part of the movement. *motive's* friend Proctor Lippencott (Rock 'n Roll Bank Roll, *motive* Jan. 1970) made sure we saw **SOL YURICK's** "Political Economy of Junk" which is reprinted from *Monthly Review*. Sol mentioned that one reader of the article wanted to base a movie on it. Our Poetry Editor **ETHERIDGE KNIGHT** who is presently in Connecticut added a human and hopeful postscript to Sol's article.

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(our January issue)

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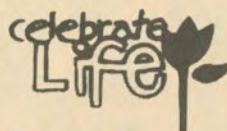
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POETS: We would like to thank Charlotte Weeks for introducing *motive* to **RITA MAE BROWN**. All of the four selections reflect in a different way Rita's close association with the women's movement. **T. CUSON**, a San Francisco poet, has recently had several of his works published in the magazine *Poetry of the People*.

ARTISTS: Photos, prints, paints and other art stuffs are simply the natural tendencies of some folks not to let our grave processes of life go flittingly, flittingly by unimaged on the great flow toward ultimate exposure. With special thanks this month to our women contributors, **RINI TEMPLETON**, **JAMISON FAUST** and **JAN HAVENS** for their works; and to **ED DICKEY** for his sad but true, saved from extinction, 300 animals. We also appreciate photographers **C. C. CHURCH**, **FRANK EMPSON**, **DOUG HOLTHAUS**, **GARY SETTLE AND IMAGE INC.**, and thanks to the Photo Club, Dainibu Shashin-bu at Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo, Japan; especially **HIROSHI NOMIYAMA** and **SHINGEMASA SUZUKI**.

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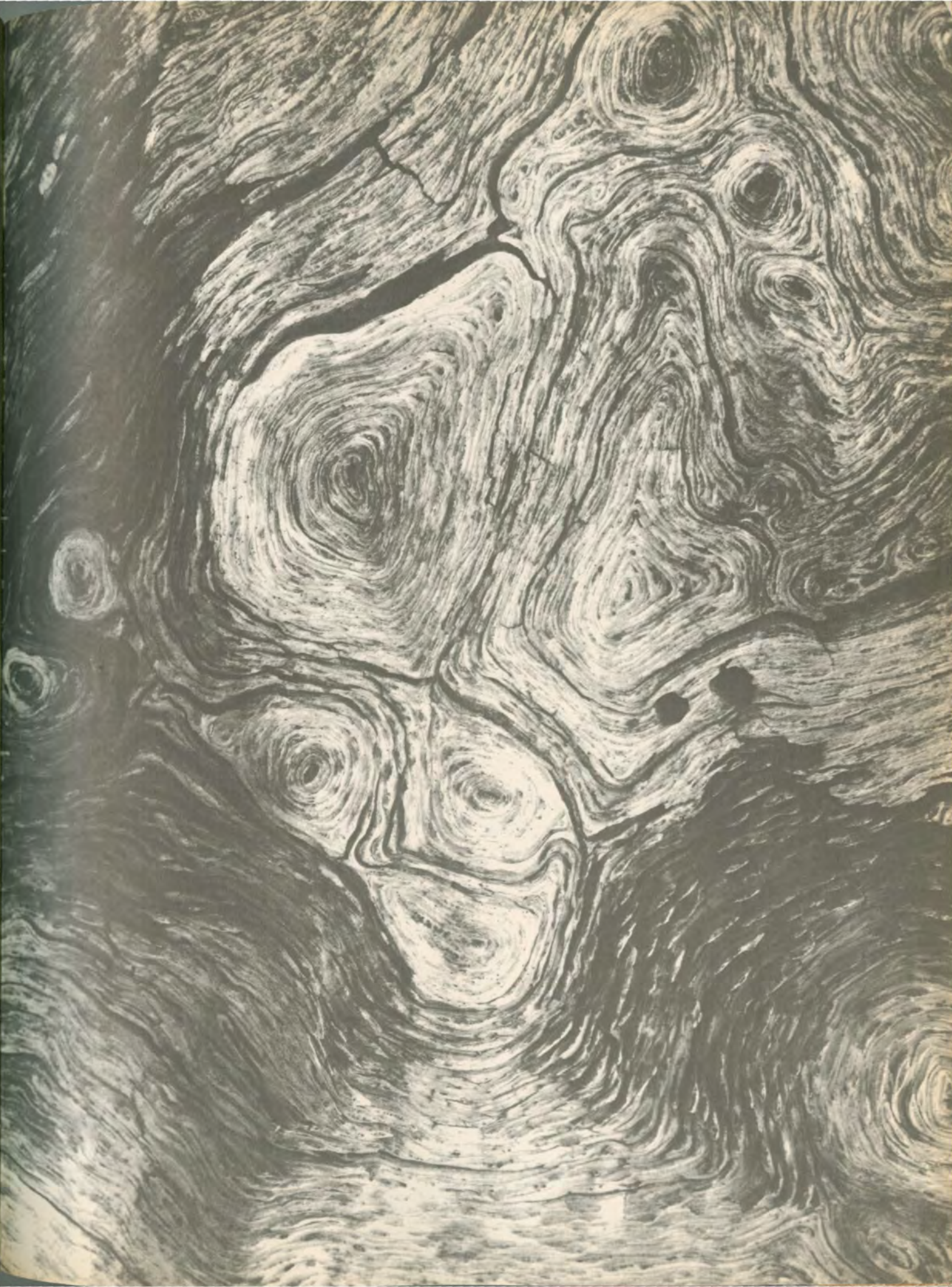
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ON THE 4th OF JULY

The sudden sun through the silent dawn
slices like a fingernail on a melon
and the morning is wet.
There is a whistle of wind along the roads
A dancing crystal sphere rolls among the people
An archangel announces his presence dropping miracles
into beggars' hats
as he walks along the avenue of singing laundromats
and dancing lampposts
where candy bars wiggle in cardboard cases
like syncopated worms
where a man lays a hand on a woman
who tosses it out the window
where a drunken junkman is pleased to see
a sign from the skies
Along the avenue the archangel stalks
we follow him
We see in his every move
the sandstone complexities of a dancer's gesture,
the bricks of coincidence that cement
the furnace of relationship
On his sleeve all masks and meanings melt
He points to the spiral spider weaving the web
of the quick and the dead
He says you can't sell him what he already owns
He speaks of the ceremony of habit
He says you are capable of more kindness than you know
He says the wind is a constant falling through time
that neither squadrons of hats nor battalions of canes
can cease.
The crowd grows to an immense number:
We are the sick in our bandages
We are the holy in sackcloth and ashes
We are handcuffs and chains containing
the limbs of prisoners
We are absurd men with egg on our faces
We are nations wrapping ourselves in flags
We are seasons draped over limbs of the dead
We are all the unborn children
wearing our mothers' wombs
The archangel leaves us.
We are confused when he enters a pawnshop,
sells his wings, turns and says WHO'S NEXT?
Authorities are passing through the crowd seeking witnesses
but in the grip of clarity
silence is a violent act.

—T. CUSON





MARZO

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