

FELLOWSHIP

THE MAGAZINE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Paul Goodman: Reflections on Racism, Spite, Guilt and Violence. Kenneth E. Boulding: The Impact of the Draft on the Legitimacy of the National State. Vincent Harding: The Afro-American Past and the American Present. Don Luce: An Empty Rice Bowl—Vietnam's Farmers. Francis Randall: Why I am a Resister. Pictures of the Poor People's Campaign. Composers and Musicians for Peace at Carnegie Hall. Reportage on Whites on Alert in Ghetto Uprisings; Testimony against the Internal Security Act; Vietnamese and the Village of Bentre; Canvassing for Peace, a Success Story. Editorials. Books.

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| | |
|--|---------|
| In Context | 2 |
| Reflections on Racism, Spite, Guilt and Violence | 4 |
| On Alert: A Different Response to Trouble in the Black Ghetto | 4 |
| An Empty Ricebowl: Vietnam's Farmers | 10 |
| Why I Am a Resistor | 13 |
| The Poor People's Campaign in Pictures | 14 & 18 |
| News of the World of Peace | 16 & 17 |
| The Afro-American Past and the American Present | 18 |
| Canvassing for Peace—A Success Story | 21 |
| Bentre: a Statement by the Vietnamese in America | 21 |
| Composers and Musicians for Peace at Carnegie Hall | 22 |
| The Impact of the Draft on the Legitimacy of the National State | 23 |
| The Russian and the Kingdom | 26 |
| Tribute to Muriel Lester | 27 |
| The Lessons of History: Spain and Vietnam | 28 |
| Peacetime Treason: a New Crime under the New Internal Security Act | 28 |
| The Eastland Bill | 28 |
| Books | 29 |
| Letters | 31 |

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MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

NOTE: *Ordinarily—though not always—the editorials in Fellowship are written by me. Sometimes they are signed, usually they are not. When they are unsigned they have inevitably an ex cathedra air about them, though at best they reflect the writer's attempt to comment on immediate situations in the spirit of the Fellowship.*

These editorials, this month, are my work. I note that because there are things I want to say that I think are important and in the spirit of the Fellowship, but with which some FOR members may disagree and which do not reflect any specific actions by either the National Council or the Executive Committee. They are not written belligerently, or in a tone of challenge, but because I believe the issues involved are important, and the clarity of the Fellowship's position essential.

—ALFRED HASSLER

VIETNAM

The first has to do with our attitude toward what has been happening in Vietnam. We are horrified by the war in Vietnam. We oppose what the United States has been doing there, and is doing there. The spectacle of the most powerful nation on earth destroying a country, its people and its culture ostensibly to save it, appalls and outrages us beyond the power of words to express and so, along with hundreds of thousands of our fellow Americans, we have taken to the streets and to a multitude of other unorthodox ways to show our horror and opposition.

On political grounds, on humanitarian grounds, for religious reasons, we oppose American actions in Vietnam. We believe this country should never have interfered in the revolution-cum-civil war in that country, and we would believe that even if we shared in full the apprehensions by which the government has justified its actions. We believe American intervention reflects both a culture increasingly based on the concept of profit-above-all and on a variety of anti-communism that is akin to the cruel and irrational witch-hunts of the early days of this country.

There are many Americans who, sharing this horror, move to the opposite pole and express their full support for the National Liberation Front (the Vietcong) and North Vietnam in the Vietnamese war. Their rhetoric becomes one in which these are the Vietnamese people as a whole; their struggle against the United States simply a struggle of a

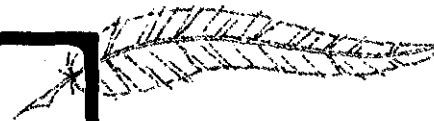
whole people against Western imperialism. In the name of that struggle they justify and defend all the means used by the NLF and, in religious terms, substitute for the theology of the just war a theology of the just revolution.

This is not a pacifist position. Whatever the decency of their ultimate goals, the NLF, the North Vietnamese government, and their predecessor, the Viet Minh, have been ruthless in their suppression of dissent, ruthless in their destruction of nationalist political groupings who were their allies against the French, ruthless in the use of terror and murder to achieve victory. The official American position that support for the NLF is built entirely on terror is nonsense—it is apparent that many Vietnamese, limited to a choice between support for the NLF or support for the U.S. and its puppets, have chosen to support, or at least not to oppose and betray, the NLF. But this does not alter the fact that the NLF has used and does use terror, assassination and the shelling of noncombatants in its struggle.

In this, however much we may sympathize with many of its objectives, pacifists must make the same testimony they always have: murder in pursuit of even the best objectives is not radical but reactionary, repeating the same dirty, bloody cycle that has dominated man's sad and bloody history. We do not seek the victory of either side in this or any war; we seek peace, we search for nonviolent means by which differences can be reconciled and injustice corrected; and we maintain that resort to the violence of war always and inevitably corrupts the ends sought and inflicts the greatest suffering on the noncombatants who are its victims.

Much the same thing can be said of the violence that may well increase within the American society in the struggle of black Americans for their rightful place in that society. Pacifists have an obligation to explain why black men and women in their bitterness and frustration turn to violence. Pacifists, especially when they are white, have an obligation to lay the principal responsibility where it belongs, on the white culture and power structure. Pacifists have an obligation to strip the hypocrisy from those who plead for an end of violence while condoning its use in Vietnam, and from those who in the name of law and order equip the police of the country with instruments of murder to be used against their fellow citizens instead of dealing creatively with the problems underlying the unrest.

But pacifists have the obligation also to insist that violence is dehumanizing;



that characterizing a man by his color, by either side, is to rob him of the uniqueness of his personality; that the only objective worth working for is a full society of equals in which color plays no part, and that the only method for achieving that goal without ultimately deepening the conflict is nonviolence, understanding, reconciliation.

ON REVOLUTION

In the same spirit, it is time for someone to say quite loudly that the preoccupation with revolution on the part of some parts of the amorphous thing we call the peace movement is a dangerous misdirection of energy.

Revolutions there are, and revolutions—an increasing number of them—there will be. The provocations are (generally) real and intolerable; the aspirations (again generally) admirable, and a sense of empathy and concern for human dignity impel the noblest and most articulate, especially of the young, to man the barricades. It is not surprising that a generation of American youth that has lived its short life as beneficiaries of an unworked-for affluence and savored both its flatness and its cost in human inequality should want to join in. Student radicals plump for disruption and overthrow by whatever means are necessary; pacifist radicals throw themselves into reinforcing their efforts while hopefully keeping them non-violent.

The trouble is that that kind of revolution cannot solve the primary problems man confronts today. If technological progress could be set back to the 17th century and the world's population the same, the emphases on localized revolutions, decentralized governments and the like would make sense—but they don't today. That is not rhetoric but existential reality.

What are the primary problems of man? Let Paul Goodman, writing in the June issue of *Commentary* "in praise of populism," say. Mr. Goodman, who is not without honor as a spokesman among the Left, writes that he objects to "the politics of most of the Movement" because "to concentrate on 'gut' issues is to be finally irrelevant and, paradoxically, merely symbolic."

"Gut issues like the draft, police brutality, or rent gouging are, of course, *prima facie* and must be met; they create hot commitment and solidarity; they might have some immediate tangible payoff. But they do not address the tremendous questions of our times which will determine our fate, including the fate of the gut issues—How to prevent nuclear war? How to avert ecological catas-

trophe? How to use modern technology? What to automate and what not to automate? What and how to decentralize? What should Research and Development policy be? What is a possible structure of mass education that will not process and brainwash? What kind of help ought to be given to undeveloped regions? How to cope with galloping urbanization? How to weaken the nation states? These are issues of high politics that require patient inquiry, debate, and professional knowledge. Hot commitment will not take us far."

The only revolution that would have any practical impact on these problems would be one in the United States. Because for the foreseeable future the actual survival of millions of human beings depends upon the productive capacity of the U.S., such a revolution would have to leave intact the country's immense productive machinery and the managerial and technical skills to direct it, and only change the use to which they are put. That means that it cannot be a coercive, but must be a non-violent revolution, a revolution of attitudes, which is ultimately the only revolution that matters anyway. Since most Americans, while troubled and shaken by recent developments, are leagues away from any pre-revolutionary frame of mind, any attempt at a coercive revolution can only result in a right-wing backlash and the establishment of a repressive and totalitarian government. That would seal our collective doom, if only because it would abolish free speech, and consequently the public discussion of these issues in the country where that discussion is most needed.

The one thing that all our most desperate problems have in common is that they affect all of us. Pollution of the air to the point where it will not sustain life cannot be confined to countries or continents. The immense famines that experts have been predicting by 1970 will produce political cataclysms around the world. Urbanization and its problems is not a unique phenomenon of the United States or the race issue, but spreads across the world. And shadowing all, of course, the threat of nuclear war, which would spare no one, and which, given the present political realities, could be precipitated by almost any one of the "small" revolutions.

It was because of this universalism of danger (and its concomitant universalism of opportunity) that Professor W. Warren Wagar wrote five years ago his advice to the peace movement, that "only one revolutionary idea is great enough to generate the positive passion demand-

ed by our crisis: the idea of a radical beginning over again, the idea of a new organic world civilization."*

Of all elements of the peace movement, religious pacifists, possessing a dynamic founded on universalism and committed to the integrating power of reconciliation, should be most responsive to such a situation. It is an immense task. On the one hand we must find the organizational means for joining forces with those who share our commitment wherever they are, of whatever political or religious loyalty, in order to articulate the universal change in direction required of all peoples and all governments.

On the other hand we must concentrate efforts in the United States to break down the anti-Communist obsession that shapes and colors our foreign policy, to speak to the impulses of compassion and sympathy that move in most Americans, to work for a willingness to relinquish large measures of national sovereignty to a world community, and to take the lead in disarmament and the reapplication of the wealth that now goes into arms to the improvement of the lot of the exploited both in this country and around the world.

Let Paul Goodman end it as he ends his article:

"It is understandable that poor blacks are hung up on gut issues; they cannot afford to worry about atom bombs, etc., though of course they should. But it is disgusting that Peace and Freedom, Students for a Democratic Society, and the rest of the bright and lively youth of the affluent majority cannot look further. . . . No doubt the fault belongs with my own generation, which sold out in various ways, taught nothing, has provided no relevant program. What a pity it would be if this most promising political opening throughout the world should come to nothing because of ignorance!"

* In "Beyond the Peace Movement," in *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Summer, 1963. See also Prof. Wagar's book, *The City of Man*, Pelican, 1967.

Note: Full editorial treatment of the Violence in America issue must regrettably be postponed until a later issue: meanwhile see p. 17 for an account of FOR action in these areas.

White Racism

✦ THE PREMISE of the Kerner report on civil disorders* is, "Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively. . . . White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II." Both parts of this are not true. Since the end of World War II it was a rapacious

* *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders with an Introduction by Tom Wicker, Dutton, 609 pp., \$7.95 (paper, Bantam, \$1.25)*

On Alert: A different response to trouble in the black ghetto

by DIANE LEONETTI

Except for Mayor Lindsay's walks in Harlem, the story of white response to outbreaks in the black ghetto has been largely limited to the overwhelming show of force on the part of officialdom. Yet in Washington, following the recent burning of ghetto stores and homes, churches in the outlying mixed and white neighborhoods moved tons of food and clothing in to help those who were burned out or cut off from their food supply.

Theirs was not the only effort to provide a different response from white America than that of police and troops. A Center for Emergency Support was formed in Washington last summer to provide medical, legal and relief services to the victims of black rebellions. White citizens organized to enlist doctors, lawyers, students, housewives and others, as well as the support of sympathetic congressmen, so that many kinds of immediate help could be offered to people who were homeless, hurt or jailed. An office was set up at the Institute for Policy Studies, where the idea was hatched. In a short time, over a hundred doctors were recruited to be on call should an emergency arise.

During the recent trouble, lawyers volunteered to defend individual cases, and law students were posted at every precinct station to protect the rights of those arrested and to collect information concerning the bail and arrest procedures employed. As is usual in ghetto uprisings, the bail was ridiculously high: up to \$3,000 for looters, \$300 for curfew violators. The Center raised bail money

policy of rural enclosure and, in Puerto Rico, a rapacious mercantilism that drove unprepared colored peoples north in unassimilable quantities, whether their reception would be racist or not; and add the whites disemployed out of Appalachia. To account for the explosive mixture, one does not need fancy new concepts like white racism; the old story of criminal neglect of social costs for private gain is more to the point. Further, historically, with notable exceptions, the northern whites have not been racially prejudiced—though they have been something else,

through large loans from individuals, but red tape made it impossible to release scores of crowded apartments with no some people for weeks. (The courts did not even have the prisoners' names, in many instances). Collection centers were set up in churches and homes throughout the city, as well as distribution centers inside the ghetto, while nurses and housewives volunteered to take care of children whose parents had been arrested or lost.

Besides advertising its services on radio and television, the Center issued a statement calling upon white America to do what it had demanded of blacks for 300 years: demonstrate nonviolence in the face of violence. It urged the President to withdraw the troops and let the black community police itself. It called for free distribution of food and clothing, and the creation of a Federal insurance fund to repay citizens who lost property during the crisis. What was really needed, it pointed out, was a new local government which would represent black people and end white domination of the ghetto. It also called for release of prisoners on their own recognizance and a two-week suspension of all debt.

This organized response to ghetto turmoil was matched by that of some individual white citizens—no one knows how many—who had never heard of the Center, but who responded to churches calling for volunteers over radio and television. One such couple, Hank and Rachel Bosch of Bethesda, drove to a city church and spent Saturday sorting and moving food and clothing. On Sunday and Monday, they worked all day and well into the night (on curfew passes) delivering emergency food orders to ghetto residents. Fires were still burning and they went in timidly at first, their car equipped with a large sign reading Emergency

perhaps more disastrous. It is best to get rid of these clichés and call each thing by its right name.

In classical psychology, race prejudice is a projection onto others of one's own unacceptable traits. It is a species of paranoia, the repressed traits returning as floating threats. It is characteristic of the authoritarian personality, brought up with severe inhibition of the child's initiative and animal nature; and the paranoia is excited by economic or other insecurity that makes the adult ego labile. Typically, a failing petty bourgeoisie with puritanic up-

Food, their courage rising with each trip.

Some people resented having to be helped. Others—some of whom had not eaten in days—were deeply grateful. The Bosches encountered living conditions more frightful than they had ever seen: windows, an enormous rat moving boldly across the street. They became friendly with a couple with six children and one on the way who had lost everything. The Bosches were able to provide maternity clothes for the mother and materials for the artist father. They invited them to share their home in Bethesda, but the black family, for reasons of their own, preferred to stay in the city. As they sat together pondering their fate, the mother remarked that their experience was not as bad as the suffering in Vietnam.

Should there be trouble in the black community again, the Bosches will be among the first to volunteer to help. In the meantime, they are exploring other ways that black and white can meet as friends. With the help of the District of Columbia Board of Education, they have begun to take Negro children along with their own three on camping trips.

The Center for Emergency Support is enlarging its scope, too, with teams going out to white suburbs to discover where links can be formed with those areas. They have a number of research projects under way. One is looking into the response of the white community, and the establishment, to black uprisings. Another seeks to determine exactly who the powers are behind decisions that are made at such a time. They urge any town where there may be unrest in the black community to set up a center like theirs. For advice and help, write to the Center for Emergency Support, c/o Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington 20036. ■

Guilt and Violence

by PAUL GOODMAN

bringing will have racial prejudices. The Germans were classically racist, with a full-blown ideology of Aryan supremacy that made them feel grand, whereas the Jews poisoned the bloodstream and were responsible for the Versailles treaty. Degraded by the Civil War, Southern whites developed the full-blown racism of the Ku Klux Klan; they had to be better than somebody, and niggers were inferior, apeline, a threat to Southern womanhood.

In this classical sense, the northern white middle class has hardly been racist at all. Their upbringing, though not free, has been unrestrictive by European standards. They certainly have not failed economically. Where there is more authoritarianism and insecurity, as among newly prosperous blue-collar workers—e.g., Poles, Italians, Irish, or Appalachians in Chicago—there is more racial prejudice; the same holds for retired rentiers like the Californians, threatened by inflation. But the usual majority objections to blacks that have caused the suburban flight have not been “prejudices” but a Gradgrind kind of facts, narrowly realistic. Blacks do downgrade the schools and make it hard for junior to compete for MIT; they make streets unsafe; they swell taxes by being on relief and not pulling their oar; they are not prepared for better jobs that have (irrelevant) mandarin requirements. By contrast, in the important area of discrimination in unionized semi-skilled jobs, that have been strong prejudices by blue-collar workers; and the most vehement opposition to open housing has come in rentier neighborhoods.

In many cities the police are recruited from just the most prejudiced classes, and this has been calamitous. And everywhere, of course, police are subject to the factual prejudices of their dangerous craft; poor suspects of any color have never gotten loving care from cops. (It happens that hippies and vocal pacifists are the worst treated of all, but this is an effect of paranoiac prejudice, since these pose an inner threat to the policeman's manly perfection.) Schoolteachers are a striking example of a kind of factual prejudice produced by narrow craft idiocy: probably most of them start out with fairly innocent attitudes, but when little black

children do not learn to read *Dick and Jane*, the teacher's annoyance and anxiety, fearful of the supervisor, can come close to hatred.

Historically, there has been, and persists, a northern middle-class exclusiveness, provincial and conformist, that could reasonably be called “racist.” But let us look at this, too, accurately, for the remedy depends on the diagnosis. Blacks have always been strange. There were few in the eastern and middle-western country and towns from which many of the whites came. Their mores were not necessarily inferior, ludicrous, or bad, but unknown. When blacks were hired as domestics, for instance by New York Jews, they were not looked down on but treated like articles of furniture. Not in business, they did not belong to clubs. Living in their own neighborhoods, they did not belong to white churches. But to be socially excluded has been the common fate of immigrant poor. Color is not the decisive factor: black Puerto Ricans, even with their culture of poverty, now make an easier adjustment. But Negroes have been continually recruited from an entirely inappropriate slave and depressed-rural background, and their exclusion has been fatally cumulative. Then, with the recent overwhelming influx of new immigrants, and their teeming offspring, the familiar atmosphere of the northern cities has changed drastically; strangeness has become menace; panic flight has ensued.

What picture of the white middle class emerges from this analysis? It is not so much racist as narrow, self-righteous, and busy. But of course. This is the same tribe that, north and south, displaced the Indians, had Negro slaves in the first place, needlessly bombed Hiroshima, and destroys Vietnamese. Whether one calls it brash enterprise or imperialist arrogance, to these people their victims are not quite persons. If the deviants shape up, fine, one does business with them—and even extraordinary efforts are made to help them to shape up. But if they persist in being themselves, they are exterminable. “Essentially,” as the Kerner report puts it, busy self-centered people do not want to be thwarted or bothered. This bleakly explains more than “racism” does.

On the other hand, the Americans

have the virtues of their defects, and these are more promising. Being busy, self-interested, independent, and successful, they have also been spectacularly extroverted, pragmatic, and generous. They will pay enormous sums to convert the heathen, wash the unwashed, and teach the mentally retarded to spell. And there has been an absolute contradiction in their racial attitudes. For instance, on the one hand there was the smug silence about the Indians and Negroes in classical New England literature; on the other hand there was the pan-humanism of Cooper and Walt Whitman. The framers of the Declaration of Independence obviously meant it when they said all men were created equal; yet some of the same authors allowed the organic charter, the Constitution, to speak of “three-fifths of a person.” (This was exactly the kind of detail on which Gandhi would have fasted to the death.) The bother with the premise of the Kerner report is that, if it were true, nothing less would avail than psychiatry for epidemic paranoia, probably including shock treatment—and this is, of course, the proposition of the black terrorists. A more *prima facie* diagnosis allows us to appeal to the outgoingness, the pragmatism, the enlightened self-interest of Americans.

Unfortunately, in modern conditions, we must notice the *increasing* anxiety and privatism of the middle class. As businesses become more centralized and the standard of living more demanding and complicated, independence and enterprise are severely constricted. And more and more we see that American horse-sense and generosity, which have been saving graces, give way to a desperate need to keep things under control. Self-righteousness can then become “efficient,” a cold violence that has no inner check. There is a fanaticism of business as usual, called Preserving Law and Order, manner of Mayor Daley. If citizens fail to social-engineer the deviant into conformity, they quickly resort to mechanical measures, police, tanks, marines, bombers.

PAUL GOODMAN is the well-known radical thinker, active pacifist, and author (“Growing Up Absurd”). His last book was “People and Personalities.”

When the threatened victims respond with desperate counter-measures, it is necessary to up the ante and there can be a massacre. Yet in modern conditions, it is again not necessary to speak of "white racism"; what is evident is a *general* drive to dispossess, control, and ignore human beings who are useless and bothersome, whether small farmers, displaced coal-miners, the aged, the alienated young, the vastly increasing number of "insane." And unassimilable racial minorities.

But modern conditions also have advantages. The very centralization and affluence that dehumanize allow also for pragmatic remedies on a grand scale; an 800 billion Gross National Product and the mass media can mount "crash programs." Second is the remarkable moral development of the young, sophisticated and free of economic pressure. In their own way they are as ignorant and self-righteous as the day is long, but they are not narrow, mechanical, or privatist, and they disregard caste and color. Finally, there is evidence that there is still life in the American democratic process itself, that peculiar mixture of morality, civil liberties, self-interest, and sporadic violence, swelling to make institutional change. Led by the young, the blacks, and the increasingly impatient "new class" of intellectuals, there is a revival of populism. Even the mass media, which have done so much to brainwash us, now seem—sensationally and inaccurately—to be informing us, because the journalists are new intellectuals. It is an odd "System."

Black Racism

In the nature of the case, blacks in the United States are, by and large, racist, from Uncle Toms to Black Muslims. Whites can disregard blacks, but blacks can hardly disregard the power that owns and runs everything. Whiteness, as Fanon points out, inevitably invades the unconscious. Frustrated and deprived, blacks project onto the whites the put-down and hostility that they themselves feel. It would be too bitter to see truly the indifference that is usually really there.

(It is hardly necessary to discuss racial relations in order to make a catalogue of human sadness. But on the black side, lack of acquaintance, the mutual misunderstanding of manners

and signals, must be especially devastating. For instance, willing to be friendly but being suspicious and vulnerable, he may start out with testing, either boring politeness or probing insult. But if the white is a simple person, he will be bored or annoyed, and shrug and sign off, and the world is so much worse than it was. This can quickly spiral downward to general mutual avoidance and fear. Yet, given ghetto conditions, it would be unusual for a black child *not* to grow up with suspicion, if the only whites he is exposed to are police, schoolteachers, and bill-collectors.)

The sophisticated ideology of Racism itself has been picked up by intelligent blacks from white paranoids; it is a fairly recent invention of Germans, Boers, and the Ku Klux Klan. (Until the nineteenth century, race was not much used as a projection-screen, though religion, caste, and nationality were vastly overworked. Even anti-Semitism was mainly religious and could usually be alleviated by conversion.) And now we see that the artifact of a "racist society" is picked up from black militants by the Kerner report. Presumably the report's rhetorical purpose in this is to sting white guilt in order to get action, but, as we shall see, this is a slender reed to lean on.

At present, southern blacks are less racist than northern blacks. Being more acquainted with real white madmen, they themselves have less paranoia and more sense of plain injustice; whereas northern blacks have to cope with bland unconcern or downgrading by neutral rules, at the same time as they are suffering. A case in point is "Law and Order." A Jim Crow law is mad on the face of it; but to northern middle-class whites, due process is only reasonable, it provides a neutral forum for discussion and legislation. They cannot see that to dispossessed people due process is precisely the usual run-around that they have been getting. Besides, northern blacks are now a more failing class than southern. The excessive urbanization is fiscally and physically unworkable, and is unlivable. Religion and family are shattered. There is more anomie. The great bloc of immigrants and estranged youth may have a little more money but they are much worse off than they were in the rural areas from which they were driven.

A poignant example of the clash of black racism and white lack of empathy was the expulsion of white stu-

dents from the civil rights and Black Power movements, e.g., from SNCC. Innocently righteous and confident in themselves, the white students took too much initiative and too much for granted. This made it hard for the blacks to run their own show, which was indispensable if they were to regain their own confidence. If the blacks had responded with fraternal, even if angry, competition, it might have cemented a deeper friendship. Instead they responded with jealousy, including sexual jealousy, and expulsion. The possibility of free cooperation has been foreclosed. Yet, since the blacks still need help, for instance funds and facilities and to swell a demonstration, there now develops the ugly situation that sympathetic whites are manipulated, hustled, or lied to; and it must be a further humiliation for blacks to do this.

During the recent fracas at Columbia, the blacks invited their SDS allies out of a joint action because, a leader said, "They were shaky and would vacillate and panic and could not be depended on. With black kids the issue is clear, to fight racism." (One is struck by the testimonial to Socrates' definition of courage, to have an idea.) My guess is that the whites had a more complicated idea; but in fact the more structural issue of the action, to fight military infiltration of the university, did get lost in the shuffle, so the blacks were proved correct.

Generally speaking, it has been a mistake, in my opinion, for black militants to try to make "integration" and "black power" absolute and incompatible. The basic theory behind it is nonsense, to lay stress on the color of civilization as the Germans laid stress on its nationhood; and, practically, too much science and wisdom, as well as wealth, resides in the dominant community to try to dissociate from it without being continually phony. It is stupid to regard Galileo or Faraday as "white" rather than as human—and to be saying it into a microphone. And negatively, it would be stupid to have a black and white committee against nuclear fallout or cancer. (By contrast, draft resistance warrants separate committees, since those with and those without student-deferments have different problems.) I doubt that, outside the South, there are many middle-class whites who have any feelings at all about being "white" as such. To the extent that to belong to a racial or national group is indeed a cause of pride

—frankly, as a child of the Enlightenment, I think this is thin gruel—the minority group will thrive best in a mixed society where it has influential soul-brothers or *Landsmänner*. And politically, the majority of blacks and the best of the whites in fact want “integration” and will insist on it.

Nevertheless, illogic has its place. *Le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas*. It is now thinkable that there *could* be a black committee against nuclear fallout, whereas ten years ago it was impossible to mount a protest in Harlem on this issue at all. People have to humanize themselves in their own way. It produces a curious dilemma. For example, at the Conference for New Politics, just the most energetic of the blacks insist on the official recognition of their caucus; whereas just those whites who are most thoughtful and most deeply committed to social justice are embarrassed and do not know what to do with this demand, because in fact the unity of mankind is the truth.

Spite

The actual situation, without fancy constructs, is that some are hurting and the others don't care. Starting from this obvious premise, for the oppressed a primitive method of coping is spite. Spite probably played a part in the expulsion from SNCC—“you aren't invited”: it is the chief ingredient in the black theater of insult, genre of LeRoi Jones; and I think it has been an important factor in the riots—“burn, baby, burn.” Spite is the vitality of the powerless; it is a way of not being resigned, of keeping a lost fight alive by preventing the dominator from enjoying his domination.

(Needless to say, let me say at once, there are other factors in the riots. In some cities there has been evidence of a political plan for insurrection, part of a plan for world insurrection. The looting speaks for itself as reasonable free appropriation by people who are hopelessly poor. Burning white businesses in the ghetto makes a rational, though desperate, political point. There is a spontaneous explosion of frustration. In any culture of poverty there is a carelessness about one's own possessions and life, just as the homicide rate is high. On the part of the intelligent and energetic young, who have played

a big role, rioting is exactly equivalent to white youth uprisings on campuses and streets around the world, in fascist, corporate liberal, and communist countries: it is an *acte gratuit* of freedom in the face of irrational authority; the youth component is more important than the racial or ideological component.)

Commentators seem to be unwilling to say the word spite; yet it is not an ugly or useless passion. It is a means of preserving or even of finding identity. Saul Alinsky especially has often tried to use it for community development, e.g., by organizing dispossessed and fragmented people simply to take revenge on short-weight grocers. But the trouble with spite, of course, as Alinsky also knows, is that its victories do not add up, and the letdown can lead to worse despair.

Spite is often self-destructive, “biting off one's nose to spite one's face”; one burns down one's own neighborhood partly because one cannot burn down theirs, but also to make them feel bad. This purpose usually fails; to “natural calamities” the affluent Americans promptly respond with clothing and canned goods, and do not feel bad but good. To hit home, it is necessary to produce an apocalypse as when Malcolm X, during his fanatical period, prayed for an atom bomb to destroy New York, Allah's revenge. But I have heard, too, of a “political” purpose of self-destruction, to make precisely the unengaged blacks worse off and so swell the Cadres of revolt. This motive, if it exists, is evil.

Somewhat more practical is spite-work as blackmail. It is possible that some riot areas, like Watts or Newark, have received a tangible pay-off, as well as sociology. C. V. Hamilton puts it formally when, in a recent essay, he speaks of a *quid pro quo*: “Blacks receive economic support and political power; whites receive a chance to live in a healthy, developing, equitable society.” But the results have been meager, and, as a political proposition, shake-down must finally produce a devastating backlash. Nevertheless, the same substance can be put in a theoretical form that is quite acceptable political science, and hopefully workable: “For the commonweal of a pluralistic society, it is necessary for every group to flourish, and every group has the duty to throw its weight around to get justice for itself and the whole.” It is not newsy in American history that this might involve some violence; consider

for instance, the burned barns and derailed trains of 1885 agrarianism, or the defiance of court and police in the labor movement, with many killed. Hamilton has to use the language of blackmail because he cannot speak of commonweal; he seems to need the ideology of race war in order to organize a following.

In my opinion, we would be much further along if Black Power had long ago presented its concrete political program, e.g., local control of police, schools, and other services; the underwriting of local small businesses and cooperative housing. Such things are perfectly plausible and, if fought for, would by now have been won. (I have been plugging them for twenty years, but I have no troops.) If a decade ago, as we urged, the integrationists had asked for the guaranteed income for all Americans instead of welfare, we would now have it; liberals get used to anything, once they hear the words. Five years ago, the March on Washington should have highlighted the Vietnam War, as some of us again urged. But moderate black leaders insisted that these things were too far out. And militant black leaders insisted on the spiteful recourse of sulking and putting on the whites the burden of guessing what is needed and coming across to prove their good will. Blacks shouted “Black Power!” and puzzled sympathetic whites asked, “What is Black Power?” A painful example has been James Baldwin's gambit: he forces the white interlocutor to ask, “But what do you want?” “You know what we want.” “No, I really don't.” “We want just what you want.” Perhaps Baldwin says this ingenuously, but he is in error; for usually the white man does not think of himself as a “white man,” but just as an individual in his own state of confusion and misery, in which being white does not help at all. Unless he is very empathetic, he does not see the disadvantage of being *not* white. If Baldwin would say, “We need thus and so to live better. How can *you* be of use in *our* getting it?” then the white man will either help according to his abilities or confess that he doesn't care enough to put himself out. Of course, a psychological use of the spiteful gambit is to avoid the risk of rejection.

But this is water under the bridge. Concrete programs for local control are emerging, there is certainly more acquaintance, and despite spectacular militant tactics there seems to be diminishing backlash. One has the im-

pression that, in the white community, private groups small and large are far ahead of the political officials and Congress. These include, let me say wryly, big business corporations which have a natural self-interest in fire-prevention and will even make an extra buck out of racial harmony—you'll see.

But to account for the slow emergence of concrete demands, we must bear in mind, too, that dispossessed and dependent people are disoriented and do not themselves know what they want. If something positive is given, it is suspected as second-rate or a trap or a token never adequate to need. If something is taken or achieved by one's own effort, it thereby becomes degraded, or is a cause of envy among one's fellows and proves that one has been "co-opted." This is the neurosis of the victimized that Robert Jay Lifton has been studying.

Sensitive minds, like James Baldwin again, understand perfectly that just to get into the middle-class American mainstream is not humanly good enough; but then it is hard for him to explain to poor people what, these days, would be humanly good enough. Consider the current social imputation of many jobs as "menial." When I was young, driving a bus or trailer-truck was manly, difficult, and responsible; now when there are many black drivers, it is ordinary. Construction work used to be skilled; but a black or Spanish bricklayer or mason tends to be considered unskilled. White road-workers in Vermont have a decent job; black road-workers with the same equipment have a menial job. Postman, a job requiring unusual tact and judgment, has always been a dignified occupation; now that, like other Federal employment, it is open to many blacks, my guess is that it will be considered drab. A German or Jewish waiter is a mentor or kibitzer; a black waiter has a servile job. This social imputation of worth is made, of course, by both whites and blacks. Whites, however, usually do not give it a second thought, as their young move into other jobs. The question is why the blacks go along with the same imputation. The dismaying thing is that objective criteria like the kind of work, the worth of the product or service, and often even the wages count for very little. In this frame of mind, it is impossible to be free and independent.

But this subjective evaluation by the standards of public relations is endemic in American society. Nothing is regard-

ed as itself, on its own merits. Thus, in the present essay which ought to be on politics and ends and means, I find myself discussing emotions and unconscious emotions, like racism, spite, revenge, and guilt. I find this pretty sickening. Perhaps the chief hope in the young, with their flesh-and-blood interests, simplifications of the standard of living, casteless friendships, and direct action, is that they will bring us back to objective reality, however crude.

Guilt

A chief use of spite is to make the others feel guilty; this not only prevents their enjoying their domination but may result in tangible "amends." It is clear that with many middle-class whites, this ruse has disastrously succeeded. Disastrously, because no good has ever come from feeling guilty, neither intelligence, policy, nor compassion. The guilty do not pay attention to the object but only to themselves, and not even to their own interests, which might make sense, but to their anxieties.

Psychoanalytically, guilt is repressed resentment and this is latent dynamite. For a time the guilty may forbear retaliation for annoyance or insult and may pay token amends, but soon they turn a deaf ear and then resentfully get even.

The dilemma is that blacks are indeed victims, of a system of property relations and policing, but the present-day northern whites, as persons, are not consciously nor importantly victimizers. There is exploitation of black people in their own neighborhoods, which can be helped by phasing out of their neighborhoods; but such exploitation is trivial in the Gross National Product and is overwhelmingly outweighed by the general tax-cost in black social services, special services, special policing, etc. Since they are not economically necessary, blacks cannot get redress by striking and bargaining. Since most whites are not exploiting them, they cannot give them redress by stopping their exploitation. When there is disorder and the cops crack down, the whites feel that *they* were aggressed on, and this is technically true. The black demand "Just get off our backs" makes sense in asking whites to stop running the ghettos through the school bureaucracy, the welfare bureaucracy,

the police, and slumlords; but it is a poor slogan since, in the inflationary urbanism and high technology, blacks simply must have white subsidy, professional help, and jobs in the only economy that there is.

Almost all whites now agree blacks ought to get preferential treatment and there are stirrings in this direction. But this cannot come to much if it is done by guilt, to make amends; it must be done for political motives, self-interest, decency, commonweal, and justice. Unhappily, the Americans, who neglect other public goods, whose rivers stink, whose towns are hideous, whose countryside is despoiled, and whose children are mis-educated, neglect this public good too. My guess is that, just beneath the surface, it is they who have the slogan, "Get off our backs."

Really to remedy our domestic colonialism (and our foreign colonialism) requires profound institutional changes and structural changes in the economy. We would have to divert the military technology to useful production; control the inflation that makes poor people poorer; reverse the policy of rural enclosures that swells the cities; manage the advertising, design, and pricing of consumer goods so that people can live decently without being in the rat race; get rid of the irrelevant mandarin diplomas for licensing and hiring. To stop being exclusive, American society would have to be about human beings rather than the Gross National Product, and the privatist competition for a cut. It would have to give up its delusion of social-engineering everybody, and tailor its help to local needs and local social organization. But all this amounts to a religious conversion and seems hopeless. It is possible that we cannot have such a conversion without convulsions; unfortunately I do not hear of any convulsions that would lead to the relevant conversion. The violent champions of Che or Lenin rarely say anything relevant to the real problems of a country like ours. It is understandable that blacks are hung up on their gut issues of being hemmed in and pushed around, but it is distressing that the Peace and Freedom Party or Students for a Democratic Society cannot get beyond gut issues. Radical liberals, like Harrington, Keyserling, or Rustin, propose New Dealish remedies like more public housing, schooling, and transit, that would recreate the same problems bigger and worse. Liberals feel guilty. "Conservatives" arm the police.

Nonviolence

Meantime we must live with the immediate problem: what to *do* when some are hurting and others, who have power, don't care? *How* to make narrow, busy, and self-righteous people understand that other people exist?

It was exactly for this problem that Gandhi, A. J. Muste, and Martin Luther King devised and experimented the strategy of active massive non-violent confrontation, both non-violent resistance and aggressive non-violence. In my opinion, this is the only strategy that addresses all aspects of the situation. It challenges unconcern. It attacks institutions and confronts people as well. It personalizes the conflict so that habitual and mechanical responses are not easy. It diminishes strangeness. It opens possibilities for the narrow to grow and come across, instead of shutting them out. It interrupts the downward spiral of the oppressed into despair, fanaticism, and brutality. Most important, it is the only realistic strategy, for it leads to, rather than prevents, the achievement of a future community among the combatants. We will have to live together in some community or other. How? In what community? We really do not know, but non-violent conflict is the way to discover and invent it.

Non-violence is aggressive. Since the injustices in society reside mainly in the institutional system, though the personal agents may be innocent or even quite sympathetic, it is necessary to prevent the unjust institutions from grinding on as usual. It is necessary not to shun conflict but to seek it out. So Gandhi, Muste, and King were continually inventing campaigns to foment apparent disorder where things apparently had been orderly.

Naturally, aggressive massive non-violence is not safe. (Gandhi lost thousands.) If only mathematically, when there is a big crowd, some will be hurt—sometimes because of one's own young hotheads, more usually because the police panic and try to enforce impossible Byzantine restrictions, Law and Order. On the other hand, actions of this kind are far less likely to lead to a shambles. In the present climate of cold violence armed with a lethal technology, this is a major concern.

I do not think that non-violence is incompatible with fringes of violence or flare-ups of violence, so long as its

own course is steadily political, appealing to justice, self-interest, and commonweal, and if the political object of the campaign speaks for itself. Gandhi, of course, was a purist about avoiding violence, though he said that it was better to be violent against injustice than to do nothing; both Muste and King were willing to cooperate with violent groups, if they did not try to take over. Psychologically, indeed, it is probably an advantage for a non-violent movement to have a group like the Black Panthers in the wings, committed to violent self-defense, for this quiets down the more rabid opposition and makes a calmer zone for real political and economic confrontation. (Sometimes it doesn't work out so smoothly.)

Non-violence, and King's own campaigns, do not necessarily pre-judge the issue between "integration" and "black power." Separatism is ruled out, however, since the point of confrontation is to come to mutual recognition and commonweal. It is not necessary to "love" one's enemies, but there must be a belief that common humanity is more basic than racial difference; and this belief must be *bona fide* or non-violence becomes a mere tactic and has no energy. Certainly King's followers took his universalist Christian rhetoric at face value. (So did I.) As I have said, it is the only realistic position; it is the tendency of history. In the world, we cannot continue to have "peaceful" co-existence, which is really cold war; we will come to community or perish. In this country, it is not the case that there could be two societies, as the Kerner report threatens. Either the dominant group will hem in the blacks in *apartheid* reservations, which is unthinkable, abhorrent, or there will be a democratic pluralism or general miscegenation, each of which has attractions.

In the northern cities, however—and this is a grim complication—there are two distinct problems which somehow have to be solved at the same time. The first is the one we have been discussing, how to get whites to pay attention to blacks as existing, and for this, aggressive non-violence makes the most sense. But the second problem is that we have allowed, in the ghettos, the formation of what Oscar Lewis calls a Culture of Poverty, insulated, ingrown, dependent; and how can such a culture become free and independent? I don't know; but it is possible that rioting, burning, hurling insults, apparently stupid militancy, and an extravagant black racist

ideology are indeed means of regaining confidence at this level of dispiritment. King, as he came to deal with northern problems, had begun to take this factor into account, though it clearly pained his heart and mind. And it is encouraging that whites, and white officials like Lindsay, may be finding the compassion that is here the only relevant thing we have to give.

The violent who are interested in insurrection and "revolutionary" overturn inevitably consider non-violence as "reformist." According to their theory, since it is piecemeal and does not aim to demolish the System and replace it (with what?), it cannot change anything. In my view, especially in complicated and highly organized societies, it is only by opening areas of freedom piecemeal that we will transform our lives. "Seizing power" in such societies is precisely counter-revolution and stops the social revolution short. But the human contact of aggressive non-violence is exquisitely relevant to the deepest danger of modern times, the mechanical violence of 1984. Because of it and the new spirit of the young, we will not have 1984.

Finally, it is said that non-violence might suit the Hindus but it is contrary to American spirit and tradition. Quite the contrary. It seems to me to be simply an extension of traditional American populism, the democratic process as conceived by Jefferson, that has always revived in times of great crisis: acting "illegally" and "petitioning," rousing the general will, protected by the Bill of Rights, with fringes of violence, and ending up with important institutional change. In every major country in the world, power is terribly deeply entrenched; but America is the most likely place for a non-violent movement toward freedom to succeed.

Since I have this occasion, let me say a word about the death of Martin King. He was a stubborn, reasonable man, and political without being a fink. I do not know any other national leader for whose death I would have wept.

In my opinion, the extraordinary general grief of the Americans was not, as has been charged, hypocritical or empty. The grief for death and sympathy for survivors is one of the few emotions that bring all people, even divided families, together. I think that whites now recognize blacks a little more as persons than they did before, and this should have consequences. ■

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An Empty Rice Bowl: Vietnam's Farmers

by DON LUCE



... For a beautiful bowl
Let us arrange these flowers
For there is no rice. . . .

BASHO, Japanese poet

"Everybody else went to Ben Suc and so I went too."

"Why did everybody go?"

"Because of the bombing. We couldn't bear it any longer."

"Was much damage done to your village?"

"Many people were killed. My house was burned. I lost everything."

"Who bombed your village?"

"The Americans."

"How do you know this?"

"Of course it was the Americans because there were airplanes. Only the Americans have airplanes."

"How long did you stay in Ben Suc?"

"Only seven or eight months."

"And then?"

"Then some Americans came and told me to pack my things and they would take me away."

"When you left Ben Suc did you bring all your possessions?"

"I didn't have much. I had some rice, but I left it behind. The Americans said I could bring everything and they would help me carry it, but it was such a long way and I was so tired. I just packed our clothes and left."

The woman in typical black trousers and faded purple blouse picked up her bundle of clothes and left. Four dark-eyed and frightened children bowed and ran, following her down the line of refugee huts.

What is happening to the peasants of Vietnam? How has the war affected their lives? What lies ahead for these proud, hard-working farmers?

Only American Rice Left

South Vietnam has traditionally been one of the world's leading exporters of

rice, exporting 322,570 tons as late as 1963. Today, however, Vietnam imports rice from the United States. Not only is this embarrassing to a rice producing country, but they don't like the bland, flavorless American rice. The price of American rice is half that of the local kind. One young American volunteer worker in Vietnam found that in the Vietnamese home where he lives, the grandfather refused to eat American rice and a special pot of Vietnamese rice is cooked for him.

Fear has forced large numbers of Vietnamese farmers to leave their land, and the result has inevitably been a decrease in agricultural production.

Since 1964 over two million refugees have left their homes and land. Most of these were farmers; today most of them sit idly in drab refugee camps without land or else they work on air bases, in bars or brothels, or at car washes and soft drink stands. This national loss of wasted human resources is leading to the destruction of the Vietnamese family structure.

Another drain on the farm manpower is the military. Nearly every young man between 18 and 35 belongs to one army or the other. Thus, the burden of working the fields falls on the women, the old and the very young. What Vietnamese does not feel tears coming to his eyes when he hears the sad words to Pham Duy's song, "The Wounded Soldier":

Her work, her work is the work of a man
Where a man worked before he left to fight in the war
A heavy load for her heart.

The disruption of the transportation system presents other difficulties for the

farmer. When he ships his vegetables from Dalat to Saigon, he must pay a tax to the Viet Cong. Sometimes there is fighting on the road or a bridge is blown out and his perishable lettuce, tomatoes, and strawberries spoil. In the Mekong delta he often must carry his rice to market on the canals which flow through the free strike zones. Here he is at the mercy of both the Viet Cong tax collectors and the American planes that may strafe him at any moment.

The difficulties of the peasant are illustrated by the story of five woodchoppers who were returning from a day of collecting firewood which they intended to sell in the marketplace in Tuy Hoa. A helicopter spotted them and hovered over to investigate. The frightened peasants tried to run away and hide, but were caught in machine gun fire. One was killed and four wounded. Later a complaint was lodged to the commanding officer by an American civilian who had been asked to give blood for the woodchoppers at the hospital. The commander's answer, "Well, you've got to give the gunner credit. Five for Five."

The Farmer Shot from Both Sides

Farmers in the contested areas (and what part of rural Vietnam is not contested today?) must go to work late in the morning and finish in early afternoon. They are afraid that they will be picked up by a band of NLF guerrillas,

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or even worse, mistaken for guerrillas and shot by a helicopter.

Poor transportation often makes it impossible or financially unfeasible for the farmer to obtain agricultural necessities such as fertilizer, insecticides, and equipment. Many items, especially equipment, are so difficult to import and taxes so high that the companies just aren't bringing them in. In Quang Tin Province a group of farmers formed a cooperative to buy a garden tractor. They collected money and sent a representative to Saigon. But in this country of Hondas and millions of dollars of American aid, no garden tractors could be bought.

No longer does one see the rubber and coffee plantations being expanded or hear people with a little extra money talk of investing it in a herd of cattle in the M'Drak plateau where the rolling plains of natural grassland make ideal cattle country. The risk is too great. Anyway money can be made much faster investing in a hotel or bar in Saigon, Nhatrang or Danang. The dependence upon the GI's dollars for a source of income is a soap-bubble prosperity which will burst at the end of the war. Meanwhile old rubber trees and coffee bushes aren't being replaced and Vietnam's commercial agriculture fades away. And Vietnam becomes more and more dependent on foreign imports of food items and raw materials.

Today almost nothing is being done in the field of research and extension. The major rice experiment station has been insecure for several years (perhaps partly because it was bought from a rich landlady and several tenant farmers were forced off the land). Extension agents are justifiably afraid to go off the main highways. Many of the technically trained agriculturalists have been drafted into the army; others work for Americans at high wages.

War Wears Away the Land

Day-by-day the activities of war wear away on the farmer. An ARVN soldier reaches out and pulls an orange off a tree; an army truck rushes by and kills a chicken sunning itself in the dust of the road; an Armoured Personnel Carrier flattens the rice before harvest. One U.S. army officer reported the reaction of a farmer after a mortar round hit his field: "The farmer won't go into that field again. He's afraid of another round or that a dud has been left which will explode when his plow hits it or that his buffalo will hurt his feet on

the shrapnel strewn around in the paddy field."

Make-work for the Armies

The Saigon government holds a village awhile; the NLF holds it awhile. The NLF tells the farmers to dig a ditch across the road and the government troops come in and tell them to fill it up again. One report from the American advisor in Long An province points out that in a two month period in early 1964, four hamlets changed hands ten times. Two of these times were so that VIP's (McNamara and Nixon) could visit a rural hamlet.

The use of herbicides has done much to cut agricultural production. Vegetables are especially susceptible to spraying, and unfortunately most of the vegetable gardens are along the canals and roads and near the towns. These areas are periodically sprayed to destroy the cover for Viet Cong who might set roadblocks or ambushes. When herbicides destroy rice fields in NLF controlled areas, the Front soldiers incite the people against the Americans. In the words of one prisoner, "We told the people that the Americans sprayed the chemicals to destroy crops and starve the people so that they could invade the country. Thus, they should fight the American imperialists." And when asked, "Did the people believe you?", he answered, "Yes, they believed us and hated the Americans."

Leaflets, such as the following reported in *Scientist and Citizen*, a special issue on chemical and biological warfare, are often dropped before the spraying:

COMPENSATION FOR CROP LOSSES

The government of the Republic of Vietnam has adopted the use of defoliant which will ruin your rice crop and other crops in the field. This has been necessary as your rice fields are located in areas supplying food to the Viet Cong. However, you should not be disappointed as the Government will compensate for all damages done to your rice crop; meanwhile the Government will help evacuate you to other places with food, lodging and clothing provided until the next harvesting season, if you desire.

According to farmers and Vietnamese agricultural extension agents, the medicine from the heavens (defoliants), is the biggest agricultural problem they face. Contrary to the leaflet above, they generally do not get repaid for damages done. It is just too far from Saigon in terms of red tape and

graft for them to ever get repaid (one former Minister of Economy told me that one of the problems that has come up is that province chiefs sometimes order areas defoliated so that they can get more repayment money into their own pockets through graft).

In April of 1966 an agriculturalist with International Voluntary Services complained to the 1st Cavalry Division in An Khe, "The farmers have complained repeatedly about chemical damage in the An Khe area dating back to my first contact with them. The farmers nearly lost their entire crop this time." A year later in July 1967 his replacement wrote in his monthly report, "The use of the herbicides here has caused many farmers to replant crops and has caused banana and other fruit trees to be less productive. The U.S. Army is now carrying on an investigation of the situation. Hats off to them." Each year a new report is made on the damages of the defoliants; each year the government promises to make another study.

Only "Studies" on Defoliant Problems

When the defoliants are used to destroy jungle growth, the problem to the farmer is wind drift. Defoliants are carried long distances by the wind and the pilots who use them usually do not take this into account. When the defoliant is used behind the lines to destroy the food source for the NLF it is the people who grew the rice, the women and children, who really suffer. And when it is used along a road or canal to prevent an ambush, one kind of cover is destroyed and another kind created. Vietnamese farmers use the edges of the roads and canals to produce their vegetables so that they can get them to market easily. Thus, when we spray to kill the undergrowth, we also kill the tomatoes and watermelons. A few days later when the NLF soldiers visit, the farmer shows them his blackened watermelons and invites them in for tea. He sends his children up and down the road on their buffalo and tells them to whistle when the "enemy" (Saigon or American troops) comes. Then the guerrilla soldiers escape or push the plunger on the mine if they have set one.

The entire U.S. production of one defoliant, 2,4,5-T, is now being used in Vietnam. Over a million acres of jungle and cropland were defoliated in 1967 (and much more partially de-

stroyed by wind drift). A Department of Defense study undertaken by Midwest Research Institute has tried to minimize the long term adverse effects of defoliants in a study based primarily on interviews and the effects of defoliation along highway and power lines. However, their information is based on conditions vastly different from tropical Vietnam where large block areas have been sprayed. About all their study really shows is that defoliants aren't affecting the ecology of the United States. One of the primary concerns of agriculturalists is the possibility of laterization, or the hardening of the soil, making it useless for agricultural production. This occurs in the tropics when there is lack of sufficient vegetative cover. The study, although doubting that laterization would occur, concluded that they did not have sufficient evidence "to draw any valid conclusions covering the hazard of creating laterization of soil by indirect action of herbicides." And so without knowing what the effects will be on the soil and the fine balance between plant and animal life there, we have increased our expenditures on defoliants for Vietnam from \$12.5 million in 1966 to \$100 million in 1967.

As the war goes on, the canals and irrigation systems become clogged with weeds; abandoned farmland goes out of use. Vietnam's agriculture is a complicated maze of canals and dikes. The canals must be kept free of weeds or they fill with silt. With neglect, the dikes erode away and the rice paddy grows to rushes and water lilies. The door on the farm house blows away; the strong monsoon winds scatter the thatched roof.

Sometimes the farmer's life is made more difficult by the unfortunate establishment of priorities as in Phan Rang, blessed with a dam and irrigation system capable of irrigating 40,000 acres of rice. For the past 50 years, the main canal has been closed during January and February for cleaning. However, this year the commander of the American Air Base, not understanding the importance of the dredging, ordered that the canal not be closed as it was providing water for his air base. The canal was not cleaned and six months later it overflowed its banks, washed out a road, and is failing to supply sufficient water for the 40,000 acres of riceland. Ironically, the same commander was able to install a hiocthane gas pipeline from the sea to the base

(20 miles) but did not see fit to install a pipeline from the river six miles away for the water for his base.

Land reform laws, which limit rice-land holdings to 247 acres per landowner, plus 37 acres for ancestor worship, and limit land rents to 25 per cent of the crop, have been talked about, but not enforced. Those responsible for enforcement are the landowners and they see no reason to hurt themselves. According to a recent U.S.A.I.D. Public Administration bulletin, half of the farmers in the southern provinces still rent all of their land. According to the same bulletin, only 9,200 of the 250,000 cultivatable acres formerly owned by the French nationals and turned over by the French government to the Vietnamese government for redistribution have been distributed.

The 284 acre limit is more than adequate in a country where most land holdings are under eight acres. David Wurfel argued in 1957 that if the land holding limit were reduced to five hectares (about 12.5 acres) some 87.5 per cent of the land in the delta would be free for distribution. Unfortunately, the Saigon government has made little progress since then, and except for the land reform programs of the NLF, the situation remains the same.

The NLF has emphasized land reform. Point three of their August 1967 fourteen point political program states, "Carry out an agrarian policy. Put into effect the slogan: 'The land to those that till it.'" Dr. Roy L. Prosterman, who carried out a recent investigation of land reform in South Vietnam, points out that "virtually all land reform ceased in 1961." Dr. Prosterman also emphasized land reform's political importance by pointing out that the failure of the Saigon government to effectively bring about such reform is "costing the lives of large numbers of American soldiers."

These are problems of the farmers—farmers living in one of the world's potentially most productive lands. Unfortunately, the end of the war will not solve all these problems immediately. Plant breeders estimate that it will take six to twelve years to develop a new variety of rice to allow Vietnam to catch up with her neighbors in Thailand and the Philippines. World markets for rice, now lost, will not be easy to regain. The job of repairing abandoned riceland, canals, and irrigation ditches will be a long and tedious one. Many of the soldiers, the refugees

100 Israeli Intellectuals Protest Violations of the Rights of Man

"Israeli citizens, Jews and Arabs are subject to house arrest or held without trial. Collective punishments, notably the dynamiting of houses and the imposition of curfews, continue to be inflicted on the inhabitants of the occupied territories to an alarming extent. Families of workers and peasants, children, women and elderly folk, are deprived of shelter and means of existence. The flood of refugees fleeing Gaza and the West Bank continues. An increasing number of Arabs are driven from the West Bank by order of the Israeli military governor. . . .

"Where can these methods lead us except to an abyss of hate? Such acts can only stiffen the clandestine resistance, make new victims on both sides and breed a new war with unforeseeable consequences. A people which dominates another exposes itself to moral degeneration and undermines its own democratic regime. A people which oppresses another ends by losing its own liberty.

"Jewish citizens! Remember how non-Jews came to our help in our moments of distress. Misfortune now strikes at our brother Arab people. Do you think it just to wash your hands of this, that you keep silent?"

—Appeal by 100 Israeli intellectuals—novelists, composers, journalists, clergymen, professors, doctors, lawyers and film-makers—protesting "violation of the rights of man in Israel and its occupied territories," translated from *Le Monde*, March 12.

and the others who have left the traditional life of the countryside for a more lucrative one working for the Americans in the cities will have to be resettled after developing new tastes.

But the Vietnamese are strong people with an old culture. They look forward to Peace; the re-establishing of their culture; to rebuilding the riceland.

A young refugee woman whose husband had just been jailed as a VC suspect, leaving her with three children, speaks of the simple aspirations of Vietnam's peasants:

"What do you want most, Chi Hai?" I asked.

"I want to live in peace. I want to grow rice. I want to be left alone."

"Do you think the war will be over soon?"

"It's your war. You answer that. Just let me live in peace far from your airplanes and bombing." Then Chi Hai suddenly burst out crying, "And let me have my husband back." ■

WHY I AM A RESISTER

Ultimately, I am a resister today because of World War I, for the horrors of that futile slaughter turned my parents into pacifists, and decades later they brought me up as one. I first had to think about these matters during World War II, in which Nazis, Communists, and Western democrats killed by the tens of millions and wrecked the heart of world civilization, each utterly convinced that they were only doing what was necessary to destroy evil and save mankind. In those days, far darker than the present time, there was little that one could do. I joined my first pacifist group, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at the age of ten, but there was no reconciliation. I wrote for my junior high school newspaper protesting the saturation bombing of Berlin, but the protest was censored. I argued with my classmates, and was beaten up for my pains. The war was prosecuted to the bitter end, with the highest idealism on all sides, to Warsaw and Auschwitz, to Leningrad and Stalingrad, to Dresden and Berlin, to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Soon after the war was over it became apparent that all the killing had somehow not made the world safe for democracy or even for peace. In my high school in New York City those few who were interested in any public event were chiefly concerned with helping the Israelis found their state by force of arms. The folly of pursuing even so apparently noble a cause by violence and war is clear enough today when we have just lived through the third but not the last of a series of wars all derived from the first tragic mistake. When I went to college and reached draft age, however, the Korean War was upon us. Then as now Communists and Americans were killing each other, but chiefly civilians in the neighborhood, in order to save the world for their respective ideals. When the war was over, South Korea was still a corrupt reactionary dictatorship, and North Korea was still a Stalinist slave camp, but four million Koreans were dead. There was no effective peace movement in the United States during that war. I registered with the Selective Service System and applied for recognition as a conscientious objector to all war. This was granted me, along with repeated deferments as a student and later as a teacher. But that did not help the Koreans.

At that time, when I was deciding on a career, the great threat to humanity seemed to be the highly possible nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Few Americans knew much about Russia then; we were in danger of blundering into nuclear war through ignorance and miscalculation. Where there is no vision the people perish. I became a professional specialist on Russian history,

politics, and civilization, partly as an end in itself, and partly to open people's eyes to the complex nature of our Russian and Communist fellow-humans, so that we might all avoid the final catastrophe. I have written on Stalin, Krushchev, and other Communists and revolutionaries. I have taught Russian history at five colleges and universities. I have advised such members of the government as have been willing to listen. We know more about the Soviet Union now, but studying it is still a necessary task for peace.

A scholar, like other citizens, should devote part of his energy to immediate political and moral issues. When I was a graduate student and young teacher we could do little for peace in a direct way (although we protested civil defense drills and marched for the end of nuclear testing, etc.). But we could do a lot for civil rights. Pacifists had a great deal to contribute to the civil rights movement: the example and tactics of Gandhi, non-violent civil disobedience to unjust laws. If there is to be an alternative to war and violent revolution at all, it will come from the methods first used successfully on a large scale by Gandhi. There was a great deal of civil disobedience and hard supporting work necessary to move the civil rights movement forward in those years, roughly 1954 to 1965. As members of CORE my wife and I went on one of the first Freedom Rides, non-violently disobeying the segregation laws of five Southern states, an expedition that ended with the arrest of most of our group. The thousands of young people drawn into the civil rights movement in that decade learned the attitudes and the tactics of nonviolent action, which many of us are now using in the peace movement.

Then, in 1965, came the large scale American intervention in the war in Viet Nam. This produced, for the first time in my lifetime, a major peace movement in the United States. A small minority of teachers and students made the first significant protest by launching the Teach-Ins in the spring of 1965. As the American and North Vietnamese governments escalated the war, we escalated our protests into marches of hundreds of thousands of people. By 1967 the conditions were ripe for acts of civil disobedience on behalf of peace; we sat in before military installations, we were assaulted by the forces of order (if not law), we were arrested and jailed.

At this time a few students conceived of the strategy of coordinated public resistance to the draft which makes our side of this and other wars possible. They burned or sent back their draft cards, and they publicly refused to be drafted into the armed forces, deliberately risking heavy fines and long prison terms rather than serving the war machine or accepting easy student deferments. A loose national organization called *The Resistance*

was set up. Hundreds followed their examples, then thousands.

I was then a few months over draft age. Since it is not ethical to encourage others to risk their liberty, as I had been doing, without supporting them through all their risks, I joined *Resist*, the over-35 organization formed to help draft resisters. I support resisters, individually and collectively. I counsel, aid, and abet them, legally or not. I sent back my own draft cards, an illegal act at any age. The FBI agents hovering in the wings seem to believe that I am part of a conspiracy against the United States. We have not yet prevailed, but it is clear by this time (mid-March, 1968) that we have helped stir major moral and political shock waves in America that might yet contribute significantly to ending the war.

That is why and how I became a resister. It did not come from any disillusionment with American society—I have never had much faith in American or any other society. It did not come from youthful rebellion—I was a pacifist before I was a youth, and long after I could claim to be a youth. It involved no emotional turmoil—all my calm professional study has confirmed what I was quietly taught as a child, that war is wrong and that citizens should resist it and other evils through education, political action, and failing that through civil disobedience. No extraordinary motivation is necessary to become a resister; a rational good will toward humanity will suffice.

Peace is the most basic precondition for a decent human society. If we can have peace we can proceed with the immense and necessary job of renovating and transforming practically every country into a place where man and civilization can really flourish. We may never prevail; this or another war may grow till mankind is destroyed. But common sense and common decency require us to resist war with all our heart and all our soul and all our mind. And I must also say that they require you to join us.

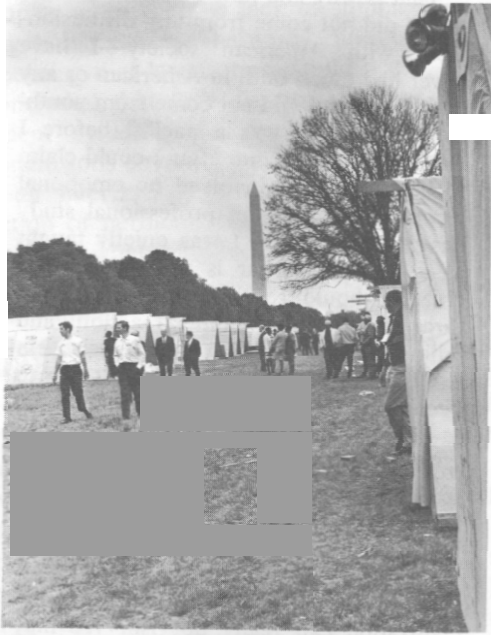
FRANCIS B. RANDALL

FRANCIS RANDALL is chairman of the social science faculty at Sarah Lawrence, having taught Russian history at Amherst, Bernard, and Columbia. He is author of "Stalin's Russia" and "N. G. Chernyshevskii."

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

The sad and terrible truth of the decision to blow up South Vietnam's cities in order to defend them is that neither Washington nor Saigon has anything to rely on but firepower. With that, they can destroy South Vietnam, but they can never save it from Communism or anything else.

TOM WICKER



Poor People, Mud,

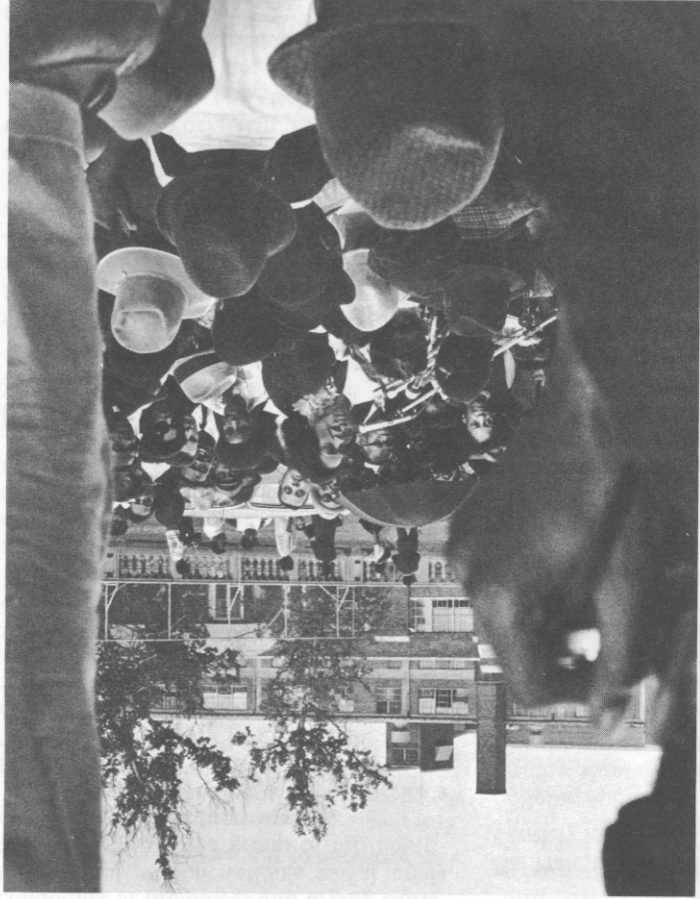
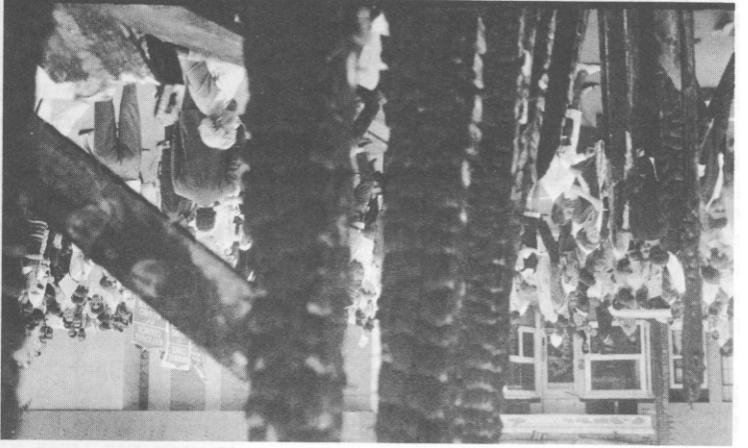
Out of the mud we come and
even the vastness of the sky
cannot limit our creation!!!



the
international
FREE CITY
VISIONARY



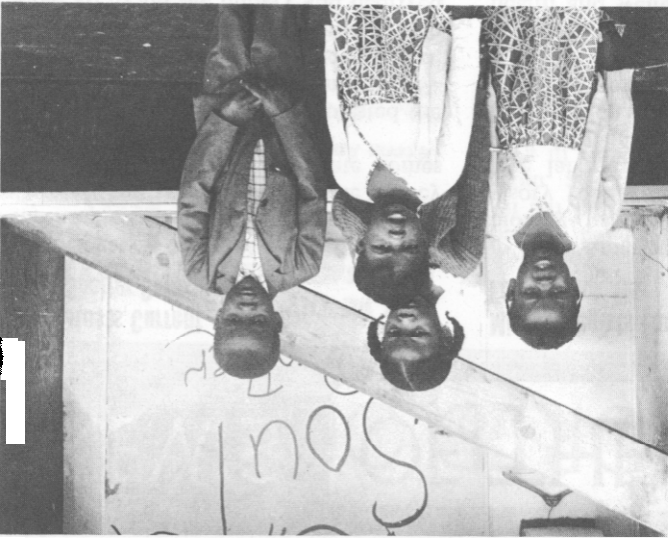
Upper left: Ralph Abernathy confers; upper right: the first arrivals; left: "Resurrection City"; lower left: from a New York demonstration; right: first issue of the Patomacs community newspaper.



(an impressionistic view of Washington and related areas this summer)

Marble and Nonviolence

Above: a bus welcome; store in Washington vacated despite the sign. Below: Coretta King to the right; Mother's Day March; Coretta King to the right; lower left: comrades in arms at one of the staging areas.





WSP Protests Current Fallout Shelter Survey

A delegation from Women Strike for Peace met recently with Pentagon officials to protest the current nationwide survey of protection available in private homes from radioactive fallout.

In particular, the women protested the cost of the survey—approximately \$1 per household—which they pointed out will run into the millions and which should go to aid the hungry and deprived of the world.

Meanwhile, Congressman Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio), a long-time foe of U.S. Civil Defense projects, denounced the survey as “silly and ridiculous.” The survey, he asserted, enables “high-salaried bureaucrats to inform a home-owner as to how well protected he is in the event of a nuclear attack,” and at the same time fosters “the illusion that there is such a thing as defense against the hydrogen bomb and other deadly atomic weapons.”

Racial Decree Issued by Southern Baptist Leaders

A manifesto acknowledging guilt in the condoning of prejudices and urging Christian action on the nation's racial crisis has been issued by a group of top Southern Baptist Convention leaders.

The group, representing America's largest Protestant denomination, asserted: “We have condoned prejudices that have damaged the personhood of blacks and whites alike. . . . We are an affluent society, abounding in wealth and luxury. . . . Yet one-fifth of our people, black and white, suffer from poverty.”

“Our nation is enveloped in a social and cultural revolution,” the statement said. “We are shocked by the potential for anarchy in a land dedicated to democracy and freedom.”

IRS Fights Phone Tax Resisters

The Internal Revenue Service has announced it will attach telephone tax resisters' salaries for the sum they have refused to pay—usually less than a dollar—and let them initiate court action if they do not like it.

A recent survey indicated that the protesters number about 3,400—most of them in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and Baltimore.

The refusers are not paying the 10% tax which is being used to help pay for the war.

Microbiologists End Fort Detrick Tie

The American Society for Microbiology has terminated its official advisory role with the Army's CBR warfare laboratories at Fort Detrick, Md., according to an announcement by the organization's president Salvador Luria.

The action was taken, Luria said, “as a hedge against the use of scientific progress for purposes other than the health and wellbeing of mankind.”

The 12,000-member society had formed its liaison with the Army laboratories in World War II as a contribution to national defense.

At the same time, the Federation of American Scientists has come out publicly against U.S. development and production of chemical and biological warfare weapons and urged discontinuance of the program.

The federation, composed of some 2,400 scientists and engineers, pointed out that “there are no conceivable circumstances under which the United States would undertake the mass destruction of populations with gas or biological weapons or try to wipe out the crops of an entire nation.”

War Protesters Build Mock Cemetery for Seniors

Some 400 small white crosses appeared on the slopes of Bascom Hill near the University of Wisconsin administration building last month. They were arranged in rows similar to those in military cemeteries. A sign nearby said: “Bascom Memorial Cemetery, Class of 1968.”

This was the work of a group of campus anti-Vietnam war demonstrators responding to the recent changes in the draft law. Joseph Chandler, a former Wisconsin student and staff member of the Madison-based Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union said: “We thought the campus ought to look like a graveyard, because that is where most of the seniors are headed.”

The mock cemetery attracted several thousand onlookers between classes on the 33,000 student campus.

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

I have reluctantly decided that civil disobedience is the only answer to the immorality of our times. This is the first time in my life that I have ever felt obliged to violate the law.

DWIGHT McDONALD (associating himself with draft resisters)

Court Upholds U.S. Ban on Burning of Draft Card

By a vote of seven to one, the Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court upheld as constitutional a 3-year-old federal law which makes it a crime to burn or destroy draft cards.

The decision upholding the ban on draft-card burning was written by Chief Justice Earl Warren. “A law prohibiting destruction of Selective Service certificates,” he said, “no more abridges free speech on its face than a motor vehicle law prohibiting the destruction of drivers' licenses, or a tax law prohibiting the destruction of books and records.”

The high Court thus overruled the U.S. Circuit Court in Boston which recently held that the burning of draft cards constituted a form of protest permissible under the Constitution's free speech guarantees.

Only Justice William O. Douglas dissented from the majority opinion. He said it was “undoubtedly true” that Congress has wide powers over the military draft upon declaration of a state of war. However, he held it is debatable that the country may draft troops when war has not been declared.

Thomas Cornell, co-secretary of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, on June 20 began serving a five-year sentence for draft card burning, suspended while the court appeal was in progress.

WCC Shares in Hospital for North Vietnam

The World Council of Churches and the International Red Cross have jointly shipped an \$80,000 prefabricated hospital to North Vietnam to aid victims of American air raids.

The field hospital, which can handle sixty patients at a time, consists of an ambulance, X-ray equipment, laboratory equipment, surgical instruments, a power plant and tents for patients and staff. It is mobile and can be set up within hours.

WCC is also cooperating with the Roman Catholic agency Caritas Internationalis in a further shipment of \$18,000 worth of X-ray equipment to North Vietnam.

Similarly, the Mennonites have sent a large shipment of medical equipment and children's clothing to North Vietnam. The relief goods are a gift to civilians injured by the war. Senders of the supplies are Mennonites from around the world.



College Status, Degree Powers Granted to Friends World College

The Regents of the University of the State of New York have granted college status and degree powers to Friends World College—formerly Friends World Institute—which for three years has operated an experimental intercultural program at its North American temporary campus at Westbury, N. Y.

The State Education Department commended the close relationship of faculty and students which is in contrast to the impersonality and lack of communication that have been a frequent source of complaint on many campuses.

The college seeks to develop the whole man, his spiritual and social awareness, his sense of responsibility to society, and not simply his intellectual faculties.

The four-year program, with emphasis on studying and attempting to solve world problems, strives for relevancy to contemporary life, and will lead to the B.A. degree.

For information about the school write: Administrative Headquarters, Friends World College, East Norwich, N. Y. 11732.

FOR Sponsors Summer Ashram

A group of young people are currently participating in an FOR-sponsored, summer-long "ashram" in Chicago. Primarily, they are considering the significance of nonviolence "in its theological, social and political dimensions for the future of nationalistic and racist urban America."

At the same time they are getting to know and working with the people of the Italian ghetto in which the ashram is located. Workshops are also being conducted on the problems of racism, war and the relevance of nonviolence. Participants also plan to help in whatever way they can should racial violence break out in the city.

For more information about the project write: FOR, Otto Liljenstolpe, c/o Circle Communitas, 850 S. Loomis, Chicago 60607.

LIT NOTES

A memorandum of corrections and comments on Conrad Lynn's new book *How to Stay Out of the Army* has been prepared by Kerry Berland of Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE), 333 West North Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60600. A revised edition of the book is also being prepared.

Mace Possible Hazard Medical Authorities Warn

The surgeon general of the United States has issued a warning that the incapacitating gas Mace may be more harmful than had been thought. In a 4-page letter to state, county and city health officers Dr. William Stewart said that Mace's ability to maintain its irritant activity "clearly increases the possibility of more than transient effects to the exposed individual."

Two doctors writing on the subject in *The New Republic* recently charged that Mace contains a dangerous substance which can cause "liver damage and heart abnormalities." Meanwhile there are other reports of eye damage, respiratory and skin ailments resulting from its use.

Reportedly, 3,000 police departments across the nation have purchased Mace and some have sprayed it on persons involved in riots. Several of the departments have banned the weapon because of the health hazard.

EPF Head Among Five With Anti-Draft Signatures

Episcopal Peace Fellowship director Thomas Lee Hays was one of five who delivered to the U.S. Justice Department 1,500 signatures of those who have or who are willing to "aid and abet" draft resistance against the war in Vietnam.

The team also presented the department with two copies of the book *In the Name of America*, documenting U.S. involvement in war crimes in Vietnam.

Five was chosen as their number in order to parallel the "Boston Five" (Spock, Coffin, Raskin, Ferber and Goodman).

Others with Hays were Henry H. Bucher of the University Christian Movement, Fr. John Hunn, Roman Catholic priest from Pontiac, Mich., Rabbi Barry Friedman of Cleveland and Vincent McGee, a Catholic seminarian who recently refused induction.

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

We went up to Tokyo and we told every Japanese person that talked to us that we were American sailors and we deserted because of the war. We thought the S.P.s were coming any minute. But a funny thing happened. In all our wandering around coming on to people, we didn't meet a single Japanese person that wasn't against the war. Everybody that we spoke to was for us.

RICHARD BAILEY

Deserter from U.S.S. Intrepid

HOW WE TRY TO HOLD BACK THE TIDE OF VIOLENCE ...SOME ACTS FOR PEACE IN THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS

Disarm America...now!

Huge FOR advertisements in two of America's biggest newspapers, mostly paid for by interested donors, have set forth the case for not only turning in guns but disarming psychologically and sociologically. Response has been most gratifying—some to announce they have turned in guns, but most to ask for materials on conscientious objection and nonviolence, others to ask how they may form committees for disarming their own communities. Reprints of the ad to run in local papers are available, as well as the literature mentioned. Peace people—through years of varied, patient and exasperated effort—helped cause a profound shift in the war policies of a president. Now there is a chance of effecting—in concert with others—a new awakening of conscience about personal weapons and a nation's addiction to killing and violence. The FOR has called for a "genuine" Commission on Violence in American Life to leave no vested interest, such as America's commitment to violence in Vietnam, unevaluated.

The wretched of the earth on the Potomac

The views of Resurrection City shown on p. 14 and 15 did not represent present-day reality at the time this issue went to press. Hundreds of volunteers from FOR bases went into the city and other aspects of the Poor People's Campaign, and can claim large responsibility for its nonviolence. A full evaluation of the goals, methods and difficulties of the movement cannot be written now, but we hope to make such a beginning in the next large issue of FELLOWSHIP.

The nearest thing to a peace candidate this nation has is Eugene McCarthy. While the Fellowship is scrupulous in not endorsing any man for president, just as it does not espouse any legislative program, we have been concerned to bring peace into the arena of politics. So it was the Fellowship, rather than the other way round, who benefitted when, on his first public statement following the assassination of Robert Kennedy, Senator Eugene J. McCarthy spoke before the New York FOR's annual dinner on June 13. He paid tribute to the idea of reconciliation "between black and white, between young and old, between our nation and the rest of the world...within ourselves...America must leave," he said in conclusion, "the direction of continued war and violence." Never before has a nation been so clearly confronted, he declared, with the Biblical choice between life and death.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN PAST AND THE AMERICAN PRESENT

by VINCENT HARDING

✱ NEGRO history suffers the same fate in the overall American story as the individual Negro's integration into American society. That is, small but prominent doses of "Negro History" can be dropped into the national saga, but these black drops should never be numerous or indelible. For if they are too many and too black, these encroachments might necessitate unpleasant rereadings, reassessments and re-writings of the entire story.

An American history which cannot contain the full story of the black pilgrimage is no more worthy than an American society that cannot bear the full and troublesome black presence in its midst.

Just as America can know no survival worth considering unless it finds a way of facing its black counter-image, so too our history is a tale told by fools if it does not incorporate the Afro-American experience with unflinching integrity. And if such open encounter between black and white history should produce the same insecurity as we now experience in the human encounter, so much the better.

The analogy doesn't end there. The urgency some of us feel for creating such a new American history is no less critical than the pressure impelling us to seek for the lineaments of a new American society. Obviously, the tasks are not unrelated, for there will be no new beginnings for a nation that refuses to acknowledge its real past.

Any American history that ignores the central role of black people as actors and foils on this maddening stage is a falsified and misleading history. Such a history ignores the ironic symbol of that summer in Jamestown more than three centuries ago when representative government and African bondsmen had a mutual beginning of sorts, a beginning that seemed to lock the rhetoric of democracy and the reality of black inequality into the American heart. It is a history that tries to explore the making of the Constitution without understanding the major price in its integrity that was exacted by the system of slavery and its

proponents, both north and south. It is a history that attempts to speak of the Peculiar Institution as if there were no human beings involved who produced no authentic historical materials. (Thus a major publisher could attempt recently to produce a collection of documents on slavery without one document from a slave.) It is a history that speaks of Jacksonian Democracy as if the expanded white franchise were not purchased at the cost of the black northern vote in many states.

Such a vacuous history treats Reconstruction as if it were an unfortunate mistake, rather than one of the nation's greatest lost chances to be honest and free. This kind of history deals with the turn of the nineteenth century without suggesting the way in which the brutality against blacks and Indians at home may have permanently poisoned the nation's attempts at expansion among non-white peoples elsewhere. It is a history that tries to understand the urban crisis of the 1960's without tracing the long and bloody lines of Negro migration since Reconstruction. It is a history that attempts to interpret current American culture without any appreciation for the major role black people have played in creating the popular culture of the nation, especially since the 1920's.

A history without the Afro-American story may indicate why this nation can now be so numb to the brutalization of a Vietnam thousands of miles away. In denying the physical and spiritual destruction of black persons which has become a part of the American Way of Life, a callus has grown on whatever heart a nation has.

This history that has contributed immensely to the mis-education of the American people has not prepared them to face a world that is neither white, Christian, capitalist, nor affluent. Such history may yet prove poisonous, and if there is any possible antidote on the American scene, it could be the hard and bitter medicine of the Afro-American past. Is it too late for a society that still insists that its drops be few and painless?

An Amnesiac Society

Even when one acknowledges the grotesquely slow pace at which black people are moving onto the American stage, the knowledge of their history is still absolutely indispensable as they cast off the roles of the past and seek for new ones. If they come to the integrated scene with integrity, they must come with a knowledge of themselves and of the many-splendored gifts they bring.

Black students in formerly white schools must not enter as suppliants who are going to be transformed from "disadvantaged" to "advantaged" by such a move. They must be so aware of their black fathers and the wealth of their spiritual and intellectual heritage that they will illuminate sharply the disadvantages inherent in an isolated, beleaguered middle-class white world. If they are to become more than black Anglo-Saxons, then they cannot accept the old doctrines of slavery which encouraged them to believe that God somehow blessed darkest Africa with the light of Christian guns and ships and chains. Neither the ancient Kingdom of Songhai nor the modern Kingdom of Harlem was benighted without whites, and black young people need to know the measurements of the light—in both places.

Any society that would encourage black children to live in a state of permanent amnesia or shame—or both—concerning their fathers and their fathers' ways of life is a society not worth knowing. Any men who would enter such a society on its amnesic terms would only add to its corruption, whether they entered through the door of the ninth grade or by the carpeted way of a General Electric executive suite. But it must also be acknowledged that such knowledge is exceedingly dangerous, for if it were faithfully presented, a reading of the Afro-American

VINCENT HARDING is chairman of the department of history and social science at Spelman College, Atlanta, and a frequent contributor to magazines.

past might cause black exiles to refuse many an open door. Indeed some doors might be torn from their hinges. This is not teaching hatred of whites. Rather it is the necessary and healthy explanation for the existence of the hatred and fear that most black men have known from childhood on. Any society lacking the courage to take such risks with light lacks the courage to live.

Those white persons who first encounter the token blacks in their new roles also are in desperate need of the Afro-American past. For without it they will be tempted to feel that they are doing a favor for the students or the junior executives by letting them in. Properly read, the pages of the Negro past will reveal that it is black people who have done the favor by doing so much to build the nation under such horrible circumstances, and by letting such ambiguous doors stay on their hinges for so long a time. Compassionately understood, the black past will teach all benefactors that *they* are receiving a favor in being allowed what may be the one last chance to do justice, that they are being graced by the presence of a people whose pilgrimage is perhaps the only true epic poem that America has ever known. Such a reading of the Afro-American past might even shatter the general illusion that token acceptance of token Negroes will ever bring any basic hope for the survival of any of us.

Perhaps the issue of survival suggests another level of our need for the story of this dark journey in America. Not long ago, the most highly esteemed newspaper in America asked an author to write his reflections on the reasons "for the current breaking of America into two parts, based on race." When it rips apart all the easy generalizations of our textbooks (written largely by, for and about white America), the new coming of black history would cast such a question into limbo. For any perceptive apprehension of the Negro-white encounter cannot fail to reveal that there have always been two major communities in this nation—based on race.

The breaking began in West Africa and continued in every colony and state that came into being. If we read with both speed and comprehension, it may not be too late to ask the right questions, questions based not on Newark or Detroit in 1967, but on Jamestown and Philadelphia and Springfield and St. Louis over the centuries. For it is only as America faces a Denmark

Vesey, a Nat Turner, a W. E. B. DuBois, a Paul Robeson and a Malcolm X, that the nation will begin to be ready to understand a Stokely Carmichael, a Rap Brown and the host of black radicals yet to come. Such a reading would identify each one as "Made in America, Product of its Broken Community." How shall this land create new and whole men if it refuses to examine its past production record, a record strewn with the crushed bodies and spirits of black radicals hurling defiant curses and urgent pleas for renewal from the same dying lips?

These angry young men's lives demonstrate the fact that the Afro-American past and the black present are no longer matters of limited national concern—if they ever were. Indeed they suggest to us what may be one of the most profound and universally significant uses of this history: that is, its service as an entrance to the non-white, non-Western world. One of the most gifted and least celebrated American political analysts, A. J. Muste, used to say that the basic division in the world now and for some time to come was not based on communism versus capitalism. Rather, Muste said, the world was divided now between those people who had rarely if ever known defeat and humiliation as a national experience and those who had lived with this for centuries.

In a sense, Muste was simply echoing the profound insights expressed by W. E. B. DuBois half a century earlier. However formulated, the concepts of these men remind us that the world experience of the last 500 years has meant that the vast majority of the earth's humiliated people has been non-white, and their humiliation has come at the hands of the white, Western world. Moreover, it appears that this nation now stands as the self-proclaimed leader of that unhumiliated world, and finds itself at once the most powerful and one of the least comprehending national states.

One of America's most critical blind areas is in the realm of understanding the oppressed, the wretched of the earth. Our vaunted experience of virtually unbroken success, our alabaster cities undimmed by human tears (except for the unseen tears of the poor and the black?) and our movement into the strange joys of advanced corporate capitalism—all these have cut this people off from the rest of the world in significant ways.

America a Dangerous Nation

A nation that combines the American predilection towards violence, the American stockpile of weapons and the American lack of empathy for the earth's humiliated peoples is a dangerous nation. Perhaps it can begin another life by introducing itself to the invisible men in its midst, by seeking to know the quality of suffering and hurt and the rebellion they spawn. Such an introduction must include—if not begin with—the past.

Nor are black Americans excused from such a task, for we are constantly exposed to a terrible temptation to forget the black and bloody ground out of which we sprang, as the price for American acceptance. As DuBois put it more than a decade ago, ". . . most American Negroes, even those of intelligence and courage, do not fully realize that they are being bribed to trade equal status in the United States for the slavery of the majority of men." So the Afro-American past must remind black people that we are children of the humiliated and the oppressed, that our fathers were colonized and exploited subjects, and that the ghettos we have recently left are still too often filled with the stench of poverty and despair.

Such history must remind Afro-Americans that all of our greatest leaders have begged us to stand in solidarity with the black and anguished people of the earth. We are their spokesmen in the midst of the world's foremost antirevolutionary power. If we forsake them, we forsake our past, our fathers, and our own best selves. If we forsake them, there may be no future for our children or theirs. If we forget our own father's burnings in village squares and don American uniforms to set fires against the world's desperate revolutions, we will deserve nothing but the scorn of men and the judgment of the gods.

Some years ago, D. W. Brogan, an English expert on American affairs, referred to what he called The Myth of American Omnipotence. This phrase referred to his conviction that the reading of the American past was distorted by a conception of this nation as an entity incapable of failure, powerful and pure enough to succeed at anything it chose. The corollary of this myth, said Brogan (in the days of McCarthy's reign), was that any American failure at home or overseas had to be explained by subversion or con-

spiracies, or—at worst—a mistake in well-intentioned American judgment.

Related to Brogan's myth is what might be called The Myth of American Romanticism. Ever since the nation's beginning it has been plagued by this equally crippling misconception of itself. Succinctly put, it involves a belief that American history is the story of a society moving on a straight upward line from perfection to perfection, from goodness to betterness, from being better than other nations to being the best and most complete nation God had ever stood over (I take it that is the implication of being "under God"). This mythology was intensified to the point of indoctrination after World War II when history became a tool of Cold War, and it became necessary to prove consistently the superiority of America over every conceivable communist, socialist or neutralist model in the world.

This self-image is on a level with fairy tales and happiness-forever-after. It is the self-understanding of those whose adult development has been aborted by the fear of the risks of growth. Most importantly, it is a refusal to recognize the bloody, tragic line that whips its way through all of life. Failure to face the tragic is failure to mature in national as well as personal spheres, so in the midst of this pabulum view of history a serious implanting of the Afro-American past could be the difference between death and growth—at least spiritually.

Were American historians and American citizens at large to face this story, many—if not all—of their liberal, superficial myths about, and hopes for, American society might be transformed. They would need to face again the fact that two of their greatest heroes, Jefferson and Lincoln, were convinced that black and white people could never live on a basis of true equality in America. They would be pressed to realize that The Great Emancipator cared far more deeply for a cheaply won white reconciliation than for the very costly black liberation, thereby helping to lead the nation down bloody paths of malice for all.

The close reading of the black past might reveal how fully this broken people has tested every line of American democratic rhetoric and how fully each word has shrunk before the ultimate test in every generation. (They would also see the pathetic and perennial sight of esteemed national leaders

offering solutions a generation old to wounds long past such ancient salves.) A reading of the black preachers, poets and editors, a sensitive listening to the singers of our songs, would face the nation with the ceaseless rage that has been the lot of men in every strange land who have been called upon to sing, to dance, to laugh, and to be grateful. And in those pages any searching eye would easily spy the century-old predictions of black alienation, sedition, rebellion, and guerrilla warfare. Tragic disaster has always lurked at the American door, created largely by blindness to the nation's fatal flaw.

Not only would the tragic nature of American life perhaps become more clear, but the Afro-American story would remind the nation that it was conceived as an experiment, an experiment that could yet fail, miserably, utterly, explosively. Almost a century ago Henry Adams described the America of 1800 as very healthy "except for the cancer of slavery." The irony and the tragedy of a "very healthy" cancerous body is still the American condition, and though no cure has yet been found for the cancer, it may not be too late to open the blind eyes to see its sources in the past. And what if we open our eyes only to discover that Jefferson and Lincoln (and many black men) were right, that present white prejudice and black bitterness, and unbroken lines of injustice from the past, now make it impossible for us to continue together in integrity? Is it better to go on in blind, self-righteous rage towards internecine struggle or to see, finally see, with sad and mature clarity the pathway down from all our past romantic dreams—including the dream of integration?

The black experience in America allows for no illusions, not even that last, ancient hope of the chosen American people whom God will somehow rescue by a special act of his grace. America began with such hopes, but they were tied to the idea of a Covenant, that men would have to do God's will for them to remain as his chosen ones. Somehow, just as America forced black men to do so much of its other dirty but productive work, the nation evidently came to believe that whites could be chosen while blacks did that suffering which has always been identified with the chosen ones. Now that is over. The black past has begun to explode and to reveal to a hiding chosen people that to be the anointed one

is to be crushed and humiliated by the forces of the world. After almost 400 years of exile, the black branch of the chosen people has grown louder than ever before in its refusal to take the sufferings apart from the privileges of the chosen status.

So, for all who would see it, the Afro-American past illuminates the meaning of being chosen. Perhaps this is what white Americans must see: that they will either join the ranks of suffering and humiliation (beginning perhaps with "losing face" in Vietnam?) or there will be no chosen people on these shores. Either they will submit their children to some of the same educational terrors they have allowed black children to endure or there is no future for any. Either they will give up their affluence to provide necessities for others or there will be neither affluence nor necessities for anyone. Perhaps we were chosen together, and we cannot move towards a new beginning until we have faced all the horror and agony of the past with absolute honesty. Perhaps integration is indeed irrelevant until the assessment of a long, unpaid debt has been made and significant payments begun. Perhaps atonement, not integration, is the issue at hand.

Of course, one last, shattering possibility may remain. It could be that the message of the Afro-American past is this: only one branch of the chosen people has really paid the dues of suffering—with the scars to show for it. Therefore it may be that only the black branch will be allowed to shape the future of the nation and determine its calling for the world. Perhaps only black people are open, sensitive, and scarred enough as a group to lead this nation into true community with the non-white humiliated world. Perhaps that world of suffering will trust no American leaders save those who bear the marks of oppression in their souls. Perhaps it will listen only to those who know the tragic sense of life and are not blind and calloused bearers of death.

May the Last be First?

Perhaps it is already time for the last to be first in our nation. How shall that overturning come? That knowledge may be too great for even the Afro-American past to bear. Perhaps our black history can only bear witness to the truth, and living men must shape that truth into new action and new history.

Canvassing for Peace —A Success Story

In Santa Barbara, the Community Council to End the War in Vietnam has continued the work of Vietnam Summer by sending out couples every Friday night in a door-to-door canvass of peace sentiment in the area. Some 22 active canvassers include students, teachers, editors, Franciscan Brothers, an artist, businessman, shoe salesman, electronic technician, and housewife and priest. They have never missed a Friday in nearly a year of canvassing well over a thousand persons.

On a typical Friday night, nine couples went out and visited 52 families: 13 pro-war, 27 anti-war. Canvassers discuss the war with those families who will, get signatures on a peace pledge (promising support for peace activities until the war ends), leave literature, make books available, and follow up in many ways. The peace canvassers find most people "confused" about U. S. war aims, according to one of their weekly reports, which adds: "To the peace people, tell them what they can do—sign the pledge, write their congressmen, etc. To the war-lover, try to modify his views. But spend time with anyone who professes 'confusion.' These people are probably tactfully expressing strong discontent with this war."

Early visits were made to Negro and Mexican ghetto residents—a number of the canvassers speak Spanish—who had not previously been questioned on any matter. The Mexicans were found to be overwhelmingly anti-war; Negro responses were mixed. Later visits to white neighborhoods found more pro-war sentiment expressed.

The canvassers, along with other active members of the Community Council (the 1300 people who have signed the peace pledge to date), engage in other peace activity: marches, rallies, leafletting, selling Christmas cards, standing on vigils and picketing the draft board. But it is hard to imagine a more basically useful activity than finding and strengthening tentative feelings against the war by visiting house to house.

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

As for us, we'd rather be with the larking Negro boys smashing plate glass and grabbing loot than with the officers and members of the National Rifle Association lobbying against a simple firearms licensing law such as they have in every other civilized nation.

T. R. B. from Washington
New Republic

"TO SAVE BENTRE IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO DESTROY IT."

We, Vietnamese in North America, speaking as individuals and independently of any political or religious organization, together voice our anguished concern over the war in our country.

At the moment, in the name of the highest sounding principles, the parties to the conflict in our country are fast reducing our villages and cities to ashes and rubble; in the process, tearing apart the whole fabric of our society.

To our widows and orphans, to our civilians mangled and burned beyond recognition, to our dead rotting unburied in sun and rain, we owe nothing less than the truth: this is not a struggle for freedom and democracy; it has become a war of genocide.

By now, it is clear that there are limits to what American power can do in Vietnam; on the other hand, there are no limits to what American power can do to Vietnam. Unleashing on a small country the most destructive firepower ever known to mankind, the United States has brought our nation to the brink of annihilation. The words of the American commander, that "To save Bentre it has become necessary to destroy it," plainly reflect the moral, political and military bankruptcy of American policy in Vietnam. Both self-interest and moral responsibility, then, make it imperative that the people and government of the United States take the lead in ending this conflict.

To end the war before it is too late, we call upon the American government to heed Secretary-General U Thant's appeal and stop all bombing of North Vietnam. We call upon the United States government, the government of South Vietnam, the government of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to promptly reach a peaceful settlement. A lasting peace for Vietnam should be based upon a total withdrawal of foreign troops that will allow us, Vietnamese, to shape our future free from all foreign interference.

We urgently appeal to the world community, through the United Nations, to condemn, in view of their devastating effects on our people, the use of chemical warfare, napalm, and anti-personnel bombs. Finally, to prevent the ultimate crime against mankind, we ask the General Assembly to forbid the use of nuclear weapons by any party in this conflict.

In this dark hour of history, we appeal to all men of good will in the world, particularly in the United States, to join us in denouncing this war and in working for an immediate return of peace to Vietnam.

ALBERT CAMUS

To those who would close their ears to such interpretations of the black past, to those who would tune out because such strange musings seem unrelated to the historian's vocation, I cite the word of a white radical who read black history with some care. Before an audience of well-meaning whites, in a time of similar crisis, he spoke on the Afro-American past, focusing on the greatness of a black leader named Toussaint, holding L'Ouverture above the great white heroes of the age. Then Wendell Phillips set out these words: "You think me a fanatic tonight, for you read history not with your eyes but with your prejudices."

So spoke a man who believed that there was no healing for America either in small black drops of history or in small black drops of Negro freedom. Had the nation heard his word and followed his uses of the past, we might well have been spared most of the bloody days between and the terror-filled nights yet to come.

Will there be time before the last night? We who have lived in night and waited long in darkness may have a special word of light for a stumbling power-bound people. We do not panic easily. Shall the word be heard? Only those with ears can say. It is our calling, our vocation, to speak it. And if the last darkness should fall, it is preferable that we be found standing faithful to all the agonizing sorrow-joy of our Afro-American past than lost and sullen black defenders of a world that sucked out our memory and bleached our minds.

Such a land deserves no defense. Better that it pass and make way for whatever is yet to come—even if it be the long-delayed last silence. Or will it be the drums of morning? I do not know. The Afro-American past leaves a man with no illusions, but even in the heart of chaos it does not strip him of his hope. We have come too far, through too much chaos, to cop out here. ■

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QUOTE/UNQUOTE

The crucial problem today is that we too often are unable to really imagine other people's death. We make love by telephone, we work not on matter but on machines, and we kill by proxy.

The Fellowship goes to Carnegie Hall

COMPOSERS AND PEACE IN A



MUSICIANS FOR HISTORIC EVENING

Ten illustrious American composers were present May 24 at music's shrine to share with distinguished conductors, soloists and the pick of New York's instrumentalists and choristers their love for peace and revulsion at war. There were two world premiers that evening, "Letters Home" by William Mayer, the Guggenheim fellowship recipient also at work on an opera, and "The Face of War" by Elie Siegmeister, prolific composer of songs, orchestral works and music for films, who built his composition for orchestra and bass-baritone around the last poems of Langston Hughes, who died last year.

Music and peace lovers turned out in numbers for a memorable evening, opening with a greeting by composer Roger Sessions and concluding with chorus and orchestra conducted by Aaron Copland performing two choruses from "The

Tender Land." There was a message from Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King, to whom the evening was dedicated, read by James Farmer, onetime FOR secretary. Another Langston Hughes poem "Let Us Remember" with music by David Amram was conducted by Hugh Ross, founder and director of Schola Cantorum, with Herbert Beattie, bass-baritone. An unusual combination of percussion instruments, piano and soprano (Adele Addison) were used in *Gacela de la Terrible Presencia* from *Night Music I* by George Crumb, conducted by the composer.

The traditional Hebrew Prayer for Peace for four-part unaccompanied mixed chorus with music by David Diamond preceded the final joyous Copland numbers. Other composers whose works were played were Charles Ives, Ulysses

Kay, Benjamin Lees, George Rochberg, Roger Sessions and Ezra Laderman. Elie Siegmeister was musical director, Raphael Gould, producer.

Commenting on the program afterwards, Mr. Siegmeister, the composer who inspired and helped arrange it all, wrote: "This has been an abnormal, almost frozen, period in which musicians have regarded their art almost solely as an esthetic exercise. And although it is that, it has always been, in the great periods, something more: a testimonial to human brotherhood, devotion, speech between man and man. Bach, Beethoven, Bartok and Ives—to name but a few—have dedicated some of their finest musical ideas to a celebration of man, his power and beauty. For the past generation this human note has been almost absent from the musical scene. The other night in Carnegie Hall, it returned."

Lower right: William Warfield singing "The Face of War" with Henry Lewis, distinguished Negro conductor, on the podium.

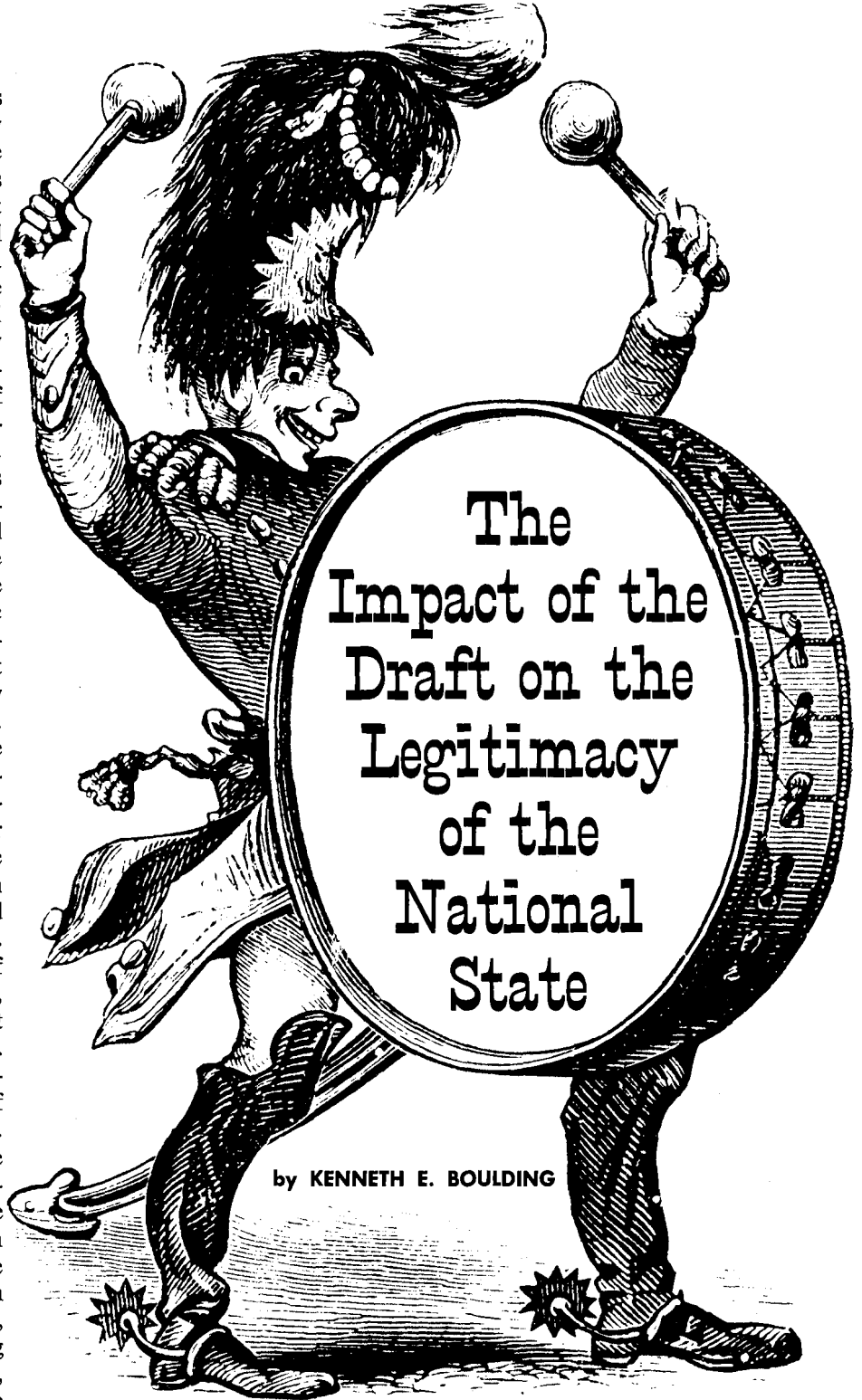
Far right: William Mayer, composer of "Letters Home," in which excerpts from actual letters by American and North Vietnam soldiers from the field of battle. A line from a poem by Thich Nhat Nanh, "My parched eyes can shed no more tears," returns throughout.

Right: Aaron Copland conducting his own composition.



✻ ONE of the most neglected aspects of the dynamics of society is the study of dynamic processes which underlie the rise and fall of legitimacy. This neglect reflects, in the United States at least, not merely a deficiency in social sciences and social thought; it reflects a grave deficiency in what might be called the popular image of the social system. We all tend to take legitimacy for granted. Thus, the economist hardly ever inquires into the legitimacy of exchange, even though this is the institution on which his science is built. The political scientist rarely inquires into the legitimacy of political institutions or of the institutions of organized threat, such as the police and the armed forces. Consequently we are much given to discussions of economic development as if this were a mechanical or quasi-automatic process without regard to the conditions of legitimacy of various activities and institutions. Similarly, in our discussions of the strategy of threat we rarely take account of the legitimacy of the institutions which either make the threats or provide their credibility. To put the matter simply, we tend to regard both wealth and power as self-justifying and this could well be a disastrous error.

The truth is that the dynamic of legitimacy, mysterious as it may seem, in fact governs to a remarkable extent all the other processes of social life. Without legitimacy no permanent relationship can be established, and if we lose legitimacy we lose everything. A naked threat, such as that of the bandit or the armed robber, may establish a temporary relationship. The victim hands over his money or even his person at the sword's point or the pistol's mouth. If we want to establish a permanent relationship, however, such as that of a landlord demanding rent or a government demanding taxes, the threat must be legitimized. The power both of the landlord and of the government depend in the last analysis upon the consent of the rentpayer or the taxpayer and this consent implies that the whole procedure has been legitimated and is accepted by everyone concerned as right and proper. Legitimacy may be defined as general acceptance by all those concerned in a certain institution, role, or pattern of behavior that it constitutes part of the regular moral or social order within which they live. Thus legitimacy is a wider concept than the formal concept of law, even though the law is a great legitimator. At times, however, law it-



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self may become illegitimate and when it does so its capacity to organize society is destroyed.

Legitimacy Defined by Sacrifice

Legitimacy has at least two dimensions which might be described as intensity and extent. Its intensity refers to the degree of identification or acceptance in the mind of a particular individual, and it may be measured

roughly by the extent of sacrifice which he is prepared to make for an institution rather than deny it or abandon it. The extent of legitimacy refers to the proportion of the relevant population which regards the institution in question as legitimate. An overall measure of the legitimacy of any particular institution might be achieved by multiplying its intensity by its extent, but such a measure might easily obscure

certain important characteristics of the system. A case in which an institution was regarded with intense allegiance by a small proportion of the people concerned would be very different from one in which there was a mild allegiance from all the people; the former, indeed, would probably be less stable than the latter. In considering any particular case, therefore, it is always important that we consider both dimensions.

The creation, maintenance, and destruction of legitimacy of different institutions presents many difficult problems. Legitimacy is frequently created by the exercise of power, either economic power in the form of wealth or political power in the form of threat capability. Legitimacy, furthermore, frequently increases with age so that old wealth and old power are more legitimate than new. The nouveau riche may be looked upon askance but their grandchildren easily become aristocrats. The conqueror likewise is illegitimate at first, but if his conquest is successful and his empire lasts, it eventually acquires legitimacy. All these relationships, however, seem to be non-linear, and reverse themselves beyond a certain point. Thus, the display of wealth tends to become obscene and damages the legitimacy of the wealthy. In order to retain legitimacy they often have to diminish their wealth by giving it away, establishing foundations, or at least by abstaining from ostentatious consumption. Similarly, political power often seems to lose its legitimacy when it is apparently at its very height. It is at the greatest extent and power of a regime, nation, or empire that it often suddenly collapses through sheer loss of belief in it. Even age does not always guarantee legitimacy. After a certain point an ancient person or institution simply becomes senile or old-fashioned and its legitimacy abruptly collapses.

There have been enough examples of collapse of legitimacy of apparently large, prosperous and invincible institutions to suggest that we have here a general, though not necessarily a universal, principle at work. It is perhaps an example of another much-neglected proposition, that nothing fails like success because we do not learn anything from it. Thus in Europe the institution of the absolute monarchy seemed to be most secure and invincible at the time of Louis XIV, yet only a few decades later it was in ruins. Similarly, in the early years of the twentieth cen-

tury the concept of empire seemed invincible and unshakably legitimate, yet in another few decades it was discredited, illegitimate, and the empires themselves collapsed or had to be transformed.

An Institution Must Be Transformed

It looks indeed as if there is some critical moment at which an institution must be transformed if it is to retain its legitimacy and transformed, furthermore, in the direction of abandonment of either its wealth or its power in some degree. Thus, after the eighteenth century the only way in which the institution of the monarchy could retain its legitimacy was to abandon its power and become constitutional. By abandoning his political power, that is, his threat capability, the monarch was able to become a symbol of the legitimacy of the state and hence was able to preserve his role in the society. Where the monarch did not make this transition, as for instance in France, Germany, and Russia, the incumbent frequently lost his head, the whole institution was destroyed, and the role simply abandoned. Similarly, in the twentieth century, if any semblance of empire was to be maintained, the political power had to be abandoned and the empire transformed into a commonwealth or community based on sentiment rather than on threat. Even the church in the twentieth century has largely had to abandon the fear of hell, that is, its spiritual threat system, as the prime motivation in attracting support. In most countries, furthermore, it has likewise had to abandon the support of the state and the secular arm, that is, the secular threat system, in an attempt to enforce conformity. Here again we see an example of the abandonment of power in the interests of retaining legitimacy.

The National State Dwarfs All

At the present time by far the most wealthy, powerful, and legitimate type of institution is the national state. In the socialist countries the national state monopolizes virtually all the wealth and the threat capability of the society. Even in the capitalist world the national state usually commands about 25 per cent of the total economy and is a larger economic unit than any private corporation, society, or church. Thus the United States government alone wields economic power roughly equal to half the national income of the So-

viet Union, which is the largest socialist state. Within the United States government the United States Department of Defense has a total budget larger than the national income of the People's Republic of China and can well claim to be the second largest centrally planned economy in the world. It is true that the great corporations wield an economic power roughly equal to that of the smaller socialist states; there are, indeed, only about 11 countries with a gross national product larger than General Motors. Nevertheless, when it comes to legitimacy the national state is supreme. All other loyalties are expected to bow before it. A man may deny his parents, his wife and his friends, his God, or his profession and get away with it, but he cannot deny his country unless he finds another one. In our world a man without a country is regarded with pity and scorn. We are expected to make greater sacrifices for our country than we make for anything else. We are urged, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country," whereas nobody ever suggests that we should "Ask not what General Motors can do for you, ask what you can do for General Motors."

An institution of such monumental wealth, power and legitimacy would seem to be invincible. The record of history suggests clearly, however, that it is precisely at this moment of apparent invincibility that an institution is in gravest danger. It may seem as absurd today to suggest that the national state might lose its legitimacy as it would have been to suggest the same thing of the monarchy in the days of *le Grand Monarque*. Nevertheless both monarchy and empire have lost their legitimacy and that at the moment of their greatest power and extent. If history teaches us anything, therefore, it should teach us at this moment to look at the national state with a quizzical eye. It may be an institution precisely filling the conditions which give rise to a sudden collapse of legitimacy, which will force the institution itself to transform itself by abandoning its power or will create conditions in which the institution cannot survive.

Individuals Must Justify Their Sacrifices

These conditions can be stated roughly as follows: An institution which demands sacrifices can frequently create legitimacy for itself because of

a strong tendency in human beings to justify to themselves sacrifices which they have made. We cannot admit that sacrifices have been made in vain, for this would be too great a threat to our image of ourselves and our identity. As the institution for which sacrifices are made gains legitimacy, however, it can demand more sacrifices, which further increases legitimacy. At some point, however, the sacrifices suddenly seem to be too much. The terms of trade between its devotees and the institution become too adverse, and quite suddenly the legitimacy of the whole operation is questioned, and ancient sacrifices are written off and the institution collapses. Thus men sacrificed enormously for the monarchy, and the king was able to say for centuries, "Ask not what I can do for you, ask only what you can do for me," until the point when suddenly people began to ask. "What can the king do for me?" and the answer was "Nothing." At that moment the monarchy either died or had to be transformed.

We may be in a similar moment in the case of the national state. The real terms of trade between an individual and his country have been deteriorating markedly in the past decades. In the eighteenth century the national state made relatively few demands on its citizens, and provided some of them at least with fair security and satisfactory identity. As the nation has gathered legitimacy however from the bloodshed and treasure expended for it, it has become more and more demanding. It now demands ten to twenty per cent of our income, at least two years of our life—and it may demand the life itself—and it risks the destruction of our whole physical environment. As the cost rises, it eventually becomes not unreasonable to ask for what. If the payoffs are in fact low, the moment has arrived when the whole legitimacy of the institution may be threatened.

Has Technology Made the State Obsolete?

We must here distinguish the internal from the external payoffs of the national state. Internally the payoffs may still be quite high, though it is perhaps still a question whether governments today, like the medical profession a hundred years ago, really do more good than harm. In the external relations, however, there can be no doubt that the system of national states

is enormously burdensome and costly. It is not only that the world-war industry is now about 140 billion dollars, which is about equal to the total income of the poorest half of the human race, it is that this enormous expenditure gives us no real security in the long run and it sets up a world in which there is a positive probability of almost total disaster.

It is perfectly reasonable indeed to ask ourselves this question: After a nuclear war, if there is anybody left, are they going to set up again the institutions which produced the disaster? The answer would clearly seem to be "No," in which case we may say that as the present system contains a positive probability of nuclear war it is in fact bankrupt and should be changed *before* the nuclear war rather than afterward. It can be argued very cogently indeed that modern technology has made the national state obsolete as an instrument of unilateral national defense, just as gunpowder made the feudal baron obsolete, the development of the skills of organization and public administration made the monarchy obsolete, and economic development made empire obsolete. An institution, no matter how currently powerful and legitimate, which loses its function will also lose its legitimacy, and the national state in its external relations seems precisely in this position today. Either it must be transformed in the direction of abandoning its power and threat capability or it will be destroyed, like the absolute monarchy and the absolute church before it.

The Draft Calls All Into Question

What then is the role of the draft in this complex dynamic process? The draft may well be regarded as a symbol of a slow decline in the legitimacy of the national state (or of what perhaps we should call more exactly the warfare state, to distinguish it from the welfare state which may succeed it), that slow decline which may presage the approach of collapse. In the rise and decline of legitimacy, as we have seen, we find first a period in which sacrifices are made, voluntarily and gladly, in the interests of the legitimate institution, and, indeed, reinforce the legitimacy of the institution. As the institution becomes more and more pressing in its demands, however, voluntary sacrifices become replaced with forced sacrifices. The tithe becomes a tax, religious enthusiasm degenerates into com-

pulsory chapel, and voluntary enlistment in the threat system of the state becomes a compulsory draft.

The legitimacy of the draft, therefore, is in a sense a subtraction from the legitimacy of the state. It represents the threat system of the state turned in on its own citizens, however much the threat may be disguised by a fine language about service and "every young man fulfilling his obligation." The language of duty is not the language of love and it is a symptom of approaching delegitimation. A marriage in which all the talk is of obligations rather than of love is on its way to the divorce court. The church in which all worship is obligatory is on its way to abandonment or reformation, and the state in which service has become a duty is in no better case. The draft therefore, which undoubtedly increases the threat capability of the national state, is a profound symptom of its decay and insofar as it demands a forced sacrifice it may hasten that decay and may hasten the day when people come to see that to ask "what can your country do for you" is a very sensible question.

The draft, furthermore, inevitably creates strong inequities. It discriminates against the poor, or at least against the moderately poor; the very poor, because of their poor educational equipment may escape it just as the rich tend to escape it, and the main burden therefore falls on the lower end of the middle-income groups. As these groups also in our society bear the brunt of taxation—for a great deal of what is passed as "liberal" legislation in fact taxes the poor in order to subsidize the rich—an unjust distribution of sacrifice is created. Up to now it is true this strain has not been very apparent. It cannot indeed be expressed directly because of the enormous legitimacy of the national state, hence it tends to be expressed indirectly in alienation, crime, internal violence, race and group hatreds and also in an intensified xenophobia. This is the old familiar problem of displacement. We dare not vent our anger at frustrations upon their cause and we therefore have to find a legitimated outlet in the foreigner, or the communist, or whoever the enemy happens to be at the moment. What is worse, the frustrated adult frequently displaces his anger on his children who in turn perpetuate the whole miserable business of hatred and lovelessness.

Like compulsory chapel or church attendance, which is its closest equiva-

lent, the draft has a further disadvantage in that while it may at best produce a grudging and hostile acquiescence in the methods of the society, it frequently closes the mind to any alternative or to any reorganization of information. The psychological strains which are produced by compulsory service of any kind naturally result in displaced aggressions rather than in any reform of the system which created them. Consequently the draft by the kind of indoctrination and hidden frustrations which it produces may be an important factor in preventing that reevaluation of the national policy and the national image which is so essential in the modern world if the national state itself is to survive. The draft therefore is likely to be an enemy of the survival of the very state in the interests of which it is supposedly involved. It produces not a true love of country based on a realistic appraisal of the present situation of human society but rather a hatred of the other which leads to political mental ill health, and an image of the world which may be as insulated from the messages which come through from reality as is the mind of a paranoid.

We Must Attack the Legitimacy of the Draft

Perhaps the best thing that can be said in defense of the draft is that the alternative, namely, raising a voluntary armed force by offering sufficient financial inducements, or by persuasion and advertising, would involve even more the whipping up of hatred of the foreigner and the reinforcement of paranoid political attitudes. The draft by its very absurdities and inequities at least to some extent helps to make the whole operation faintly ridiculous, as we see it in comic strips like Beetle Bailey or in movies such as *Dr. Strangelove*, and hence makes the operation of national defense commonplace rather than charismatic. The draft certainly represents the institutionalization of the charisma of the national state, to use an idea from Max Weber, and this may be something on the credit side. Even this merit, however, is dubious. Insofar as the draft leads to widespread commonplace acceptance of mass murder and atrocities, and an attitude of mind which is blind to any but romantically violent solutions of conflict, its influence is wholly negative. Certainly the political wisdom of the American Legion is no advertise-

ment for the political virtues of having passed through the Armed Forces.

It seems clear therefore that those of us who have a genuine affection for the institution of the national state and for our own country in particular should constantly attack the legitimacy of the draft, and the legitimacy of the whole system of unilateral national defense which supports it, in the interest of preserving the legitimacy of the national state itself. The draft, it is true, is merely a symbol or a symptom of a much deeper disease, the disease of unilateral national defense, and it is this concept which should be the prime focus of our attack. Nevertheless, cleaning up a symptom sometimes helps to cure the disease, otherwise the sales of aspirin would be much less, and a little aspirin of dissent applied to the headache of the draft might be an important step in the direction of the larger objective. Those of us, therefore, who are realistically concerned about the survival of our country should probably not waste too much time complaining about the inequities and absurdities of the draft or attempt the hopeless task of rectifying it when the plain fact is that the draft can only begin to approach "justice" in time of major war, and a peacetime draft has to be absurd and unjust by its very nature. The axe should be applied to the root of the tree, not to its branches. An attempt to pretty up the draft and make it more acceptable may actually prevent that radical reevaluation of the whole system of unilateral national defense which is now in order. We are very close to the moment when the only way to preserve the legitimacy of the national state will be to abandon most of its power. The draft is only a subplot in this much greater drama. ■

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AFSC Resumes Work in Vietnam

The Quang Ngai Refugee program in South Vietnam has been re-opened by the American Friends Service Committee after it had been suspended in midwinter because of war conditions.

The program provides care for children of war widows and is under the direction of a Vietnamese. An AFSC couple will act as field directors.

The prosthetics and physical therapy programs will be resumed when field conditions permit, an AFSC spokesman has announced.

The Russian and the Kingdom

In France, during World War I, that was supposed "to end all wars, and make the world safe for Democracy" occurred an incident that influenced my thinking through all the years to come.

I was with the YMCA as a chaplain at the time.

After the Russian defeat by the Germans under von Hindenburg, some of the Russian soldiers worked their way down to France. Several of these were in our area.

Among these Russian soldiers was a young Russian who had been reading Tolstoi and also the New Testament. As a result he became a pacifist. He refused to obey military orders and was court martialed.

I was asked to read the findings of the court martial, which I did. The young Russian made an eloquent defense of his stand against war.

The colonel, who presided at the court martial, was unusually understanding and sympathetic. In passing sentence he said, "Young man, your ideas will be acceptable when the Kingdom of God comes, but the Kingdom has not come yet."

To this the young Russian replied, "Sir, the Kingdom may not have come for you, it has come for me, and I must live by the rules of the Kingdom as I understand them."

Reading this I went out and wept. That boy from Russia influenced my thinking.

Later I was to write:

O help us walk unflinching in
Paths that lead to peace,

Where Justice conquers violence
and wars at last shall
cease;

O grant that love of country
may help us hear his call,

Who would unite the nations
in brotherhood for all.

S. RALPH HARLOW

Half an hour after writing on Sunday morning February 11 a letter to friends in California, Muriel Lester, founder of Kingsley Hall in London's East End and longtime travelling secretary for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, passed on, as her nurse added in a postscript, "to be with the saints."

"How," the letter begins, obviously pointing to Vietnam, "can the world recover? Is it nearing its last trip around the sun? I know God has other worlds and probably wonderful beings are managing it better than we do, to preserve it from the absurd super-sensitivity and pride that start us grumbling and pitying ourselves and *resenting* (what a damnably dangerous habit that is!) and it eventually leads to the murder and tortures of children via war."

"I will interrupt the letter while I get ready [for church]. I must not hurry *at all, ever*, or else I get a pain (what a lot we learn as our bodies grow older and more stubborn!). But what a wonderful increase of *joy* and *serenity* also occurs *very* often. Thank God. . . ."

She was 84 years old and always ended her weekly letters with "overflowings of the heart" such as:

"God save this beauteous and precious planet from destruction—He is able."

"I sit on one of the big old trees that lie conveniently and comfortably about and say my prayers for our human race—poor, foolish people that we are *but* going ahead, bravely and in some ways successfully in our attempts at understanding."

Some of her friends with more or less regularity still silently repeat as they wake up that early morning prayer she taught them when they were students, "Thou art shining beauty, radiant joy, creative power, all-pervading love, perfect understanding, purity and peace." A few once in a while even skip dessert as she used to do, so as to share however minutely the deprivation of the many millions on the edge of starvation.

To celebrate her now being in more intimate communion than before with the saints, those of us who knew this "Joan of Arc" of the peace movement can at least once a day try to link in our imagination President Johnson and Ho Chi Minh along with other leaders to the love of God. For months she has been attempting to offer up that flash recollection every waking hour.

Rarely if ever did we see her "grim on God's errands gay." But her gift of radiance, that distinguished the authentics, was not easy to come by. Since her conversion from "atheism" at the age of nine she worked tirelessly to be open to joy. One of her childhood heroes was Sir Thomas More.

About three years ago, Muriel had a rendezvous with what looked like death.



Muriel Lester 1884-1968

It was a hard-hitting coronary, her second, and occurred during her last visit to the United States. The doctor had just given her a shot with not too much assurance it would work. Her eyes were closed and she was nearly asleep. But then she rallied her energy, opened her eyes to look quizzically at the anxious doctor and nurse, and winked.

It was in her teens that she quit the usual round of social life and rented a cheap room in the East End of London, to share her money with the people of Bow and live life on their terms. Before long, Kingsley Hall, a Christian community center built in memory of her brother was a lively competitor of the thirty or so saloons of the neighborhood. When the First World War was in full swing she would stand alone if necessary to face the crowd in Trafalgar Square to affirm her confidence in a more exciting and durable way than killing, the way of reconciliation. Before the Second World War and afterwards she scattered this faith like seed over the Orient, Europe and the Americas. But Muriel Lester was not cause-dominated. She was, rather, a "trainee of the spirit," who learned from experience that "to pray for an idea, to talk for it and then not to practice it, is cheating."

What will continue to confront us is the picture in our minds of a person meek, i.e. tough, all the way through.

She did not inherit much of this earth but thousands of people over the globe owe her much of their vision of what life can be. Muriel was not sentimental about evil. Nor would she let you be. If you complained about missing a bus or if you expressed irritation over someone's short-changing you in a London department store, or if you were later giving in to guilt-feelings because you were angry, she would not let you get away with such egocentricity. "Remember," she would say laying a firm hand on your arm, "remember the devil's three R's: regret-resentment-remorse." She had life-long fun fighting the devil.

Her pacifism was patriotism that had said its prayers.

ALLAN HUNTER

Noting with grief the recent death of Muriel Lester, the North American section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation wishes in this memorial to pay her high tribute. We also wish to thank God for directing her great talent into the cause of world brotherhood and peace. The organization of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation was due as much to the spirit of Muriel Lester as to that of any other person. The grounding of this movement in prayer as well as in nonviolent regard for humanity was to no small degree a consequence of Miss Lester's Christian faith and love.

Again, the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to London in 1931, during which he stopped at Kingsley Hall, gave added impetus to the increasingly ecumenical conviction that world peace can only come through a spiritual technique for resisting evil in achieving social transformation. To this cause, even in time of war, Muriel Lester gave her utmost devotion. Repeatedly she served as a travelling staff member of the IFOR, visiting and preaching this gospel throughout Europe, in Palestine and the Middle East, in Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, South and Central Africa, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan, China, the United States and Canada. Recognition that the existence of IFOR units in many of these lands are reflections of her spirit, adds eloquently to this and all tributes to the memory of Muriel Lester.

—DR. T. T. BRUMBAUGH
for the International F.O.R.

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

"Today there are no bounds at all to humanity," said Martin Niemoeller in a sermon comparing the Nazi era to the events of the Vietnam war. "Where is the atonement? Nothing at all has altered, the change has not taken place."

Peacetime Treason a New Crime under the New Internal Security Act

As FELLOWSHIP went to press, the Senate was still debating the 94-page "Eastland bill" (S. 2988), named for the Mississippi senator and co-sponsored by 19 of his colleagues. Among its hundreds of provisions calling for changes in old laws and enactment of new ones, the Internal Security Act of 1968 would provide penalties against members of "Communist-infiltrated organizations," authorization for employers to fire anyone who refuses to testify before a Congressional committee, twenty thousand dollars and/or twenty years for advocating revolutionary change, and the creation of an agency for testing the loyalty of government employees, as well as U.S. citizens belonging to international organizations. It amends the immigration laws, and authorizes the Secretary of State to control travel abroad. In the words of Thomas I. Emerson, Yale University's expert on constitutional law, the bill is "completely unnecessary to protect our internal security," but it does "lay the foundation for a police state."

Of interest to FOR and religious groups is the creation of a wholly new crime, peacetime treason: knowingly giving aid or comfort "to an adversary of the United States by an overt act." The penalty: \$10,000 and/or ten years. Richard T. McSorley, representing the American Clergymen's Committee for Vietnamese War Relief, testified before the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security on that section of the bill:

TESTIMONY OF

REVEREND RICHARD T. MCSORLEY, S.J.
BEFORE THE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE
ON INTERNAL SECURITY

My name is Richard T. McSorley, S.J. I am a professor of theology at Georgetown University. My residence is at Georgetown University.

I speak here as a representative of the Catholic Peace Fellowship and as a *Roman Catholic Priest* and as an American citizen. I also represent the American Clergymen's Committee for Vietnamese War Relief.

I am especially concerned with Section 105, Sub-Section 2392 of Senate Bill 2988, a bill to strengthen security in the United States.

Section A in this bill reads, "Whoever owing allegiance to the United States, knowingly or willingly gives aid or comfort to an adversary of the United States,

by an overt act within the United States or elsewhere shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

In the view of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, this statement, unless clarified to allow for the humanitarian aid to victims of war, is a violation of the Christian conscience.

As a Catholic priest, I believe that it is also a violation of the command of Jesus Christ, the founder of the Roman Catholic church, "love your enemies."

Even when a war is considered just, the Catholic is obliged to keep hatred out of it entirely. He is constantly obliged to the law of love. It seems to me that the bare minimum expression of compassion is the expression through medical aid to the victims of war.

In the present conflict in Vietnam, it seems to me that this is all the more urgent, since the Senate Sub-committee's report on refugees indicates that there are about 125,000 civilian casualties last year in Vietnam, most of them due to American fire power. It seems to me that in conditions like this we have an even more urgent obligation to provide humanitarian concern for the innocent victims of war. For the Congress of the United States to declare that American Catholics should not be allowed to whisper a feeble "I love you," and "I'm sorry," to a few victims whose intolerable lot, "whatever it might be under Communist rule," is in fact a direct result of our benevolent actions and to order this by law is immoral and bad legislation.

The Roman Catholic position is clearly illustrated by the example of Pope Paul VI, who has donated \$100,000 to Caritas Internationalis, the Vatican-based relief co-ordinating body for use in both Vietnams.

Msgr. George Hussler, of German Caritas, says that plans have now been formed to provide aid in the form of medicine and equipment equivalent to the erection of a 250-bed hospital in North Vietnam.

"There is nothing political about our efforts to extend humanitarian help to North Vietnam," Msgr. Hussler has stated. "It is simply a question of the church's service to people in need, regardless of ideological boundaries."

As the wording of Senate Bill 2988 now reads it is not clear that American Catholics would be able to contribute to the international relief as Pope Paul has

urged them to do and as he has done himself. I would like the bill to spell out clearly that humanitarian medical aid to the victims of war is not forbidden.

I would like the bill to be amended to read, after line 22 on page 6, "Aid or comfort, as used in this section, does not include medical aid to the victims of war."

Wise law does not run contrary to morality. If moral force does not support law, the only other way of having it enforced is by violence. I think that as an American citizen, the American way is to legislate according to morality, not contrary to it.

Finally, in an age in which, as former Secretary McNamara said, "Every war, including this one, is waged against the back-drop of possible thermo-nuclear destruction," it is our obligation as a nation to mitigate the hatred generated by war, especially while that war is going on. This mitigation may also lessen the danger of escalation of the war and the final danger of nuclear war."

Testimony given on
March 25, 1968

The Lessons of History: Spain and Vietnam

One reason it is so hard to learn from history is that history never repeats itself. If an experiment cannot be duplicated, how can you draw any valid conclusions from it? On the other hand, it is by now a commonplace that those who do not learn from their mistakes are doomed to repeat them. Hence the frantic search for parallels in the past, in the hope to use them as guidelines for the future. I can hear the gods of history laughing.

But it can be a fascinating pastime. A particularly thought-provoking example is the pamphlet "Spain and Vietnam" by Robert G. Colodny, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: that is, one of the 3,300 Americans who, in 1936, went to Spain to take part in the civil war, fighting Franco and the Fascists—together with tens of thousands of volunteers from over fifty countries.

To Colodny, the parallels between "the Spanish conflict and the agony of Vietnam" are clear. In both cases, it is "the oldest story recorded by historians . . . the problem of the land, the peasant, and the landowner. . . . There would be peace of a sort in Vietnam if the peasants only consented to remain serfs or slaves." Both started as "people's wars for social justice into which was intruded the power of foreigners": in the case of Spain, the intervention of Germany, Italy and Portugal and the "betrayal" by Great Britain and France, with the "complicity" of the U.S. State Department; in the case of Vietnam, the French ef-

fort to regain its imperial foothold in Asia, encouraged and financed by the U.S. "Is it by chance that the South Vietnamese generals are members of great land-owning families? that villages 'liberated' by the Allies resume payment of 40% of their crop to absentee landlords?"

Just like Spain a generation ago, Vietnam has become a laboratory where weapons are tested, strategies developed: "the successors to Hitler and Mussolini perfect the techniques for the suppression of the modern Popular Fronts of the world. . . . Bombing attacks and search-and-destroy missions are not undertaken to preserve the freedom of the Vietnamese people . . . but coldly calculated to secure an American *place d'armes* on the continent of Asia, just as the fascist crusade against the Spanish Republicans was intended to secure a base of operations for the greater war already on the planning boards of the general staffs in Berlin and Rome." Officially, Germany and Italy had no design in Spain other than to "prevent the establishment of a Soviet beachhead . . . they had a place in their ledgers, however, for the lead mines of Penarroya, the copper of Rio Tinto, the iron of Bilbao"; compare to this Eisenhower's famous dictum about "the tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area." And: "Do we not propose to make the Pacific an American lake in the same manner that Mussolini proposed to turn the Mediterranean into his *mare nostrum*?"

After all this, the obligatory jump into prophesy. Just as the unspeakable horrors and inhumanities of the fascist regimes eventually "touched the conscience of the whole world," and led to a Grand Coalition and a war in which "the 1000-year Reich of Adolf Hitler, the Neo-Roman Empire of the Blackshirts, and the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere of Imperial Japan were consumed in the flames"—so now world opinion is turning against the U.S. and its "allies," with consequences which "many a regime . . . will come to regret before the seventies have passed."

There would be more to worry about if "the conscience of the whole world" had brought the U.S. and the Soviet Union into the fight against the "Axis"; if I remember right, both were attacked first. But in any case, this cataclysmic prediction shows the basic futility of the exercise. Professor Colodny is on very solid ground if he shows that we have become guilty of many of the sins we condemned our World War II foes for—but not if he threatens, like an exasperated nanny, "you'll end up just like them." History is full of cruel and ruthless empires that flourished for quite a long stretch of time. The reason American behavior in Vietnam is unforgivable is not that, according to the Spanish



BOOKS

Passionate Views

PROTEST: PACIFISM AND POLITICS. By James Finn. Random House, \$8.95; Vintage paperback, \$2.45.

Is there a peace movement in America today? No, says James Finn after interviewing 37 American pacifists ranging from religious leaders John C. Bennett, A. J. Muste and Philip and Daniel Berrigan to New Left leaders Staughton Lynd, Jack Newfield, Bayard Rustin and Joan Baez. When he asked, for example, whether coalition politics is a corrupting or a desirable step toward the "goal," he found as many answers as persons interviewed. The only unity, he concludes, is a common protest against American Vietnam policies. If this diversity of peace organizations and personalities has failed to create a "peace movement" capable of directly affecting American politics, it has not failed, he believes, in another important sense: America's moral failures have been propelled into public attention. Many of those in the protest movement deserve to be called a "spiritual nobility," he says, for "their acts will stand in our national history as redeeming acts."

Finn ends up where others have ended up: asserting a personal conviction that these primarily nonpolitical pacifist protests do in fact have political consequences. He does not demonstrate this, he only asserts it. The gap between pacifist protests and political effectiveness is still uncomfortably wide. But to focus only on the author's analysis of pacifists'

analogy, it may turn out to be suicidal, but that it is, in simplest terms, immoral and illegal. It would be nice if "history taught" that immoral undertakings are bound to collapse; unfortunately, it does nothing of the kind. I would even be tempted to turn the tables on Mr. Colodny and state that if (and the idea doesn't seem quite as visionary any more as it did only a short time ago) moral repugnance against U.S. actions in Vietnam spreads among the American people to an extent that it actually inaugurates a basic change in policy—that then we have a real and authentic "first" in history. Which is as it should be.

JOHANNA J. BOSCH

JUST ONE DOLLAR BILL . . .

and the names of three friends, will get as many sample copies of this issue of Fellowship off to them. Pin it to a list of names . . . and this notice.

impact on politics is to miss a number of valuable and more exciting dimensions of the book.

Through his skills as an interviewer and writer the author provides for even well informed readers a fascinating introduction to the protest movement in the United States. He moves easily from the area of religion and individual pacifists to a focus on both religious and nonreligious pacifist organizations. These free-flowing yet intensely personal interviews offer an intimate inside look at these pacifist personalities and organizations in all their diversity of passionately held beliefs. The origins and development of pacifist organizations and periodicals are so succinctly described that the reader is left with a feeling that he now understands, even if he does not agree.

Each interview creates a feeling in the reader that he has come to understand the person speaking; this is the author's real genius. Here, for example, is part of Daniel Berrigan's answer when James Finn asked him what factors led to his feelings about peace and war:

. . . Then, I can remember, really to the day, when I read a certain article by [Thomas] Merton which landed in my brain like a bullet; it exploded there and really helped me very greatly to bridge the difficult gap between this national movement and an attitude of nonviolence toward man in general, man in the world. I remember being profoundly disturbed by the article and finally writing him, not really expecting an answer. But he did answer.

Finally, this book is a useful introduction to the New Left. The interview with Jack Newfield offers an especially perceptive and balanced analysis of the New Left, particularly Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which Newfield feels are its two main forces. One striking observation made by Newfield, himself 28, is that the New Left should not be characterized simply in terms of a generation gap; it denotes "a state of mind rather than anything to do with calendars." Finn has captured something of the essence of American pacifists and their organizations. His analysis is invaluable reading for those who want to understand the protest movement in the United States.

—JAMES E. ALLEN

They Scorned Evasion

CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION IN AMERICA, 1757-1967, edited by Lillian Schlissel. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968, 444 pp., \$2.75.

This anthology bares the anatomy of "the contradictory conditions" under which conscience has asserted itself

against war in this country. It is valuable as a source of reference for pacifists and a source of reflection for all those for whom war is, in Marianne Moore's telling phrase, "an inward experience." Every draft board should have one.

Conscience has been an over-worked abstraction of late. Here it assumes form in the experience of men who suffered for it, and clarity in the thoughts of men who wrestled with it; in the Colonial and Revolutionary Period, the Civil War and World War I, and recently in the courts of law and the bar of public opinion. Well-chosen and researched selections include dramatic excerpts from diaries, statements of conviction (Roger Baldwin, A. J. Muste), and legal cases (including the fundamental dissents in the Schwimmer and Macintosh cases). Much of this material is not readily available; and a good deal of it is very recent (as are the Seeger, Miller, and Mitchell cases, or Martin Luther King's Riverside Address).

Within its unified subject this little book is remarkably comprehensive in two senses: it covers a long span of time with balance; and it suggests the broadening arc in which objection has been applied. Indeed, the author suggests that the familiar distinctions have broken down, and the very disparity of her last chapter illustrates her point. Mrs. Schlissel has interpreted with documents the historical interaction of two consciences—the state's and the protestant's—which must affirm fundamentally opposing positions without denying one another.

CHARLES CHATFIELD

A Good Brief Summary

THE MEANS IS THE END IN VIETNAM by Malcolm Monroe. Murlagan, 1968, 124 pp., \$2.65.

Written in the style of a legal brief by an "Establishment" lawyer, this is a well-reasoned, well documented, orderly presentation of some familiar and many original arguments against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Mr. Monroe's central thesis is that America has followed a policy in Vietnam based solely upon considerations of domestic political expediency. These originated in the McCarthy hysteria of the 1950's and have been perpetuated by the moral bankruptcy of Republicans as well as Democrats. Strong statements such as this come naturally to an advocate, but Mr. Monroe backs them up.

Under elementary principles of law, the U.S.-supported Saigon governments, by breaching the Geneva Agreement initially, provided North Vietnam with legal justification for rescission of the Agreement. Mr. Monroe analyzes various arguments that have been devised to provide legal and ideological support for the course of action followed by the

U.S.: our messianic foreign policy (not unlike Hitler's), U.S. commitments (to a "straw man"), the statehood of South Vietnam, the domino and test case theories, bombing strategy.

He points out inconsistencies and falsehoods in statements made by U.S. government leaders and departments particularly with regard to peace negotiations. Recent events reinforce his insights into the Tonkin Bay incident and the financial and urban crises as they relate to Vietnam. Proposals for ameliorative action are also included.

This is an invaluable book for the reader who, like the Court, needs to make or uphold a decision based on maximum information in a minimum of time.

DIANE BISHOP

Defense the Nonviolent Way

CIVILIAN RESISTANCE AS A NATIONAL DEFENSE. Edited by Adam Roberts. Harrisburg: Stackpole Publishers, 1968, 320 pp., \$7.95.

Can nonviolence serve as a basis for national defense? Until recently, adventurers in this field were pamphleteers. Jessie Wallace Hughan, Cecil Hinshaw and Bradford Lyttle outlined the central thesis. SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER, a study produced by the American Friends Service Committee in 1955, ran to six printings totaling 100,000 but spoke more of the need than of strategy. Even Stephen King-Hall's book DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE (Fellowship Publications, 1959) scored more on assertion than substance.

A major pioneer in this field is Gene Sharp, now a Research Fellow at the Center for International Studies of Harvard University. While doing battle with publishers over his manuscript DEFENSE WITHOUT WAR, his Carnegie Institute study THE POLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR has received a substantial circulation.

In September 1964 a Civilian Defense Study Conference was held at Oxford, England. While this volume is not a conference report, the basic idea took shape there, says editor Adam Roberts.

The first part outlines the threats to be dealt with—military attack, coup d'etat and totalitarianism—and some discussion of how civilian resistance may be applied.

Part Two begins with Gene Sharp's summary of the technique of nonviolent action, and a valuable inventory of 84 examples of group nonviolent action. Five authors then examine past experience for guidelines: the 1923 resistance in the Ruhr, the Norwegian and Danish resistance movements to German occupation, the East German rising of 1953, and some resistance movements as sketched by the military writer Liddell Hart.

Part Three outlines a civilian defense policy. It deals with strategy, political aspects, and the question of transition from military defense termed "transarmament." One of the better chapters in the book is "Organization in Civilian Defense" by Theodor Ebert, a young German specialist who has just produced a book on this subject.

Lt. Col. Goodspeed, the Canadian military historian, writes: "In the more advanced states, nonviolent resistance of important sections of society may well be enough to make a usurping government fail." Liddell Hart says: "The more that governments come to realize their incapacity for affective military defense, the more they will begin to take nonviolent civilian defense seriously."

A major contribution of disciplined nonviolence is this: it can weaken or nullify the ability of threats to achieve their intended effect, and reach out to dissolve organizational structures based on threats.

Can violence and nonviolence be possible options for one organization, or are their requirements contradictory? Can an elite group, such as Joan Bondurant proposes, concentrate on "paraguerrilla action" or is a more general form of resistance essential? How much decentralization, in geographical and functional terms, is required and when does it become ineffective? Are nonviolent campaigns only special phases of political struggle preceding a violent stage, or complementary resistance as in Denmark (as Jeremy Bennett insists)?

These are only a few questions in a book that really gets down to cases. The writing style is undistinguished; one suspects the academic style is for effect, but it is much better than the usual book designed to sell for \$7.95 these days.

This volume will be a basic reference for some time for the serious student of nonviolence and, I suspect, will appear on select lists for military specialists as well.

—CHARLES C. WALKER

The Big Lie

THE WAR MYTH, by Donald A. Wells, Pegasus, 1967, 000 pages, \$6.95.

Probably the most disastrous falsehood of the ages has been the myth of the war-makers. Built about a series of gigantic misconceptions, erroneous readings of human nature and the inculcation of a set of unsound values, this myth has reversed the basic principles upon which man of old depended, has made conflict appear natural and peace unnatural, has attempted to import Christianity into an institution with which Christianity at root has nothing to do, and has caused civilized peoples to adopt and even to approve the methods of armed gangsters, which none consider legitimate when

used against them but all feel that they are justified in employing against their supposed enemies.

Such are but a few of Donald A. Wells' incisive and, one feels, eminently justified strictures against war and the war system and the deliberately cultivated psychology that have given new life in our age to the ancient myth and made a growing monster of the American "military-industrial complex." While condemning our current involvements and showing how "defenses" merely lead to counter-defenses and how war-fever breeds war-fever, the author ranges far back into the past, and in tracing by what steps we reached our present plight he describes not only the deeds of the militarists but the doctrines of peace advocates. That the situation is hopeless he does not for a moment suggest—he reminds us how the ancient Roman gladiatorial games and the medieval jousts, though once held to be ineradicable, have long vanished. But he does believe that, if war is to be conquered, we must give more attention to the forces and in particular the psychological forces that underlie it, and in this he offers a message of the utmost importance for our age.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ



Any honest, clearly-expressed viewpoint expressed in a letter of no more than 200 words will be printed—space and makeup permitting! They must be signed and identified, but identification may be omitted on request.

Dear Editors:

These times of sadness and violence in our world have brought many persons to consider problems and possibilities that they would perhaps never have otherwise faced. As you probably realize in your position, there will be both good and bad effects from such upheavals. Many will be led to question, to search, and to critically examine their own beliefs and lives; others will more or less carefully seek after some "cause" to which they may attach themselves.

I am afraid that I lack the "bandwagon" personality; I tend to be independent and a consistent non-joiner of organizations. But from the information which I have received both concerning and from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, it impresses me that you are much less interested in organizing than you are in promoting what you rightly describe as an entire way of life. Further, it happens to be a style of living to which I have given a good deal of serious thought in times of late, and the practical implications of which I would like to try to work out in my own life.

In supporting the FOR, then, I hope not to be just joining a group; for my part, the concern will be a serious-minded and real-

istic one, hopefully. To the FOR I hope to give my efforts and support; from it, I hope to take insight, direction and strength.

—AIDA CORDANO
Reno, Nevada

Dear Editors:

I want to express my thanks for your influence in the cause of peace. Every time Johnson, Rusk and other like-minded persons take another unreasonable, arbitrary step in favor of war, I'm assessing myself dollars in your favor. For Johnson's latest outburst against dissent, I enclose my check for \$15.

—H. B. TEXIER
Washington, D. C.

Two of our readers sent the comments below to their local television station.

Dear Sirs,

As we listen to your frequent and thorough news reports, we are regularly disturbed that you refer to the casualties caused by our bombing as a number of Communists killed or wounded.

We cannot understand how you can



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be so sure that all those reported hurt or killed were Communists, or as you imply, enemies of Democracy and freedom.

Other sources suggest that many harmless and in fact innocent people may be among those you report as Communists. Your choice of the word Communist hides that part of our guilt which must follow the bombings, and also hides the immediate need for peace.

We suggest that you report casualties as people not Communists, and improve the precision of your reporting while strengthening the call for peace.

Sincerely,
HENRY M. RICHTER, JR., M.D.
MARY RICHTER

Chicago, Ill.

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THAT MEN MAY LIVE... in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an association of men and women of all faiths who recognize the essential unity of mankind and have joined together to explore the power of love and truth for resolving human conflict. Always vigorous in its opposition to war, the Fellowship has insisted also that this effort must be related to achieving a peaceful world community. It therefore recognizes peace as the fruit and pleasure of a community that cherishes and defends the full dignity and freedom of every human being everywhere. Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words,

1) They identify with those of every nation, race and religion who are the victims of injustice and exploitation, and seek to develop helpful resources of active nonviolent intervention.

2) They work to abolish war and to create a community of concern transcending all national boundaries and selfish interests; as an integral part of that commitment they refuse to participate personally in any war, or to give any sanction they can withhold from preparation for war;

3) They strive to build a social order that will utilize the resources of human ingenuity and wisdom for the benefit of all men, and in which no individual or group will be exploited or oppressed;

4) They advocate methods of dealing with offenders against society that will be founded on understanding and forgiveness, and that will seek to rehabilitate the offender rather than punish him;

5) They endeavor to show reverence for personality in all situations, in association with persons of other racial, credal or national backgrounds;

6) They seek to avoid bitterness and contention in dealing with controversy, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the effort to achieve these purposes.

All who agree with the principles of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are invited to contribute and are urged to become members. Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.