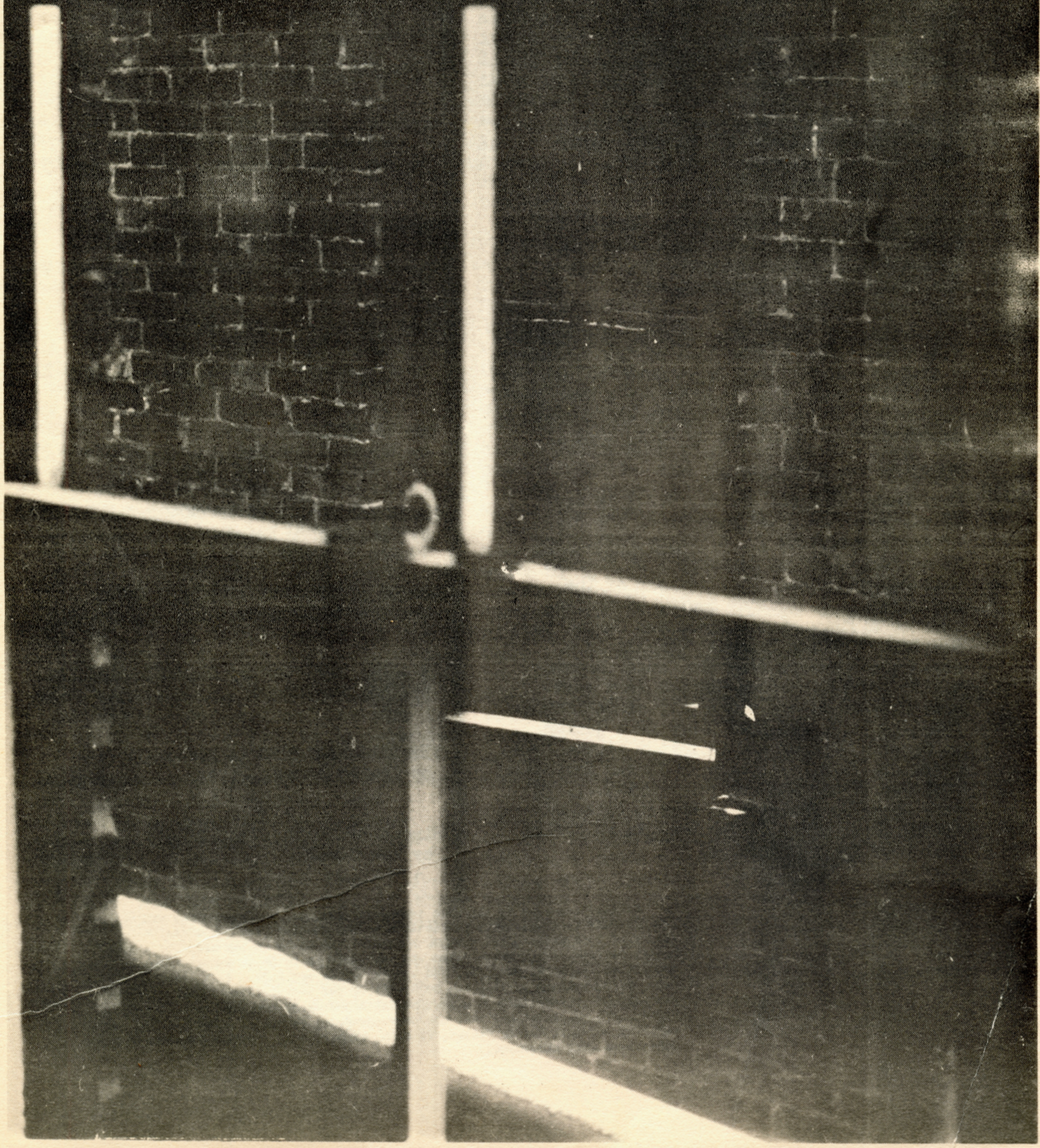


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THE ACTIVIST

and the ALBATROSS

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by Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. (D., N.J.)

CONGRESS, COALITIONS, AND CRISES: The Democratic Study Group

In our times, the growing importance of political issues, the serious and frequently desperate urgency of political life, have been met with seemingly greater public apathy and unconcern about politics. In part this results from a feeling of ignorance, a sense that issues and events are far too complex and technical to be understood.

Partly, this is obviously well-founded: there is no minimizing the fact that the most important issues of the day are too complex and too interrelated to be understood, let alone solved, without serious and continuing interest and study. But in their efforts to inform the public, active politicians are hampered by a second source of public "apathy": a feeling that nothing the individual citizen does or thinks matters, and that our institutions are a conspiracy to frustrate rather than advance the major aims and hopes of the citizen himself. Such a belief paralyzes our efforts to inform the public because it creates a prior conviction that it is not worth the trouble to become informed. Again, there is no underestimating the problem; it is troublesome to obtain and keep even a minimal political understanding, especially in a period when the half-informed citizen may be worse than one not informed at all. A little knowledge did not stop being a dangerous thing with Pope's odes: it has become moreso in an age of mass destruction weapons and a revolution of expectations the world over.

Indeed, it is often the half-informed who contribute to, if they do not create, the widespread belief that politics is something in which the citizen is best off when least involved. Congressmen are perhaps most aware and most resentful of this fact, for Congress is

the favorite "whipping boy" of the half-informed. Seeking to locate a source for the problems and disappointments that America and Americans confront in their political life, political cartoonists, feature writers and professional mudslingers seem intent to paint the worst possible caricature of Congress as an unholy collection of grasping, evil and lazy parasites intent on thwarting the public interest.

Yet even the best-intentioned reporters and commentators tend to show Americans an entirely negative view of Congress. Congress makes headlines when it kills a Presidential reorganization plan; when 75 members are found to have relatives on their payroll or another is accused of a "conflict of interest" or the use of counterpart funds on oversea investigations; when the Rules Committee pigeonholes an important bill; and so on.

Of course, all these things have happened. But there is another side of Congress which does not make headlines: the diligent work of a subcommittee seeking to draft a Youth Employment bill that can command a majority, or the positive work being done on bills to help solve urban traffic problems, to protect the public from untested drugs, to safeguard the right to vote of racial minorities and to streamline the organization of Congress itself to meet present day needs and challenges.

In a large measure, Congress is misunderstood because so much of its activity is not dramatic and does not make natural headlines. It is easy enough for European observers like Bertrand de Jouvenel or the late Harold Laski to make favorable, if judicious, references to the American Congress in works of political theory; it is another to pay similar tributes on the front page of a daily or in a fif-

teen minute newscast. Yet it is still surprising that so many liberals, who would scorn the "mass media" on a hundred different issues, so readily accept the view those media present of the national legislature.

Of course, no one claims that Congress is a perfect institution. Yet it is an extraordinary fact that we fail to recognize, despite, for example, the increasing research in legislative politics of political scientists, that Congress is largely a reflection of ourselves, representing the diverse and conflicting interests and points of view in a complex society. In large measure, Congress may be criticized only insofar as we are willing to criticize ourselves for our failure to elect more responsible and more dedicated people to represent us.

That lack of party responsibility contributes to the inability of leaders to carry out pledges made to the electorate on a national level is a text-book truism which Professor James Burns has recently documented in his book, The Deadlock of Democracy: Four Party Politics in America. For 25 years "the coalition", the combined strength of the Dixiecrats and the vast majority of Republicans, has dominated the Congress with a conservative bloc of votes highly cohesive and organized even when they lacked a majority of total seats. Even when beaten on such recent bills as the Housing Act, the Area Redevelopment Act, the Accelerated Public Works Act, and the fight to curb the abuses of the House Rules Committee, it has taken its toll in watering down the legislation or in cutting back funds to implement the programs through its control of the conservative-stacked House Appropriations Committee. Indeed, a close analysis suggests that the key programs advanced by the Kennedy administration can count on support of no more than 190-200 of

the 257 nominally Democratic members of the House and can only be carried with the support of 20-30 Republicans. Nor need anyone be told that the strategic position of the coalition, with its control of key chairmanships such as those of the House Rules or the Senate Judiciary and Finance Committees far outweighs its numerical strength alone.

The tactics of the coalition emphasize ingenious maneuvers to prevent legislation from coming to a vote at all. This would be by far the safest course even if the coalition had a Congressional majority. One never knows what may happen to legislation on the floor, but there is no danger of its passing so long as it remains safely in committee. Moreover, some of the measures themselves popular among the constituents of coalition members are "bottled up", by Republicans to avoid opposing measures openly which many of their constituents favor, by Dixiecrats to perpetuate the sense of political disinterest which--along with restrictions of the suffrage--guarantees them seemingly perennial reelection.

Prof. Herbert McClosky has demonstrated that Republican voters agree more with Democratic leaders on most issues than with their own. So also Prof. V.O. Key has recently pointed out that Southern opinion is as "liberal", the race question aside, as opinion in the North, and that Southern conservatives tend to be kept in power by extremely low participation among the Southern lower classes, whether white or Negro.

It is hard enough to explain why a nominally Democratic Congress fails to enact liberal legislation. It is next to impossible to illustrate the subtle tactics of "Judge" Smith of Virginia or the Republican leadership which thwart the efforts of the Democratic leadership to advance and schedule legislation that is part of the President's program.

Indeed, such maneuvers are even confusing to Members who live with

the problem and are sensitive to the technical subtleties of the situation. This merely emphasizes a fact: whatever the general validity of Michels' notion of the "iron law of oligarchy" in a large and somewhat unwieldy body like the House of Representatives, organization, planning and cohesion are necessary for any opinions to make themselves felt.

For years, liberal Democrats labored at a disadvantage in this respect. Coming from marginal districts they often lacked experience--especially after the GOP sweep in 1946 defeated many of the remaining New Deal veterans. They were often disorganized and confused in the face of coalition finesse. And they were almost always people of strong personal convictions and independence who would have been hard to organize in any case. The elected leaders of the party, such as the beloved Speaker Sam Rayburn and his successor John McCormack were confronted with the almost impossible task of both managing the House and preserving the tenuous links of loyalty that held and hold together the rival Democratic factions. The late Clam Miller's Member of the House suggests that the party caucus seldom meets to prevent an open and perhaps final break in the party; certainly some such fears were connected to the failure of the House to adopt the "Policy Committees" for each party recommended by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (which were adopted by the Senate.

Years of such frustration produced sporadic efforts to mobilize liberal strength on major legislation to counteract the powerful negative force generated by the conservative coalition. Such was the ad hoc "organization" formed by Congressional liberals in 1946 to push for enactment of the Employment Act of 1946. Stephen K. Bailey describes this successful fight for the establishment of a national

full employment policy in his book, Congress Makes a Law. Other similar loose-knit groupings of liberal for specific legislative fights took place in the next decade, but were often disorganized and ineffective. Once the objective had been achieved the "organization" dissolved and Congressional liberal once more went their merry, confused and un-coordinated way.

It is hard to see why the lesson proved so hard for liberals to learn. Years before, an organized group of "insurgent republicans" led by then Congressman George Norris of Nebraska, had been able to divest "Uncle" Joe Cannon of the "czar-like" powers which the Speaker had held since the mid-1880's. Yet that lesson, too, had been ignored. One reason might have been the feeling among liberals that organized action was "logrolling" and not quite respectable. A more powerful reason was that Democrats had become accustomed to strong Presidential leadership and initiative under Roosevelt and Truman.

In any event, it was only in 1957 that eighty liberal Democratic Members of the House drafted a statement of broad legislative objectives to be advanced by common action throughout the session, veering away from ad hoc unity on single measures. While Eisenhower had been re-elected in 1956, he had failed to carry with him the control of either House. A similar situation had not occurred in over one hundred years. It was incumbent on the Democrats, therefore, to advance a legislative program, in that the President's triumph was obviously personal.

A statement of legislative objectives, the "McCarthy Manifesto" (named after Rep. Eugene McCarthy - now Senator - of Minnesota), became known on Capitol Hill, as the Congressman took the leadership in organizing the liberal movement in the House. Throughout the remaining two years of the 85th Congress, House liberals began informal organization

There was no paid staff; staff work was volunteered by office personnel of key Members of the group. Yet some research was undertaken, an informal whip system was established to alert Members to important votes on the floor, and strategy meetings were held among group leaders to maximize liberals' effectiveness in floor fights over major legislation. However, there was no formal leadership in the group, no organization structure, and little long-range planning.

While results of this initial effort fell short in terms of the magnitude of the job to be done, it was, nevertheless, an important step forward.

An upsurge in liberal Democratic strength after the 1958 election was followed by a series of legislative reverses in the first session of the 86th Congress as the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition tightened its hold on key legislative arteries. Enactment of the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, a smashing coalition victory, convinced liberal forces of the need for altering the organizational framework if anything productive was to come from the crucial Presidential-election year Congress. Those of us facing difficult fights in the 1960 election needed a way to dramatize the basic issues to demonstrate differences between the approaches of the two parties.

Shortly before adjournment of the 1959 legislative session, Rep. Lee Metcalf, now Senator, from Montana, invited about 100 liberal Democratic Members to a meeting to discuss the failures of the session and to explore ways in which more effective action could be taken in the important 1960 session. Metcalf had been active in the original McCarthy group two years earlier and was a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee.

Members attending the meeting agreed on the need for general reorganization and chose a committee headed by Representative Sisk of

California to devise such an organizational format. A modified plan was adopted in subsequent weeks. Thus the "Democratic Study Group" came into being, with Metcalf as Chairman, and regional vice-chairmen elected by members of their regions. They included such seasoned legislators as Fogarty of Rhode Island, Multer of New York, Green of Pennsylvania, Yates of Illinois, Blatnik of Minnesota, and Roosevelt of California. I had the honor of being elected Secretary of the DSG, the major function being to create a liberal Democratic whip system to keep our Members informed and to alert them to key votes being brought to the floor.

By the beginning of the session we had assembled a small staff to prepare research material, and had recruited one hundred twenty-five liberal Democratic Members from thirty States. A meeting of the group in January, 1960, chose eight specific legislative objectives on which to concentrate, voted a dues schedule to meet expenses, and organized a task force of Members to work in each of the eight legislative areas, and began work on the first target: passage of the Civil Rights Bill to provide new guarantees of voting rights regardless of race.

From the very beginning--both publicly and privately--it was made clear that the DSG was not challenging the elected Democratic leadership. Instead the agreed upon purposes of the DSG were emphasized at every opportunity--(1) to implement the legislative goals of the Democratic platform; (2) to dramatize 1960 election issues; and (3) to assist the Democratic leadership in the struggle against the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition.

After successful enactment of the Civil Rights Bill, coordinated DSG action blocked an Eisenhower Administration bill that would have hiked the interest rate ceiling on long-term government bonds after

the bill had been approved by the Dixiecrat-Republican forces on the House Ways and Means Committee. This victory alone has saved several billion dollars in interest on the national debt over a period of years.

This victory was followed by a strategic maneuver to force the Area Redevelopment bill into the House floor for a vote after it had been pigeonholed by the coalition-controlled Rules Committee.

The bill was passed by the successful use of the Calendar Wednesday rule--the first time the rule had been used on a major bill in ten years. President Eisenhower later vetoed the bill to aid depressed economic areas and the issue became a major factor in Senator Kennedy's campaign later in the year. The measure was subsequently enacted during the first year of the Kennedy Administration.

The first major Federal Aid to Education bill was passed by the House the following month when DSG forces threatened another Calendar Wednesday showdown. The Rules Committee reversed its stand and quickly sent the bill to the House floor.

DSG activity in several other chosen legislative battles also produced encouraging results. For the first time liberals were working together on a sustained basis toward a set of mutually agreed upon legislative objectives. The overall results were in sharp contrast to the dismal 1959 session. That year the coalition won 10 of 11 showdown votes on major legislation. But in 1960, DSG teamwork and organization helped to defeat the coalition on 12 of 19 key roll calls. There were also setbacks such as the loss of the minimum wage and farm bills, and the omnibus housing bill that was blocked by the coalition in the Rules Committee.

Congressman Chat Holifield of California was elected to succeed

Metcalf as DSG Chairman in the summer of 1960. Research work was begun on campaign material for the use of DSG Members and Democratic candidates running against Republican incumbents. The staff was increased by the addition of several student interns. DSG campaign efforts were carefully coordinated with those of official party groups like the Democratic National Committee, and the House and Senate Campaign Committee so as to avoid duplication of time and materials.

The election of Senator Kennedy and a Democratic Congress in November was the signal for launching of a DSG campaign to curb abuses of the House Rules Committee. Unless the Dixiecrat-Republican hold on the Committee could be broken, chances for successful enactment of the new Democratic President's legislative program would be virtually nil. Working closely with Speaker Rayburn and the elected Democratic leadership, DSG leaders and Members played a major role in the fight to enlarge the Rules Committee to assure a Democratic majority to clear major Administration measures for debate.

The cliff-hanging 217-212 vote came late in January 1961. It was a crushing blow to the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition. The temporary increase in the Rules Committee membership from 12 to 15 during the 87th Congress was a major victory for Administration Democrats in the House, even though this reform did not go as far as the DSG had urged.

During the two years of the new Congress, DSG modified its basic role to adjust to Democratic Presidential leadership. Instead of formulating its own legislative program, it rallied behind Administration bills in familiar fields such as housing, area redevelopment, minimum wages, education, and other basic issues.

Increased emphasis was placed on research activities for Members and their staff. Meetings with Administration Cabinet officials

were arranged to discuss the details of upcoming legislation of interest to DSG Members. The DSG whip system was streamlined and the DSG staff was expanded and moved to its own office. Chairman Holifield was re-elected to a second term. The basic organizational structure was streamlined in 1962. An Executive Committee of eight was established, a position of Vice Chairman-at-large was created, and the number of regional vice chairmen reduced from six to three. Standing committees for research and program activities were set up. Congressman John Blatnik of Minnesota was elected Chairman in July 1962 and re-elected for a two year term this year, henceforth to run concurrently with the life of the Congress.

DSG campaign activities in the abbreviated 1962 campaign were expanded. Special campaign materials were supplied to our Members and to Democratic candidates throughout the country. Democrats held their own in the election. The historic off-year election losses to the party in power were the smallest since 1934. DSG orientation seminars for the 36 newly-elected Democratic Congressmen were organized in January, 1963 and proved highly successful. DSG forces again played a key role in making permanent the enlarged Rules Committee, cooperating with Speaker McCormack in the same fashion as had been the case with the late Speaker Rayburn.

Yet so very much remains undone and so many problems which desperately need public action have barely reached the stage of public discussion. If we feel pride in the record the DSG has made, if we feel obliged to correct the prevailing view that "nothing can be done", or the wholly negative image of Congress which is now so fashionable, we are also aware of what the DSG cannot do and the limitations that the present Congress imposes on liberal action.

Among other limitations, the DSG cannot by its very nature, en-

gage in extensive publicity. Its task is inside Congress and given the magnitude of that task it would not only be time wasted, but time irresponsibly wasted, for it to attempt much else.

But a few more liberal Democrats would make a great deal of difference on a great many of the issues we confront, as would a clear mandate for the President and Congressional liberal Democrats in 1964. So too would a public increasingly aware of both the grim necessities and the exciting possibilities that confront the United States in the present crisis. And for all of these we must rely on the support of those "activists", student and non-student who share the belief of the members of the DSG that even in the darkest despair that our times can generate, there can still be hope and courage among men of good will who can cherish men's humanity.

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RELIGIOUS PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION by W. CAREY McWILLIAMS

The last few years have seen directly religious issues involved in political debate to an almost unprecedented degree. The election of 1960, proposals for aid to education, and most of all, such decisions of the Supreme Court as Engel vs. Vitale have all intensified the open or covert discussion of the position of religion in the American Constitutional and political system. If the Supreme Court has serenely applied an ever-sharper line of demarcation between religion and the state, a growing chorus of sincere, if not always enlightened, voices has called for religious education, and for public acknowledgement of the role of the Divine in national life. It would be mistaken and presumptuous to identify this widespread concern with ignorance or fanaticism. To be sure, the advocate of religious education is likely to be guilty of defective reasoning or even repellent political premises. But traditional democratic theorists argued, with Jefferson, that the public might err in its reasons and be right in its sentiments. Democracy is based on the assumption that the individual who wears the shoe need not be a shoemaker to know when his foot-
wear pinches.

The demand for increasing governmental support of religion may be based on a sounder fundamental understanding of contemporary society and its needs than is characteristic of the Supreme Court or its apologists. This demand is, I believe based on the perception of an imbalance in our national life which imperils the meaning of the First Amendment itself.

The First Amendment clause prohibiting laws "respecting an establishment of religion" is by no means unambiguous. But whatever else it implies, it does insist that the dead hand of uniformity, of monolithic metaphysical and ethical

systems, is to be resisted in the American system. Professor Smylie in his recent reply to Bishop Pike (Christian Century, 31 October, 1962) has argued that the record is not clear as to the "intent" of the Framers. Perhaps not, nor would such a lack of clarity be surprising. The Framers never forgot what we tend to overlook--that they were not "founders". The Constitutional order was "founded" by the support of the people through the states, and this was nowhere more significant than in the debates regarding religion. The Deistic and rationalistic views that obtained in the circles of the political and intellectual elite found small support in the country. Hamilton was irreligious personally, but the chief bulwark of his party was the established Congregational clergy of New England. Jefferson may have been inclined to Deism but his "yeoman farmers" found more appealing doctrines in the evangelism of the "Great Awakening". The curious phrasing that finally found its way into the First Amendment, no law "respecting" a religious establishment, suggests "neither to establish nor to prohibit the establishment." Partly, of course, this was to protect established churches in the states, which did not finally disappear until the 1820's. If this were all, we might consider the clause today as simply prohibiting an "establishment." I would suggest, however, that it implies something more--that "no law respecting an establishment" is meant to exclude an established secularism as much as it is meant to prohibit an established sect or denomination.

Oftentimes we are deluded by the negative phrases of the Constitution. The Enlightenment tended to create the impression that, if unencumbered by governmental regulation, freedom will take care of itself. Attention centered on those governmental acts

which were taken to have restricted "freedom". But the negative declarations should not be taken as mere negations: They also imply the conviction that the state has an interest in freedom of speech, press and in the diversity of belief. Madison's Federalist #10 argued that government exists to "conserve" the diverse faculties of men; in an area where the dogmas of the age did not inhibit their perception the Framers gave Congress the power to encourage inventions by the granting of patents. Yet this last provision is the same as the grand negatives of the First Amendment in its suggestion that the diverse products of free and creative minds are of interest to the state.

We ought, by this time, to have discovered that removing prohibitions does not guarantee freedom. The escape from religious uniformity has not led to diversity. It has led inexorably toward another form of uniformity--the sterile bureaucratic metaphysic of contemporary American life. The goals of the Framers have not been forwarded by their policies. Yet surely the Constitution is not to be taken as limited by the errors of 18th century political science. The Constitution, Justice Holmes said, "does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics." Nor, one might add, does it enact the Collected Writings of Holbach or Helvetius or even Thomas Paine's The Age of Reason. The Enlightenment theorists assumed that man is "born free" and only enslaved by force and fraud. But even that theory suggests that man's "inborn" freedom is menaced by his tendency to submit to force and to be deluded by fraud--that courage and intelligence are needed if man is to be free. We might contend that public education can provide the intelligence; it is difficult to contend that it can produce courage. In fact, in this age of conformity it would be difficult to discover what does do so. Ulti-

ately, our experience with man's tendency to "escape from freedom" suggests the need for a sphere of values which stand in judgement over life and time, that give man the power to resist the tyranny of his own pettiness, his willingness to submit to indignities or to believe monstrosities in the interest of advancing his material success or of preserving his life.

While it may be a textbook truism that the American system presupposes a "separation of church and state," that phrase tells little in itself. It implies nothing more than that the organization of the church is independent from that of the state. In any reasonable definition, such a "separation" was characteristic of the Medieval separation of the church from state control. At the very least, separation implies a reciprocal influence of state and church on each other, both acting from positions of independence and relatively equality. It hardly applies the principle that "religion" is separable from "politics." The principle is unsound in terms of social science-- for religion involves values, and values, in their turn, influence and are influenced by behavior. It is, if I judge correctly, not much better as theology. "Render unto Caesar" is almost as ambiguous a phrase as the religion clause of the First Amendment. Early Christianity seems to have been quite aware that belief is at least in part a function of community, and that a right relation of man to man is inextricably involved in any right relation to God. The history of the American church has not been a history of "separation" from the state but of an increasing subordination to it. This, I take it, has been a truism of American religious life ever since Tocqueville pointed out the strangely Jacksonian posture that even the God of Roman Catholicism had taken in America. To some degree this may have been healthy, but it hardly provides an answer to the dilemma provided the

new American "Establishment"--the monolithic ethics of mass industrial society.

The new concern of the public for the support of religion derives directly from this area of need in our political and social life: the necessity of a balance between spiritual and temporal and a strengthened and expanded diversity of systems of belief. But if its sense of needs has been sure, the public's choice of measures has not been happy.

Direct state interference in religion does not so much raise the danger of a particular religious doctrine being forced on the unwilling dissenter. A far greater danger is that the state would accept or direct only that vapid belief in belief that characterises the American religious consciousness in its current flowering. That is, far from stimulating values which might countervail the industrial and social process, the state would support precisely those religious doctrines which sustain and justify it, which reinforce the subordinate status of religion in American life. Placing the phrase "under God" in the pledge of allegiance does not suggest that American life should be guided by religious values. It does not argue that political or social expedience should be limited by the commandments of Divine sovereignty. Rather, it contends that America is "one nation under God," that America is God's own nation, and that temporal allegiance, far from being judged by the spiritual, is identical with it. It makes God an American, rather than America Christian.

If direct state actions to inculcate religious dogmas or beliefs, or to compel performance of religious rituals are likely to be misplaced, this need not lead to conclusion that the critics of the Supreme Court are entirely in error. If the Court means to imply that "no establishment" means that the state shall not establish any religious

dogmas or doctrine as authoritative, nor forbid the teaching of such doctrine, there can be little quarrel with its position.

The "release time program" might justly be struck down because it implies the use of state time for such inculcation, and because it levies penalties on those students who do not attend "religious instruction." Anyone who doubts that restriction to a study hall or even uninterrupted classroom participation is a penalty should re-examine the values of his own adolescent years.

Yet even here problems emerge as soon as the decision is applied. Would the court prevent a local school board from closing its schools an hour early, with the understanding that local churches would hold instruction during the hour? Would it prohibit a school schedule which was so adjusted as not to conflict with religious meeting? The practice of schools is almost universally to excuse Jewish students during religious holidays which are not recognized by the school schedule. Is it compelled to release non-Jewish students in the interests of equity? Is it an "establishment of religion" to adopt Christmas and Easter as vacation periods? I have no intention of contending that this reductio ad absurdum represents any tendency of the decisions of the Court, but rather to suggest that problems of application emerge in even the most admittedly proper restrictions of state action in the religious sphere.

When the issue of state assistance to religious organizations or schools is discussed, even more problems emerge. The state in fact engages in assistance, both direct and indirect, in areas which the Court would be equally reluctant to challenge. A state may clearly exempt religious institutions from taxation. Yet the removal of duty or liability under the law is no less an assistance than positive action. Few of us doubt that the special depletion allowance is an effective support for the oil industry as a direct

subsidy would be. Moreover, a state may give civil authority to ministers to perform marriage. In fact, it was only this year that Maryland established a form of civil marriage. Since this also involves a source of revenue for the church, it is doubly true that the state, by providing the cloak of civil authority has established "religions" if not a religion and buttressed their authority. Again, the state may clearly sponsor and support courses in the "philosophy of religion," or the "sociology of religion." It may even support a "Department of Religion" at a state college or university. The state may regulate education, moreover, in matters deeply affecting religious belief. It may select a textbook of Medieval History which paints the Roman Catholic church as a monstrous tyranny and as the bulwark of a reactionary class system. It may elect to prevent the teaching of evolution in public schools. If a state may not require students to read the Bible, would we deny the state the right to require the reading of Milton or Donne? To say that individuals who resent these decisions may send their children to private or parochial institutions is no effective answer. For by compelling an individual to chose between religious beliefs and public doctrine, the state levies a liability on those who hold dissenting religious views which does not apply to those agreeing with the majority. Secondly, the problem is only pushed to a further remove, for the state has the power to determine what "accredited" education will be. Ultimately the state must decide whether the educational doctrines purveyed in parochial schools meet its standards of adequate education, or not. Is the anthropology of Black Islam or the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints to be accepted as education? Is fundamentalist biology "biology" for the fulfillment of college requirements? The "Flag salute" case (W. Va. vs Barnette)

hardly resolved such educational problems by ruling that the pledge to the flag cannot be compelled, again for two reasons. The first derives from the reasoning of the Court itself in Brown vs. Board of Education -- that segregation creates feelings of racial inferiority contrary to the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment. Even if the state may not compell the salute to the Flag, it undeniably may create a psychological feeling of isolation and inferiority in those who do not voluntarily participate. Second, if the state may not discipline a student for such symbolic independence, if his history text describes "Protestantism" as an essential ingredient of democracy, or suggests that Christianity was a "progressive" force in the ancient world, may it discipline him for refusing to vie the "academically" correct answer?

What the court seems to have ignored is the problem of an apparent conflict of Constitutional provisions. If Congress may make no law "respecting an establishment of religion," it may make laws regulating the "health, morals and welfare" of citizens, the famous "police power." It may dictate that, however religiously important, Mormons shall not practice polygamy, and that followers of Mrs. Eddy shall observe quarantine signs. To say that "facts" do not effect "faith," or ideas are unconnected to actions, does not separate "politics" from "religion." It established a particular definition of religion which sees religion as a mystic, irrational or transrational creed with little or no intrinsic connection with the world. Yet this is hardly a universal view of religion. In fact, such a definition comes closer to Emerson's concept of the "Over-Soul" than to historic Christianity. Whatever its theological merits, such a conception of religion is one which, if our experience with Emersonian

doctrines is any example, is associated with the growth of individualism, industrialism and the mass state.

The apparent conflict between the "police power" and the First Amendment is most often resolved in practice by political prudence. Congress, though it might have done so, did not include sacramental liquor in its statutes enforcing Prohibition. It excuses conscientious objectors who profess a pacifist doctrine founded on belief in a "Supreme Being" from military service. But in both cases it does recognize a difference between believers and unbelievers. As so often appears when American practice is examined in a critical light, Congress seems to have established "religions" if not a religion.

If we are not to prevent the state and federal governments from acting altogether we must concede that "no establishment" does not prevent the regulation of matters relevant to religious conviction and belief where such regulation pursues a legitimate public purpose. The state may, I would argue, provide assistance to parochial as well as to public schools. It may make religious functionaries officials of the state. It may prohibit certain religious rites or practices. But in so doing it must be bound by the provisions of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. It must demonstrate the relevance of its action to public purposes -- education, public morals, etc. It is probably more reasonable to argue that the state may compel a "pledge of allegiance" than to suggest that it may not provide financial aid to accredited parochial schools. But the prohibition of the first and the permission of the second are both justified by the same principle of public policy, that the state has an interest in diverse systems of metaphysics and ultimate commitment.

The regulations of a state are

not to be "balanced" against the establishment clause. They are to be considered as they contribute or detract from the diversity of cultures within the United States. The state may choose not to encourage further diversity but it may not choose to "establish" uniformity nor to adopt measures which accept such uniformity as their goal or standard. Diversity of cultures has, in other words, a "preferred position." In any restriction, therefore, the state must bear the burden of proof; it must establish "necessity." It might punish the Jehovah's Witness were he to refuse allegiance to the United States by active disobedience to laws or by sedition. It can show no "necessity" which requires that he "pledge" his allegiance, nor can it show that he should make such a pledge to a flag. It may elect not to assist parochial schools, but it is difficult to conceive of an exigency that would make it justifiable to forbid them. And the state may, with perfect justification, elect to assist those schools which meet minimal educational standards on the grounds of an interest in diversity. Can it assist some schools and not others? The answer is, of course, that it may, provided that the basis of discrimination is, again, relevant to public policy -- to education and to the interest in cultural diversity. Aid to theological seminaries could not discriminate insofar as they are "theological." Insofar as they treat of matters of concern to general liberal or technical education, it may do so, but on the basis of considerations relevant to general education as such.

The First Amendment denies that the United States has an interest in establishing a religion. But it may have, indeed must have, an interest in religion and in those secular systems which are the counterparts of religious belief. That fact is the basis of the wisdom which is inarticulately embodied in contemporary discontent, and articulately in the language of the First Amendment.

WHAT ARE WE TEACHING OUR CHILDREN ABOUT THE SOUTH? by J. Anthony Scott

The legacy of slavery lives on in this country until this very day. It operates in the form of a universal prejudice against the Negro that relegates him to second-class citizenship and denies him equal job opportunities, equal access to decent housing, equal educational rights. The dynamic of our own age lies in the continuing struggle of Negro and white together to achieve full freedom in an interracial democracy.

Many of our young people are aware that equal rights is the central issue of our times, and they are eager to be a part of the continuing battle for democracy. Their participation of recent years in youth marches, sit-ins, and freedom rides has been a graphic demonstration of this truth. But it is also true that millions of our youth have still not been awakened to the challenge that faces our society; their understanding of the civil rights issue and their dedication to it still have to be won.

In this context it becomes imperative for us to examine carefully the history and civics texts to which these same young people are being exposed. The texts which a democracy uses in the education of its youth ought to be powerful allies in building democratic convictions and in winning young people for the democratic cause.

Naturally, if our Social Studies texts excluded everything but a concern for the civil rights theme, we could with justice accuse them of bias and one-sidedness. But suppose that this same theme was being ignored and excluded almost completely, in the teaching of our children. We could emphatically and with equal justice charge the texts with bias and distortion.

In a very real sense the race question in the United States has had its storm center in the South.

We need to ask, therefore; what are our children throughout the country being taught today about the South and its place in national history? What conclusions are being drawn from past experience in race relations, and what picture of the future of race relations in this country is being given? What are our Southern children learning about their own Southern heritage? What use is being made of the image of the great Southerner, Thomas Jefferson, in illuminating the democratic and antislavery traditions of the South itself?

I shall show that the picture of the South that is being presented to the average American high school student is lamentable inadequate. The prejudice and ignorance of authors and historians, the apathy of the general public, and the blind conservatism of publishers have all worked together to obliterate anything even remotely approaching a full, fair, and candid treatment of the Negro's role in American history.

As things stand with us now, even though our textbooks are instruments of public policy and of national education, they are produced by private businessmen as commercial and money-making products. Writers and publishers alike are subject to all sorts of pressures that jeopardize or preclude a full and proper treatment of many sensitive issues. A text, for example, that ventilated the race issue fully and fairly would stand not a chance in a million of adoption in the segregated school systems of the South. Many high school texts are written to sell in the national market, and this means that some portion of the publisher's revenue comes from his Southern sales. This fact is most disturbing, since it means that the racist and bigoted school boards of the South may have the final say about what is said in a text intended to be used in

Michigan as well as in Mississippi.

If we wish to get the truth about race relations in our texts, we shall have to think of ways of changing this situation. One solution would be for the educational authorities -- that is, for Boards of Education, themselves -- to turn publisher and to solicit texts that accord both with historic truth and contemporary need. We are blessed, also, with tax-exempt educational foundations, like the Ford or Rockefeller foundations, which have huge financial resources at their disposal. Such foundations might enter actively into the business of developing and distributing texts in which truth and not the production of monetary profit is the primary consideration.

Beyond this, the problem of inadequate texts is related to the fact that groups representing the public interest have not applied the right kinds of pressures to publishers and educational authorities alike. An aroused interest, on the part of parent groups, educational associations, and minority groups, and an organized expression of their concern, would undoubtedly result in some improvement in the situation.

Among teachers and historians we need more discussion of the criteria that should govern good textbook writing and more honest and searching criticism of the material that the publishing industry is offering us. Texts in the fields of civics and history have potentially so vast an influence that they merit national attention and should be reviewed by experts, not only in the learned and educational journals, but in the national press itself.

In what follows I shall document this conclusion from an examination of the picture of the South presented to the American high school student in his textbook. There is, unfortunately, little difficulty

in generalizing about what is read by millions of our high children in a dozen or so civics and history texts. These show a startling uniformity in their treatment of the South and the Negro.

II

The texts, for the most part, ignore the process by which slaves were caught, transported, and sold in the New World. But the introduction of slavery into the American colonies, and particular, into the South during the 17th and 18th centuries, was certainly one of the most awesome events in our national past; the consequences of that original act have molded American history until the present moment.

How is this question handled in the texts? The whole matter is usually mentioned in the most casual way and it is a generous writer who allots more than five or six lines to the topic. Typical is the masterly understatement of one author that the slaves "were brought out of Africa by traders, who sold them at the prevailing market prices." We might defend such a minor emphasis if the subject was a minor one. Such is not the case. Many aspects of the history of the slave trade and of slavery in the New World have been richly documented. There are few more striking, dramatic, tragic, and entirely human themes to be found in the recorded history of man.

Second only in importance to the introduction of slavery is the story of how it rooted itself; how, in colonial times, large-scale plantations spread through the fertile valleys of Virginia, through the rice-swamps of South Carolina and Georgia. The impact of slavery was profoundly and inescapably anti-democratic. Slavery undermined the foundations of Southern democracy; it split the people into lords of land and back-country poor; it fos-

tered fierce race and class hatreds; it made inevitable rebellion and civil strife.

Our texts disdain to probe this question. Many of them, on the contrary, either state or clearly imply that slavery was a blessing to the South. Text after text, to give only one example, tells us that prosperity came to Georgia only after that misguided colony repealed its initial ban upon the introduction of slave labor. What other conclusion can the student possibly draw, but that slavery was "good," indeed indispensable, for the welfare of the Georgians? Our texts usually mention that the founder of Georgia was James Oglethorpe, but they rarely link his name with that of John Wesley, and never state that these two men were among the most resolute and passionately antislavery leaders that American history has produced.

The texts treat colonial slavery in an abstract, passionless, and "objective" way. One text states that "in colonial times few people anywhere objected to slavery as such." There is a good deal of evidence that the slaves themselves objected, but it is evidently taboo to discuss the slave's own reaction to his situation. Slave rebellions dot colonial history and underline the eternally human truth that the infliction of wrong guarantees retribution. It is incredible but true that instead of recording these insurrections most of our text writers dismiss them as too trivial to mention, and some even go so far as to state positively that the slaves "adjusted to their situation without a murmur." An understanding of our modern America demands the inclusion in our texts of the historic truth of slave insurrection. From the first, inarticulate uprisings of an oppressed people to the massive protest movement of today, there lies a continuous, unbroken tradition of a struggle for freedom and against an evil social

order. This is a central fact of American history and it is the heritage of our youth. They have a right to know it.

III

The figure of Thomas Jefferson is quite fundamental to a discussion of the struggle between slavery and democracy in American history. Jefferson fought this country's first great revolutionary battles, and he helped to shape the United States's enduring philosophy of democracy and its Constitution. Jefferson was both a slaveholder and a human being deeply opposed to slavery. His thoughts about slavery, and his opposition to it, cast a brilliant light on a democrat's vision of the South, its future and its destiny. Ownership of slaves endowed Jefferson with a concern that amounted almost to an obsession over the problem of slavery. In him we have the image of a man of deep human sympathy, a Southerner, and a white, enmeshed in a system that he detested, casting around for an enduring solution. Jefferson's moral judgment on slavery is a matter of record. He regarded it as a crime against humanity and a menace to organized society. In its irrationality, backwardness, and cruelty, it was to him the absolute antithesis of the rule of reason and of human independence to which he dedicated his life.

It is a measure of Jefferson's tremendous moral and human stature that he succeeded in freeing himself from the prejudice of his own time, and in giving expression to a love of human freedom and of mankind that is timeless and universal in its significance. Jefferson, above all, entertained and expressed a vision of the South. It was to be a land free of slavery, of the ignorance and prejudice that accompanied it. It was to become a land of enlightened, compassionate, and educated democracy.

But what do our high school texts have to tell our young people about Jefferson's inner conflict and its resolution? It is incredible to have to record that the vast majority of such books simply pass the question by. They make no reference to Jefferson as a slaveowner at all. If Jefferson's thought illuminates the problems of our own day, the light is not allowed to filter through to the texts. We get, instead, a flaccid stereotype. One book published in 1961 tells us twice that Jefferson had red hair, but not once does it mention that he was an unwilling owner of slaves. Another book published in 1959 tells us that Jefferson drew up the Declaration of Independence and that "minor changes" were made in his draft before its adoption by Congress. The text omits to tell us that Congress itself made a change of major importance when it deleted from the Declaration Jefferson's fierce attack upon slavery and the slave trade. In the whole field of high school texts there is not, to the best of my belief, one that prints the earlier draft of the Declaration of Independence along with the final draft.

IV

Jefferson's vision of the South as a land of democracy, of course, was not realized. The very memory of the Jeffersonian tradition was all but blotted out of the South in the years following his death in 1826.

The story of the growth of slavery in the antebellum years is a familiar one to many who got their schooling in an earlier day. The older generation, if it remembers any history at all from its school days, knows how and who slavery grew to be a gigantic power in the South in the years before 1860. It remembers the story of the cotton gin and the rise of the Cotton

Kingdom. It has read how slavery spread across the deep South, established racism as the South's official creed, and enshrined the rule of a driving oligarchy of wealthy cotton planters.

But what is the schoolboy being taught about the Cotton Kingdom today? The question is not an academic one, for it was precisely in these years, 1826-60, that slavery, racism, and segregation made their profoundest mark upon the South and upon the nation.

The high school text accords only the slightest reference to Whitney's invention; beyond that, and more important, there is little or no treatment of the social process that the gin unleashed. The texts give us no picture, that is, in human and in social terms, of how this invention brought about the transformation of the deep South, undermining the democracy of the pioneer and the smaller farmer, and ensuring the triumph of racist and authoritarian institutions.

This failure to show the ruinous nature of the process involved in the advance of slavery to a position of dominance is true even of texts that devote a comparatively generous amount of space to the antebellum South. Almost invariably we get a static picture of what the South looked like after the transformation was complete. The role of slavery in undermining Southern democracy, driving out or ruining many of the white farmers, is not dealt with.

If our writers skirt the question of the catastrophic impact of slavery upon the white people of the South, they handle the question of its impact upon the slaves themselves even more gingerly. An "on the one hand..., on the other hand..." approach to the subject hands out praise and blame with even-handed justice. But the truth is known, and it ought to be recorded. Raising crops on a large

scale for monetary profit and utilizing slave labor has proved itself historically one of the cruellest practices known to man. This was the type of large-scale slavery that became dominant, socially, economically, and politically, in the antebellum South. This type of plantation slavery needs to be distinguished carefully from the petty slaveholding that prevailed in certain parts of the South and that was far less cruel in its mode of operation. The distinction is a very important one in coming to a conclusion about slavery in the antebellum South, but I have yet to see a high school text that makes it.

But let us turn to the slave himself. What is our modern schoolchild encouraged to learn about the slave as a human being--his life, his thoughts, his asperations, and his suffering? To what extent is modern youth encouraged to identify with the black Prometheus? The question is an important one. The human motivation, the living, passionate fabric of history, must remain a closed book to the person who cannot sympathize with the past, put himself in the place of people long dead, relive their joys and agonies.

One may search the index of text after text and find not even a mention of the most illustrious names in the history of the Negro people-- Harriet Tubman, Solomon Northup, Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth. A Negro youth today must get the story of these heroes from the lips of his parents if he is to get them at all. As for the White high school student, one suspects that such names are as unknown to him as they are to his textbook-writing elders. Negro and white youth alike are being denied their joint heritage; the record of these illustrious lives is national in significance, and the literature and legend clustering around these peo-

ple belongs to all America, and not to any segment of it.

If modern youth is not encouraged to identify with the slave struggling against slavery, still less is he given a chance to identify with the white man struggling against slavery. There are few texts that give more than the briefest of references to the fact that the movement for the abolition of slavery historically was rooted in the South, and was a genuine, indigenous Southern movement. There are few points more important to make to the young Southerner today than that the struggle against slavery and racism produced white intellectual leaders, writers, and heroes in the South itself. We have already mentioned the example of Thomas Jefferson. Cassius Clay, James G. Birney, and the Grimke sisters may also be cited; every young American should know their names and their stories. But the high school student is lucky who finds in his text anything more than a passing reference to these people, and in a number of books they are not even mentioned.

V

The question of the Civil War in the text books needs an article in itself. It is sufficient to say that the criticisms made above apply here with redoubled force. Text after text tells us, with weary repetition, how Jackson earned the name "Stonewall" at the first battle of Bull Run. None gives us the story of Col. Robert Gould Shaw, the young American immortal, the white leader of the colored 54th. Massachusetts Regiment, who gave his life at Fort Wagner in 1863 for the freedom and the future of the Negro people. Most texts avoid these "controversial figures." It is so much easier to stick to a deadpan recitation of battles.

VI

Nowhere is the failure of the modern text highlighted more fully than in its approach to the Reconstruction era. It is inescapably true that we are still handing out the same version of Reconstruction that was handed out fifty years ago; and this notwithstanding the impressive amount of new writing and research that has been done in the interval. This antiquated version of the facts is virulently Dixiecrat in its bias.

The assassination of Lincoln, runs the thesis, marked the passing of the policy of a Christian, gentlemanly treatment of the beaten foe. Power passed into the hands of the Radical Republicans, and a more devilish crew never -- we are told -- disgraced the pages of American history. We are given a glimpse of Thaddeus Stevens ('sinister'), Charles Sumner ('pompous'), and Benjamin Wade ('vulgar'). These men were obsessed, say the texts, with a desire for revenge (and Sumner in particular-- hadn't he been beaten up by Preston Brooks in 1856, and wasn't he, therefore, burning up for a chance to beat back?) They subjected the South to the humiliation of military occupation. Carpetbaggers locust-like invaded the region, corralled the votes of the ignorant and "childish" freedmen, set up puppet governments, began an orgy of corruption and looting. But in 1877 home rule was re-established, the white man recovered his proper place in the South -- and lo! in the course of time a "new South" with textile plants and oil wells rose like a phoenix from the ashes.

Our textbook writers usually say all this in great haste, like a child reciting a piece that he has memorized and wants to get done with. With a sigh of relief he hurries off to bring about the rise of industry in the North, to open up the High Plains, and to fight the war in Cuba.

The trouble with this version of Reconstruction is that, under the guise of a critical approach to the Reconstruction era, it evades any kind of realistic examination of the basic and tragic shortcomings of national policy at that time. In particular, the failure of that generation of Americans to establish a full and permanent measure of political and economic democracy in the South merits our close attention. This failure provides the starting point for the civil rights movement of our own day and is a key to the understanding of the full sweep and significance of the contemporary movement for civil rights in the South.

1877 witnesses the definitive overthrow and termination of the Reconstruction experiment. One text tells us that the restoration of the traditional rule of Southern white conservatives spelled "the triumph of orderly government" in the South. This "triumph" spelled also the elimination of the Negro's voting rights, the imposition of a system of caste and segregation sanctioned and maintained by the power of the Southern states, and the clamping down upon the entire South of a conservative dictatorship which was the antithesis of democracy and human decency. These historical facts, no doubt, are unpleasant. Text writers seem to feel an obligation to shield the reader from them; similarly they do no more than hint at the economic catastrophe that overwhelmed the Southern Negro after the collapse of Reconstruction. The ex-slave, who had fought so valiantly for his freedom, was pressed again into the status of a rightless, voteless, landless man. A new epoch of humiliation, poverty, and forced toil descended upon him. The re-emergence of slavery after 1877 in a modified form is a blunt and brutal fact. The texts recoil from it. One wonders why?

To those who have read this far it will come as no surprise

that the Negro is the "forgotten man" in the texts, for the period 1910 to the present. So deep is the silence one might think that the entire Negro population had emigrated to Africa. Our authors recount the events of the first World War, the depression, the New Deal, and World War II without even as much as mentioning the South in all this time.

This is especially surprising when we recall that these same years witnessed a renaissance of civil rights struggles among intellectuals ready to join battle on behalf of equality -- ready to argue in the courts, to write history, to teach, and to organize. These years, furthermore, witnessed the Negro people's giant migrations from the agrarian past into the urban and industrial centers of both North and South. Are such things not to be even mentioned?

The significance of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 has to be assessed precisely in the light of the new pressures exerted by an increasingly literate, articulate, and organized minority. This decision was the culmination of decades of unobtrusive work, and it provided a starting point for new civil rights actions. The texts, indeed, refer to the great decision of 1954, but their references are brief, and often made quite out of context. As for the din of battle that has been coming from the South of recent years with the rise of the King and the student committees -- its reverberations may have been heard around the world, but their faintest echoes still remain to be recorded in the high school texts.

* * *

The most urgent problem which the American people face today within its own borders is that of equal rights for all citizens. This is an issue that will not wait quietly until we get around to solving it.

Progress in making real our stated constitutional philosophy and national goals requires that we win the understanding and the support of millions of our young people of both races. This involves in part a general familiarity with this nation's antislavery tradition and a specific familiarity with the history of the South. The main tool for the promotion of this understanding is the high school text; texts by themselves are, of course, no guarantee that we shall make progress toward racial equality, but we must think of them as potentially one of the most useful aids at our disposal in reaching the minds of youth and in conducting a struggle for democratic concepts perspectives. The existing texts, as we see, have lamentable shortcomings; but radical and speedy improvement is possible if responsible leaders among the general public, in the historical and educational professions, and in the publishing industry will move into the field and start to explore ways of bringing about the changes that we need. The rewriting of the texts will require the fullest and most candid illumination of both the triumphs and the shortcomings of the American people in their age-old antislavery struggles.

Anonymous

**This unheeding multitude
That is the Man in the Street
Carries in it, each one
A fragment of history.
This busy, moving microcosm,
This 'Common Man',**

**Is a world of symbols
A synonym of limitless potential
Each a fine neutrality
Of sinner and saint.**

**Yet this faceless, disembodied Scurrying
This spectrum of human experience
Annihilates itself
With half-pint egos**

**In crowded Introvertism,
And lives out the howling wilderness
Of an uncommon Anonymity.**

...Lemuel Johnson

THE "D" TRAIN

by Emmanuel Dongala

The sun blinds me as I get out of the lab. It is a beautiful summer day in New York. Sunny. Blue sky. Trees with green leaves. I can't cross because the light is green. Lines of cars are moving on, slowly passing me; the sun strikes their windshields and reflects toward me. I wish I had sunglasses. The policeman looks so funny trying to stop all those cars with his club. It is red now and I cross. The line is long, as usual, during rush hours. The old lady before me pulls some coins out of her handbag, but drops one penny; she sadly looks at it roll down the steps. I smile. I give two quarters. He gives me two dimes back and two tokens without smiling, and I say thank you. I walk downstairs and follow the sign "Downtown." I can't see at first because it is dark, then my eyes get used to it. Three benches are against the wall. Three girls and one boy are sitting on one of them. I select that one and sit close to the prettiest; she does not even notice me. I try my best smile, no reaction from her. I then go and sit on the other corner of the bench, look at her diagonally, and try my best smile again. Nothing. Hell, I give up. The station is dirty; chewing gum wrappers, pages from the Daily News and the Times lie on the floor. I look up and read no spitting. I turn around and see the Coke machine; I read "Be sociable, have a Coke." The station gets more and more crowded. A stooped old lady is standing up, her back against the wall, bent forward on her cane. She grins an awful smile to me; her mouth is toothless. She looks tired and very fragile. Next to her is a lovely blonde girl. I stand up and give my place to the girl. I like girls,

especially blondes. She refuses at first, but finally sits down. I let my eyes wander over the walls; they are covered with advertising. Over the advertising are some other writings. I am short sighted, and I can't read from very far away. I come nearer and read. Over an advertisement for Radio Free Europe is "better Red than dead" written with blue ink; close to it is "better dead than Red" written with a pencil; over both of the previous inscriptions is written with a red Magic Marker "better Red than married." Funny. I smile. Over "Drink milk. It makes you strong and healthy" is scribbled "yes, fortified with strontium 10." Over another advertisement by the Herald Tribune: "Get the good habit, don't read boring newspapers" is scrawled with a red ball point pen: "Right, the White House did it." I smile again and I am bored and stop reading. I am tired; I want to sit down. I walk back to the bench. I sloop over a piece of chewing gum; it sticks to my sole. I rub my shoe against the floor, but the gum is still there. Disgusting. I reach the bench. The blonde girl to whom I offered my place sees me. I smile. She does not even smile; she plainly ignores me. Ah! I hate girls, especially blondes. "Eh, 'fella', is this the "D" train?" "I don't know," I say. "Thanks anyway," he says. I don't care.

It is very crowded now. It is hot. I start walking again with my hands in my pockets. A tin can is in my way. I kick it. It rolls noisily off the platform to the tracks. The noise makes everybody turn their faces up to look at me. Strange people; some wear glasses and some don't. I don't know them; I don't give a damn anyway, though

I like people; people, democracy, freedom, justice, and all that. I walk to the Coke machine to be sociable. They're still looking at me; I like New Yorkers; they're great. I take one of the dimes I got back for change. I slide it through the slot. I press the knob. A paper cup falls and Coke starts pouring into it. Hell, the train. I rush and forget my drink there. The next sociable person will have a free Coke; the world is so great sometimes. The doors open. The empty car seems to suck in the waiting crowd. Everybody rushes, kick for kick, push for push. Sardines in a can. The doors close. The train starts. The sudden acceleration throws me backwards and lots of other people fall over me. I regain my equilibrium. I find myself facing that blonde girl again. I don't smile to her. The train makes a little jump, and I am thrown forward. I profit by that to lean as much as I can against her. Another jerk throws me away, and when I regain my balance, there is a person between us. Ah! There's always somebody between you and your object. Somebody punches my head and

her forehead, her cheeks, her mouth, it melts her make-up and her lipstick; she is so ugly, just awful. I hate girls, especially when they say "sorry." Another one bumps my ass with his knee and says "sorry." That soldier steps on me with his heavy shoes and crushes by toes. I look at him angrily and he says "sorry." The guy in front of me is trying to read his newspaper. What an acrobat. He is pushed, kicked, punched, all with an accompanying sorry, but, imperturbably, he continues to read his paper. The fat lady in the seat is sleeping with her mouth open; she is sweating. I hate fat ladies, especially when they sleep in the subway, their mouths open. I am sweating, too. It is hot. The guy next to me stinks. I turn my nose in the other direction. I now face another girl. I bet there are more girls than boys in the world. She is sweating. The sweat runs down sweat. I am pushed back again. The rails are squeaking. It is an express train, a "D" train, I think. It runs downtown; it does not stop at this station, but keeps running, running, running....

The Dim Regions

**Much complaining in the dim regions,
although the alternatives present no clear choice;
the ragged rebel rout, made up
of the choicest louts,
lounges against the barndoors spitting
 invectives of hayseed,
recalling its fall aeons ago, while the loyalist
 legions nearby,
to make right the mirror, backwards these days
and cracked in its pate, its spite, strive,
wondering where and what is still alive?**

... Tracy Thompson

2nd edition

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ERRATUM

This column should read as follows:

says "sorry." Another one bumps my ass with his knee and says "sorry." That soldier steps on me with his heavy shoes and crushes my toes. I look at him angrily and he says "sorry." The guy in front of me is trying to read a newspaper. What an acrobat. He is pushed, kicked, punched, all with an accompanying sorry, but, impeturbably, he continues to read his paper. The fat lady in the seat is sleeping with her mouth open; she is sweating. I hate fat ladies, especially when they sleep in the subway, their mouths open. I am sweating, too. It is hot. The guy next to me stinks. I turn my nose in the other direction. I now face another girl. I bet there are more girls than boys in the world. She is sweating. The sweat runs down her forehead, her cheeks, her mouth; it melts her make-up and her lipstick; she is so ugly, just awful. I hate girls, especially when they sweat. I am pushed back again. The rails are squeaking. It is an express train, a "D" train. It runs downtown; it does not stop at this station, but keeps running, running, running ...

MYTHS AND REALITIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS *by Christopher Reinier*

7 And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

8 And the LORD God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

For the American can "freely eat". That is the meaning of Werner Sombart's report that Socialism in America has foundered "on the shoals of roast beef and apple pie". Or as George Washington Plunkitt chortled: "A big city like New York, or Philadelphia, or Chicago might be compared to a sort of garden of Eden, from a political point of view. It's an orchard full of beautiful apple trees." There have been enough apples, so many, in fact, that saving them was long ago deemed needless. And the only thing as conspicuous as the American's consumption has been this coinage of Veblen's.

De Tocqueville learned that the American's "notion of honor" was the "love of Wealth." We are not amazed. It means that the search for the knowledge of Good and Evil is, at best, not honorable; it is virtuous to be innocent of virtue.

American Adams have been with ease innocently obedient.

Nor was the American defiant when he declared his Independence in 1776. "Therefore," God had said, "shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife." That was the condition of the Garden. Americans were created "without having to endure a democratic revolution," De Tocqueville observed, "they were born equal, instead of becoming so." Equally sons and equally fathers, they were. With Louis Hartz, we see that no feudalism impeded the American Adam. We note, with Boorstin, that the "revolution" was little more than the son's leaving his parents, declaring his independence, that he might be to his woman a man. He was not defying his Sovereign, but fulfilling the life in the Garden.

When God created and commanded man, His was the model after which ruling and being ruled in the Garden were patterned. Men have followed for the same reasons that God has been obeyed. Men have obeyed because of devotion for the Sovereign or because their God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were endangered. Ruling and being ruled have been justified by "devotion" and "self-interest". Devotion is uncritical submission to both an object and the devotion itself. Self-interest is uncritical pursuance of both a materially comfortable self and the self-interest as well.

America--land of material luxuriance. Puritan wonder at their new Paradise. Recent wonder about the farm surplus. The American has known abundance.

God placed the American in his Garden of Eden, placed him there "to dress and to keep it." "And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

American "positivism" was born with the American. The Sovereign's decree commanded, ipso facto, devotion. Did not He forbid the concern for Good and Evil?

Still His command contained an alternative: "for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." If the American knew not the difference between Good and Evil, then, he knew in a sense that life was not death. Life was desirable; death was not. "Blood knowledge" to D. H. Lawrence.

Americans have had two reasons to be obedient. Daniel Boorstin has noted that American coins (more than ever the tie between the American and his abundance) in proclaiming "In God We Trust", "The martyr (at least the secular martyr) has not been attractive to us." And if the sovereign's decrees have not been devotedly obeyed, a wayward Adam has had the promise of his own death to halt him. "Their liberty is a thing of sheer will: a liberty of THOU SHALT NOT. And it has been so from the first," Lawrence wailed. "The land of THOU SHALT NOT."

American Adams have been obedient Adams.

Nor has the American eaten his bread in the sweat of his face. If dressing and keeping the Garden has involved effort, it has been as nothing compared to the pain of the idle. Work has been a "calling" for him in the most emphatic "Weberian" sense. "Without industry and frugality nothing will do," Ben Franklin wrote, "and with them everything." Laborare est orare, as Mr. Hubbard concurred: "Life without industry is guilt."

If God's command has not alone sufficed to induce American materialism, there has been that other reason, for which Crèvecoeur rejoiced: "We are all animated with the spirit of industry, which is unfettered, and unrestrained because each person works for himself." And why not, De Toqueville said, where men "are always surrounded by more than they can appropriate?"

Always obedience to God has limited to innocence the force of devotion and self-interest. neither the rules nor the rulers have allowed the serpent to tempt them. If this condition has caused Walter Lippmann's "derangement of functions," the cause could only be seen by one who had eaten of the forbidden tree and shall surely die. Paul Herring, at least, saw clearly when he explained that the task of democratic politics is "to evolve and execute policy reflecting the desires of the community and ... meeting the demands, for security and prosperity."

See then the politics of the American Garden.

Crossing the luxuriant terrain, the American marches behind two banners, indifferent by "sheer will" to the coiled monsters that might tempt him off his path. behind the Black standard throbs the chant:

"Men ain't in politics for nothin'." Behind the White emblem rings the strain: "He adds up for millions to the average man's dream of what he might be and say and do."

Crevecoeur raised the Black banner and urged: "The American ought to love his country ... His labour is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurements?" And if Spencer and Sumner bore the flag a century later, it was the same color. The American Adam has loved because he could be selfish and loves by being selfish. Cooper immortalized him, and Lawrence exclaimed: "An isolate, almost stoic enduring man, who lives by death, by killing, but who is pure white. This is the very intrinsic-most American."

Holding heaven-ward the White emblem, Thomas Paine implored, "Instead of gazing at each other, with suspicious or doubtful curiosity, let each of us hold out to his neighbor the hearty hand of friendship, united in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissention." If the devoted have not turned to another man in this act of oblivion (living oblivion), it has been Dorothy Dix' "this sacred cause", or James Baird Weaver's "the righteous movement." Or this forgetfulness has been found in De Leon's Socialism, which "moves with its feet firmly planted on the ground, and its head not lost in the clouds; it takes Science by the hand, asks her to lead, and goes whithersoever she points."

The Brother-Fathers who made the Constitution, viewed with acute distaste the capacity and propensity for this devotion among the men in the Garden. "A zeal for different opinions" and "an attachment to different leaders" were causes of "faction" as well as the ability of some men to pluck apples more quickly than others. Now the Brother-Fathers were rational men, and, though self-interest was an innocent matter, it had the appeal of rationality of which devotion was devoid. The means of fulfilling the Public "good" defined by the Sovereign: eat freely, be innocent, would have to be self-interest.

Since the Public "Good" was to be free innocently, it would, of course, be more accurate to call "liberty" a Public Necessity, an end which simply had to be, like romance without clothes. Except for the necessity of liberty, then, American Adams have from the beginning innocently assumed the equal value of all interests. If two Adams wish the same apple (despite the fact that there are plenty for all), the problem is to adjust the claims of both Adams while retaining the liberty of both because no interest except that of liberty is superior.

That the Brother-Fathers turned to the works of God, rather than to the genius of men, to solve this problem is not amazing. Madison gave a paragraph in his Federalist #10 to the worth of "enlightened statesmen." He reported in what is one of his larger understatements that such men are rare in Eden. And even if they did exist they would be useless generally. They would "in many cases" have to take into account "indirect and remote considerations which will rarely prevail over the immediate interests." "It is vain to say that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests..." Men of that breed have no place in Eden; they shall surely die.

But observe the Garden, where the robin eats the worms that eat the apple that plants the tree that roosts the robin that hides the cat that eats the robin that ... The mechanics of American Constitutionalism are too well known to need extensive explanation here. Since enlightened statesmen are useless, checks and balances must suffice. Checks and balances operate by the action and counteraction of self-interested men. Liberty and stability are preserved only as men act selfishly. It is selfless to be selfish.

Such are the products of innocent men.

If politics is a qualitative concern, it is a quantitative matter. When American political scientists shifted their innocent eyes from legal positivism, they moved as innocently to sociological positivism. Politics is, to Adam Blaisdell, "a process" rather than "static concepts." And Adam Schattschneider summed it up in saying that politics is "a maneuver with numbers." In the way that Americans have understood the politician, then, it is, by definition, correct for Herring to assert that the politician "has treated government as a problem of mechanics rather than as a question of morals."

The force that makes robins eat worms, however, does not make worms the companions of robins. If men were cats and robins and worms to the Brother-Fathers, the Imitator-Founders made a political system that encouraged them to be more of the same. If men were divided from each other, American Constitutionalism has not united them. When Stimson Sullitt complained that "a politician has few friends," he was talking about politics that have on occasion given to the power of devotion its opportunity to upset the best laid plans of imitative Adams. Where else but in Eden would a Henry Wallace feel compelled to proclaim: "People are more important than pigs."

The expansive and inclusive bonds which have identified Americans with their Garden have, of course, made of their liberty by division an underlying unity. But the more immediate motives for the unity by which Americans have eaten freely and fulfilled their responsibility to dress and to keep the Garden were manifest at least by the time of Andrew Jackson. On the one hand the power of devotion, which was never to be completely squashed by the Brother-Fathers, united men in a mighty wave of faith in their leader. "Yes," William Emmons exclaimed, "and the glory and renown that will be awarded him in after time--yea, and by those who now revile him--will endure and and increase in splendor even when theirs will be as dust forgot." Nota bene, devotion of common men for very embodiment of "common man".

With Jacksonianism, on the other hand, came Mr. Marcy: "It may be, sir, that the politicians of New York are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are, as to disclosing the principles on which they act. They boldly preach what they practice....They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the VICTOR belongs the spoils...." Unity, too, could be founded on self-interest.

And the American system of checks and balances, which has provided freedom from action, has been counter-acted by the "machine" of the "Boss" or the "following" of a McCarthy, which have given men freedom for action.

But we must not assume that unity, any more than division, has been achieved with the sacrifice of innocence. Hear the twentieth century's embodiment of the common man discuss the Public Good: "Throughout this book," Henry Wallace wrote in his Paths to Plenty, "I have used the phrase 'general welfare' liberally.... Nowhere have I defined 'general welfare'...because I believe that in a democracy every individual ought to define the general welfare in his own way." Or listen to Ed Flynn's justification of Mr. Marcy's doctrine: If to the victor belongs the spoils is immoral, "then man is immoral"--period.

Eden--land of obediently free innocence.

It is not true, however, the Americans suffer violent controversies because of their utter delight in questions of good and evil? Have not some of the mightiest waves of political action turned on ethical judgements?

And Slavery. Boorstin is persuasive in his demonstration that much of the issue turned upon the examination of economic and sociological facts which would prove whether slaves were or were not of material benefit to Americans. George Fitzhugh: "Society has been so quiet and contented in the South..." Hinton Helper: "Slavery has polluted and impoverished your lands; freedom will restore them to their virgin purity, and add from twenty to thirty dollars to every acre." But Boorstin too readily discards the power of devotion. When Garrison called: "Duty is ours and events are God's," his followers echoed: "To be without a plan is the true genius and glory of the Anti-slavery enterprise." No wonder the Brother-Fathers feared devotion. In any case, it was not a question of ethics. Liberty is a necessity in the Garden and necessity is morality.

Or Prohibition?

Yes, prohibition was more than mere material or spiritual asceticism. It was an example, a phenomenal spectacle, of American seeking, by "sheer will", to retain their freedom from the serpent, even to drive him forever more from their peaceful garden. "That fiend," "The poisonous draught indignant spurn."

Evil literature? The court recognized the real issue when in allowing the public to read the book, it ruled: "whilst in many places the effect of Ulysses on the reader is somewhat emetic, nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac." Burn all serpents, for innocence is not only safe; it is the command of God.

Corrupt political machines? The machine is an army, Ed Flynn insisted. "and there must be discipline." But if the machine is unified, the reformers urge, it is tyrannous and unresponsive to the citizens. "What's the constitution among friends," Tim Campbell laughed. But if the machine takes care of its supporters, the reformers cry, it is illegal, wasteful, inefficient and guilty of favoritism. Ah! the condemnation of Innocents.

The reformer's solution for the innocent behavior of the machine is

more of the same. It takes two paths, while enlightened statesmen remain, of course, out of the question. Harold Rowntree in his book, Smash the Political Machine, repeated the American distaste for such statesmen and revealed one of the paths: "...when those who aspire to be leaders of political thought refrain from holding public office and when all those holding public office...regard it as their foremost duty to harmonize their official actions with average public opinion, then, and not until then, will we enjoy the freedom that only a truly representative government can give us." For Rowntree's devotion to this common denominator, others recognized the importance of devices which would make it in the interest of "those holding public office" to heed "average public opinion".

For those offices where the quest for efficiency has precluded elections, Americans have taken another path in their reform which has been at once nothing new, yet very new. With the organization of an impartial, efficient civil service, the American Adam gave official status to his concept of "merit". Merit is "expertise" in the American mind; it is "know how". It is the culmination of the American's search for innocent achievement. As it almost transcends the motives of self-interest and devotion, however, it will be no more successful than the other devices to which Americans have turned, probably less so.

Behind the two black and White banners, the Americans have marched through the natural frontier and back again through the social frontier.

If Americans have shifted their eyes from "inner-direction" to "other direction", it has been because increasingly more have taken to the march of the devoted. If they have moved from the "protestant ethic" to the "social ethic", it has only been because the bearers of the White flag have increased in numbers far beyond those moving behind the Black emblem.

The shift, in short, has been innocent.

But the very fact that the march has moved from the old frontier through John Dewey's and Samuel Lubell's "social frontier" has led to the increase of the devoted. If that "intrinsic-most" American has been puzzled by the social frontier, by "its very beneficence" as W. H. Whyte has said, there is good reason. The natural and technological abundance, the extreme complexity, the mobility, and the vastness of the social frontier have made it exceedingly difficult for one to know what his self-interest is. Almost by default, American Adams have had to join the march where devotion gives some answer at least.

Thus has emerged the modern phenomena in which Americans choose their leaders less on the platform of whether they are, like the trees, "good for food" and more on the impression of whether they are "pleasant to the sight". Or as Stimpson Bullitt protested: Instead of judging leaders, the American "tastes them".

If America has had her dialectic, the choice between devotion to

God and to Self has been that perpetual dialectic in which the poles have merged and divided and merged and divided again innocently sterile. It has been as White which is black confronting Black which is white and producing Black-White which is White-Black. We might call it Hartz's "tradition" or Boorstin's "givenness" or De Tocqueville's "philosophical method" or James' "pragmatism". And we might call in the "timelessness" of Eden.

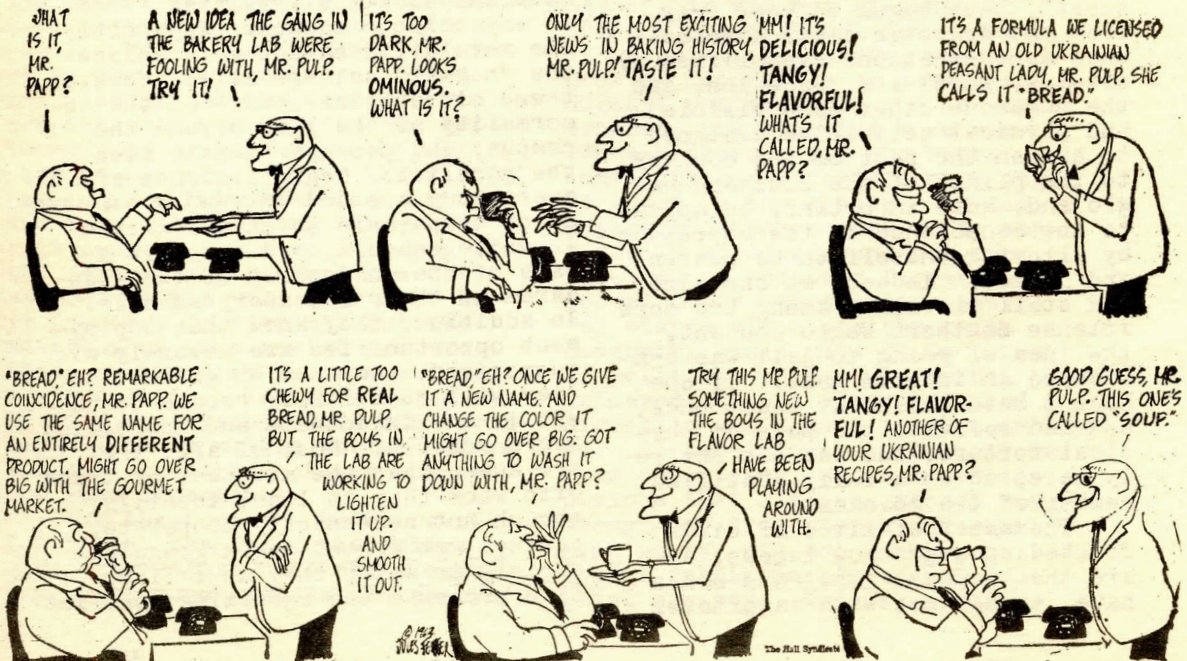
The future lies in the past, the past in the present. The mechanics of the organization, resting upon the objectivity of "merit", will meet sufficiently neither the forces of self-interest nor of devotion. Too much mechanical innocence will be submerged by the impulse for human innocence. If Americans will not want virtue, they will want warmth, as Bullitt has observed; if they will care less for honesty, they will care more for sincerity.

If community will be sought to counter-act the frigidness of organized life, however, Americans will not want much more of it than they ever have. And many will withdraw into their own cynical Gardens, gardens of innocence where these happy-sad Americans will not see the immense meaning in their sad-happy claims of meaninglessness.

Others will glance out at their Garden, and they will call poverty, abundance; labor, play; leadership, leaderlessness; morality, innocence; death, life; time, timelessness; they will make Gray, Black and White; they will say of great men and small men that they were just American Adams; and these namers will be American Adams as innocent as ever before.

feiffer

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Coming of Age - The Legacy of Retreat by JONATHAN EISEN

To achieve impact, reform and change is and has been one of the most persistent of liberal and radical causes throughout all history. We are told by political and social theorists that individual men, unable to change their environment, form groups to achieve what they alone cannot. The student movement of the past few years has demonstrated this drive once again, perhaps in a more lively and conscious form than we have perceived in recent years.

Students, especially Negroes in Southern colleges and the Northern middle class whites for the past two or three years, demonstrated that this felt need to enact sweeping social and political reform has not died completely in the age of mass society. Yet, today, there seem to come woeful sighs from the leaders of the various student groups lamenting the decline of interest and the loss of the zeal which was so prevalent so short a time ago. Southern students, growing more "political", have begun to veer away from the dramatic civil disobedience demonstrations exemplified by sit-ins, kneel-ins, wade-ins, and the numerous other more visible and physical activities designed to awaken the rest of the country to the plight of the southern Negro and, more important, to appeal to the conscience of the oppressor by allowing oneself to be beaten and jailed. Indeed, at one time, and still prevalent among the more intense Southern Negro student, the idea of going to jail was considered an interim goal. If one hadn't been jailed at least once, and had suffered the pain of physical torture, one was not entirely accepted as a fully qualified member of the movement.

The names of sites of civil disobedience are now famous, as are the leaders. The mass media have, though not with eagerness,

reported the incidents at Albany, Orangeburg, Atlanta, Montgomery. The nation has become at least somewhat aware of the struggles of Martin Luther King, and the student workers in SNCC (pronounced "Snick")-- the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee; the news media have covered as well the Freedom Rides and the horrible violence which followed. Yet if one visits some Southern Negro colleges, with the expectation of seeing a movement, a general student fervor, one will usually be disappointed. The mood appears to be one of apathy; the movement is carried on by a handful. Instead of student rallies, fund-raising, sit-ins, and voter registration "drives", one often finds campus elections determining who the next college queen will be for homecoming. Instead of a collective awareness of the necessity to press for equal rights in the South, there seems to be a pervasive desire to "make it through" and to engage in the numerous social diversities found on any college campus. Apparently the revolution cannot yet replace the "normal" college life. However, these students are aware of the abnormality of the life beyond the campus, and perhaps therein lies the conflict. Negro students are aware they are not receiving an education comparable to that received in white schools, and they are aware of the inadequacy of the standards of their secondary schools. In addition, they know that employment opportunities are severely circumscribed, and that on graduation they will most likely become teachers in the inadequate and segregated Negro schools. Most of all, they are aware that the movement of those with whom they at least identify, though not necessarily cooperate, has not yet dented the segregated society in which they must live. Life presents the agonizing conflict

of either participating in the revolution and coming to know that one will not succeed in breaking down the barriers, or not participating and trying to live in an alien, white world. The American desire for a better material position remains constant, as is the conflict between working for an improved society, and an improved individual economic position.

Thus, the revolution is conducted by revolutionaries who feel that their situation as a group, a class, a race, is intolerable. It is no longer adequate to wait for legislation, to pressure politely for reform; the time for them is now, and material considerations aside, they have engulfed themselves in a battle with the dominant society, and have determined to make their values prevail in the society around them.

Yet the revolution has met with frustration; the enemy, to paraphrase James Meredith, is resourceful, and is combatting the drive for equality and brotherhood with every means at his disposal. He, as well, has determined to prevail, and has co-opted the tide of history, and has attempted to re-form it in his own image. Moreover, the enemy will stop at nothing; jails, brutality, legal and extra-legal tactics tooken integration among them, corrupt courts, and open flouting of the federal government, are but weapons in his vast arsenal. He is prepared to risk all for the maintenance of a social and economic system that is deprived and anachronistic. And in staking all on this one system, this one "principle", he is making social reform and amelioration - change - more and more impossible.

For the Southern Negro revolutionary, the jail, the police dogs, the hatred, all had a meaning; they were seen as necessary

for the attainment of their goal, and by suffering, somehow they were achieving impact, they were accomplishing change. At times, such as recently in Georgia and Mississippi, hundreds participated and were jailed, and there was a consciousness that this was the way Jesus would have done it. If death came, then it came: it was a part of the responsibility, and if their white brethren reacted to nonviolence, a response of love, and a passion for conciliation, with pitiless assaults, then this, too, was part of the responsibility. Yet, this would change--it seemed destined to change, for the struggle was, after all a religious one as well as a technique designed to minimize physical harm in direct conflict.

But the central fact of the South is that it is not changing toward a non-violent way, and if religion were relevant to the students who sat-in and went willingly to jail in the steps of their Master, it was not relevant to their socio-cultural environment. If anything, the South, through a growing dependence on government defense contracts in a cold war economy, was becoming more violence-oriented, and the Negro community unfortunately more eager to share in the spoils. If the impact and change were to be consciously achieved, and not surrendered to economic forces and social drift, then a more powerful stance vis-a-vis the white community would have to be taken; if political change was to be achieved, then a voter-oriented direction would have to be established. An agonizing re-appraisal has been undertaken, since it became obvious that sit-ins, though they desegregated drug stores and swimming pools, did not change the social fabric maintaining a segregated society. Whites, sitting.

next to Negroes, hated and feared them as much as they did sitting apart from Negroes. The fundamental goal, achieving an integrated society, was not achieved by desegregating public facilities, or even in rare instances public housing. Public schools, as well, were far from integrated as "tokenism" became synonymous with desegregation. Moral and directed social change has begun to be viewed as a near impossibility. Hopes that the coming industrialization would invoke the spirit of the enlightenment have been dashed by low-wage, segregated employment. Unions, in the very few places they can be organized in the South, often take equivocal stands on segregation and are considerably less militant than Walter Reuther about the question of social reform and integrated locals. But possibly the most discouraging fact has been the discovery that the Southern White youth (aged 18 to 29) in whom such hope had been placed harbors the most racial prejudice of any age group.

The fate of the Northern student liberal has been equally as poignant as that of his Southern Negro brother. Goaded on by a sense of urgency, and driven to the picket line by a sense of immediate and terrible nuclear destruction, he, too, has faced the agony of losing hope. Progress has been a constant dream in American history -- there has always been the hope that at least the lot of the next generation would be better than that of the last. Progress was believed in, anticipated. America, the only developed country supposed to lack a permanent proletariat, held out not only the promise of material but of spiritual advancement; history was working for and with us to produce a "city on the hill"

for all to see. The Northern, middle class, politically aware and emotionally sensitive student was a product of this history. His was the "take-over" generation, but what it seemed to be taking over was a society fraught with mass anxiety, and plagued by nuclear-age problems which it had neither the background nor, in many cases, the inclination to understand. This, a naive generation, brought up in the politics of apathy and despair, and "tempered by McCarthyism", turned to public protest in the forms of picketing, student journals, mass demonstrations and more "direct" methods of demonstration of Ghandhian extract such as illegal submarine boardings, and hunger strikes and vigils on the steps of government buildings.

For what movement there was in the North was, as in the South, centered around the university, but rather than integration, the main impetus was for peace. The mainspring seemed to be the totality and imminence of war, and thus the drive was for a total peace; but whereas there was distinct possibility of total war, there was not even a definition of total peace. Pacifism never was a viable alternative within the American context, and there was even serious debate among pacifists over whether non-cooperation with legitimate authority through Ghandi-type demonstrations was compatible with the vision of a democratic society with due respect for laws sanctioned and made by the people and their duly elected representatives. The picket sign, long the trademark of the union strike, could not possibly bring success since not only could it be crossed by a majority which advocated completely opposite policies, (picketing in favor of a public policy has come into vogue) but could be circumnavigated and even transcended by a president who agreed, completely erasing any overtones of student protest

that might have lingered.

Today the picket sign seems to have entered the point of diminishing returns, and more and more signs and picketers are needed to achieve the same impact on the political community. What is obvious is that as a means for broadcasting ideas, pickets have been far less effective than a favorable article in a magazine like LOOK: and as a means for changing present policy, they have been nearly totally ineffectual. The direction seems to be one of establishing study groups, of analysing and writing, and students seem to have begun to be acclimated to a situation of permanent crisis. The revolt was against the swift and harsh currents of political change which rendered the individual helpless in a morass, the end of which somehow was nuclear death. With the proposition that such death might lie somewhere in the future, and that it was conceivable that we might not all die -- each individual conceived himself as one of the survivors (who can conceive himself dead?) the protest lost its edge and the revolution its fervor. Students began to realize that they could not change the present course, even if they could understand it. Efforts directed at military incursions into the mainstream of American life, at the fear-provoking shelter program and the U. S. adolescent reluctance to pursue a foreign policy based on anything but military might, met with frustration as the peace movements realized that what they were fighting was too big to be met with the lance of peaceful alternatives.

. . .

The adult liberal community never assisted the student movements in any meaningful sense, but rather served often as reins on student zeal. The militant civil

rights groups were cautioned to "go slow" and the peace groups were warned against advocating potentially "subversive" politics, as if anything could be more subversive to the American democracy than the garrison state into which we were plunging. There was opportunity for a resurrection of the old liberals and Depression-era radicals to reassert themselves with resources born of experience and some monetary wealth; what was discovered was a labor movement hedged on integration, non-ideological, and rapidly losing political ground with an apathetic, and often politically conservative membership. The "more now" of Gompers loomed as an alien monolith to those seeking trade-union leadership for progressive causes, and even the old CIO seemed to have capitulated.

A spirit of rugged paternalism prevailed, and the students, frustrated with the immovability of social forces, encountered stagnant complacency among those from whom support was expected. Perhaps the students working so assiduously on the voter registration drive in Mississippi would never have received liberal support had they not unearthed for all the world to see the brutal depravity and sadism which underpins the system of segregation.

But today students in Northern schools have begun to live with the Bomb in macabre togetherness, and protesting its existence and its uses is seen as futile. Revolution lies now emasculated, its impact absorbable in a society which moves furiously on to a stagnant madness. Though life hangs Damoclean, mass anxiety somehow adjusts itself to mass realities, and revolt, incommunicable, is hastily buried by forces and shadows, menacing and omnipotent. Men are oblivious to men and for students the warm comfort of academia and a self-perpetrated security beckons Siren-like to the would be rebel.

JAPANESE STUDENTS AND JAPANESE POLITICS by Phillip Altbach

In 1960, Zengakuren became almost a household word to politically aware Americans. At that time this student group, with the support of the powerful labor federation, Sohyo, rocked Japan with a series of demonstrations against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, receiving worldwide attention. In the last analysis, the demonstrations, which involved more than 300,000 people throughout Japan, failed because the Security Treaty was finally forced through the Diet (parliament) by the conservative government of Prime Minister Kishi. Kishi's victory cost him his job, however, and showed that "government by demonstration" could be at least partially successful. It also proved that the Japanese student movement, led by the Zengakuren, was a dynamic force within Japanese society with power felt far beyond the campus.

Since the Security Treaty riots in 1960, little has been heard from the Japanese students. Part of the reason for this is that politics have assumed a more normal posture and no longer bring thousands to the streets. Another reason for this silence is that Zengakuren has been severely weakened by a combination of internal struggles and widespread student apathy.

There are nearly 600,000 students in Japan. About one-half of these are affiliated with the Zengakuren. The Japanese student faced with many more difficulties than is his American counterpart, must undergo a seemingly endless series of examinations which sustain a feeling of anxiety and pressure during his entire academic career. Indeed, many students who fail to pass entrance examinations to the better universities will wait an entire year and take the tests again with higher expectations. In addition to this pressure, more than half

of the Japanese students must work to pay for their expenses. Such work, called arbeit by the Japanese, often takes much of the student's time and is an added source of frustration and worry.

While Japanese society has become more liberal since the war, there are still many unsurmountable social and class barriers. The prospect of becoming a sarariman (salaried man) working for one of the gigantic corporations is not an inviting one for many students. Japanese youth, torn from many of its cultural traditions by industrialization and westernization, has not yet been able to find new foundations. The older generation, still tied to the past and separated from the youth by tremendous political and technological change, has been unable to provide any basis for transition.

The Japanese student has sought to find answers to the problem of exploitation in a modern industrial society, which is in many ways less complex and advanced than is our own, and to the menace of atomic war, which has struck Japan twice and is a vital issue in Japanese political and social life.

Many students have turned to radical politics for their answer to the ills of society. At least part of Zengakuren's strength lies in the fact that it represents the conscience of the student generation. Its leaders are Marxists and seek to build a student movement which not only can deal with the needs of students (co-operative restaurants, book shops, and tailors), but can also have more influence on the political life of the nation. Interestingly enough, Zengakuren is strongest at the high prestige national universities and draws its leadership from many of the top students in economics, sociology, and political science. The smaller and less important private colleges

usually are not in the mainstream of student political life and, in fact, the majority of Japanese students are not at all involved in the student movement. Unconcerned with political problems, their interest lies only in completing their education and taking their places in the elite of the Japanese social structure. Indeed, many of the students involved in Zengakuren demonstrations will soon make their peace with the system and become cogs in the corporate wheels, bringing with them organizational knowledge gained in the radical movement.

The general political situation in Japan has had a profound influence on the student movement. The ruling Liberal-Democratic party has been firmly entrenched in power since the formation of a representative government in Japan after the war. With the strong support of the farmers and middle class, its prospects for continuing in power are extremely good, though long term population shifts from the countryside to the city and the continued growth of a working class might shift the political balance in the next decade. The Socialists, recently split into two parties (the Japan Socialist Party and the smaller and more conservative Democratic Socialist Party) have the support of about 35% of the voters and the loyalty of the working classes in the cities. The Communist Party now has only 2.8% of the electorate and plays virtually no role in parliamentary politics, though it has been pointed out that they do have an important role within other organizations and their front groups have gained substantial support.

Theologian Paul Tillich, after a recent visit to Japan, pointed out that the function of the Socialists is not to bring socialism but to maintain democracy. In a very real sense this analysis is justified. Many radicals have little use for

"parliamentarianism" and are interested only in a wide ranging social revolution which would substantially alter the social system and do away with capitalism. Zengakuren students freely express their hostility to the Diet and all that it stands for. It is also true that Japanese democracy is less than 15 years old and has not developed the traditions that are so necessary for a stable government. Large segments of the population from the Communists and many of the radical students on the left, to the extreme monarchists and traditionalists on the right have little commitment to the Constitution. That violence often takes place within the Diet itself among the deputies certainly does not enhance the "image" of parliamentarianism. The recent assassination of the respected socialist leader Anasuma by right wing terrorists is an example of this trend.

Within this political context, it is not difficult to understand the Zengakuren's lack of respect for the Constitution and the Diet. Faced by a situation in which students can have no real power in elections students have sought other means of influencing political affairs. Zengakuren has tried to court the powerful labor movement, dominated by the Socialist labor federation, Sohyo, but has generally been unsuccessful in its attempts. Workers often resent the interference of students in their affairs; conflict is heightened by class hostilities. Zengakuren's revolutionary political position has alienated many of the more conservative unionists. It is fair to say that the students do not speak the same language as most workers, who are enjoying their greatest period of prosperity and are not prepared to engage in a revolution against the existing system.

The Zengakuren has changed its emphasis from "campus" to "national" issues in recent years. The activi-

ties during the period of the Security Treaty debates in 1960 were, perhaps, the zenith of Zengakuren's influence in society and on campus. This was, in a sense, the "moment of truth" for the student movement. Its failure to influence the outcome of the debate in the Diet has been the cause of much disillusionment among the less committed of Zengakuren's activists. Despite the fact that the students were instrumental in precipitating the fall of the Kishi government and actually did succeed in preventing the visit of President Eisenhower to Japan, there was a rather widespread feeling that the revolution had slipped from their hands and that an all important opportunity was lost. Many former Zengakuren students have retreated into a Japanese version of "Beatnikism" and those who have remained in the movement are somewhat more realistic about their potential. Indeed, "failure" in 1960 combined with the rejection of Zengakuren by striking miners last year has caused a substantial reappraisal of policy and tactics by the Zengakuren.

Since Zengakuren began to follow an independent policy, it has been labelled everything from Trotskyist to Maoist. The leadership of the traditional parties tend to disparage the power and influence of the student movement, though its membership and political activity have proved its viability. Zengakuren is dominated by students who are Marxist in their orientation and revolutionary in their tactics. They not only criticize the conservatives but have issued invectives against most of the radical parties as well, urging them to maintain a revolutionary position. They feel that the Communist Party is dominated by bureaucratic elements and is completely unable to take a constructive role in Japanese political life.

When the Soviet Union exploded its fifty megaton bomb, Zengakuren

issued a statement ringing with the language of the Communist manifesto calling on students to rise in protest against the Russian tests. 30,000 students heeded the call throughout Japan in a series of demonstrations. Zengakuren has strongly criticised both the Russians and Chinese as being bureaucratic and anti-revolutionary. Though the student movement spares the United States and its allies in the Japanese ruling classes little criticism, Soviet nuclear testing was criticised as a threat to the working class and the Chinese "commune" system was called an "equalization of poverty" by the Zengakuren's newspaper. Despite its vocal "anti-Stalinism" the Zengakuren remains a member of the Communist controlled International Union of Students, with headquarters in Prague. At the recent conference of the IUS held in Moscow, the president of Zengakuren, Hitoshi Nemoto, and other Japanese students staged an anti-bomb demonstration in Red Square and were stopped by the police in short order. In addition, they initiated one of the few real discussions which have taken place within the IUS in recent years on the subject of nuclear weapons testing.

Today, the Zengakuren stands as a mere shadow of its former self, though it is still clearly the largest and most active student organization in Japan and indeed the only national student movement in the country. The prospects for the future of the organization are not bright as the factional splits are becoming deeper and more serious. The student community is becoming less political as the Japanese political situation becomes more hopeless; trends within the Zengakuren are back in the direction of concentration on student services rather than natural political life though there is still much political thought. The inevitable result of this trend is the increased alienation of the student movement from

the mainstream of Japanese life and a broadening of the gap between generations. If the graduates of the Zengakuren were able to work within the existing political parties, they would undoubtedly exercise a substantial influence because of their sophistication and experience. To date, however, they have not done so and have confined themselves to academic writing or have withdrawn

from political life altogether.

Contempt for the political, social, and economic institutions of present day Japan continues to grow among the students. Without some sort of rapprochement between the students and society at large, particularly the socialist and labor movements, the student movement will remain ineffective and will continue to lose whatever vitality it now has.

POEM

Badly twisted willows
Swirl remnants of light
Into a canyon of quarreling winds.

Nothing is left
To pioneer the mind of God
Or hear the song the snow is singing.

The children's whispers
Are less frequent now
Beneath the lead-grey fog of reason.

... Linda Evans
(reprinted from SEED)



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THE FIRE NEXT TIME (A Review) by Edw

Dial Press, New York, 1963
as 120 pages ... \$3.50

This most recent work of James Baldwin appeared originally as two essays: "Letter from a Region of My Mind", in the *New Yorker* (November 17, 1962), and "A Letter to My Nephew", in a special December, 1962 issue of *The Progressive*, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The first and by far the longer of the two essays Baldwin begins with a description of his religious crisis at age 14 and his subsequent conversion in a Pentacostal storefront church. The conversion experience has been described in much greater detail in Baldwin's earlier novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, which is both a critical and a sympathetic treatment of the basic theology of the storefront church: critical because Baldwin sees a terrible lot of hypocrisy in the lives of the saints. "I really mean," he writes, "that there was no love in the church. It was a mask for hatred and self-hatred and despair. The transfiguring power of the Holy Ghost ended when the service ended, and salvation stopped at the church door."

Sympathetic because "there is still, for me," Baldwin writes, "no pathos quite like the pathos of those multi-colored, worn, somehow triumphant, transfigured faces, speaking from the depths of a visible, tangible, continuing despair of the goodness of the Lord. I have never seen anything to equal the fire and excitement that sometimes, without warning, fills a church, causing the church, as Leadbelly and so many others have testified, to rock."

Go Tell It on the Mountain is the story of how a boy gets "saved".

-He lay silent, racked beyond endurance, salt drying on his face, with nothing in him anymore, no lust, no fear, no shame, no hope. And yet he knew that it would come again -- the darkness was

of demons crouching, waiting to worry him with their teeth again ... And he struggled to flee -- out of this darkness, out of this company -- into the land of the living, so high, so far away.-

Here is a substantial clue to Baldwin's writing. Since he himself uses the word "demons", it seems legitimate to say that his writing is an attempt to come face to face with, and to unmask the demonic depths of human existence.

-To defend oneself against a fear is simply to insure that one will, one day, be conquered by it; fears must be faced.-

In Baldwin's novels it is fear and blindness and terror which seem to come naturally to man. Love, by contrast, becomes a demanding, risky, and usually difficult pilgrimage, to which many are called but few succeed. "To tell the truth," comments one of Baldwin's characters, "I think she probably loved Rufus, really loved him ..." Vivaldo replies: "How abnormal can you get!"

When he writes about the abnormality of love, Baldwin writes from an intimate awareness. For he was born in Harlem, reared in Harlem, where, as he writes in his "Letter from a Region of My Mind":

-The wages of sin were visible everywhere, in every wine-stained and urine-splashed hallway, in every clanging ambulance bell, in every scar on the faces of the pimps and their whores, in every helpless, newborn baby being brought into this danger, in every knife and pistol fight on the avenue, and in every disastrous bulletin: a cousin, mother of six, suddenly gone mad, the children parcelled out here and there; an indestructible aunt rewarded for years of hard la-

bor by a slow, agonizing death in a terrible small room; someone's bright son blown into eternity by his own hand; another turned robber and carried off to jail. It was a summer of dreadful speculations and discoveries ..."

The world is very depraved.

And when one has lived in a society that lashes out at every turn with hostility, a society that "seems determined to cut you down ... it begins to be almost impossible to distinguish a real from a fancied injury."

Most of Baldwin's characters have trouble at this point. They have seen and felt and lived with so much hurt for so long a time that they stand close to the brink of paranoia.

Baldwin's description of his visit with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslim movement, is revealing. "I've come," Elijah says to his followers, "to give you something which can never be taken away from you." The precious gift is nothing less, nothing more than the restoration to a people of a sense of their own worth. "People cannot live without this sense; they will do anything whatever to regain it."

And one suspects that when all the crazy doctrine of the Black Muslim movement has been demythologized, the one sine qua non that will continue to give the movement energy and appeal is the need, shared by all human beings, to find something that will give them a sense of their own worth.

Faced with such appalling examples of human depravity, other writers, born in Harlem and reared in Harlem, have battled for a time, grown disillusioned, and ultimately have ended up in the ranks of the expatriates. This is easy to understand, for as the

late James Weldon Johnson, an American Negro poet, wrote in his autobiography,

-From the day I set foot in France I became aware of a quick readjustment to life and environment. I was suddenly free; free from a sense of impending discomfort, insecurity, danger; free from the conflict with the Man-Negro dualism and the innumerable maneuvers in thought and behavior that it compels; free from the problems of the many obvious or subtle adjustments to a multitude of bans and taboos; free from special scorn, special tolerance, special condescension, special commiseration: free merely to be a man.-

But Baldwin, by contrast, seems to be calling the expatriate home, and one wonders if the final chapters in Another Country, the return of Eric from his Mediterranean retreat, and the arrival of Yves, Eric's young homosexual companion, isn't a cryptic way of saying what Baldwin means when he writes that "fears must be faced." There is no escape, neither in religion, nor in France. In the end Eric must come home, to work out his own salvation in his own backyard.

Both of the two essays in The Fire Next Time, end with magnificent credos, emancipation proclamations which despite all the demons with which our white civilization has saddled itself, suggest the greatness that may be, that can be. In the letter to his nephew, Baldwin concludes:

-You don't be afraid. I said it was intended that you should perish in the ghetto, perish by never being allowed to go beyond and behind the white man's definition, by .

never being allowed to spell your proper name. You have, and many of us have, defeated this intention and by a terrible paradox, those innocents who believed that your imprisonment made them safe are losing their grasp of reality. But these men are your brothers, and if the word "integration" means anything, this is what it means, that we with love shall force our brothers to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality and begin to change it, for this is your home, my friend. Do not be driven from it. Great men have done great things here and will again and we can make America what America must become. It will be hard, James, but you come from sturdy peasant stock, men who picked cotton, dammed rivers, built railroads, and in the teeth of the most terrifying odds, achieved an unassailable and monumental dignity.

The key figure in this greatness to be, if it may be, is the Negro.

It is not too much to say that he, who has been so long rejected, must now be embraced, and at no matter what psychic or social risk. He is the key figure in his country, and the American future is precisely as bright or as dark as his.

The Negro, Baldwin at another point contends, out of his long history of being uprooted and humiliated, enslaved and made to suffer much has a priceless gift to contribute. And until our white civilization accepts his gift and receives it with gladness, we shall be and remain only half a people, truncated and sterile.

In Baldwin's essays the word

integration is endowed with a new and needed twist. We are facing what it means to be a people. And we will not be a people until the white man recognizes just how deeply he needs the Negro: his history, his lore, his long experience with suffering. The Negro needs the white man, too. But this the white man has always assumed, claiming, with a presumption about which he may not even be conscious, that he, the white man, is the emancipated, the enlightened man. But who is more emancipated when it comes to facing suffering and death? Who has had to contend at every inch along the way for anything and everything he ever got? Who knows the more about how dark darkness can be, and whose cultural history has better prepared him to stand up and face the darks corners of human existence? Who has learned the hard lesson that, in bondage, one either sings and laughs, or one perishes?

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SIMONE WEIL - SELECTED ESSAYS 1934-1943
A REVIEW BY TOM WOLANIN

Oxford University Press
231 pages ... \$7.50
London, 1962

This collection of essays by Simone Weil covers much of the spectrum of her interests and deals with history, literature, theoretical political science, her contemporary political situation and her general philosophical impressions especially concerning human relations. The overall impression is of a brilliant and mature mind which above all else is understanding and sympathetic to her fellow human beings. Despite her relative youth (she died at 34) she is a sage and kindly observer with a great perception of the follies of her and our world.

Simone Weil was a Jewish-Christian mystic who wrote during the age of malaise preceding the Second World War and during the first years of the war before her death in 1943 in England. She was a brilliant woman who achieved academic distinction during her scholastic career and as a philosophy professor in France.

She was a complex woman whose writing is highly original and in which can be found strains of many varied philosophies. In the portions of her essays treating humanity and the human condition, particularly the essay "Human Personality," she expresses a poetic view of the "sacredness of the human being." Cognizance of this sacredness entails a profound and deep sense of justice and respect of human beings toward each other. This is a conception of love as the proper governor of relations among men. The love presented is not the romantic sentimental love à la Phaedra or Emma Bovary but a Platonic love defined in terms of a deep sensitivity of one human being toward the feeling and emotions of every other.

Simone Weil was familiar with

Oriental philosophies and her idea of love in terms of respect and sensitivity as the guiding principle in human relations is quite similar to the Confucian idea of a sense of propriety, *Li*, to guide humans in an understanding of what is proper in every relation among men.

Her means of reaching "the good" which includes love is a mystical idea of impersonalization of the self. "Perfection is impersonal. Our personality is the part of us which belongs to error and sin. The whole effort of the mystic has always been to become such that there is no part left in his soul to say 'I'". The idea here expressed also shows an Oriental link to Hindu monism and at one point the Bhagavad-Gita is cited showing her familiarity with these ideas. Her simple, direct and often poetic style is also reflective of the Gitas.

While mysticism is the mode for attaining this love and sensitivity, each person has a responsibility and obligation to minister to the needs both physical and psychological of all other human beings. This conception of universal responsibility and the idea that "Every man is offered the sum total of moral ideas and makes a choice" shows a common ground between Simone Weil and the existentialism of her contemporary Jean Paul Satre.

Simone Weil was a Marxist socialist. Cognizant of the practical aspects of politics as illustrated in her essay "A Note on Social Democracy" in which she analyzes with great insight the reasons for the failure of the Socialist government of Leon Blum (1936-37). Her sympathies for the working classes are shown by her treatment of the Chiompi insurrection in 14th century Florence,

which is portrayed as the prototype of labor movements in the essay "A Proletarian Uprising in Florence." Her attitude toward government is one of anti-centralization and she is a strident critic of the totalitarian state. Rome is her prototype of the totalitarian state. She draws an extended comparison between Hitler's Germany and Rome which is valuable not only for the comparison made but as an analysis of the workings of a totalitarian state in its aspects of terror, propaganda, the search for pretexts for war and above all its effects on the human beings in the state.

Simone Weil's primary concern throughout these essays is for people. She is a critic of the totalitarian state because it debases and subjugates the human soul and mind. Totalitarianism leads to the fate of Winston Smith of 1984, and this above all she opposes. She feels that France originated the modern idea of the central state which reached its full flowering as the totalitarian states of Hitler and Stalin. The centralized state with its sovereign power over the individual is presented as the key cause of the totalitarianism and wars which we know today.

Simone Weil is an ethical absolutist having a static conception of proper morality. As a consequence she feels that mankind must retain contact with "humanity's spiritual treasures" which are in the past. The deracination which she felt characterized Rome and the U.S. and U.S.S.R. of her day are a result of losing contact with this past treasure. Although an ethical absolutist, Simone Weil in examining history and her contemporary world discounts the facile motion that right or good will always win

out. She realizes very vividly the power of force to crush ideas and she feels that force and the evils which it entail can be durable. She therefore acts upon her beliefs in addition to enunciating them as is shown by her involvement in politics and her service in the anarchist forces during the Spanish Civil War.

Simone Weil's interpretations of history and the human condition are vibrant and interesting. She perfunctorily dismisses the conception of any type of national characters consistent throughout history. Germany is not a warrior state nor France a peaceful nation. As men there are no differences between Germans and Frenchmen, and Hitler is accounted for in terms of the growth of the sovereign nation state not in terms of an inherent national trait.

She is also severely critical of the usage of general words like democracy, capitalism, communism, or fascism which become emptied of any specific content and are defended or attacked as abstractions or absolutes. These words evoke only emotional responses and their lack of specific content makes compromise and understanding among the people using them impossible.

"The struggle between the opponents and the defenders of capitalism as a struggle between innovators who do not know what innovation to make and conservatives who do not know what to conserve; it is a battle of blind men struggling in a void, and for that very reason it is liable to become a war of extermination."

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