

LIBERATION

JUNE 1962

40¢

A STRATEGY
FOR THE
PEACE MOVEMENT
A. J. MUSTE

Filming Polaris Action
Saul Gattlieb

WHAT HAVE WE
DONE TO EACH OTHER?

TOM VENTERS

REVIEWS BY
DAVID T. WIECK - DALLAS SMYTHE

THE WORLD OF PAUL GOODMAN
COLIN WARD - SAUGHTON LYND

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In This Issue:

A. J. MUSTE recently returned from Tanganyika, where he assisted Michael Scott, Jayaprakash Narayan, William Sutherland, Kenneth Kaunda, and LIBERATION editor Bayard Rustin in setting up a training center for nonviolence, under the auspices of the World Peace Brigade, of which Scott, Narayan, and Muste are co-chairmen.

SAUL GOTTLIEB is a photographer with Hilary Harris Productions.

COLIN WARD is an architect who edits the monthly *Anarchy* (17a Maxwell Road, London SW 6, England) and has contributed many thoughtful articles to its sister publication *Freedom*.

STAUGHTON LYND teaches history at Spelman College in Atlanta. He has studied city planning and lived in several intentional communities.

TOM VENTERS is a student at Columbia. This is his first appearance in LIBERATION.

PAUL GOODMAN's new pamphlet

Holding the Line will be published this fall by Random House.

DALLAS SMYTHE is Research Professor of Communications at the University of Illinois. He writes: "If I sound more angry and less academic than you would expect, you may put it down to the experience of reading this deplorable book."

DAVID T. WIECK teaches philosophy at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

The front cover is by MICHAEL CIAVOLINO, Jr., a free-lance photographer who lives in Flemington, N. J.

Note: Don Martin has been in prison since June 19th, 1961, when he received a 6-year sentence under the Youth Offenders Act, for his participation in demonstrations against Polaris submarines. On Wednesday, June 27th, a protest demonstration will be held outside the prison where he is being held, at Ashland, Kentucky. Anyone wishing to participate must contact Al Uhrie, c/o Peacemakers, Box A, Glen Gardner, N. J.

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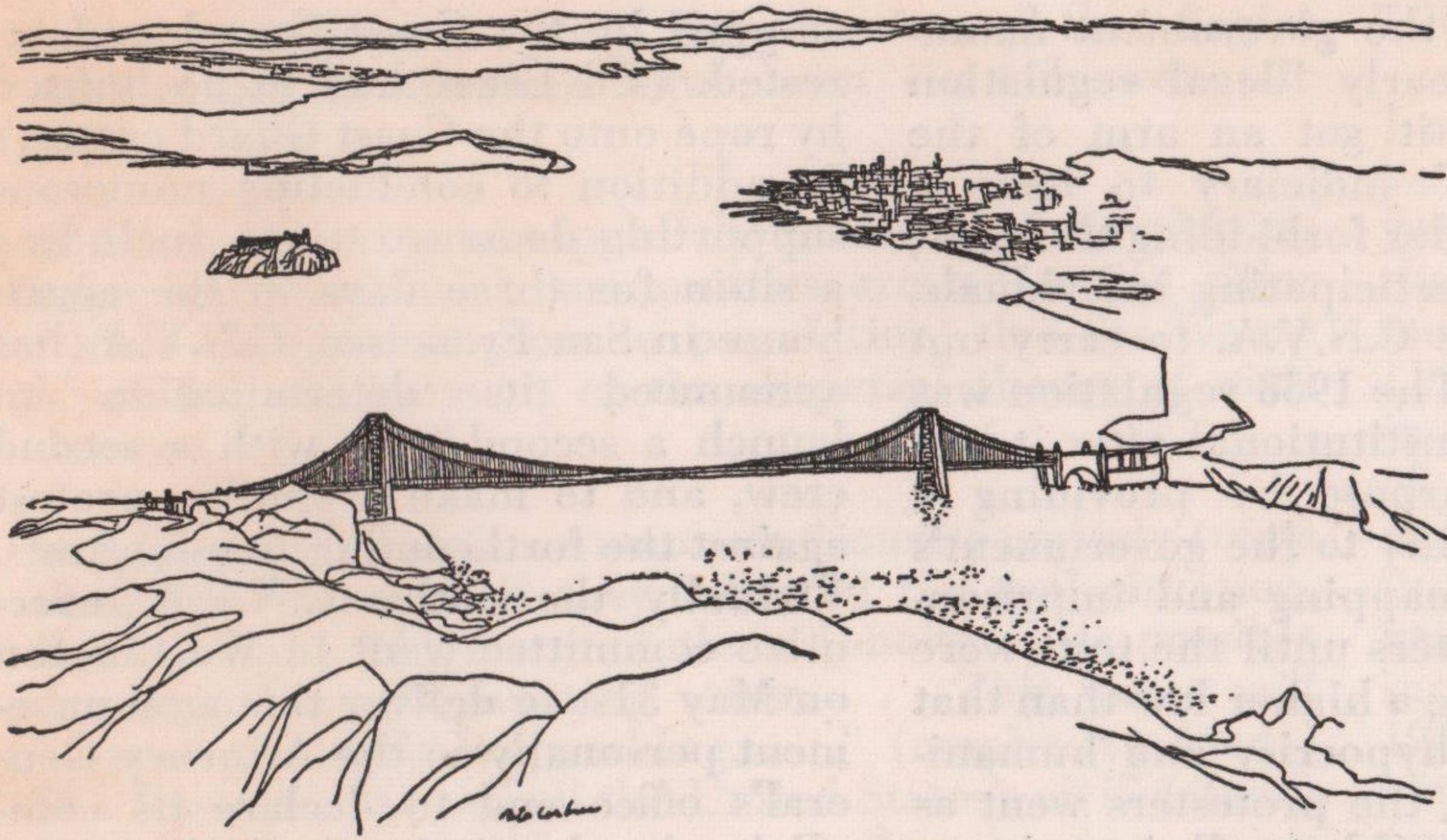
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EDITORIALS

TESTING THE TESTERS

It is a truism of the human mystery that, given the right circumstances, the hearts of calloused gangsters, financiers, and militarists can be touched by little children and stray dogs. Often the man who can glory in wiping out hundreds of persons in an air raid or in forcing a starvation wage on thousands of South American "natives" cannot stand to see his wife cry. In this paradox may lie whatever slim hope remains for human survival. Not just the Cold Warriors in Washington and Moscow, but all of us, must come to visualize in personal terms the dimensions of the human anguish that results from nuclear tests and will be intensified beyond measure in nuclear war. The essence of nonviolence is not the renunciation of violence but the adoption of voluntary suffering to bring home to ourselves and our "enemies" of the moment the human cost of the evil we are challenging.

In this spirit, three members of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, Edward Lazar (one of the Marchers who protested the Russian tests in Red Square last fall), Harold Stallings, and Evan Yoes, set sail from Sausalito, California, on May 26th, in a 30-foot trimaran, the *Everyman*, to travel to the Pacific islands area where the United States is conducting its current series of murderous blasts. Logically, the authorities should not have hesitated to snuff out the lives of these three individuals. Statistically they are of no consequence when compared with the millions

who will die from the tests already completed—and the billions who will die in the holocaust which the present tests bring closer. But fortunately the human being responds to more than logic. And no government can afford to appear even three-millionths as calloused and insensitive to human suffering as it actually is. The presence of these three persons in the testing zone, voluntarily waiting to be engulfed a little ahead of time by the fate that is being prepared for us all, would have brought home to too many people (including the authorities themselves?) the awesome nature of the human sacrifice involved in continuation of the Cold War. Their willingness to sacrifice themselves in the interests of humanity would also have dramatized the choice we shrink from making between clinging to selfish privilege and embracing the unity of the human race, between standing pat with the obsolete military method and moving forward to nonviolent resistance and love.

No matter how successful the political decision-makers have been in selling the tests to a propagandized and unimaginative American public (is this cowed and castrated population spiritually descended from the American revolutionists?), they could not afford to meet this challenge forthrightly. As another administration did when faced with the prospect of a similar confrontation the last time 'round (in 1958 the *Golden Rule* and the *Phoenix* attempted sim-

ilar sailings) the government manufactured a clearly illegal regulation under which it got an arm of the "independent" judiciary to issue a restraining order forbidding the crew, three other participating individuals, and the entire C.N.V.A. to carry out the project. (The 1958 regulation was declared unconstitutional *after* it had served its purpose by providing a façade of legality to the government's action in kidnapping and imprisoning the protesters until the tests were over.) Obeying a higher law than that under which hypocrisy and homicide are legal, the protesters went as far as they could (well into international waters) before they were

stopped by the Coast Guard and arrested. (Ed Lazar had to be hoisted by rope onto the Coast Guard cutter.) In addition to conducting numerous supporting demonstrations, including a sit-in for three days in the courthouse in San Francisco, C.N.V.A. has announced its determination to launch a second boat with a second crew, and to make a similar protest against the forthcoming Russian tests. Virtually the entire C.N.V.A. executive committee went to Washington on May 31st to deliver this announcement personally to the Attorney General's office and to declare its complicity in the "crime" of the three arrested men. D. D.

"CIVIL DEATH"

Freedom, like peace, is indivisible. Forty per cent of the white population of South Africa (the English-speaking element) is learning this harsh lesson of history the hard way. For a decade and a half, this English-speaking group amongst the three million "Europeans" has disagreed with the methods of the ruling Afrikaaner government, but has accepted *in toto* the essence of *apartheid*. Two years ago, when I was in Johannesburg, I watched police rounding up a few dozen African Negroes to check their pass books. An Englishman standing nearby asked: "Why the devil can't they treat those buggers a little better?" He was willing to accept the second-class status of the "buggers," but he felt that they shouldn't be pushed around so hard.

Now the Verwoerd government is proposing—and no doubt will pass—a "sabotage" law which makes punishable with "civil death" (house arrest and complete isolation from anyone except the immediate family, for life) any propaganda or aid to the Negroes which may "further or encourage any political aim, including bringing about social or economic change." The scope of this law is indicated by the fact that one newspaper discontinued the column of Nobel-prize winner Albert Luthuli for fear it would be subject to severe legal reprisals. Until now the black man has had no liberties of any kind; now the white man will lose most of his.

Here, in the land where Gandhi first began his preachings, is being forged

as extensive a totalitarian régime as exists on either side of the Iron Curtain. (Perhaps the Chinese dictatorship comes close or is equal; perhaps the vile Franco régime is comparable.) These are frightened men, playing their last cards. The English-speaking citizens could have prevented much of this terror if they had rejected *apartheid* and insisted on full freedom for the Negro. A few of them, like Alan Paton and his excellent Liberal Party, did. But the overwhelming majority, like Verwoerd himself, consider the African an inferior, and they affirm his bondage as the price for their own privilege and affluence.

We in the United States have much to learn from the South African experience. If we are timid about freedom for our Negro brethren, we too will in the final analysis lose our own freedom. If we are timid about speaking out against war in Viet Nam and the shameful landings in Thailand, we will finally be vaporized ourselves. What Martin Niemoeller learned at such cost in Nazi Germany is being taught us over and over again. Niemoeller watched the series of obscenities perpetrated against Jews, trade unionists and Catholics, without any feeling of involvement; in the end, when he found his voice to protest, he himself was hauled off to the concentration camp.

There is no tomorrow in the fight for freedom and peace; the fight is *now*, this hour, this minute, this second, *before* we lose our freedom, *before* we are at war. S. L.

A Strategy for the Peace Movement

A. J. MUSTE

FOR THE UNITED STATES and in general for the industrialized nations, whether of East or West, the crucial, overriding need is to avert a nuclear catastrophe; in other words, to extricate themselves from the war system. The Chinese are, in a measure, correct in their controversy with Khrushchev when they contend that this is not true for the underdeveloped nations. For them liberation from colonialism, both political and economic, is the main, almost all-absorbing goal. Even short sojourns in Africa suffice to impress one with how remote the war issue is to these people. The fact remains that elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the abolition of war is the main issue for mankind as a whole.

There are many more people now who would agree with this last assertion than there were a few years ago. The question as to what the strategy of those concerned with the war threat should be thus becomes urgent. I am here undertaking some far from comprehensive comments on the matter in the hope of stimulating discussion, even if it takes the form of dissent.

The dynamic for radical social change formerly came from what was known as the class struggle. One need not be a Marxist to hold this view. The suffering and degradation of workers and peasants in many Western countries was extreme and unceasing. In striking out against their poverty and degradation, these workers and peasants shook the foundation of the society which imposed these woes on them. Parties led by radicals and Marxists of various hues were able to lend coherence and leadership to these struggles. Thus social changes, involving drastic shifts of power, took place. Most Socialists and



Communists contended that the new order which would emerge from the revolt of the masses under their leadership would have as a by-product the abolition of war, and that there was no other way to achieve that desirable end. The new world would be warless as well as classless.

In the United States we cannot any longer look to the "class struggle" in the old sense for our main dynamic for such revolutionary change as the abolition of war. Despite the fact that there is a good deal of poverty (and rank racial discrimination) in an affluent society like ours, the drive to destroy this society and build another for basically economic reasons does not exist. There are severe problems, such as automation. There is instability, as the stock market recently revealed. But the instability is related to the fact that defense production constitutes so large an item in the economy and to the precarious balance of power internationally. In the economic sphere there are multitudes who have, on the one hand, a considerable vested interest and who, on the other, are in hock to the system and do not feel free to revolt. The unions are themselves integrally tied in with the economic system, including its defense aspects, and are in no sense instruments for revolt. To some extent the trade-union movement actually stands in the way of organizing the unorganized, and I do not see any reason to think that if office and service workers, farm labor, and Negroes were to be organized they would constitute an instrument for revolt. Most Negroes, we may observe in passing, want to become a part of the American affluent society, not to revolutionize it. In all this there is, of course, no implication that the peace movement need not concern itself with workers and their problems!

There are reasons to think that the United States may indeed experience severe economic crises, or be threatened with them. But my opinion is that if the built-in cushions which the New Deal and the beginnings of the Welfare State provide do not suffice to tide the economy over, resort will be had to war scares, or even actual war, under something like a Fascist or right-wing dictatorship.

The old hope that through economic pressure a new economic order would come into being and that by this means war would be abolished, is no longer tenable for still another reason. The Socialist and Labor parties basically identify themselves with the so-called national interest, keep up the military Establishments where they are in office, and shun anything like unilateral disarmament. As for Communism, whatever the explanations or rationalizations may be, the fact is that, with the possible exception of the United States, the Soviet state is the most heavily armed in the world and that nuclear military power which threatens mankind with destruction is polarized in two vast power-states—the one in which “capitalism” has achieved its greatest development and the one which claims to have achieved Socialism and to be far on the way to achieving Communism, i.e. the classless and warless world. This is surely one of the most startling ironies of history, not less so because each of these régimes cultivates a *mystique* that it is the leader of the peace bloc and the other the instigator of war, or at least the insuperable obstacle to peace.

The observation just made suggests that it is idle to expect that the abolition of war will be achieved by the processes of so-called negotiation between these régimes, or that these régimes as now constituted are going to coexist peacefully. These processes are the stock in trade of nation-states. Throughout this century they have been accompanied by colossal advances in military technology and intensified power struggles. There is no current evidence that all this is being reversed. There are minor adjustments from time to time, slight relaxations of tension, a general hope that things will not get completely out of hand, but no more.

To put it another way, if war were really to be abolished, its abolition would entail very radical changes in the economic structure, the relations between nations, the standards of value, the types of human beings in both and all nations. For those who want such changes, the war issue is the handle, therefore, to achieve them, rather than radical economic revolt being the way to abolish war. But equally, unless people are concerned with such profound problems as these, they are not really working for peace.

Dilemmas for Pacifists

For pacifists, Gandhians and radical humanists this situation poses a dilemma. It means, to put it crudely, that we cannot look to the Establishment, the administration, of the political state to get rid of the war system. It has its reason for existence in that system, that way of preserving the State. It does not really address itself

to the profound problems, to the radical conversion which is required. But the removal or collapse of the government and of the economy in a highly organized country would be a grave calamity. Such an overthrow might well involve civil war, and this would be a horrible catastrophe, even if it were confined within one country. But it would almost certainly not be so confined. It is hardly thinkable, as Camus pointed out a couple of decades ago, that such internal upheavals should not in our age have a huge impact on international power relations and precipitate war.

A conceivable development is that peace sentiment becomes sufficiently strong to influence policy so that the administration reacts in a way that lays it open to the charge of “appeasement,” and that military and other reactionary elements set up a right-wing régime, which would very likely adopt a tough policy which would lead to war. If there were violent resistance to such an attempt, then again civil war would be precipitated. However, my own surmise is that given such a situation, the right-wing military *coup* would not encounter warlike resistance in this country.

The development of peace sentiment is not the only, or perhaps the most likely, way in which such a crisis could be precipitated. There are many who believe that, given numerous factors, including the sweep of revolution in most of the world, United States power will be driven steadily back and its military capability prove less and less adequate to cope with the situation. Some think that the United States will in the final analysis not dare to risk war to prevent such a defeat. My own opinion is that, lacking a radically new vision of the role of a democratic people, Americans would regard failure to fight as “chickening out,” as political surrender, and that they will fight rather than undergo this humiliation.

There is another consideration, however, for radical pacifists of all kinds, which needs to be kept in mind: we are not engaged in seeking power, in taking over the institutions and the instruments of power, not even in order to use them for our own supposedly noble ends. We are truly committed to organizing life on the basis of love and not of power.

I am quite confident that, although we have to function politically, this approach rules out the attempt to organize a political party—of the conventional sort—which is inherently an instrument to achieve office, i.e. power. There are also other reasons for being skeptical about this approach. A genuine two- or multi-party system does not really exist any more anywhere in the world. Is this merely a kind of accident, which peace workers can bypass by organizing the right kind of party? Moreover, here in the United States, the establishment of a new party is hedged with so many obstacles that the attempt to do it seems a waste of energy.

Peace by Peaceful Means

What all this adds up to is that we shall achieve peace only by new, peaceful means. We must achieve a non-

violent, nonexploitative means. The adherence to this approach, the refusal to be tempted to resort to violent shortcuts or to condone the generation of hate against any human being, we must assert and practice against any who would adopt another approach. We must, with Camus, refuse to be either victims or executioners.

Peaceableness, however, does not mean trying to disturb nothing or to gloss over realities. It is the most profound kind of disturbance we seek to achieve. Nonviolence is not apathy or cowardice or passivity. And the fact that we want peace and even in substantial measure succeed in operating peacefully does not mean that there will not be opposition, suffering, social disorder.

Our primary responsibility is to set forth the profoundly revolutionary character of the changes we seek and which are implied in the abolition of war, to make it clear that it is a new kind of society, not a change in government, that we seek. In politics this means, in my opinion, that we must be unreconstructed and uncompromising unilateralists.

When I say this I am not unmindful of the fact that many people come gradually to a revolutionary position and that any important social movement will have its right and left wings and many variations in between. I hold, furthermore, that there should be a minimum of polemics among the various groupings in the peace movement, none indeed except over vital issues. Even in relation to them, pursuing one's own convictions and programs vigorously will bear more and better fruit than tongue-lashing others.

However, it is also a political fact that when a "moderate" program is offered as a means of transition to a more basic one, a good many feel that they have made quite a move and do not go further; others are disillusioned when the "sensible" proposal they advocated is spurned by the powers that be.

But my main contention is that we have too few, pathetically few, to set forth a revolutionary program and to take revolutionary action, and all who hold radical views are desperately needed to proclaim and practice them. "Jumping on submarines," for example, is not the only form of peace activity and the motives for doing so may not always be absolutely pure, but the main point is that we do not have enough people "jumping on submarines."

To cite another instance, I come out of a tradition which holds that you do your revolutionary job and if that lands you in jail, fine. You never compromise or "chicken out" in order to keep out of jail. But there is no special virtue about getting into jail, *per se*; the basic orientation is not an ascetic one. This is not to say that this tradition is the only valid one. And the main fact is that there are not enough people in jail because we are not working at our job hard enough.

The thesis of this article is that we have undertaken, or should undertake, a huge job of conversion. Assuming that what are called ordinary people respond to

immediate pressures rather than to more distant, though perhaps more fundamental, facts and perils—a man needed food for his family in the old days and joined a movement of social revolt—do we have similar immediate pressures on masses of people to cause them to enlist in the peace movement? In a period when even members of so-called progressive unions need to pay the rent tomorrow and therefore back their leaders in running to the Defense Department for more orders to ward off unemployment, although this means remaining trapped in a process which will later result in the extinction of themselves and their families?

We are not entirely without factors which impinge immediately on individuals enough to open their minds to consideration of the more distant goal of renunciation of war. The most obvious is the fear of fallout. Mothers realize that their own children's milk may be poisoned, their own children born deformed. Considerations of this kind would have more impact if scientists and other opinion makers were more honest about trying to make people understand what nuclear war really is. The issue actually is one of survival. Rational fear of a comprehended reality is a sound reaction and not discreditable.

But when all such factors have been weighed, it is still true that we cannot look for salvation today by the working of social forces which carry individuals along with them. We are now in an age when men will have to choose deliberately to exchange the values, the concepts of "security," and much else which characterizes contemporary society, and seek another way of life. If that is so, then the peace movement has to act on that assumption, and this means that the whole picture of our condition and the radical choice must be placed before people, not a diluted gospel, a program geared to what they are ready to "buy now."

Peace Initiatives

To cite a specific instance, I think research and education relating to American "peace initiatives" are useful if they have to do with steps to implement the decision to get out of the arms race. Period. Obviously we are not going to disarm—liberally—overnight. But neither can we be both in and out of the arms race. Therefore, talk of "initiatives" which dodges this question has an element of deception in it and is dangerous.

Change of Climate

If it is psychological and moral revulsion and conversion that we need to evoke then we must not pussy-foot about that. There are a good many young people today who are fed up with contemporary social patterns and values, with a society which has nothing for them to do, with the irrationality and obscenity of nuclear war. Their revolt is a promising thing, even when it takes bizarre forms. In any event they are withdrawing support from war and from present-day exploitative society. For the most part we are timid about making

this psychological and moral appeal. But is this not a betrayal of our fellow Americans? If it is true that nothing will turn their stomachs, that they are incapable of wanting and understanding another kind of life not based on ultimate resort to nuclear weapons, then we are indeed lost. If we do not believe that, then we must not "preach down" to them.

The nation itself will perish by one means or another if it does not develop a vision of something to live for instead of a "cold war," an arms race and mechanization. But it cannot develop that vision and build a life on it, unless it refuses to "live with" what passes for well-being and security. If, on the other hand, we get a new psychological and moral climate, new possibili-

ties of radical but peaceful political and economic change open up.

The deep acceptance of the fact that we are not interested in preserving the nation, society, as it is, and that we are seeking to create another way of life will also help to solve one of our internal problems, viz. "what to do between demonstrations." I do not subscribe to the view that we have "too many demonstrations." We do not have nearly enough and far too few are involved in them. But there is no lack of things to "do" in every town, on every street, if we are committed to shaping a new kind of life, i.e. to the actual abolition of war, not merely to some illusory "improvement" within the present patterns and values.

THE MEANS TO REAL PEACE

Friedrich Nietzsche*

No government admits any more that it keeps an army to satisfy occasionally the desire for conquest. Rather the army is supposed to serve for defense, and one invokes the morality that approves of self-defense. But this implies one's own morality and the neighbor's immorality; for the neighbor must be thought of as eager to attack and conquer if our state must think of means of self-defense. Moreover, the reasons we give for requiring an army imply that our neighbor, who denies the desire for conquest just as much as does our own state, and who, for his part, also keeps an army only for reasons of self-defense, is a hypocrite and a cunning criminal who would like nothing better than to overpower a harmless and awkward victim without any fight. Thus all states are now ranged against each other; they presuppose their neighbor's bad disposition and their own good disposition. This presupposition, however, is *inhumane*, as bad as war and worse. At bottom, indeed, it is itself the challenge and the cause of wars, because, as I have said, it attributes immorality to the neighbor and thus provokes a hostile disposition and act. We must abjure the doctrine of the army as a means of self-defense just as completely as the desire for conquests.

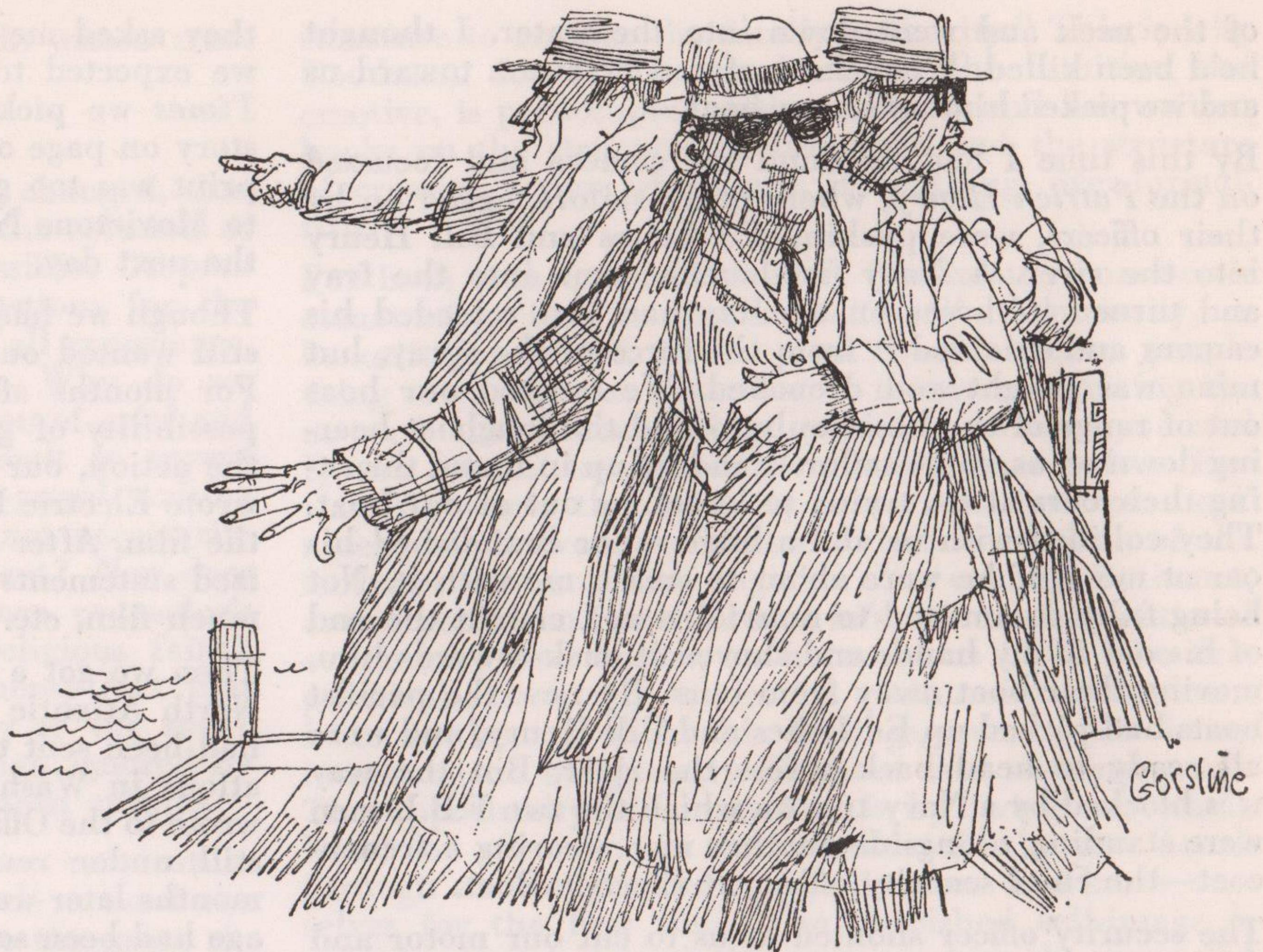
**The Wanderer and His Shadow*, from *The Portable Nietzsche*, edited by Walter Kaufmann, (Viking Press, New York).

And perhaps the great day will come when a people, distinguished by wars and victories and by the highest development of a military order and intelligence, and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifices for these things, will exclaim of its own free will, "We break the sword," and will smash its entire military establishment down to its lowest foundations. *Rendering oneself unarmed when one had been the best-armed*, out of a height of feeling—that is the means to real peace, which must always rest on a peace of mind; whereas the so-called armed peace, as it now exists in all countries, is the absence of peace of mind. One trusts neither oneself nor one's neighbor and, half from hatred, half from fear, does not lay down arms. Rather perish than hate and fear, and *twice rather perish than make oneself hated and feared*—this must someday become the highest maxim for every single commonwealth too.

Our liberal representatives, as is well known, lack the time for reflecting on the nature of man: else they would know that they work in vain when they work for a "gradual decrease of the military burden." Rather, only when this kind of need has become the greatest will the kind of god be nearest who alone can help here. The tree of war-glory can only be destroyed all at once, by a stroke of lightning; but lightning, as indeed you know, comes from a cloud—and from up high.

Filming Polaris Action

Saul Gottlieb



SINCE AUGUST of 1960, Hilary Harris, Ray Wisnewski, Frances Witlin and myself have been at work on a film called *Polaris Action*, which documents the activities of the pacifist group at New London, Connecticut, that has been engaged in nonviolent attempts to obstruct the launching of the Polaris submarines. Until October of that year we filmed everything that happened in New London—pacifists, subs, townspeople—without interference. But just as the pacifists were about to attempt to board two Polaris subs, the F.B.I. appeared.

As Ray and I stood on the dock at New London with the Actionists, getting ready to shove off across the river in a motorboat, we were approached by two F.B.I. men (in trenchcoats). They told us we would have to give them whatever film we shot that day, before we could see it or use it, "for security coverage." The "defense" of the United States was involved, they said, as we might inadvertently photograph certain secrets of the equipment and construction of Polaris subs.

I protested, mentioning that we had been shooting Polaris subs for the past three months, which seemed to surprise them. They asked us to give them all the film we had shot, for clearance before use. I hesitated, not knowing what to answer.

At this point Bradford Lyttle spoke up. He is the executive secretary of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, sponsors of Polaris Action. "Saul, I don't think you and Ray ought to cooperate with these men. I would not advise you to cooperate with agents of a totalitarian organization such as the F.B.I. It's a matter for your own conscience, but I know I wouldn't."

I looked inquiringly at Ray, who nodded. I could see

our three months of work going down the drain—the ten thousand feet of film we'd shot and processed, and the hundreds of dollars we and a few friends had spent out of our meager pockets—all wasted. If we refused to cooperate, the F.B.I. might seize the film; if we did cooperate and hand our film over to them, we might never see it again. Screwed either way.

I told them they'd have to get a court order if they wanted our film.

As soon as the F.B.I. men left the dock, I ran to the nearest phone booth and called to the man in New York who was storing our film, asking him to hide it somewhere safe. Then we took off in our motorboat after the pacifists, who had by that time rowed halfway across the river toward the subs.

Hundreds of sailors, officers and workers were lined up on the subs and on the docks at Electric Boat, where they build and repair the subs. As we came close, we saw Dick Zink, a nineteen-year-old student, climbing up the tailfin of the U.S.S. *George Washington*. The crowd on the dock was in an uproar. Then Ed Leites and Bill Henry, two other young pacifists, got their boat (a rowboat named *World Citizen*) close to the afterdeck of the U.S.S. *Patrick Henry* and jumped onto it.

Ray and I were shooting as fast as we could wind our cameras. Unfortunately, just as a longboat-load of sailors with oars rowed up to the *George Washington's* tailfin, Ray had to reload his camera and mine needed rewinding. The sailors were swinging their oars like pikes to knock Dick Zink off. Despite some terrific blows, he hung on for a few moments until he was hit on the back

of the neck and went down into the water. I thought he'd been killed. When he surfaced he swam toward us and we picked him up in our boat.

By this time I had rewound my camera and focussed on the *Patrick Henry*, where other sailors, egged on by their officers, were pushing Ed Leites and Bill Henry into the river. A Navy fire-launch came into the fray and turned its hoses on us. Ray had just reloaded his camera and shielded it from the force of the spray, but mine was caught and drenched. We scooted our boat out of range of the hoses only to find the longboat bearing down on us, some sailors standing up in it and thrusting their oars at us, trying to knock us out of our boat. They collided with us and a huge sailor brandished his oar at me as if he were about to smash me with it. Not being fully committed to nonviolence, I caught the end of his oar in my hands and shoved it back towards him, moving their boat away from ours. By now the pacifist boats had picked up Ed Leites and Bill Henry, and were all ready to head back across the river. But the way was blocked by a Navy tug, on which the two F.B.I. men were standing, alongside another man wearing a trenchcoat—the chief security officer at Electric Boat.

The security officer shouted at us to cut our motor and come alongside. We kept on. The tug raced up to us; the security officer repeated his demand; Ray panned his camera from the pacifist boats to the tug and held on the shouting security officer. The tug was now alongside us, and the security officer jumped from it into our boat—a jump of about fifteen feet from one moving vessel into another, both doing about twenty miles an hour. Ray kept shooting calmly. The security officer landed right on top of him and tried to wrest his camera from him. Ray held the camera stiff-armed out of the officer's reach, and I scrambled over to them and tried to pull the officer off Ray. But he was a big guy, too much for us. He got the camera. He had a gash on his hand, too, and blood all over his trenchcoat.

"I thought you bastards were nonviolent," he yelled.

(Neither he nor the F.B.I. seemed to be able to distinguish between us and the pacifists, though we kept telling them we were *independent* film-makers, sympathetic to, but not members of, Polaris Action.)

Soon we were all herded, freezing and wet, onto the deck of the tug. The pacifists were called, one by one, into the pilot-house, where they were asked their names and frisked by the F.B.I. men. They confiscated our cameras and film, and I raised a yowl, demanding to know "what right they had, we were independent. . . this was a public demonstration. . . freedom of the press," and all that. They were so angry that they forgot to frisk me and almost threw me into the river. I put my hand into my jacket pocket and discovered the last roll of film I'd shot, of the pacifists boarding the subs. I had slipped it into my pocket in my hurry to reload.

The tug took us across the river and we were all released—Ray was given a scrawled receipt for the film and cameras. I immediately called the *New York Times* and told them I had the only footage of the action and

they asked me to rush it in. All the way to New York we expected to be road-blocked by the F.B.I. At the *Times* we picked up the first edition and found the story on page one. But their photo-lab decided that the print was too grainy for reproduction; we took it over to Movietone News, and it appeared on TV nationwide the next day.

Though we had foiled the F.B.I. with that one roll, we still wanted our other exposed rolls for our final film. For months afterward we thought there might be a possibility of getting that footage back. The day after the action, our cameras were returned, one ruined. We wrote Electric Boat, the Navy and the F.B.I., asking for the film. After a month, they replied, asking for notarized statements from us: who, what, where, when, how much film, etc. We complied.

Then we got a letter from the Commander of the U.S. North Atlantic Fleet, advising us that the exposed film had been sent to the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, D.C., for "security review." We wrote to the Office of the Chief, etc., and were told it was still under review. They would let us know. Three months later we wrote again, and were advised the footage had been sent back to the Commander of the North Atlantic Fleet. We renewed our correspondence with the Commander. He replied that the matter was indeed under review by his office again, but meanwhile they would have Electric Boat reimburse us for the unexposed films of ours they had exposed. A month later we received ten fresh rolls of film.

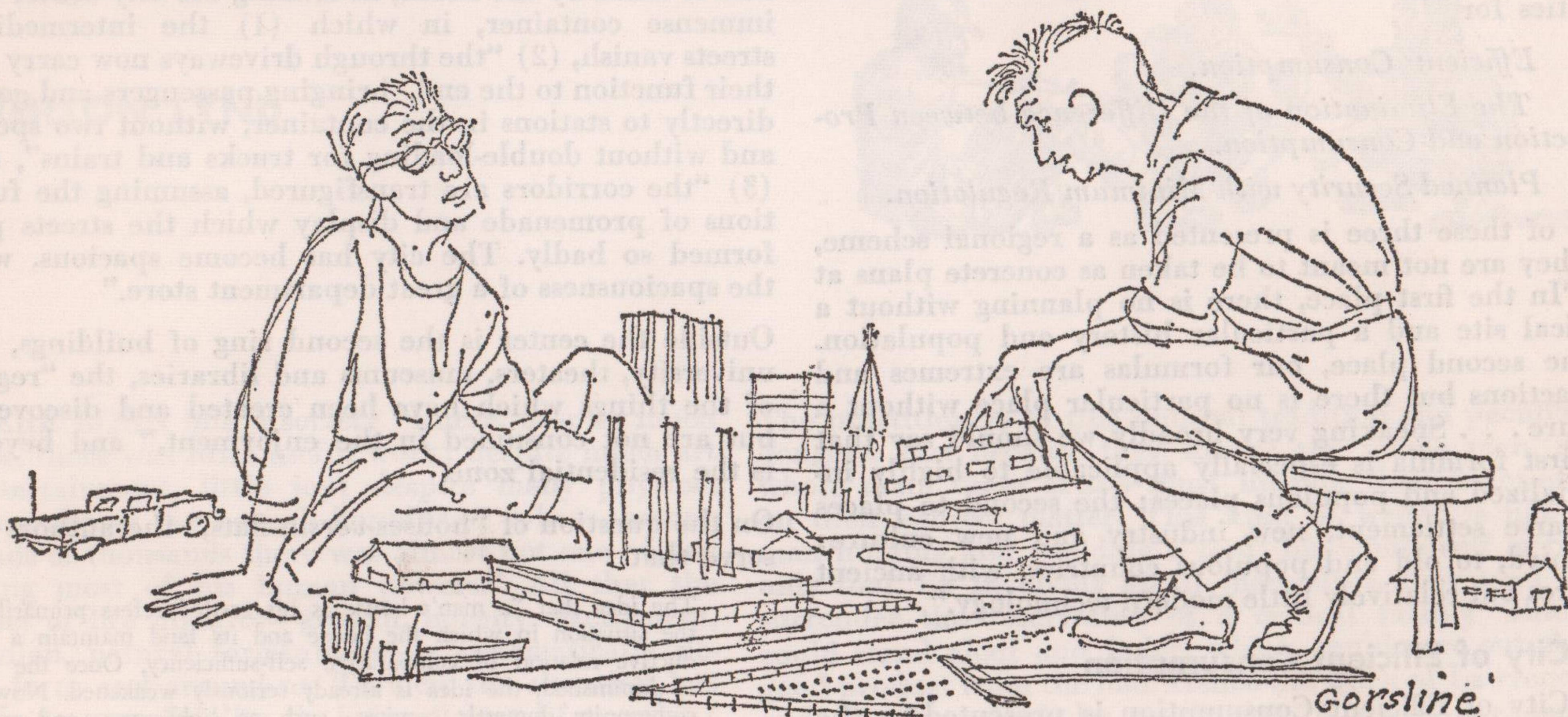
The rest was silence, until last October, a year after the confiscation. I happened to be in Washington, where I was trying to get clearance for Ray—who by that time was in Moscow with the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk, and having a whole new set of troubles—to film the Walkers' entrance into Red Square.

I had a few hours to kill, so I wandered over to the Pentagon and looked up the Office of the Chief, Etc., Etc. I found him holed up in a suburb several miles beyond the Pentagon. High fences, armed guards and signs saying "U.S. Government Property—All Unauthorized Personnel Keep Out" surrounded his building. The guards were busy chatting as I walked in, and no one tried to stop me. I went up an elevator marked "Secret" and through a door that said "Do Not Enter," and there was the Chief. He seemed surprised to see me. When I told him why I was there, he vaguely remembered the incident. Smiling, he took me to two of his security agents, who were busy chatting at their desks. They were cordial and promised to look for the film and let us know by mail.

Recently, out of the blue, the confiscated footage arrived from the Navy. It wasn't the whole one hundred feet. Half of it was missing. The other half—which presumably includes Ray's long pan ending in the security officer's tremendous leap—was cut away. No mention of anything having been cut, however.

That seems to be the end of it. We are not planning to write further to the F.B.I. or to the Navy. We've had it. There must be some easier way to obtain disarmament.

COMMUNITAS REVISITED



COLIN WARD

A GREAT NUMBER of books were published on both sides of the Atlantic in the years immediately after the war, on the problems and opportunities of "post-war reconstruction," especially on the physical planning of towns and cities. Few of them seem worth reading or remembering today, let alone reprinting. The one exception is *Communitas** written during the war by the brothers Paul and Percival Goodman (the latter is now Associate Professor of Architecture at Columbia University). Out of print for a long time, it was a book so original and unusual that it must have permanently affected the thinking of most of its readers, and, thanks to their continued advocacy, and the widely circulated commendations of American writers like David Riesman and Lewis Mumford, it has now appeared in a new paperback edition which lives up to the claim made by the publishers that it is one of the most fruitful and imaginative books on the building of cities that has ever been written.

The Goodman brothers see a "community plan" not as a layout of streets and houses, but as the external form of the activity going on. "It is more like a choreography of society in motion and in rest, an arrangement for

society to live out its habits and ideals and do its work, directing itself or being directed. There is a variety of town schemes: gridirons, radiations, ribbons, satellites, or vast concentrations: what is important is the activity going on, how it is influenced by the scheme and how it transforms any scheme, and uses or abuses any site, to its own work and values." They examine in turn the three main types of plans which have emerged in the last hundred years, grouping them into three classes:

A. *The Green Belt*: Garden Cities, Satellite Towns, Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, neighborhood housing.

B. *Industrial Plans*: The Plan for Moscow (as debated in Russia in 1935), the Lineal City of Soria y Mata, Buckmaster Fuller's *Dymaxion*.

C. *Integrated Plans*: Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacres, Ralph Borsodi's Homestead, the *Kolkhoz*, the *Kvutzah*, the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Having discussed this miscellany of modern plans, the Goodmans turn to their own, and they state their approach in these terms:

Our concern in this book centers around the following conviction: that the multiplication of commodities and the false standard of living, on the one hand, the complication of the economic and technical structure in which one can work at a job, on the other hand, and the lack of direct relationship between these two have by now made a great part of external life morally meaningless. Economic plans to avoid unemployment, to raise the standard of living, to develop backward regions—these are useful, but

**Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* by Paul and Percival Goodman (New revised edition: New York. Vintage Books, 1960. \$1.25).

they do not touch the essentially modern problems: the selective use of machine technology, the use of an available surplus, and the distance between means and ends. The concrete solutions of these problems are community plans. Our concerns are how to make the multitude of goods good for something, how to integrate the work and culture, and how to keep an integrated community plan from becoming a plan for complete slavery.

Emphasizing one aspect after another, they arrive at three completely different community formulae, communities for

A. *Efficient Consumption.*

B. *The Elimination of the Difference between Production and Consumption.*

C. *Planned Security with Minimum Regulation.*

Each of these three is presented as a regional scheme, but they are not meant to be taken as concrete plans at all: "In the first place, there is no planning without a physical site and a particular history and population. In the second place, our formulas are extremes and abstractions but there is no particular place without a mixture. . . Speaking very broadly we should say that the first formula is especially applicable to highly industrialized and populous places; the second to places of sparse settlement, new industry and new culture; the third, to old and populous countries, with ancient cultures but relatively little modern technology."

The City of Efficient Consumption

The City of Efficient Consumption is presented as the logical environment of a consumer culture. Its preliminary conditions, they conclude, are that

A population of several millions is the least economic unit. (Because this combination of mass production and variety of choice are required, and concentration of the market is the efficient solution to the problems of distribution and servicing under conditions of mass production.)

Work and life center around the market.

The moral drives are imitation and emulation.

The decoration is display.

Close by is the open country, for full flight.

The center of the City is developed as one large air-conditioned cylinder:

In existing great cities, which have large buildings and congested downtown centers, there are always three simultaneous systems of streets: the through highways, the old city streets proper and the corridors of large buildings. It is the through highways, coming more and more to be elevated or depressed or otherwise isolated, which carry the main stream of traffic between the city and places outside the city. And it is wrongly thought that by increasing these highways and facilitating entrance to, and egress from, the center the congestion of the center will be thinned out. But in the end all the highways must pour their motorcars into the city streets that join building to building; and it is at a particular building, and not at downtown as a whole, that the motorist wants to arrive. But once he has arrived at the building, he is willing to leave his car, go indoors, and use the corridors and elevators of the building to bring him to the office or department of a store where he has business.

Now it can be seen at once that the city streets, under conditions of motor traffic, on the one hand, and of increasingly large buildings, on the other, are more and more becoming intermediaries, useless for travelling and also unfit for walking and window-shopping. At the same time they cover 35 per cent of

the ground space and are the subject of perhaps the most costly and elaborate of the city services: paving, traffic problems, cleaning, snow removal, etc. For servicing they are neither properly in the open (so that snow, for instance, could be simply pushed aside) nor yet indoors (protected). These streets serve as the perfect example of the non-productive, non-consumptive services which waste away the social wealth and health.

Consequently, in the City of Efficient Consumption, the bull is taken by the horns, in making the city center one immense container, in which (1) the intermediary streets vanish, (2) "the through driveways now carry out their function to the end, bringing passengers and goods directly to stations in the container, without two speeds and without double-loading for trucks and trains", and (3) "the corridors are transfigured, assuming the functions of promenade and display which the streets performed so badly. The city has become spacious, with the spaciousness of a great department store."

Outside the center is the second ring of buildings, the university, theaters, museums and libraries, the "region of the things which have been created and discovered but are not consumed in the enjoyment," and beyond is the residential zone.

On the question of "houses-versus-flats," the authors observe that

The idea that "a man's house is his castle" refers primarily to the situation in which the house and its land maintain a productive relation of comparative self-sufficiency. Once the land is diminished, the idea is already seriously weakened. Now, as community domestic services, such as light, gas, and water, begin to invade the home, the reason for its architectural identity begins to vanish. Lastly, when these conveniences multiply, they can be provided efficiently only if the isolated unit vanishes and the services are provided for a block of units, an apartment house. These units are more and more mass-produced and larger and larger.

But we must establish also a contrary movement, to restore domestic freedom under the new architectural conditions. This can be done if we restrict the architectural imposition to its minimum function: namely, the provision of an efficient system of services. What must be provided for the family is an empty shell without partitions and (under luxury conditions) two stories high, completely serviced with light, heat, water, etc., through the columns of the building, as in a skyscraper. The uniform architectural practice has hitherto been to provide not only such services but also a standardized imitation of a house, with layout and fundamental decoration complete: partitions, panelling, and balcony, etc. But it is just these parts, which, having no structural necessity, belong most to private taste, or caprice, that need not be imposed according to a standard.

And beyond the residential zone is the open country, which is "vacationland" where "there is exchanged for the existence where everything is done for one, the existence where nothing is done for one," and beyond this, because these conditions are too hard for the city folk, they are finally moderated (after fifty miles, which is to say, three-quarters of an hour by car on the super-highway or fifteen minutes by helicopter on the beam) into "the imitation wilderness of state parks and the bathos of adult camps."

The Goodmans' account of the City of Efficient Consumption is concluded with a description of the season of carnival, a Saturnalia of wild and playful destruction,

fornication, and the remittance of installment debts, whose principles

would be simply the satisfaction in the negation of all of the schedules and careful zoning that are so full of satisfaction in their affirmation; just as no one can resist a thrill of satisfaction when a blizzard piles up in our streets and everything comes to a standstill.

The social function of the carnival is of course to get rid of last year's goods, wipe out last year's installment debts to permit new borrowing and engender children. But before leaving the City of Efficient Consumption, something has to be said of its politics. The people, the authors explain, exercise no direct political initiative at all:

Try as one will, it is impossible to discover in an immense and immensely expanding industrialism a loophole where the ordinary man can intervene directly to determine his specific work on the shape of his community life; that is, to decide these matters directly on the basis of his own knowledge and power. The reason is that such an expanding economy exists more and more in its inter-relationships; and individual knowledge and, especially, power, are less and less adequate. What the people *en masse* can do is to exercise a general control such as to determine the trend of their standard of living, up or down; and in the republican form this is done by periodic votes rather than by periodic rebellions. But the political scientists as initiators must be technologists and merchandisers and a kind of economists as directors; although the actually elected representatives will forever be experts in more popular arts.

Now an existence of this kind, apparently so repugnant to craftsmen, farmers, artists, and any others who want a say in what they lend their hands to, is nevertheless the existence that is satisfactory to the mass of our countrymen; and therefore it must express deep and universal impulses. These probably center around what Morris Cohen used to call the first principle of politics—inertia; that is, the fact that people do not want to take the trouble to rule and decide, because, presumably, they have more important things to do.

The City of Efficient Consumption is presented half sardonically, half seriously. If you really want a society in which consumer values are supreme, they say, this is what it should be like. David Riesman remarked of their treatment of this theme:

the moral of the plan comes through without ambiguity: it is a criticism of proper culture, with its drive for less work, more pay and more play, it is also an effort to reveal certain hidden elements of moral worth in modern capitalism. The criticism—the air-conditioned nightmare theme—is familiar enough among radical writers. . . . But the implicit ethical defense of capitalism on the ground of its provision of bounteous consumption is seldom found outside Chamber of Commerce circles.

In a number of the points they make about a society in which productive capacity is enormously greater than the rate of consumption, they anticipate some of Galbraith's observations in *The Affluent Society*, in others, their fantasies of 1947 anticipate the actual planning problems of America, in the nineteen fifties and sixties. For, in the absence of cities of Efficient Consumption whose centers are one vast vehicle-less department store, the new American institution of the out-of-town Supermarket has developed, and has become a new focal center for the residential belt, while the property-owners and Chambers of Commerce in the old city centers which have been made unusable for efficient consump-

tion by the volume of traffic, have sponsored projects for motorless city centers, like that prepared for Fort Worth, Texas by Victor Gruen, who, like the Goodman brothers, points out that "The land thus reclaimed for productive purposes would represent a value of about forty million dollars which would lower the cost of the underground service road system." Such "downtown revitalization projects" bear a marked resemblance to the City of Efficient Consumption, even though they are not worked out with the same utopian logic. The Goodman model is a fascinating mixture of satire and sensible suggestion. The notion which I have quoted of the basic apartments in which the tenant can arrange for himself the internal partitioning and fittings, which they reach through following out the idea of consumer sovereignty, has very much to be said for it. Open plan, or a series of rooms, balcony or more space inside; these questions which are determined by the whims of housing committees, speculators or architects, are much better decided by individual occupants. (Something similar is in fact being done in Italy today, simply for economic reasons.)

The New Commune

But the authors' own real preferences are evidently not for the City of Efficient Consumption, but for their second model, the New Commune, where they seek the elimination of the difference between production and consumption, in a decentralized society.

They had observed in discussing the Green Belt type of plan that the impulse behind the garden city idea was a reaction against the squalor and degradation of the urban environment in the industrial revolution. The garden city plans aimed at quarantining the technology and were based on "the humane intuition that work in which people have the satisfaction neither of direction nor of wages is essentially unbearable; the worker is eager to be let loose and to go far away."

Mindful of Daniel Burnham's injunction to "make no little plan," they decline to see the separation of work and the rest of life as immutable, and propose an "ideal type" in which they are reunited, not by scrapping the technology, but by reshaping it closer to human needs:

Starting from the present separation of work and home, we can achieve their closer relation from two sides: a) returning parts of the production to home-shops or to the proximity of the homes, and b) introducing domestic work and the productive part of family relations, which are not now considered part of the larger economy.

Like Kropotkin and some other anarchist thinkers, they seize upon the technical possibilities for decentralization which industrial advances and new sources of power have brought:

As to home shops, we must think of the present sudden proliferation of machine tools. Previously it could be said that the sewing machine was the only productive machine widely distributed. But now, largely because of the war, the idea of thousands of small complete machine shops, powered by electricity, has become familiar. And, in general, the change from steam power to electricity and oil has relaxed one of the greatest

causes for the concentration of machines about a single driving shaft. Which part of the manufacture requires a factory (for instance, an assembly line) and which does not (for instance, turning a small part) depends on the analysis of production and the proximity of plants and homes. And further, the new factories are themselves no longer nuisance buildings; many are neater and certainly handsomer than the homes and monumental buildings of some communities; therefore, the proximity of factories, home shops, and homes is possible and desirable.

Ralph Borsodi, going back to the old conception of Aristotle, has proved, often with hilarious realism, that home production, such as cooking, cleaning, mending, and entertaining, has a formidable economic value. The problem is, without destroying the individuality of home production, to lighten and enrich it by the technical means and some of the expert attitudes which belong to public production. And *vice versa*, to restore to the home many services that are really most humanly satisfactory there, but are now unfeasible because of the drudgery, lack of tools, etc.

But the chief part of finding a satisfactory productive life in the environment of homes and families consists in the analysis of person relations and conditions: e.g. the productive cooperation of man and wife, which exists on farms, or the productive capacities of children and old folk, now simply excluded from the economy. But this involves sentimental and moral problems of extreme depth and delicacy which could only be solved by the experiment itself.

A chief cause, declare the Goodman brothers, of the "living meaninglessness of industrial work is that each machine worker is acquainted with only a few processes not the whole order of production; and, even worse, that the thousands of products are distributed where the worker has no acquaintance at all" and they ask whether it would not prove to be more efficient in the long run *if the men were working for themselves and had a say in the distribution.*

"A say in the distribution" here means not merely economic democracy or even socialist ownership. These are necessary checks, but they do not give a political meaning to industrialism as such. What is required is the organization of economic democracy on the basis of the productive units, where each unit relying on its own expertness and the bargaining power of what it has to offer, cooperates with, and delegates authority to, the whole of society. This is syndicalism. And to guarantee the independent say of each productive unit it must have a relative self-sufficiency; this is regionalism and the union of farm and factory.

On the diversification of individual work, they note that within any one industry work can be divided on such grounds (for instance team work and individual work, or physical and intellectual work) and the right industries can be combined in a neighborhood (for instance, cast glass, blown glass, and optical instruments, or most important of all, in their opinion, industry and agriculture).

The problem, they say, comes down to this, "to envisage a well-rounded schedule of jobs for each man and to arrange the buildings and farms so that the schedule is feasible," and this leads them to the integration of farm and factory in a context of regionalism and regional autonomy with a) diversified farming as the basis of self-subsistence, and therefore, small urban centers (of about two hundred thousand population); b) a number of mutually dependent industrial centers, so that an important proportion of the national econ-

omy can be under local control; c) these industries developed around regional resources of mine, field and power.

Diversified farming alone, they observe, is economically independent, and this is why small farms have always been a root of social stability, though not necessarily of peasant conservatism. On the other hand, taking advantage of mechanization, "they import power and small machines and pay with the products of domestic industry and cash crops farmed perhaps cooperatively with large machines. Such a farm then is the type of productive unit, independent in itself, but linked with the larger economy of the other farms and of the town."

In industry, the problem is the reverse, since every machine industry is dependent on the national economy. "But by regional independence of industries and by the close integration of factory and farm workers—factory hands taking over in the fields at peak seasons; farmers doing factory work in the winter; town people, especially children, living in the country; farmers making small parts for the factories—the industrial region as a whole can secure for itself an independent bargaining power in the national whole."

They follow this with diagrams of the physical planning of a region on this model, a glimpse of a piazza in the town center, and of "a farm and its children"—the farmstead being a kind of extended family house combined with a youth hostel.

But is planning on these lines worthwhile? Or rather, is the formulation of this kind of "ideal type" for a society worth the effort? The Goodmans' answer is this:

Now it might be said that all these provisions—small units, double markets, the selection of industries on political and psychological grounds, etc.—that all this is a strange and round-about way of achieving a unified national economy, when at present this unity already exists with a tightness and efficiency that leaves nothing to be desired. But first, it is always a question whether the regional and syndicalist method is not more efficient and in the end, when invention, for instance, is not inhibited and the job is its own incentive. But most important if all, it must be remembered that we are here aiming at the highest and nearest ideals of external life: liberty, personal concern, responsibility and expertness; and to a say in what a man lends his hands to. Compared with these things, the present set-up, that does not even make the attempt to find living meaning in work, has nothing to offer.

Maximum Security: Minimum Regulation

In the third of their "ideal types" of community plans, the Goodman brothers describe an interim plan for "maximum security within minimum regulation."

Up to about fifty years ago, they say, more than half the productive capacity of the United States was devoted to subsistence: "subsistence could be regarded as the chief end of the economy and, although their motives were personal wealth and power, most enterprises were concerned with the subsistence market." But nowadays less than a tenth of the economy is concerned with subsistence goods (the exact figure depending on where the minimum is set, which as they point out, is a cultural

rather than a medical question), and "the center of economic interest has gradually shifted from either providing goods or gaining wealth to keeping the capital machines at work and running at full capacity, to increase further; and the social arrangements have become so complicated and interdependent that, unless the machines are running at full capacity, investment is withdrawn; and all wealth and subsistence are jeopardized." Since to neglect subsistence and security is "to breed war and social revolution," governments intervene to assure the elementary security which is no longer the first concern of the economy.

But since the forms and aims of these governments are given by the economy rather than by the elementary needs, the tack which they take is the following: to guarantee social security by subsidizing the full productivity of the economy. Or to put it financially, security is provided by insurance paid in the money that comes from the operation of the whole economy. . . .

But the immediate result of such a solution is to tighten even closer the economic net. Whatever freedom used to come from free enterprise and free market—and it is a freedom that at one time fought on the side of human rights—is caught in regulation and taxes. In a word the union of government and economy becomes more and more complete; soon we are in the full tide of statism. This is not a question of evil intention but follows from the connection of the basic political need of subsistence with the totality of an integrated economy. Such is the indirect solution.

The direct solution which they propose is to divide the economy into two, separating whatever provides life and security for all from the rest of the economy which provides variety, interest, convenience, emulation, luxury, wealth and power. The principle is to assure subsistence by direct production of subsistence goods and services rather than by insurance taxed on the general economy. This involves a system of double money: the "money" of the subsistence production and consumption, and the money of the general market. (Returning to this theme in a later essay, Paul Goodman calls them hard and soft money.) The hard money of the subsistence economy is more like ration coupons, not negotiable, since "a man's right to life is not subject to trade."

To the individual, they claim, the separation of his subsistence (employing a small fraction of his labor time) from the demands and values of the general economy (employing most of his labor time), "should give a breath of freedom, a new possibility of choice, and a sense of security combined with perfect independence for he has worked directly for what he gets and need never feel the pressure of being a drain on the general society and of thinking that soon the payments will cease."

Comparing the systems of social security offered (in 1947) in Britain and America with their suggested plan, they find that the governmental plans offer:

1. Security of subsistence.
2. A tax on the general economy.
3. The necessity to maintain the economy at full production to pay the tax, therefore, governmental planning of all production, pump-priming, made work, and sub-

sidies; a still further tax and, possibly, a falling rate of profit.

4. The insistence on the unemployed worker's accepting the third or fourth job available, in order to prevent a continuing drain on the tax fund.

5. The protecting of the workers thus coerced by regulation of the conditions of industry and investment.

As against these, they claim that their plan offers:

1. Security of subsistence.
2. The loss to the industrialist of the subsistence market and of a small fraction of the social labor.
3. The coercion of a small fraction of the social labor to produce the subsistence goods and services.
4. Economic freedom in all other respects.

The authors admit, with a twinge of conscience, that their plan in effect requires a form of industrial conscription for the "universal labor service" even though it is for a short period, or for short periods, of an individual's working life. ("We are touching," they remark, "on a political principle of vast importance, far beyond our scope of analysis here, namely, the principle of purity of means in the exercise of the different powers of society. Government, founded essentially on authority, uses mainly the means of personal service; economy, founded essentially on exchange, uses mainly the means of money.") They claim in fact that

This plan is coercive, but, in fact, if not in law, it is less coercive than the situation we are used to. For the great mass of wage-earners it fixes a limit to the coercion to which, between capital and trade union, they are unavoidably and increasingly subjected.

The minimum subsistence economy (they note that if freedom is the aim, everything beyond the minimum must be excluded) provides and distributes food, clothing and shelter, mass produced in enormous quantities and without variation of style, while medicine and transportation are provided by a financial arrangement between the subsistence and the general economies.

Now supposing that such a system, of assured subsistence and of almost complete freedom of economic ties, were put into effect; there is no doubt that for millions of people, no matter how much they might resist the idea in prospect, the first effect would be a feeling of immense relief—relief from that pressure of a daily grind and relief from the anxiety of failure—in short, the feeling expressed by so many persons that they wish their vacations could last on and on. But, after this first commonplace effect had worn off, then, it seems to us, the moral attitude of a people like the Americans would be profoundly disturbed. They would be afraid not only of freedom (which releases the desires, both creative and destructive, which are so nicely repressed by routine) but especially of boredom for they would imagine themselves completely without cultural or creative resources. For in our times all entertainments and even the personal excitements of romance seem to be bound up with having ready money to spend: all emotional satisfaction has been intricately into keeping the entire productive machine in motion: it is bound up with the "standard of living," it is created by, and gets its economic role through advertising.

After the period of salutary boredom which makes people discover what they want to do with their time rather than succumb to a widely advertised suggestion,

they envisage the growth of schools teaching *avocations*—jobs adopted for their own satisfaction rather than by economic necessity.

The authors enjoy themselves working out the architectural implications of their double economy—the “production center” and minimal settlements of the subsistence economy. Throughout the book, they are forced by the nature of their approach to stray out of the field of town-planning into that of economics, and it is with the views of an economist, J. K. Galbraith, that their three schemes invite comparison. In *The Affluent Society*, Galbraith argues, with the same reasoning about the small proportion of the American economy devoted to subsistence, for the divorce of production from security. In this respect he goes further than the Goodmans, but by the use of a mechanism which they reject as the indirect method. Galbraith suggests breaking the connection between income and production, not, like them, by separating subsistence from the rest, but by introducing what he calls cyclically graduated compensation—unemployment compensation which, as unemployment increases, is itself increased to approach the level of the normal weekly wage, and diminishes as full employment is approached. Each of these authors

would regard the proposals of the other as a cumbersome way of achieving the same object. All their suggestions release a speculative faculty in the reader's brain, so that he conceives other solutions for himself—like making subsistence items “free” and reserving a money economy for luxuries.

Or he may conceive of a three-decker society in which the three schemes which the Goodmans formulate co-exist. Indeed, since one of the subtle fascinations of their book is that their three “paradigms” are part parodies as well as part utopias, he may actually see them co-existing in a distorting-mirror image, in the contemporary world. We have the big brassy metropolitan consumer city in any world capital; we have the “intentional community” in the form, for example, of the *kibbutz* (the subject of some penetrating paragraphs in the new edition of *Communitas*), and we may even trace elements of the life of security with minimum regulation in the economic aspects of the life of America's disaffiliated beatniks (which Paul Goodman has discussed in *Growing Up Absurd*), living in the interstices of the affluent society by undertaking a minimum of humble but often useful work, in order to devote the rest of their time to the pursuits of *their* choice.

COMMENCEMENT, 1962

The insulted poor will riot in my city
without community. The air is poisoned
by crazy sovereigns. America
and Europe shamelessly have counterfeited
the university, the ring and book
are given by policemen. Thwarted in serving
I grow deluded about my own importance
but am in fact confused like an abandoned
hut in the woods with broken dusty windows
and the town far away, if there is any.
Nevertheless, hear the tumultuous spirit
restless in the foliage turning white
that will destroy God knows how much of the world
before retreating it whispers Good-bye
my frightened darling, thank you. It is whining
and sobbing; it will whistle through the teeth
and howl, and big branches crack and hang
withering. I remember Shelley's poem,
“Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is.”
Something is breathing me despite myself.
My speech is frantic, I was too nearsighted
to see the expression on the county-leader's
face when I shouted at him to resign.
Attacked, I called on passers in the street
help! help! but they stood only staring at
each other with impersonal alarm.
I am misthrown, not meant to be an agent
but the historian of the excellent.

PAUL GOODMAN

"IF NOT NOW, WHEN?"

STAUGHTON LYND

WE WERE BORN into a society "where, despite much busyness, there was little useful work; despite much art and entertainment, little joy; despite many physical comforts, almost no sexual happiness; where among thousands of thousands there was almost not one person exercising most of his human powers." All that the mere fact of life involves—growth, novelty, excitement, communion, natural formfulness—is systematically destroyed in us and around us. To view the situation less somberly is superficiality, is being "alert lifeguards / on the shore that itself is being eaten away." To accept it is impossible: "We cannot be persuaded, we *will* not be persuaded, that this makes sense." To reject it but not to resist it, to be resigned, is to "drift toward fascism."

What, then, is to be done? We must call on life for the defense of life. If, individually and in small communities, we can make contact, come into touch with life, we will have ground to stand on and faith with which to move ahead. We must rediscover and accept our sexuality, our childlikeness, our instinct of workmanship, our natural and proper urge to destroy life-blocking obstacles. Then we will see "that our misery was not inevitable, there have been other possibilities."

This, as I understand it, has been the witness of Paul Goodman for the past thirty years, a witness abundantly exemplified in his new book.*

The thinker who insists on devoting his whole productive effort to the defense and glorification of man as man, whose one subject is Adam, naked humanity, is a very rare creature. Who can be set beside Goodman in dogged devotion to this theme? The artist and prophet most akin to him is D. H. Lawrence. Beyond Lawrence, perhaps Thoreau, although Thoreau's version of the "unique coupling of fastidiousness and love" was very meagerly sensual.

**Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals* (Random House; New York, 1962, 289 pp.)



The practitioners of this unusual tradition run peculiar dangers. Just because they invoke the whole man, as whole man, these artists must intrude their emotions on their subject matter. This kind of writer is not a man holding and wielding a tool: his whole self is his only tool. By involving all of themselves, they tend to surrender the reservation of a critical faculty which could stand aloof and judge, which could sort out the good product from the bad. Hence the work of Lawrence and Goodman includes much that is petty, over-personal, phallic to the verge of ridiculousness, and in addition, badly written. In Goodman's poetry, for example, there is an archetypal poem which runs something like this:

Thirty-three [or thirty-seven, or forty-six] today.
No lay.
Oh weh.

The same strain appears in the sketch, "A Statue of Goldsmith," in the sentence: "I must have been a striking figure standing at my ease there, solitary, alertly watching, drawing on my pipe."

Interestingly enough, no one has characterized the causes, character and fruits of such art-lessness more acutely than Goodman himself. "In a milieu of resignation," he writes, "it is extremely hard to aim at objective truth or world culture. One's own products are likely to be personal or parochial." In times of despair and contraction, the artist loses contact with "the objective changeable world." And again: "Every earnest artist in our times and with an audience bent on the avoidance of any earnest word, finds that just by avoiding the temptation of public bathos and the debauchery of public language, he shrinks into himself, his accidental idiosyncrasy, his clique." In this mood a man fighting to affirm sexuality as the path into, not out of, the Garden of Eden, can lose track of the path's destination and "become preoccupied with sexual thoughts as if these were the whole of life."

Let us return to the theme we began with: life. What are the facets Goodman finds in this portentous word? "I tend to see the subject," says Goodman in his preface to *Utopian Essays* "as ongoing into the immediate future, requiring to be coped with." His concern is with practice, and Paradise, for him, is a practical world. "A human subject matter," continues the preface, "is not 'explained' unless we cope with its immediate future; what it is is what it is about to be, and this means what we can try to make it."

Activity, in Goodman's view, describes the fundamental situation of an organism existing in an environment: the process of assimilating experience completed by an appropriate assertive response. But activity also means work, honorable labor. In *Growing Up Absurd*, Goodman ascribed the malaise of our society in general, and of its youth in particular, to the systemic frustration of meaningful work. It is a persistent note in all his writing. We need "a task to wake up toward." We want to be "not assertive but serviceable." Look at the face of a mechanic repairing a car, of any man engaged in any honest and useful task: "they're absorbed, cooperative; they're human." Juvenile delinquent, organization man, unmanly academic, all suffer from the brute, root fact that "in 1957 nobody desperately needed you or me."

No doubt it is common-sensical to observe that life is essentially active. One definition of life is a state of irritability, of movement. But if this observation is common-sensical, how much nonsense there must be in the going social science! What place is there in Parsonian sociology, Marxian history, Freudian psychology, or in the received versions of anthropology and economics, for the individual human being spontaneously improvising, for the invention of new things? Social science has deserted its natural role, modest but indispensable, as guide and counselor to the next step. It is not by way of social science that we can, with Goodman, "dance into the present with the force of the endurance of the world."

And to act, we must come into the present. Action is always at this moment: "if not now, when?" But the pervading alienation from life means fear of the present, fear of the now. The present moment seems "to be dangerous and taboo, and we hedge it with avoidance and superstitious explaining-away." Thus we desperately escape encounter with the experience that to receive the blessing of faith we need only—open our eyes. Faith comes if one can be vulnerable to

surprise as when forth cast
from the finger of God the Man
looked back at him with boundlessly
boundlessly open eyes.

Goodman would agree with Lawrence that the message the world needs is not, "Follow me," but, "Behold!"

This central concern for concrete, inventive, present action helps to explain the minor key in which much

of Goodman's work is cast. He deliberately eschews the grandiose and all-encompassing, for these belong to the *hubris* of theorizing. Action is always specific. Hence Goodman's flair for the casual gesture; the book which is a collection of essays; the small-town festival; and indeed, for anarchism. "Occasional poetry," he approvingly quotes from Goethe, "is the highest kind." Some of Goodman's most moving short stories describe ceremonial occasions in small communities: fantastically, as in the ritual destruction of billboards come the Revolution; soberly, as in a poignant sketch of the performance of Bach's *Wachet Auf!* at a high-school graduation. *Utopian Essays* concludes with an ode of welcome to the new student movement wherein Goodman suggests that "complete and universal principles of action" seem unattainable to young people and make them feel guilty, while the pragmatic gospels of Taoism, Zen and the existentialism of Buber, free them to take the next step. Throughout the book we are permitted to envision a new heaven and a new earth only in glimpses: Manhattan without cars, pictures without frames, sex without fear. The good society is an abstraction. Particular human actions are alone real. But this is cause not for despair, but for joy in recovering the real world of discrete and immediate commitments. We are set free "to blazon the ordinary with baronial glory."

The tone of this presentist, activist philosophy is, as Goodman observes, akin to existentialism. But he goes on to say that he believes his thought, in contrast to existentialist thought, is "less merely willed . . . , less cut off from body, culture, and spirit." I think this is true. Goodman is neither anti-intellectual nor anti-scientific. One of the strongest essays in the present volume seeks to reclaim science for the humanities, conceiving it as a moral activity of the whole man. Further, Goodman's frequent despair is not the despair of a man hurled unwillingly into an essentially alien universe, or of the trapped rat in a room with No Exit. On the contrary, he affirms the underlying communion of man with nature and his fellow man. The beneficent powers of the universe would come "crowding in" to help us would we only permit them.

In a word, Goodman is a man of faith. Faith as he defines it is "the conviction that there is ground underfoot for a next step," and it is just this sense of the existence of a portion of the universe answering to our need, which is absent in existentialism, or in the mood of the Beats. Let us not fear to "expect too much," Goodman proclaims. A lover *can* feel concern for his beloved. A man *can* loose all his powers without injuring his fellows. Community *is* possible, although we must expect it to be a conflictful community." Above all, nature is abundant: to love, to dare, is not to squander a scarce supply of strength, but to draw answering energies from the world. "It's not the case, if we spend our strength for a free stroke, that there's no strength left for another! There is not a reservoir of force, but force is welling in the soul." All the hideous realities which we, by repressing our passions, nourish, could return in beneficent form: "You will see all these things coming

friendly toward you like the countryside whose trees are visibly sprouting flowers."

Once grasp that the environment can be changed, that useful and noble work is possible, then the solution of particular tasks of growth becomes possible. *Utopian Essays* is full of happy, practical suggestions for the solution of subtle action-blocks which we all experience, but which psychologists rarely describe. Why do we chronically inhibit the explosive expression of grief and anger? Why may an artist find it difficult to invent fictional characters? Why does advance-guard writing anger the public? Why is getting a job not necessarily the right step for a delinquent adolescent? Nor does Goodman restrict himself to the guidance counselor's usual repertoire. What revived Job's religious faith? What are the consequences of the immense fact that we no longer believe in the immortality of the soul? These too are practical problems, although ignored by the shallow pseudo-practicality of American culture.

Two aspects of Goodman's feeling about maturation require special notice. One is his attitude toward the relation of childhood to adulthood. Here the great sin is the Pauline demand that we put away the things of a child, that "a man becomes a man by giving up the ways of a child, rather than by growing into the glory of the next moment as it comes." Instead, "childish feelings are important not as a past that must be undone but as some of the most beautiful powers of adult life that must be recovered." In moments of crisis and confusion, the creative personality knows how to take a step backward, to restore contact with the child-self that he underneath still is, and then bound back into the present and the future. "What I mean by refusing to grow up, is to *go back*, consciously and trying to avoid the risks of regression and fixation, to our early years of childhood, so that we at least know what it is that we really want and can challenge the world . . . with our whole desires." The aware adult realizes that the grace and flow of his adult achievements are thanks to the child in him. Grateful, he will acknowledge: "I have been lived by a starveling youth / a child my steady will of spite and wrath / could not destroy."

Yet the adult is no child. The world of adulthood, culture and society, provide the medium, the structure, the objective surface, wherein the child-no-longer-infantile paints his soul in useful work. Goodman's therapeutic practice and writing express great sensitivity for the transition of the adolescent into the grown-up world. There *must* be a stable adult world to give form to the diffuse impulses of youth. Our adult world, however, is soul-destroying, it is unworthy of these swirling energies, it does not channel them but dams and dries them up. "There is no available world to give experience a form." This is a problem alike for the adolescent and for the artist, who tries to retain something of childhood's instinctual wholeness and spontaneity. How can the artist transcend the merely personal, how can the young man grow up? Both need society to "provide an objective

structure to replace the family authority." This is why Goodman, for all his emphasis on the intuitive and emotive, is preoccupied with structure, and has written books on the structure of literature and the structure of creative action which are, if anything, over-formalistic.

For both teen-ager and creator, Goodman recommends community. This is another *leitmotif*. Community, as beautifully defined in *Utopian Essays*, means people using each other as resources. It means recognizing the ur-truth that human beings (which is to say: you and I) are fundamentally social animals; that before Ego was, We were; that sociality is not "an 'interpersonal' agreement between individuals," but acceptance of the fact that we are already together. Yet community is not, as everyone who has lived in a *kibbutz* or an intentional community well knows, an harmonious idyll. The first practical lesson any novice in community must learn is to be honest about his feelings, even when being honest means being angry. Without this, nothing grows. The opportunity of community is by living our whole lives, day after day, in the presence of others, to break through stereotypes and rationalizations and know ourselves for the first time. The cherished self-image is quickly shattered, and the man we bitterly quarreled with last evening must be our work-partner this morning. Thus in community one learns to live in a genuine "social peace" with others and oneself, a need not really less in the Great Society outside community, but veiled and screened until it explodes in cataclysmic form, as in nuclear holocaust.

Face-to-face community would bridge the gap between the "primary environment" of the family, and the "secondary environment" of work in the adult society. For growing youth, the community of a work-camp would provide a breathing-space between the authority of the parent and the authority of the boss. For adults, community would serve to soften the dichotomy between private and public spheres of experience, to heal this schizophrenia built in our culture. Why should not a city be a mosaic of neighborhood communities? Goodman has written apropos Kafka: "The anarchist tries in principle to avoid the separation of the primary and secondary environment; Kafka [and most of us] clings . . . to the primary environment and accepts the secondary environment as a necessary punishment; the state socialists distract themselves into the secondary environment altogether." Why continue to cling, to be distracted? Community is not an esoteric idea: it can begin with our next conversation. If not now, when?

Related to Goodman's concepts of adulthood and community is his attitude toward violence. Goodman defines himself as a pacifist who believes in fistfights. He feels that destruction-of-the-environment, as in eating, is an inevitable aspect of man's life. More than that, it is often the necessary means of casting aside a situation that has become binding and constraining, and making a fresh start. In such circumstances—an example is the notorious frequency of quarrels in community living, which, however, often lead to deeper comradeship—

"destroying is the means to renewal." The function of this kind of violence is to break down structures which have come to impose an artificial ordering, and to make room for the groping, the confusion, which must precede something really new. Thus violence does not itself create, but is the prelude to creation precisely in bringing about chaos and confusion; for "confusion is the state of promise, the fertile void where surprise is possible again." Here violence plays very much the same role as for Marx. Goodman's natural drives break through repressing patterns of organization, just as Marx's "productive forces" destroy the outmoded shell of "productive relations." When this fails to happen, the repressed material accumulates and erupts on such a scale as to annihilate everything in its path, including the seeds of new departures. Just so, with Marx, the failure of revolutionary violence at the appropriate historical moment may bring on the all-encompassing violence of fascism. At this point, the thinking of Goodman, who also speaks (in *Growing Up Absurd*) of the consequences of "missed revolutions" and (in *Utopian Essays*) of the "drift toward fascism," very nearly converges with the thinking of Marx.

Yet Goodman's greatest weakness is his lack of a sense of history. "On the whole," he writes, "the 'forces of history' have not helped us much." Perhaps not; but it is quite a different thing to pretend that they don't matter. "No behavior or ideology is in fact such a big deal; for only the human beings exist." If most contemporary social science over-emphasizes the determining effect of institutions, Goodman exaggerates in the opposite direction.

Once again, he is his own best critic. In a courageous essay entitled "My psychology as a 'Utopian sociologist,'" he puts his finger exactly on the point I am making, and calls it "disastrous in both my life and thought." As Goodman describes this flaw: "I fail to experience myself in groups that I cannot immediately try to alter by personal decision and effort. . . . By living all contacts too personally, I lose the advantages and the accepted techniques of simply belonging. My thinking, therefore, has a certain radical irrelevance and insubstantiality. Since I resist existing in the usual areas of history and society, I am not serious about most people's *actual* plight in the world." We noticed earlier that the withdrawal here described seems to be at the root of Goodman's occasional bad art. Here we confront it more directly as it cripples his essential perception of our social situation.

The "insubstantiality," the two-dimensional quality, of Goodman's social thought, might seem to be belied by his frequent use of terms like "revolution," "structure of society," "history." "The simple job plight of these adolescents," he wrote in *Growing Up Absurd*, "could not be remedied without a social revolution." In *Utopian Essays* we come on such phrases as these: "The dominant class in society sees to it that it gets likewise the 'progressive education' that suits it"; "the public schools

are to be used as apprentice training grounds for the monopolies and the armed forces." These phrases have a tough and a familiar ring. In a sketch of the 1930's, a character is casually introduced in this way: "Mrs. Troy, the cellist, was a heroine of the civil war." And Goodman didn't mean the civil war of the 1860's!

These phrases, this style of words, are deceptive. For in the imagined universe of Paul Goodman, "the social structure" and "the dominant class" exist in the manner of Kafka's Castle: they are Up There, they are big and strong, they are screwing us, but they are curiously vague and static. Goodman uses such terms, I believe, much as Englishmen refer to the Establishment. It is there, it is bad, but it is not a dynamic agent in the situation. For Goodman, only individuals make history. "Historical forces" are rationalizations invented by the oppressed to confirm their impotence. As in all anarchist thought, how we are really to get from where we are to where we want to be is left astonishingly amorphous. "If we undo the State and relax the repression of the children," Goodman has written, "then the good society will flourish." Just how does he propose to undo it? Will work-camps for adolescents, fistfights, and good sex really do the trick?

Goodman, in reply, would point to the record of attempts to take control of institutions, and argue that the reformers have been corrupted, their visions twisted or discarded. "To Kafka," he once wrote, "the very *attempt* of the people to seize the big society, and worse, their success (as history has shown) is the endless Castle." In criticizing the naturalistic novelists, Goodman says: "they made the assumption that a mere institutional change—sexual reform, socialism, etc.—would heal the inner irk, or, what is the same thing, create a society they could breathe in." But it makes all the difference whether one means that institutional changes in themselves are insufficient, or, that institutional changes are irrelevant. Are institutional changes a necessary though not a sufficient cause of the Good Life, or are they a snare and a delusion? As to the sexual revolution, Goodman certainly believes it important, arguing (in the essay, "Pornography and the Sexual Revolution") that the only trouble is that the change has not gone far enough. What about his other example, socialism? Is it a wrong path, or a path that has yet to be travelled to its end—say, to the withering away of the state? This is a question of infinite importance to any thoughtful critic of American society in the year 1962; regrettably, Goodman's answer is muffled and unclear.

In the preface to this book, Goodman says that he attempts to keep his subject "imbedded in its social-psychological causes." Later he explains what he means by social psychology. "I take this to be the extension—by projection, identification, and other mechanisms—of primary interpersonal relations into the wider secondary environment. Thus, a man's attitude on the job may be like his pre-adolescent family life; or behind the charismatic leader is the infantile father; or the

public feeling about war and the bomb is importantly grounded in primary masochism and creative block." Now, exactly this cast of thought was the cardinal sin of American social criticism in the 1950's. All happenings in history were reduced to psychological motives: the tapestry of history was turned upside down, and we were asked to believe that there was no figure in the carpet, only loose ends of thread protruding here and there. Thus *The Lonely Crowd* asserted that America had no such thing as a structure of power; consumption was endlessly discussed without mentioning profit; economic prosperity was taken as a datum, and the permanent war economy ignored. The vagueness and amorphousness of Goodman's grasp on history are part and parcel of this disastrous trend of thought, which overcompensates for the prevalent determinism, and blurs the clear and distinct outlines of decaying American capitalism.

My own view, to summarize it, is that a man must seek

to ally himself with historical trends and forces in much the same way that, as Goodman sees it, man must flee the existentialist desert and take his stand with nature. The analogy is inexact; it is certainly open to very serious criticism; yet it has, I think, as much to commend it as nostalgia for Jeffersonian democracy and vague projects for little communities.

One cannot end on a critical note. Paul Goodman is one of the very few voices still clearly affirming "that machines are meant to be useful, that work is a productive activity, that politics aims at the common weal, and in general that something can be done." If some of his commitments are truncated and unclear, massive commitment and integrity have been required to hew to his lonely line for a generation, and produce one "hard-won little book" after another to challenge and refresh us.

A Revolutionary Program

Paul Goodman*

• 1. It is treasonable to free society not to work at a job that realizes our human powers and transcends the inhuman subdivision of labor. It is a matter of guilt—this is a harsh saying—to exhaust your time of day in the usual work in office and factories, merely for wages. The aim of economy is not the efficient production of commodities, but cooperative jobs themselves worth doing, with the workers' full understanding of the machines and processes, releasing the industrial inventiveness that is in each man. (Nor is it the case, *if we have regard to the whole output of social labor*, that modern technical efficiency requires, or is indeed compatible with, the huge present concentrations of machinery beyond the understanding and control of small groups of workers.)

• 2. We must re-assess our standard of living and see what parts are really useful for subsistence and humane well-being, and which are slavery to the emulation, emotional security, and inferiority roused by exploitative institutions and coercive advertising. The question is not one of the quantity of goods (the fact that we swamp ourselves with household furnishings is likely due to psychic causes too deep for us to alter), but that the goods that make up the "standard of living" are stamped with alien values.

• 3. We must allow, and encourage, the sexual satisfaction of the young, both adolescents and small children, in order to free them from anxious submissiveness to authority. It is probably impossible to prevent our own neurotic prejudices

from influencing small children, but we can at least make opportunity for the sexual gratification of adolescents. This is essential in order to prevent the patterns of coercion and authority from re-emerging no matter what the political change has been.

• 4. In small groups we must exercise direct political initiative in community problems of personal concern to ourselves (housing, community-plan, education, etc.). The constructive decisions of intimate concern to us cannot be delegated to representative government and bureaucracy. Further, even if the Government really represented the interests of the constituents, it is still the case that political initiative is itself the noble and integrating act of every man. In government as in economic production, what is superficially efficient is not efficient in the long run.

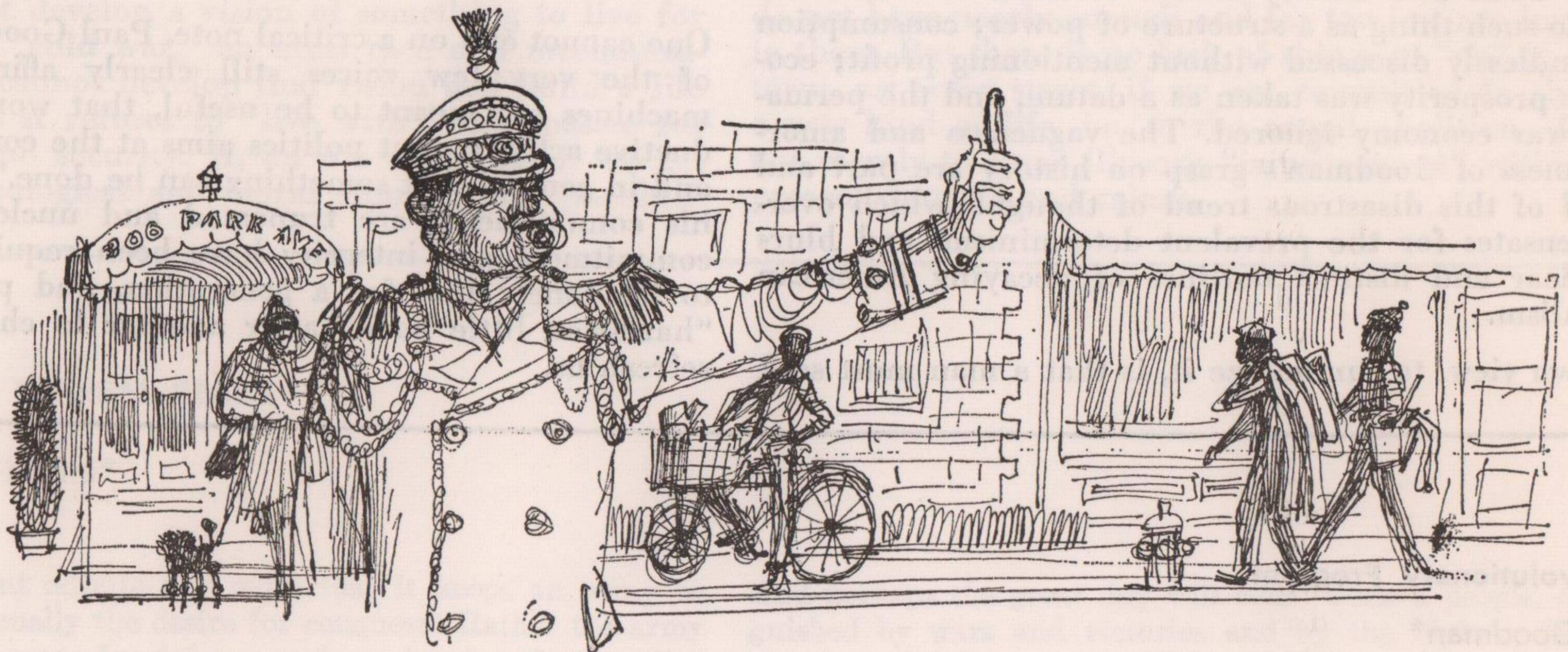
• 5. Living in the midst of an alienated way of life, we must mutually analyze and purge our souls until we no longer regard as guilty or conspiratorial such illegal acts as spring from common human nature. (Needless to say, I am here referring to ethical discussions not amateur psychoanalyses.) With regard to committing such "crimes," we must exercise prudence not of inhibition but such prudence as a sane man exercises in a madhouse. On the other hand, we must see that many acts commonly regarded as legal and even meritorious are treason against our natural society, *if they involve us in situations where we cease to have personal responsibility and concern for the consequences.*

• 6. We must progressively abstain from whatever is connected with the war.

*from *Art and Social Nature*

What Have We Done to Each Other?

Tom Venters



WHAT did you do Ellen in those cold winters, your husband dead? He was a big handsome blackman; if it was cancer that killed him was it the cancer that denies a man as big and proud as he the right to be? How was it returning that first night to a cold bed to love a memory? What was it like, Ellen, mother of six and alone?

How was it those cold mornings standing on endless lines for a sack of meal and maybe a little stric-o-lean, praying it would last till your turn came? Did you hate mother earth, cold and un giving, waiting there patiently, the thin soles of your shoes long since unprotective? What did you do when your turn finally came and there was nothing left, did you think about those six mouths, expectant, and cry? Were there tears left when you buried one? What did you do with no oil for the lamp or wood for the stove, the stove that feeds on wood and in its turn feeds and heats, did those days come too? What was it like on four dollars a week, for keeping unthinking, ungrateful, uncaring whites clean and comfortable, to raise your kids? How did you do it, Ellen? I saw you dance, for the first time in your life, with your youngest, some thirty years after his birth. We all laughed and I knew you had done that too, even then, dear Ellen.

□

WHEN I entered the lobby, all eyes turned in my direction as if to say: "You know you are wrong for being

here." The lobby was no different from what must be the standard building and architectural operating procedure. All four of the walls, street level, were glass. The Park Avenue entrance led to a pair of chrome-and-black escalators, but I wanted the elevator. The elevators themselves are *chic* affairs, having not only thick wall-to-wall carpeting and soft indirect lighting but piped-in music, the kind of soft strings blah calculated to please the taste of the most sensitive, of music to eat by, dance to, fly by, music to love by, music lover.

Now, at the end of this row of elevators stands a uniformed "starter," who also doubles as a sort of one-man courtesy service provided by the management. His uniform is well-tailored and form-fitting, the jacket a very light blue, sky blue, shiny brass buttons, black well-creased pants with a thin gold braid running the length and seam of them. He wears white gloves and a stiff-looking garrison cap of matching blue, the patent leather visor, or what looked like patent leather, worn in a military manner, about three fingers from the bridge of the nose, in this case the steel rims of his glasses. The face behind the glasses is rather long, the nose also, his skin leathery and pale; the mouth, the grey eyes behind the lens are weak, and so is the thin line of his mouth, looking now with pressed lips as though to hide a set of cheap ill-fitting false teeth. (What can be seen of his hair around the edge of his cap, worn down on his head just behind the tips of his ears, is a mixture of grey-black.)

Ignoring the looks I collected from the well dressed men and women passing, all smelling equally sweet, I stopped to scan the directory on the wall (just to the right of the escalators) I found the floor of the office I wanted and started walking in the direction of the car servicing floors, fifteen to thirty. The man in uniform approached. "May I help you?" said the words; his voice and eyes were saying something else. I said "No, thank you," and continued. There were about five people in the waiting car. As I turned to face the doors, they were sliding closed behind the grey eyes staring into mine. He wanted to know what floor I wanted and why. I asked him whether he was in the habit of questioning everyone entering the building. The other passengers looked embarrassed and interested. We said no more, he staring at me and I at him.

When the car stopped at the floor I wanted, we both got off, and I, angry and mean now, brushed by an elderly white-haired man, holding his hat in one hand, supported by a cane in the other. The member of the royal guard, assigned to the protection of her majesty's jewels, followed a few paces behind, just out of reach. The business that took me to the building was the delivery of a package, but when he asked what I wanted on this floor, following close behind all the way, I ignored the question and turned the corner of the corridor and as I was entering the office glanced back to see him half leaning around the corner, cloak-and-dagger style.

On my way back to the elevator there he still was and by now I wanted to put my fist through his face.



IN ATTEMPTING to say something about life in the United States, I think of John's theme: "What have we done to each other?" In considering this question, the answers will pretty much sound like judgments and I cannot judge the people of this nation without at the same time passing judgment on myself. We are all, I believe, mirrors of/for each other. I am thinking now of a portfolio of pictures by photographer W. Eugene Smith, appearing in the March 1962 issue of *The Second Coming* magazine; his subject: the Ku Klux Klan. In these pictures the mirrors are caught in action by the camera's eye of truth and we see the bewilderment, the fear, the loss reflecting itself as evil in the faces of the Klansmen, alone, simple, frightened, farmers not understanding what the "world" has done to them or their God, who has rewarded their life-long struggle with the earth with more struggle. A bitter and bewildered people, children, whose only way of fighting back at life, which they fear, is through the evil that hoods and unites them. Here, as members of the holy society of the burning cross, the symbol of their tormented lives, they take the only action their religion leaves them, to torment, deprive and murder themselves over again in the person of their black images. In doing so they anoint their black victim with sainthood. He too struggles with the earth for his life's blood and because of or in spite of his tormenters who lynch and maim him, steal his land and attempt to rob him of his right to struggle with it. They instill in him the role and symbol of what is good in them all. Thus the Black American of the Klan South and his Northern brother in a different way, become the mirror of good. Two reflections of the same face, the face is America. "What do we do to each other?"

Might Is Right

Paul Goodman*

A free society cannot be the substitution of a 'new order' for the old order; it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of social life. . . . The libertarian is rather a millenarian than an utopian. He does not look forward to a future state of things which he tries to bring about by suspect means; but he draws now, so far as he can, on the natural force in him that is no different in kind from what it will be in a free society, except that there it will have more scope and will be immeasurably reinforced by mutual aid and fraternal conflict. Merely by continuing to exist and act in nature and freedom, the libertarian wins the victory, establishes the society; it is not necessary for him to be the victor *over* anyone. When he creates, he wins; when he corrects his prejudices and habits, he wins; when he resists

and suffers, he wins. I say it this way in order to teach honest persons not to despond when it seems that their earnest and honest work is without "influence." The libertarian does not seek to influence groups but to act in the natural groups essential to him—for most human action is the action of groups. Consider if several million persons, quite apart from any "political" intention, did only natural work that gave them full joy! The system of exploitation would disperse like fog in a hot wind. But of what use is action, really born of resentment, that is bent on correcting abuses yet never does a stroke of nature?

The action of drawing on the most natural force will in fact establish itself. Might is right; but do not let the violent and the cowed imagine for a moment that their weakness is might. What great things have *they* accomplished in practice, art or theory?

*from *Art and Social Nature*

REVIEWS . . .

OUTTHINKING OURSELVES

In his memorable review of Herman Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War*, in *Scientific American*, James R. Newman says:

"There is a Jewish anecdote which runs:

"Where are you going?"

"To Minsk."

"Shame on you! You say this to make me think you are going to Pinsk. But I happen to know you *are* going to Minsk."

". . . Kahn is a Minsk-to-Pinsk outthinker."

In this sense, Leon Gouré* is a second-string outthinker, whose limited RAND mission has been to try to provide as justification for our proposed civil defense program the idea that the Russians have a similarly threatening program of their own.

The Soviet Union, like other major countries, concerned itself with civil defense measures, especially air raid shelters, before and during World War II. It has had a superficial program which purported to be concerned with civil defense against nuclear weapons. It has, like other nations, "manuals" prepared for this purpose by government bureaucrats. But whether in fact there is ". . . an extensive and expanding civil defense program, which has already resulted in a significant capability," as Mr. Gouré states, is not proved by his book. Rather the reverse.

The crux of the issue is whether shelters exist in significant numbers and whether the Russian people even know they exist. And on this issue, Gouré reveals the Minsk-Pinsk nature of his reasoning.

Neither the manuals nor the Soviet press reveal anything of the scope of the shelter construction program or the amount of shelter space available. Most tourists in the Soviet Union fail to notice any evidence of the existence of shelters.

Mikoyan made a speech in Cleveland, on January 7th, 1959, in which he said that shelters would be useless except as consolation before the bomb exploded. Mrs. Khrushchev's statement of October 6th, 1961 was to the same effect.

These statements, the failure of many travelers to detect shelters, and the lack of published Soviet statistics on the subject do not, however, constitute evidence

*Gouré, Leon, *Civil Defense in the Soviet Union*, with foreword by Willard F. Libby, University of California Press, 1962, \$2.45, paperback edition.

against the existence of an active and extensive shelter construction program.

Why not? Because the dearth of published information ". . . is in keeping with the secrecy surrounding so many Soviet activities." Because they are scant, the occasional references in the Soviet press to actual shelter construction are "all the more significant." In short, the lack of evidence is the presumptive proof of the suspicion. The logic is that of McCarthyism or the Birchers: if Communists say one thing they mean its opposite.

Without significant exception, American news correspondents have been unable to detect evidence that the Soviets possess or are building shelters. One example of Gouré's exposition on this point is necessary: that of the Moscow subways. He says they would be able to shelter a million or more people.

The Soviet press has given no indication whether any of the subway systems have been adapted [equipped with means to seal against blast, fallout, and chemical and bacterial agents] for these purposes. However, there is evidence that the subways have been provided with concealed doors at the entrances to the train platforms (see pls. 2 and 3).

To quote just one of the United States correspondents who disagree with Gouré, Marvin Kalb, of C.B.S., said in a radio broadcast, on January 14th of this year:

Influential Americans, for a time, took the pamphlet for Gospel and said publicly that if Russia had a massive program why then so should the United States. When this pamphlet reached Russia, brought in by visiting westerners, it created quite a sensation. For Americans living in the Soviet capital had never seen a Soviet fallout shelter and the feeling was that, if the Russians had a massive program, as the RAND study put it, then, surely, someone would at least have had the chance to see a shelter. Reporters became curious, began asking Russian friends about it, and began looking for obscure doors in subways that might lead to a large shelter. Once, an American reporter even opened one of these doors only to find that it led to a control room for subway trains. . . . The new apartment houses going up all over the Soviet Union to try and take care of the housing shortage, many of them do not even have basements which could be used as crude shelters.

One can dip into Gouré randomly and find evidence of his propagandistic bias. Thus he says that the Soviet civil defense budget "is not known." But estimates (presumably like those of the Central Intelligence Agency) have been made. He cites one by Frank B. Ellis, director of Civil Defense, when he was trying to justify to Congress a budget for his agency, that the Russians spent "from \$500,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 a year" on civil defense. This is the only statistic quoted on the point and it is picked up by Professor Libby in his foreword and treated as an established fact. Estimates from such a source on such an occasion have the same self-serving

taint as the annual spring Navy "estimate" that Soviet submarines or trawlers have been sighted near our shores.

If Khrushchev speaks publicly in favor of developing suburban residential communities around major cities which continue to grow in population, this for Gouré is official endorsement of the dispersal theory of civil defense.

Relying on civil defense manuals, Gouré regularly treats their statements as if they reflected the real situation. For example, "As many of them [shelters] as possible are supplied with running water. . . . This water will be used primarily for washing. . . ." (emphasis added). If a Russian approached the United States's civil defense in this way, he could make a similar showing, going back to the Barnard report following World War II. He would conclude that Americans, disciplined by Civil Defense directors and instructed by CONELRAD, were fully prepared to duck into their Libby-advertised family shelters. Such a book might serve the purpose of a Russian Libby and a Russian Teller; but it would bear little relation to reality.

One of the consequences of working for a secretive organization like RAND is that Mr. Gouré may fairly be held responsible for knowing something of the nuclear striking capacities of this country and of the Soviets. It can have been no secret from him, therefore, that as General Thomas S. Power, Chief of the Strategic Air Command, recently said:

There is no way the Soviet Union could destroy the Strategic Air Command by surprise onslaught today and avoid its own destruction from the retaliatory blows. (New York Times, April 22nd.)

Such realistic considerations do not deter the determined propagandist. For Gouré says:

We must also consider the possibility that a steadily growing crisis might prompt Soviet leaders to initiate a preemptive war against the West, or alternatively, that they may launch an unprovoked surprise attack without a prior crisis.

It requires no great familiarity with Russian literature to determine by internal analysis of Gouré's book that his real purpose is, as Kalb suggested, to justify a big United States civil defense program. Unjustified inferences are piled on top of each other. At the lowest level, they are often qualified properly; but when they are pyramided, the qualifications are dropped out and they become "hard" facts. The result is that when one skims off these "facts," as does Professor Libby in the foreword, a very misleading picture is presented. What emerges is propaganda. From a psychiatric point of view the whole exercise involves guilt projection and rationalization of the sponsor's aggressive inclinations.

DALLAS SMYTHE

THE CORE OF THE MATTER

Jim Peck's little book on the CORE movement* should be enlightening to those who are unaware of the twenty-year background to the current direct-action struggle in the South. Jim is in a position to do this enlightenment autobiographically, since he was on the bus ride (1947) which made the first major assault on Jim Crow in the non-deep South; he can give a first-hand account of the Palisades Park campaign (1947-8) which can stand as representative of the numerous CORE projects in the North; he has been doing CORE publicity for years; and he was not far from losing his life in Birmingham in what turned out to be the opening of the 1961 bus rides. Jim writes as he believes he should, with journalistic factuality, and this is too bad, because one does not feel, after reading, that one knows the Birmingham story any better than from the newspapers of those days. But no doubt there are a lot of people who did not read the papers. One cannot help but be struck, once more, by the dependence of the ride-in, sit-in, jail-in movement on the courage of the young Negroes of the South whom hardly anyone, including ourselves, had expected so swiftly and completely to shed the post-slavery traditions, still powerful two decades ago, and to assert their dignity. This is a fact which contains, I suspect, a great lesson. Jim wisely inserts some first-hand reports of participants in the movement, and their plain recitals, like Jim's own text, contrast with the rhetoric, in which I feel no content, with which Lillian Smith prefaces the book; contrast too with the prose of M. L. King Jr., of which Jim includes a sample. (Or perhaps Miss Smith and Mr. King are present aptly, as counterpoint to these others.) Present mainly by their absence are the higher echelons of the NAACP; no more than anyone else, perhaps a little less, could they believe that Southern Negroes were becoming prepared to present the South with the fact of their freedom. A constant ironical note, if one reflects on it, is that of course this civil disobedience is no civil disobedience at all, except in respect to local and state ordinances invalid by higher judicial decisions. But it is an ancient lore that rights aren't such unless they can be exercised *de facto*, and this is a story of people acquiring rights by exercising them against the threat and reality of violence. To be sure, the whole sociology is moving toward a nationalist racelessness, and the pressures of the national Image work in the same directions; there is no magic in nonviolent direct action *per se*, as the history of the Union of South Africa, and perhaps even of India, shows. There are matters here for meditating upon. But Jim hardly provides or intends to provide the material for political evaluations; he draws no conclusions, implies no moral, and peels no onions of doubt; if the book has a point, I suppose it is its unstated plea that we all get together and finish the job.

D. T. WIECK

**Freedom Ride*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962, 160 pp. \$3.50

LETTERS . . .

"International" Pacifism?

Dear Editors:

New York

I enclose a copy of a letter I recently sent to the editor of the *Bulletin for the World Council for Peace in Vienna*. I will be glad if you see fit to publish it:

I am ashamed to learn that there is no United States sponsor listed for the World Congress in Moscow, this July 14th. I can only blame myself as I do other Americans who maintain they are interested in peace. This tragic omission does bring to the fore once more that which is basically at fault in U. S. pretensions toward real peace. May I, in desperation, try to express the thought which is at fault so that it can be faced—somewhere, sometime, in this great land?

Present and planned pacifist actions in the United States, so far as I know, (an exception was the march to Moscow and the present complementary efforts by A. J. Muste to obtain entry for Socialist teams to repay this visit) are based on this tried and "true" proposition: we cannot, ought not, and in fact absolutely *must not* cooperate for peace with what we call "Communist" elements here in the United States, nor there, behind the "iron curtain." *Ergo*, our efforts for peace are planned as, and must foreseeably remain, essentially (permissive) United States efforts only and certainly not international efforts. The great majority of "dedicated pacifists" cling to this basic stricture for dear life (or dear job). It conditions every action, it chairs every committee meeting, and it is the unsigned author of every pronouncement. As we all know, all this is but a cliché of the Cold War, and I should accept it as inevitable. But I find this more and more impossible; I sicken with this virtuous pacifism permitted within the Establishment.

It may serve some purpose to explain this Cold War fact of United States pacifism, such as it is, to those of you in Europe and Asia who must be puzzled by our Know-nothingism. Quite simply, if American pacifists did not so believe, and so conduct themselves, they would not be allowed to exist even to the extent that they presently do. This is why there is no sponsor listed from our nation for the Congress. This is why American pacifism does not "come to grips with the power sources"; this is why Kennedy sends out coffee to our peace pickets—and orders resumption of tests; this is why we like to pretend that China does not exist,—and all the rest. To anyone aware of the relentless advance of history this is a wretched and tragic impasse. One wants to ask Americans, how long will you persist in your suicidal drift of hear nothing, see nothing, know nothing? How long do you expect to be able to institutionalize this Narcissism in puppet areas of this small world? How soon will an American be allowed—or forced—to examine honestly his own actual situation *vis-a-vis* war and peace? How soon will this American fifteenth of our planet's human population become humanly aware of the immense tide surrounding it? How soon will we realize that we have not truly experienced war, or starvation, or underdevelopment?

I do not expect to change this situation by writing letters. But there are so few with whom one can discuss this crisis

of self-knowledge in the United States, that I seek expression for my frustration in this ineffective manner. If peace gradually evolves it will not be a result of American efforts. The rest of the world knows this, recognizes its causes, and regrets our affluent fate.

I send you sincere best wishes for the success of your Congress—even though without our presence or assistance.

Douglas Gorsline

Comment:

I am immensely in agreement with Doug Gorsline's passionate plea for Americans opposed to nuclear war to ally themselves with other peoples; and in general for Americans to re-join humanity and realize that other peoples have different views and, in many ways, better ways of life. Also, there is certainly a kind of comedy in the way our unilateralist writers and organizations prove their purity from Communism by attaching an anti-Russian rider to every blast at the Cold Warriors of the United States; or the Byzantine symmetry with which we picket the American and Russian embassies.

I doubt, however, that "international" efforts and congresses provide an answer, so long as we do not distinguish between the peoples of the world and the sovereign states. The Moscow conference is, practically speaking, under the auspices of a sovereign probably as much committed to the Cold War as our own, though differently—the U.S.A. operates more in the line of containment and profiteering, the U.S.S.R. of fishing in muddy waters and expanding. It seems clear that we shall not have peace until we get rid of the entire system of those powers, in Washington, Moscow, Paris, Bonn, etc.; and indeed, until we cease to think in terms of "power" altogether, including profits and expanding economies, and return to the ideas of human function, regional planning, and brotherhood.

To put it paradoxically, the only pacifist groups that could reasonably operate in the atmosphere of a state-approved Congress would be those like SANE, which believe they can talk practically to President Kennedy and so might as well talk to Premier Khrushchev; or, again, members of the Council of Correspondence, like Dr. Erich Fromm, who still have hopes in an accommodation of the Great Powers. In my opinion, there will be no such accommodation unless the pressures of the peoples of the world begin to make the sovereigns shaky; and if the peoples can exert that much pressure, they can diminish "power" altogether.

Suppose a genuine radical pacifist (like Doug Gorsline) were at the Moscow Congress. Would he not exclaim about the horrible increase in the number of capital crimes in the Soviet Union, just as he cries out about the racism here? (I think these are fair equivalents.) The way of life of peace cannot be dissociated from these other matters. And if we consider the matter in this light, it is not fair to say that the "great majority" of at least the unilateralists are clinging to jobs, etc., if they devote their efforts mainly to the home-front. Our responsibility is obviously greatest with what is closest, and where we know from bitter experience the organic connections among the war-policy, the economy, the mass-media, the urbanism, the law, etc. The different peoples of the world must necessarily mind their own business of this kind for themselves and mostly by themselves. Needless to

say, it is only by solidarity in a world community in fact trying to live better than any people can have strength and hope. But how hard it is to express and cement this solidarity! The march to Moscow was a remarkable achievement. More typical, I fear, is the kind of effort of the General Strike for Peace, that sends off reams of its leaflets translated into every tongue, but Lord knows what happens to most of these leaflets.

I doubt that "virtuous pacifism" is so officially acceptable as Doug thinks. My prediction is that the legal penalties are going to get stiffer, the firings from jobs more frequent, the news blackout more total. As Arthur Krock put it in the *Times*, "The intellectuals and pacifists . . . out of sincere conviction . . . will provide one of the explanations for the decline of the West." In my opinion, the profound reason why pacifists are called "Communists" is just inwardly to deny that they are sincere and rational, that is pacifists. And we shall see the day when the "misguided idealists" are going to be more obnoxious than the Communists, who at least have the decency to join in the Cold War.

But let me end with my agreement of the beginning. It is indispensable that the Americans learn how they look to others, especially to peoples who are not mesmerized by war-games. *LIBERATION* could perform a great service by printing regular reports of us from abroad. Our own self-criticism is acute, but necessarily we have blinders. We have a lot to learn.

Paul Goodman

Steel and State Capitalism

Dear Editors:

Dearborn, Mich.

What would have happened if the steel price increases had not been rescinded? It seems to me it would have made little difference with regard to the price level but it would have made all the difference in the world for the government wage policy. It would have been impossible for the unions to sacrifice the workers' demands for the public interest at the moment when the corporations "asserted their selfish interests." Or saying the same thing a little differently, now that the President has "asserted the public interest over the selfish interests of the corporations," Reuther and company can go all out in sacrificing the interests of the workers in order to improve class collaboration and maintain and expand the labor-management committee.

The unions, especially the former C.I.O. unions, will become more and more voluntary extensions of the Labor Department. In this respect the development in this country is similar to the development in Western Europe, especially in Scandinavia. But there is a big difference. In Scandinavia, Austria, France, the unions are compensated for the sacrifices they make by a government full-employment policy which gives their members greater job security and keeps down the discontent. In this country nothing of this sort has happened up till now.

The development in the direction of the full-employment-welfare state would be in line with the ideology of this administration, would be to its political advantage and to the advantage of American imperialism in its contest with Russian imperialism. But Big Business has sufficient power to block any step in this direction.

I expect an accelerated trend towards state capitalism. But I think the decisive qualitative change has not yet happened. It will come only some time in the future. And I am afraid that this change most likely will be brought about through a fascist mass movement. The labor movement, now more than ever, is unable to bring about even a change of this kind. It is much too closely linked to the Establishment. It has completely forgotten that important reforms can't be gotten through politicking and maneuvering but only through mass action.

Manfred Macarthur

Images of Liberation

Dear Editors:

Argenta, B. C.

While I don't withhold even gruesome magazine covers from my children, I am otherwise totally in agreement with John Parke's letter in the April issue, regarding *LIBERATION* "gloating in despair." Let us change our format and content from destruction to construction, lest we prove by example that the constructive is too difficult to conceive.

C. P. Valentine

Dear Editors:

Marion, Ohio

I hope you don't take the letter from John Parke seriously. I, too, have children at home and several peace periodicals and the kids have not been "impressioned" a bit by anything other than school and playmates. If you can print anything that will arouse their interests at all, please do it.

Personally, I find *LIBERATION* interesting, and especially Kenneth Boulding's article in the April issue.

Larry Kersey

Dear Editors:

New York

I wholeheartedly disagree with the statement of John Parkes. In my opinion, *LIBERATION* is—fortunately—one of the very few pacifist publications that is not sensationalist. Also, in the checkerboard desert of political sectarianism, *LIBERATION* is happily formless and undirected. It is often surprisingly good; as often it is disappointing. For Mr. Parkes to read "an underlying disposition to . . . wallow in gloom and horror" in you is, in my opinion, to pigeon-hole a citadel of individualism.

It is true that Dave Dellinger's editorials are too long and too preaching (he is best when he is simply reporting facts), and it is true that A. J. Muste is prone to an erratic, sometimes slipshod writing style. But there is no doubt in this reader's mind that in back of their rather colorless faults lies a monolithic honesty and a genuine moral sense. There is nothing "slick" about *LIBERATION*, thank God.

As for Kenneth Patchen, he is the best poet in the country. Edith Sitwell, W. H. Auden, William Carlos Williams, Paul Goodman, and others, certainly rank him among the best. Mr. Parkes does not read very closely. Nothing could be further from Patchen's mind than "gloating in despair" . . . as witness such statements as "Life is living away from us now . . . until the Sun's Wound is healed in our own hearts." Or "Life is in no danger of losing the argument—for after all (as will be shown) she has only to change the subject." I can't believe it would hurt any child to have affirmed what he knows in his heart anyway.

James Mosley

Summer Sessions in Nonviolence



COMMITTEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

Brad Lytle will direct the nine-week Training Program in Nonviolence to be held at the new Voluntown, Connecticut headquarters of the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action. The first phase, of four weeks, will combine intensive study of the philosophy and history of nonviolence with farm and construction work as well as local direct action. During the second, three-week phase (from July 29th to August 18th), participants will split up into groups of ten and engage in field projects at various focal points of military concentration. They will then return to the farm for the last two weeks to evaluate their experiences and plan further activities for when they return home.

For details, write to:
New England C.N.V.A., Box 589, New London, Conn.

PEACEMAKERS

This year's Peacemaker Training Program will be held from August 19th to September 2nd in a Chicago slum. Those attending will share apartments in neighborhood tenements, and will study basic Peacemaker ideals—nonviolence, economic sharing, and intentional community—in relationship to the building of a peaceful and humane society. Special attention will be given to voluntary poverty and to the need for economic revolution. Direct action or public witness in cooperation with other pacifist groups in Chicago is also envisaged.

For details, write to:
KARL MEYER, 164 West Oak Street, Chicago, Ill.

The **AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE** is sponsoring twenty **Institutes of International Relations** across the country; they include adult institutes, high school institutes, and family camps. For specific details of time and place of the institute nearest you, write to your A.F.S.C. regional office. If you do not know the address of your regional office, write to: A.F.S.C., 1500 Race St., Philadelphia 2, Penna.

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