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MARXISM AND CHRISTIANITY  
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VIETNAM AND THE HOME FRONT  
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THE INDIVIDUAL IN  
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PART II  
By Herbert Marcuse

# tives

SUMMER 1966

NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS: With this issue ALTERNATIVES becomes a quarterly. This change will afford us the convenience of publishing every issue during the academic year (March, June, September, and December). We will be printing as much material in four issues as we had originally intended to print in six. Accordingly, the subscription price remains the same, whereas the single-copy price has been raised to fifty cents. Please contact the editors if you have any questions about this change.

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# News Analysis :

## The Contradictions of American Foreign Policy

Viet Nam is the crucible of American foreign policy. Into it have been poured the three great elements of that policy. First: the genius of American politics, as represented by Lyndon Johnson and Dean Rusk. Second: the might of its armed forces. The Secretary of Defense has reported that never in the history of the world has one nation deployed so many armed men so far from their country. (Shades of Hannibal and Napoleon!)

Third: the marvelous abundance of its industry. The same Secretary of Defense has told the Congress that his soldiers will expend in Viet Nam in 1966: 1.7 million bombs, 4.8 million 2.75-inch rockets, 88 million air-to-ground bullets, 1 billion rifle and machine-gun bullets, 16 million 40mm grenades, and 11 million rounds of mortar and artillery ammunition.

What are the objectives for which this mighty effort has been galvanized? The first, it seems, is a "free and independent" South Viet Nam -- a curious objective, since it is not immediately apparent that the people of Viet Nam have ever manifested any desire for such a goal. Second, the improvement of the inhabitants' lot by means of massive economic aid -- again, curious, since the necessary preconditions seem to be the total destruction of the present topography through fire and poison. Third, the protection of the natives from Chinese and/or North Vietnamese (sic) imperialism -- also curious, since the only manifestation of foreign domination in Viet Nam (all zones) is the continued existence of the present Saigon "government."

Most of the contradictions of American foreign policy since the end of World War II are concentrated in the Vietnamese crucible. They may be summarized as follows: The ideological language of the policy proclaims as the goal an alliance of "free" nations, ruled by governments responsible to their citizenry, devoted to progress with the aid of American largesse; the reality of that policy shows us an alliance of advanced Western nations with native ruling

classes in the underdeveloped world whose brutal regime serves to maintain neo-colonialism and the exploitation of peoples living in conditions of unbelievable squalor.

Since the end of World War II the spokesmen of American foreign policy have tried to suppress the contradiction between language and reality by means of the anti-communist crusade. The impoverished masses in the underdeveloped world have been told that the greatest danger to them lies in "communist imperialism" and that the United States has deigned to safeguard them from this danger. The two great policies emanating from this crusade, which together form the essence of foreign policy, are containment and counter-insurgency. The confluence of these cornerstones of American foreign policy in the Vietnamese situation is the reason for the critical importance of that situation.

The containment idea requires the construction of an elaborate complex of military bases around the perimeter of a major communist power--in this case, China. At this point the first contradiction appears: The construction of such bases in other nations makes a mockery of their "independence" and turns them into dependencies of American power. In the territory of the "independent" nation of South Vietnam, enormous facilities (for example, the well-known one at Cam Ranh Bay) are being erected for the purpose of supporting long-range American military involvement. Similar facilities are being prepared in Thailand (where 50,000 American troops are already stationed), in anticipation of a widening of the Vietnam conflict.

The hidden assumptions of the containment doctrine gave rise to further contradictions. It was assumed that the nations of the American alliance shielded from foreign aggression, would make social progress with the help of American foreign aid. But in the under-developed countries social progress depends upon the destruction of the native ruling classes who have tied their fate to American power. To meet the new threat of internal

subversion a new theory was required: counter-insurgency.

The doctrine of counter-insurgency is predicated on the following assumptions: (a) the insurgents--guerillas-- do not represent the wishes (expressed or unexpressed) of the people; (b) given the proper military and technical assistance, the armed forces of the native ruling element can defeat the insurgents; and (c) the insurgents since they do not represent the wishes of a large segment of the population, can be defeated without widespread destruction of the countryside and without involving massive numbers of foreign troops.

Vietnam was the testing-ground of the counter-insurgency theory. American military aid to Diem under President Kennedy (advisors, special forces, and equipment) was based on the idea that the native armed forces would do the actual fighting against the guerillas. Granting assumptions (a) and (c) above, the struggle would be terminated within a short period of time. With these factors in mind, the present Secretary of Defense announced the imminent solution of the Vietnamese conflict on many occasions between 1961 and 1965. (The present estimate is anywhere from 10 years to eternity.)

The conflict in Vietnam marks the decisive refutation of the counter-insurgency theory. The insurgents had completely smashed the native armed forces on the field of battle by the end of 1965 and had eliminated them as an effective military unit. Even a casual perusal of any newspaper will show that since then (end of 1965) all important field operations have been undertaken by foreign troops. The major occupations of the native armed forces now are the studied avoidance of combat with the enemy, internecine civil war, and the regular suppression of street demonstrations.

The American response, of course, has been to charge "external aggression." American "escalation," it is claimed, is intended to match "escalation from the North." These arguments contain so many manifest absurdities that they can be disposed of rather quickly.

First, the failure to hold the scheduled 1956 elections for the reunification of Vietnam--for whatever reasons--marked the ipso facto dissolution of the temporary boundary between north and south established by the Geneva Agreement. Thus, even supposing that Secretary Rusk's fantasies concerning the origins of the guerilla movement in southern Vietnam were correct--he cannot understand why anyone would want to over-

throw the paradise created by President Diem -- one would be forced to conclude that the conflict was the affair of the Vietnamese people.

Second, recent studies by the University of California's China Institute have suggested that American escalation has not been designed to counter "escalation from the North," but rather at each step has been a reaction to the expression of neutralist sentiment from elements of the population in southern Vietnam. For example, the recent disturbances in the south have been accompanied by a marked intensification (widely noticed in the press) of the air bombardment of northern Vietnam.

Let us ask again: What are the objectives of American foreign policy? and, Can they be realized? The "spokesmen" answer, we are aiding the aspirations for peace and independence of the people of southern Vietnam. What are -- specifically--those aspirations? Who speaks for the people?

Their government? From November 1963 to the summer of 1965 the "government" changed hands at least eleven times; the people were not consulted, to say the least. Recently, an authoritative American spokesman in Saigon detailed the progress made since the major influx of American troops last August; land area of southern Vietnam controlled by the Saigon government rose from 8.6% to 9.5% of the total; population, from 48% to 52%. The first set of statistics speaks for itself; as for the second, in view of the recent developments in the cities--daily rioting and open rebellion--who will believe that Marshal Ky speaks for even 52% of the people?

Can our objectives (whatever they are) be realized? The newest "technique" of counter-insurgency--sure sign of its utter failure-- is the ever-increasing destruction and poisoning of food supplies throughout southern Vietnam. Dr. Jean Mayer, professor of nutrition at Harvard, recently pointed out the contradiction in this policy: "Destruction of food thus never seems to hamper enemy military operations but always victimizes large numbers of children... my point is not that innocent bystanders will be hurt by such measures, but that only bystanders will be hurt. Our primary aim--to disable the Viet Cong--will not be achieved, and our proclaimed secondary aim--to win over the civilian population-- is made a hollow mockery."

What of the future? If our analysis is correct, what can we expect? The French journalist Jean Lacouture recently wrote: "Washington



has intervened in Vietnam four times: first, from 1950 to 1954 it supported France in her fight against Asian Communism; second, from 1954 to 1963 it supported Mr. Diem, 'the defender of freedom'; third, from 1963 to 1965 it sent American troops to fight in the South; fourth since 1963 it has extended the war to all of Vietnam. There is no reason why there should not be a fifth stage during which it holds on to the large base of Cam Ranh, in case there is to be a sixth stage -- a great war against China."

The failure of counter-insurgency has been established. The possible sixth stage of American involvement in Vietnam--war with China--would mark the final failure of containment. The post-war period has amply shown that communism spreads not by the aggressive expansion of established communist states but rather by the desperate conditions of impoverished millions and by bitter revulsion toward the kind of "freedom" promoted by American power. War with China would be the logical outcome of the frustrations engendered by the contradictions of American foreign policy.

When the American Secretary of State declares that the United States does not seek permanent

military bases in Southeast Asia, he is either lying or dissembling. The vast complexes now under construction in southern Vietnam and Thailand will not even be completed for another two to five years.

Although the Saigon "government" has been utterly discredited, the United States is not likely to give up the farce of "aiding" it. The reason is simple: We are there to protect our own interests, not those of the Vietnamese people. An American official in Saigon told the journalist I. F. Stone: "We have to smash the idea of wars of liberation."

The intervention in the Dominican Republic has served notice that the first signs of unrest (which might be a prelude to a war of liberation) will bring our armies: Those whom we deign to protect must learn to endure contempt. No amount of anti-American demonstrations on the part of our charges in southern Vietnam will cause us to withdraw the benefits of protection which we shower upon them daily. But the Vietnamese crucible is likely to burn hotter and to spread to all of Southeast Asia. The temperature may even reach the melting-point of containment and counter-insurgency.

## Statements from the U. S. Senate Vietnam Debate, 1966?

"Victory is possible, certain, and almost immediate if, right away . . . Vietnamese officials will resolutely launch into the necessary political and social reforms and correct their mistakes."

—Deputy René Kuehn. *Journal Officiel*: October 27, 1953.\*

To speak of negotiations "is the surest means of raising the morale of the adversary and of demoralizing our own troops."

—Deputy Raymond Dronne. *Journal Officiel*: October 23, 1953.\*

"I think that [withdrawal] . . . would be more criminal than the war itself . . . the Vietnamese soldiers . . . would be exposed to a massacre . . . These people have placed confidence in us.

We want to return their freedom to them."

—Deputy André Denis. *Journal Officiel*: January 28, 1950.\*

### No!

"You have gotten yourself into an adventure and you don't know how to get out."

—Deputy Robert Chambeiron. *Journal Officiel*:

January 27, 1950.\*

"I have shared the existence of those fighters. . . .

Often they have questions over the national interest of their sacrifice, and I am thinking today of the harm we may be doing to their morale.

May they know, those glorious fighting troops . . .

the entire nation salutes with emotion their courage and sacrifices!"

—Deputy Henri Laforest. *Journal Officiel*: October 23, 1953.\*

## French arguments made before

## the fall of Dien Bien Phu

"We must choose . . . outside of the military solution, outside of the solution of force, there is but one possibility: negotiation. . . . Have we the means to avoid this outcome after having made it inevitable by our errors and mistakes?"

—Pierre Mendès-France to the Chamber of Deputies, November 22, 1950.\*

# DISCUSSION

## OPEN LETTER TO SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK

Vienna,  
February 4, 1966

Dear Sir,

We Europeans have just learned that the American authorities have invalidated three passports which, like all American passports, bear your signature and the seal of the State Department. The explanation given was that their owners had violated the American law which prohibits Americans from traveling to the Northern, the "Communist controlled portion," of Vietnam. As you are convinced that this law is legitimate and that its transgression deserves punishment --the text printed on page 4 of all American passports testifies to your position--we wish to draw your attention to a fact which (overburdened as you probably are with other tasks) you may have overlooked. I speak of the fact that the extent of this type of transgression is far greater than you seem to suspect; that hundreds of violations of this law had already taken place long before the three were caught red-handed; that such infringements are taking place every day and--I venture to say--will take place regularly in the future.

There are hundreds of American citizens, members of the U.S. Air Force, who, day in and day out, are crossing the border from the Southern to the Northern portion of Vietnam, more precisely, from the air space over South Vietnam to the air space over North Vietnam--which travel, according to you, is forbidden to all American citizens, who are liable to prosecution under section 1185, title 8, U.S. Code, and section 1544, title 18, U.S. Code. And, what is even worse, while the three law breakers (the professor, the student, and the publicist) had crossed the boundary line in order to help mankind cross the line from war to peace, those others, whose activities have escaped your attention, are doing it for the most contemptible reason: blindly and Eichmann-like they are following orders given by their employer, orders to commit crimes, to liquidate people and whole populations and even--believe it or not--to destroy their property. Unfortunately, by committing such acts of destruction, they cannot help destroying something else, too: the prestige of the United States abroad. And

it is here that the situation becomes really serious. For it is simply unthinkable that this additional effect harmonizes with the ultimate aims of your foreign policy: to protect the whole world from crime and criminals. For this reason, in order to prevent the flying criminals from ruining the reputation of your country, we are permitting ourselves to draw your attention to their activities and those of their employer.

On the basis of this argument, you will certainly understand that everybody who still takes the ideals of American justice seriously expects you to do everything in your power in order to guarantee that these hundreds of law breakers be measured with the same yardstick and treated with the same severity as those three law-breaking workers for peace.

Very sincerely yours,  
Günther Anders

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To the Editors:

Among the people I know who are working to end the United States' involvement in Viet Nam, there is a feeling of discouragement. Peace candidates are **losing** elections. Peace marches are not increasing in size. The same protest advertisements are appearing in newspapers with the same signatures.

Somehow, despite the feeling of uneasiness that is apparently felt by the general public about the war, the peace movement has been unable to take advantage of the current fiasco in Viet Nam and to gain a genuine popular following. Is the peace movement in trouble? Have we exhausted all our possibilities?

The goal of the peace movement is to change our foreign policy. If we succeed, it is not so important how long we take. The task we have set ourselves is difficult. We have limited access to the public and an issue of considerable complexity to explain. Under these circumstances it was unreasonable to expect that a quick success would greet our efforts. On the other hand, the methods that have been used so far to influence the public are methods best suited to dramatize simple issues and awake a latent sympathy. These methods, and I have in mind in particular the demonstrations, are an outgrowth of the civil rights struggle. The success of demonstrations in this context do not guarantee the same success in other situations. In the case of civil rights, for twenty-five years the federal go-

vernment and every other respectable organization in the country has preached racial equality. Against this background it is not surprising that there was sympathy for civil rights causes.

By contrast, during almost the same period the same respectable groups have preached anti-communism. The peace movement has no ready-made clientele. Our cause flies in the face of ingrained public prejudice: The first generation of children educated under the shadow of the cold war have come of age.

The tactics of the peace movement tend to build a barrier between itself and the public by appealing to a hostile public with methods that are more appropriate when directed at a sympathetic audience. A peace demonstration too easily divides the population into peace marchers and patriots. Before we can successfully make mass appeals, we must have mass sympathy; we have no alternative but to create this sympathy ourselves. If our understanding of the Viet Nam war is correct, then the government will continue to be faced with political and moral crises. It is these situations that we must explain and use as the object lessons in a program of re-education.

To carry out this program, personal contact is the appropriate method. One by one, in individual conversation, we must reclaim the majority from the opposite point of view. We can start with friends and acquaintances and, as our confidence grows, we can approach strangers. The most cogent objection to this program is that it is slow and time is short. I do not believe that the Vietnamese conflict will come to an end shortly. We are repeating the French experience much too meticulously. On the other hand, a slow sure method is better than the failure we are now experiencing.

Many people can be convinced in private conversations whereas they will pay no attention to arguments offered in public. There is less of a tendency to force people into a defensive position in a private discussion. The dialogue may be continued over weeks or months with reference to real events. A public discussion is brief and the audience feels constrained to choose a side at its conclusion. There are many layers to the popular support of the policy of escalation and they cannot all be stripped away at once.

If we fail to stop the Viet Nam war, that failure is a misfortune, not a catastrophe. Our goal is to re-orient United States policy. The-

re is no hope of doing this unless there is concrete evidence that the policy is bad. Viet Nam is that evidence. It is not the first, nor will it be the last. Viet Nam is the most convincing. It is a horror that the population of Viet Nam must suffer because of the inability of the American population to reason at all abstractly about the consequences of their government's action.

I think that there is no hope for a quick change in public opinion. I suggest that peace workers ignore changes in the President's popularity index on the Gallup poll and concentrate on convincing anyone they can talk to of the meaning of events in Viet Nam and their consequences for the United States. One can gain adherents, and they will not be fickle ones who will be lost if Ky succeeds in putting down a Buddhist rebellion. The understanding of the entire population will grow, and this year's recruits will become next year's tutors.

Sincerely,

Frank Halpern  
Department of Physics  
University of California,  
San Diego

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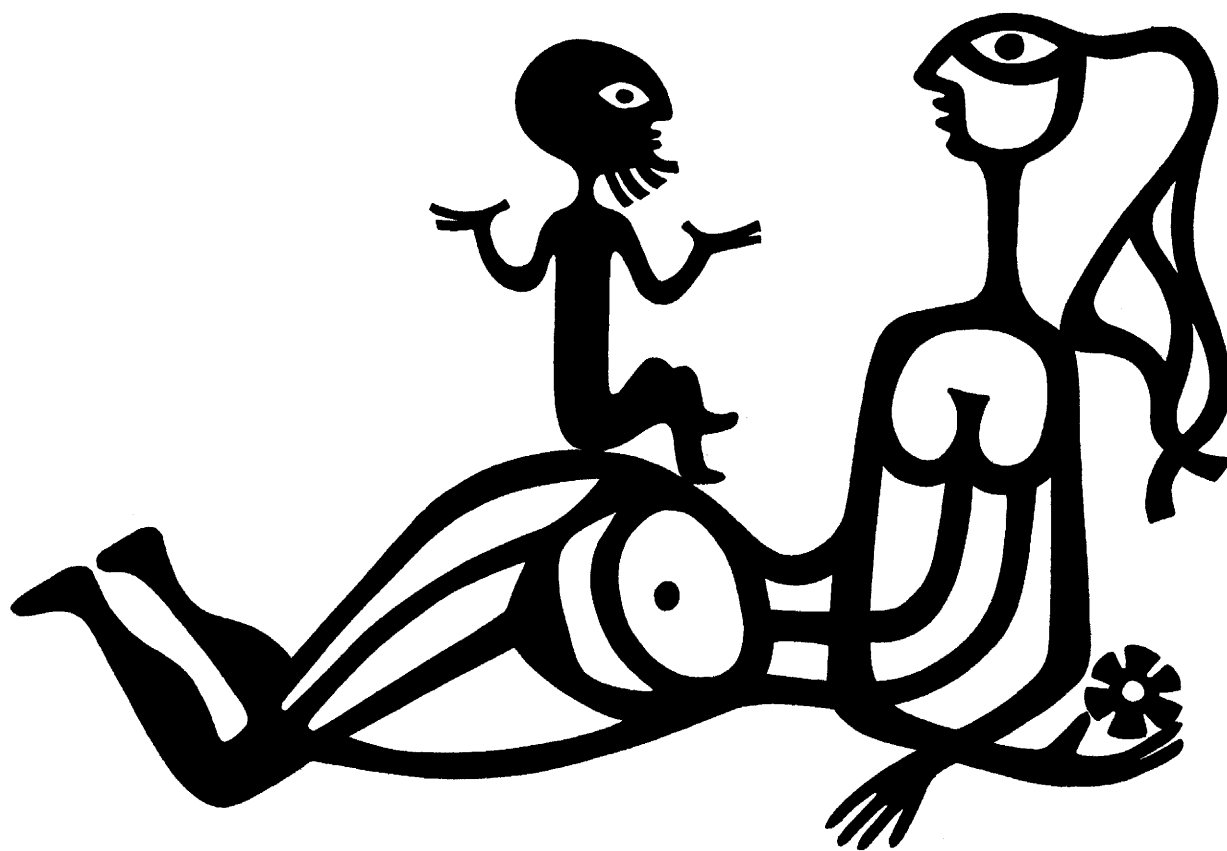
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Since the 18th century the political hopes of Western civilization have developed in direct contradiction to its own religious institutions. The Catholic Church opposed the new intellectual discoveries of the enlightenment which for the first time promised men freedom and equality. Later the Church and its enormous wealth became the target of expropriations and denunciations in the French Revolution. Men of science, for centuries, found in religious dogma an obstacle to learning. In the last century, Marx finally gave this opposition between progress and religion its classic explanation. He said that religious hopes in a happy immortality are the direct result of social and economic misery in this life. And hoping in an eternal future prevented men from trying, through political action, to better their own finite lives on this earth. Marx was not offering a theory of the meaning of Christian dogma, but instead was trying to understand why this dogma had been used to oppress men. But is the opposition between religion and progress fundamental to the Christian faith itself, or does it not result from the social and economic accidents of Western history, in which Christianity has risen from a sect of persecuted indi-

viduals to a great political force?

Today ministers of God march with Negroes for civil rights. Today the Protestant churches of America and the Pope of Rome together denounce war and the human suffering it causes. Today the Church returns to its origins and learns again its function in this life, its obligation to man in this world as well as in the next. The results of this return have been startling. Suddenly the relevance of Christianity to the problems of our time is revealed. And with this change in the Church comes a new attitude toward religion on the part of those devoted to freedom and progress. Discussion between prominent Catholics and Communists has begun in Salzburg and may soon move on to Eastern Europe. Luigi Longo, chairman of the Italian Communist Party, has announced that Christianity is not essentially opposed to man and that a coalition of Catholics and Communists may hold the key to progress in Italy. In short, a dialogue has begun, a dialogue for the sake of man between those working to assure his natural and his supernatural destiny. The two articles which follow belong to this dialogue.



# Marxism and Christianity

by PAUL HENRY, S. J.

Shortly before the conclusion of the Ecumenical Council on December 8, 1965, Roger Garaudy, a member of the political bureau of the French Communist Party and professor of philosophy at the University of Poitiers, published an article entitled "From Anathema to Dialogue: A Marxist Speaks to the Council." Garaudy's purpose is to show "the absolute necessity of dialogue and cooperation between Christians and Communists." The Church, Garaudy asserts, in the person of those enlightened scholars endorsed by the Council, is aware of this need. Garaudy examines the possibility of such a dialogue and concludes that it can only begin when both Communism and Christianity determine what are their "fundamental" beliefs. In the case of the Church, this will be a return to the Gospel and an abandonment of the Constantinian set-up which was founded on wealth, class, political power, and imperialism.

## The Necessity of Dialogue

According to Garaudy, there are only two ideologies which stir the world today, Christianity and Communism. They are radically opposed to one another; they anathematize one another. But "the future of man can be erected neither in opposition to the believers, nor without them; the future of man can be erected neither against the Communists nor without them." How then to extinguish this double anathema; how to kindle dialogue? The necessity is clear. Garaudy quotes Teilhard de Chardin: In this atomic age "the whole destiny of mankind hangs in the balance. Only a common front of all those who believe that the world continues to move forward, and that we are responsible for advancing it" can avert this danger.

The Church too recognizes this necessity. Garaudy points to Pope John XXIII and his encyclical *Pacem in Terris* and the *Ecclesiam Suam* of Pope Paul IV. He quotes a remark by a clergyman, Albert Finet, to the effect that "Vatican II is the first Council of the Roman Catholic Church which has not assembled for the purpose of dispensing anathemas," although the original draft sent by the Holy Office to the Preparatory Commission of Theology contained nothing but ana-

Editor's Note: Roger Garaudy is one of the prominent Marxist theoreticians in France today. His publications have had enormous influence on leftist political thought throughout Europe.

Teilhard de Chardin, the great French philosopher and theologian of 20th-century Catholicism, strove to reconcile Christianity, humanism and science. His profound belief in evolutionary progress led him to controversial views on religion that are being heatedly debated among theologians in Europe and America.

themas and negativism. In the end even atheistic Communism was not explicitly condemned. The prophetic inspiration of John XXIII and the spirit which urged the Fathers to return to the Gospel and Christ, in order that they might better cope with the modern world, succeeded in reversing the negative direction taken by the Preparatory Commissions. The Council adopted a policy of *aggiornamento* and dialogue.

According to Garaudy, the concern with dialogue is most clearly expressed by Father Jose Gonzalez Ruiz, a Spanish Jesuit. Father Ruiz approaches the problem of dialogue from the religious and the social point of view. Marxism, he says, opposes religion because it considers it to be a check on human progress, hindering the humanizing power of human creativity for man. Father Ruiz, refusing to accept this condemnation of religion, replies: "When in a given case religion is conceived of and employed as an obstacle to human progress, then we can be certain that we are not faced with that religion which has inspired, from beginning to end, the great and extensive literature of the Bible. The true meaning of Biblical religion has been betrayed." Garaudy concludes that the obstacle to a religious dialogue between Communists and Christians lies in the structure of the Constantinian Church, from the fourth to the twentieth century the great betrayal of religion to political power. The Old Testament accepts theocracy as natural, as does the Koran, but Christ and the New Testament attempt to distinguish and separate religion and politics, without opposing them. The establishment of Christianity as a state religion by the Roman Emperor Constantine abolished this distinction again. Father Ruiz explains that a dialogue on social problems must also be established "in the field of Sociology, closely allied to the domain of religion itself: the worth of human toil, the condemnation of Capitalist domination, the suppression of the class-system, the development of Socialism. On all these subjects there is a great need for a serious and honest confrontation of ideas."

Having established that the Church is concerned with dialogue, Garaudy goes on to show that Marxists too have "extended a hand" to Catholicism since as early as 1936. Priests have been invited to discussions of Marxist thought; positive articles on Christianity appeared in the Spanish Communist magazine "Realidad"; Palmiro Togliatti, former head of the Italian Communist Party, thawed the ice in a speech given in March 1963; and finally, in August 1965, articles appeared in the Soviet Magazine "Questions of Philosophy" concerning the "dialogues of Catholicism with the modern world."

On both sides there has been opposition from rear-guard elements. Only two years ago narrow and distorted interpretations of Marxism in Russia rendered discussion impossible, and more recently the permanent commission of the French Episcopate criticized "Temoignage Chretien" ("Christian Witness," a French Catholic weekly) for publishing an article by a Communist. But the dialogue has begun.

And this dialogue is demanding. For it to be sincere and of lasting value, it must not evade the main issue, the philosophical conception of man in Christianity and Communism. It must go beyond the bounds of a mere political debate and single out what is essential to both sides. It must go back to fundamental concepts in both points of view.

The efforts of the Marxists have pointed the way. They have tried to see Christianity not as a Marxist would interpret it, but as Christians of today, both Protestant and Orthodox, strive to understand it. They have presented an analysis of Christianity by non-Christians, based on a critical inquiry conducted by Christians themselves.

#### Assessing Fundamental Christian Concepts

According to Garaudy, Teilhard de Chardin understands Christianity in the light of modern science. Garaudy correctly summarizes the basis of this understanding as (1) no longer conceiving the universe as finite and static; (2) describing the encounter between God and the world as a never-ending process of creation; (3) developing a theology of work and of creative human endeavor. Garaudy continues his account of Teilhard by referring to an unpublished work in which the theologian condemns the doctrine of original sin for stifling the creative potentialities of man. This, to me, does not seem to follow. Even if one were to concede that man is basically sinful - a point which Protestants emphasize more than Catholics - since this man is redeemed by grace, and since his nature is weak and not corrupt, I cannot see why he should cease being creative.

Garaudy accurately notes that "for Father Teilhard, science and religion are two complementary interpretations of the world. The synthesis of a God who is Above (Christian) and a God who is Ahead (Marxist) is the only God who we can henceforth worship in spirit and in truth." Garaudy considers this Christianity to be a religion of action, and this he approves.

Garaudy continually emphasizes and exaggerates the distinction between the Apocalyptic and the Constantinian Church. The apocalyptic tradition, he believes,

was "a religion for men in bondage, a religion of protest, however ineffectual, against the established order, and not an ideology of resignation." This is substantially correct, although we must remember that even in the Constantinian era of the Church there lived charismatic figures such as Francis of Assisi and Francis-Xavier. It is fair to say that the entire history of the Church has been characterized by a conflict between submission to the "established" order and the desire to start anew. With John XXIII and Vatican II, the Apocalyptic camp gained ground on the Constantinian.

Let us note, however, that the Church, as a community of people, if it is to effectively serve the betterment of man, cannot work exclusively through Prophets and Saints, necessary though they may be. It must also work through established social structures, and this requires a certain amount of "Constantinization," which does not necessarily imply that the Church must be controlled by wealth and imperialism.

Garaudy feels that the Church should regain its Prophetic dimension beyond the confines of Constantinianism. The Church should free itself from those political structures which tend to imprison it in a doctrine where man is alienated and estranged, economically, politically and socially. Given certain reservations mentioned above, a Catholic can find broad areas of agreement with this project and desire.

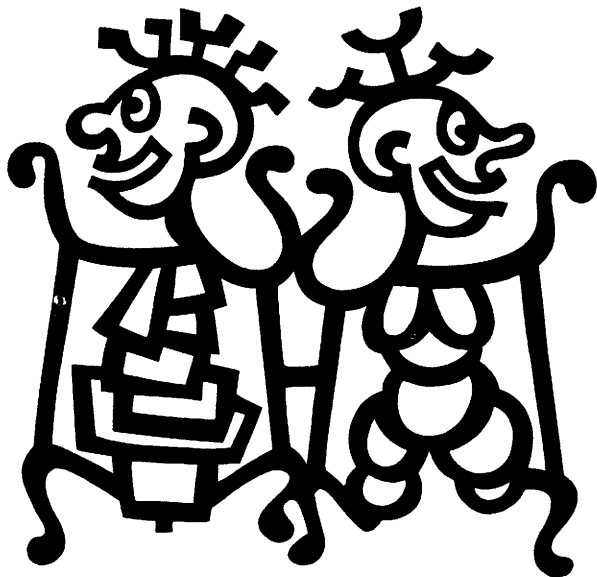
#### Assessing Fundamental Marxist Concepts

As in the case of Christianity, the assessment of fundamental Marxist concepts can only be accomplished through a return to the origins, by going beyond the popular doctrines and the inflexible teachings of the Marxist schoolmen.

For Garaudy, historical determinism, the notion that every characteristic of society from top to bottom is determined by the nature of the economy, is neither a decisive nor a definitive aspect of Marxism. Such a view is even "contrary to the fundamental spirit of the doctrine" because "that which distinguishes Marxism from all previous materialistic ideologies is its basis in man's creative action." One can immediately see the strong similarity between this interpretation of Marxism and Teilhard's idea of Christianity.

Garaudy proves his point by citing Engels to the effect that "work has created man himself," Marx's Theses on Feuerbach (which emphasize the active nature of knowledge and which define the true task of philosophy as transforming the world), and a mature work of Marx which states that "men determine their own history." According to Garaudy Marxism must be seen as "essentially a system of historical initiative," a doctrine which explains and serves human action in history. But initiative implies freedom, and therefore Marxism must reject fatalism. This is illustrated by remarks of Maurice Thorez, the late Chairman of the French Communist Party, who declared that "the downfall of Capitalism is not fated" (in 1934), that "war is not fated" (in 1950), and that "extreme misery is not fated" (in 1956).

Like Teilhard, Garaudy opposes his philosophy of historical genesis and change to doctrines in which man and his nature are presented as fixed and unchanging. For this "fixist" attitude, Christianity, with its historical basis in the event of Christ's incarnation as flesh, is purely and simply an error. For Garaudy,



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however, religion is justified in its hopes for a better future, but is mistaken wherever it considers its doctrines as final dogmas. Instead, Garaudy asserts, Christianity should substitute a never-ending inquiry into its basis and its prospects and abandon intuition and vision, static ways of viewing static reality.

### Marxism and Religion: The Conflict

The conflict of Marxism and religion involves at the outset the relations of science and faith. Science is characterized by its ability to go beyond ordinary experience in the formulation of abstract ideas. These ideas of science are then related to factual experience by continual testing and by their application to the problems of controlling and constraining reality to the fulfillment of human needs. Myth has a similar function. It allows man to formulate abstract notions that go beyond and elucidate ordinary experience. But myth and religion, unlike science, are not strictly subject to testing.

This difference between religion and science raises a problem for Marxism. Garaudy sees the real function of religion as expressing itself in relation to human action. Religion, he says, is "a mystical human system: a human system, in that it involves a response which directs its action, and mystical because it refuses to surrender itself entirely to the dictates of actual experience, to experimental verification." Today religion is bound up in a dogmatic ideology, inflexible and corrupt, which denies the essential nature of faith. In order that religion regain its "faith" - that is to say, in order that it may again find the power of decision for future action - it must abandon the realm of doctrines and theories to science and approach reality and action in that spirit which is appropriate to it.

Garaudy goes on to outline another area of conflict between Marxism and religion. If Christianity continues, in a "Constantinian" manner, to interject religion into the field of the sciences; to consider technology and science as elements of temptation and evil, rather than as a justifiable affirmation of the ability and the worth of man; to glorify the class-system and social inequality as institutions willed by God, and as an expiation for sin; to consider private enterprise as a guarantee of freedom; to refuse to recognize Socialism as a system of social organization superior to Capitalism; to look suspiciously upon the love of life, knowledge, and happiness; if Christianity continues to see life in this manner, it will play no part in the forward march of mankind.

So says Garaudy, but where is it written that the Catholicism of today pays no attention to these demands? Garaudy himself understands that Catholicism, at least to its most critical and daring spokesman, does not ignore all this, but he points out that religion, as conceived by Teilhard or the several others on the forefront of Catholic thought, is not yet the religion of the Christian masses (although Vatican II did lead the way toward this). But for that matter, neither is Garaudy's new interpretation of Marxism that of the party authorities. The dialogue has a long way to go before it can descend from the rarified heights of the new Marxism and the new theology to the level of the masses.

Garaudy contrasts the phase of liberation and decolonization of the underdeveloped world, championed by Marxism, to the long period in the past when



imperialism and Christianity together enslaved the underdeveloped nations. Garaudy sees this alliance of Marxism and the diverse cultures of the former colonies across the globe as the basis for a truly universal Marxist humanism, beyond the bounds of Western culture. But let us note that the Marxism of today is neither first nor alone in recognizing the significance of non-Western civilizations: consider De Nobili in India or Ricci in China. Consider that the "imperialist" conquests of Alexander the Great and Rome were more liberal and universalist than despotic and xenophobic. All in all, they were the bearers of an enlightened ideal of humanism. Missionaries often were in conflict with local colonial lords and the 1940 Christmas message of Pope Pius XII deals with the distribution of world natural resources in a non-colonialist way. Let us also note that the abolition of slavery owes little to atheism, and nothing to Marxism, and that an important factor in the abolition of the caste-system in India seems to be the spread of Western and Christian ideals.

Garaudy seems to be on the wrong track here. He himself writes, "the essential debate between Christians and atheists is not on a scientific, but rather on a moral plane." Indeed, the conflict between atheistic Marxism and religion does not involve conflicts between science and theology, nor between Socialism and Capitalism, nor between the colonization and the liberation of nations. Rather, the real conflict between Marxism and Christianity lies in the philosophical concept of man and his need for transcendence.

### Man and his Transcendence

Garaudy quotes Pope Paul VI as saying that "the defining characteristic of atheism is the reduction of the religious element to the human element; it is men who have created their God." Garaudy goes on to explain that for Marxism there is no absolute for man except the man of tomorrow. Relating himself to this absolute, man does not worship passively, but continually strives to exceed the limits of his present state. Until man frees himself economically, socially and religiously, all his history is nothing but pre-history and not the real life of man. The center of



gravity of human evolution lies solely in the future ahead of us and not in the heaven above us. This is how I understand Marxism as "a religion without God."

"The Marxist," says Garaudy, "asks the same questions as the Christian; life makes the same demands on him; he experiences the same tension facing the future. But because Marxism is a critical and not a dogmatic philosophy, the Marxist does permit himself to turn his questions into answers, his needs into fulfillment." The Christian, faced with the infinity of his need, turns to an infinite God, capable of fulfilling him. For the Marxist, infinity is itself an empty void which man approaches in action for a better future. Freedom for the Marxist is creation, creation of man's future by man. For the Christian, freedom is grace and assent in which we cooperate in God's creation. "Transcendence is, for the Christian, the act of God who approaches him and who calls him. For a Marxist, transcendence is that dimension of man's activity which goes beyond his present state towards the distant limits of his being."

Garaudy's analysis is accurate and touches the heart of these two faiths which confront each other today. For Garaudy, the error of Christianity lies neither in its questions, nor in its hopes for the future, but rather in attempting to answer and predict in any but provisional terms, in transforming the infinity of need into the infinity of fulfillment, which is God. Garaudy cannot call the absolute of Marxism a God, because it is changing humanity, continually being born and becoming. The Marxist position of the unending creation of man by himself can only be atheistic.

But Teilhard tries to synthesize what Christianity affirms of man and what Marxism hopes for man. For him, man must continually go beyond his present condition; he must create his future, but he can achieve this only because of Christ. The center of attraction already present and drawing men forward to unity and freedom is Christ, and this point of view, Teilhard attempts to justify with a scientific analysis of biological and social evolution. In other words, Teilhard agrees with what Garaudy affirms and rejects what he denies.

Paul VI said, "Secular humanism has appeared with an overbearing stature, and has, in a certain sense, defied the Council." The religion of "God who becomes man" is met head-on by a religion of "man who becomes God." But the Pope adds, "What happens? A collision, a battle, an anathema? This could have happened, but it has not," as though acknowledging that Communism is also receptive to dialogue, and that Catholicism now refuses to condemn a movement devoted solely to the service of man. As Garaudy notes in *Le Monde*, "In his closing remarks, the Pope expresses the Church's desire to serve man, to engage in dialogue with him."

Let us conclude with the challenge which a Catholic puts to Garaudy, summing up their opposition in a concise manner. "I say that whatever happens, the liberated man, choosing freely and without being hindered by the depressing conditions of his existence, will not be alienated from God. And you say that when man no longer needs to divert himself from his misery, from the unhappy fate which life has prepared for him, with tales and myths, then he will be free and independent and will abandon God. This confrontation," says the Catholic, "I accept." An admirable challenge, concludes Garaudy, which must be met.

#### Marxism and Religion: Their Confluence

Although Garaudy believes that during the Constantinian age of the Church, religion was the "opium of the people," he recognizes that Marxism is dependent on Christianity, that Marxism is what it is "by virtue of the fact that it contains within itself the marvelous Christian heritage. . . . The thesis that it is religion which at all times and in all places turns men away from action, from struggle, from toil, is in blatant conflict with historical reality. This thesis, moreover, was never that of Marx." Garaudy recognizes "the positive contributions of Christianity to an elaboration of universal culture and even to revolutionary movements of oppressed peoples," specifically during the pre-Constantinian age of the Church when its mainstay was the oppressed classes (which, it seems to me, somewhat over-simplifies the issue). Garaudy cites Maurice Thorez again, who in 1937 labeled cathedrals as constructions by and for the people.

Garaudy traces the historical importance of Christianity for Marxism back to the effects of Christ's message on the ancient world-view. The religions and the philosophies of the Greeks and Romans preached indifference to the world, fatalism, liberation from the corruption of the world, etc., but never active human creativity in the world. Garaudy writes, "The Christian message makes a complete break with Greek humanism by introducing a new attitude toward the world, nature, and man's relation to them. In place of the passive view of the ancients, Christianity offers a free relation between an active subject and the universe." What Garaudy fails to understand is that this idea of an active and creative man is directly related to the concept of a free and creative God, a concept entirely foreign to the static idealism of Greek philosophy. Marxism has abandoned this concept of God which the Christian retains, and which made possible the original discovery of the creative humanism shared by both.

Garaudy also points out the interesting agreement of Christianity and Marxism in their opposition to existentialism. Existentialism is a philosophy of absolute human freedom, and does not recognize the historical and social context which limits and defines the possibilities of action. Both Marxism and Christianity are profoundly historical. Garaudy refuses to identify his thought with that of the existentialists: "Does Marxism identify itself with Existentialism? Not at all, because freedom has a definite historical aspect (which Existentialism denies), because human subjectivity must recognize its various determinations," particularly those provided by society. Garaudy concludes, "History has a meaning and the realization of the total man is a goal that can be attained. The philosophy of the absurd can never be that of the scientist, nor of the revolutionary . . . nor of the believer."

Garaudy is openly hostile to all persecution of Christians by Communism. He contrasts the pressure of wealth and power on South American Christianity, which makes it void and conformist, with the Church of Poland, where Marxism seems to have infused a new "dynamism" into Christianity.

Garaudy believes that the major faiths of our times, Christianity and Marxism, professed by six-tenths of the human race, can and must cooperate in the creation of a common front of mankind for human

Continued on page 24



## TO LIVE AS MEN

by **LINUS PAULING**



For thousands of years, throughout the entire period for which we have historical knowledge, war has been one of the principal causes of human suffering.

I believe that we have now reached the time in the course of the evolution of civilization when war will be abolished from the world, and will be replaced by a system of world law based upon the principles of justice and morality.

In his encyclical letter *Pacem in Terris* Pope John XXIII said:

"Men are becoming more and more convinced that disputes that arise between States should be resolved not by recourse to arms, but rather by negotiation.

"It is true that on historical grounds this conviction is based chiefly on the terrible destructive force of modern arms; and it is nourished by the horror aroused in the mind by the very thought of the cruel destruction and the immense suffering that the use of those armaments would bring to the human family. For this reason it is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice.

"Nevertheless, unfortunately, the law of fear still reigns among peoples, and it forces them to spend fabulous sums for armaments: not for aggression, they affirm—and there is no reason for not believing them—but to dissuade others from aggression.

"There is reason to hope, however, that, by meeting and negotiating, men may come to discover better the bonds that unite them together, deriving from the human nature that they have in common; and that they may also come to discover that one of the most profound requirements of their common nature is this: that between them and their respective peoples it is not fear that should reign but love, a love that tends to express itself in a collaboration that is loyal, manifold in form, and productive of many benefits."

Let us consider the significance of war as a cause of human suffering, in comparison with other causes.

I accept, as one of the basic ethical principles, the principle of the minimization of the amount of suffering in the world.

I do not accept the contention that we cannot measure the suffering of other human beings, that we do not know what is good and what is evil.

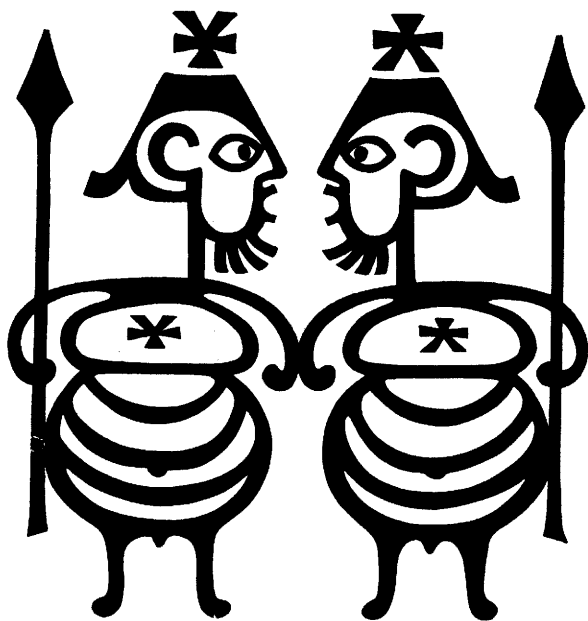
Even though my relationship to myself is subjective and that to other human beings is objective, I accept the evidence of my senses that I am a man, like other men; I am "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer"; when I am pricked I bleed, as do other men; when I am tickled, I laugh; when I am poisoned, I die. I cannot contend that it is the result of anything but chance that I am I, that this consciousness of mine is present in this body; I cannot in good faith argue that I deserve a better fate than other men; and I am forced by this logic to accept as the fundamental ethical principle the Golden Rule: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (Luke).

I know what causes me to suffer. I hope that other human beings will take such actions as to keep my suffering to a minimum. And it is my duty to my fellow men to take such actions as to keep their sufferings to a minimum.

We suffer from accidents, from natural catastrophes, from disease, from the ills accompanying the deterioration of age, and also, in a sense the most viciously, from man's inhumanity to man, as expressed in economic exploitation, the maldistribution of the world's wealth, and especially the evil institution of war.

**MAN HAS REACHED** his present state through the process of evolution. The last great step in evolution was the mutational process that doubled the size of the brain, about one million years ago; this led to the origin of man. It is this change in the brain that permits the inheritance of acquired characteristics of a certain sort—the inheritance of knowledge, of learning, through communication from one human being to another. Thus abilities that have not yet been incorporated into the molecules of deoxyribonucleic acid that constitute the pool of human genetic material are not lost until their rediscovery by members of following generations, but instead are handed on from person to person, from generation to generation. Man's great powers of thinking, remembering, and communicating are responsible for the evolution of civilization.

During year after year, decade after decade, century after century, the world has been changed by the discoveries made by scientists and by their precursors—by those brilliant, original, imaginative men and women



of prehistoric times and of more recent times who learned how to control fire, to cook food, to grow crops, to domesticate animals, and then to build wheeled vehicles, steam engines, electric generators and motors, and nuclear fission power plants. And, of course, in the early days, the scientists were the theologians, the religious leaders, too. Sometimes the thought occurs to me that the world will not be saved unless we return to this condition.

I remember the Pugwash conferences on science and world affairs, where scientists from many countries—twenty countries—have come together thirteen times to discuss important problems. I remember how the scientists of the East and West are, so far as I can see, very much like one another. They resemble one another not only in their knowledge of science but also in their acceptance of moral principles. It seems to me when I compare scientists with diplomats—with other people—that the scientists of the whole world are more closely related to one another than scientists are to other people in their own country. There is a better understanding among them than with other people. This understanding must spread. The discoveries that scientists have made provide now the possibility of abolishing starvation and malnutrition, and improving the well-being, and enriching the lives of all of the world's people.

The effect of the discoveries of scientists in decreasing the amount of human suffering is illustrated by the control that has been achieved over the infectious diseases. In many parts of the world it is now rare for women to die of puerperal infection, for infants to die of diphtheria or scarlet fever, for people to die of diseases such as smallpox or bubonic plague. Cancer remains a cause of great human suffering not yet brought under

control; but we may hope that this terrible disease will also succumb in the next few decades to the attack on it that is being made by scientists.

The results of medical discoveries and technological developments have not yet been made available to all of the world's people. Modern means of waging war seem to be more easily available to the underdeveloped countries than drugs, food, and machines for increasing the production of goods.

Our system of morality as expressed in the operating legal, social, and economic structures is full of imperfections, and these imperfections have been accentuated during recent decades. There is great misery caused by the abject poverty of about half of the world's people; yet most of the scientists and technologists of the world today are working to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, or are working on the development and fabrication of terrible engines of mass destruction and death whose use might end our civilization and exterminate the human race.

The already enormous disparity in the standards of living of different peoples has been increasing, rather than decreasing, in recent years. The use of a large part of the world's wealth, \$120,000,000,000 per year, for the support of militarism and the failure to stop the increase in the amount of human suffering due to poverty are causing a deterioration in morality, especially among young people.

I believe that it is a violation of natural law for half of the people of the world to live in misery, in abject poverty, without hope for the future, while the affluent nations spend on militarism a sum of money equal to the entire income of this miserable half of the world's people.

**POPE JOHN** in his great encyclical letter said that every human being is a person, that every man has the right to life, to bodily integrity, to food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, and social services, to security in case of sickness, inability to work, widowhood, old age, unemployment, or deprivation otherwise of the means of subsistence through no fault of his own; the right to respect for his person, to his good reputation, the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions; the right to be informed truthfully about public events; the right to share in the benefits of culture; the right to a basic education and to suitable technical and professional training; the right to free initiative in the economic field and the right to work under good working conditions, with a proper, just, and sufficient wage; the right to private property, with its accompanying social duties; the rights of residence and of freedom of movement, of membership in the human family and member-

ship in the world community.

Most human beings are now denied these rights. It is our duty to work to achieve them for everyone.

In the words of Pope John: "It is not enough . . . to acknowledge and respect every man's right to the means of subsistence: one must also strive to attain that he actually has enough . . . food and nourishment."

One of the most evil aspects of human suffering is the absence of any justice or meaning in its distribution. Accidents, natural disasters, and excruciatingly painful diseases strike with the blind malevolence of chance. I am asked by a friend, "Why should my mother, who was a good and gentle person all of her life, have had to suffer so terribly while she was dying of cancer?"; and by another friend, "What have we done that our two children should have suffered from cystic fibrosis during their few years on earth, and then have died, while other children are healthy and happy?" There is little consolation in the knowledge that through pure chance the defective children had inherited a mutated gene, a molecule that had been damaged by a single quantum of high energy radiation or a single ionizing particle passing through the reproductive organs of a parent or grandparent. But we may hope that preventive or palliative measures will be discovered that will permit most of these injustices of nature to be eliminated.

War has become increasingly unjust and immoral both in the magnitude and in the distribution of the suffering that it causes. Great nations claim the right to sacrifice human lives and to take human lives. Instead of being citizens who volunteer to protect their families and their country, soldiers often have been forced into military service, sometimes with execution as the alternative. It is chance that determines whether or not the soldier will be killed, and also whether the civilian will be killed. Instead of Hiroshima, another Japanese city might have been destroyed by the first atomic bomb used in war; instead of the hundreds of thousands of human beings in Hiroshima who were killed or were injured by the blast, fire, and high energy radiation, other hundreds of thousands, in another Japanese city, might have suffered this fate. It is impossible to support the contention that there was justice in this terrible concentration of suffering on the people of Hiroshima.

The injustice and immorality of the great wars of the past would be far transcended by a great war in the nuclear age, a war in which the devastating weapons involving nuclear fission and fusion that now exist were used. Instead of tens of millions, hundreds or even thousands of millions of human beings might be killed. Great nations might be exterminated. Civilization might come to an end. There is even the possibility

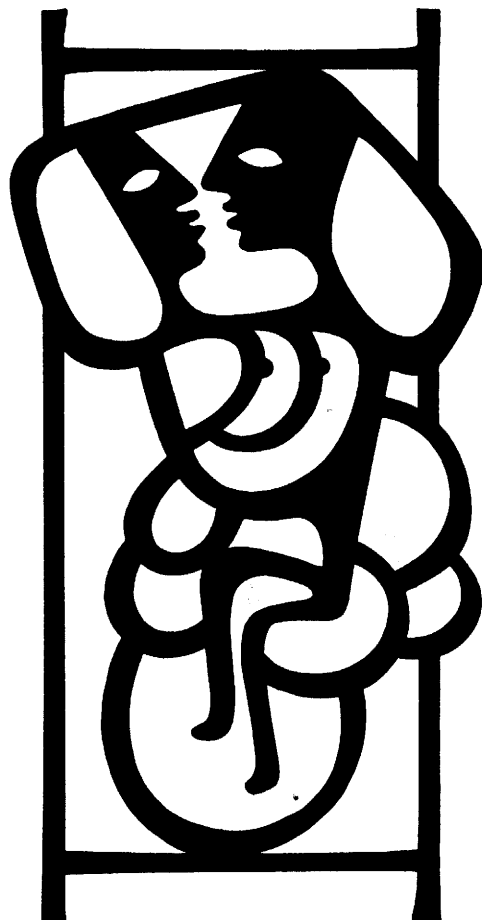
that the human race would not survive the catastrophe.

As rational and moral beings, we are forced now to find a rational and moral alternative to war.

At this critical time in history I cannot omit discussion of the terrible and dangerous crisis in Southeast Asia.

The people in this part of the world have suffered from war and oppression for thousands of years. For more than two centuries great European powers exercised colonial control over the people. Then, nineteen years ago, there began the bloody revolution of the Indochinese war.

After eight years the effort to make use of reason and morality in place of military might and the sacrifice of human lives came close to success. Britain, France, and the Netherlands terminated their rule over their Asiatic colonies. And now—and these facts are omitted in most recent official statements—I must say that one great country, my own country, the United States of America, although present at the Geneva Conference of 1954, refused to sign the final agreement to bring an end to war in Vietnam, and then, in 1956, together with the new government that had been imposed upon South Vietnam, refused to allow the people of South Vietnam to select their own government by ballot, as required



by the Geneva Accords.

This repudiation of the principles of arbitration and negotiation and of the principles of democracy has led to ten years of savage guerrilla warfare and to retaliation with helicopters, fire bombs, chemical defoliation and destruction of crops, the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of peasants from their homes and their forced concentration into strategic hamlets, great air raids with modern fighter-bombers, and the threat of nuclear destruction through attack from Polaris submarines lying close off-shore. And now there impends the horrible danger of escalation to the catastrophe of a civilization-destroying nuclear war.

Now the time has come to obey the exhortation of Pope John: the exhortation to cease military aggression, to bring this evil war to an end, to meet and negotiate and make a great practical application of the principles of morality and justice.

**POPE JOHN** ended his encyclical letter with these words:

"This is the peace which We implore of Him with the ardent yearning of Our prayer. May He banish from the hearts of men whatever might endanger peace, may He transform them into witnesses of truth, justice, and

brotherly love. May he enlighten the rulers of peoples so that in addition to their solicitude for the proper welfare of their citizens, they may guarantee and defend the great gift of peace.

"Finally, may Christ enkindle the wills of all, so that they may overcome the barriers that divide, cherish the bonds of mutual charity, understand others, and pardon those who have done them wrong. By virtue of His action, may all peoples of the earth become as brothers, and may the most longed-for peace blossom forth and reign always between them.

"As a pledge of this peace, and with the ardent wish that it may shine forth on the flocks entrusted to your care, We affectionately impart to you, Venerable Brothers, to the priests both secular and religious, to the religious men and women, and to all the Christian faithful, particularly to those who make every effort to put these exhortations of Ours into practice, Our Apostolic Blessing in propitiation of heavenly favors. Finally, upon all men of good will, to whom this Encyclical Letter is also addressed, We implore from Almighty God health and prosperity."

I join in this prayer, and I express now my hope and my belief that we shall succeed in abolishing from the earth forever the great immorality of war.

# NEXUS

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## A WAR FOR ALL AGES

The U.S. Department of Defense intends to fly to Vietnam free of charge chosen artists who wish to visit the battle area. Hardie Gramatky, an author of children's books, is already in Saigon. He wants to write a "children's book about the war in Vietnam" there.

(from Die Zeit)

# Vietnam and the Home Front

by SENATOR WAYNE MORSE

Text of an address delivered in San Diego, California on May 1, 1966 under the sponsorship of the San Diego Coordinating Committee for Social Action.

As demonstrations, imminent clashes of the South Vietnamese army against itself, and rising anti-American incidents have subsided into another tenuous and perhaps temporary civil quiet in South Vietnam, American policy and purpose there have been doubted and challenged as never before in the last four years.

For the first time since the grand orchestration of Administration forces has been organized to convince press, Congress, and public of the right and virtue of all we are doing in North and South Vietnam, our basic business there has been seriously challenged. For the first time, government officials are emitting hints that their deepest fear may come to pass, and that really free elections, if they are permitted, just might bring to power a government in Saigon that would no longer be amenable to American control, or might seek peace with the Vietcong and with Hanoi.

This is the unthinkable thought that Senator Ribicoff spoke in public last week. He asked: In the event that a Saigon government asks us to leave, will we leave when we have told ourselves and the world that our mission in South Vietnam is vital to the security of the U.S. and all the world?

How, indeed, can we leave South Vietnam no matter what its people want if we believe our own propaganda that Vietnam is vital to the security of the United States, that our standing firm there is vital to the confidence of our allies everywhere? That if an alleged Chinese-North Vietnamese aggression succeeds there, it will succeed everywhere?

Speaking in New York on Monday, the Vice President said: "I remind again that the American commitment and its honorable fulfillment is the shield of peace, and we have to stay and see it through. The free nations of the world need to know that we have the vision and the endurance to do so. We are being watched.

"We are being watched very carefully by friend and foe alike, to see whether or not in this period of our prosperity, of our affluence, of our power, to see at this time when it appears that certain Communist nations seem to be less irritating than before, we have the same will. . . ."

These are words and reasons that do not allow room for any government in Saigon that might see things differently from the American embassy. And I point out to you that by our military action in the North, we are laying a groundwork for seeing to it that no government comes to power in Saigon that might see things differently.

It has been characteristic that as the Administration has felt compelled to accommodate a faction in the United States or in South Vietnam that it opposes, it has at the same time taken steps to involve the United States ever more deeply and unreservedly in the war.

It referred the matter to the United Nations Security Council and announced at the same time the intensity of the war was being increased by renewed air raids on North Vietnam. The Administration sought to offset the impact of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by hurriedly taking off for Honolulu to put the official seal of approval on Marshal Ky.

When the Ky government agreed, under great domestic pressure, to hold elections whose outcome is still uncontrolled, the anxiety and objections of the American embassy were easy to read between the lines of the American newspaper accounts. So it should not have surprised experienced "Vietnam watchers" to see the U.S. uneasiness countered with bombing raids reaching ever nearer to the vitals of North Vietnam - Hanoi and Haiphong - where encounters and involvements with fighters from the Soviet Union and China were inevitable.

I expect that as the months bring us nearer to those fateful elections in South Vietnam, the United States will continue to step up and escalate the scope, area, and intensity of the war in North Vietnam, moving ever closer to confrontation with China and drawing increasing response from North Vietnam itself. The American people may feel we should withdraw from a country in whose civil war we are involved if we are invited out; but they will more easily be persuaded not to withdraw from South Vietnam upon invitation of the local government if we are engaged in all-out war with North Vietnam or China or both.

Reliance upon local invitation implies that we are helping a friend resist aggression. But it does not imply that our highest national security is at stake, and this is what must be firmly implanted by overt military action if the Administration is to have any chance of making stick our presence in South Vietnam and any measures taken to assure that we do remain.

The measures that would assure our continued use of South Vietnam could range from the simple military coup, at which American military and intelligence forces are quite experienced, to a rigging of the election at which the South Vietnamese rulers have been quite experienced. In 1959, for example, President Diem held what were advertised publicly as elections, but which in fact were styled along the Communist line of permitting only candidates chosen by the government to run.

## HOW IS THIS DIFFERENT FROM COLONIALISM?

The President continues to kid himself and the American people with the litany that this is not colonialism on the part of the United States. But he is able to make the distinction only insofar as the immediate economic purposes of colonialism are different from the American security interests. The methods, the techniques, the devices, the deceptions, the difficulties, and the disastrous results are the same.

For ten years we have been making an American colony out of South Vietnam to serve the purposes of American security interests in Asia, as we see them. Today our colony requires the direct intervention of 300,000 American military forces to maintain it, and even so, the issue is in doubt. As happened to every western colonial power before us, as happened to

Soviet colonialism in eastern Europe, the local problems which seem susceptible to military solutions prove not to be susceptible to them at all.

Having never been able to win political stability in the South, we have steadily expanded the war into the North because war is something we feel competent to undertake. The Secretary of Defense stated before the Foreign Relations Committee that we should feel proud of our ability to deliver several times the bomb load on North and South Vietnam that we delivered in Korea or World War II; that we should be proud of being able to send 300,000 men into Southeast Asia without having to call up reserves. What his statement did not cover was what we should deduce from the statistics he gave us on bomb delivery, for they raise the question of just what is accomplished, even militarily, by being able to drop over 15 tons of high explosive from a single B-52 upon targets in North or South Vietnam or Laos.

The total firepower figures, including bombardment from our ships offshore, record a level of destruction being poured into North and South Vietnam many times higher than has ever been poured into a comparable area in time of war.

What are the results? What is the return on this vast expenditure? Can we say it is bringing the war nearer to an end, that it is bringing the day of peace closer? There is no evidence that this is true. Our overwhelming superiority in destructive power still does not compensate for our fatal weakness in trying to run another country by remote control.

The political problems of South Vietnam are still beyond us; the dispute between Buddhists and Catholics eludes solution; the lack of national cohesion requires an ever growing American military effort, and it will soon require an expansion of the war beyond South Vietnam.

The fear of the Buddhists which emerges in every press interview with Ambassador Lodge is the fear of the unknown. The United States knows it does not control the Buddhist movement and its leading monks, hence the apprehension over elections in which they might gain formal political power. The United States does not say they are controlled by the Vietcong; but our officials fear they may seek peace talks with the VC.

Ambassador Lodge is returning home for "consultations." But I suggest that you keep your eye upon the range and locale of the bombing missions of American planes, for they will tell you more about what is being decided than any press statements that will emerge from the "consultations."

#### CONTAINMENT AS JUSTIFICATION FOR COLONIALISM

Our problem with Vietnam is that in transferring the containment of Soviet communism to containment of Chinese communism we have lacked the foundation of nations with a common culture and purpose that existed in Europe when NATO was established. In Asia, we have tried to create countries where none existed, or were only just emerging into nationhood. Onto their feeble political institutions we imposed the burden of alliance with the West at a time when Western control was in retreat everywhere on the Asian continent. Into their primitive economies we infused enormous quantities of American military equipment to arm local armies, armies which drained their meager resources and necessitated large-scale U.S. economic aid to



sustain the burden of the defense establishments. By this process, their national independence was thoroughly undermined. A few countries - Burma, Cambodia, Singapore, and Indonesia - rejected this American version of containment. Others - Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and South Korea - embraced it to the point where they are wholly dependent upon American financing and armed force to keep their existing governments in power.

Far from making this Asian ring around China more self-sufficient, we have made it less self-sufficient and drawn direct U.S. power ever deeper into the Asian mainland.

Secondly, after defeating Japan and standing alone as the great power of the Pacific, we have not been able to bring ourselves to accord the Chinese any place in Asia except that to which we assign them. The line drawn around the Soviet Union in Europe allowed for Soviet domination as far from her borders as mid-Germany to the west and Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to the south. But around China we are seeking to draw a line that will deny her normal Great Power influence upon the small countries nearby, an influence that we feel is uncontestedly ours in the Caribbean, for example, or Russia's in Hungary.

Moreover, we reject for Communist China an influence which we accorded to Nationalist China in the area of Vietnam. In World War II, the United States approved and aided the establishment of an Indo-Chinese government in exile in Nationalist China, a government in exile which included one Ho Chi Minh. At Potsdam, the United States arranged that the surrender of the Japanese in Indo-China should be received by Nationalist China down as far as the 16th parallel, near the city of Hue, with British forces receiving the surrender on to the south. With our approval, Nationalist troops entered and remained in the northern part of Indo-China for many months after the close of the war, inciting the usual frictions and suspicions that are historic between Chinese and Vietnamese. They left when they were needed more in China.

But in those days, we recognized and conceded that

China - our China - had a normal sphere of influence in Southeast Asia that included Vietnam. Today, we fear a Communist China, that pursues the same objectives as did Nationalist China, and we talk about her as another Nazi Germany on the march that must be stopped. Yet the fact is that China has no soldiers outside her own borders while we have 300,000 soldiers and sailors on her southern borders and seas alone, 50,000 more in South Korea, and tens of thousands more in Japan, Okinawa, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

Except for the brief occupation by Japan, the southern half of Indo-China has been a western bastion since it was first occupied by France. Although Franklin Roosevelt believed Indo-China should not be restored to French rule but should be made a United Nations trusteeship, his policy died with him and we began helping the French regain suzerainty. When the French gave up the fight, we took it over from them.

Yes, I know there are many who regard what I am saying as an apology for Communist China. Appeasement is the other popular word for it. But I am not interested in labels so much as I am interested in what is good for the United States, as I am interested in finding where interests lie that can be defended without costing more than they are worth, as I am interested in achieving a condition that will enable us to live with China in a world where she will soon be a nuclear power and will soon constitute half of the world's population.

I submit that getting along with such a country will require some giving up of the territory we staked out for ourselves and our friends when all Asia was prostrate from war. By "giving up" I do not mean pulling out without leaving something behind us by way of a settlement. But I do mean that we will never be able to leave South Vietnam, and we will not avoid war with China, unless we recognize that we cannot perpetuate there a government chosen by the American embassy and pro-American in its military, economic,

and political orientation except under these present conditions of eternal war.

The "pacification" of Vietnam was begun by the French in 1946 and 1947. For 20 years Vietnam has been subjected to pacification. Today it is taking the form of systematic destruction of portions of its rice fields by chemicals, and bomb and napalm tonnage dropped on it in a magnitude unknown anywhere in human experience except where the atomic bomb is used.

Far from achieving our stated ends, this level of destruction is affording only the promise of expanding to include all of North Vietnam and quite possibly China.

In 1915, Carl Sandburg wrote that the American Civil War was a contest between "hammers pounding."

"Everybody prayed God his hammer would last longer than the other hammer

Because the whole war hung on the big guess of who had the hardest hammer

And in the end one side won the war because it had a harder hammer than the other side.

Give us a hard enough hammer, a long enough hammer, and we will break any nation,

Crush any star you name or smash the sun and the moon into small flinders."

We can smash both South and North Vietnam into small flinders; we can nuclear bomb China into ashes. Speaking for the Administration, the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of State tell us in effect that we must hang on in Vietnam while we prove we have a harder hammer than anyone else. I think that has already been proved. But what we have not, and are not, proving is that having the hardest hammer means winning this particular war or achieving these particular objectives.

The alternatives have been suggested several times. They revolve around a military policy of limiting our activities to the areas within South Vietnam where we hold the cities; of seeking a United Nations presence within South Vietnam that would relieve us of our exclusive and self-appointed responsibility for its government; of opening the normal channels of communication with China which are vital in any dialogue between great powers if a dialogue is what is desired.

Stability will come to Southeast Asia only when we have reached some agreement with China over its future. This is so because it is fear of a Chinese expansionism that keeps us in South Vietnam today, and which will keep us there so long as we are afraid of it.

But I see no chance that China's efforts to open the closed door behind which American policy has sought to confine her will succumb to our Strategic Air Command. Behind the Vietcong, American policy-makers see Hanoi, and behind Hanoi they see China. To the Administration, it is all one package and it is treating the war as one package. That is why I expect that the United States will not allow South Vietnam to settle its political upheavals in its own way. Many in Congress regret that, because they feel that if the South Vietnamese were able to do so without Chinese-U.S. overtones, they could manage to put together a viable country. But if we insist upon the war against the Vietcong being continued as part of a resistance to China, then we must deal with China.

That is a stage the Administration declines to face. But it is a stage the country must face, for if the air encounters 35 miles from China's border continue, it will not be long before World War III is under way.



Nul ne sait combien de jeunes ont péri par strangulation aux mains des bandits américains et de leurs laquais.

The following poems are the work of Blas de Otero, a Basque, and one of Spain's best post-war poets. Considered a representative "existential" poet, he describes the change in his life and work (which was formerly heavy, precise, anguishing) -- "I used to be an existentialist; I am now a co-existentialist." The poems have been translated from the Spanish by Carlos Blanco, Professor of Spanish Literature, UCSD.

I ask for peace and for the right to speak.  
I write  
in defense  
of man and his justice. I ask  
for peace  
and for the right to speak.  
I once used to write  
of "silence,"  
"shadows," "nothingness,"  
etc.  
I now say:  
"of man and his justice,"  
"pacific ocean,"  
whatever they let me say.  
I ask  
for peace and for the right to speak.

I like my people's words.  
Words one can touch and grasp.  
Not books; their pages move about  
like ghosts.

But my people speak formidable things  
that give grammar the willies.  
Oh, the sharpening of the phrase,  
the embroidering of the voice!

One feels ashamed to light a match  
--that is to say: a verse on a page--  
before these wide-syllabled ones  
who lunch on chunks of words.

I remember an afternoon,  
at the railroad station in Almadén,  
when an old woman slowly spoke  
and said: "Yes, yes; but heaven  
and hell  
is here." And she nailed it  
on the wall  
with the missing plural.



# The Social Function of the University

by JAMES BAUERLEIN and JAN DIEPERSLOOT

Today the University and society are interrelated and mutually dependent to a degree unknown in any earlier period of history. In previous times, society pursued its concerns in relative independence of the intellectual life of academia, and therefore few social obligations were imposed on the university. But the university as we know it today could not exist without the direct financial support of society, and by the same token the present society could not exist without the continued output of technicians, business and professional men, and scientists by the university. The Byrne Report states:

"A great university has four responsibilities in America today. (1) Developing the intellectual, social and moral character of its undergraduates - what has traditionally been called liberal education; (2) training recruits for the professions and keeping their knowledge up to date; (3) providing consultants, reports and specialized services to agriculture, industry, commerce and government; (4) conducting advanced research in every field of knowledge, both pure and applied."

Clark Kerr traces the simultaneous rise of this modern conception of the university and the industrial and scientific revolutions of the 1800's. Writing of the German universities of 1850, he notes: "Science was beginning to take the place of moral philosophy, research the place of teaching." This development is precisely reflected in our own society.

In taking the place of moral philosophy, science has reformulated the traditional ideal of the moral stature of man as a unique individual. Science, which sees the world in terms of instruments and the products of instruments, has become the creative fountainhead of society. Education has also become a tool, not a value. A tool first of all for society as a means

of obtaining the necessary trained personnel, technicians, scientists and businessmen. A tool, secondly, for the student himself, who studies not to find himself, but for the better job that awaits him after the completion of his studies. The university is often an annoying means to the goal of material affluence.

The predominance of economic values and the receptivity to scientific creativity within the university would seem to make it inherently impossible to develop the "intellectual, moral, and social character of the undergraduates." The traditional, inherited values which the student brings with him to the campus are never questioned, for they are not the subject matter of his education. He came to develop a skill, and not to learn about himself and the world about him. Values are not sought after, but assumed. Some critics have asserted that this is the result of the fact that students are too lazy to question. We think not. The very structure and emphasis of the system necessitates such consequences for the student. Creativity in values is sacrificed to creativity in means and methods of control. Economic figures to substantiate these claims are readily available. In the words of Clark Kerr:

"Federal research is largely restricted to the physical, biomedical sciences, and engineering; only 3 percent is allocated to research in the social sciences, and there is hardly any support for the humanities."

This seems to bother Kerr little, for when he comments on the unequal economic remuneration of the different fields, he remarks: "all fields are equal, only, some are more equal than others. There should be no efforts to do the same things in the same amounts for each field. Each should receive in accord with its current potentialities." If by "current potentialities"

ties" he means the role and significance the field plays in our society, then he is correct. Science is having a greater impact than the humanities. This is not, however, the result of the inherent potentialities of the two major disciplines; rather it results from the fact that society (and its power structure) has given more worth to the product of the scientist than to that of the humanist.

The university has become a trade-school where moral and intellectual sterility are the desirable norm. When the student acquiesces in these four years of training, society is pleased. The so-called "silent generation" of the fifties is praised, whereas our activist generation is systematically cursed. "Those students," the critics say, "were there for an education; you kooks are just causing trouble." To our critics education means training, learning how to manipulate the given; to us education means questioning, overturning, searching, acting. Just as the scientist must go to the laboratory to test his hypotheses, so the humanist must go into society to test his.

It is ironic that the humanities are condemned because they have not been able to keep pace with the scientific achievements of the past hundred years. The scientist is allowed his lab because the radical changes which he brought about can be adapted to the existing social order. The humanist has not made progress in the same sense, because the radical changes which he would have taken place are changes of the social order itself. These changes are therefore systematically fought by the forces which wish to maintain the status quo. The scientist does not threaten the established order in the same way that the humanist does. His creativity can express itself freely because its social value is utilized in a different realm. Therefore, while the society may do what it

wants with the results of his work, it does not need to oversee the work itself. The creative expression of the humanist is one and the same with its practical application. For the Humanities, theory which is not practical is meaningless. Thus, since theory and practice are interdependent, one cannot crush the one without crushing the other. When the activity of the humanist does not coincide with the goals of the established order, it becomes a threat. In order to protect itself the established order must bind the humanities and force them into a role where they have no practical significance for changing the world. There arises a tension between the intellectual community, which sees the necessity of taking their values out of the tower and putting them into

the street, and the "power elite" who view this act as a threat.

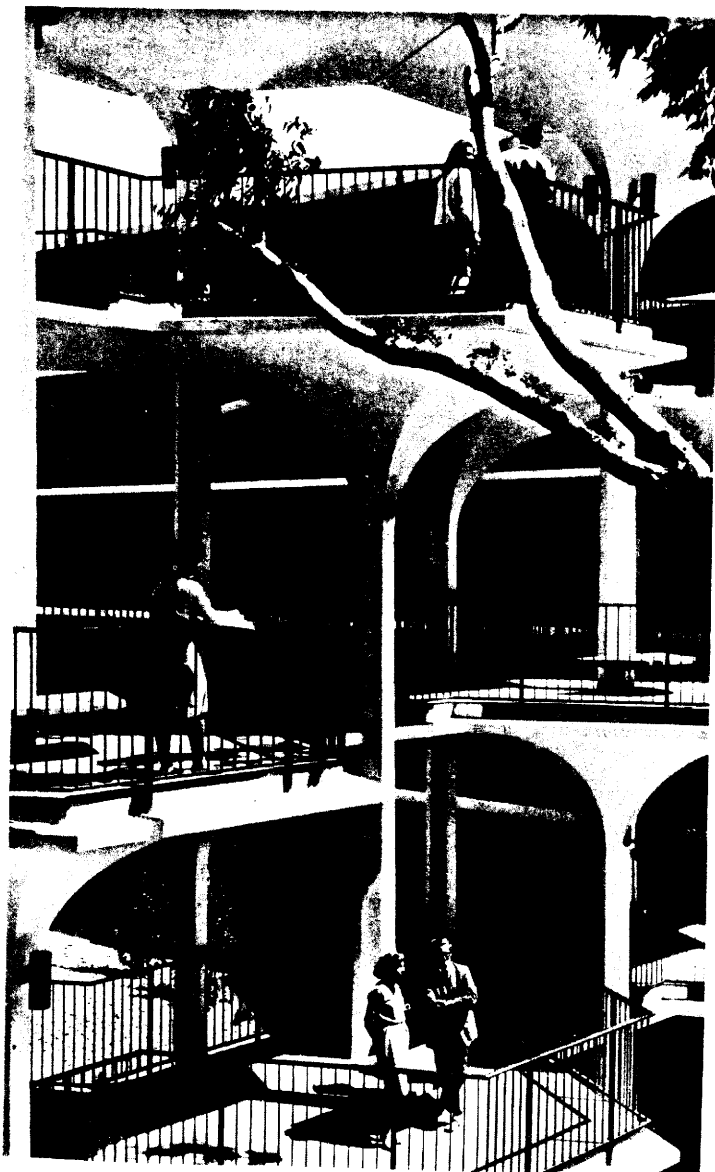
It was C. Wright Mills who first coined the term "power elite" in his book of the same title. In *The Power Elite*, Mills successfully shatters the liberal thesis that American society is becoming increasingly democratized, that wealth is continually being redistributed, and, most important of all, that the U.S. is essentially oriented towards the goals of world peace and human freedom. (This is not to say that the U.S. is interested in world disorder, but rather that mankind's wellbeing is of secondary rather than primary importance.) He conclusively shows that the United States today is ruled by a "power elite" consisting of three intertwined power structures: the military power

structure, the corporate or economic power structure, and the political power structure. The first two have, for a variety of historical reasons, come to dominate almost completely the third. We quote:

"Insofar as the structural clue to the power elite today lies in the enlarged and military state, that clue becomes evident in the military ascendancy. The war lords have gained decisive political relevance, and the military structure of America is now in considerable part a political structure. The seemingly permanent military threat places a premium on the military and upon their control of men, material, money, and power; virtually all political and economic actions are now judged in terms of military definitions of reality; the higher warlords have ascended to a firm position within the power elite. . . . Insofar as the structural clue to the power elite today lies in the economic order, that clue is the fact that the economy is at once a permanent war economy and a private corporation economy. American capitalism is now in considerable part a military capitalism and the most important relation of the big corporation to the state rests on the coincidence of interests between military and corporate needs, as defined by the warlords and the corporate rich. Within this elite as a whole this coincidence of interests between the high military and the corporate chieftains strengthens both of them and further subordinates the role of the merely political men. Not the politicians but corporate executives, sit with the military and plan the organization of the war effort."

In the light of the foregoing analysis we will now examine the University of California and attempt to show the tremendous power that the military and corporate establishment exercises on the university. The close affinity of the university with the corporate power structure can be seen both in its essential structure and in an examination of the allegiances of the people in the highest positions in that structure. Marvin Garson in an article "The Regents" (reprinted in the "New Student Revolt," by Hal Draper) stresses this fact:

"The University's power struc-



ture is explicitly modeled after that of the corporation. We have a Board with final and total authority; a President and Chancellors responsible only to it; and a mass of students and faculty with no rights, except those they can extort by threat of direct action. (p. 220.)"

This is not incidental, as one might suppose; it is the inevitable result of the fact that the corporate establishment controls the University. For

"the corporations do not merely buy the University's products and hire its graduates; they reproduce in the heart of the University itself their own bureaucratic power system, their own goals and values. (Ibid.)"

The Board of Regents is the ultimate authority of the University of California. Its powers are unlimited. Not only is it independent of faculty or student governments, it claims full power to override their decisions, and even to dissolve such governments. The reason for this is not hard to ascertain:

"... The regents cannot help feeling responsible to huge private corporations that dominate - indeed constitute - the economy of the state of California. (Ibid.)"

If we examine the make-up of the Board we will find that thirteen out of twenty-four regents are top corporate executives in the State of California. As Garson states:

"When we deal with these thirteen 'business regents,' then we are not dealing with mere businessmen, but with Business... We have here the Bank of America, three other big banks and a few smaller ones; two oil companies; three aircraft manufacturers; two shipping lines; two airlines; a trucking line; two railways; two giant utilities; several chain stores; two publishing empires; half of the food packing industry; and hundreds of thousands of acres of irrigated farmlands. (p. 208.)"

Not one of the regents is an independent scholar or a working teacher. Indeed, we can be well assured that the needs and interests of the corporate establishment will be looked after and provided for in the determination of basic university policies. Not only are these interests represented in the highest policy making body, but they are also secured in



Creative Communications

a like-minded administration imbued with the same values. Clark Kerr echoes:

"The university and segments of industry are becoming more alike. As the University becomes tied into the world of work, the professor - at least in the natural and some of the social sciences - takes on the characteristics of an entrepreneur... The two worlds are merging physically and psychologically."

This is the man who invented the terms "multiversity" and "knowledge factory," where "knowledge" is defined as just another marketable commodity to be produced. So much for the pervasiveness of corporate ideals and influence within the University of California.

Let us now turn our attention to the influence on the university of the other power structure identified by Mills - the military establishment. Kerr writes:

"The major universities are enlisted in national defense... as

never before... The government contracts become a new kind of federalism."

The figures are stupendous and overwhelmingly convincing. In 1960 federal aid to education amounted to 1.5 billion dollars. Of this, one billion went to research; and while this amount constituted only 10% of the federal support for research, it constituted 75% of all university expenditures on research, which is also 15% of the total university budgets. Of this 1.5 billion 40% was spent on defense research projects (given out by the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission), another 20% on related scientific and technological research (administered through the National Science Foundation, the Department of Agriculture, and the National Aeronautics and Space Agency), while 37% was spent on health and medical purposes, administered through the various health agencies. It is self-evident that this means a significant meas-

ure of control over the university by the government and the military establishment. Kerr admits it and predicts even greater and more intensive controls:

"The federal agencies will exercise increasingly specific controls and the Universities dependent on this new standard of living will accept these controls."

The conclusion is inevitable. Hal Draper states it concisely: "(Kerr) is illuminating on what we would call the statification of the University in the cold war."

The military-industrial establishment is involving the nation in cold and hot wars. The university is its instrument and one of its prime resources. The power structure exempts college students from the draft because the budding intellectual elite can serve it better in the university. The university, primarily in its science departments, is an essential part of the "war effort." General Hershey, director of the Selective Service System, stated explicitly that the current draft tests are weighted in favor of the science student. Because of this, the exploitation of the university and the war in Vietnam are aspects of the same issue.

We come now to the question of what the role of the university should be in society. Again, we must face the fact that the university and society have become irrevocably and irreversibly interdependent. This essay was not written as a futile plea to return to times long past and the ivory-tower ideal of Cardinal Newman. Rather we wish to argue that new relationships engender new responsibilities and new reciprocal duties. At the same time we wish to suggest a possible solution to the underlying problem posed by C. Wright Mills' analysis. If his analysis is correct; if America is run by an unprecedented powerful military-industrial complex which has been able to mould and manipulate public opinion and thereby suspend the workings of the democratic system; if America is no longer a public forum but a mass society disguised as a liberal democracy, then what force within the country is or should be capable of forcing the citizen to assume his democratic responsibility? It cannot be expected that mass opinion will spontaneously

become enlightened, critical, and active. Other segments of society and other methods must be used.

Is it possible that the university could fulfill this function? We believe there is a chance - a small one, perhaps, but nevertheless a chance. We come back to the modern phenomenon of complete interdependence between the university and society. Again, we must let Kerr speak: "Today the campus is being drawn to the city hall and the state capitol as never before." Kerr should have said "into the city hall and state capitol" rather than "to the city hall." Whereas he feels that the intellectual community is only to be trusted when it is being used by city hall, we feel that in its separate existence it should exercise its own force and influence on city hall. Kerr has no respect for the intellectual community as a separate critical and influential portion of society, and he does not hesitate to say so:

## Less than 0.8% dropout due to nausea

"The intellectuals (including the university students) are a particularly volatile element . . . capable of extreme reactions to objective situations - more extreme than any other group in society. They are by nature irresponsible, in the sense that they have no continuing commitment to any single institution or philosophical outlook and they are not fully answerable for consequences. They are as a result never trusted by anybody, including themselves."

This is a truly fantastic statement. It rejects completely every educational and humanistic value the intellectual community has ever cherished, and smacks indeed of an unarticulated fascism. Kerr says that students are irresponsible because they do not have a continuing commitment to any single philosophical outlook. This is to say that dogmatism is responsible, while questioning, doubting, interpreting, in essence, education itself, is irresponsible.

This statement advocates the development of citizens who are completely regulated and controlled by their society. A fitting goal of education in a democracy!

Kerr continues:

"Consequently, it is important who best attracts or captures the intellectuals and who uses them most effectively, for they may be a tool as well as a source of danger."

These are the words of a dangerous man. Not only does he advocate a closed society, an industrial totalitarianism, but even (while in the position of president of the largest university in the United States) the capture and mechanization of the students of his and all other universities in the service of this totalitarianism. Kerr's book is, from his own point of view, a statement of how the university is used and should be used by society - a statement which we think is fundamentally wrong.

While Kerr and the country have remained true to the exploitative demands of society in relation to the university, the students have begun to feel the force of the unique requirements of education and the ideal of truth which is supposed to guide the independent activity of the university. As David Horowitz writes in Student:

" . . . it has become increasingly clear that in terms of real commitment and dedicated action, the campus is the latest refuge of true democracy in America."

And elsewhere:

" . . . in spite of the national retreat, the students continue to believe in the American revolution, that it is still revolutionary in our time."

We will not be the tools of the existing institutions of power. We prefer to live dangerously. It is our contention that if society cannot exist without the services and personnel provided by the university, then the university has the moral obligation to see to it that society uses these services in ways compatible with the conscience of the intellectual community. The new responsibility of the intellectuals for the quality of social life today obligates them to assume the role of the conscience of society. Instead, large segments of the intellectual community have responded to the pre-

dominant need for education today with demands that education itself be changed in order to contain its own activist elements, its own potentiality for reacting on the human situation and altering it. But education cannot be meaningful in an atmosphere of containment. This conflict is our hope.

Herbert Marcuse, in *Eros and Civilization*, and more recently in his new preface to this same book, directs his attention specifically to this problem. He states that "The affluent society is in its own way preparing for this eventuality (the release of manpower due to increasing technological advancement) by organizing the 'desire for beauty and the hunger for community . . . the enrichment of the mind, and honors for creation for its own sake.'" But this ideal, Marcuse continues, is hollow because the actual exercise of untrammelled creativity, the actual fulfillment of the desire for beauty and community, is inherently opposed to the established system. "If these goals are to be satisfied without an irreconcilable conflict

with the requirements of the market economy, they must be satisfied within the framework of commerce and profit. But this sort of satisfaction would be tantamount to denial, for the erotic energy of Life Instincts cannot be freed under the dehumanizing conditions of profitable affluence."

It is within the university that such conflict is already being experienced. Some students are beginning to realize that education means more than training. Some are beginning to feel consciously the tension between the values which they discover in their developing intellectual life and the values which society demands they adopt. It is this tension which gives rise to the massive "student unrest" we are witnessing throughout the country. These students, criticizing the moral underdevelopment of their scientifically overdeveloped society, are increasingly frustrated by the seeming powerlessness of the university to carry through this criticism in practice. The unbelievable pace of scientific developments has inevit-

ably brought about new and complex moral and social developments. Whereas the student has been given the freedom to investigate all the realms of science he can handle, he has been strongly restricted in his attempts to understand and act in relation to the human problems science has created.

Those within the universities (in every field) who are concerned with the fate of humanity must reach the men who wield power and teach them the uses of power. But how can this be done? Is the structure of our society so rigid that the intellectual community is powerless to assert its voice? We think not. We have shown that the university has become a powerful institution. It has become so in spite of itself. We suggest that those who are concerned about the moral and political direction of the "power elite" take advantage of the university's new position. Means must be found of exerting the power of the university in moral as well as in scientific directions.

Testing of nuclear weapons . . . increasing air pollution . . . fish-kills from water pollution . . . side-effects of pesticides . . . radiation from nuclear explosions . . . from nuclear reactors . . .

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Continued from page 11

progress. This conclusion seems acceptable to me. Just as the ideal of the French Revolution, liberty, equality, fraternity, considered by the Church of that time to be dangerous, has since become a secular version of the message of the Gospel, available to all, so today Marxism offers a new secular translation of Christianity which the Church may accept.

And the necessary condition of cooperation appears to be the refusal of these two great ideologies of our time to assail one another with anathema. Communism must stop attacking Christianity, and the Church must leave men free to be atheists, accepting their desire to better mankind. The Vatican II decree on religious freedom would seem to render this possible.

In 1936, in a memoir concerning the conversion of the world, written "for the use of a prince of the Church," Teilhard wrote: "I believe that the world will be converted to the divine hopes of Christianity only if Christianity first converts itself to the hopes of the earth." This Teilhard call "resolving to go along with the barbarians." And as Garaudy points out, "The questions raised at the Council outline a movement of this sort."

# PEACE THE RIDDLE

P. J. Cashe

there is nowhere to look for it  
it is hidden  
in a web of leaves  
it is rooted in the grain  
it is curled in the  
core of walls  
in the folded blue of morning  
there is nowhere to seek it  
it hides itself  
in a square of wind  
it sleeps wide awake  
in every window  
and under the rock  
of the real unfound, it shines  
it dares to discover . .

## THE IMAGINING WORLD

P. J. Cashe

The imagining world says  
today and no error  
undissolved no disease  
uncured no green thing unfrozen. The sun is in  
a tall glass. There  
are no beggars in the street.  
We have pinched dust from  
the moon, almost  
cornered conception. In  
places the swallows  
have nested. We are blessed  
and informed. What smoke  
then is creviced: who  
fans the murdering flame?

... the roots of language  
are intertwined with those of  
morality.

• Alfred Kazin



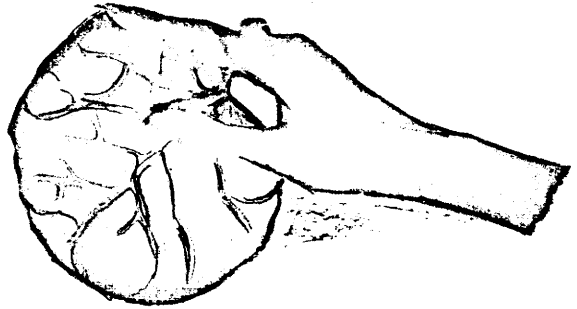
poems may be submitted to ALTERNATIVES, poetry section,  
po box 109. poems should relate generally to contemporary  
conditions and/or concerns, should not be over 25 lines  
in length.

POEM ON THE FLOWER THAT GROWS  
BESIDE WHATEVER ROAD THIS IS  
WE'RE LOST ON

*William J. Margolis*

the flower is ever  
an insoluble problem,  
unfolding from all  
the troubled earth  
in slow, tumbled time,

the flower is a question  
with no answer,  
the petals, clinging  
to their roots as ours cling  
to us, inseparable as the man  
from the child or his dust --



GREENEST HOUSE

*Joseph Joel Keith*

Blow, wind: gently  
blow woodward. Tell  
all housed safe in leaves  
to be at peace: the buck,  
the fawn, the doe.

Blow, wind: gently  
blow.

Say to them:  
Grow.

Say to them:  
Go...deeper and deeper still  
where growth is not thinned  
beyond their bush's door;  
go safely in unmarred  
greenest tranquillity;  
say to them, wind,  
with your cool lore,  
we'll go the other way.

NOW A NEW LANGUAGE

Now  
a new language must be found. Now  
is and then descend to pigeon track.  
Word-tools upended on the block prepare  
to be confounded by the blade, now  
if and after shudder, knowing change.  
The leaf restates the stone.  
In wobbled syntax something writes  
from former times:  
attend, repair, abound.

.paula hocks

haiku

the sun could not know  
what it is nor where to shine  
without the flower

.William J. Margolis

# Editorial

The staff of ALTERNATIVES was delighted to know that at least one other magazine shared our enthusiasm for Professor Marcuse's article on "The Individual in the Great Society," the second half of which appears in this issue. MEDICAL OPINION & REVIEW, a journal published in New York and aimed at the medical profession, featured "The Individual in the Great Society" in its May 1966 issue (as part of a program to print the texts of papers given at a Syracuse University seminar on the Great Society). Our enthusiasm quickly vanished, however, when we began to peruse the material in MEDICAL OPINION & REVIEW which purports to be the paper given by Professor Marcuse at the Syracuse University seminar.

To put the case briefly: The text of the article has been butchered to such a degree that its central points are either distorted or completely omitted. Words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs have been deleted, and in no case has the elision been indicated by the customary sign (...). Moreover, we will show that the omitted passages were not selected at random, nor were they chosen for the purpose of shortening an admittedly lengthy article; rather, the omissions constitute a deliberate distortion of its meaning. We do not know who is responsible for this. We hope that an explanation will be forthcoming either from the directors of the Syracuse University seminar or from the editors of MEDICAL OPINION & REVIEW (or from both).

A brief comment about the text of the article is necessary. The mimeographed version presented at Syracuse was subsequently corrected and revised by Professor Marcuse, and the revised text is the one printed in ALTERNATIVES. The editors of MEDICAL OPINION & REVIEW

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used the original version, and thus their text does not agree in many respects with ours. To avoid confusion, therefore, the reader should keep in mind that the omissions and distortions documented below represent deviations from both the original and the revised versions of the text. In other words, when we refer to individual words, phrases, and sentences, we indicate specific deviations from the original text; when we refer to long passages, we indicate material whose content remained unchanged in the subsequent revision (although minor changes in expression were made). Again, we emphasize that we do not know who is responsible for them--but none of them is the work of the author.

Limitations of space forbid us from giving a complete account of the omissions, but we shall try to indicate the important ones. (The reader who wishes to compare the printed versions may secure MEDICAL OPINION & REVIEW by writing to 1860 Broadway, New York 10023; the issue in question is Vol. 1, no. 8, May 1966; single copy price, \$1.25.) Below are three selections from "The Individual in the Great Society," as published in ALTERNATIVES, March-April 1966, pp. 14-15; the portions underlined and the paragraph enclosed in a box, which are exactly the same in the original version, were simply deleted, and no indication of elisions was given (there was one substitution: "competition" for "the competitive rat race").

lescence, armament, publicity, manipulation. A society which couples abundance and liberty in the dynamic of unbridled growth and perpetual challenge is the ideal of a system based on the perpetuation of scarcity. It requires more and more artificially created scarcity, namely, the need for ever more and ever new goods of abundance. In such a system, the individuals must spend their life in the competitive struggle for existence in order to satisfy the need for the increasing products of labor, and the products of labor must be increased because they must be sold at a profit, and the rate of profit depends on the growing productivity of labor.

In a less ideological language, this was called the law of the enlarged accumulation of capital. Under this aspect, the Great Society appears as the streamlined and improved continuation of the existing not so great society - after the latter has succeeded in cleansing itself from its sore spots and blemishes. Its ability to do so is assumed. But the scholar cannot grant the assumption without examination; we leave the speculation on the Great Society and return to the program for its construction, or rather for its preparation within the existing society.

The concept "advanced industrial society" has to be broken down into its actual main forms: capitalist and socialist. Here, we are concerned with the former only. In it, the real conquest of poverty is counteracted, and "contained" by the prevailing social institutions. Full employment, as constant condition, implies a constantly high (and, with rising productivity, a constantly rising) level of real wages, not cancelled by rising prices. This would be equivalent to a decline in the rate of profit below the limit tolerable to private



enterprise. It is perhaps conceivable that something like full employment can be attained by an expanding war or defense economy, plus an expanding production of waste, status symbols, planned obsolescence, and parasitarian services.

with these interests. The transformation of the cities into a human universe involves far more than slum clearings. It involves the literal dissolution of the cities and rebuilding according to rigidly enforced architectural plans. If undertaken for the population as a whole rather than for those who can pay, the reconstruction would be plainly unprofitable, and its public financing would mean the abrogation of some of the most powerful lobbies in the country. It would, for example, imply the establishment of a wide and efficient network of public transportation, replacing the private automobile as the main vehicle of business and leisure - the end of the motor industry as now organized. The "beautification" of the countryside would imply the rigidly enforced elimination of all billboards, neon signs, the reduction of the innumerable service stations, roadside stands, noise makers, etc., which have rendered impossible the desired "contact with nature." Generally, and perhaps most important, reconstruction would require the elimination of all planned obsolescence, which has become an essential prop for the system inasmuch as it insures the necessary turnover and the competitive rat race.

In all these aspects, the realization of the program seems irreconcilable with the spirit of capitalist enterprise, and this contradiction becomes perhaps most strikingly apparent in the program's insistence on beauty. Here, the words assume a false ring, the language becomes that of commercial poetry, and it comes almost as a relief when Mrs. Johnson, dropping the ideological language, goes out to proclaim beauty as an economic asset: according to the Los Angeles Times (September 8, 1965): "Preserving the attractiveness of a city is a primary economic asset, a way to get payrolls. The city that is beautiful brings a high return on the dollar."

Long passages were omitted from the section of the article appearing on page 16 of the March-April ALTERNATIVES: (1) all of the first (complete) paragraph except part of the last sentence; (2) the last two sentences of the second paragraph, and all except the last two sentences of the third paragraph; (3) all but the first sentence of the fifth paragraph.

Certain long passages from the second half of the article (printed in this issue of ALTERNATIVES) were also eliminated, but the omission of these does not affect the substance of the article. Toward the end of the article, however, various crucial sentences--usually those in which pointed examples are given--disappear. The most significant instance occurs at the very end. In concluding his article, Professor Marcuse wrote: "Declarations on the need for extending the American program to other nations are contradicted by the brutal and dirty war in Vietnam, by the direct or indirect intervention against social change wherever it threatens vested interests, by the flowering of military bases all over the globe. For these conditions testify to the dominance of powers which are incompatible with the grand design for peace, freedom, and justice. It is the presence of



these powers rather than the absence of capabilities and intentions which gives the program its ideological character." (Quoted from the original version.)

We think that there is a clear pattern of distortion here. Two essential themes, indispensable for understanding the point of the article, are suppressed: (1) the incompatibility of the spirit of the Great Society program with the spirit of capitalist enterprise; (2) the co-existence of a liberal domestic program and a reactionary foreign policy, with special reference to the war in Vietnam. In addition, the deletion of many passages containing specific examples and illustrations makes the article more obscure and more difficult to understand.

The elimination of words and phrases from sentences and the elimination of individual sentences from paragraphs is, we think, clear evidence of deliberate distortion. Moreover, no "abridgement" of an article is justifiable if such abridgement disguises or omits the essential points of that article. We trust that those responsible for the version of "The Individual in the Great Society" which appeared in MEDICAL OPINION & REVIEW will produce an adequate explanation soon.

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# The Individual in the Great Society: Part II

by HERBERT MARCUSE

I now propose to go one step further and to raise the question whether the advanced industrial society has not negated the traditional notion and possibility of the individual in reality, while at the same time perpetuating and extolling it ideologically. In other words, does the individual still have a progressive and productive social function, or is individualism being surpassed by new forms of productivity and their organization? Have individuality, personal autonomy, individual enterprise become obsolete, brakes rather than vehicles of technical progress? Again, I emphasize that I propose to discuss this question without prejudice in favor of transmitted "values": it may well be that the passing of the individual can be called "positive" in terms of human as well as technical progress. I begin with a brief re-examination of individualism as it has become representative of the modern period. Only a rough sketch will be attempted.

In its new historical function, the notion of the individual originates in the Protestant Reformation. The religious and the secular, the internal and external manifestations develop simultaneously. In this dual function, the individual becomes the unit of the new society: in spirit, as the responsible

subject of faith, thought, and conscience; and in the spirit of capitalism, as the responsible subject of free enterprise. The two manifestations remain inter-related, but two trends may be distinguished which increasingly conflict with each other as the new society advances. On the one hand there is the development of the free moral and intellectual subject, on the other hand the development of the subject of free enterprise in free competition. We may also say: the individual in the struggle for himself, for moral and intellectual autonomy, and the individual in the struggle for existence are separated. They are still at harmony in Descartes' *ego cogito*: the individual is the subject of science which comprehends and conquers nature in the service of the new society, and he is the subject of methodical doubt, of critical reason against all established prejudices.

But the harmony is fallacious: the unity of the two spheres is dissolved. The individual as subject of the capitalist struggle for existence, economic competition, and politics takes shape in the philosophy of Hobbes, Locke, Adam Smith, Bentham, while the subject of individual autonomy, moral and intellectual, is epitomized in the Enlightenment, in Leibnitz and

Kant. The conflict between the philosophical traditions reflects the unfolding conflict in the social reality. Individualistic freedom was supposed to be the essential quality of the inner and the outer man, in theory and practice, thought and action. In this sense, the individual was the corollary of private enterprise: moral responsibility and the autonomous personality were to have their actual basis in economic and political freedom. The individual is proprietor not merely in the sense of possessing material resources, goods, and services necessary for the realization of his freedom in his society, but in the sense of having acquired these things by virtue of his own labor or control over another's labor (already in Locke) and having made them his own - material expression of his productive, creative personality.

The notion of the individual as proprietor, which dominates philosophical theory from Hobbes to Hegel, was hardly applicable, in any general sense, to the acquisitive society, in which the majority of the population remained deprived of such autonomy. But there was one class, and for a long time the ruling class, that of the agrarian and industrial entrepreneurs, of whom it could be said that they were the masters of their own enterprise; individually responsible for their decisions, choices, risks, they were rewarded if their decision was a good one, punished if it was bad, according to the verdict of the free, competitive market. Through the freedom of private enterprise, this class (roughly: "the bourgeoisie") developed the productive forces on an individualistic foundation under the conditions of free capitalism which prevailed in the industrial countries until the end of the nineteenth century. And the same economic masters were autonomous

## Editor's Note:

The following is the second part of an address delivered by Professor Herbert Marcuse on 12 November 1965 at the Arthur F. Bentley Seminar on the Great Society, held at Syracuse University under the auspices of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. We are grateful to Professor Bertram Gross of Syracuse University for permission to print the text of this paper.

In the first part of his article Professor Marcuse dealt with the realities behind the rhetoric of the Great Society. In Part II he continues his analysis by discussing the implications for the individual of the programs for the construction of the Great Society.

individuals in their own house. Determining the education of the children, the level of the household, the pattern of behavior, they enforced the Reality Principle in a rather authoritarian manner. "Masters in their house," in their business and in their home, they could do without the government, without "public relations," without standardized mass media; thus they could be considered the living representatives of individualistic culture.

Today, no long discussion is necessary to show that the conditions under which this form of individual enterprise could flourish have disappeared. Contemporary American society has surpassed the state whereby individual units of production engage in free competition with each other. With the transformation of liberalistic into organized capitalism, "individuality" in the economic sphere has become obsolete, dwarfed by the rapid and overwhelming growth in the productivity of labor, and by the growth of the means and instruments for utilizing this productivity. In view of this historical development, the question arises where and how, in the advancing industrial society of our type, we can envisage the development and expression of creative individuality. But before entering into this discussion, I want to trace the vicissitudes of individuality in the dimension in which the individual is in the most authentic sense "creative": that of literature and the arts.

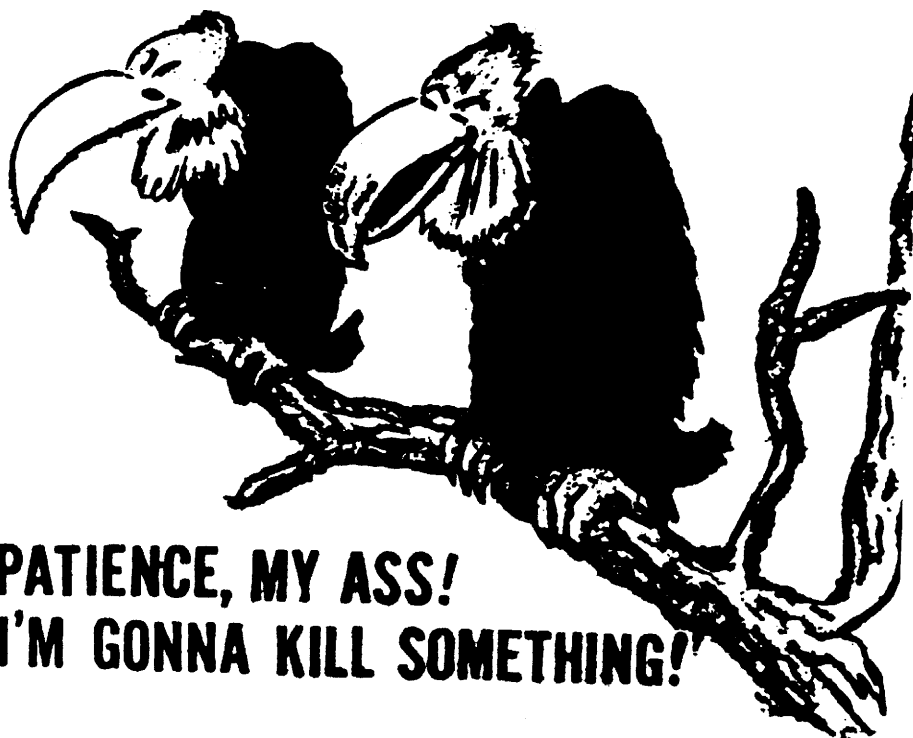
Indeed, the artistic dimension seems to have been the only place where man could be an individual in his material as well as intelligible existence - not only as inner but also as outer man. In contrast to the economic individual, the artist realizes his individuality in a form of creative work which a modern culture has extolled as a manifestation of higher freedom and higher value. And unlike the inner moral and spiritual autonomy attributed to the individual "person" by the idealistic philosophy, the freedom of the artist is of more substantial stuff, expressing itself in his oeuvre and in his life. The great personalities of the Renaissance could combine artistic, political, and economic individualism: Burckhardt's phrase "the state as work of art" ex-

presses this unity. The phrase may convey a highly idealized picture, but it indicates the gap which separates the origins of individualism from its late states.

In the fully developed bourgeois society, market value supersedes the value of individual creativity; when the latter serves to increase the former, it is the market rather than the individual which asserts itself. The individual in the full "classical" sense, as a true Self, now appears possible only as against his society, in essential conflict with the established norms and values: he is an alien, outsider, or a member of the "inner emigration." In this society, the individual cannot fulfill himself, cannot come into his own: this is the message of the representative literature at least from the Sturm und Drang to Ibsen. In the inevitable struggle with society, the individual (always in the emphatic sense of the term) either perishes, or resigns - renounces that uncompromised freedom and happiness which was first the promise and goal of individualism. The creative individual starts as a non-conformist; in the established society, he cannot be a "realist" without betraying himself; his autonomy is that of his imagination, which has its own rationality and

truth (perhaps more valid, more rational than that of the Establishment). But as he sets out to live and to work in accordance with himself and his faculties, he recognizes that he must resign himself and find his autonomy in reason rather than imagination. In other words, the individual finds himself to the degree to which he learns to limit himself and to reconcile his happiness with being unhappy: autonomy means resignation. This is the story of the great development-novels: the Wilhelm Meister, the Education Sentimentale, the Grune Heinrich, the Recherche du Temps Perdu.

There is, however, another form in which the individual appears in bourgeois society and which perhaps most fully actualizes individuality, namely, the poet-maudit. He indeed lives his own life: on the margin and against his society. The individual becomes authentic as outcast, drug addict, sick, genius. Some of this authenticity is still preserved in the "Bohemian," even in the Beatnik. They represent vaguely protected and permitted manifestations of individual freedom and happiness, not enjoyed by the ordinary citizen, who defines freedom and happiness in the terms of his government and society rather than his own.



**'PATIENCE, MY ASS!  
I'M GONNA KILL SOMETHING!**

This long digression from the "Great Society" seemed to me necessary in order to separate the ideology of the individual from his reality, and to point out how the creative individual has been largely localized in the "artistic dimension," that is, in the sphere which was until now far removed from the daily business of life - a sort of immaterial reality, more spiritual, etc. Something of this is still reflected in President Johnson's emphasis on beauty, imagination (which however, coupled with "innovation," has a technical-commercial ring!), and creativity. And some of the specific questions submitted to this symposium raise explicitly the problem of the place and function of the "creative" individual in the advanced industrial society. In fact, with technological progress, with the spread of automation, mass production, and standardization in the daily business of life, "individuality" is being increasingly reserved for whatever room may be left for "creative" activity - whatever "creative" may mean. In the context of the authoritative statements on the Great Society, "creative" seems to refer to the production of things, services, works, spaces which are not only useful but also beautiful, and which satisfy not

only material but also spiritual needs, enhancing the liberty, joy, and richness of human existence.

We must stress at the outset that this quest for the creative individual in advanced industrial society directly involves the social organization of labor. For if creativity is to be more than an individual privilege confined to an elite, then it must be a possible mode of existence for all members of the Great Society, without any discrimination other than that suggested by different individual capacities themselves. Moreover, the embodiments of creativity either have to be produced in the material process of production (such as houses, parks, furniture, objets d'art), or the material process of production must provide the material basis and environment for the creation and reception of such goods. How and where can individual creativity, on a social scale, develop in a society in which material production is being increasingly mechanized, automated, standardized? The following alternatives present themselves:

(a) either the material production itself changes its character fundamentally and is transformed from "alienated" to non-alienated work,

(b) or material production is completely divorced from creative individuality (except for the technological intelligence and imagination brought to bear on the productive apparatus), and the individuals are creative outside the process of material production.

With reference to the first alternative, it is obvious that further progress of industrial society is tantamount to progress in mechanization and mass production. The reduction of individual energy in the production of the necessities is also progress in human terms. Eliminating the necessity for individual labor power would be the greatest triumph of industry and science. Any attempt to reverse this trend on a social scale by a reintroduction of modes of work closer to handicraft and artisanship, or by reducing the mechanized apparatus while leaving intact the established social control of the productive and distributive process, would be regressive in terms of efficiency as well as human development.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the emergence of the autonomous and creative individual cannot be envisaged as a gradual transformation of existing alienated into non-alienated labor. In other words, the individual will not come to life as worker, technician, engineer, or scientist who expresses his creativity in producing or attending to the established apparatus of production. The latter is and remains a technical apparatus which, in its very structure, militates against autonomy in the work process. Autonomy rather presupposes a basic change in the relations of the producers and consumers to the apparatus itself. In its prevailing form, the latter controls the individuals whom it serves: it fosters and satisfies the aggressive and conformist needs which reproduce the controls. Nor would a mere transfer of controls mean qualitative change unless and until the

1. The situation is entirely different in the backward countries where the improvement and humanization of existing pre-industrial modes of work could conceivably counteract the trend toward exploitative control of industrialization by foreign or native capital - provided real national independence has been attained.

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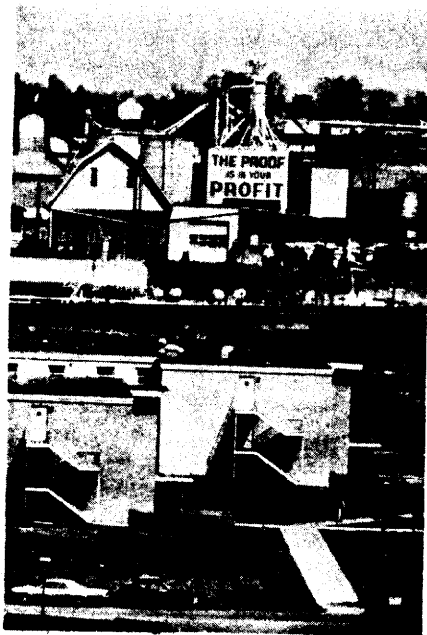
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new administrators (and the people at large) experience the vital need for changing the very direction of technical progress toward the pacification of the struggle for existence. Then, the "realm of freedom" may perhaps appear in the work process itself, in the performance of socially necessary labor. The technical apparatus could then serve to create a new social and natural environment: human beings could then have their own cities, their own houses, their own spaces of tranquility and joy: they could become free and learn how to live in freedom with the others. Only with the creation of such an entirely different environment (which is well within the capabilities of technology and well beyond the capabilities of the vested interests which control technology), would the words 'beauty,' 'creativity,' 'community'

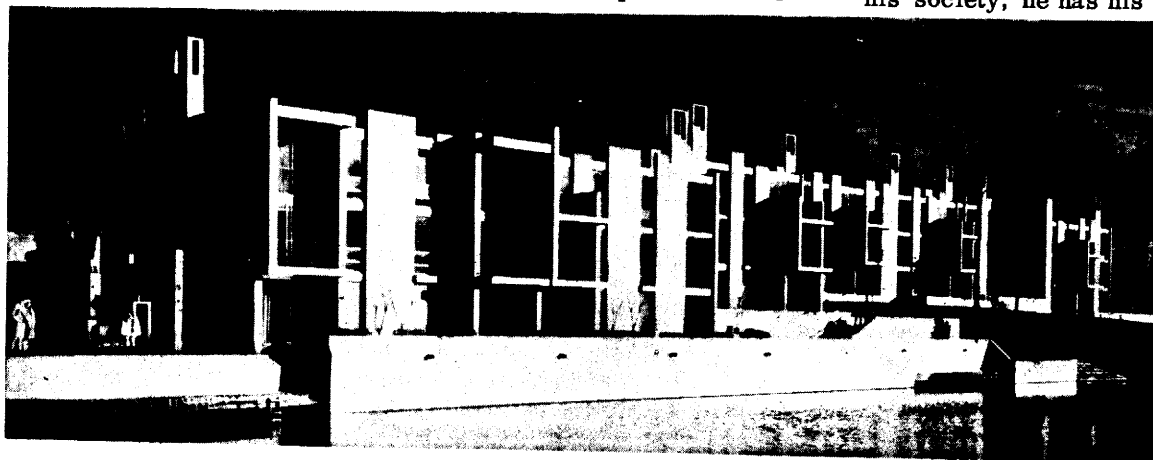
etc., designate meaningful goals; the creation of such an environment would indeed be non-alienated labor.

The other alternative for the emergence of the "individual" in the advancing industrial society is expressed in the notion that the individual, as autonomous and creative person, develops outside and beyond the material work process, outside and beyond the time and space required for "earning a living" or producing the socially necessary foods and services. Under this general notion are subsumed two very different and even contradicting concepts: the Marxian distinction between the realm of freedom and the realm of necessity, and the modern idea of creative leisure.

Marx's "realm of freedom" presupposes a social organization of labor guided by the standards of utmost rationality in the satisfaction of individual needs for the society as a whole. Thus, it presupposes collective control of the production-process by the producers themselves. But for Marx, the production-process remains a "realm of necessity," imposed upon man by the continued struggle with nature, scarcity, and weakness. The time spent in this struggle would be greatly reduced, but it would still take up much of the individual's existence. The remaining time would be free time in the literal sense that it would be under the control of the individual: he would be free to satisfy his own needs, to develop his own faculties, his own pleasures. Now it seems to me that contemporary industrial society has all but closed this realm of freedom, and closed it not only by virtue of its ingression into all spheres of the

individual existence (thus preconditioning the free time), but also by virtue of technical progress and mass democracy. What is left to individual creativity outside the technical work process is in the way of hobbies, do-it-yourself stuff, games. There is, of course, the authentic creative expression in art, literature, music, philosophy, science - but it is hardly imaginable that this authentic creativity will, even in the best of all societies, become a general capability. The rest is sport, fun, fad. The conditions of advanced industrial society, then, seem to invalidate Marx's idea of free time. Freedom is also a matter of quantity, number, space: it demands solitude, distance, dissociation - the unoccupied, quiet space, nature not destroyed by commerce and brutality. Where these conditions do not prevail, the realm of freedom becomes a most expensive privilege. Not only the reduction of the working day and the restoration of nature, but also the reduction of the birthrate would be the prerequisite.

In contradistinction to the Marxian concept, the notion of "creative leisure" is realistic and conforms to contemporary conditions. Marx's "free time" is not "leisure time," for the realization of the all-round individual is not a matter of leisure. Free time pertains to a free Society, leisure time to a repressive society. In such a society, when the working day is greatly reduced, leisure time must be organized, even administered. The laborer, employee, executive enters into his leisure time equipped with the qualities, attitudes, values, behavior belonging to his station in his society; he has his being-for-



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# MALLOY

for

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\*Youth                      \*Independence

\*Experience                \*Vigor

DEMOCRAT

others as his own. His leisure activity or passivity is simply a prolongation or recreation of his social performance; he is not an "individual." In the Marxian concept, man is free also in the realm of necessity to the extent to which he has organized it in accordance with his human needs, in transparent rationality. Freedom thus links the two realms: the subject of the working day is also the subject of free time. In the contemporary industrial society, man is not the subject of his working day; consequently if he is to become the subject of his free time, he has to be made into such. And until the repressive organization of the working day is abolished, he will be made into a subject of leisure by exactly the same powers which govern the working day. Creativity can be learned, culture can be learned, but as long as learning and teaching do not transcend the established conditions, the result will be the enrichment, beautification, adornment of an unfree society. Instead of invoking the image of human freedom, creative culture will contribute to the absorption of this image into the status quo, which it will make more palatable.

But does not the evolution of technological civilization in its own course promote and require the development of new mental energies, of new intellectual faculties which, in turn, may transcend the prevailing conditions and cre-

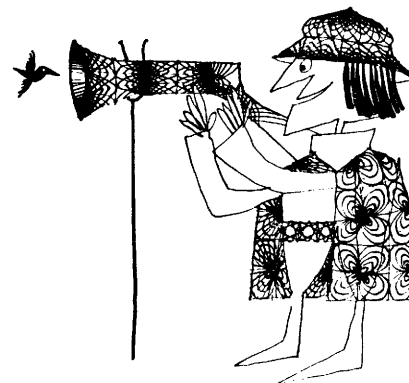
ate liberating needs and aspirations? There is an increasing need for scientific and technological intelligence in the process of material production which will have to be satisfied, and there is no doubt that this intelligence is creative. However, the mathematical character of modern science determines the range and direction of its creativity, and leaves the non-quantifiable qualities of humanities outside of its domain. Mathematical propositions about nature are held to be the truth about nature, and the mathematical conception and project of science are held to be the only "scientific" ones. Thus universal validity is claimed for a specific historical theory and practice of science and other modes of knowledge appear as less scientific and therefore less true.

After having removed the non-quantifiable qualities of man and nature from scientific method, science feels the need for redemption by coming to terms with the "humanities." The dichotomy between science and humanities (a treacherous designation: as if science did no longer partake of humanity!) cannot be overcome by mutual recognition and respect; its resolution would involve the ingression of humanistic goals into the formation of scientific concepts, and, vice versa, the development of humanistic goals under the guidance of such scientific concepts. Prior to this internal unification, both science and humanities will hardly be equipped to play a major role in the emergence of a free society. The humanities will be condemned to remain essentially abstract, academic, "cultural" - quite divorced from the daily work process. Science, on the other hand, will continue to shape the work process and, with it, the daily universe of work and leisure, but it will not bring about the new freedom. The scientist may well be moved by suprascientific goals, humane goals, but they will remain external to his science, and they will limit, even define his creativity from outside. Thus the scientist or technician occupied in the designing and construction of a bridge and road net, of facilities for work and leisure, in the planning of towns may (and indeed often does) calculate and construct something beautiful, peaceful, and

humane. However, his creation will be functional in terms of the functioning of his society, and his transcending goals and values will be defined by this society. In this sense, his creativity will remain heteronomous.

The individuals who are supposed to live in the Great Society must be the individuals who build it; they must be free for it before they can be free in it. No other power can impose a free society on them - not because a "despotism of freedom" per se contradicts liberation, but because no power, no government, no party exists which is free for such dictatorship. It must still be in the process of material production, of socially necessary labor and its division where the new society would have to take shape. And since individual autonomy is being eliminated from this process, the restoration of freedom and the redirection of production would require changing the control over productivity. Moreover, the construction of the Great Society as a free society would involve more than a change in the controlling powers: it would involve the emergence of new needs and aspirations in the individuals themselves - needs and aspirations essentially different from, and even contradictory to those sustained, satisfied, and reproduced by the established social process.

But is it not the very essence of a democratic society to allow the emergence of new needs and aspirations, even if their development threatens to demand new social institutions? This is where education, the third area of reconstruction designated in the program for the Great Society, becomes relevant. Johnson's pro-



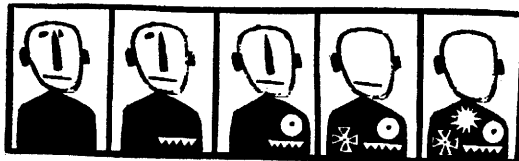


gram calls for an extension and growth of education, "in quality as well as in size." Let us consider first the question of the quantitative growth. Not too long ago, many voices spoke out against general education: it was considered dangerous to law and order, to culture, if the people (the lower classes) would learn how to read and write. Of course, it was the established law and order, the established culture which was to be protected from more education. Today, the situation is very different, and education is considered as a desideratum by the established law and order, and by the established culture. No culture and intellectual expression - no matter how subversive - is to be excluded from the curriculum. Marx is taught alongside Hitler; drugs are part of the equipment of existential psychology; and even the philosophy of the Marquis de Sade is sometimes respectfully treated in the classroom.

Fortunately, I do not have to discuss here the question whether this achievement indicates progress in freedom and critical thought, or rather progress in the immunity and cohesion of the existing society and its values. In any case, this cultural affluence may still be better than further restriction and repression of knowledge, but it cannot per se be taken as progress toward a better society. Indeed this coordination of the negative and the positive, the subversive and the conservative, reduces the qualitative difference between them; it accomplishes the flattening out of opposites, of contradictions. A change in the prevailing pattern, that is to say, a liberation of free, critical, radical thought, and of new intellectual and instinctual needs would necessitate a break with the benevolent neutrality which embraces Marx and Hitler, Freud and Heidegger, Samuel Beckett and Mary McCarthy; it would necessitate partisanship as against a tolerance and objectivity which operate anyway only in the realm of ideology, and in areas which do not threaten the whole.

But, precisely this tolerance and objectivity are the shibboleth of the democratic process and its prevailing institutions. Progressive education which could create the intellectual climate for the emergence of new individual needs,

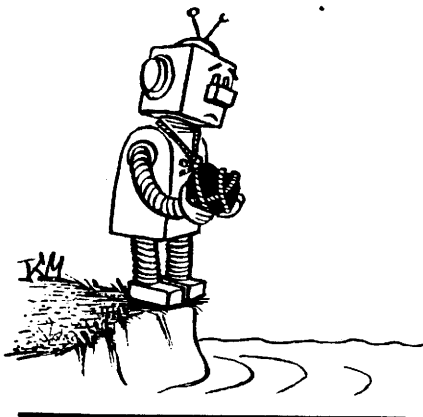
would come into conflict with many of the powers, private and public, which finance education today. Qualitative change in education is qualitative social change, and there is little chance that such a change could be organized and administered; education remains its prerequisite. The contradiction is real: the existing society must offer the possibility of education for a better society, and such education may be a threat to the existing society. Thus we cannot expect popular demand for such education, nor endorsement and support from above. Kant stated as the goal of education, that children should be educated, not in accordance with the present but with that of a future, better condition of the human race, namely, in accordance with the idea of *humanitas*. This goal still implies the subversion of the present condition of man. I wonder whether the spokesmen for education toward the Great Society are aware of this implication.



To the degree to which the technical, material, and scientific resources for the development of a free society are available, its realization depends on the human, social forces who would need such a society - need it not only objectively (an *sich*) but also subjectively, for themselves, consciously. Today, this need is present only among a minority of the population of the "have" societies, and among the fighting people in the "have-not" areas of the world. In the technically advanced areas of the world, education can indeed help to activate the need which is "objectively" universal - but it would be a strange, most unpopular and unprofitable education. For example, it would include immunization of children and adults against the mass media; unhampered access to information suppressed or distorted by these media; methodical distrust of politicians and leaders, organization of effective protest and refusal which does inevitably end with the

martyrdom of those who protest and refuse. Such education would also aim at a basic transvaluation of current values: it would require the debunking of all heroism in the service of inhumanity, of sport and fun in the service of brutality and stupidity, of faith in the necessity of the struggle for existence, and in the necessity of "business." To be sure, these educational aims are negative, but the negation is the work and appearance of the positive, which first has to create the physical and mental space where it can come to life - and this requires the removal of the devastating and suffocating equipment which now occupies this space. This destruction would be the first manifestation of the new autonomy and creativity - the appearance of the free individual in the new society.

I have tried to take up, in the course of my analysis, the questions submitted to this seminar inasmuch as I feel qualified to discuss them. I have excluded all questions dealing with specific administrative problems, such as the relation between federal and local authority, public and private agencies, etc. These questions presuppose existing institutions as implementing the program for the Great Society, whereas I assume that this program would lead beyond their framework and authority. The other questions are mainly concerned with the general problem of "organization," that is, whether the ubiquitous organization characteristic of, and indispensable for the functioning of advanced industrial society does not militate against the "individual," creativity, initiative. The opposition of organization to freedom is ideological: while it is true that freedom cannot be organized, the material, technical (and perhaps even the intellectual) preconditions of freedom require organization. Not the growth of organization is to blame, but the growth of bad, exploitative organization. Against it, counter-organization is called for. For example, if the civil rights movement would have an organization more powerful and more militant than the force of its opponents, it would be far more effective. Similarly, one could terminate the now endless debate as to the right balance between Federal and local government, jurisdiction, initiative, etc. If the



composition of the Federal government indicates progressive policies, its power and authority should be made to prevail rigorously, and vice versa; otherwise, the issue is simply one of power politics, local or national.

While some of the submitted questions point up the international, global content of the Great Society, most of the questions seem to accept the national framework of the program: the Great Society will be an American society. But if one thing is clear, it is that the Great Society, if it should ever come about, will not be an American society, although this country may conceivably and initially be the leading power. Not only are some of the values which have come to be associated with the American Way of Life incompatible with a free society (such as the commercialization of the soul, togetherness, the sanctity of business, the science of human relations), but the warlike co-existence of this affluent society with the have-not part of the world, conflicts with the very idea of a Great Society. Similarly, some of the values associated with Eastern civilization (especially its traditional aversion to "business"; its emphasis on contemplation) could be revived in the new society.

To sum up: the program of the Great Society is of a substantial ambiguity which reflects the alternative prospects of the affluent society whose program it is supposed to be.

(1) It can be read as a program for the extension and amelioration of the status quo: a higher standard of living for the underprivileged part of the population, abolition of discrimination and unemployment, beautification of cities and

countryside, improvement of transportation, better education for all, cultivation of leisure. Unless a policy to the contrary is proposed, it must be assumed that this development is to take place within the institutional, cultural and mental framework of the competitive struggle for economic existence. Such a program, translated into reality, would indeed mean a vast improvement in the prevailing conditions. However, even within the given framework, the realization of the Great Society would require a permanent and considerable reduction of the military establishment and its physical and mental manifestations throughout the society - and that is to say, it would require major political and economic changes, foremost of foreign policy. Short of such change, the Great Society would look like a welfare state prepared to turn into a warfare state.

(2) The program can be read as envisaging the essential transformation of the existing society which is suggested by its technological capabilities, namely, a transformation into a society where, not full employment but marginal (or even unemployment) in necessary alienated labor is the basis of growth. This would mean subversion of the prevailing organization of the economic process, and subversion of the prevailing goals of education - in short: it would mean a fundamental transvaluation of values, and the emergence of new individual and social needs. This would also mean a radical change in the relation between the "have" and "have-not" societies - the rise of an international society beyond Capitalism and Communism.

Under both aspects, the traditional concept of the individual, in its classic-liberal as well as Marxist form seems to be untenable - cancelled (aufgehoben) by the historical development of productivity. For the "person" as autonomous agent will find increasingly less place in the work-process. In the first alternative (extension and amelioration of the status quo), individuality could be and perhaps would have to be "artificially" maintained and fostered: some sort of organized, administered individuality expressed in external paraphernalia,

gadgets, fads, hobbies, in cultivated leisure, decoration, and decor. Authentic individuality would remain the distinction of the creative artist, writer, musician. The idea of making this creative potential general among the population at large militates against the very function and truth of the artistic creation as form of expression - not because it must necessarily remain the privilege of a creative few, but because it implies dissociation from, and negation of common sense and common values, ingression of a qualitatively different reality into the established one. In the case of the second alternative (fundamental transformation of the society), individuality would refer to an entirely new existential dimension: to a domain of play, experiment, and imagination which is outside the reaches of any policy and program today.

I wish to conclude on a less utopian note. Perhaps my most serious doubt concerning the Great Society is caused by the fact that the American foreign policy all but invalidates the domestic program for the Great Society. The issues of coexistence, of the relations with the have-not countries, of neo-colonialism, the military establishment are not contingent external factors; rather they determine the prospects of growth, improvement, and even continued existence of society, great or not so great. Declarations as to the need for extending the American program to other nations are contradicted by the brutal and dirty war in Vietnam, by the direct or indirect intervention against social change wherever it threatens vested interests, by the flowering of military bases all over the globe. These conditions testify to the dominance of powers which are incompatible with the grand design for peace, freedom, and justice. It is the presence of these powers rather than the absence of capabilities and intentions which gives the program its ideological character. The Great Society will be a society that can exist and grow in peace, without the built-in need for defense and aggression - or it will not be at all.





# The Psychological Habituation of War and the Democratic Process

BY ISIDORE ZIFERSTEIN, M. D.

UN Secretary-General U Thant once said, "As you know, in times of war and hostilities, the first casualty is truth." I would add to this truism that the second, and perhaps more serious, casualty is the individual's wish to know the truth, to know the facts, and to think for himself in arriving at conclusions based on the facts.

In past wars, our government, like other governments, has used forceful means and appeals to jingoism to achieve the required suppression of dissent and of people's need to think for themselves. For example, in World War I, prominent objectors like Eugene V. Debs were jailed for the duration. An interest in anything German was considered unpatriotic; and so sauerkraut became liberty cabbage and symphony orchestras stopped playing Wagner.

**IT WOULD APPEAR, AT FIRST BLUSH,** that our government no longer attempts, or even condones, appeals to jingoism and the suppression of the right to think for oneself. Both the President and Secretary of State have gone out of their way to defend, and even to point with pride to the right of dissenters to protest and to hold demonstrations.

Actually, the gross techniques of previous wars have been replaced by more subtle methods. Two techniques in particular have proven effective: psychological habituation by gradual escalation of the war-effort, and management of the news.

These latter-day techniques are more difficult for the individual to counteract, because the suppression is no longer experienced as coming from outside himself. Under the influence of psychological habituation, the individual himself suppresses his wish to think critically, to evaluate objectively, to dissent. The suppressing forces are no longer regarded as ego-alien.

**THE INDIVIDUAL HAS NO FEELING** of being forced to suppress his critical faculties. The suppression seems rather to come from within himself, as a logical response to certain events, to a situation, to a set of circumstances. (E.g.: "The country is in danger, our boys are fighting and dying, we are already deeply involved—therefore the time for debate is past. Now is the time to rally 'round the flag,' etc.) Once the questioning and doubting have been suppressed, the individual may actually experience a relief from anxiety and from the pressure of having to think about complex questions that have stumped the experts.

There is evidence that considerable habituation, and the resulting internal suppression, have already taken place. In 1954, when Vice-President Nixon suggested sending American troops to help the French hold on to Indochina, public reaction was immediate and intense. Great consternation was expressed in the press, and President Eisenhower received thousands of letters and telegram-

within a day or two, protesting this proposal. A Gallup Poll at that time showed 72 per cent opposed to U.S. intervention. Today we have 235,000 American troops in South Viet Nam, with many thousands more on ships off the coast and in neighboring Thailand; and the various polls show 60-75 per cent actively supporting or passively going along with the policy of intervention.

**THE MAJORITY WHO OPPOSED** the introduction of American troops into Indochina in 1954 were supporting the status quo; they were supporting the then-existing Administration policy. Paradoxically, the majority who now support intervention with American troops in Viet Nam are also supporting the status quo; they are supporting the now-existing Administration policy. But the new Administration policy and the new status quo evolved so gradually out of the old policy, that no one can tell any longer at what critical point non-intervention became intervention.

This paradoxical situation, the invisible, magical conversion of non-intervention into intervention, like the conversion of water into wine, has the same confusing and hypnotic effect on the thinking and feeling of the American people, as the legerdemain of the skillful magician has on an audience. It contributes to the feeling of the average American that the problems of our Southeast Asia policy are much too complex for his average mind to encompass, and that he had better leave the decisions to the President and his expert advisers, who must know what they are doing.

But there is nothing magical or mysterious in the change in American policy and in the concomitant apparent reversal of public opinion. It is the result of a graduated escalation of involvement, in which each new step toward greater involvement was small and seemingly insignificant, while at the same time evolving as a logical consequence of a previous small and seemingly insignificant step, and equally logically preparing the ground for the next small and seemingly insignificant step.

**THE PRESENT HOT WAR IN VIET NAM** in which Americans, although still here and there referred to as advisers, are killing and being killed at an ever-increasing rate, has crept up on us gradually. To begin with, there has never been an official declaration of war, which would have required congressional action, and would have stirred up the public prematurely.

It all began as far back as 1950, when the U.S. was giving military supplies to the French troops (who were, after all, our NATO allies), who were fighting the Viet Minh in Indochina. Soon the U.S. began to send experts to oversee the military aid we were giving. This step was our first commitment of American personnel. It

was acceptable to us, as logical, that some of our people should be on hand to properly administer our military aid. By 1954, when the French suffered their conclusive defeat at Dien Bien Phu, there were 684 such American advisers and overseers. The French left, but the Americans stayed on to advise the government of Bao Dai, later of Diem, and still later the succession of military governments that followed the overthrow and assassination of Diem.

**THESE AMERICAN ADVISERS** not only stayed on, but they slowly multiplied. They wore civilian clothes, because the Geneva Accords of 1954 forbade "the introduction into Viet Nam of foreign troops and military personnel." After a while, however, a few of these advisers began to be seen on the streets of Saigon in American military uniform. This "surfacing" of the advisers was also very gradual, as more and more American uniforms appeared in public. Here, for the first time, was established a palpable, visible American military presence in South Viet Nam. Once this was established, all that followed seemed logical and inevitable.

**IT TOOK SIXTEEN YEARS** of very gradual escalation for our involvement to reach the point where, as Walter Lippman points out, "the fight is now predominantly an American war." But it should be noted that in the past year, since "the wraps were off" and all pretense was finally discarded, the escalation has become precipitously accelerated, and the public has been bombarded with precipitously rising figures of involvement of manpower and money and of casualties.

The President's televised press-conference of July 28, 1965, in which he for the first time referred to the Viet Nam conflict as a war, is a particularly enlightening example of the psychological preparation and manipulation of the American public. It was preceded by a highly dramatized and thoroughly publicized fact-finding tour of Viet Nam by Secretary of Defense McNamara. Then, for several days, the President closeted himself with his top-level advisers for secret consultations. "Leaks" from these conferences led the public to expect a very rapid increase in U.S. combat strength in Viet Nam, a marked increase in draft quotas, mobilization of the reserves, and a request for a supplemental war-appropriation of 12 billion dollars.

**SO WELL WAS THE PUBLIC PREPARED** by the press "leaks" to expect the worst, that there was a general expression of relief when, on July 28, the President asked for "only" 1.7 billion dollars, a draft quota of "only" 35,000 by November, an increase in troop strength to "only" 125,000, and, greatest concession of all, did not call out the reserves. However, the Wall Street Journal of August 4, 1965 reported that the President had announced one plan for public consumption, but was pushing, behind the scenes, for a much larger involvement in the war. In connection with this concealed program, according to the Wall Street Journal, Secretary of Defense McNamara appeared before a closed session of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to project a far heavier commitment of man-power and funds.

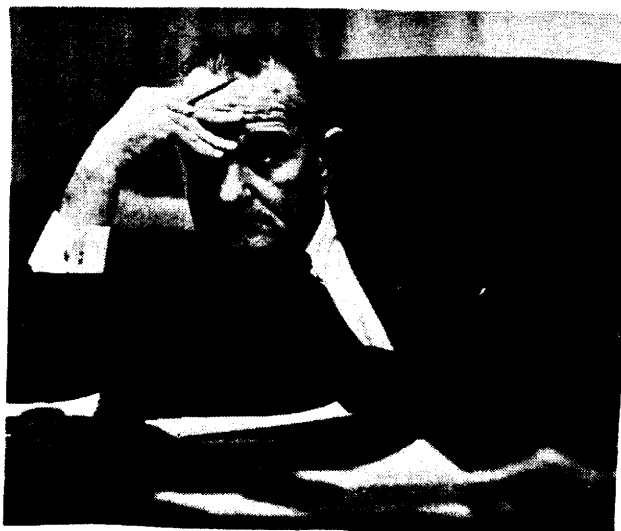
By January 20, 1966, the LA Times was reporting that the President "appeals to Congress

to provide \$12 billion more to support expanded Viet Nam action." By February 12, 1966, the President was stating that "the time may come when he will have to summon the reserves." And, of course, combat troops are by now about double the 125,000 figure projected on July 28.

**THE POLICY OF NEWS-MANAGEMENT**, the second technique which has been employed effectively in the Viet Nam war to mold public opinion, is not new. The late President Kennedy asked the publisher of the New York Times to recall Pulitzer Prize winning correspondent David Halberstam because of his "unacceptable" reporting about the war in Viet Nam. UN Secretary-General U Thant bluntly stated in February, 1965, that the American people were not getting all the facts, particularly about peace-feelers from Hanoi. Two Australian correspondents, Denis Warner of the Sydney Morning Herald, and Pat Burgess of the Sydney Sun have recently charged that American military public relations men are misrepresenting casualty figures. Denis Warner wrote that American Col. Ben W. Leagre and Lieut. Col. Dan Biondi are "engaged in the business of turning defeat into victory." And Pat Burgess wrote, "No one in Saigon believes the kill rate given by American briefing officers daily in their briefings to the press." Burgess said the American aim was not to conceal losses from the enemy but to make them less stark for the American public. (NY Times, December 8 and 15, 1965.)

**THE POLICIES OF GRADUAL HABITUATION**, of news-management, and of "minimum candor," have had their effect of conditioning the American people to live with the hazards, the brutalities, and the mounting casualties of the war in Viet Nam, just as one learns gradually to live with the everyday hazards and casualties of smoking, of smog, or of traffic. It is quite likely that by now, most Americans have learned to accept the policy of "minimum candor" as a matter of





revulsion that developed in France against the French government's "dirty wars" in Indochina and Algeria.

**THE AVERAGE CITIZEN FEELS** that he has neither the expertise nor the time nor energy to understand the complexities of foreign policy. As an individual, he feels helpless in the face of powerful forces which he does not understand and which he feels he cannot possibly control. It is, therefore, comforting to conclude that the President and his advisers, who have access to all kinds of top-secret information, know best and are doing the right thing. This fits in with the average citizen's conviction that we always have been, and are now, the "good guys." It saves him from the enormous intellectual efforts, and emotionally painful re-evaluation of values, that are involved in admitting to consciousness the possibility that one's own government is engaged in policies and actions that are basically wrong.

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Furthermore, many Americans are still, consciously or unconsciously, ambivalent about peace and disarmament. The fear of losing one's job if peace should break out is still a potent obstacle to a critical examination of the arms race, the cold war, and the government's military policies.

The habituation is enhanced by the psychological appeal of the fantasy of wiping "them" out, without getting hurt ourselves. Total American casualties, although mounting steadily, are still relatively small. The regular reports that all our planes have returned safely after a bombing raid over North or South Viet Nam, in which little or no aerial opposition was encountered, reinforce the fantasies of a fairly cheap ultimate victory. These fantasies fit in with a parochial belief that Americans are possessed of an innate superiority.

**THE ACQUIESCENCE RESULTING** from psychological habituation to the horrors of war could prepare the ground for eventual acceptance of even the ultimate horror of using nuclear weapons, if such use developed as a "logical" next step. (It has been reported that when General Maxwell Taylor was our Ambassador to Saigon, he told a briefing session of the Senate Military Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees: "We're going to go the whole way. We're going to use everything we need - including atomic weapons." This statement was not made public at the time, possibly because it was felt that the people were not as yet sufficiently prepared and habituated.)

The psychological habituation to war and the management of news constitute a serious threat to the democratic process and to human survival. An ill-informed and misinformed people may be unable to participate democratically in decision-making. A habituated people may be unable to stop the drift toward a third world war.



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# Scientists and Citizens

by CYNTHIA BRODINE

Democracy's success depends upon a knowledgeable citizenry, yet becoming knowledgeable in the many facets of science which touch public policy today is a formidable undertaking. The scientific questions are often critical: What are the dangers to man and his environment from air pollution? water pollution? pesticides? radioactive fallout? How can their damage be counteracted or corrected? Is there any alternative to the present use of pesticides to control crop-destroying insects and dangerous pests? What are the benefits to be gained from the use of nuclear energy to produce electricity, to dig canals? What are the dangers from such uses of nuclear energy? What might be the effects of nuclear war on man's environment? Have technological improvements in civilian defense kept pace with technology?

Concern among both scientists and laymen over radioactive fallout sparked the founding of the Greater St. Louis Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Information (CNI) in 1958. The testing of nuclear weapons and the problems connected with it had been brought forcibly to the attention of the public as a campaign issue in the 1956 Eisenhower-Stevenson contest. Electioneering did little to clarify the scientific problems, however, and in fact left many people confused and worried. Parents worried about the amount of radioactive fallout to which their children were being exposed and about how they might counter its possible ill effects. Many people worried, too, about the ethical and political problems bearing on the testing of nuclear weapons and the possibility of nuclear war.

CNI began to confront this situation by publishing Nuclear Information (which became Scientist and Citizen in 1964) and by establishing a Speakers' Bureau to supply scientists to speak to civic and educational groups. The speakers found audiences willing to listen, eager to learn, anxious to act. Repeated contacts with some of the same groups indicated their ability to grasp fundamental scientific facts and to act on them intelligently. When some of the confusion resulting from the public's introduction to fallout was dispelled, parents were less panicky about radioactive fallout in their children's milk; a joint statement by CNI and the St. Louis Dairy Council put parents in possession of more complete information about fallout so that they could understand, for example, that a child's strontium 90 intake would not be decreased but rather increased by cutting down on the amount of milk in his diet.

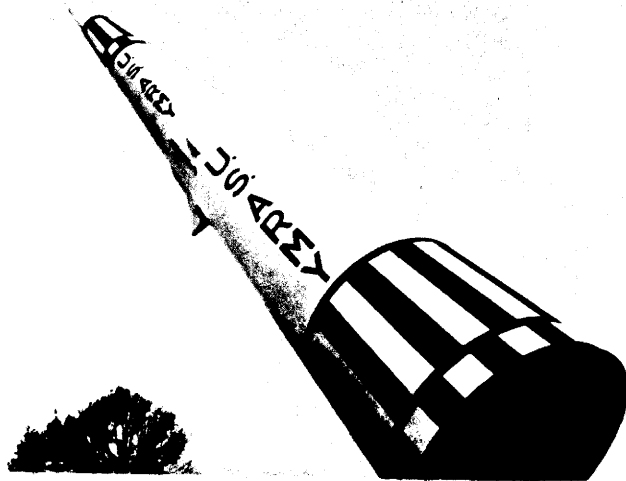
The small publication enjoyed early success; in September 1959 "Nuclear War in St. Louis" was published. This was a fictionalized version of the effects of a hypothetical nuclear bombing of all major U.S. cities; it was based on testimony presented by government experts before a Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. Since scientists acted as intermediaries, it was possible to translate the complexities of the government testimony into a dramatic presentation without sacrificing scientific accuracy. The vivid manner in which the facts were presented

made this issue CNI's best seller; it was reprinted in several other publications, including the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Saturday Review; it has been translated into three languages.

The success of one of CNI's major projects, the Baby Tooth Survey, testifies to the enthusiastic help of thousands of nonscientists, not the least of whom are children. The Baby Tooth Survey has made a unique contribution to knowledge of radiation effects by collecting and analyzing deciduous teeth for strontium 90 uptake from fallout. As many as 30,000 teeth are collected annually for the study, and a continuous educational campaign is carried on to explain the project's significance.

An example of CNI's far-reaching educational influence was given by Dr. William Pruitt, a research scientist at the University of Alaska. When plans for Project Chariot, an experimental nuclear explosion on the west coast of Alaska, were announced, considerable controversy arose regarding radiation effects on Eskimos and their environment. Scientific evaluations of the problem were published by the Alaska Conservation Society and by CNI. Both these reports were taped, and Dr. Pruitt reported that they "literally swept the Arctic coast from Kakhtovik all the way down to Nome and below. I recall, also, meeting an Eskimo driving a dog team on the trail one time, and by golly, he had a copy of the CNI bulletin tucked inside his parka."

Alaskans were becoming aware of their unique situation in regard to radioactive fallout. The Eskimo depends primarily upon fish and game for food; the caribou they eat rely on lichens for food, and the lichens pick up a much greater proportion of radioactive fallout than do most forms of vegetation. Thus, although the amount of fallout from bomb testing deposited in Alaska is less than in other parts of the United States, the amount of radioactivity that is found in the bodies of Alaskans, and particularly Eskimos



Chinese A-Bomb Explosion, 1964



who eat a great deal of caribou, is higher than in the bodies of people in the "lower 48."

Their special problem with radiation was one of several which spurred the Eskimos to organize for the first time in history and send representatives to a conference at Point Barrow, Alaska. This conference and other groups in Alaska voiced strong opposition to the Project Chariot experiment, and the Atomic Energy Commission called it off. Alaskans have maintained an interest in radiation ever since, and Senator Bartlett of Alaska reports on the problem regularly. Recent studies have confirmed earlier fears that Alaskans, particularly Eskimos, have high radioactivity in their bodies from past bomb testing.

In 1964 a controversy developed between Pacific Gas and Electric Company and groups of citizens over P.G.&E.'s proposed site for an atomic electrical power plant at Bodega Head. The site is near major California population centers and within 1000 feet of one of the world's largest earthquake zones. A study of the potential hazards of the proposed atomic plant was published in *Scientist and Citizen*; the decision on where to place the atomic plant was an important test of public policy in the use of science. In October 1964, P.G.&E. withdrew its application from the Atomic Energy Commission and donated the site to the country for use as a park.

When necessary, CNI scientists have gone to Washington, never as lobbyists, but to testify before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. Of particular importance was testimony presented in 1963 which pointed out possible effects of low-level radiation, particularly iodine 131. CNI scientists and others at the 1963 hearings voiced the fear that children in the vicinity of the Nevada Test Site might have received doses of iodine 131 fallout high enough to endanger their health. A study of the question was recommended and subsequently undertaken by the Public Health Service. Careful examination of two thousand children in Washington County, Utah in September and October 1965 revealed twenty with thyroid nodules who will have to be carefully watched and nine more with thyroid abnormalities sufficiently suspicious to require further investigation at once. Results of the additional tests

administered at the University of Utah Medical Center are not yet available.

The possibility that children in the vicinity of the Nevada Test Site might suffer from thyroid cancer highlights the problem of proceeding with an experiment in technology - in this case testing of nuclear weapons - without knowing enough about its possible ill effects. Citizens had no chance to weigh the facts and make the political decision as to how great a risk - how many possible cases of thyroid cancer or leukemia - they were willing to take in order to improve nuclear weapons.

The many risks citizens take in our technological age in order to enjoy certain benefits entitle them to the facts about these risks and benefits and a voice in the decisions about how they are to be balanced. Not only must dangers from fallout be balanced against advances in weaponry, but the advantages of electricity produced by nuclear reactors must be balanced against the problem of waste disposal and reactor fallout; the annoyance and health hazard from air and water pollution must be weighed against the benefits of automobiles and industry or the cost of correction; the use of broad-spectrum chemical pesticides must be weighed against the danger of killing beneficial forms of life; the possibilities of alternative methods of pest control must be evaluated.

Since 1958 CNI has endeavored to "inform the citizen's discretion" in scientific matters. The CNI philosophy has grown from the belief that the scientist has a special responsibility to make available to his fellow citizens scientific information on questions of public concern without recommending political action. With some knowledge of the risks and benefits involved in the implementation of twentieth century science, the citizen is better able to make his own moral and political decisions about how these risks and benefits ought to be balanced.



# The Abuses of Psychiatry

PSYCHIATRIC JUSTICE by Thomas S. Szasz, M.D.,  
The Macmillan Co., New York, 1965.  
Reviewed by Carl P. Hansen, San Diego State College

Psychiatric Justice by Thomas S. Szasz is an elaborate empirical documentation of propositions previously developed by the author in *The Myth of Mental Illness* and *Law, Liberty and Psychiatry*. A thorough understanding and appreciation of *Psychiatric Justice* requires scrutiny of these two earlier books, although this latest effort is very easily grasped due to Szasz' lucid style and case presentation.

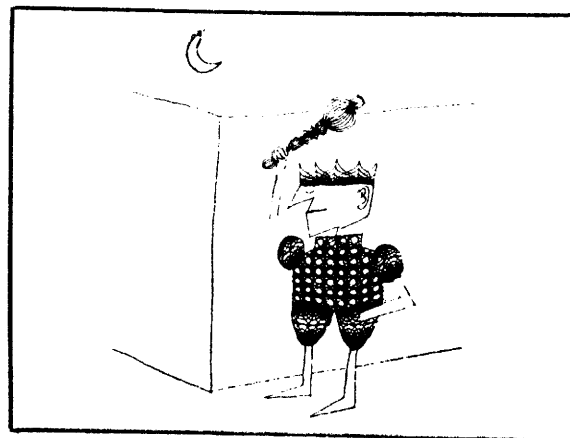
This book is about people who have violated a legal statute, been apprehended by police, brought before a court, and, within the confines and survey of the court, been denied the right to stand trial. These people have instead been adjudged incompetent to stand trial and then incarcerated in a mental hospital, "pending their recovery." This has taken place although the defendant, with aid of his counsel, has been willing and eager to face charges under law.

The legal provision concerning incompetence to stand trial refers to those accused of crimes who, for some reason, are unable to understand the charges against them, the nature of the proceedings, or cannot assist counsel in their defense. From a constitutional point of view, the most crucial aspect of the determination of competence or incompetence is that the prosecutor has the prerogative of requesting a psychiatric examination of the defendant. The court will then appoint one or more psychiatrists to ascertain the defendant's competence to stand trial. This of itself does not seem pernicious until one realizes that our legal system is based upon an adversary or conflict proceeding, where the contending parties equally and antagonistically face one another.

The examining psychiatrist is not the agent of the defendant, but the agent of the State. His interest is not necessarily nor primarily the individual defendant's best interest. The "public interest" is his overriding concern, and his psychiatric knowledge and outlook very frequently leads him to diagnoses of "ill" or "disturbed" when no factual basis for such a determination exists. When a doubt is raised whether "disturbance" does or does not exist, the psychiatrist, as an agent of the State, opts for "playing it safe" and placing the would-be defendant under the control of a mental hospital staff. Clearly, the psychiatrist does not have the defendant's best interest in mind, but is concerned with the "public safety." On this point Szasz quotes Albert Camus:

"The welfare of the people in particular has always been the alibi of tyrants, and it provides the further advantage of giving the servants of tyranny a good conscience."

Thus what is popularly assumed to be a factual



psychiatric diagnosis of alleged "mental illness" is in reality a strategy used by the courts and psychiatrists to promote a certain socially desired action: the incarceration of a social offender. Note, however, that there has been no legal decision regarding guilt or innocence, although an individual has been incarcerated; due process has been circumvented. Szasz is well aware of how conspiratorial the above appears, and therefore he carefully estimates and places the responsibility for the development of "psychiatric justice."

Four documented cases are given, illustrating the use of psychiatric techniques and strategies to discredit and incarcerate legal offenders without due process. The case of Major General Edwin Walker, retired, is perhaps the best known. In 1962 he participated in the civil strife resulting from James Meredith's enrollment in the University of Mississippi. Apprehended for violation of legal statutes, Walker was forced to undergo psychiatric examination to determine competency to stand trial. Needless to say, such techniques tended to discredit Walker and the particular interpretation of Americanism which he espoused.

As a social weapon in the employ of the State psychiatry can and does become formidable. It disarms social opponents by denying their culpability; "sick" people are to be "helped" by doctors (psychiatrists), not punished. Their acts are not rational, adult or responsible, and hence must be understood by theories and notions of irrationality, sickness, and individual pathology. That which is socially or politically disagreeable is "explained" by accusing the socially antagonistic person of mental derangement. The tactic is old, the agency is new.

Psychiatrists, backed by their medical prestige and thought of as "expert witnesses," increasingly participate in legal judgments of proper and improper conduct. However, since there is no scientifically verified and accepted theory of "mental illness," such judgments are hardly those of "expert witnesses" but usually are parts of strategies to promote quasi-legal and ethical concerns. In this way value judgments are cloaked under medical expertise and are removed from the arena of legal contest and debate. Thus, the persistent dream of an ethic completely determined by science (scientism) is revived under psychiatric auspices.

Szasz' deep commitment to, and appreciation of, civil liberties and democracy, coupled with an existentialist awareness of choice and responsibility, motivates a keen analysis and scathing criticism of the modern practice of forensic psychiatry.



# COMING IN OUR FALL ISSUE

"The Americans in Vietnam," by XXX. A brilliant analysis, first published in Jean-Paul Sartre's magazine, Les Temps Modernes, in January 1966.

ALTERNATIVES will publish a complete translation of this essay in the Fall issue.

The author, who prefers to remain anonymous, is a European teacher who has lived in South Vietnam for many years. His work puts him in daily contact with all strata of the native population as well as with the Americans.

From "Les Americains au Vietnam":

"It is against all reason for the Americans to contend that their blind and massive extermination, carried out hygienically by merely pressing a button at 36,000 feet, that the misdeeds of their uniformed killers and licensed torturers are less reprehensible than the 'individual' crimes, carried out with a knife or a pistol by 'bandits' or 'subversive elements' who look their victim in the eye. What is judged and condemned with virtuous indignation is not the murder itself but its primitive character: 'there are bloodstains'; it is not done 'correctly' or 'properly.' Hypocritically, they oppose the 'dirtiness' and the obvious cruelty of the crime perpetrated by the individual 'craftsman' to the mass extermination 'correctly' prepared and executed 'properly' by a team on the 'industrial' scale, which enables everybody to 'keep his hands clean.'

"Uncontrollable excesses are brought about: outbursts of murderous and incendiary fanaticism; burning of villages and execution of prisoners; blind machine-gunning of everything that moves-- buffaloes, peasants, chickens. This crazy behavior is more and more frequent among the American soldiers: we only have to think of the two marines who, one fine day, took it upon themselves to bomb Hanoi and who, only a few minutes before their takeoff, were dragged out of their fighter-bombers. What will happen if this madness spreads to those who are at the controls of the gigantic apparatus of destruction and extermination?"

DON'T MISS "THE AMERICANS IN VIETNAM": ALTERNATIVES  
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