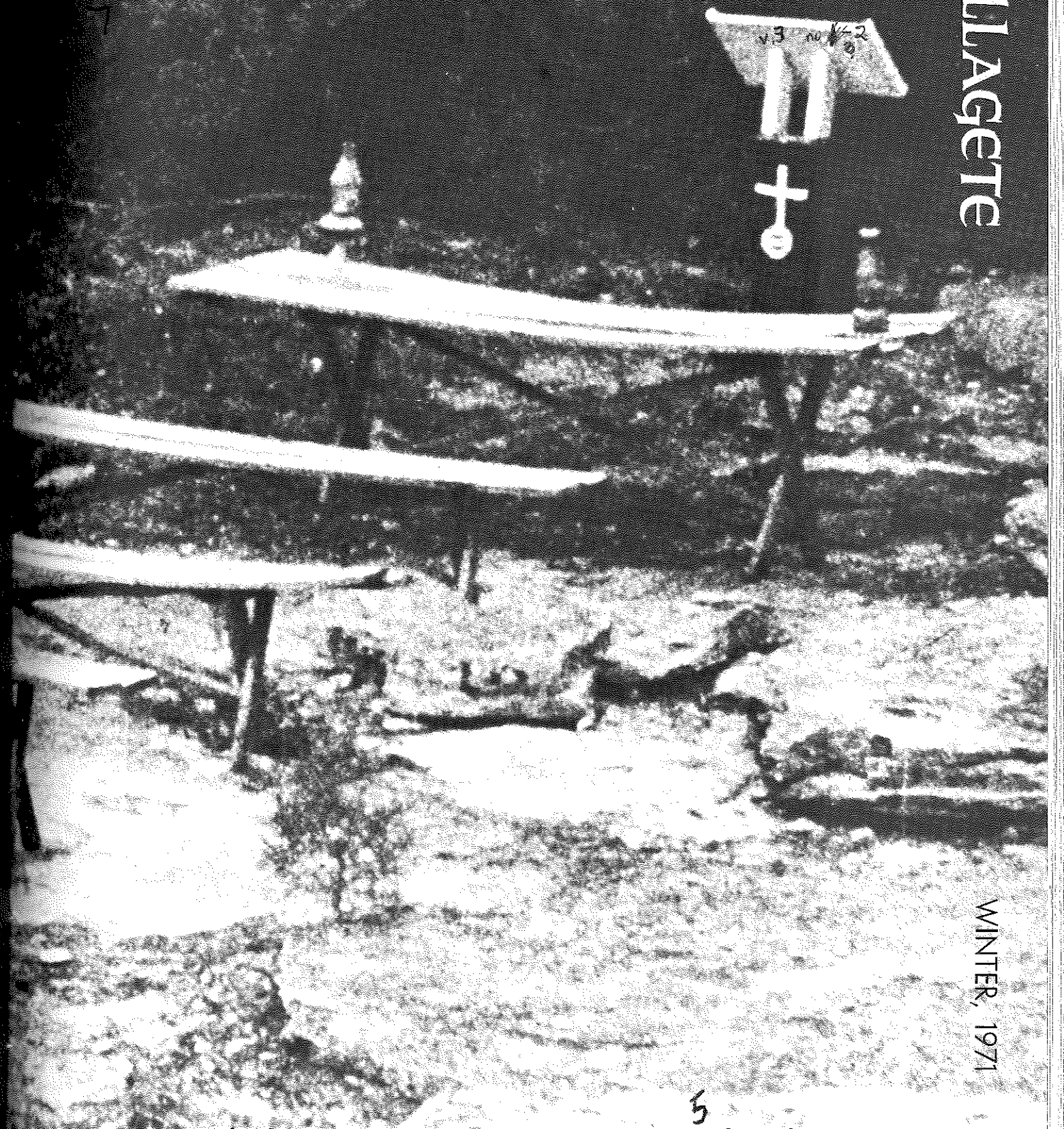


BE RECONCILED

KATALLAGETE



WINTER, 1971

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR. BILLY GRAHAM

or ABOUT THIS ISSUE...

There is no prophetic vocation in asserting the failure of institutions to meet the crises of the twentieth century. There is no merit in proclaiming that institutions are twined together with these very crises.

What this issue of *Katallagete* seeks to point out is that governments, churches, industries, schools, magazines, journals, hospitals, businesses, the media, colleges, unions, service clubs—in their own way each has rationalized the twentieth century into pseudo-events of cold war, secularism, democracy, socialism, communism, overkill, pollution. We are kept from the crises which might cleanse as they destroy, redeem as they judge. The chief function of institutions now is to perpetuate themselves by perpetuating myths. Illusion is reality! Form is substance! Current "events" are crises! Style is performance! Doing is being! "Direct" action the only action.

Institutions institute inhumanity. They can only dehumanize the relationship between those they were instituted to serve. So only blacks, browns, reds and rednecks in America—not scholars and scientists—retain the passion to understand and describe the dehumanizing effect of two centuries of "The American Experiment" on both land and people. Only students—not teachers—experience the institution of education as one with the inhumanity of the twentieth century. Only the young—not the critics of culture—grasp and thus suffer the deceptions, definitions and chicanery of cultures which exist to deny freedom to be human: to be with the other in freedom. Only the alienated Christian—not the mainliner—suffers the blasphemies done Christ by the toadings of Christian leaders to the current Kings of Israel and Judah.

Nothing is novel about the foregoing assertions. Radicals and reactionaries alike will assert that it has "always been that way with institutions!" That "by definition" an institution can only rationalize and systematize the relationships between men, and thereby dehumanize what previously was a more humane relationship. No doubt they are right. But that is not our point. Our point concerns today, and us: our point is that because of the linking of politics and technique, what defines the technological era is the capacity of its institutions to complete the dehumanizing of mankind. Institutions in previous eras sought to do the same thing but failed simply

because they lacked the strength which institutions today have.

Therefore, what we see as critical about the articles in this issue is not the fact of institutional failure, but the *character* of it. That, and the Christian's role in that failure. Law and politics serve not the citizen, but the legal and political machinery: the bureaucracies and enterprises of the military, industrial, technological, scientific, welfare, governmental complex. What can "reforms" net, what do "elections" mean, when the irresistible direction of government is the institution of inhumanity? Invariably, something like the fate of the various "Commissions" to study violence, political assassination, etc., etc., or something like the elections of 1964 or 1968, or the reforms of the Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. No easing of the misery of those ground into the waste heaps of our technological society, but mythologizing and assuaging the uneasy conscience of the affluent, and extending bureaucratic exploitation to even more phases of life.

Some of the pages which follow contend that medicine serves not so much the sufferer as the practitioner and the industries of medicine. Others suggest that the media attends to interests of the owners and manipulates readers and viewers toward those interests. Others, that education is about money, buildings, offices, the stock market, secretaries, private offices, tenured and ambitious professors, social engineers, architects, deans, committees and presidents. Others, that theology and ethics obey the ideological commitments of the theologians and ethicists. And when interests coincide—as in the twentieth century they do around war and around the efforts to purge from society what cannot be assimilated into it (another form of "war")—politics, government, college, labor, churches, seminary, foundations, Army, FBI and charitable organizations are indistinguishable from one another by what they "do" to serve these interests. We are not talking in these pages about a "conspiracy" among the leaders of these institutions, but of something more serious—of the fact that in our day, institutions

move in only one direction, and their principal energies digest, assimilate, rationalize, dehumanize any and all "reform." What does it mean, therefore, to "pray" to get the "good" men "in control" of institutions which, in the words of Hosea, make all men "detestable like the thing they love"?

And do not think we are saying that no "good" can come within institutions. We know that "there is no limit to God's grace!" But we are saying that the "good" that occurs is incidental to, a by-product of, the service institutions are "instituted" to render. Thus some quality of justice with order is found, here and there, in all modern governments, but this is incidental to the move toward totalitarianism which governments without exception follow in the twentieth century, and forms of government, good intentions, even prayer and Christian piety have nothing to do with it. Some "education" takes place in institutions of education, but it is a by-product and not the result of the direction of institutional education today, which functions to adjust youth to the technological order. True, some are "led to Christ" in the instituted Church today, but it is done against the stream of five-point grading programs, censors hovering over "Sunday school" literature or "evangelistic crusades" planned and executed more like the Pentagon than St. Paul.

"Where is there 'Gospel' in all this?" If Jesus' account of why the Samaritan is good means anything, it means that those who call Him Lord! Lord! are themselves called only to serve *men*, not offices, committees, colleges, sacraments, complexes, faculties, agencies. Maybe they work there. Maybe not. But it seems clear to us Jesus is saying that to follow Him one must be known by who he *is*, not by what institution he belongs to. Indeed, he serves the institution by refusing to serve it.

There is no Christian social strategy. And that means that there is no Christian "vocation" the way our bourgeoisie civilization tried to enforce—having to do with "making a living." These are simple points in our sophisticated and complicated culture, but they have the power to make radical—in Jesus' sense—who individuals *are*.

To say it another way, who spread all those lies about Jesus? Who said that we can serve Him only through the agency of institution and ordination, given their authority not by Christ but by Caesar? Who said that we serve only where the churches, their theologians, the Supreme Court and the President of the United States in their desperation, tell us to serve? Who spread the lie about Jesus that "the Church" is a thing, a name, a physical setting: consecrated water, pews, altar cloths, smoke, budgets, computers, bricks, grapejuice, bowling

alleys, key cards, ordained men (only men), air conditioning, Sunday School Boards, parking lots and the American Association of Theological Schools? Who spread such a lie that denies what the Church of Jesus is about, and so lied about the Church being a relationship, say, like the one between the man in the ditch and the Samaritan? Or between Jesus and Peter, whose confession that Jesus is Lord is the rock upon which Jesus says *He* builds *His* Church? Or, a relationship which Jesus empowers and authorizes, between man and God and man and man, like unto the relationship between Jesus and God, and Jesus and man? Who spread the lies? Not the New Testament. Not the Old—we have Jesus' word on that.

To say it again, what is critical about the articles in this issue is not the fact, but the *character* of the failure of institutions. That character suggests to us something about the way the Christian relates himself to institutions. But most important is what Jesus Himself says about Himself, and us, about these matters. And that suggests to us that Christians in fear and trembling must examine their relationships to institutions. Right now. And beginning with the ones in which we so long took hope.

We are not talking about "blowing up" institutions any more than we are talking about putting the axe to the computer—actions which relate us to institutions (and to computers) more securely than the most dedicated president (or technician). Rather, we suggest as a minimum and starting point that the real "cop-out" today may be those who worship in zeal and dedication "their" institutions (and "their" place in them), who may even on scheduled occasion try to reform them, all the while cursing as "cop-outs" those who see such carryings-on as exercises in idolatry as well as futility.

Who cops-out? The reformer and activist who is hostile and intolerant of those who fail to accept *his* definition of "cop-out," "reform" and "action"? Or those who try to call attention to the quality of institutional failure? Who cops-out? Those who seek to serve their Lord by reforming the unreformable? Or those who seek to serve their Lord by being a neighbor to them who are nigh, even those who like themselves are part of institutions?

Who cops-out? The men whose service to their institutions found them so committed elsewhere that they were unable to serve the man their very commitments had helped to throw in the ditch? Or the Samaritan? Who cops-out? The men who rejected the story of the Samaritan as individualistic, lacking in social sensitivity and undermining the positive programs for good the institutions were following? Or, the Man who told the story of the Samaritan, and who lived it?

Who cops out? The one who despairs of American totalitarianism and imperialism and heists the banner of

Hanoi, Moscow, Peking or Havana? Or the one who sees that the same technique of principalities and powers is at work in all governments and that it is God who sits above the circle of the earth, God who brings the princes of the earth to nothing and judges our governments as He judges us, by what we do to the children, the prisoners, the whores, the addicts, the scared and bewildered, the poor, the hungry—to "the least of them" who is the one we call Lord! Lord!?

Who cops out? The Institute of the Prophets of the King of Israel? Or, Micaiah, son of Imlah?

But why do we address ourselves to you, Dr. Graham? Maybe it is because you are our Baptist brother, and we love you. Or maybe because, as students of liberal and Ivy League Divinity and Graduate Schools a decade or so ago, we opposed and scorned those who, early in your career, haughtily and with snickers barred you from their Common Rooms and Chapels. We opposed them at the time because we thought, despite your lack of the specialties of the Ivy League we were then seeking—erudition and academic degrees—that you were a man preaching more Jesus than culture, more Gospel than Law. We were finding that quality sadly lacking in our own theological preparation, and more than evident by banning you from speaking to us as our guest and brother in Christ.

And so maybe we are now just a little hurt and peeved to see a man we once tried to stand up for become more and more a man of tremendous power and influence. Maybe we cannot accept your use of that power and influence, in Christ's name, to become a court prophet in the tradition of Zedekiah son of Kenaanah, adding your blessing (and power) to the current Kings of Israel and Judah—whether in the semi-secrecy of a political convention corridor in California, the pages of *Life* magazine, the records of your innermost prayers about political maneuvering on the national level, or on the golf course, in Neyland Stadium at the University of Tennessee, at the East Room of the White House. And whether it is Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, George Wallace or Edmund Muskie you press to your bosom. Whether it is "bussing" in North Carolina or "winning" in Vietnam you speak about in your interviews and sermons.

Maybe it is all or any of these things.

But we believe it is something else. We believe that the connection between your power and influence and what you say to and about the Kings of Israel and Judah must be broken. For the best example of what we mean, we believe that the only way you, or any of us, can minister to the troops and inhabitants of Vietnam is to prophesy to the Pentagon and White House—in the tradition of Micaiah, son of Imlah.

And you, our brother, have been and will be the prophet summoned to those halls. We shall not. So, in love, we remind you, our brother,

The Bible Says that

1 For three years there was no war between the Aramaeans and the Israelites.

2 But in the third year Jehoshaphat king of Judah went down to visit the king of Israel.

3 The latter said to his courtiers, "You know that Ramoth-gilead belongs to us, and yet we do nothing to recover it from the king of Aram."

4 He said to Jehoshaphat, "Will you join me in attacking Ramoth-gilead?" Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, "What is mine is yours; myself, my people, and my horses."

5 Then Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, "First let us seek counsel from the LORD."

6 The king of Israel assembled the prophets, some four hundred of them, and asked them, "Shall I attack Ramoth-gilead or shall I refrain?" "Attack," they answered; "the LORD will deliver it into your hands."

7 Jehoshaphat asked, "Is there no other prophet of the LORD here through whom we may seek guidance?"

8 "There is one more," the king of Israel answered, "through whom we may seek guidance of the LORD, but I hate the man, because he prophesies no good for me; never anything but evil. His name is Micaiah son of Imlah." Jehoshaphat exclaimed, "My lord king, let no such word pass your lips!"

9 So the king of Israel called one of his eunuchs and told him to fetch Micaiah son of Imlah with all speed.

10 The king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah were seated on their thrones, in shining armor, at the entrance of the gate of Samaria, and all the prophets were prophesying before them.

11 One of them, Zedekiah son of Kenaanah, made himself horns of iron and said, "This is the word of the LORD: 'With horns like these you shall gore the Aramaeans and make an end of them.'"

12 In the same vein all the prophets prophesied, "Attack Ramoth-gilead and win the day; the LORD will deliver it into your hands."

13 The messenger sent to fetch Micaiah told him that the prophets had with one voice given the king a favorable answer. "And mind you agree with them," he added.

14 "As the LORD lives," said Micaiah, "I will say only what the LORD tells me to say."

15 When Micaiah came into the king's presence, the king said to him, "Micaiah, shall we attack Ramoth-gilead or shall we refrain?" "Attack and win the day," he said; "the LORD will deliver it into your hands."

16 "How often must I adjure you," said the king, "to tell me nothing but the truth in the name of the LORD."

17 Then Micaiah said, "I saw all Israel scattered on the mountains, like

sheep without a shepherd; and I heard the LORD say, 'They have no master, let them go home in peace.'"

18 The king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, "Did I not tell you that he never prophesies good for me, nothing but evil?"

19 Micaiah went on, "Listen now to the word of the LORD. I saw the LORD seated on his throne, with all the host of heaven in attendance on his right and on his left.

20 'The LORD said, 'Who will entice Ahab to attack and fall at Ramoth-gilead?' One said one thing and one said another;

21 Then a spirit came forward and stood before the LORD and said, 'I will entice him.'

22 'How?' said the LORD. 'I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' 'You shall entice him,' said the LORD, 'and you shall succeed; go and do it.'

23 You see, then, how the LORD has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these prophets of yours, because he has decreed disaster for you."

24 Then Zedekiah son of Kenaanah came up to Micaiah and struck him in the face: "And how did the spirit of the LORD pass from me to speak to you?" he said.

25 Micaiah answered, "That you will find out on the day when you run into an inner room and hide yourself."

26 Then the king of Israel ordered Micaiah to be arrested and committed to the custody of Amon the governor of the city and Joash the king's son.

27 "Lock this fellow up," he said, "and give him prison diet of bread and water until I come home in safety."

28 Micaiah retorted, "If you do re-

turn in safety, the LORD has not spoken by me."

29 So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah marched on Ramoth-gilead, and the King of Israel said to Jehoshaphat,

30 "I will disguise myself to go into battle, but you shall wear your royal robes." So he went into battle in disguise.

31 Now the king of Aram had commanded the thirty-two captains of his chariots not to engage all the sundry but the king of Israel alone.

32 When the captains saw Jehoshaphat, they thought he was the king of Israel and turned to attack him.

33 But Jehoshaphat cried out and, when the captains saw that he was not the king of Israel, they broke off the attack on him.

34 But one man drew his bow at random and hit the king of Israel where the breastplate joins the plates of the armor. So he said to his driver, "Wheel round and take me out of the line; I am wounded."

35 When the day's fighting reached its height, the king was facing the Aramaeans propped up in his chariot, and the blood from his wound flowed down upon the floor of the chariot; and in the evening he died.

36 At sunset the herald went through the ranks, crying, "Everyman to his city, every man to his country." Thus died the king.

37 He was brought to Samaria and they buried him there.

38 The chariot was swilled out at the pool of Samaria, and the dogs licked up the blood, and the prostitutes washed themselves in it, in fulfilment of the word the LORD had spoken.

YES, BROTHER! THE BIBLE

SAYS !

SINCERELY YOUR BROTHERS,

Will D. Campbell

James Y. Hecox

KATALLAGETE BE RECONCILED

Journal of the Committee Of Southern Churchmen

WINTER, 1971

An Open Letter To Dr. Billy Graham,
Or, About This Issue

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"FREEDOM OF THE PRESS": WHAT IT MEANS, WHOM IT SERVES

Robert Sherrill

In coming to grips with the major problems that have troubled the nation since World War II, the daily press has been consistently timid, reactionary and repressive. Efforts to expose their defects and thereby reform institutions which were either impotent or were actually destructive of the public welfare have virtually always been made first either by elitist groups and their members (professors, radical organizers, freelance social critics) writing for the small opinion magazines or by the same people producing books. Not only has the daily press usually failed to take the lead, it often has failed to even follow after it was "safe" to do so.

The first full disclosure of the government falsehoods surrounding the Gulf of Tonkin "attack"—perhaps the most grievous deception in recent history, since it led directly to our buildup in Vietnam—did not appear in

the daily press but in a book by freelance writer Joe Goulden; the first disclosure of the ties between the tax-exempt foundations and the CIA, and of how the CIA used the foundations as conduits, did not first appear in the daily press but in two underdog magazines, *Ramparts* and *The Nation*; the first disclosures of the Mylai massacre appeared first in the daily press, not through the efforts of their reporters, however, but through the exhaustive work of freelancer Seymour Hersh, who two years earlier had beat the daily press to the first disclosure of the scope of chemical and biological warfare; the first disclosures of dishonest practices on the part of auto manufacturers did not appear in the daily press but in articles by Ralph Nader in *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and in his own book; and, going back a few years for the most important illustration of all, the first full treatment of the military-industrial threat was not made in the daily press but by Fred J. Cook, in a special issue of *The Nation* which later was expanded into a book (all serious military-

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industrial investigative reporting stems from that time)—which means that the press had been asleep for a quarter century on the most important story of our time, and, to its shame, one that was not hidden at all.

Some of the press's defects stem simply from the quality of the people who own the newspapers. The Glass family, which controls a great hunk of the press of Virginia, is by any measure a clan of shriveled, reactionary spirit. There is not one decent daily newspaper in the entire state of Texas, a state in which the Hoiles family—which steadfastly opposes public schools, public postal service, and anything remotely resembling social services—does not in fact stand out as being odd, because so many other Texas publishers come very close to feeling the same way. The Hoileses are owners of newspapers up and down the Rio Grande, in West Texas, Colorado, Ohio, and in California, and are quite influential in their areas. Ultraconservative William Loeb, publisher of the only statewide newspaper in New Hampshire, shows his character frequently in frontpage editorials where he indulges in such identifications as "Moscow Maggie" for Sen. Margaret Chase Smith and "murderers" for the followers of Sen. Eugene McCarthy. The ghost of Colonel McCormack of the *Chicago Tribune*, who wanted to draw and quarter FDR and all bleeding heart liberals, still dominates that city; in fact, Chicago newspapers are so wretched, some of their reporters started up their own periodical on the side, so they could really tell the news the way they wanted to. A number of other major cities—Dallas, Atlanta, Jackson, Richmond, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, for example, but the list is much longer—are so poorly served by their newspapers that they, for all practical purposes, can be considered as cut off from the rest of the world. Nothing I say here can explain the abysmal quality of such newspapers. They are beyond explanation and hope.

The possibility of salvaging many of the other 1,750 newspapers is also questionable. So what I am doing here is picking on the best, since they are the only ones worth talking about.

To be sure, we have come a long way in improving the attitude of publishers since even as recently as the early 1930s, when the *Baltimore Sun* fired Drew Pearson and the *Christian Science Monitor* fired Robert S. Allen, when those two newspapers discovered that their reporters were the anonymous authors of the book, *Washington-Merry-Go-Round*, the first muckraking book of its kind. Since then, at a rather heady pace, muckraking has become the goal of reporters and editors, but this is severely limited—though we shouldn't be ungrateful for it—to the exposing of crookedness and secret deals and unfair marketing and the like.

In giving this credit, however, I want it understood that I am speaking of no more than two dozen newspapers. The others are only interested in exposing the corruption of the political party to which their publishers do not belong; and, since most publishers are Republicans, this means that Democratic scandals are well-aired in most newspapers (though they are dug up only by those two dozen elite papers) while Republican scandals are usually covered up. (Reverse the order for Democratic publishers.) For most newspapers, exposures are judged not in terms of ethics but in terms of politics.

In 1960 it was disclosed that Nixon's brother Don had received a loan of \$205,000 in 1956 from Howard Hughes, the airplane manufacturer and defense contractor; Don Nixon had given as security a city lot not worth a fraction of that amount. Hughes was facing an antitrust suit. The loan was never repaid. The suit was dropped.

How did the Republican press treat this news story? An editorial study group later surveyed 43 New England newspapers and found that only three of them ran the first story on the scandal. When Robert Finch, then manager of Nixon's Washington campaign office, denied the loan was from Hughes, 24 papers ran the denial, but 19 still hadn't mentioned the case at all. Four days later, when Finch admitted that, contrary to his earlier denial, the money *had* come from Hughes, 21 of the newspapers which had carried the denial did not carry his admission of error.

Newspapers with a Democratic bias, as we said, are generally just as bad. Most of the newspapers in Connecticut could be described as Democratic or leaning that way. When Drew Pearson broke the scandal of Senator Thomas Dodd, who put campaign money to personal use, the Connecticut papers were silent. And they remained silent. From the first exposure of this case in Pearson's column on January 24, 1966, to the time the Ethics Committee announced hearings on April 29, 1966, only one Connecticut reporter went to the Dodd employees who had squealed on their boss and asked them for details. In fact, only two of the 1,400 correspondents in Washington interviewed the employees; the 141 wire service reporters ignored the case as much as they could, and they were asked for no details by the Connecticut press.

So when I say that there has been a significant advance in the press's efforts to keep traditional institutions clean and presentable, I mean that it is mainly interested in doing the job of a cosmetician. Wash the government's face, but don't force it to change its underwear.

There is a solid reason for this attitude. The press's idea of patriotism is no different from any other industry's, which means that its idea of serving the country is to defend all aspects of private enterprise and all

scholars of U.S. journalism contend we have retrogressed. Ben H. Bagdikian writes:

"All serious people in the news business have read about the dramatic rise of the pioneers in popular journalism, Hearst, Pulitzer, and E. W. Scripps. What most of us have forgotten is that they were persistent and enterprising protectors of the ordinary man against the status quo, against insensitive governments, utilities, and corporations.

"Today the news corporations are eminently respectable. The thousands of journalistic outlets served by the corporate descendants of Hearst, Pulitzer, and Scripps would never run the stories and editorials their founders ran; some because they are not good stories and editorials, but also because they would be too radical and would sound too hostile to corporate leadership."

In recent years, the press has almost unanimously supported every government move of a militarily aggressive nature. When the government has been criticized, it usually was for not being aggressive enough, for what is known in right-wing circles as a "no-win policy."

When the big build-up of the military machine began in this country after World War II, the press assisted. In 1944, Charles E. Wilson, then president of General Electric, told the Army Ordnance Association. "The revulsion against war not too long hence will be an almost insuperable obstacle for us to overcome in establishing a preparedness program and for that reason I am convinced that we must begin now to set the machinery in motion." One of the most important parts of the machine was propaganda to the effect that we were living in a state of undeclared emergency; that war with Russia was just around the corner. Scare stories of Russian mobilization brought on the first peacetime draft; more journalistic panic followed the Russians' exploding of its first atomic bomb.

In 1951, by which time Charles Wilson had become Truman's Defense Mobilization Director, he could heap well-deserved praise on the American Newspaper Publishers Association in a speech at their annual dinner, praise that emphasized rather than disguised the role of stooge that the press had played in establishing the Cold War.

"If the people were not convinced that the free world is in mortal danger it would be impossible for Congress to vote the vast sums now being spent to avert that danger," he said, beaming. "With the support of public opinion as marshalled by the press, we are off to a good start."

So he said and he must have been right for we have never stopped.

There were important exceptions—the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and in the far-away hinterland, the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times*—but the great preponderance of the daily press went along with the creation of Joe McCarthy, the rise of the China lobby in this country, the establishment of the atmosphere

Nixon. The press gave no significant opposition to McCarthy until he attacked two hallowed institutions—the Army and Ike. The common response of the press to the grotesque development of McCarthyism was simply to quote the man, uncritically, unquestioningly (which is what much of the press calls objectivity), as the *New York Daily News* did, for example, in an April 8, 1951, dispatch: "The Truman Administration hopes Gen. MacArthur will be destroyed in Korea so that he will then be discredited among the American people and the Administration can move him out. McCarthy declared the Administration and the 'Yalta crowd in the State Department' hope for this, even though this means 'dooming to death vast numbers of our boys in Korea.'"

That was what passed for a news story during the development of the most anti-libertarian period in our history, a period that is in reality still aborning.

Having drowsed through the Eisenhower years, the flaccid press came to the Kennedy regime totally out of shape, ready to be pushed over by the feeblest government propaganda. All conditions were right for the development of what became the classic example of how the press can sometimes betray the public, and itself, by silence. This was in the handling of the projected invasion of Cuba in 1961 by a U.S.-subsidized rag-tag Army operating out of Guatemala. (For the full recounting of this embarrassing episode, I refer readers to "The Press and the Bay of Pigs," by Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon, first printed in *The Columbia University Forum* in the fall issue, 1967; reprints have been available from *The Nation* magazine, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City, 10014.)

In November 1960, Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation*, learned that the next issue of *Hispanic American Report*, a scholarly publication not noticed much by the general public, was to contain an article by Ronald Hilton, then director of Stanford's Institute of Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies, in which he reported that the CIA was training Cuban exiles at a hidden base in Guatemala. The "secret" was well-known to Guatemalans, according to Hilton, as was the purpose of the training.

McWilliams phoned Dr. Hilton for further details and wrote an editorial for the November 19 *Nation* in which he outlined the upcoming cloak-and-dagger adventure and urged that the rumor "be checked immediately by all U.S. news media with correspondents in Guatemala."

It was a suggestion one would not think the big press outfits would need, but they do. Daily events overwhelm them; they become tangled in the great snarls of news copy that pour in from around the world throughout the day; they are inundated with rumors and tips, and they haven't the manpower—and unfortunately they also haven't the inclination in many cases—to check them all

out. So they often have to be shaken and shouted at and pushed in the right direction, even when the story at issue is something as awesome as the possibility of an invasion of Cuba.

Understanding this, Jesse Gordon, *The Nation's* editorial consultant, sent 75 proofs of the editorial to all the big news centers in New York, including, of course, the AP and the UPI and the *New York Times* foreign desk editors. In fact, he sent three copies to three different editors at AP and four copies to *The Times*. Neither wire service—though claiming to be interested—gave it any coverage whatsoever and did not check out the story through their Guatemalan bureaus. The same is true of *The Times*.

Only one newspaper in the country that received early copies of the editorial printed a line of it or made any reference to it—the little York, Pa., *Gazette and Daily*.

Meanwhile, in San Francisco on November 18, 1960, following a speech at the Commonwealth Club, the CIA's inspector general was asked if it was true that the CIA was financing plans for an attack on Cuba and he replied, "It will be a black day if we are found out." Not even this stirred the press to action.

On November 20, nine days after *The Nation's* editorial came out, the *New York Times* gave the episode its first attention, printing on page 32 a standard denial from Guatemala politicians.

The first two reporters to act like reporters and the first two newspapers to act like newspapers were Richard Dudman of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (last year in the headlines for having been captured and released after days of captivity by the opposition army in Cambodia) and Don Dwiggins of the *Los Angeles Mirror*. That was in December, 1960. They went to Guatemala; instead of slopping around with the politicians, they talked to the citizens and scouted the jungles. Both, in varying degrees, confirmed the invasion activities.

Still no action from the AP, the UPI, the *New York Times* or any other newspaper with the kind of budget that can send reporters to check rumors in foreign countries. On January 3, 1961, the United States broke diplomatic relations with Cuba, and *The Times* reported, "What snapped U.S. patience was a new propaganda offensive from Havana charging that the U.S. was plotting an 'imminent invasion' of Cuba."

Was it just propaganda? Although on January 8 the *New York Daily News* quoted leaders of anti-Castro groups in this country confirming the invasion plans, and although the *Miami Herald* on January 11 told of recruiting in this country for the invasion, it was not until April 7 that *The Times*—the most influential newspaper in the country and therefore the newspaper on which rests the most responsibility—printed its own account of the pending military experiment, but by this time it was too late to reverse the disastrous chain of events. Even then *The Times* editors were not in agreement on whether the news should be published, and the compromise that resulted left out all mention of the CIA and the nearness of the invasion date.

Ten days later the invasion took place.

As for the press's coverage of the invasion itself, this was mostly done through rewriting handouts from Lem Jones of the Cuban Revolutionary Council; Jones was a Madison Avenue publicity agent, and the handouts he wrote were dictated to him over the phone by the CIA. Newspapers across the country headlined the Jones line—the invaders were crushing all in their path and were being joined by Cubans fed up with Castro's regime—when, in fact, the invaders were being slaughtered and not one Cuban joined them in sympathy.

Thus ended an episode that was as embarrassing and disastrous for the press as it was for the invaders. Later—to make the showing even worse—it was discovered that the *Miami Herald* had known of the invasion preparations since November, at about the same time that *The Nation* was trying to alert the press; in fact, the *Herald* had written of the plot at great length, but had withheld publishing the material for fear that it might interfere with the government's designs. An expose of the invasion, scheduled for a March issue of *The New Republic* was killed by the publisher, Gilbert Harrison, at the request of the White House.

Which brings us to the point of how the press and of how the government see their inter-relationship. In this instance *The Miami Herald* obviously saw itself as an adjunct of the government and as a supporter, through silence, of government propaganda. *The New Republic* saw itself the same way. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who was privy to the White House's request, called Harrison's suppression of the article a "patriotic act."

As for President Kennedy, he was notorious in his insistence that the press make itself "useful" to government, not only in this instance but in all important instances. Even after the Bay of Pigs, he did not understand that the disaster could have been avoided only by the government's keeping out of the press's business.

Looking back on his failure, Kennedy upbraided Turner Catledge, then *Times* managing editor, by saying, "If you had printed more about the operation, you would have saved us from a colossal mistake"—as if it was the press's business to either force the Kennedy Administration into, or save it from, a colossal mistake. Kennedy never really understood the press. He knew how to manipulate it—far better than Johnson ever was able—but he hadn't the foggiest conception of why the press should be independent even from the influence of fancy, friendly multi-millionaire Harvardians. (In the Vietnam war, Kennedy was up to his old tricks once again, this time trying to get Homer Bigart of the *New York Herald-Tribune* and David Halberstam of the *New York Times* chased out of Vietnam for their unfriendly reporting.)

One should expect no better from politicians. If they had their way, they would corrupt all institutions for ad hoc advantages. One should expect better from the press, needless to say, and it does not make one feel exactly kindly toward editors and reporters when they disguise their misdeeds with pious hindsight, as James Reston did in his book, *The Artillery of the Press*. "I believe the

American reporters," he wrote, "were nearer to the truth than the published government reports were during the critical periods that preceded the indirect American invasion of Cuba in 1961. . . but the people paid little attention to those reports and the government was free to use its own judgment, which was not brilliant."

One reason that "the people paid little attention to those reports" was that the scanty reports that did find their way to *The New York Times* were heavily edited on the advice of Reston.

What do such press failures cost? If the press had prepublicized this venture, and prevented its happening, what would have been the auxiliary benefits? Well, in this instance it has been seriously put forward by observers both within and without the government that one reason President Kennedy stepped up our intrusion into Vietnam was to prove, just because he had bungled the Cuba thing, he should not be considered a "push-over." It is not an unreasonable proposition; ego probably plays a much larger part in decision making than any of us would like to think.

The press is not likely to take upon itself the burden of guilt in Vietnam in any case, for in the first few years of the build-up the press—with few exceptions—did not come out strongly in opposition to our invading that wretched land.

Moreover, the most important opinion-shapers—the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*—sometimes acted embarrassed when dissenters moved against the build-up. In the closing weeks of 1965, Washington saw its first major anti-Vietnam War march. Police estimated 25,000 were on hand. They were mostly a middle-class group; many were veterans of other wars. The focus was on a number of speeches on the Washington Monument grounds; for two and a half hours the crowd heard from men like Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party's Presidential candidate emeritus; Dr. Benjamin Spock; and Dr. Edwin Dahlberg, former president of the National Council of Churches.

Two and a half hours of talk against the war.

The New York Times printed not one word of it.

Since this was a hometown affair for the *Post*, it gave the speeches fuller treatment—quoting fifteen words from the entire event, one and a half sentences from Norman Thomas's speech.

The *Post*, which advertizes itself as "one of the ten best papers in the world," (and, regrettably, that is probably quite accurate), editorialized with lofty disdain, "The right to be heard, fortunately, involves no requirement that the advice of the protesters be followed"—nor, it might have added, even be printed.

The advice which the *Post* was happy Johnson did not have to follow was that the U.S. forces, then numbering only 160,000, should call a cease fire, a cease bombing, and ask the U.N. to take over. This was the

proposal at the rally—tame stuff by today's standards, but the *Post*, which was currying LBJ's favor in 1965, thought that was going too far. As for the *Times's* exclusion of all rally speeches, when another reporter complained about it to Claude Sitton, then the newspaper's national editor, he responded, "What does Spock know about military affairs?"

Thereafter, and for the next couple of years, whenever peaceniks descended on Washington, they were covered in such depth (except for reporting the reasoned statements by their leaders) that it became apparent the newspapers were simply trying to portray them as weirdos. After the march on the Pentagon in November 1967, the *Washington Post's* national news editor, Laurence Stern, complained in his column of the "ugliness" of the demonstration and dismissed the march as of no consequence. "It is doubtful," he wrote, "whether yesterday's protesters could account for more than a few small niches on a Gallup or Harris poll."

Perhaps that was true. But if it was true, it made all the more curious the fact that the *Post* assigned 39 reporters to cover the Pentagon march and the conservative *Washington Star* assigned 32 reporters to it, when each of those newspapers assigns only one reporter to cover the Pentagon on a day-to-day basis. There is a moral somewhere in that ratio: the two most important newspapers in Washington considered an ad hoc grouping of peaceniks thirty times more necessary to watch for misadventures and to criticize than they considered the relentless war machine which consumes three-fourths of the federal budget and which drew the protesters together in anger for two days.

The military-industrial sweepstakes is still being made possible either through the complicity or the stupidity of the press. A couple of years ago, the *New York Times* ran a top-position story of a "study" by the American Security Council which allegedly showed we were falling critically behind the Russians in the development of rockets and other war material.

The National Security Council is one thing; the American Security Council is quite another. At the time this story was written, the National Security Council was composed of Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Price Daniel (director of the Office of Emergency Planning), and Presidential assistant Walt Rostow.

If the National Security Council says we are in danger of losing the draw to the Russians, that may or may not be the truth, but at least it is worth contemplating.

Should we give the same weight to the American Security Council? Only a fool would do so. The American Security Council was established in 1956 by corporation executives and industrialists, virtually all of them rabid believers in Joe McCarthy and the Cold War philosophy. Money for the operation of the ASC has come from people like General Robert E. Wood of Sears, the late famous bankroller of right-wing causes. ASC operators are mainly former federal police agents. The original purpose of ASC was to screen out—that is, blackball—

employees with liberal tendencies. It reputedly kept a clearinghouse file of 1,000,000 names of "left-wingers." More recently, the ASC has expanded its operation to be a clearinghouse for all kinds of anti-leftist and pro-Cold War propaganda.

Apparently fooled by the American Security Council's important-sounding name, the *New York Times*, by printing the above story, had swallowed one of its hand-outs in a big way. After *The Times* learned better, it privately admitted that it had made a mistake—but it made no correction in print.

Some of the central problems of the press were pinpointed in 1967 by A. H. Raskin, an editor of the *New York Times*. Writing for *The Times* Sunday Magazine, Raskin warned, "The real long-range menace to America's daily newspapers, in my judgment, lies in the unshatterable smugness of their publishers and editors, myself included. Of all the institutions in our inordinately complacent society, none is so addicted as the press to self-righteousness, self-satisfaction and self-congratulation."

Two years ago, appearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee to testify against a bill that would have permitted newspapers to violate the anti-trust laws (the legislation was passed last year, by the way, and few newspapers printed a word of the testimony against the bill), Thomas J. Murphy, executive vice president of the Newspaper Guild of New York, made a good point: "Publishers continually demand full disclosure by the government and public officials because a public trust is involved," he said. "But what about disclosure by the publishers, who also hold a public trust? It would be in the public interest if the publishers were compelled to disclose all of their financial operations—including capital investment or the lack of it—in order to determine whether a so-called failing newspaper had siphoned off profits instead of making the normal investment of modernizing its equipment. An examination of even the present equipment at the still existing *Journal American* and *World Telegram & Sun* plants would show that little or no real investment had been made."

Nothing stirs newspaper editorial writers to more justified anger than a shyster who hits town, buys the local transportation franchise, milks the bus line of all its assets, and then sells out—leaving the city with a herd of broken down busses and a transportation mess. That sort of thing has happened at least twice in Washington, D.C. alone. But when newspaper publishers pull that trick, as Murphy tells us, other newspapers are mute in their criticism.

Of the country's 50 largest cities, 23 have single newspaper ownership. They are monopolies, and highly profitable ones. Moreover, most of these publishers also own one of the local television stations. They are rolling in dough by virtue of their good luck in controlling an isolated communications empire. They have first crack at

the community's thought processes, and if anybody should be required to make a full public declaration of their financial interests it is publishers of this sort.

Instead, they are the most secretive of men about their wealth and where it is invested. And they are very successful in getting politicians to help them keep their secrets. In 1963 Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, began hearings into the operation of some of the nation's major newspapers. When he got to prying too deeply into the affairs of the *Los Angeles Times*, suddenly he called a halt to the hearings. There were no more. Furthermore, the transcript of those hearings was not published (though the records of Congressional hearings are usually published within four or five months) until 1967—four years later—and then it was done not at the instigation of Celler's committee but at the behest of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. This strange behavior on Celler's part—which had the appearance of a cover-up—was never explained.

There is a great deal of interesting material to be found in these records. After noting that it is highly desirable for a publisher to be free "from entangling ownerships and associations that might affect editorial judgment and independence" the records point out that the Chandler family, which owns the *Los Angeles Times*, also has extensive holdings in "oil and agricultural lands in Southern California" which "might well influence the editorial judgment of *The Times* on tax depletion allowances and agricultural legislation."

The truth is, the Chandlers are tied in with so many industries it is hard to imagine any legislation that might not in some way affect their finances. Aside from owning part or all of several newspapers, book publishing companies, lumber companies, television stations, and enormous land and farming interests, the Chandlers have been directors of the Santa Fe Railway, Kaiser Steel, Pan American World Airways, Safeway Stores, Security First National Bank, and Buffum's department stores (I do not think this list is current but it will give some idea of the scope).

The fact that Norman Chandler is a top official with the Tejon Ranch Company, which owns 282,000 acres in Kern and Los Angeles counties on which there are 20 master oil leases, should be of just as much interest to people who want to interpret the *Los Angeles Times* correctly as is the fact that Senator Russell Long, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has become rich through his oil holdings.

Los Angeles Times readers might have better understood the newspaper's reluctance to push for stiff anti-pollution legislation if they had known, for example, that paper mills owned by the Chandlers were the worst polluters on the Willamette River in Oregon.

The Hearst empire, too complex a structure to go into here, is even more varied. At some time during each year the Hearst papers should also make the gesture of "full disclosure" by revealing to their readers in detail that the people who hold a certain editorial position, and who cover or fail to cover certain stories, have many millions

of dollars invested not only in a chain of newspapers and magazines (both here and in Britain) and radio and television stations, but also own water and power companies, paper pulp companies, vast real estate in New York and San Francisco and elsewhere, book publishing houses, movie companies, and wire syndicates.

When Hearst newspapers oppose federal controls on utility rates, or urge the federal government to open its forest lands to exploitation by private paper companies, or oppose amusement taxes on movies, or fight government investigations of interlocking publishing houses—the readers of the Hearst newspapers should be aware that maybe the publisher of these opinions isn't quite so pure and above the battle as the tone of the copy would lead you to think.

Many liberals were amazed when the liberal *Washington Post* joined its editorial voice in damning the small band of heroic filibusterers in the Senate who tried to stop the government from giving away the Telstar franchise to private industry. The taxpayers had spent billions of dollars developing the satellite; why should all this be given away? They got a partial answer after the deed was done and the late Philip Graham, then publisher of the *Post*, became chairman of Telstar Corporation.

The interplay of conflict of interest is often subtle. A couple of years ago the trucking industry tried to push through Congress a bill that would have made it easier for states to open their interstate highways to bigger and still bigger trucks. It was, of course, a terrible bill; trucks have done their share to ruin highway travel as it is, and getting bigger and longer trucks on the road would only complete the ruination.

Perhaps we should be grateful for all opposition to the bill; but some of the opposition—namely, the opposition of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain—stemmed from questionable motives. To say that Scripps-Howard newspapers fought the bill vigorously would be an understatement. They took frontpage editorial positions.

However, the Scripps-Howard papers did not tell the public they were thick as thieves, if you'll pardon the expression, with the railroad industry, which of course was also fighting the trucking bill with a vengeance. Readers might have been better able to understand the conflict if they had been told that: The Chemical Bank New York Trust is trustee of the Scripps-Howards News pension fund; a vice-president of the Chemical Bank was on the board of the Scripps-Howard Investment Co.; the Scripps-Howard Investment Co. owned \$1.7 million in Chemical Bank certificates; and the Chemical Bank, with all these interlocks of interests with Scripps-Howard, also had interlocking officers or directors with the Southern Pacific Co., the Louisville & Nashville, the Great Northern, the Potomac Railroad, the Lehigh Railroad, and the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.

In addition, Charles Scripps was a director of the First National Bank of Cincinnati, which was the agent and registrar for Scripps-Howard Broadcasting Company common stock: the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Scripps How-

ard) had two interlocks with the First National Bank, which had interlocking directors with the Cincinnati Railroad, the New Orleans Railroad, and the Texas Pacific Railroad; and in one director there was a three-way interlock between the bank, the newspaper and the railroads.

Ironically, at the same time that the Scripps-Howard chain was damning the truckers so bitterly for seeking special profiteering legislation, the S-H newspapers were pushing hardest for the legislation to exempt newspapers from the anti-trust laws.

In addition to their ill-conceived patriotism and their alliances with the industrial and moneyed centers of the nation, newspapers are also badly guided by simple human defects like susceptibility to flattery; eagerness to court favor with the politicians in power; a willingness to act unfairly so that the "bully in the block" will approve; and just plain indifference and laziness.

Politicians, of course, know about these weaknesses and make the most of them. Using the Hearst outfit to illustrate: That's undoubtedly why Ike appointed Hearst chairman of an advisory group, and why John Kennedy reappointed him, and why Lyndon Johnson several times made awards won by contestants of Hearst contests and posed for pictures with the editors. These little gestures pay off. Hearst reporter Marianne Means was reportedly assigned to the White House at John Kennedy's request, and her preferential treatment was the subject of a *Time* article. Igor Cassini, Hearst reporter, was given a confidential Haiti assignment by John Kennedy and acted as a go-between for the President.

Newsmen, lusting like most people after the feeling that comes with being a part of power, often temper their writings in such a way that they will not offend those who can give them this delight.

For examples that I personally know of, though these are not necessarily the best examples, let me start with the *Washington Post's* three-year delay in reporting an oil deal.

In 1967 a book called *The Accidental President* came out to mixed reviews. It was an unflattering account of the career of Lyndon Johnson. *The Post* editor who reviewed the book for that paper did not like it and said it contained no new information.

Three years later, almost to the day, *The Post* carried a top-position, page-one news story, which continued inside for nearly as many inches as the paper had given the moonshot.

The substance of the story was that Robert Anderson, former Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of the Navy under Eisenhower, had been "lent" some oil property worth nearly a million dollars by Texas oilmen and, coincidentally, had thereafter been instrumental in the creation of the present oil import program which has

put billions of dollars into the pockets of favored oil companies.

It was an important story. There was only one thing wrong with it: It had all been told three years earlier in the book which *The Post* editor had dismissed as having contained "nothing new"; in *The Post* review, no mention was made of the eight pages of the book which were devoted to this oil deal, although in those eight pages all the specifics, all the names, all the money amounts were laid out which later appeared in the 1970 *Post* front-page story. Indeed, the book passage and *The Post* story were based on exactly the same material, supplied by a Texas oil man who had a grudge against Anderson.

Why the delay, and why the previous refusal to acknowledge the existence of the oil deal? My guess is that *The Post* did not want to go into the Anderson affair at the earlier time because it did not want to offend President Johnson. Anderson was an intimate friend of Johnson's—he was the first man Johnson had called to the White House for advice after the assassination; and to have exposed Anderson might have cut off many of *The Post's* friendly sources around the White House. It might also have cut off some of the cocktail party invitations. With Nixon having cooled the spot for more than a year, however, it was now safe to go into the questionable details.

For at least three years newspapers have been carrying editorial columns alluding to the existence of FBI tapes which J. Edgar Hoover allegedly used as blackmail in an effort to keep Martin Luther King, Jr. quiet. By all accounts, the tapes record some frisky doings in King's hotel room. A recent book, *The King God Didn't Save*, by John A. Williams, makes several references to Hoover and King and the tapes. This fragment of the book was emphasized by the *Time* magazine's review, and it was picked up by the wire services and written about and prominently displayed by the major newspapers.

Since King was neither an elected nor an appointed public official, his sex life was his own business and had no bearing on the virtues of the cause he led. Nevertheless, because it is always fun to knock a halo askew, the press can be forgiven.

But fair's fair. Why was it that none of the newspaper reviewers quoted from Williams' book another passage that reads: "A black man, I do not have to ask why such 'barnyard' gossip was never circulated about the alleged, red-hot romance between Robert Kennedy and Marilyn Monroe. Why should I ask after the alleged extracurricular activities of John F. Kennedy or Dwight D. Eisenhower. . .?" He might also have asked why the press that was so comfortable in writing about King's affairs has never once referred to one of Washington's best-known friendships, between President Lyndon Johnson and one of his most faithful female employees, press knowledge of which was much stronger than rumor and much more reliable than FBI tapes.

To illustrate the difference on one newspaper: Marquis Childs, former bureau chief of the *St. Louis Post-*

Dispatch, was one of the first to write about the King tapes. Childs has many friendly leaks in the FBI and CIA and he likes to keep them friendly. Another *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter, James Deakin, who has for years been a White House correspondent, once told me of Johnson's part in trying to arrange a liaison between one of his female aides and a reporter whose friendship he was trying to develop. Let's call it what it was: non-profit procurement. Yet when Deakin wrote an unflattering profile of Johnson for *Esquire* magazine, purporting to tell all, there was not the slightest allusion to this side of the man.

The sexual proclivities of Adam Clayton Powell have been fair game for the press for years; no reluctance has ever been shown in reporting them. No newspapers have ever offered excuses or sympathy for him, as indeed they had no reason to. Yet the sexual misconduct of Walter Jenkins came to light almost by accident; officials at the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Star*, aware of what had happened at the YMCA, had agreed not to print the story, though it allegedly involved a breach of national security. But before lobbyists Abe Fortas and Clark Clifford could get to the UPI, that wire service had printed it and that broke the dam. With the exposure came press sympathy. Columnist William S. White called Jenkins "one of the most honorable, most conscientious and most truly moral men I ever knew." Columnist Joseph Kraft suggested that further discussion of the event would be tasteless. "The field will be wide open for desperate men to pose doubts and plant suspicions," he wrote. "It will be possible to ask questions ad nauseam."

The difference in the treatment probably has little to do with racism. It has a great deal to do with the fact that newsmen are timidly aware that they can do themselves more good by using FBI leaks and by defending the President's No. 1 assistant. It is simply establishmentarianism at work.

When Jack Anderson recently reported that Spiro Agnew's physical culturist son had stopped living with his wife and was now living with a male hair stylist, the *Washington Post* cut that out of the column and the UPI refused to allude to the second half of the situation. (The *New York Times* did make reference to the shift in residency in a news story.) It may be none of the public's business, but one has good grounds for wondering if the same sensitivities would have been extended by the press to the family of the vice president of the NAACP.

The press is really quite protective of the private lives of powerful public officials. Occasionally this protection comes, as a last resort, in the form of what you might call "friendly exposes." The best illustration of this occurred in the Kennedy era. For a year or so, gossip at the upper levels of the communications business in Washington and New York held that Kennedy had previously been married to a Philadelphia socialite who was non-Catholic and that the Kennedy family had managed to completely bury the facts relating to this hastily terminated marital relationship. Even the official documents were supposedly destroyed.

This was so commonly talked that it had long since lost its shock effect and was settling into the category of folk truths. But no printed reference to the rumor was ever made, except in the most obscure right-wing hate newspapers, until, behold, *Newsweek* magazine undertook to meet the issue candidly and destroy it as sheer rumor-mongering.

Why was *Newsweek* the first to tackle it? Not because it was the first to learn of the rumor; as I've said, the rumor was out there on the ground in plain sight, waiting for anyone to pick up. It was old stuff—accepted by many, and therefore dangerous. A likely explanation was that Ben Bradlee, now a big shot at the *Washington Post*, was then Washington bureau chief and senior editor of *Newsweek*; but, more to the point, he was a very close friend of Kennedy's, so close that the Bradlees and the Kennedys had dined together at Hyannis Port the night following Kennedy's election to the Presidency. Earlier they had been neighbors in Georgetown. Fast friends. That sort of thing. With a frank, straight-away discussion of the rumor, Bradlee did Kennedy a world of good.

Finally, a couple of examples of indifference and laziness.

Three years ago I was given some confidential records from the files of the Export-Import Bank which showed the extent of that organization's illegal and secret support of arms sales through the Pentagon to many countries, including some which are rated as "underdeveloped." This violated two laws. First of all, Export-Import Bank loans are prohibited for arms purchases. Secondly, all arms sales are prohibited to underdeveloped countries, for the sensible reason that they should be spending their money elsewhere.

The material was given to me on a Saturday with the understanding that I would attempt to get it into print prior to the following Tuesday, because on that date the House Banking Committee was to meet to discuss the Export-Import Bank charter. The aim, of course, was to focus public attention on the misdeeds of the bank in such a way as to force a full airing of the arms sales before the charter could be extended.

Inasmuch as my normal outlets were weekly magazines, I did not have time to personally use the material myself. But I was willing to do what I could to place it with a newspaper that would have impact on Congress. This narrows the field considerably, for Congress has the parochial notion that unless a story appears in a newspaper that circulates in Washington on the day of its publication, nothing that appears in it can be of much importance.

I took the material to the national editor of *The Post*. He hesitated. He wasn't sure he could use it. He said he would have to check with higher-ups. That made me mad, so I took it away from him and went up to the

New York Times bureau where I know a few people. But I couldn't give it away there either. So I called Alan Otten at the *Wall Street Journal*. "That sounds like good stuff, and we'll follow the story with great interest when it appears," he said, "but it isn't quite our sort of thing." By now I was desperate enough to go back to *The Post* and ask the editor to please, pretty please, look it over and see if it wasn't an excellent story. He wouldn't promise anything, but *The Post* did decide to use it on Monday morning. Although they gave it front page prominence, most of the critically important financial data was cut out of the story and the names of the countries known up to that time were also eliminated. The editing was not exactly a cover-up for the arms merchants, but it eased the situation for them.

Nevertheless, even this much was enough to trigger a continuing investigation that lasted for about three weeks, with new disclosures of illegal arms transactions turning up just about every other day.

Once the incriminating data started flooding out, most of the major newspapers did cover the story faithfully and in depth. But consider what a chore it was getting them interested. *The Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* didn't even want to look over the material; and *The Post* wanted to think about it for a day or so.

If it happened to me, it must happen to dozens of professional people every year. They learn of something rotten that is happening in government; they get their hands on proof; they take the proof to the newspapers—and cold shoulder.

At his June 12, 1970, press conference, President Nixon issued a blast at Congress for sitting on a housing bill. "When I sent it to Congress four months ago, I pointed out this was an emergency," said Nixon, but that cold-hearted body had "refused to act on it although millions of Americans are ill-housed." The last part of his statement was certainly factual enough. And there are also many good reasons for calling Congress cold-hearted. But the basic premise was untrue. He had not sent a housing bill to Congress. He had *not*—as he claimed—sent a housing message, outlining the national needs.

This was no insignificant blunder. Even a President can be expected to err occasionally, especially when his advisors include the likes of Nixon's staff. But the propaganda balance that exists between the White House and Congress is so delicate and so important that when a President makes a misstatement of this kind, it is highly important for the press to bring it to light immediately. Needless to say, the national lack of housing is a very ugly blot on the federal record, and the blame for that blot should be correctly assigned in every detail so that the voters—if they are awake—can take appropriate action the next time they have their chance at the villains.

In this case Nixon was laying the blame right at the feet of Wright Patman, the Texas progressive; housing legislation is handled in one of the subcommittees of his House Banking Committee. Far from being calloused to

the need for more housing, Patman has consistently tried to lower interest rates because high interest rates are one of the chief blocks to more building. He himself has pushed emergency housing that Nixon opposed. He did not feel like taking Nixon's unfair charges without protest, so one of his staff members went to the *Washington Post* and to the *New York Times* with documented evidence to show that in fact Nixon was talking through his hat; there had been no housing bill and no housing message from the White House.

Did either paper check out Patman's rebuttal? Did they go through the very simple process of picking up the telephone and calling the White House and asking for details of the non-existent bill and message? Did they investigate to discover if any clues to the whereabouts of the non-existent bill and message could be found? No. They did nothing.

So what can be done to make the press more responsible and more responsive to the fundamental problems of the nation? What can be done to encourage more fair play and less trucking to the seats of power? What can be done to discourage the press from involving itself too intimately with the wrong end of the money spectrum?

My answer is, nothing. Or at least nothing directly. One can only hope that when the gods have time to tend their less metaphysical crops, they will scatter a few more good

seeds in journalism. Of course, those who insist on being comforted can find some solace in knowing that even at their worst, the best newspapers will respond with more integrity to controversial situations than television would think of doing. It is difficult to imagine the very best (three or four) of our newspapers editing their copy to meet the demands of Coca Cola, as NBC did when Coca Cola was portrayed (correctly) as the leading offender in the abuse of migrant labor in Florida. It is difficult to imagine the very best of our newspapers responding as CBS did when it blacked out the face of Abbie Hoffman when he appeared on the Merv Griffin show because he was wearing a shirt made out of an American flag.

I think the greatest encouragement that one can find at the present time is in the existence of honesty and independence and courage out where it is most difficult to keep those qualities going. The pressures from Congress and national advertisers, after all, do not compare in relative strength to the pressures from city councils and local advertisers. It is easy to be courageous if you are the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* or the *Miami Herald* or the *Los Angeles Times*. It is not so easy to be courageous when you are the Charleston, W. Va., *Gazette* or the Little Rock, Ark., *Gazette*. The opposition from a couple of big grocery chains are felt immediately, if you are that size. Yet in those two towns, and in York, Pa., and in Madison, Wisc., and here and there around the country in half a dozen places there still exists, in the words of my favorite columnist, L. T. Anderson, of the *Charleston Gazette*, "an imperishable outrage at political boobyery." □

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RACISM AND CHRISTIAN ETHICS IN AMERICA

Herbert O. Edwards

Ralph Ellison's book, *The Invisible Man*, is an apt description of the plight of black men in America—in spite of the supposed "high visibility" ascribed to "blackness" by sociologists. As Max Lerner said in *America as a Civilization*, "The Negroes are the real outsiders of American life, and their situation is not one of undisguised caste but almost nakedly of a pariah caste." In the literary genre of the novel, Ellison handles the theme which W.E.B. DuBois gave expression to in *The Souls of Black Folk*. For DuBois, black people are forced behind the veil; society resists every effort to "rent the veil in twain" for fear that all may see and be seen. As DuBois was unsuccessful in the first years of this century to make Americans recognize that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line, so he and others since have failed to pierce the veil that has served to hide or distort the humanity of black people.

White historians deal with American history in such a way as to deny the black presence or to minimize its importance in the development of American life and

institutions. White church historians grudgingly admitted the presence of black churches, but either disparaged them because they concentrated too much on the political and social problems of their members, or they condemned them for failing to raise the moral life of their members. In any event, the cause of the black churches was not the cause of the white churches and their concerns were not the same. However, white church historians showed an uncommon and unintended discriminating perspicacity. For the white church was involved in and bent on justifying a politics of oppression; the black church was involved in and forced to practice a politics of survival.

Black Americans had little more success in breaking into the scholarly ken of sociological inquiry. When they became "fit objects" for sociological study, the condition was that they remain "objects." They were conceived of and studied as *problems*. "The black man is hard to profile . . . because for most Americans he is defined as a problem. The black man is what gets in our way, blocks

our effort at harmony among classes and religion, frustrates our efforts to implement our values of justice, equality, and freedom, unmasking our pretensions and exposes our pride" (Preston Williams, "The Black Experience and Black Religion," *Theology Today*, October, 1969, p. 246).

None of the academic disciplines, all of which have had a profound influence on the development of American theology and ethics, has been as successful in attempts to deny or ignore the black presence in this country as have Christian theology and ethics. Even theology and ethics today remain among the most Anglo-saxonized, sanitized and bleached of all the major academic disciplines.

One can read far and wide in theology and ethics without becoming aware of the black presence, of black churches, of black Christians. When Walter Rauschenbusch argued fifty years ago that all American institutions had become "Christianized" with the exception of the economic institution, there was not a single institution at the time—especially Church and University—which acknowledged the humanity of black people. Later, in the twenties, when Reinhold Niebuhr took up the cause of labor unions in their struggles with management, one is hard put to discover any awareness on his part that most of the unions excluded black men from membership. Likewise today: Professor of Christian Ethics at Yale Divinity School, James M. Gustafson, was the special editor for the January 1970 issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* devoted to "The Sixties: Radical Change in American Religion." In his Introduction to the issue, Dr. Gustafson—who is the author of *Christ and the Moral Life* and President-Elect of the American Society of Christian Ethics—explained that "although this number has an outstanding essay on the state of 'Black Theology,' there was not room for an essay that would deal more particularly with what is happening to black churches during this decade" (p. ix, italics mine).

Not room! Despite fifteen articles on diverse topics as "The New Morality and the Religious Communities," "Protestant Clergy: New Forms of Ministry, New Forms of Training," "Some Reflections on the Jewish-Christian Dialogue in the Light of the Six-Day War," and "Catholic Church Professionals." Not Room! Despite the power and leadership of the black church in the black struggle for survival in the America of the Sixties. Not Room! This is what the word has always been to black Christians in America: Not Room! The fact that black churches during the sixties suffered under a reign of intimidation, persecution, terrorist bombings and burnings was not considered by white Christian ethicists as a significant religious problem in the Sixties! Where in the 20th century, in this country or elsewhere, has any "branch" of the Christian

Church suffered so much for doing so little to identify with the victims of oppression, and yet created such a little stir among social-minded, concerned Christian theologians and ethicists?

"RACE RELATIONS"

During the period of "benign neglect," Christian ethics in America moved to a recognition of the issue—not so much of white racism as of the black presence—by calling attention to white society's sins in regard to *inter-racial justice*. But the sting was pulled from the indictment by comparing America favorably with Nazism and Communism, and attributing part of the problem to "group pride" (a form of "original sin"), and to the cultural backwardness of black people in America.

Consciously or unconsciously, the concept of "race" was transformed into a moral and theological category. "Race relations" came more and more into its own as a legitimate topic for discussion in the expositions of Christian morality. However, even this suffered in a very real sense from a treatment which precluded any serious understanding of any of the Christian ethical implications of racism.

One is reminded of Schleiermacher's treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity. However we interpret his placing it at the end of his *The Christian Faith*, it does not seem unfair to conclude that he did not see it as integrally related to his systematic exposition of Christian doctrines. So too are "race relations" treated as a separate, isolated problem, in appendix-like fashion, outside the realm of serious ethical reflection. Most treatments of it occur not when marriage, or the nature of the Church, or the understanding of the individual, or the relationship between Church and State is discussed. Yet, who can deny that "racism" has profoundly affected the development of the understanding of each of these problems in American society?

In *Christian Realism* (1941), John C. Bennett wrote: "No one can say that in America we live according to a high standard of interracial justice, but we know in our hearts that every institution that perpetuates racial discrimination is wrong. We are on the defensive when we consent to such wrong." On the other hand, Bennett goes on to say, "contrast that situation with what happens when discrimination is taught as a good, when anti-Semitism is an officially recognized policy, supported by the agencies that mould public opinion as a higher form of morality than interracial justice" (p. 3, italics mine). At the very least, Dr. Bennett was poorly informed if he assumed that, in 1941, racist policies were not officially supported by opinion-molding institutions in the United States!

Federal aid to housing was officially based on white racism. All branches of the armed forces were completely segregated along racial lines. New Deal programs were

operating on racist principles. Almost all educational institutions, from nursery schools to universities, including theological seminaries and Bible Colleges, operated to give aid and comfort to white racism. The Supreme Court was still interpreting the exercise of citizenship rights along racism lines. The stepped-up defense industries excluded black employees, without presidential, legislative, judicial or religious opposition, until A. Philip Randolph organized the "March on Washington Movement" which resulted in President Roosevelt's capitulation to a demand for an Executive Order banning racial discrimination (which was never enforced). White primaries were the order of the day in our southern states. Hospitals, prisons, cemeteries, churches—all were operated on racist policies. Restrictive covenants were respectable methods for keeping "undesirable racial and other groups" out of certain neighborhoods. Lynching was a common occurrence. More than a third of the states had laws on their books which denied to clergymen the right to join persons together in holy matrimony without using "race" as a determining factor!

In John Bennett's American society of 1941 there was little, if any, difference between America's commitment to racism as a "positive good," and the racist beliefs of Nazi Germany. As George Kelsey says in *Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man*: "For the racist, race is the final point of reference for decision and action, the foundation upon which he organizes his private life, public institutions and public policy, and even his religious institutions" (p. 27).

That American Christian ethicists could not see the impact of a racist politico-economic, socio-religious order upon the development of black personal and family life is further indicated by the following words of Dr. Bennett in *Christian Ethics and Social Policy* (1946): "Some neo-orthodox theologians have taken an important part in the European resistance movements, and know at first hand that the nature of the political order is of fateful importance for the development of personal life, for the freedom of the Christian family and of the Church" (p. 13). Did American theologians really have to learn the importance of this fact from European neo-orthodox theologians? If black people had not been so "invisible" on the one hand, and recognized merely as "problems" on the other, would not American theologians and ethicists have been aware of the crippling impact of racism upon its victims?

Blackness creates a special crisis of conscience for white Christians in a racist society to whose values about man they have long since capitulated. It is unquestionable true, as Paul Lehmann wrote in 1963, "The Protestant community, until comparatively recently, has tended to accept segregation as involving no really basic conflict with the orientation of life in the *Koinonia*" (*Ethics in a Christian Context*, p. 147).

Perhaps it is because it was so "natural" for "race" to create a new set of factual data to be fed into the moral deliberative mill that one did not, could not really, be conscious of it. Probably even more than John Bennett, Reinhold Niebuhr found it simply incredible that some Europeans could equate the "errors" of American capitalism with Communist cruelties:

"On the whole, European fellow-traveling theologians adopt the slogan of the neutralist intellectuals: A plague on both their houses! Their traditional contempt for capitalism allows them to equate the *errors of American pride* with the cruelties of the most vexatious tyranny in history" (*Essays in Applied Christianity*, edited by D. B. Robertson, p. 121. Italics mine).

This American pride found its clearest and most ignoble expression in "racial pride" which Niebuhr spoke out against more often and more critically than any other theologian, seeing racial pride as a form of "original sin." However, in spite of this fact, or perhaps in part because of it, Niebuhr was able to write unwittingly one of the most effective apologies for white racism that has ever been written.

In the midst of the "cold war," Niebuhr wrote *The Structure of Nations and Empires* (1959). Few American theologians since Josiah Strong have provided stronger defenses for Anglo-Saxon superiority than Niebuhr in this work. Anglo-Saxon superiority was partially due to their refusal to intermarry with those they colonized, he argued. They were possessed of a greater degree of "race pride" than the Latins. Indeed, a morally perplexing situation arises because race prejudice, which is wrong, was basic to the Anglo-Saxon success in Empire!

Niebuhr's felt need—to acknowledge that America had failed in one particular of its relation to the Negro, and to explain and justify Anglo-Saxonism—resulted in the two following contradictory statements: the first is false by either fact or reason; and the second is a plea to countenance a denial of the validity of the first in principle, even had it been true in fact:

In America our treatment of the Negroes is based upon the national presupposition that they will be *fully incorporated into the national community* (p. 214).

... on the whole integral communities require ethnic homogeneity, or at least a racial situation which makes the amalgam of races fairly easy (p. 215).

Niebuhr's arguments in *The Structure of Nations and Empires*, as well as in other places, not only seem to provide justification for continued Anglo-Saxon domination of the darker peoples of the world (cf. Charles C. West's critique of Niebuhr in *Communism and the Theologians*); one might also, with a great deal of justice, characterize much of Niebuhr's Christian social ethics in the same way that he characterized part of Thomist ethical thought: "The whole imposing structure of Thomist ethics is in one of its aspects, no more than a religious sanctification of the relativities of the feudal social system as it flowered in the thirteenth century" (*The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vol. I, p. 221).

The overall reaction of Reinhold Niebuhr to Anglo-Saxon imperialism does not differ, in any essential way, from the position of Albert C. Knudson. Knudson believed that one of the conditioning factors in the application of the law of love is that due to the "orders of creation." The "orders of creation" are all but synonymous with the various divisions that exist in the world. People are divided into different families, different economic and cultural groups, different nations, different races.

Knudson, beginning from his position of "idealistic personalism," or "personalistic idealism," makes a great deal of freedom and of the free relation of men to each other. However, this freedom is not and cannot be absolute. There are two important limitations upon the exercise of freedom: "One is in the case of children and undeveloped peoples or races. Children require restraint and discipline for their proper training. They need to have their wills to some degree subjected to the wills of their superiors. . . . In a similar way undeveloped tribes and races may to their own advantage and that of the world be kept in tutelage by more highly civilized peoples" (*The Principles of Christian Ethics*, p. 190).

Is it not abundantly clear that American Christian ethicists, regardless of the differences in their theological and philosophical presuppositions, somehow manage to arrive at the same position in reference to white racism? One of the justifications or explanations for slavery and for racial discrimination is the "inferiority" and "cultural backwardness" of black people.

Few Christian ethicists use the expression "cultural backwardness" in regard to black people more than Reinhold Niebuhr. There are two significant uses made of this concept by Niebuhr that claim our attention at this point: 1) He repeatedly described black people as "culturally backward" without ever explaining what that meant, and without seeming to feel any need to justify the use of the description. 2) He used the concept of "cultural backwardness" as an understandable precipitate of white prejudice and as justification for sympathizing with white parents who found themselves pressured by the Supreme Court decision in 1954 to send their children to school with those of different "cultural inheritances."

Niebuhr did not feel the need to say what he means when he calls black people "culturally backward" because there is a "climate of opinion" to which he is appealing and to which he is contributing, which is a "faith principle" as it were, transcending the need for questioning or justifying. This is not unlike the description of the Middle Ages in their approach to certain questions as described by Carl Becker in *The Heavenly City of the 18th Century Philosophers*.

The concept of "cultural backwardness" coupled with the "color differential" is frequently used by Niebuhr in his responses to the increasing opposition to the 1954

Supreme Court decision by southern white leadership. "Those of us who do not live in the South ought not to underestimate the validity of the honest scruples of Southerners about common education for races with different cultural inheritances" ("The Church in the World," *Theology Today*, January, 1959, p. 542).

When Niebuhr talked about "Southerners" who are concerned about "integrating" the schools, it is clear that he is talking about "white Southerners." When President Nixon and Vice-President Agnew proclaimed that the "South" had been discriminated against by the Senate's rejection of Judges Haynsworth and Carswell, they are not talking about black people in the South. And, more important, everyone understands that in America, when one talks about various regions of the country, South, North, West, etc., one is talking about "people", i.e., "real people"—white people!

So it is that Niebuhr responded, in 1956, to the nullification proclamations of southern white politicians:

Real statesmanship will be required to uphold the majesty of the law and at the same time win over a custom-bound community to fuller conformity to the law. Prudence is as necessary as courage in the tasks of statesmanship. The fact that it is not very appealing to the victims of a current injustice does not make it any less the course of wisdom in over-coming historic injustices. And a genuine charity is the father of prudence. For genuine love does not propose abstract schemes of justice which leave the human factor out of account (cited in Harry R. Davis and Robert C. Good, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr On Politics* p. 238, italics mine).

The "human factor" which must be taken into account is the "white human factor." The "abstract scheme of justice" to which Niebuhr refers is the proposition that "public schools supported by the taxes of all the people should operate to the benefit of all the people without regard to racial differentiation."

Niebuhr seems to vary from time to time, from situation to situation, in his use of "cultural backwardness." At one point we are told that "the Negro was gradually emancipated from his cultural backwardness" (*Pious and Secular America*, 1958). Then we are told that the black minority in the United States ". . . suffers not only because its darker skin is such an obvious mark of race and class identity but because slavery has left its evil heritage of social contempt for the former slave race as well as a cultural backwardness only transcended by the most gifted members of the race" (*Man's Nature and His Communities*, 1965).

No sooner do we think that maybe the "cultural backwardness" of black people is a historically contingent fact than we are then reminded that that might be too simple a conclusion. For "the other source of prejudice [in addition to extravagant fears of inter-marriage] is the fear of the Negro's cultural backwardness. If we are right in defining this backwardness as cultural rather than biological, it will of course be cured in time." (*Pious and Secular America*, 1958, italics mine).

However, by 1965, we are fairly certain that the cultural backwardness is more historical than innate:

No one could deny that cultural and moral differences between groups and nations are real. But only time and experience will prove that they are not innate. . . . The tribal prejudice against the Negro was not so potent because that minority suffered from the onus of its previous condition of servitude, its lack of technical and cultural competence, and its dark skin, diverging too obviously from the dominant white type. It naturally took some time for the gifted members of the race to offer irrefutable proof that these deficiencies were not due to "innate inferiorities. . . ."

The victims of racism suffer because they are different. It does not matter what they do, what they learn, how they act. It is a question of their being—not their doing! The appeals to "cultural backwardness" (however that is defined) is not, in the final analysis, any explanation of, or an adequate justification for, the segregation, discrimination, ghettoization, exploitation, extermination, that have followed in the wake of racism.

The transformation of "race" into a moral and theological category clearly shows that most Christian ethicists failed to heed the warning: "One must beware of reading the evils of contemporary society into antecedent nature." The reading of "race" back into the mind of God is not unlike Aristotle's reaction to slavery.

Indeed, the development of race as an "exclusionary principle" in American Christian ethical systems, in a very real sense, simply continues a long, dishonorable practice in Western religion, philosophy and ethics. "Exclusionary principles" relate to those metaphysical, theological, sociological or anthropological considerations which suggest that certain persons or groups cannot lay claim to the same human and moral considerations as others.

Such exclusionary principles lead to a bifurcation of supposed universal principles, to a schizophrenic ethic operating under an umbrella of wholeness, and to confusion in the pursuit of the ethical enterprise. For example, in American slavery, the churches taught the slaves to accept their "thingification," and to be "responsibly moral" in their relations to their master. While the master was justified in stealing the slave's wages, his birthright, his wife, his children, his life—the slave was "immoral" if he did not work hard and preserve the master's belongings. It was as Reinhold Niebuhr said "We must not consider the Founding Fathers immoral just because they were slaveholders."

This bifurcation of supposed universal moral principles shows up quite clearly in the application of "Christian Realism" to the "race" problem, and especially in the reactions of Christian ethicists to the black American's effort to challenge the discriminatory manifestations of racism.

"CHRISTIAN REALISM" AND RESPECT FOR LAW

John C. Bennett said in 1941 that ". . . the emphasis upon the community as prior to the individual is a commonplace of social psychology. The emphasis upon the responsibility of the individual to the community as a fellowship of persons is a commonplace of Christian ethics" (*Christian Realism*, p. 61). It would seem, for our purposes at least, that there is a better way to come to the question of the relationship between person and community than the sequential question suggested by the contrasts in Bennett's statement.

The interrelated character of the inter-action between the person and the community can, in times of agreement or cooperation, reach the level of an all but mystical intersubjectivity. Indeed, it is only when there is partial or total disagreement, leading to more or less intensive conflict, that we find a distinctive break in the intersubjective chain connecting person and community.

The person who, in his person, is denied equality of access to the resources of the community is thereby liberated from any moral responsibility of providing support for the presently existing order of relations in the community. In other words, the intersubjectivity and intentionality which bind person to community and community to person, are evacuated of all moral content *once the community divests itself of the responsibility to maintain the person in his personhood*.

This kind of approach seems to provide much needed insight into the problem occasioned by "Christian realism's" understanding of respect for law in response to the black man's struggle for a recognition of his personhood. Henry Bellah's critique of Christian realism is pertinent and to the point: "The greatest danger of the Christian realist and liberal position is that one may be forced into the defense of established interests on the grounds that after all, human nature being what it is, this is the best we can expect" (*Theology Today*, January, 1970).

Reinhold Niebuhr's comment on the Plessy vs. Ferguson Supreme Court decision of 1896, and Rachel Henderlite's comment on the "racial" situation in 1957, are fairly representative examples of "Christian realism's" approach to the rights of black people to be seen as "persons in a community of persons."

In 1896, the Supreme Court tried to ease the hiatus between the ideal and the social realities by its doctrine of "separate but equal" rights before the law. *It was a very good doctrine for its day*; for we must remember that the present Supreme Court decision would, at the beginning of the century, merely have prompted revolt. And revolt which is so widespread that police power cannot suppress it represents defeat both of the law and the ideal. (cited in Davis and Good, *op. cit.*, p. 228 Italics mine).

Herein is discovered one of the "techniques" of Christian realism in dealing with the discriminatory manifestations of racism. It is to exalt the so-called "desirable" state of things to the level of an "ideal." This tends to equate it with love (Niebuhr's "impossible possibility") which serves as a regulative principle, but which must

not, can not, be determinative in the give and take of decision-making.

In 1955, when Niebuhr made this observation, he also assumed that "history" and "gifted members of the Negro race who had excelled in the arts and sports, and in many other areas," had provided irrefutable proof of their "equal capacity," for the most part. Therefore, in the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, "... the Court wrote a great state paper as well as rendering *what appeared to be a wise decision*" (*ibid.*, p. 228. Italics mine).

"Not necessarily so," said Rachel Henderlite, only two years later:

Most of us know that to insist on recognition of human rights for all people, as seems clearly a minimum requirement of Christian faith, and to insist on full integration of the Negro into American society all at one time, is to bring about bloodshed, elimination of the public schools, recrimination and hostilities of many kinds.

We can, however, take some comfort in this:

It is not hatred of the Negro that stirs to violence. The South is, in part at least, honest in saying, "We love our Negroes and would do much for them" ("The Christian Way in Race Relations," *Theology Today*, July, 1957, pp. 196-200).

"Racism" had not really changed over the years! Justice Harlan's dissent in the 1896 case is much more instructive for an ethical response than the observation of Niebuhr and Henderlite: "We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples; but it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens."

However, as the last part of Henderlite's observations suggest, there is really no ground for despair by blacks. For racism does not necessarily mean that blacks are hated for being black. Niebuhr's understanding of racism agrees:

Racial bigotry, like every other form of human pride and sin, is something more than ignorance and something less than malice. Racial prejudice is something less than malice insofar as it is an inevitable concomitant of the ethnic will to live. Wherever life becomes collectively integrated it generates a collective, as well as an individual, survival impulse. But it is something more than ignorance insofar as human life is never content with mere physical survival. (*loc. cit.*, p. 232)

Consequently, the victims of "racism" must understand that, given the social and anthropological realities, they must accept a "determinate solution" to their problem which involves an implicit denial of their personhood. At the same time, they must show a "proper respect for law" which is supportive of an obscene *status quo*!

Paul Ramsey's analysis of the sit-in movement reflects a change from his position in the earlier *Basic Christian*

Ethics (1950). In his critique of the sit-ins, he calls for a "proper respect for law and order" on the part of protesting black people, assuring them that "... simple and not so simple injustice alone has never been a sufficient justification for revolutionary change" (*Christian Ethics and the Sit-ins*, p. 49).

Throughout the work, Ramsey appeals for the support of law in its role of protecting "natural affinities" and "natural (racial?) communities":

Abstract notions of equality and resort to law and radical changes in public institutions, for the purpose of allowing people to be with and for others, may only shatter the *natural communities* on which any social order must rest that has not been reduced to relating individuals to one another unit-wise under an unlimited mass democracy. . . . public institutions ought to rest upon the fabric of real community, not destroy it (Italics mine).

Black people are thus given the choice of being either "Christian" in their action by supporting the laws which deny them equal protection of the law inasmuch as "... in a fallen world, the claims of justice ought not to override entirely the question of law and order" (*ibid.*, p. 75). Otherwise, they risk being judged "unchristian" if they resist injustice: "... we must certainly assert the great difference between Christian love and *any form of resistance*. . ." (p. 113).

In *Basic Christian Ethics* (1950), Ramsey said:

Discriminatory legislation in general, however, is wrong even if the whole of the group discriminated against votes for it. It is wrong for the primary reason that law is always unjust when it does not apply generally to all. If there are in the South "darkies" or "mammies" who themselves think that the conditions, e.g., of public education, ought not to be the same for all, we may say with definiteness that they ought not to think so (p. 334).

One wonders in what "school of Christ" Ramsey learned the designations "darkies" and "mammies"? Perhaps this is simply another indication of the "cultural backwardness of black people who didn't quite make the grade of 'men and women.'"

Is it possible that Ramsey is unaware of the all but limitless, and largely unsuccessful, efforts of black people to get white people to learn some "respect for law and order" which transcended the "natural affinities" of race? One would think from reading Ramsey that the "sit-in movement" created a "lack of respect for the law" by raising the question of its relationship to a "higher law—a moral law of the universe"!

The sad fact is, however, that in their struggle to obtain "positive laws" against racism from white legislatures and an evenhanded administration against injustice by the white legal structure, black people in the "civil rights era" spent far more energy in the struggle for justice than the "Christian realists" seemed either to possess, or apprehend.

One wonders why Christian ethicists were never able to see the "lawlessness" which defines racism but could

see so clearly the dangers to "respect for law and order" implicit in the so-called "Civil Rights Movement"? This is the crucial issue in any account of racism and Christian ethics in America. For that reason the following involved and lengthy passage from Ramsey's *Deeds and Rules in Christian Ethics* (1965), is important:

Order is a good in itself, in that the orders provide the fabric in which men may dwell. . . . Order and justice are dialectically related rules of love; and a Christian will be alert to the indirect consequences of even those acts of his that are motivated by a loving justice in destroying the *accepted ethic, the rules of social due process, the social habit of compliance with law, etc.*

I should say that this wisdom was forgotten by a great many of the leaders of Christian opinion and action in the United States during our national ordeal of struggling for greater *interracial* justice, who substituted for it the categories of a dynamic secular idealism with its resultant utopianism and Manichaeism [the Negro revolution, the "white power structure," "the struggle," "direct action," "an unjust law is no law at all"] which no Christian should let become primary in his view of social relations. . . .

I should say that the exceptional disobedience to law, if it is properly surrounded and located by all that love requires, is to be *inversely determined by the possibilities in social due process and in the momentum of the social forces for reforming or changing that law*; and that from the beginning of the current civil rights movement in the United States the duty of compliance with law has been vastly underestimated by many of the leaders of Christian opinion and action (pp. 116-17, italics mine).

Primary among the "orders which provide the fabric in which men may dwell" is "race." The "accepted ethic, the rules of social due process, and the social habit of compliance with law" for which Ramsey is here pleading were, and are, with very few exceptions, racially informed.

Two other brief points must need be made in regard to his *Christian Ethics and the Sit-ins*. First: In regard to the oneness of the Church, Ramsey argues that the black Christian and the white Christian must understand that their togetherness is hid with Christ in God. "... while oneness is rightly said to be the life of every Christian with and for his fellow Christian, this life is also declared to be hid with Christ in God (Col. 3:3)." Niebuhr said much the same in *The Children of Light and Darkness*; "The ideal of racial brotherhood is the law of God in which we delight after the inward man, but racial arrogance is the law in our members which wars against the law that is in our mind" (p. 142). Or, as Edward A. Tiryakian put it in "Apartheid and Religion" (*Theology Today*, October, 1957, p. 385): "The Dutch Reformed Church does not intend by apartheid a policy of suppression or discrimination. White and black have a spiritual unity in Christ. (Cf. also Ben Marias, *Colour: Unsolved Problem of the West*.) Thus

the position that "socio-economic and color differentiation must remain relationally inoperative in the Church of Christ!" is naive and utopian, and must await the Parousia.

Second: Black resistance to discriminatory manifestations of racism which takes the form of economic boycotts, etc., are discussed by Ramsey in light of his understanding of the "just war" doctrine. The use of just war criteria to examine the moral validity of the utilization of economic boycotts to further the cause of justice enables him to condemn such action if it is not sufficiently circumspect so as to insure its ineffectiveness, without calling into serious question the racism which produced the climate which made such action necessary and possible.

These types of direct social action should conform to the ancient principles and limitations justifying a Christian in taking up any use of force. These principles can be stated in terms of (1) the justifiability of using economic pressure, and (2) the limitation upon the economic pressures employed, or, respectively, what a love-transformed and transforming justice permits to be done and what this still requires to be not done in any area of conflict between man and man (p. 105).

The "justice" of direct economic boycotts is established. The problem comes at the point of distinguishing "combatants" from "non-combatants." It is passing strange that one who can be so explicit and precise in telling the victims how they should conduct their "warfare" against their oppressors, seems totally blind to the fact that "racism" does not, indeed cannot, be discriminate in its choice of imposed and unjust orders.

The black college president is denied entrance to places of public accommodation as quickly as, if not more quickly than, the black criminal. The black child prodigy is denied the opportunity to develop his God-given talents as readily by the "racial orders which provide the fabric in which men may dwell" as readily as the black victim of brain damage. In fine, "white racism is indiscriminate warfare against all who are black!"

There is something nigh irredeemably arrogant in the manner of those who make and support total war against a "group's right to exist" (in Southeast Asia, South and Central America, etc.) and then lecture the group on the morality of their response to such destruction. Nicholas Berdyaev's brief comment might be instructive on this point: "Vengeance is hideous but it is not for those whose wrongs have produced it to denounce its hideousness!"

In Ramsey's 1961 critique of "direct action", he says: "The white people of this country can regard it as fortunate that the participants in the sit-in movement, as *direct action* which *may* be against the laws, so largely share in the tradition of "law and order," and that they are imbued with the spirit of charity in the tactical form of non-violent resistance. This gives us time. . ." (p. 97. Italics mine).

By 1965, however, these persons and their rapidly

diminishing number of allies in the white camp, were "utopian and Manichaeian," bent on destroying the "social habit of compliance with law." (Has such a "habit" ever existed in the United States in regard to the rights of black persons?)

Does Langston Hughes' quadtrain explain this change on Ramsey's part?

Gentle Negroes,

Sweet and kind

Beware the day

They change their mind!

Or, is James M. Gustafson's description of American social ethics more revealing and to the point?

In American Christian social ethics . . . the moral concern is for the possible, for that which is relevant to what is actually going on in history. It is for the achievement of a viable state of peace or equity within the moral ambiguities and conflicting historical forces that exist at a particular time (*Christ and the Moral Life*, p. 230).

One cannot read the record of Christian ethics in response to racism without becoming aware of how often the "historical situation" and the "possibilities for social change" are falsified so as to make *what is possible* appear to be precisely what *white* people are doing at the time. As Ramsey says: "Christian realism supports law and the established order unless and until some better arrangements can be made without making things worse" (*Christian Ethics and the Sit-ins*, p. 48).

The extent to which Christian moralists in America have constructed ethical systems which presuppose a basic soundness in American history and society awaits intensive investigation. That this has been inadvertently or intentionally done might remain an open question; that no Christian ethicist in the forefront of ecclesiastical and theological life in America has adopted the kind of prophetic stance toward racism which some have adopted, say, toward Communism, or even the "New Morality", is incontrovertible. Most have adopted a priestly rather than a prophetic stance toward racism.

PRIESTLY AND PROPHETIC ETHICS

The Priestly Ethical Stance

A priestly ethical stance is one which is, in a self-conscious way, descriptively analytical, often presupposing the basic validity of the categories which seem problematic in the situation. It is concerned with the symptomatic expressions, the observably surfaced results. It does not undertake in-depth analyses of positions held, or of the implications of the positions held for other basic fundaments in the ethical system.

A priestly ethical stance tends to look for extenuating circumstances, ameliorating practices, which tend to

prevent the most damning aspects of an idea from following on to its logical conclusion. "Justificatory conditions" are sought which prevent the outright condemnation of an idea contrary to the status quo by favorably contrasting it with worse practices flowing from other ideas.

By concentrating on the gracious love of God for the perpetrators of inhuman and unjust conditions, priestly ethics tends to minimize or overlook the suffering of the victims and the demands of a righteous God for justice. There is a constant, tension-creating tendency to equate that which is "realistically Christian" with the prevailing cultural practices. There is an abject fear of any substantive change which might threaten to produce anarchy.

A great deal of emphasis is placed upon "imputed righteousness." Every effort which calls for a way of life which demands some closer correspondence between "justification by grace through faith" and "sanctification by faith through grace" is accused of being unrealistic and moralistic.

In some form or another, a concept of "orders of creation" or its equivalent is strongly emphasized as a divine measure. Original sin serves to place oppressor and oppressed on the same moral as well as soteriological plane. Luther's stance is instructive at this point. Luther helped to separate the level of human relationships from religious beliefs by ascribing to the then existing social structures a final, highest value given by God for man's good. (Luther, of course, did not begin this process!)

Christian ethical responsibility, as it bodied forth in human relationships, was not, in the final analysis, predicated upon, derived from, or in response to, the fact that one was a Christian. The fact that one was a Christian did not serve to deliver him from the principalities and powers of an unjust social order, but to bind him more firmly by their chains. Obedience, for example, as a theological category, receives its social significance as it is manifested through the prism of established order. To accept the given, to realistically separate the "ideal" from the "actual," the "ought" from the "is," and to be obedient to the demands of the latter, is to be Christ-like.

Consequently, in socio-economic and socio-political terms, the priestly ethic speaks from the side of both/and, on behalf of the status quo. Sometimes, however, the status quo is supported, not as an absolute good, but as the "best of all presently obtainable possible worlds," "what is going on in history," "moral ambiguities and conflicting historical forces that exist at a particular time."

The Prophetic Ethical Stance

A prophetic ethic, or a prophetic element in an ethical position, is one which calls into serious question, not merely the practices which tend to follow from a particular idea. Rather, the idea itself is called into question

irrespective of the differing practices which may or may not follow therefrom. It is, in a self-conscious way, normatively analytical, calling into question the basic validity of the categories which are problematic in the situation.

Because a prophetic ethical stance challenges the validity of "exclusionary principles" which serve to remove certain persons from the realm of morally mutual considerations, it tries to transcend the "split-level theological universe" which a priestly ethic constructs in its efforts to preserve exclusionary principles as the garments woven by God for man to preserve him in community. In this "split-level theological universe," Faith-Reason, Love-Justice, Gospel-Law, Grace-Nature, and Redemption-Creation dichotomies are structured and related in such a way as to consign the "victims" of such an arrangement to the -Reason, -Justice, -Law, -Nature, and -Creation ends of the spectrum. However permeable the latter categories are to the former, the former are sufficiently "idealized" so as to create no real challenge to injustices which may flow from the latter acting alone. Soteriological and moral concerns are not on speaking terms insofar as institutions and institutional patterns of behavior are concerned.

However, a prophetic ethical stance, with its relativizing of all institutions and institutional patterns of behavior, not only in an absolute, but also in a contingent sense, is able to avoid the pitfalls of a "realism" which can justify almost any system which makes for order.

To demythologize the Christian ethical enterprise in American Christianity—and nothing else is needed!—one must be willing to recognize the myth-building scaffolding that has been constructed around the "American Way of Life." The consistency with which the mythical justification for white racism has changed to deal with each changing possibility for different white-black relationships, require that we attempt a penetration beneath the symptomatic penumbra of economics, group pride, and lust for power.

PREFACE TO A BEGINNING

The chief problem faced by Christian ethicists in their efforts to come to grips with racism is the theological problem. And that theological difficulty is informed, in part at least, by a truncated view of the Incarnation and the Atonement.

American Christian ethicists seem to be in fairly general agreement in conceiving of love as being ". . . normative for, and applicable to, the realms of politics, economics, and even the conduct of warfare. The authorization for the norm of love is neither only nor always the teachings of Jesus in the double love commandment and elsewhere; it is also revealed in the self-sacrificial death of Christ on the Cross." (Gustafson, p. 231)

Indeed, it hardly seems too much to say that the Cross is seen as justification for the attempt to extrapolate suffering out of the mosaic of the Incarnation, and exalt it to first place in the decision-making processes of the Christian's ethical dilemmas. This is to exalt suffering to an unwarranted position in theology and ethics. The difficulty is that when "suffering" is invoked as a Christian vocation, it is almost invariably the effort of the powerful in society to justify their injustice against the powerless. This seems tragically the case with Christian ethicists in contemporary American society. For the white Christian ethicist today to invoke "suffering" as a response to Christ's crucifixion is to mock the benefits of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection to the black (and red and yellow and brown) victims of American institutions, here and abroad. It demonstrates the game-playing of "scholarship," for it ignores the urgent contemporary lesson to be taken from Luther's invocation of "suffering" in dealing with the peasant victims of his own princes' injustices. In a word, it tells a lie about the New Testament.

Suffering is neither the last word, nor the substance of the Christian teaching about God, Jesus Christ or the world. Neither can the Atonement be reduced to an instance of divine love losing its battle against evil as it tried to find and make its way in a world created by God, by dying on a Cross.

There seems to be a Christological emphasis which is onesided, with an imbalance existing on the side of the paradigmatic and indicative character of the crucified, suffering Christ, as over against the resurrected, glorified Lord. Thus we have what can justly be called a "Theology of the Crucifix." The highest expression of God's love is seen in the crucifixion. Thus, Daniel D. Williams says: "Christ reigns supremely because he reigns from his cross" (*God's Grace and Man's Hope*, p. 133) Not so! If He reigns, He reigns because the Cross was powerless in ultimate terms—even in history. He reigns because the Cross is no more the final expression of the love of God. That is the Resurrection.

The Cross must, in some measure at least, be interpreted as the pre-formative chaos which threatened to reign before and until—only until—the God of power triumphed over it. Thus, for example, *creation is this side of chaos; Resurrection is this side of the Cross!*

A crucifixion which is redemptive in regard to man's situation in this world, a situation in which relationships between man and God, and man and man are in need of radical alteration, obviously needs more from heaven than an unexampled instance of what happens to powerless love, or even a divine nature, in a powerful but loveless, world.

A priestly Christian ethical stance seems to be much attracted to an interpretation of the crucifixion which is exemplary. It seems very clear that this interpretation of God's redemptive act in Christ is an interpretation which leaves the final, historical word to man.

ceives of God as remaining in possession of the last word about man, in history and/or "above and beyond history."

The obvious inference to be drawn from the crucifixion is not a willingness to let evil institutions or institutional patterns of behavior continue to reign undisturbed, and remain faithful to them unto death because God has ordained them to preserve order in the world. It is rather that one is to be obedient to God, even unto death, in setting one's face against the evil in the world, whether expressed in secular or religious structures.

The Incarnation in the Bible is seen as encompassing,

in however mysterious a fashion, the whole series of God's acts in Jesus Christ. At the very least, irrespective of varying interpretations, this includes the *life, death, and resurrection* of Jesus Christ. No one of these events is conceived of as being only tangentially related to the affairs of man. No one of them can be transmuted into a trans-historical "above-history" realm.

God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, effecting a "revolution in relationships" by His action in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. From the point of view of Christian social ethics this would imply a relativizing of every institution and institutional pattern of behavior which affected or limited the possibilities for free and open communications between persons within community. □

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ANNIHILATING THE HILLBILLY: THE APPALACHIANS' STRUGGLE WITH AMERICA'S INSTITUTIONS

James Branscome

In September CBS began its new television season with the theme "Let's All Get Together." If you watch television on Tuesday nights, you know that who got together, back-to-back, were the stars of three of America's most popular TV programs: "The Beverly Hillbillies," "Green Acres," and "Hee-Haw." Each week millions of Americans gather around their sets to watch this combination, which has to be the most intensive effort ever exerted by a nation to belittle, demean, and otherwise destroy a minority people within its boundaries. Within the three shows on one night, hillbillies are shown being conned into buying the White House, coddling a talking pig, and rising from a cornpatch to crack the sickest jokes on TV—all on the same channel, all only a short while after Eric Sevareid has completed his nightly lecture to the American public on decency, integrity, dignity and the other great American virtues to which he and his network supposedly adhere. If similar programs even approaching the maliciousness of these were broadcast today on Blacks, Indians or Chicanos, there would

be an immediate public outcry from every liberal organization and politician in the country and a scathing editorial in the *New York Times* about the programs' "lack of taste." The new culture people would organize marches and prime-time boycotts and perhaps, even, throw dog dung at Eva Gabor as she emerged from her studio. They might even go a step further and deal with that hillybilly-maligning patriot, Al Capp. But, with this, as all things Appalachian, *silence*. America is allowed to continue laughing at this minority group because on this, America agrees: hillbilly ain't beautiful.

The treatment given by the media to Appalachia is only one example of the massive failure of America's institutions for over a century to meet the needs of the people of the region. From government at all levels, to churches, private welfare agencies, schools, colleges, labor unions, foundations, newspapers, corporations, *ad infinitum*, the region has received an unequal share of exploitation, neglect, unfulfilled promises and misguided assistance. This is not to deny that America is interested

in Appalachia. It has been for some time, in the peculiar American way—in Appalachia's worth to industry, of course; only erratically in the plight of the people. General Howard of the Freedman's Bureau is said to have convinced Lincoln that he ought to try to do something for the poor mountaineers after the Civil War. The New Deal brought the then rather progressive Tennessee Valley Authority to one part of the region, but TVA's recently developed capacity to burn lower-grade strip-mine coal brought the hellish human and material waste of that process to Central Appalachia. John Kennedy and his brother, Robert, both professed an interest in the hill-billy and his vote, and eventually, under Lyndon Johnson, their interest was translated into the Appalachian Regional Commission, a unique political and economic development agency. But, as Harry Caudill remarked, its assignment was "one of the most awesome tasks since Hercules cleaned the Aegean stables."

It is especially Herculean when one applies some good American economic analysis: the agency was given about *one-twentieth* of the amount of money it takes to fight the Vietnam War *for one year* and told to use that amount over a *six year period* to correct almost two hundred years of abuse to areas of a thirteen-state region! Now, for the riddle: if eighty percent of that money was spent on highway construction, how interested is America in the nineteen million people who occupy the territory the Commission described in 1964 "as an island of poverty in a sea of affluence"? This is not to deny that the Commission has not had a positive influence on the region. Given the parameters in which it had to work, it has made many needed investments in public facilities and increased the accountability of state governments to their Appalachian sections. If Congress extends the program and significantly increases its funding for human resource programs, the Commission may be able to bring to the Appalachian poor some of the services even ghetto residents have come to accept as normal. There are some big *ifs* in this, not the least of which is the critical question today about the relationship between institutions and people: *if* an institution today had unlimited funding and unlimited maneuverability, could it bring to people the services they need without destroying the kind of life they want to live?

If the ability of institutions to respond to people's needs is judged on the basis of the federal government's enforcement of the Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, then the answer to this question is *No!* Loud and Clear. The death of the 78 coal miners in Farmington, West Virginia, in November 1968 led to the passage of that Act which is the strictest mine safety legislation ever to get

through Congress and be signed by a President. The public outrage over Farmington gave government one of its few opportunities to wrestle successfully with the powerful American coal-oil conglomerates. But, something did not work: either there is no will, or desire, by the bureaucracies (*the institutions*) of the federal government to go to the mat with the conglomerates. Perhaps their interests are so inseparable that no contest is ever possible. In any case: since the disaster, more than 300 miners have been killed *in the mines* and more than 10,000 have been crippled or injured. There has been no public outcry to avenge the death of these men.

Moreover, the Social Security Administration's own Bureau of Disability Insurance provides some statistics which indicate how the bureaucracy of one fundamental institution—government—deals with one crisis which the 1969 Act sought to meet: compensation for miners disabled by "black lung" contracted after long years and long hours inside the mines. The national average of claims under the black lung provisions of the Act processed by the Bureau of Disability Insurance is 43%. However: only 22% of the claims from eastern Kentucky and 24% of those from West Virginia had been processed by early November 1970. And: 32% of the processed claims of West Virginia miners have been denied; 57% of Kentucky miners have been denied. The figure for claims denied for the rest of the nation is only . . . 20%.

If one reflects on the fact that in the past seventy years there have been 101,000 mine deaths, a number larger than the total of miners now working in Appalachia and double the number of Vietnam deaths, then the inability of the government to enforce regulations, which are mild by international comparison, strikes one as not speaking well for the capacity of political institutions to use the very arena of action which is theirs, by democracy's mandate, or for the American public's capacity to care for anything more than the dramatic, never the substantial.

And with the death of thirty-eight men in the Finley mines near Hyden, Kentucky last December 30, the nation was once again reminded about the plight of miners in Appalachian coal pits. The President of the United States himself announced that he would have visited the scene of the disaster. . . . if it had not been for "the bad weather." The more important visits, however, those of inspectors from the Bureau of Mines, were not made to the Finley mines on schedule some few days before the disaster in order to check compliance with violations of regulations in the 1969 act cited on earlier visits. It was the same, old refrain: new priority guidelines for violations under the new Act had just come down from Washington to the Bureau's regional office in eastern Kentucky, necessitating a new schedule of visits; the office itself was short-handed because some of the inspectors had taken "Christmas leave"; the mine operators complained that some provisions of the Act were a peril to the safety of miners and mines; that no one, not even the inspectors, understood all of the provisions of the Act. Etc. Etc. In any event, the Finley mines . . .

were permitted to operate up to the disaster on December 30. They did so in large part because an inspection required under the 1969 Act was subjected to the administration of a bureaucracy which, perhaps unwittingly but in fact, vetoed the will and intention of the Congress and the President and—if representative government is still taken seriously—the will of the people. Thirty-eight men dead. And the litany of charges: families of the dead miners exploited by funeral operators, insurance claim men and government officials; cover-ups and double-dealings and politics involved in the "hearings" to inquire into the disaster; illegal "primer cord" and "dynamite" had (and had not) been used in the mines; an inspector "who didn't want his name used" said a simultaneous explosion ten times the legal limit was set off when the men were killed. . . .

The complete failure of the American corporate structure to accept even a charitable responsibility for the region that it has raped so successfully is hardly arguable. Since men like General Imboden in the late nineteenth century went before the state legislatures to argue that " . . . within the imperial domain of Virginia, lie, almost unknown to the outside world and not fully appreciated by their owners, vaster fields of coal and iron than in all England, maybe, than all Europe" the American corporate community has wrenched resources estimated at a worth of nearly one trillion dollars from the mountains. While these companies pay some of the highest dividends of any company in the world to their already wealthy shareholders, the *communities* in Appalachia where those resources originated survive on a subsistence economy if "survive" is the proper verb here. Often more than half of the money in circulation comes from state and federal welfare coffers. This fact alone tells us something about the American Way, if not the American Dream. Three months after the June 30, 1970 deadline for reducing the amount of hazardous dust in the mines as required by the 1969 legislation, 2800 of the 3000 underground mine operators had not complied. It is these same companies which have continually opposed severance taxes on coal and medical benefits for the more than 100,000 disabled miners who suffer permanent lung damage from poorly maintained mines. Apparently when these corporate institutions of American free enterprise become incredibly wealthy, they cannot be expected to have conscience even to allow *government* to pay the tab for the damage they have caused. Somewhere that "pursuit of selfish interest accruing benefits to all" went astray in Appalachia.

It has always been asserted with pride that America takes great interest in its children. "D. S. L." had a child

a best-seller for over a decade. But this "child-dominated" society has interest only in certain children. Of the more than 925,000 poor children under six in Appalachia, as estimated by the Office of Economic Opportunity, only about 100,000 receive cash benefits in their home from Aid For Dependent Children or other similar welfare programs. While the national participation rate of children in Head Start programs decreased three percent between 1967 and 1969, the Appalachian participation decreased fifteen percent. The greatest decrease in Appalachia, significantly, was in full-year programs, those regarded as most beneficial to poor children. What other group in the country received the benefits from the cutbacks in Appalachia is unimportant here; that "hill-billies" were not on the priority list is obvious.

In the area of prenatal and infant care, the situation in Appalachia is even more alarming. Examinations of children in several areas of the region have shown that as many as seventy percent have "parasitic infestation" (the euphemism for "worms"), one of the contributing causes to Appalachia's unusually large number of retarded and "slow" children—"worms" abounding in the miserable shacks and grassless yards American free enterprise has put aside for the hillbillies. If the Appalachian infant mortality rate were reduced at the same rate as East Germany's in a five year period as reported by the World Health Organization, then the lives of more than 1,000 children a year could be preserved. In certain areas of the region, as a matter of fact, the situation worsened over a decade. In Lamar County, Alabama, for example, the infant mortality rate rose from 32.5 percent to 40.9 percent in ten years. Hancock County, Tennessee's rate rose from 21.4 percent to 42.2 percent in the same time period. While increased attention to child development at the national and regional level promises to better the situation, for many lives and for many minds the help comes too late. Perhaps if it were possible to estimate the number of mountain children who would be alive and healthy if Appalachia had received and retained a more equitable share of the nation's wealth, certain institutions could be persuaded more easily to invest in saving children. Until the case is made, however, we all labor under the curse of the prophets and the admonitions of the poets (increasingly, it seems, the only sane people), that the final judgment on civilizations and their institutions rests on how well they treat their children, who are—in appeal at least—the "least of these."

The Appalachian child who makes it to school does not find the institution America has charged with equipping youth with basic "survival" skills any better prepared to serve his needs. The inability and unwillingness of local governments to tax the property and extractive resources of large corporations has resulted in an educational system in Appalachia that can only be compared

to this the fundamental resistance of middle-class teachers to acknowledge the unique cultural heritage of the Appalachian youth, and you have a laboratory for studying one of the classic, historical struggles between a nation intent on erasing a minority from its midst and a people intent on preserving their identity and life style at any cost to themselves. In an Appalachian school, the middle class aspiring, teacher is just as insistent that the student be aggressive, obedient, joyless—in short, everything that his culture tells him he is not—as is the teacher in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school on a reservation. No wonder then that as many as 65 percent of the students drop out of school before graduation—a figure 25 percent higher than the national average.

Responding to the fiscal needs of the Appalachian educational system alone is overwhelmingly beyond the capacity of government agencies as they are presently funded. In 1967, for example, the Office of Education estimated that the construction needs of the 13 Appalachian states represented over 42 percent of the total school construction needs of the entire country. It would require the additional expenditure of \$363 million annually just to raise the per pupil expenditures of Appalachian schools to the national average. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, designed to increase the amount of funds available for the teaching of disadvantaged students, will spend more money on an equal number of students in the schools of Westchester, New York, where the number of poor students is about three percent of the student body, than it will in a county in Appalachia where more than half of the student body is poor. Talent Search, a special college recruitment and placement program funded by Congress for high-risk students, spends only 3.8 percent of its money in Appalachia, compared to the 10 percent the region deserves. Simply to make the Appalachian educational system equal in educational resources to the nation will require a political miracle at a time when no miracle workers are to be found.

While Appalachia is heavily populated with institutions of higher learning supported by various religious denominations and state governments, the region's students are no better served here than in the secondary institutions. Neither is the region's needs for professional and para-professional manpower. No institution of American society, in fact, is more divorced from Appalachia than the higher educational system which resides within it.

Forced by accrediting agencies, visiting boards, and hundreds of other pressures to maintain a facade of "academic excellence" and "a sound liberal arts educa-

tion," usually with Christ thrown in somewhere, the church-supported schools spend little time thinking about the community below their own mountainside. Their emphasis on admitting Appalachian students is so small, their tuition so high, and pressure so intense from church supporters outside the region to admit their sons and daughters, that most of these colleges have an inordinately high percentage of students from states like New Jersey. Certainly to these colleges, "Christian" education has nothing to do with serving the victims of Caesar's educational system.

The "open door" policies of state universities are often, in actuality, "revolving doors" for the Appalachian student. Once the student is admitted and the fees collected either from him or the state, the more aggressive and well-trained student from another section of the state or nation, and the freshman composition teacher, can be expected to send the Appalachian student scurrying home. In January 1968 the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges summed up the record of their members in the region with: "To maintain quality they raised student charges substantially, turned away qualified students, limited enrollments, and refused urgently needed public services."

The regional universities and colleges place little emphasis on promoting a regional consciousness on the part of their students. In fact, there is not at present a single Appalachian studies program in the region which could begin to rival the offerings in Far Eastern studies or astronomy. One, Eastern Kentucky University in Richmond (which in reality is in "Blue Grass," not "eastern," Kentucky) prides itself on its training and research in law enforcement and police work. All this continues and intensifies a channeling process begun by the elementary teacher to send the Appalachian student—ashamed of his background and ill-equipped to meet the needs of his region—into middle-class society outside the region. The sixteen-year process of credentializing that the student has been subjected to, becomes finally a ticket to the world of Dick and Jane, Support-Your-Local-Police and the affluence of America built at Appalachia's expense. So, a region which needs more than 200,000 college graduates—a minimum of 5,000 physicians, many more thousands of nurses, teachers, businessmen, government leaders, *ad infinitum*—finds no help in another of America's institutions.

The young Appalachian left behind by the higher educational system is destined to be the object of a number of complicated channeling devices. Certainly the male youth, if he can pass the examinations, is eligible for one of the more obvious youth channeling programs in the country, the draft, and, too, the volunteer army. Selective Service does not maintain records on Appalachians as a group, but the number in the service is estimated to be higher than their percentage in the

population because the armed forces represent the only opportunity available to many young mountain men to be assimilated into mainline America. For example: recent Department of Defense figures report that West Virginia led the nation in per capita Vietnam deaths. Twenty-five West Virginians per 100,000 population had been killed, compared to seventeen per 100,000 nationally. For the youth who seeks opportunity and training in some special opportunity program, such as the Job Corps, the fate may not be a great deal more encouraging. Because of the Job Corps' resistance to establishing a Center especially for Appalachian youth, they are sent to camps both within and outside the region where the population may be largely urban and black. Combine his unfamiliarity with urban life and blacks with his affinity for home and family, and one can easily understand why the Appalachian youth drops out of the program in equal frequency with his Indian counterpart. Even if he lasts the program out, according to Joint Action in Community Service, the agency which contracts with the Job Corps to place and counsel graduates, it is very difficult to find him a job or to locate a person or agency willing to assist him in the mountains.

For the youth who has not dropped out of school by the ninth grade and who has no prospect of attending college, vocational training represents the only channel open to him. Many find it a wicked channel indeed. Three years ago the Education Advisory Committee of the Appalachian Regional Commission reported that 50 percent of all vocational training programs in the region consisted of agriculture and home economics—areas in which there were almost no job openings. Since that report the Commission and the states have required all 235 vocational programs which they have funded to teach job-relevant skills. While only half of the schools are now open and no thorough evaluation has been reported, it is expected that the schools will be significantly better than their predecessors.

As late as 1968, however, the West Virginia Commission on Higher Education reported that only about 18 percent of the students in that state had access to vocational training. Given the fact that post-high school vocational training is still not available to the majority of Appalachian youth, this major channel of supposed opportunity still has a long way to go to overcome the serious handicaps it has represented in the past. And with improvement, vocational education's role may be to channel all the so-called disadvantaged students into neat slots, thereby diminishing not only the student, but vocational education as well. Additionally, so long as vocational school graduates must leave the mountains to find jobs, the region will remain a loser. It is already estimated that 900,000 high school graduates will have to leave the region to find jobs in the decade of the 70's. They will thus become the people the cities do not want and the people the region cannot afford to lose.

The fact that a mountain youth takes advantage of the opportunity to finish high school and apply to college

does not guarantee that the tentacles of the system will let him go. For instance, one of the high-risk students I taught in the Upward Bound program at Berea College applied and was accepted last fall at that college. During the preceding spring he was approached by a recruiter for the FBI who gave him a hard sell on the benefits of working for the Bureau in Washington. He dropped the idea of college and is now a low-paid clerk at FBI headquarters. Since this incident I have checked with school personnel in other areas of the region and found that intensive recruitment of high school graduates in rural areas is now carried out by the FBI and other government agencies who are not finding recruits for their clerk and typist posts in urban high schools. The law, it seems, does have a long arm and no qualms about modern forms of impressment.

Most high school dropouts—except those who marry and somehow find work or welfare payments—and unemployed high school graduates eventually end up being forced to migrate to find work. In West Virginia, for instance, 70 percent of the young people leave before they reach the age of 24. Usually referred to as "migrants" instead of more accurately as economic refugees, these youth join the more than 2,000,000 other mountaineers who have preceded them to northern cities such as Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis and Detroit. If they have a skill and happened to move during a period of relative economic prosperity, or are willing to accept a job run by the stopwatch and a minimum wage employer, as many do, then their chances for survival are good. If, on the other hand, circumstances deem that they have to move in with kin in the "back home" ghetto, then the situation is different.

The unemployed and unassimilated mountain youth finds himself in a bewildering ghetto that defies description, and usually comparison, with the ghetto life of other minorities. He also finds that in the city there is one thing more unacceptable than a black man—a hill-billy, a ridgerunner, a briarhopper. For the first time in its history America has recognized him as a cultural minority. If he ends up in juvenile court for stealing hubcaps, he is offered leniency with his promise to go "back home." Judges make this offer to youth whose families may have been in the city for three generations and can only consider themselves Cincinnatians or Chicagoans. If he enters school, studies show that its foreign nature drives him out faster both psychologically and physically than it does his black migrant counterpart. For the mountain youth who is unable or unwilling to assimilate into the life of the city, there is little help from the social service agencies who understand much more about blacks than they do about him. He is thus not only without help, but—perhaps more appallingly—without an advocate in a city that he does not understand and that does not understand him.

One group of Appalachians who are consistently overlooked and underserved by the institutions of the region are the blacks. As a matter of fact, both government and the so-called "private" welfare agencies refuse to acknowledge the existence of blacks in Appalachia. While the percentage of blacks in the region as a whole is low—about eight percent—they comprise the total population in many small, isolated hollows and ghost coal towns abandoned by the corporations and welfare and poverty agencies. Because the backbreaking jobs that brought black imports into the region are gone and because of the discrimination and competition with the majority of poor white people for jobs and welfare funds, their existence is a poor one, indeed. As yet no agency report or journalist has documented the presence and needs of these people, let alone described the culture of a minority group in the midst of another cultural minority.

America's unwillingness to deal with the Appalachian as he asks to be dealt with is probably no more baffling than America's seeming obsession to study and understand his unusual life style and values. Even before the Russell Sage Foundation published John Campbell's *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* in 1921, writers and sociologists were making forays into the mountains to alternately praise, condemn, and collect the mountain culture. The studies are still being made today in the midst of the technological revolution that is, for all practical purposes, making "Middle Americans" all alike. The conclusions of modern studies do not differ from those made in the last century. The Appalachian is different: he is existence-oriented, independent, has close family ties, is fatalistic, cares for his elderly, *ad nauseum*. If, as Robert Coles and others have written of late, the Appalachian has a life-style, a culture, that America would do well to listen to if not opt for, then why has America failed so miserably at times to meet his needs?

Part of the answer is, obviously, that Appalachia in the main has been a colonial territory for America within her own boundaries. The life style of the region served well the need of the mining and lumbering corporations for a subjugated people willing to be peasants in their own land. Even after the bloody struggles to unionize the mines, the capacity of America's institutions (including its labor unions) to contain the people's struggle remained intact. So what on the surface appears to be quaint people, to be explained away by their isolation and independence may, in fact, be more accurately described as the historical reaction of the people to colonialism.

What on the surface may strike Jack Weller, author of *Yesterday's People* (published jointly by the University of Kentucky and the Council of the Southern Mountains) as ignorance which keeps people from taking polio shots even when they are offered free transportation, may, in fact, be better explained by Frantz Fanon, a physician

himself, who argued (in *The Wretched of the Earth*) that the Algerians resisted "modern medical techniques" so long as the French were in control of them, but adopted the new practices immediately when they felt themselves to be in control. I have seen parents who refused to have their children vaccinated at the public health clinic, willingly have them vaccinated when it was "our" medical students who were giving the shots.

One has to understand how the medical profession in Appalachia operates to appreciate fully this phenomenon. He has to sit with a young father in the mountains and hear the story of how his pregnant, now deceased, wife was turned away from the hospital because he did not have the hundred dollars that the doctors demand as a downpayment for those who do not have medical insurance. It is these same compassionate doctors who have, rather than reform their own practices to meet the needs of people, turned the Medicaid program into a thriving business. The potential earning from the health support programs is so great that a recent government report on physician manpower in Appalachia suggested that it was one of the most lucrative enticements to get doctors into the region—another colonial characteristic. A largely overlooked article in the *Louisville Courier Journal* in the Spring of 1970 described how doctors and pharmacists have turned Medicaid recipients in eastern Kentucky into addicts and junkies. It repeated reports from law officers and nurses who had seen "whole families lying around in a stupor" and "glassy-eyed teenagers and small children wobbling or passed out along the roadside" because they took narcotics prescribed by their physicians. One eastern Kentucky pharmacist admitted that 65 percent of his business came from Medicaid dues. "The poor people are substituting pills for faith," he explained. He went on to describe why the abuses are allowed to continue: "It would cost the pharmacist a great deal in time away from work to keep a check on abuses. They are just too busy."

By and large American institutions can be said, then, to have held no respect for the mountaineer other than for his use as an object. Richard Davis notes in his recent *The Man Who Moved a Mountain* (Fortress Press), large metropolitan newspapers used the notorious Allen feud of the second decade of this century in my hometown of Hillsville, Virginia, to interpret the Appalachian to their urban readers. Said one:

The majority of mountain people are unprincipled ruffians. They make moonshine, 500 horsepower, and swill it down; they carry on generous and gentle feuds in which little children are not spared, and deliberately plan a wholesale assassination, and when captured either assert they shot in self-defense, or with true coward streak deny the crime. There are two remedies only—education or extermination. Mountaineers, like the red Indians,

Another editorial in a northern newspaper on the same event went on to conclude:

The Scotch-Irish mountaineers are more ignorant than vicious, victims of heredity and alcohol, and now that their isolated region has been invaded, must change or perish.

One of the often overlooked aspects of the outsiders' fetish for Appalachia has been the premises which underlie their own prescriptions for the people's future. One finds in Jack Weller's influential writings, for instance, comments such as these:

There is little in the mountain child's training that would help him develop self-control, discipline, resolution, or steadfastness. Thus the way is prepared for future difficulties in the army or at work.

Since the culture inadequately prepares its members to relate to "outsiders," there is a great need for "bridge" persons, who can help the suspicious and fearful to respond more positively to persons and institutions which will increasingly be of help and resource—doctors, psychiatrists, clinics, hospitals, government in the form of agency officials, policemen, public health nurses, welfare workers, and recreation leaders. The mountaineer's suspicion of these persons limits his use of them to crisis occasions, when, in fact, their purpose is to be of assistance in many ways at other times. He needs help in understanding that government and other institutions cannot be run in person-oriented ways but must be conducted in great measure on an impersonal objective basis. He needs help in seeing that a certain amount of bureaucratic organization is a necessary thing, and that a government does not exist for an individual person's benefit (*Yesterday's People*, pp. 157-158).

Responding to the Appalachian culture, outsiders are sometimes incapable of interpreting the evidence because of their own training in research procedures. One, for example, while, of course, repeatedly enjoining his readers that he is passing no judgment on the culture—describes mountain music and literature as "regressive looking", "nostalgic and melancholy," over all, "repressive." Thomas Merton, on the other hand, after hearing some mountain music for the first time at the Abbey of Cethsemani, gave the correct interpretation and exclaimed, "It's apocalyptic!" Perhaps the only fair hearing the culture of the people of Appalachia will receive is from persons, like mystics and contemplatives, who do not assign ultimate importance to the things that the modern State and today's seminarians have blessed as divine.

The churchmen, educators, welfare agents, independent do-gooders, journalists and novelists, and the institutions which pay their salaries—that is, those who have made an extraordinarily good living trying to "understand" the mountain man—have studied the Appalachian

"school" him, to "doctor" and "save" him by making him into what they already are: Middle America, assimilated into the America of the television and Holiday Inn—the America which Tocqueville and Faulkner warned was founded by those who sought not to escape from tyranny, but to establish one, in their own image and likeness.

Only in Appalachia, for example, have the mainline churches come upon a "Christian" religious expression which stands four-square against what they expect religion in America to "do." The rejection of the "Christian century" by Appalachia has baffled and annoyed the mainline churches, their agencies, theologians and sociologists. And because the Church in mainline America is unable to understand the Church in Appalachia, they have so far been unable to assimilate it. They have failed, in other words, to make it over into another of the agencies of social welfare which stands alongside HEW, Social Security, the Council of the Southern Mountains, the Commission on Religion in Appalachia, the Home Mission Board(s), etc. The mainline churches have tried to obliterate the Appalachian churches with demands for expressions which are "progressive," "rational," "contemporary" and "relevant". What more haunting, and in many instances disgusting, examples of the philosopher's "ambiguity of reason" or the theologian's "original sin" could be asked for? The liberal churchmen—Catholic and Protestant—insist that the snake-handling of the mountain man must come to an end (as must the "emotionalism" and "irrelevance" of the Black church). And all the while the mainline, liberal Church ignores the more dangerous "snakehandling" which defines their very efforts to "save" "yesterday's people"—a phenomena described precisely in the early years of this journal by the contemplative, the mystic, Thomas Merton, in "Events and Pseudo-Events: Letter to a Southern Churchman" (*Katallagete*, Summer 1966).

The answer to the question of why mountain culture must be destroyed is to be found in the fundamental truth about the technological society: the techniques which undergird all our institutions are assimilating all of us into, as Jacques Ellul puts it, "a society of objects, run by objects." Institutions in the technological society—and this means not only those of the state and its welfare bureaus, but the do-good agencies which include churches, schools and colleges—can respond only by and with the techniques of the impersonalized, bureaucratic means, procedures, formulas. Technique cannot discriminate between right and wrong, justice and injustice. That is why the same technique that gives and takes away the health card from an ailing miner, assimilates the pious mountaineer into the five-point grading system and the Uniform Sunday School Lesson.

The meaning is clear: institutions working in Appa-

the Appalachian people. The extent to which these institutions have so far failed in the venture is the extent to which this people and culture have successfully resisted the formidable pressures of the institutions of contemporary technological society. Why institutions—political and private, church and business, industrial and charitable—have responded and can respond to the Appalachian the way they have tells us something very important about power—and powerlessness—in the technological society.

For those of us who believe that the struggle is for the soul of man in the technological society, the resistance of Appalachian culture against assimilation into middle America demands earnest, indeed prayerful, attention. The struggle of the mountain man against the institutions of the technological society is the struggle to deny their right to define any man by his relationship to Middle America. The struggle—whether one believes that it comes out of resistance informed by left-wing Protestantism or opposition to colonialism and genocide — has implications for all who question not only the possibility, but the quality and character of any resistance to the totalitarianism of the technological society. □

ANTHONY DUNBAR'S *Our Land Too*, studies in and impressions about the South and Appalachia, will be published this Spring by Pantheon. His *The Will To Survive*, a study of the lives of people in the plantation area of Louise-Midnight, Mississippi, was published jointly by The Southern Regional Council and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. He is a native of Georgia.

CONSPIRACY ON CONSPIRACY

Anthony Dunbar

The time rhythm of the South is different from that of the rest of the nation. It is slower, less frantic. Living in the South it is hard to imagine what sort of energy keeps the rest of the country so alive with events and so full of important news. In the North, the West, it is very easy to forget the South because that region has left an impression upon the national mind as an unchanging area which has already experienced its major social confrontation and has already settled back into its old and, for most purposes, uninteresting ways. This is an unfortunate view, for the South is in flux. It is struggling in ways perhaps different from those of the rest of the nation to establish for its millions of people a new social order. And as part of that struggle, things have been happening in Dixie that the rest of the nation, for its own good, had better keep an eye on.

Meridian, a small city on the Alabama line, a woman was killed and a man seriously wounded by police while FBI agents looked on as the pair allegedly were preparing to place a bomb in the garage of a prominent Jewish businessman. The woman, Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth, and man, Thomas Tarrants III, both belonged to the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. They were victims of a trap arranged by the Meridian police force and the FBI whose intention it apparently was to kill Thomas Tarrants and a Jackson Klansman named Danny Joe Hawkins. The plan misfired because Mrs. Ainsworth and not Hawkins had come to Meridian and because she, and neither of the men, was killed.

In the South there are many Klans, and they are not all locked together in their ideas about the problems of the world. The years have done much to remove the Klan from its supposedly white gentry beginnings in Reconstruction and its position, in the 1920s, as a widely spread, working class organization which the nation was willing to recognize openly as a political force. The image of the bed-rock Baptist country farmer, hanging

At the end of June in 1968, an event took place that

communism, which was evolved in the 1950s and '60s, does not itself any longer hold true in many places. The largest of the Klan organizations, The United Klans of America, has tried to project a more moderate and respectable picture of itself. It has sought to become a political interest group that can push or obstruct candidates for office and which must be dealt with seriously by politicians rather than simply aroused with anti-Yankee rhetoric. To some factions of the United Klans, the Klan of earlier days becomes an embarrassment. When Lemuel Penn, a black man, was shot to death on a Georgia highway, the two Klansmen responsible were expelled from the United Klans. The man who served for eight years as the Grand Dragon of the United Klans in Georgia won a seat on Atlanta's bi-racial Model Cities board. He calls for "extremists of both the black groups and the white groups"—by which he means the SCLC and the Klan, and perhaps even the Birchers—to sit together at the conference table and work for peace in America. In this sense, the Klan is moving more into the mainstream of Southern politics where "law and order" and "freedom of choice" have replaced race hatred as suitable themes for discussion.

While the main Klans have moved toward respectability from the battle days of the early '60's, a few have gone the other direction. The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, a rival to the United Klans in the state, has gone beyond its formless antagonism for the NAACP, integration and civil rights workers. It has come to see an international Jewish conspiracy bent on destroying white Protestant values and peoples. It does not have its roots in that blend of intense patriotism and concern for the land of the South that is inbred in its neighbor organizations to the East and in the Carolinas. The White Knights fight not to protect the South but for the nation, and their object is not Yankees but the rich man, the corporation, the government with its vested interest in big business, the politician who deludes, all of whom, the White Knights believe, are manipulated by the world's Jewish elite.

This Klan is revolution minded, and it sees grounds for temporary alliance with radical black and left-wing groups elsewhere in the country, with anyone who is committed to overthrowing the power structure. After the battle is won, says this Klan, black and white will decide who will live where, for integration must be avoided, but for purposes of fighting the establishment, neither whites nor blacks can succeed alone.

The White Knights draw their strength from the Bible. They are not fundamentalists but believe that the words in the Bible must be read so as to speak to people today. They hold their faith seriously and take to heart those scriptures which say a man must live and act according to his beliefs. Because they are committed to their faith and because the message of the Southern church has been that white men and Christians are supreme, they become bombers. They have nothing but disgust for regular churchmen, politicians, upstanding businessmen,

and all manner of "conservatives" who claim to be Christians but at the same time cooperate with the "establishment". The strength of men like George Wallace worries them. In his type of leadership, they see no hope for a radical movement.

The hard-core members of the White Knights, and its political arm, The Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, are for the most part articulate, well read, and very aware politically. They pride themselves on being brave, friendly, committed, and kind. They are the activist underground of the right wing.

When the state of Mississippi finally, after so many years of looking the other way, reacted to terrorism directed against civil rights workers by prosecuting and convicting three Klansmen of arson and murder in the 1966 slaying of Vernon Dahmer, the head of the NAACP in Hattiesburg, the White Knights did truly go underground. The organization which probably numbered as many as 5000 members in 1965 was quickly reduced to a few dozen core men and women. As several of the key figures in the White Knights, including Sam Bowers, the group leader, came under indictment in Federal Court for violating the civil rights of Dahmer and of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman, three civil rights workers shot to death in 1964 in Philadelphia, Mississippi, the White Knights were forced to de-centralize. Klansmen were expected to take care of their locality and not call in help from other areas.

Two centers of White Knight strength and activity were Jackson and Meridian. In September 1967, the Temple Beth Israel in Jackson was hit with bombs. In November a bomb exploded in the home of a rabbi in Jackson. The FBI suspected, but never sought to prove, that the men responsible for these acts were Thomas Albert Tarrants III and Danny Joe Hawkins, both young members of the White Knights.

In Meridian during 1967 and 1968, some eight empty black churches, two black homes, and a white home were bombed. In May 1968, the Jewish synagogue in Meridian was bombed. The men the FBI suspected in these acts were two brothers, Raymond and Wayne Alton Roberts, both of Meridian. Wayne Alton Roberts was at that time appealing his conviction in Federal court on the civil rights count in the murder of the three community workers in Philadelphia. It was openly suspected that of the seven men convicted of conspiracy in that slaying, Roberts was the one who actually fired the shots.

By the time that the synagogue in Meridian was bombed, it had become the primary objective of the Justice Department in Mississippi to eradicate the Klan. The Jewish community of Jackson, with the help of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith,

to the conviction of the men responsible for the bombings in Jackson. The FBI was of the opinion that the money might best be put to use in Meridian. The mayor of that city and Police Chief Gunn had been in contact with both the ADL and the FBI after the bombings, and they had expressed their desire to see the Klan, specifically the Roberts brothers, stopped because they were doing harm to the city and its reputation and because they feared that they themselves were on a list of Klan targets.

The Meridian police and the FBI decided to try the same tactics against the Klan that had been used a few years before against civil rights workers. They took the Roberts brothers out one night and beat and threatened them. This approach was more successful than they had hoped. The Roberts brothers agreed to give information and testimony about other White Knights in the state. They accepted \$1,000 in "good faith" money and were promised much more later.

Over the next days, however, both sides began to have second thoughts about the deal. The FBI was aware that some jurors, especially in a Mississippi Klan case, frown on the testimony of paid informants. The Roberts brothers began to consider the dangers of testifying against fellow Klansmen, especially if they were acquitted or released for appeal after conviction. A new plan began to form. The FBI agents in Jackson had a great deal of professional as well as personal animosity toward the men they considered to be the primary "hit men" in that city, Thomas Tarrants and Danny Joe Hawkins. They introduced the idea of getting the Roberts brothers, now firmly committed to conspiring with the FBI, to set up a trap wherein Tarrants and Hawkins would, it was expected, be killed by officers while staging a Klan bombing.

The new deal called for \$69,000 to be paid to the Roberts' and \$10,000 to an intermediary, probably an ex-FBI man in Meridian. The money was to come from private sources located by the Anti-Defamation League. The brothers were persuaded to arrange for Hawkins and Tarrants to come to Meridian and place a bomb in the home of a Jewish businessman, Meyer Davidson. Since it was well known in Klan circles that the Roberts' were under intensive investigation by the FBI concerning their own terrorist activities, it was not hard to convince Tarrants and Hawkins that it would be too dangerous for the Roberts brothers themselves to commit the act and that outside help was called for. The total payment of \$79,000 was contingent on both Hawkins and Tarrants being present on the bombing attempt. Apparently, the negotiations concerning raising the money, delivering it, what it was to be used for, and the amount of the payment, at all times involved A. I. Botnick, Director of the Anti-Defamation League's regional office in New Orleans.

After talking with the Jackson men, the Roberts brothers reported to the FBI that Tarrants and Hawkins had agreed to the plan and would come to Meridian. The night decided upon was June 29, 1968.

FBI agents stationed themselves around the Davidson home. After midnight, Tarrants picked up Raymond Roberts and drove him for a final check-out of the Davidson home. Roberts was startled to find that Danny Joe Hawkins had not come on the raid though the car that Tarrants was using bore plates registered to Hawkins. In his place was a lady no one at that time knew much about, Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth. After cruising by the home and seeing nothing suspicious, Tarrants and Mrs. Ainsworth dropped Roberts at a night club so that he would have an alibi. From the club, Roberts called the police and reported that Mrs. Ainsworth, and not Danny Joe Hawkins, was accompanying Tarrants on the bombing attempt. The police decided to go ahead with their part of the plan, though its main purpose had been the killing of both Tarrants and Hawkins.

Tarrants and Mrs. Ainsworth drove up in front of the Davidson home at about 1:00 in the morning. Tarrants got out of the car and began to walk up the driveway, a bomb made of dynamite in his hands and a pistol stuck in his belt. It is a matter of dispute whether the police ever called "halt," but in any event, shooting broke out right away. Tarrants was immediately wounded but made it back to the car. Kathy Ainsworth was killed by a bullet in the spine as she leaned over to open the door for him. Tarrants managed to drive the car away but crashed after about a mile. Pursued and exchanging fire with officers, he finally dived into a clump of bushes where four policemen fired at him with shotguns from about fifteen feet away. When they went forward to drag him out, they were surprised to find him still alive.

After recovering in a hospital from his wounds, Tarrants stood trial in Meridian for placing a bomb, was found guilty and sentenced to thirty years at the state penitentiary at Parchman, where he is confined now in maximum security. Because the plan had not been entirely successful, the Roberts brothers received only \$36,500 in money raised from the Jewish community. The intermediary in Meridian received \$2,000. It is doubtful that the men and women who put up that money knew that it was to be used to arrange the deaths of two Klansmen. It is hardly doubtful that the law enforcement officials who handled that money had any other plan in mind.

The police and the FBI hastily worked to identify Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth. For everyone's peace of mind, it was determined that she was, indeed, a member of the White Knights and not just an acquaintance of Tarrants' who was so unfortunate as to find herself tried and convicted by a rifle bullet in the spine. She was also a school teacher in Jackson, well liked by her fifth grade pupils, who never spoke her political beliefs in class and rarely shared them with her friends. She cannot be called a redneck for she was college educated and all

lady who was kind to children and animals. And she cannot be classed as a naive victim of the political beliefs of her friends for she truly believed in what she did. Her mother, an immigrant from Hungary and herself violently anti-Semitic and anti-black, let it be known that she was proud of the way in which her daughter had died, fighting for what she believed in. By all accounts, Kathy Ainsworth was not cruel and not stupid, and she was not a product of a Southern heritage, for she had no such thing.

Thomas Tarrants, on the other hand, grew up in a middle class neighborhood in Mobile, Alabama. He finished high school at about the time people everywhere in the South were being forced into a political awakening by the great clashes of the civil rights movement. For Tarrants, that awakening was realized through groups like the National States Rights Party and, after he moved to Mississippi to work in the Masonite factory in Laurel, by the White Knights. He was 21 when he was shot and captured in Meridian.

Tarrants, Hawkins and other Klansmen complain of constant harrassment by the FBI, ranging from late night telephone calls to sudden round-ups where Klan members are held incommunicado for days in FBI offices. In July 1969, Tarrants' father travelled to Meridian to look for additional evidence of his son's entrapment. A police officer who had been wounded in the shoot out a year before entered his motel room and tried to arrest him. Tarrants' resisted and was badly injured in the fight with police officers. Hawkins has been charged with three crimes in addition to "placing a bomb" in Meridian—the bombing of a Jackson real estate office, robbing a bank in Memphis, and assaulting an officer in Jackson. He was acquitted of the bombing, and the Memphis case resulted in a mistrial. Hawkins claims that the assault charge, like the other two, was simply trumped up by the Justice Department and the FBI, which are determined to put him behind bars for something because he was lucky enough to escape the trap in Meridian.

It is clear that some elements of the Mississippi power structure are bearing down incredibly hard upon the White Knights. We may be tempted to ignore this or perhaps even commend it, for is the Klan not one reflection of the sickness that has prevailed over Southern society over the last decades? It is not, however, a clean and easily digestible case of American justice finally coming to grips with the terrorists of the South. The men who are breaking the Klan do not themselves embody such ideals. The same church-going souls in Meridian who endorsed the shooting there were and possibly are still conscientious members of the White Citizens Council or the Birch Society. They are happy that with the Klan menace seemingly gone from Meridian, the city

men, but when they speak of economic development, they are talking about new shopping centers and not the alleviation of the terrible poverty of black people in their area. The politicians who are content to see Thomas Tarrants in a solitary unit at Parchman conduct wildly racist campaigns for office. Police Chief Gunn, who played a major role in setting the trap in Meridian, commented afterwards, "You can't imagine how everybody in this community respects what we did. Even the niggers go out of their way to open doors for me. It's just like the ole days." Wayne Alton Roberts who, along with his brother, persuaded Tarrants to come to Meridian, is presently serving a ten year sentence for conspiring to violate the civil rights of the three COFO workers murdered in Philadelphia. It is expected that as his reward for collaborating with the FBI, he will be paroled after eighteen months. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which stands for "justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike" allowed money it handled to be used to finance the Meridian operation.

The point is that nobody involved in this incident is pure. The burden of too many years of corrupt and sad society weighs on everybody in Mississippi and the South. To say that the shooting at Meridian was a victory for racial or religious tolerance would be nonsense. To say that it was a necessary step to clear the way for the building of a new order would be equally absurd. Something more is definitely called for in building from the old South a better and more humane society than police power and a sense of vengeance.

America today lies in bits and pieces. The framework which held it together in the past has failed us. In some way we are going to have to create a new basis upon which we can talk together and live together. But our common responsibility to form that basis is too uncomfortable for most of us to bear, and we look instead to institutions like the Justice Department, the FBI, to put things right. The problems that this country face, however, have gone beyond anything that the government or the FBI are equipped or inclined to handle. At best, they can be expected to mediate the clashes between people of different wills. At worst—and it seems as if the law enforcement arm of government has chosen to do the worst—they can act blindly, with a frightening insistence that order be restored, when there is nothing in society to support such order, and aim their immense power at men who have lost their place in society's structure and are fighting for a new structure that can contain and satisfy them. In so doing, the lawmen have overstepped their bounds and have committed themselves against change at a time when it is inevitable and when men must begin to build a new society.

The most unfortunate thing about the Meridian incident is that nobody really cares. The only major newspapers to carry the full story by Jack Nelson were the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post*. Other papers apparently thought it not newsworthy or perhaps too full of important, yet cloudy, allegations to print, or too much of an exception to the official myths which define "the Klan" (if not the ADL) to put before their myth-saturated readers. But even had the account of the shooting been more widely known, it is not likely that people would have been greatly shocked, or even interested. In a sense, the extremism of the Klan and the war waged against it seem irrelevant to the course of American life. Such things figure simply as strange disturbances in the un fascinating, tiring, familiar events we associate with. To the man who spends his day in an office and collapses before a television at night, it does not seem possible that there can be enough hours in anyone's day to prepare and deliver a bomb. To the office worker, to the factory worker, it does not seem possible that men of their society could feel so passionately about the possibilities of the future that they ride the roads at night to blow things up. We don't so much admire or hate these men; we wonder at them. To the professional liberal, it is incredible that ADL, FBI, local police, etc., would act so "irrationally," so contrary to democracy's faith in the innate goodness of all (white) men.

The Klansman is definitely a malcontent. Many of them have the same sort of job, background, chance for security and likelihood of success common, or at least widely apparent, to Middle America. Their grasp of this situation for their lives, however, leaves them dissatisfied. Something is missing in that plan of life. The vision of this country into which they were born portrays America as a "free" land, built by a people's willingness to fight for what they think is right. The Klansman's experience tells them that most of their countrymen take this as meaningless, or at best a principle of faith and not a principle of action. The Klansman's discontent is rooted in his rejection of that hypocrisy.

The ideology of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is repugnant to Middle America, for it sets forth that Jews are the makers of evil but Klansmen themselves should not be so quickly scorned. They believe that the world is moving toward disaster, a vision which has not impressed itself upon enough of us, and though their perception of the cause of that disaster is not necessarily true, their willingness to struggle to keep it at bay is something we must appreciate. Most of us have not been convinced that tragedy of any sort awaits us if we proceed as we have done in the past. This country does not possess the sort of purpose against which we could measure our success or our failure as a society. Without

of national aspiration, there is no path to deviate from, there is no real sense in us which can feel pain at our misdeeds or the ruin we are making of the world.

We exist as the achievement of the hopes of the liberal-minded men who declared us a nation in days long past. Those who believe that there is still more to achieve and that a nation's identity must be geared to striving and not only to developing, stand apart from the drift of society, and they must be dealt with, both because they carry within them a courage and a commitment we all need, and because they force themselves against us. We are not a nation of revolutionaries. The sort of change described by the word "revolution" has lost its place in our imagination. This is a fact that in some manner must be faced if we are to come to grips with the unanswered human needs and cravings that lay before us. The capacity to envision a greater world is rare. It must be honored where it can be found. In the body of a Klansman, of a person like Kathy Ainsworth, it is destructive, but it deserves respect, at least more respect than we give it by dispatching a faceless lawman to snuff it out.

Violent political repression is not new to this country. The power of government has often been employed to crush social movements that threatened to get out of hand. The radical labor movement of Socialists and the Wobblies was hounded into extinction by court injunctions, company thugs, and state militias. The unions which came later—the textile workers, the CIO unions—even while extolling their own patriotism were treated to the same attacks. The time when we might permit ourselves to be surprised by stories of government's suppression of dissident groups has long since passed.

But it seems that today something new is happening. We cannot escape these stories of suppression by government. And we must be struck by the lack of sense that these stories make to us. In Berkeley, people from all walks of life joined together to turn a vacant lot owned by the University of California into a park and a playground. For this, because they refused to stop this work, a man was killed and another blinded as sheriff's deputies moved in to re-establish dominion over the lot for the university.

In Chicago, in late 1969, police from the State Attorney's office staged a raid on an apartment kept by members of the Black Panther Party in order to search for illegal weapons. This, one of the most notorious and poorly executed police "investigations" in recent years, left two Panther leaders dead and four members wounded. The evidence collected by the state grand jury indicates that, at most, the residents of the apartment fired three shots. The police, with shotguns, pistols, and a sub-machine gun, fired at least eighty rounds. Quite possibly, most of the gunfire resulted from police enter-

from police entering at the front of the apartment. Only two illegal weapons, a sawed-off shotgun and a police shotgun, were netted in the raid.

A black militant organization in Houston declared that police would not be allowed to enter their headquarters. In the summer of 1970, the police did raid that headquarters. The leader of the organization was killed in the fight. The officer in charge of the operation remarked later that there is no place in the city of Houston where a policeman cannot go. Could it be that the reason for the raid was only to demonstrate the completeness of police authority?

In its report on the Panther slayings in Chicago, the grand jury stated that, "Much has been done and is being done toward eliminating these human problems"—meaning the social and economic problems of black people—"but the continuing process of change and correction will take time, perhaps a number of years. In the meantime, the difference between chaos and order is the responsibility of local law enforcement agencies." It is not a certainty that law enforcement agencies can create order, nor is it a certainty that they can prevent chaos. They can, however, contribute to chaos, or to a world divorced from human reason. In a battle of ideas, by far the quickest solution is for one party to kill the other. The belief that you can kill a man but not an idea is only true if we reject the possibility that all the holders of a certain faith can be exterminated. We cannot today simply ignore that method: World War II made it seem real.

As far removed as we might declare ourselves today from the horrors of mass killing under Naziism, we cannot escape the fact that it left us with some terrible insights as to how easy it is to remove anyone who challenges our way of thinking. The war that goes on in Vietnam has been colored by this unreasoning approach to dealing with human differences. Our bombs and our defoliants attack guerrilla and farmer alike. Because we cannot discern a means to separate our enemy from our potential enemy, we must indiscriminately kill whomever we cannot identify as friend.

Wars like that between the Arabs and the Israelis become divorced from any understandable human issue. The antagonistic camps become pawns of the great powers who must test their strength against one another. The struggles lose all claim to reason and become exercises in mechanized brutality. Their aim is only to kill the enemy. It is so simple to solve a problem in that manner. And it is happening that this method of ending dispute is more and more being incorporated into our way of doing things. It ought never occur to an organization like the Anti-Defamation League to conspire with the FBI to trap Klansmen in Mississippi. The Justice Department should not stoop to lending its great power to a battle fought not in the interests of fair treatment but of entrapment and repression. The law can claim no respect when its agents defy it and initiate a terror of their own.

We seem to have come to a point where, when confronted with some human conflict, we turn first to the solution of settling it by killing. This has become virtually an automatic response, and at a time when society is the scene of constant conflict, we would do well to be terrified by it. If we decide that it is the legitimate role of government to select what it considers to be political misfits and deal with them in any way it chooses, we are going to have to live with it when that power has fully blossomed. And we are going to have to live with and pass on to our children our own moral failure in refusing to create a society that is tolerant and appreciative of individual differences and proud of the capacity of its people to be outspoken and fully human, rather than simply respectable and respectful of their government. We fail if we refuse to recognize the alternatives to violent repression in our dealings with one another.

There are questions we need to ask ourselves. Why did the Anti-Defamation League, which has for so many years campaigned against the Ku Klux Klan, adopt the methods it had damned to fight the Klan? Why did the Justice Department through the FBI lend its support to this adventure? Why did not the American press cry out against this misuse of power? Have we come so far toward living in obscenity that we are not shocked by this affront to the concept of liberty?

The extremist Klan is a misfit. But what the FBI, ADL and the police did in Meridian was wrong. It is no service to the nation to handle people in that way. It is very sad that we have become so casual about our government's violence that we can ignore or allow the use of the measures of oppression in Meridian or anywhere else. The tactics of the Justice Department in Mississippi have joined with racism, anti-Semitism, terrorism, oppression, hate politics, and all the other elements which in the South and America, are just crummy. What was done by the Justice Department, the FBI, and by the Anti-Defamation League demonstrates a weakness in all of us: that we would prefer to avoid our problems by silencing the people who bring them to our attention. And it also exposes that within the law enforcement branch of government there resides something less than a respect for law and an increasing willingness to depend upon the power of its police and not upon any concept of human rights when it becomes involved in conflicts between people and social order.

This is something which should dwell in our minds. If the government can exercise its power for repression against the Klan in Mississippi, against the Panthers in Chicago, it can use it to silence any group in this country. The time to voice our indignation is not when we are directly threatened, but when we see that others, more vulnerable perhaps than we, are, in our name and in the name of preserving our society, being crushed by the weight of uncontrolled police power. □

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CAN WE CONTROL OUR MILITARISM?

By D. F. Fleming

It is an almost unbelievable fact that the United States has become the greatest military power that has ever existed on earth, and that its military machine not only considers the world to be its province, but incidentally dominates the internal life of the country. It is also a power so vast that it may be impossible ever to curb or reduce it.

I

In his Farewell Address as President, General Dwight D. Eisenhower warned in 1961 that our military establishment and the industry which armed it might come to permeate and control our entire national life, and this has almost happened.

The term military-industrial complex no longer describes the immensity of our submission to militarism. To be sure there is the most intimate tie-up between the

great military bureaucracy in the Pentagon and the industrial interests that profit so hugely from the military contracts, but labor union members benefit richly and even the universities get lush research grants from the military, which put many professors aboard the gravy train that is protected by entrenched committee chairmen in both houses of Congress. Eric Sevareid spoke accurately of "the suffocating growth of the military-industrial-academic-labor union-congressional complex." All of these groups and others enjoy the very loosely controlled flow of tax money into their hands. Together they are still a minority of us, but a very powerful one.

At the very heart of this giant complex are the men who have made the armed forces their life work, especially the officers. General David M. Shoup, a former Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, has described unforgettably the "nucleus of aggressive, ambitious professional military leaders who are the root of America's evolving militarism." He notes that there are

over 410,000 commissioned officers on active duty in the four armed services."

Their lives are relatively tame in peacetime, so that during 1965 all "four services were racing to build up strength" in Viet Nam. It is war, adds Severeid, which gives our officers "their promotions, renown and sense of being usefully alive; no other experience compares with it for the male ego."

These men are carefully selected for ability and even in peacetime, Shoup writes, "the sheer skill, energy, and dedication of America's military officers make them dominant in almost every government or civic organization they may inhabit, from the federal Cabinet to the local PTA."

This capacity is reinforced, says retired Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, by an enormous propaganda budget in the Defense Department which "covers every segment of our society." All officers "including retired ones, are given prepared speeches to deliver."

Of course the defense budget itself is enormous. The one proposed for 1970 added up to \$78,475,047,000 and Rear Admiral Arnold E. True testified accurately before the Senate Armed Services Committee that "the only real threat to our national security is the existence of huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and the smaller stockpiles of China." The motivation for maintaining these stockpiles, he adds, is fear and "as long as these weapons exist, there is no security for the U.S. or the other nations of the world"—a fact never to be forgotten. "Our military establishment itself has grown to such a size that it indicates a national paranoia and it may well be its continued growth will bring on World War III which it is designed to prevent."

This is a strong statement from a man entitled to make it. It is verified in an arresting address by Senator J. William Fulbright in which he shows a "disparity of almost ten to one between federal military expenditures since World War II and regular national budgetary expenditures for education, welfare, health and housing."¹

"Mad Momentum"

This is obviously the road to national debility and disaster. Yet we are very far advanced on it. Back in September 1967 Defense Secretary Robert McNamara described the "mad momentum" of the missile arms race. In early 1969, Professor Milton J. Rosenberg, professor of social psychology at the University of Chicago, surveyed most competently our drift toward doomsday. He found it powered by "an essentially paranoid axiom: one must conceive the worst the opposing power *could* do and then operate on the assumption that, if unchecked, it *will* do it." This is an exact statement of the rule we live by and it is paranoid. It leaves no room for humanity, for normal human reactions, or for the desire of all peoples to live in peace and enjoy increasingly the fruits of their labors and advancing technologies.

The paranoid axiom is also self-defeating. Rosenberg cites McNamara's statement made in February 1965: "At each successively higher level of U.S. expenditures, the ratio of our costs for Damage Limitation to the potential aggressor's costs for Assured Destruction becomes less and less favorable for us." To try to limit our fatalities to about 40 million in a first strike against us "we would have to spend on Damage Limiting programs about four times what the potential aggressor would have to spend on Damage Creating forces"—and, he might have added, always sleep in the holes in the ground assigned to the most favored of us.

Rosenberg concluded that, "If the game is madly played on both sides, there is still some special madness in our insistence on staying far ahead of the Communist nations in destructive and 'defensive' capability," and "a special duplicity in the fact that our military manage to find unbearable threats in every attempt by the Soviets or Chinese to narrow the gap between our capabilities and theirs."

Another scholar, Professor Benedict J. Kerkvliet, of the University of Wisconsin, has surveyed the whole notion of defense by nuclear deterrence and has concluded that it would be more prudent to begin unilateral disarmament. The deterrence strategy "seems to be only a rational one for insane societies."

This is an accurate statement when one reflects that there is literally no limit to the deterrence game, short of final national disintegration. Our scientists who are well paid to think up "new weapons systems" can be absolutely depended upon to pile new and ever more expensive systems on top of each other. There is no limit in the sky, where most of them will operate. This is proved by the fantastic purposes and capabilities of the ABM and MIRV systems.

ABM and MIRV

If we have nuclear missiles capable of crossing half the world, it is logical to invent Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABMs) to "defend" our cities and missile sites, especially since we already have on our missiles Multiple Re-entry Vehicles (MRVs), each of which can scatter several missiles on the target. Naturally this is not good enough, so we plan MIRVs that can think along the way and then at a thousandth of some second fire missiles at several *different* targets, over a large area. This patently requires super-super ABMs and so on into eternity. No one has yet figured out how to counter the missile firing submarines deep under the sea, but give us triple X billions of dollars and a new spiral to national oblivion, one way or another, will open. By this route there is no escape from our final fiery end.

Nor can this game go on much longer. Indeed, the MIRV decision may be the last stopping place before doomsday: this weapon must be tested often in the sky and nothing can prevent the scientific eyes of our op-

ponents, in earth satellites and otherwise, from seeing the many missiles on the warhead scatter to targets. This will open up "an anti-missile gap in reverse" for both sides. Indeed "the Department of Defense is openly putting high accuracy on the 8,000 additional warheads (on the MIRVs), so that they can be used to attack Soviet land-based missiles."

If the plunge into the ABM-MIRV desperation cycle is not prevented there will be no stopping place for several years in the insanity of the arms race.

Military Socialism

By any objective standard the American people are on the steep incline of militarism, with the deep waters below them darkened by the ink of many ponderous arms budgets. We proceed downward at an increasing pace also, because the slide is greased by the prodigal use of military socialism.

Welfare socialism—which increases the health, wealth, and productivity of our people—is one thing, but military socialism—which wastes our resources, kills enterprise, and ends in economic sterility—is quite another. The sweet profits and high wages which military spending brings blind many to the fact that the free flowing military dollars create no new wealth, aside from some "spin offs" of military research, and thus end in sterility. Equally destructive also is the side effect of killing enterprise and initiative along the way. Why work hard or save dollars when contracts are let quietly without bidding, when costs of weapons hardware are allowed to rise several hundred per cent without any penalty to the contractors, all at the expense of taxes; when new military gadgets costing billions prove to be partial or total failures, without any penalties or relief to overburdened taxpayers? This kind of socialism, the negation of all private enterprise, must bring the richest of nations to bankruptcy and disintegration. Up to a certain point military priming of the economic pump may seem as good as any, but its negative fruits must eventually exhaust our economic wells.

We cannot be strong by endlessly squandering our wealth on "defense" when the deep social needs of our people, needs that will not wait much longer, threaten anarchy in cities and nation alike. We were told once that we could afford both unlimited guns and social reforms. Now we know that this is not true. The military costs eat up the social gains, and weaken us daily.

There is only one way that we can be strong and respected in a world, even loved. That is by building here at home such a workable, prosperous, humane society that all the nations will look to us once more as the model to emulate. Moreover, we could then have resources with which to help some of the weaker peoples.

Vietnam Fiasco

In Viet Nam our military men and their industrial backers have thrown the whole book of military destruction—save only nuclear fire—at a little brown people and have been defeated. The giant B52s have dropped many, many millions of tons of bombs on the peninsula. Countless thousands of times our helicopters have sprayed bullets and napalm, often at night, over the villages and countryside. All kinds of tanks and huge vehicles have thrashed the jungles times without end. The big guns have thundered and the little ones have chattered endlessly. Gas of various kinds has been used.

All this and more has been done and yet the little men who, in the main, fight only with what they can carry, have stymied the military colossus of all time. Our never-ending military effort has divided our nation, brought it to the verge of internal disintegration, driven one President from office, and promises to destroy another. It has aroused a large majority of the people of the world against us and imperiled our prestige with most of the others.

It all came about gradually because the President's military advisers endlessly told him that another dose of force would bring "victory." So the great American eagle is lost in the jungles of Viet Nam and does not know how to escape. Spending nearly \$150 billion and 45,000 American lives, while wounding for life perhaps 250,000 others; killing several hundred thousands of natives, mostly innocent people of all ages and both sexes, and leaving South Viet Nam filled with helpless cripples; driving some 3 million more from their homes in the villages to the insecurity and squalor of life in the cities and refugee camps—all this has not given us a sure grip on the so-called strategic spot in South Viet Nam which China allegedly coveted.

This incredible and horrible military failure should teach us a permanent lesson about the nature of power. We thought it resided in the Pentagon, but we have learned that it also lives in the minds and hearts of a small people who are determined to be independent and free of foreign control. It is a thing of the spirit, mightier than all the American swords that seek to find and pierce it.

II

In the councils of Government we must guard against the question of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex.—President Eisenhower in his farewell address on January 17, 1961.

It is very fortunate that General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower identified the dangers in the military-industrial complex ten years ago.

In the decade just ended the power of the complex has grown greatly and has been used futilely and disas-

trously in Viet Nam, a tragedy which has now created a strong revulsion against the union of the Pentagon with a powerful segment of our industry which powers the war machine.

This union has been aptly called "a sweetheart relationship." As it operates, the military let contracts for defense systems of the most fabulous kind to favored corporations, without competitive bidding, and under arrangements by which the contractor can't lose. Once "locked into" a contract the company proceeds with research, uses a great deal of government property, is lavishly supplied with working capital and emerges with lush profits, even if the defense system proves to be a fiasco. In any case, the contractor stays in business, thinking up some new military miracle that the Pentagon may be glad to have tried out, on the same sure-win basis.

The companies, too, are glad to welcome military men into their employ, at high salaries, and the officers then deal with their old colleagues and subordinates in the Pentagon, for the benefit of both sides. Some 2,100 retired officers of the rank of Colonel or higher are now holding jobs with firms doing defense work.

This system, if it could be termed that, is obviously not free enterprise, or enterprise of any kind. It is a kind of military socialism which enables a considerable segment of our economy to operate luxuriously. Both the corporate and military bureaucracies benefit, but so do the wage earners and many tradesmen and people in the service occupations. It is a minority of the business world, but a powerful one and a large amount of guaranteed employment undoubtedly results. Yet the operations of the military-industrial complex are uneconomic, since they produce no new wealth. From that standpoint they are sterile, even parasitic. But the complex continually teaches us that there would be great unemployment and trouble if it did not operate.

Some 100 of the largest defense contractors, such as Lockheed, Boeing, General Dynamics and North American Rockwell, are "entrenched" in the complex from year to year. Cost over-runs also can occur almost without limit. Thus a new navy submarine rescue craft was supposed to cost \$3 million but it ran up to \$77 million each, reported the General Accounting Office on December 29, 1969. In another case a Lockheed contract to produce 120 C-5A plans originally called for \$3.4 billion but ran up to \$5.3 billion.

These enormous troop-carrying planes are to be teamed with a large projected fleet of Free Deployment Logistic Ships (FDLS) which would be ready to unload equipment for field armies at any point in the Americas, or beyond, as the C-5As rain down the troops to use the equipment. If both of these world police weapons materialize in quantity, we will indeed be ready to defend our business empire wherever the status quo may be endangered—except that leftist armies and democratically elected socialist governments, as in Peru and Chile, may leave us no legal status quo to rescue.

Results of Wholesale Military Research

In the meantime, another vital element in the Military Industrial Complex works to keep it in power. I refer to the college professors and other researchers, who receive large stipends and expense accounts to work on military research. Fully half of our scientific brain power is now so employed. This, of course, means that the protection and advancement of civilian life is very short handed. We do not get the new ideas and techniques that would keep our society from sliding steadily down hill.

Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University, is our leading authority on the adverse effects of the military economy on our national life. He finds, for example, that our machine tool stock is the oldest of any industrial country's and that important industries "have become technologically and organizationally depleted, and incompetent to hold domestic let alone international markets. These include: apartment house construction, ship-building, steel and many of the machinery producing industries." Our railroads now "resemble Toonerville Trolleys" and, worse still, "many military-industrial engineers now have a trained incapacity for civilian work."

On the other hand, this wholesale prostitution of our brain power enables non-militarized Germany and Japan to race far ahead of us in constructive economic endeavors of every kind. They modernize their civilian life with great rapidity and supply other markets around the world.

Meanwhile, our scientists and technologists plunge onward and upward (downward in reality) toward new miracle weapon systems. There is literally no end to the phantasies of destruction that can be imagined and "produced"—short of national bankruptcy and disintegration.

Realizing this, an international group of scientists dedicated to peace issued a warning, on September 16, 1970 against a new step-up in anti-submarine warfare. At present the inability of both sides to know where "enemy" submarines are gives a kind of deterrent stability. But now a new powerful sonar equipment may be developed that could find missile carrying submarines beneath the sea. Let us not pursue this "advance" say the peace scientists, but we may be sure that the militarized ones will do so—in spite of the fact that the ability of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to destroy each other many times over has been long established. China, too, will soon join this select company.

Immense Overkill

This is the famous overkill that Melman has demonstrated so strikingly. He has shown that we can now deliver more than 40 nuclear warheads upon each Soviet

city of 100,000 people or more and that they can destroy our cities sixteen times. What, he continually asks, is the use of the stupendous overkills? Isn't one destruction enough?

Yet the pursuit of ever more incredible ways to kill goes on. Assistant Controller General Robert F. Keller states at the end of December 1969 that "As far as we know, information is not available centrally as to the total number of (weapon) systems being acquired or their cost." In other words, no man in the Pentagon or elsewhere knows how much money, brain power and economic effort we are wasting on new methods of overkill, while our internal conditions deteriorate dangerously. Yet the profits, careers and livelihoods of the military men, those in the war industries and the military researchers depend on keeping the game going until doomsday, which in their crazy way of life can come at almost any minute.

In his new book, *Race to Oblivion*, scientist Herbert York explains that the arms race has become doubly absurd: first because our national security has been rapidly and inexorably decreasing as our military power to touch off doomsday is in the process of passing from statesmen and politicians to lower level officers and technicians and, eventually to machines.

Congressional Leadership of the Complex

This subservience to the "worst case analysis," by which we assume the worst intention of an enemy and the best success of his weapon systems, requires the assistance of another and decisive element in the MIC—entrenched militarist members of Congress, especially committee chairmen. These are to be found mainly in the South, the chairmen fortified by the seniority rule and the others by re-election from one party districts or states.

Long ago the Pentagon saw the advantages of locating big defense industries in the states or congressional districts of these potential allies, who in turn regularly promote all military appropriations, no matter how weird the new weapons systems involved may be. The result is that a few Southern states, and a sprinkling of others, are loaded heavily with lucrative military industries which powerful chairman deeply appreciate.

An illustration was noted in the late summer press last year. On August 12, 2,000 people prominent in the military and defense-related industries gathered at the Washington Hilton Hotel "to honor Representative Mendel L. Rivers of South Carolina, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, as a distinguished American." The Vice President, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and top Pentagon civilians were there along with executives of "General Dynamics, the Coca-Cola Company, General Motors and dozens of other firms that do business with the Defense Department." Many whose shoulders were "ablaze with

stars of rank stood in line to shake hands with the 30-year House veteran."

On September 28 the *New York Times* reported that Chairman Rivers "fired the opening shot in the House battle over the defense budget with a warning that the nation was in 'terrible jeopardy' because of rising Soviet military power." We are on the brink of disaster and the "future of this nation hangs by a thread," he declared in "a long grim speech."

New Public Scrutiny

This is the kind of annual warning that has hitherto heralded unanimous votes in the Congress for the enormous military budgets, or with only one glorious maverick like Senator Wayne Morse or Senator Ernest Gruening voting nay. But now every military item is scrutinized, and with the aid of new agencies now being perfected. Many of the greatest voices on television and in the newspapers also use their influence in favor of our survival as a civilian state.

All this would have been unthinkable two years ago, or even one. Yet this new revulsion may not be strong enough. The Pentagon is the most powerful bureaucracy that ever existed in any land. We fear civilian bureaucracy but have been blind and deaf about the greatest bureaucracy of all, the one which extends from the Pentagon out over the American empire to the ends of the earth. (See the new book by Senator J. W. Fulbright, *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*).

Can Control of the Military Be Effective?

The most important issue in our national life is whether control of the military can ever be made effective again. The very able Defense Secretary McNamara took office "with the avowed aim of establishing greater civilian control over the military," but, according to Richard Goodwin, "the harsh fact . . . is that when he left, the military had greater influence over American policy. . . ."

The continuing paramount issue, Goodwin continues, is whether "the Pentagon is to play a fundamental and perhaps mortal role in shaping our national policy, using secret information, building an independent constituency through a vast public relations program, while liberated from the normal restraints of public debate and Congressional judgment."

At the best it will be a long, grueling endeavor, one to enlist the best energies of our young people and their elders. Inexperienced civilian teams move into the Pentagon with each new administration and, among other tough fortresses, they encounter the mighty bastion of secrecy. "The matter is classified. The public must not

know. Our national security depends on it!" Yet nearly all information about any question can be obtained by studying the press and other public sources, if people will take the trouble. The need, says former director of the Bureau of the Budget Charles L. Schultze, is for a new joint committee of Congress, properly staffed, and for a multiplicity of independently financed research centers on military affairs in our universities. Behind them must be countless individual citizens who also do their homework on the key issue of our national life, since our survival as a civilian state depends on it.

Until recently, to quote Representative Don Edwards, there has not been "even an effort to have a devil's advocate" against the military. He examined "one series of hearings which ran to 3,000 pages of testimony from 300 witnesses, 298 of whom worked for the Pentagon or within the military services. The other two represented the National Rifle Association." With powerful drives under way to increase the military budget in many directions after Viet Nam, opponents of the military state will need all the aids and ideas which can be mustered.

Tough minded Defense Secretary Laird abolished useless installations and otherwise held military budgets down in his first two years, but late in 1970 he announced that they would have to rise.

Ways Out?

What ways are there out of the military morass into which we have partly stumbled and partly blundered deliberately?

These are offered to stimulate other ideas and proposals:

(1) *Our cold war fixations are outdated.* If there was once some partial justification for them, which is debatable, they have been superseded by new and undeniably urgent imperatives. An increasing number of competent authorities warn us that man's ever greater pollution of our land, water, and air threatens his extinction on this planet in the span of a few decades, and that the geometric rise of population must have the same result in the same short time. Like militarism, these forces may already be beyond control, but we must do what we can, individually and in all kinds of groups. We cannot accept the conclusion that man is doomed by his own follies.

(2) *Militarism is self-destructive.* In the short time that may remain to us as a nation, and as a part of humanity, we must not waste our energies and resources on military socialism. Everything that we have and can create will be imperatively needed to help give mankind a chance at a long tenure on this earth.

(3) *There is no longer any military defense.* The idea that even the greatest "powers" can no longer defend their lands and peoples is deeply shocking, but it is inexorably true. When the military titans can only die in mutual slaughter involving the sudden death of hundreds of million, when an accident or a mental aberration

in one man may touch off the final deluge of death and when the military acts of a small state may do the same, the very idea of "national defense" is emptied of meaning. Only artificial fears can keep the arms race going until doomsday, and we must be mature enough to refuse to let these fears determine our fate.

(4) *The core interests of the large nations must be mutually respected.* It was a highly dangerous act when we mounted missiles in Italy and Turkey aimed at the Soviet Union, but it was worse folly when years later the Kremlin tried secretly to erect missiles on our very doorstep in Cuba. Yet it is also incredible folly for us to maintain missiles and giant weapons of every kind in a close-up ring around Communist China. That is a sure prescription for a disaster that may involve all mankind.

(5) *We cannot police the world and suppress all revolutions that threaten capitalism and our investments in the non-Communist half of it.* Viet Nam has demonstrated that for all the world to see, and no number of FDLS ships and giant troop-carrying planes can ever restore our fancied world hegemony. When the pressures of population, or pollution, make men desperate they will revolt, in spite of all the engines of death and huge police vehicles that we can fabricate. This means that we cannot enforce *Pax Americana* even in Latin America.

(6) *Neutralization must be pushed.* Many areas of the world, small and large, should be neutralized by the agreement of rival states and others, again narrowing areas of conflict.

(7) *International solutions must be developed rapidly.* This has been the demonstrated, crying need ever since the end of World War I. After it there has never been any other way of escape and this has been more urgently clear during the World War II period and through all the stages of the Cold War. Now time is short, but the United Nations, the World Court, the World Bank and other international institutions still live and their usefulness can be rapidly expanded. It is a hopeful sign that one of the organs of our Administration has recommended that our aid to underdeveloped peoples should be channeled through international agencies, with no effort by Americans to profit directly from it.

The term "world government" may still be repellent to many, but nothing less than strong world agencies, open even to Chinese Reds, can hope to cope with the looming dangers that threaten the extinction of all men.

(8) *The young people may save us.* All around the world young people are in revolt. They know well that their fathers and grandfathers have made a dreadful mess of things and they reject the old values: that profit-making is the main motive in life; that their function is to obey Communist bureaucracy; and that the Deity ordained that a few should live richly while the peoples perish.

Here, then, is the fresh reservoir of hope and action. As the young people begin to move into positions of power and influence they may provide the stimulus to action for at least the containment of our desperate problems and then for solutions that will give the peoples a

chance to live at peace, in civilian societies, over a long term.

But time presses more than ever. This writer and many of his generation have worked steadily since 1918 to persuade our countrymen to accept strong international institutions—beginning with the League of Nations—to keep the peace, but without much success.

Now the urgencies are much greater and the time left to us far shorter. You of the younger generation do not have fifty years left in which to labor, and you must have the help of great numbers of your elders, aroused to avert the extinction which hovers over all of us. □

For a copy of Admiral True's testimony consult the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103. His brief contains a masterly analysis of the Defense

budget, showing many places in which great sums could be saved and our safety increased in the process. Examples: greatly reducing the 3,500,000 military personnel, nearly half on foreign soil; eliminating large numbers of foreign bases that would likely be a liability in a major war; striking out the proposed FDLS ships and the huge transport planes that would facilitate our policing the world; ending the monstrosity of \$8,305,400,000 for research oriented toward war as compared with less than 1/20 of 1 per cent of that amount for research leading to arms control and disarmament.

² Jeremy Stone, "How the Arms Race Works," *The Progressive*, Vol. 33 (June 1969), p. 26. This issue of *The Progressive* is entitled "The Power of the Pentagon." It is devoted entirely to report and comment on a remarkable and hopeful Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities held in Washington, March 28-29, 1969. The conference was initiated by ten Senators and Representatives. Most of the leading authorities on the arms race were there, and they are quoted verbatim in the report.

DELIVERING MEDICINE

William Dow

The advances in medical knowledge over the past thirty years have been nothing short of phenomenal. So also has been the phenomenal lack of advance in the delivery of health care. As one who has observed from the viewpoint of both the consumer and the provider, and as one who is within several months of completing medical school training, this lack of development of an appropriate health care delivery system is painfully acute. During the past four years I have worked in several capacities in rural parts of Eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi where adequate, comprehensive, up-to-date health care is simply not available to most people. While in medical training I have sought the answers to this problem of how to improve health care delivery. The fact is the problem is at best only superficially recognized. There are very few, if any, people on medical faculties who are knowledgeable enough to deal creatively and realistically with the investigation of its answers. Therefore, for the most part we leave medical

school as we came, unprepared to assist in making the decisions which will be necessary in the future.

Partly as an attempt at self-education, several other students and myself, with the advise of Dr. Amos Christie of Vanderbilt Medical School, have developed a student community program. Its primary aim has been to help create and advise community groups (called "health councils") who are interested in health care and the establishment of a viable system within their own rural communities. Foundation and government money has been obtained to do community organization and conduct what has become known as health fairs. The newly organized community health councils sponsor, organize, and are trained to assist the medical personnel in the operation of a week-long health fair during which individual diagnostic workups are performed. Numerous

devises are used in attempts at health education. During this past summer the health fairs averaged an attendance of about one thousand persons per week.

At the conclusion of the health fair, the community organizers in that area and the health council took on the formidable task of follow-up, attempting to get something done about the problems uncovered during the fair. It has become quite obvious that in those communities where a health council has existed for some time and where they have been able to provide for themselves a nurse-practitioner staffed clinic, follow-up work is much easier. Individual problems can be further investigated and in some cases treated in a situation acceptable financially and practically to the patient. The hope is that this sort of front-line community operated medical facility can provide some of the needed services and lead to the development of health services.

But, why hasn't this shortcoming been tackled before? No organization possesses more creativity and talent than the individuals within it. Up to this point the people wishing to deal with this problem have just not been numerically large enough within the medical profession to bring about the needed changes. Also the socially conscious activist student of today has been neither attracted to nor sought by the medical schools. The medical profession like many other groups is basically afraid of social change. The American Medical Association has actively fought for years any change which might occur within its own ranks. This is true, concerning both delivery of medical services or medical school admission of minority groups. Medical schools are simply not going to encourage the recruitment and admission of those who might create change. And as is quite evident from the calm that has remained over most medical schools during the past few years, those admitted are not demanding or even asking for any really basic changes.

Therefore if we are to have medically trained personnel available to assist in decision-making concerning the future of health care delivery, at least two things must take place. Those students knowledgeable in the affairs of the people outside the present system of health care and with the necessary qualifications must be admitted to medical schools; and dramatic additions and alterations must be made in the medical school curriculum.

How pressing is this need? Rural America has not been able for decades to provide a viable life for many of her people, whether they are coal miners in Appalachia or the poor farmer (black or white) in the South. Consequently, these people migrate to our urban ghettos where, as is invariably the case with refugees, life is no better, and very probably worse. In order to mitigate the urban problem, therefore, rural problems must be eased. And part of that non-viable rural life is the lack of proper, and in most instances, adequate medical care. New

methods, techniques and continuous training are not available to rural or small-town physicians. So their hospitals are no longer meeting licensure standards set by the professionals in the medical centers of urban America, and recent graduates who have been trained with and by all the paraphernalia of the modern medical college are reluctant to go to rural areas. They cannot practice medicine there because they do not have the facilities to perform what they were trained to do. So rural America is fast losing what medical facilities they have and are gaining little in facilities or manpower to replace what is leaving. Therefore it seems there is no question that basic changes in the perspective of health manpower must come about. They must come about now, if we are to help alleviate the turmoil of the big cities.

But what is actually happening? Within the past year in Tennessee, the Tennessee Medical Association voted down a proposal which would have enabled the establishment of a telephone consultation network so that the physician away from the medical center would be able to obtain the latest information and advice on a problem. This sort of primordealism must be overcome and it will, either by pressure from outside the profession or by the appearance of a new type of member within resulting from basic changes mentioned above concerning medical education.

A second major institutional failing can be found in Public Health Departments throughout the nation. To take another example, close to home. The Tennessee Code, Section 53-301, reads, "The powers and duties of county boards of health shall be: . . . the management of the general health of the county for which purpose they shall institute such preventive or general measures as may be necessary." It is quite apparent that the Public Health Department has not assumed this responsibility. There are simply too many untouched health problems found in any county throughout this state.

A case in point is Cannon County, Tennessee, where the local physicians have not allowed the Public Health Department to operate a birth control clinic or provide prenatal care. Unfortunately this is not an isolated case. Within recent weeks the administration of some local health departments has been moved from a countywide to a regional basis. But the basic reason the Public Health Department had made little progress before this particular move remains unchanged: private physicians are given a voice on these governing boards and this voice becomes the commanding one—due in large part to their professional training. Other members of the board are the county judge, the superintendent of education, and a dentist. These are all "in-the-system," establishment people, able to pay for medical care. Where can those in need of medical care be heard?—

the ones, that is, the Departments of Health are constituted to serve? They have not been heard; nor are they at present in the new scheme of things, represented by a regional instead of a county-wide department of health. Stated quite bluntly, the major problem is that local physicians have not allowed the Public Health Department to attack the medical needs of the medically indigent because most local physicians believe (and say openly) that the Public Health Department is in competition with them! "Too much free care" would lead to "the socialization of medicine."

It is obvious that the physician's dominant position on these administrative boards should be replaced by those who encourage the changes necessary to provide adequate and equitable public health services and by those who know what the community's medical problems are. In dealing with indigent health consumer groups, one is continually impressed by their insight into problems usually thought to be within the complete domain of the medical profession. There is no question that they are quite capable of representing themselves on these administrative and policy-making boards.

A third major failing is one for which most of us are responsible. Why is our tax money not available for the medical care of future citizens? Specifically, money for pre- and post-natal care—the actual delivery of the child and the treatment and rehabilitation of diseases in childhood? In a small valley crossing Campbell and Claiborne Counties in Tennessee, out of nineteen infants

less than six months of age, three died within the eight-week period in December of last year and January of this year. No adequate program for the expectant mother and the newborn child presently exists. In this day and time the loss of these children is inexcusable.

Money is available for those on Medicaid and the elderly, but this by no means encompasses the medically indigent. If our tax money for medical care is going to be limited—a critical mistake in itself—we must then raise the question of priority. And to raise the question of priority in this area is to raise some critical questions about our politics, and the value, our political institutions foster. Why do we in fact cripple the future with untreated and chronic illnesses among children, or retard mental development by a lack of diet and medical care before and after birth? Could it be that payment of needs for the old—and not the young—is the power of those of us who can vote, and thereby place ourselves before those who are not yet voting? Does it say something about charges of "genocide" leveled against white America by poor black and white Americans?

Does this mean, finally, that medical care has something to do with "politics"? Obviously. The way the goods and services of medical care in this country is distributed is as "political" as the distribution of jobs, tax benefits, housing, transportation, education, etc., etc. Medical care might become "apolitical" when its personnel are trained toward humanitarian goals, goals that might humanize the present institutions and systems of medical care. Until then, medical systems and institutions mirror the fear, selfishness and hopelessness that characterizes institutional life in America.

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