

THE COLLEGE STUDENT SPEAKS

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One of the oldest cultural phenomena of the Western world is the warfare between the "establishment" and its disestablishmentarian opponents.

People who dispute governmental policies in the name of high ideals may seem to have developed something new, but they have not. The cultural conflict between authority and license is an old problem of our civilization, dating back to the early Christians' revolt against the "powers-that-be" of their day.

And others who merely shake their heads in disgust at the hippies, draft-card-burners and other dissenters of our time, themselves overlook the disestablishmentarianism which is as much a part of Western civilization as a regard for "law and order," personal discipline, and other old-fashioned virtues.

Interlaced with the maintenance of political and religious controls has long been a cultural aversion to authority.

Western tradition has it that the people who fight entrenched power are more virtuous and noble than representatives of established authority. In this vein, the exponents of "romantic love," which developed in the Middle Ages, used pious, devious violations of traditional sexual morality to develop a more "lofty" kind of love.

And Robin Hood, despite being a bandit, is far more esteemed than the rich (and apparently honest) people he pillaged. The 12th century British outlaw adroitly joined lawbreaking with helping the poor--a combination the Western world appreciates more than it admits.

LONG BEFORE the "non-violent" dissent of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Anglican church, in a blaze of righteous glory, broke with the Roman Catholic church, the United States declared its independence from Great Britain, and the abolitionists warred against the "peculiar institution" of slavery.

In all these actions, the dissenters were not acting only in terms of their own self-interest. They cited the Western world's noble vision of liberty from restraints regarded as harmful, and sometimes, downright evil.

Were it not for this tradition, the activities of an Adam Clayton Powell would be incomprehensible.

More than racial advocacy is involved in Powell's suave efforts to play the role of a rake and champion of his people at the same time. Negroes cheer him and supercilious whites secretly admire him for the same reason; He has challenged "established power," and for this, he is regarded as a cultural hero.

Where do we get our notions of pious dissent? According to one explanation, it dates back at least as far as the founding of Christianity, which revolted against the religious teachings of its day by proclaiming a "higher law" of love.

The Christian church, in developing its influence and power, could not itself help from becoming an establishment of its own. But at the same time, that church also carried with it a tradition of values higher than--and in opposition to--its own rules and established authority.

A conflict within Western society was set up, carrying over in secular life.

Politically, the Western world's inner rupture developed into a schism between "liberals" and "conservatives."

TWO MAJOR factions became dominant in many Western law-making bodies: those seeking to maintain the older economic and political arrangements, and those trying to change them.

The conservatives, in general, have produced the "sounder" programs and have upheld the old-fashioned virtues of thrift, patriotism and religious faith.

The liberals, on the other hand, have worn the mantle of visionaries, impractical reformers, and wild-eyed idealists. Friends and foes agree tacitly or openly that the liberals are more "souful" while considering the conservatives more stable.

The civil rights movement of today has not escaped the influence of this liberal-conservative cleavage.

In seeking to right racial wrongs, that move-

Africa Overwhelms Vice Presidential Party

By Ofield Dukes
Assistant to Vice President
Hubert H. Humphrey

(Editor's Note: Mr. Dukes, who accompanied Vice President Humphrey on his recent tour of nine African Countries, formerly served as Assistant Editor of THE MICHIGAN CHRONICLE.)

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- (Special to NNPA) What Vice President Humphrey and the rest of us discovered during our eventful and exciting two-week tour of Africa was a vast continent rich in natural resources and beauty, and a diverse people united in one common purpose -- self-determination through self-development.

All of us were inspired and impressed by what we saw. This was a New Africa characterized by a contagious spirit of intense pride and togetherness. The word "Harambee," which means, "Let's all pull together," is the new rallying cry of Africa. It is the new creed of men and women, of many colors and tribal, ethnic backgrounds, working and moving forward together toward the dawn of a new day.

Vice President Humphrey, a veteran traveler, who has a natural tendency of overwhelming people with his friendliness and sincerity, was struck and overwhelmed, himself, by the charm and cordiality of the people of Africa.

During our return flight to the States, Mr. Humphrey said: "Never in all of my travels have I found a people so outgoing, so filled with goodwill and pride, so exuberant. Never before have I experienced such hospitality as I found throughout the nine countries we visited. And never before have I seen a people so full of hope, so devoted to a common cause of independence, freedom, and nation-building."

The problems of Africa are many, but the Vice President feels, and the rest of us agree, that the Black Continent has a great future of promise, and remarkable progress has been made by the new, developing nations in a few

short years.

Everywhere he went, the Vice President and members of his delegation, representing business, labor, education, mass media, and government, spent considerable time meeting with African leaders...listening and learning about the plans, problems, and progress of the new African nations.

IN EVERY country, the Vice President was candid in discussing America's international responsibilities and domestic problems, and emphatic and explicit in reaffirming this country's uncompromising commitment to the independence and economic development of Africa. He related American goals of equal opportunity and human development to the goals of Africa.

A basic problem in improving Afro-American relations is communication.

In Africa, there is only scattered information on what is happening in America. And, in this country, very little current information is readily available to the public on the happenings in Africa.

The Vice President was one of the first to point out that, for example, there wasn't a single Negro publication available on a regular basis to Africans.

It is likely that the Vice President will recommend a marked increase in economic aid and technical assistance to African countries. At the present, Congress has set a ceiling on the number of African countries to receive U.S. aid. The number is 10.

It is also likely that the Vice President will suggest greater involvement of Negroes in the upper echelon of our foreign service programs in Africa.

More business investments and cultural and educational exchange programs may also be recommended for Africa.

The Vice President expressed to the African leaders his confidence that America and its people will do their share in supporting and assisting in the development of New Africa.

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ment is, at once, standing up for legitimate Negro interests and riding on our age-old cultural vehicle of dissent.

If urban chaos is sometimes confused with social progress, and if the disruption of public life is imbued with an aura of sanctity, the two-headed Western tradition should be brought to mind.

And if draft-card-burners and even Navy deserters become our nation's heroes, we should not think our society is suddenly falling apart, for the cultural war between rules and their violation was declared long ago, and those who piously dissent from established authority are but carrying out the West's own cultural mandate.

Our civilization, thus, is found to have an inner disruption--which some people are trying, often unsuccessfully, to repair through moralistic finger-pointing.

They react to the social and moral upheaval of the day by condemning peace advocates and other dissenters in the name of the authoritarian side of the Western tradition, while overlooking the libertarian part of that tradition.

Others uncritically assume that a society can operate without rules and standards. They act in terms of the West's notion that all one must do is to "love," and everything will be all right.

FEW CONSIDER a third path--of learning

to integrate authority and freedom, rules and conscience, discipline and love.

Terms like "moderation" and the "golden mean" may seem old-hat in today's psychedelic world, but we need these concepts more than ever before.

We need to learn how to put together a society torn by hate, instead of splitting it even more into "establishment" and "anti-establishment" camps.

We need to see the relationship between moral standards and personal happiness, rather than all agreeing that the two act in opposition to each other.

We need to uphold political liberty, without merely sanctioning licentiousness.

At the same time, we need to maintain the sovereignty of law--the only basis for true freedom--without promoting tyranny.

We need to respect our neighbor's right to his own beliefs--without ignoring him altogether. And we need to learn to live with social and economic change--without either letting it go wild or trying to stop its inevitable development.

Can we make whole what has been rent asunder? Can we integrate our regard for innovation with our respect for established rules?

Our civilization's history would give us a negative answer. But within us lies the hope that we can, indeed, overcome our legacy of inner dissension.