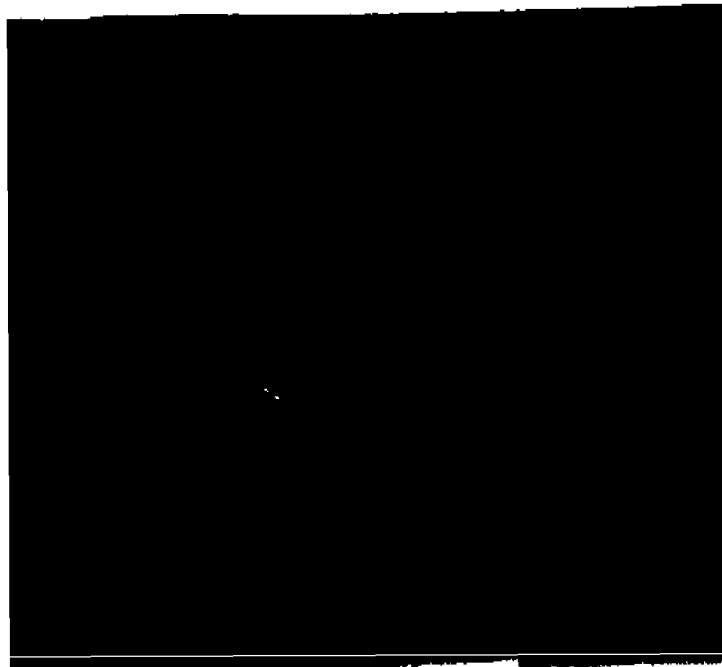


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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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By
STEPHEN I. LEVINE

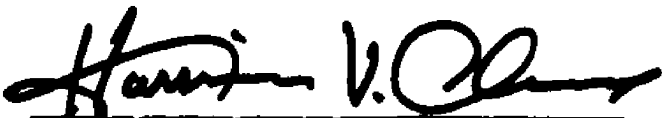
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Preface

A common motivation binds together the several themes and concerns arising from this inquiry into the political socialization of radical students at Florida State University. This generative feeling may be described as a concern that political science has been neglecting many of the more significant features of political and social life at a dramatic, crucial time in history. It is not necessary to ascribe moral insensitivity to the practitioners of this discipline to observe that those involved in the enterprises of teaching and research have not always grappled with problems and issues with the sense of urgency that they merit.

This study is devoted in some measure to theoretical reformulation. Theories and hypotheses pertaining to radicalism, alienation and political socialization, for example, are examined and utilized herein in order that they may be made more useful and valuable. Other segments of the dissertation analyze the political themes and implications of contemporary radical music, within a conceptual framework developed in the social sciences. Furthermore, linkages among political science and psychology are explored, and the role of political theory in both its normative and empirical dimensions is examined.

Yet these theoretical concerns may obscure my underlying motivation within this study. The manner in which these conceptual matters are treated should reflect a genuine feeling that the discipline has somehow

become largely tangential to the political issues with which it ought to be concerned. Many of the social, cultural, biological and psychological factors influencing political attitudes and behavior have been ignored by political scientists. The construction of rigid standards of inquiry, in order to attain the status and recognition accruing to a formalized science, has led to an excessively narrow discipline, focusing on the development of constricted theories. The pursuit of objectivity seems to have served as an excuse for the removal of personal involvement, from both the objects of instruction and the subjects of research.

The discussion of an embryonic existential political science, around which the study concludes, is designed to restore personal relationships, involvements, and commitments. However, neither the development of an existential political science nor the theoretical reformulation urged elsewhere in this paper ought to be viewed as stages in the construction of a more perfect discipline. The development of grand, over-arching theory should be regarded as of secondary importance. This study is concerned, above all, with the individuals who participated in its several features, not the theoretical commentary that has emerged from it. The political behavior examined herein represented, at bottom, uniquely personal reactions to political phenomena. Political theories, rigorous or impressionistic, descriptive or evaluative, are personal responses to observations subjectively experienced. From one perspective, then, my purpose has been to

understand the way in which people relate to problems, personalities, and issues that they regard as politically significant. I am seeking to identify with and understand these relationships, for this paper rests upon a personal commitment to their importance. Only an unalienated science of politics can expect to explore human experiences, sense their importance, and extrapolate their meanings.

CHAPTER I
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Political Socialization Theory

This study involves an analysis of the political socialization process, with particular emphasis on its operation among university students. One facet of this analysis revolves about the examination of relevant theoretical materials pertaining both to radicalism and socialization. The several distinct segments contain an analysis of the political content of contemporary folk and rock music; the report of an experiment in attitude change, through an alteration of teaching attitudes and techniques; the analysis of results of an attitude survey administered to radical and non-radical students; a discussion of both the political ideas of a folk singer and the social significance of mass cultural gatherings. An undercurrent throughout these chapters is that the discipline, in its research objectives, scholarly assumptions, and instructional behavior, requires reformulation and renewal. At another level, however, the common ground upon which these discussions and analyses converge is that of socialization theory. By concentrating upon theoretical gaps and conceptual omissions, each section will indicate ways in which such theory can be strengthened. Knowledge of political behavior is weakened by a limited understanding of the ways people express, transmit, relate, and acquire political attitudes.

One framework employed in political science in analyses of attitude transmission is socialization theory. Political socialization may be defined as the process by which political beliefs, attitudes, and values are transmitted from

one generation to the next. The transmission of these political predispositions is essential for the maintenance of the political system. Thus, Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell identify political socialization as one of the system maintenance and adaptation functions, the discharge of which is required for the political system to survive.¹ Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt describe political socialization in the following terms:

'Political socialization' is the name given the processes through which a citizen acquires his own view of the political world.²

For the political system to persist, however, citizens' perspectives upon political reality cannot vary too widely; some common elements must be shared. Since political systems require the existence of this minimum of common political orientations - or consensus - in order to survive, the transmission of these orientations within societies is not completely haphazard.

Certain individuals, groups, and institutions within society perform, in part, the function of socialization. Among these are the family, the church, the school, the peer group, the work group, various social groupings, governmental institutions, political leaders, political parties, and communication media.³ These groups all serve to inculcate citizens with certain orientations toward political events.

¹ Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966), p. 14.

² Kenneth E. Dawson and Richard Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969), p. 6.

³ Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of

The theory of political socialization may be approached from two levels - the individual and the societal. From the societal level, political socialization refers to the fulfilling of a system function - the transmission of political knowledge and the creation of political loyalties among the citizenry. Studies have been undertaken at this level comparing the manner in which this function is performed in different political systems.¹ Almond and Sidney Verba's The Civic Culture is a cross-cultural survey of this type; in addition, however, Almond and Verba inquire into a related question. Their inquiry examines the results of the socialization process, as well as the mechanics of its operation.

The political culture of a society refers to the dominant psychological orientations of the members of that society toward political objects.² Thus, Almond and Verba write the following:

When we speak of the political culture of a society, we refer to the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of its population... The political culture of a nation is the particular distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members of the nation.³

Political socialization is the process, political culture the consequence.

The political culture and the dominant themes of the socializing agents are not identical in any society. Socialization is continuous and life-long; its

the Developing Areas (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 28.

¹ See Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1965).

² Ibid., p. 13.

³ Ibid.

agents are many and disparate. Even when orientations among agents are not in conflict, the precise content of messages will differ; the number of agents are too numerous, their autonomy too plain, for this to be otherwise.

The basic objective of political scientists undertaking research in the area of political culture and political socialization is to discover how people obtain their political beliefs. Subsidiary questions include the content of those beliefs, and the sources of political participation. The fundamental problem inherent in research into these questions rests with the complexity of the objects of inquiry - human beings and human societies. Since human action of every type emerges from an interrelationship between the individual and an environment, explaining any aspect of human activity requires simplification and the ordering of data. This is one of the tasks of theory. The most powerful theory will be the one that can gather and organize the widest variety of data, and render it comprehensible.

A simple formulation of socialization theory, describing the means by which individuals receive their political identities and are related to the larger social system, cannot explain at least two behavioral phenomena. The gap between what is being taught and what is being learned is one problem; incomplete socialization is the norm. We can partially understand why this is the case; different individuals are exposed to different socializing agents for varying amounts of time. However, socialization theory as such cannot predict which individuals will deviate from the established value and belief patterns of the society. Nor can it satisfactorily explain why they do so.

Secondly, the theory of political socialization is inherently stagnant. The phenomenon of attitude change is not logically explainable by the

framework itself. To understand individual or societal change requires the introduction of concepts and variables that are external to the socialization framework.

Political socialization can best serve as a conceptual framework; it does not inherently contain explanatory statements pertaining to the formation of political attitudes. As a framework for research, however, the concept can organize attitudinal data, illuminate ambiguities, and indicate areas requiring further inquiry. As has been indicated, two such areas are change and individual differences in political orientations. Since theories involve simplification, it becomes possible to understand why socialization theory cannot at present logically explain these anomalies. Relevant variables have been screened out in the process of theory construction.

There are, however, a number of additional theoretical constructs that impinge upon these problem areas. If these can be brought to bear on the large, companion problems of the creation both of political beliefs and the predisposition to political participation, theories of socialization and participation will be strengthened. One theoretical perspective begins with the human personality, in the larger social world.

Discussions of opinion formation must necessarily incorporate theories pertaining to learning, maturation, and the entire complex process of individual development. The learning of political attitudes begins at a very young age; much significant research has been devoted to this aspect of socialization.¹

¹ See Robert D. Hoss and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967). Also David Easton and Robert D. Hoss, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6 (1962), pp. 229-246.

The formation of political orientation takes place, however, in a developing personality; although the earliest predispositions are of great significance, their controlling importance has yet to be established.

Both personality development and political learning may most accurately be analyzed as broad, long-range processes. From the individual level, then, political socialization is life-long and developmental; post-childhood learning experiences merit independent examination. The analysis of the transmission of political attitudes has rarely been undertaken by political scientists within a framework firmly grounded upon psychological theory.

The search for underlying determinants of political attitudes has touched only lightly on the relevance of personality attributes. Few attempts have been made to build personality factors into models of opinion formation and change. ¹

The larger rubric of socialization theory embraces, in at least a rudimentary way, psychological theories of childhood and adult learning. Each life experience involves learning; it is the type, extent, and impact of learning that varies with individuals and situations. Learning and the formation and development of personality are two intricately related aspects of the same phenomenon - the creation of a subjectively perceived individual self. The learning of political orientations - i.e., political socialization - is thus inescapably linked to the development of human personality.² A coherent, explanatory theory of political attitude formation requires, therefore, the inclusion of this psychological dimension.

¹Leroy N. Rieselbach, "Personality and Political Attitudes: A Bibliography of Available Questionnaire Measures," unpublished manuscript, Indiana University, July, 1966.

²Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 72.

Personality theory has been sporadically infused into political analysis, in connection with political culture, international relations¹, and political participation.² The difficulties that inhere in such analysis pertain to the amount of data and the difficulties involved in obtaining reliable, scientific interpretations for large groups of people. Thus, both scientific standards and the amount of time involved are factors that mitigate against the consideration of psychological variables.

The absence of coherent, consistent application of psychological and psychiatric tools is particularly crippling for those areas of political science most directly concerned with the transmission, inculcation and expression of political attitudes. In spite of the emphasis upon political behavior in contemporary political science, few political scientists appear to have explored and integrated the psychological and psychiatric fields with their own research. Harold Lasswell, in 1930, urged that political science study political behavior through the incorporation of techniques and concepts developed in Freudian psychotherapy.³ Lasswell's work represented an attempt to infuse political science with the theoretical perspective of orthodox Freudianism. Freud and Bullitt's analysis of the political career of Woodrow Wilson, whose actions were ascribed to his childhood experiences, represents the archetype of this

¹ See J. David Singer, Human Behavior and International Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965).

² Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), pp. 48-89.

³ Harold D. Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

form of inquiry.¹ Subsequent linkages between politics and personality have frequently been based upon Freudian concepts. Charles Merriam, for example, complained about the lack of recognition of the relationship between sexual behavior and political participation.² A similar emphasis appears in Lasswell's The Analysis of Political Behavior and The Future of Political Science.³

It would be erroneous to suggest that Freudian analysis occupies the whole of political research in which psychological techniques are employed. J. David Singer, for example, has sought to understand international relations among nation-states through the application of concepts and ideas drawn from psychology.⁴ Often attempts to understand international relations in this manner involve superimposing constructs designed for individual analysis upon whole societies. Such work may be entirely unempirical, involving the virtually metaphoric use of Freudian and neo-Freudian theories in the analysis of political matters. Other efforts to employ psychological techniques in the analysis of political behavior may be found in the utilization of attitude scales. The use of such instruments can hardly be described, however, as an application of psychological theory to political analysis. These scales are written

¹ Sigmund Freud and William C. Bullitt, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Twenty-eighth President of the United States; a Psychological Study (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967).

² Charles E. Merriam, Systematic Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

³ Harold D. Lasswell, The Analysis of Political Behavior - An Empirical Approach (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966); Harold D. Lasswell, The Future of Political Science (New York: Atherton Press, 1963).

⁴ J. David Singer, op. cit.

documents, administered to large groups of people, for specific purposes. They do not purport to understand the human personality; rather, they are designed to elicit responses that will either confirm or reject particular hypotheses pertaining to beliefs, attitudes or behavior patterns.

Perhaps the most common use of personality theory in political science involves the inclusion of assumptions about human personalities in behavior research.¹ These assumptions may be found in the conclusions of studies in voting behavior, and in the research designs from which they stem. The untested assumptions of many behavioral researchers may be expressed thusly. Freudian theory holds that the personality is formed during childhood and is thus unchangeable; the political attitudes and predispositions of such a personality must also be formed at this stage; hence, political (i.e., voting) behavior is largely fixed early in life and can be predicted by an examination of an individual's background.

The concentration upon Freudian theory has led many political scientists to neglect more recent, significant developments in psychiatry and psychology. Even social scientists most eager to engage in interdisciplinary research have lagged behind developments within these latter fields. There has been a lack of concentration upon the more recent developments, the more technical journals, the studies and findings from individual therapeutic relationships. Ironically, interdisciplinary work by political scientists, employing psychological techniques, stands in danger of employing the very approaches from which psychologists and psychiatrists have been moving for some time.

¹See the essays on individual political behavior in Leroy Rieselbach and George L. Balch (eds.) Psychology and Politics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), pp. 155-236.

Existentialism, Psychology and Psychiatry

Over the last century psychiatry, in the view of an increasing number of present-day psychiatrists, has aligned itself far too closely with the alienated needs of the society within which it functions. In doing so it is perpetually in danger of committing a well-intentioned act of betrayal of those members of society who have been selected into the psychiatric situation as patients. A great many people today in this country of their own accord go to their doctors seeking psychiatric help. For the most part such people in very practical terms are seeking the gift of a set of techniques that would enable them all the better and more closely to conform with massified social expectations. They are usually assisted towards this goal. A few misguided persons go to the psychiatrist seeking what amounts to a form of spiritual guidance. They are usually rapidly disillusioned.¹

This is a significant statement, taken whole from an impressive work by a British psychiatrist, Dr. David Cooper. Cooper's remarks are indicative of a general approach to problems of mental illness, the implications of which appear to be quite revolutionary indeed. To vastly oversimplify medical history, the first great watershed in dealing with psychological problems came with the determination that madness was a disease, to be treated, rather than some sort of stigma, representing grounds for punishment. It seems clear, however, that the transition from the earlier outlook to the clinical perspective has been incomplete. The notion that madness is grounds for punishment, and cause for social disgrace, is overtly disavowed. As with racism, however, the attitude persists even while verbal (and even conscious) denial is present, and the underlying attitude structures behavior. The person who is classified as mad, abnormal or maladjusted is not imprisoned; he (she) is either committed or sent for treatment. The patient is not evil; he is sick. Analytically, at the conscious intellectual level, the person is dealt with in a wholly different

¹David Cooper, Psychiatry and Anti-Psychiatry (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), p. x.

manner; at the level of deeper attitude, the person is "socially invalidated."¹ As a danger to society, he is socially excluded; either physical removal from society occurs or, at a minimum, social participation becomes more limited and circumscribed. Once in the mental hospital, the likelihood of cure is slim;² surely it is not the absence of sophisticated facilities and techniques that alone accounts for such poor results.

Carl Rogers and others³ have elaborated and tested a set of inter-related hypotheses dealing with relationships between therapist and patient, and the likelihood of therapeutic progress. These hypotheses center on the personal attitudes of the therapist towards his patient, the way in which these attitudes are expressed, and the sensitivity of the patient to the therapist's attitudes.⁴ Similarly, Cooper's experiments in the treatment of schizophrenics concentrated on the attitude towards the patients of those responsible for their care. This is not to suggest that theoretical concepts and constructs, attitude scales, and sophisticated therapeutic techniques are useless, and ought to be discarded. The interpersonal experience, and the attitudes communicated during that experience (even during periods of silence)⁵

¹Ibid.

²Milton Rokeach, The Three Christs of Ypsilanti (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964).

³Carl Rogers (ed.), The Therapeutic Relationship and Its Impact: A Study of Psychotherapy with Schizophrenics (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

⁴Ibid., pp. 9-12.

⁵Ibid., p. xv; R.D. Laing, The Divided Self (London: Tavistock Publications, 1960).

appear to be more authentic means for the discovery and liberation of the self. R.D. Laing focuses on the experience of therapy, rather than the ideas and the psychoanalytic approach of the therapist, as the most significant element in the entire event.¹

If these authors are correct in placing such stress on the development and expression of positive attitudes in therapy, as precondition for and concomitant of psychological growth, then it would tend to follow that the general lack of progress in treatment of mental disorders results from social and psychological attitudes towards the objects of treatment.² Although the patients have been redefined, the causes for their difficulties have been given new locations, and the means of treatment and/or incarceration have been altered, the fundamental attitudes - that these people have stumbled from life's pathway, must be cared for by those people who know the way, and cannot return to social life until they become like those in whose care they languish - have remained relatively constant. Madness and abnormality are no longer crimes or signs of evil; they remain, however, grounds for exclusion and condescension. Neurosis is something one has, like measles, or the flu; schizophrenia, like tuberculosis, is to be treated, until death or cure terminates the process.

It may be contended that at the deeper level of attitudes, in large part the watershed was never crossed; indeed, perhaps it ought not to be. Laing, anticipating misunderstanding, observes that he has no intention of

¹R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967).

²There is a clumsiness about much of this discussion that, apart from reasons of stylistic inelegance, can also be traced to an incomplete vocabulary;

transforming the schizophrenic into a new cultural hero.¹ Yet the concept of schizophrenic as anti-hero in contemporary Western society is not so impossible as it may appear; this point will be explored later. At this juncture, it is necessary to discuss a second intellectual revolution pertaining to the nature of psychological and emotional problems.

Certainly it is preferable to regard mental illness as a disease, rather than a crime; however, pragmatically, such a definition obscures significant social data. First, if the goal is to return the patient to society, in order that he might thereby reach his potential as a person, the approach produces a low percentage of satisfactory results; from the standpoint of cost-effectiveness analysis, the approach must rank quite low. Secondly, analytically, this approach ignores the possibility that the behavior under observation may be socially caused. Logically, if an individual can be said to be maladjusted to societal needs, the society - with reference to the particular individual - can be regarded as maladjusted to individual needs. When a lack of congruence is widespread within a given society, or civilization, the question becomes broader and more crucial; the society itself may be regarded as unrelated to human needs. In such a situation, the disease-oriented psychological approach is misdirecting its energies. Finally, the irrational behavior of the mentally ill or emotionally disturbed may, in fact, represent intelligible, logical responses to social and psychological conditions. The behavior may only appear

our vocabulary for the discussion of mental and emotional problems has been developed from a frame of reference that may now need to be discarded. It is difficult to discuss the subject matter without utilizing the very language whose meaning is under attack.

¹ Ibid.

incomprehensible to those not experiencing those conditions. Obviously, these factors are related to each other; a number of authors subscribe to a general outlook that involves both this perspective and a good deal more. For the sake of convenience, this group may be called the existential psychologists.

What is involved in existential psychology?

In psychology and psychiatry, the term demarcates an attitude, an approach to human beings . . . it is not a system of therapy but an attitude toward therapy, not a set of new techniques but a concern with the understanding of the structure of the human being and his experiences that must underlie all techniques. This is why it makes sense . . . to say that every psychotherapist is existential to the extent that he is a good therapist, i.e., that he is able to grasp the patient in his reality.¹
[Second emphasis supplied]

Rollo May further sets down some guiding principles "as a basis for psychotherapy."²

It must be relevant, that is, to the distinctive qualities and characteristics that constitute the human being as human, that constitute the self as self.

Our fundamental unit of study in psychotherapy is not a 'problem' that the patient brings in, such as impotence; or a pattern, such as a neurotic pattern of sado-masochism or a diagnostic category of sickness, such as hysteria or phobia, ad infinitum. Our unit of study is, rather, two-persons-existing-in-a-world, the world at the moment being represented by the consulting room of the therapist.³

¹ Rollo May (ed.), Existential Psychology (New York: Random House; 1961), pp. 18-19.

² Ibid., p. 39.

³ Ibid., p. 39.

In Toward a Psychology of Being, Maslow lists the benefits to be derived from the existential approach.¹ His conclusions are that

what we now call psychology is the study of the tricks we use to avoid the anxiety of absolute novelty by making believe the future will be like the past.

Certainly it seems more and more clear that what we call 'normal' in psychology is really a psychopathology of the average, so undramatic and so widely spread that we don't even notice it ordinarily. The existentialist's study of the authentic person and of authentic living helps to throw this general phoni-ness, this living by illusions and by fear into a harsh, clear light,² which reveals it clearly as sickness, even though widely shared.

Gordon Allport observes that "Existentialism deepens the concepts that define the human condition."³ He adds that the existential approach makes possible a psychology for all mankind.

The stress on a new approach in therapy, based on new attitudes, is but one facet of the existential perspective. Maslow touches directly upon another when he states that

it is as if Freud supplied to us the sick half of psychology and we must now fill it out with the healthy half.⁴

The development of a psychology, oriented towards the further growth of healthy personalities, towards full self-actualization⁵ seems to be a full-blown

¹ Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 3-17.

²Ibid.

³Gordon Allport, "Comment on Earlier Chapters," p. 95 in Rollo May, op. cit.

⁴Maslow, op. cit., p. 5.

⁵These terms are left undefined for the purposes of this paper.

event. This is part of the realization that normality and health are relative terms, and that the difference between adjusting to societal needs as opposed to responding to and realizing one's own needs is a difference of kind, not degree. The psychology for the healthy personality, concerned with becoming less adjusted, has produced broad discursive works - Maslow's Toward A Psychology of Being, May's Man's Search for Himself - and innovative books such as Joy.¹ The latter is a collection of gimmicks designed to free the human personality from a society that is essentially repressive, increasingly rigidified, structured and stratified, and is - by definition - comprehensive and inclusive. The techniques are varied: drugs, yoga, vegetarianism, Eastern religion, encounter groups, drama, the arts, fantasizing. William Schutz notes that

This book is an attempt to provide a framework for various approaches to joy and the development of the human potential. 2

Schutz observes that the aims of the experiments and experiences described in Joy and those produced by drugs are similar and, by implication, valid; only the means to self-realization are different. The goal of a healthy psychology, based on existential principles, is to be oneself, to know the meaning of one's own dreams.

A third emphasis in this branch of psychology relates to specific forms of mental illness. Here, most explicitly, the concept of illness is rejected. Rollo May, in describing neurosis, states that

¹William C. Schutz, Joy: Expanding Human Awareness (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967).

²Schutz, op. cit., p. 10.

Neurosis is not to be seen as a deviation from our particular theories of what a person should be. Is not neurosis, rather, precisely the method the individual uses to preserve his own center, his own existence? ¹

Later, he observes that

We see here, incidentally, how inadequate is the definition of neurosis as a failure of adjustment. An adjustment is exactly what neurosis is: and that is just its trouble. It is a necessary adjustment by which centeredness can be preserved. ²

Cooper, in discussing schizophrenia, states that

Schizophrenia, if it means anything, is a more or less characteristic mode of disturbed group behavior. There are no schizophrenics. ³

Later, Cooper, Esterson and others regard schizophrenia as socially intelligible behavior, generally produced as a response to the circumstances of the individual. More specifically,

Families mediate social reality to their children. If the social reality in question is rife with alienated social forms, then this alienation will be mediated to the individual child and will be experienced as estrangement in the family relationships. ⁴

Cooper and Laing reject the idea that schizophrenia is a disease, and focus instead on the function of schizophrenia (as a label designated by society) for the individual. The conclusion is identical to May's, with respect to

¹ Rollo May, "Existential Bases of Psychotherapy," p. 76 in Rollo May, op. cit.

² Ibid., p. 77.

³ Cooper, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴ Cooper, op. cit., p. 36.

neurosis. In Sanity, Madness and the Family, Laing and Esterson remark that schizophrenia is a social creation; the behavior so designated represents a social strategy to live with what are in fact unlivable situations arising out of interactions within the family.¹

In The Divided Self, Laing distinguishes between sanity and insanity (and, by implication, lesser degrees of abnormal behavior as opposed to sane or normal behavior) by stating that

Sanity or psychosis is tested by the degree of conjunction or disjunction between two persons where the one is sane by common consent.²

To fully accept the implications inherent in this statement requires an attitude jump of great dimensions; this is not a watershed that can be crossed analytically, while attitudes from earlier ages of man linger on at other, more controlling levels of consciousness. Yet Laing is serious about the proposition; he asserts that

The 'cause' of 'schizophrenia' is to be found by the examination, not of the prospective diagnosee alone, but of the whole social context in which the psychiatric ceremonial is being conducted.³

Without exception the experience and behavior that gets labeled schizophrenic is a special strategy that a person invents in order to live in an unlivable situation.⁴

¹R.D. Laing and A. Esterson, Sanity, Madness and the Family, Vol. I - Families of Schizophrenics (London: Tavistock Publications, New York: Basic Books, 1964).

²R.D. Laing, The Divided Self, p. 36.

³R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 103.

⁴Ibid., p. 115.

As a widespread, growing social event, schizophrenia, so defined, identifies society as an enormous, strangling entity:

The social system, not single individuals extrapolated from it, must be the object of study. ¹

Schizophrenic behavior, so interpreted, becomes necessary to save the threatened self from the social system and, most frequently, one social institution (the family) within that system. Milton Rokeach concludes his study of three schizophrenics who have taken the same identity, that of Jesus Christ, with the following observations.

. . . modern psychiatry is coming increasingly to recognize that the whole complex problem of schizophrenia in all its manifestations fundamentally represents a disturbance in beliefs and feelings about personal identity. . . the concern with beliefs involving a sense of identity is of even wider scope, having application to normal persons no less than to schizophrenics, and to other persons suffering from pathological states. ²

We have assumed elsewhere that all systems of belief, delusional as well as non-delusional, serve a twofold purpose: 'To understand the world insofar as possible, and to defend against it insofar as necessary.' ³

These views are supportive of Laing's perspective on both schizophrenic and non-schizophrenic personality development and behavior. Laing calls this viewpoint "both existential and social,"⁴ explicitly rejecting the clinical viewpoint. In fact, Laing regards the clinical orientation as a

¹ Ibid.

² Milton Rokeach, op. cit., p. 311.

³ Milton Rokeach, op. cit., p. 318; quoted from The Open and Closed Mind, p. 401 (New York: Basic Books, 1960).

⁴ R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 118.

societal defense against human fears, a weapon that supports and helps to maintain absurdity.¹

The existential psychologists are not the first intellectual group to engage in radical social criticism through the application of psychoanalytic insights and concepts to political matters. Wilhelm Reich, Geza Roheim, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, and Norman O. Brown have each moved beyond Freud and Marx in their fusion of political and psychological ideas.²

Fromm and the others seem to be moving on a level distinguishable from the existentialists. Fromm, Marcuse, and Brown act as social theoreticians; they are translating their thoughts about Freudian theory and psychological concepts to the social level, and urging reorganization of society according to the insights gained in this manner. On the other hand, Laing, Cooper, Rogers, Maslow, and May do not seem to be directing their attention toward abstract social entities or explicit designs for social change; rather, their concern is with the individual, on the micro (as opposed to macro) level of analysis. Their conclusions refer to the need for new approaches in therapy; their studies deal with individual persons, and the larger implications for "normal" psychology and social structures derive

¹ Ibid., passim.

² Norman O. Brown, Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1959); Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1941); Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955); Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966); Geza Roheim, Magic and Schizophrenia (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1955).

from the patient-therapist relationship. It is as though the social implications of their work arise from the bottom up, rather than the top down, and the benefits from their approaches - as if in recognition of the difficulties in producing profound social change - are first felt at the individual level (either in medical practice, or through personal absorption divorced from therapy).

Erich Fromm once observed that society was sick; he did not, at a deeper level, mean it. A comparison of Fromm's Man For Himself and The Sane Society with Laing's The Divided Self and The Politics of Experience can be particularly illuminating. It is unlikely that Fromm would describe schizophrenia as a "political event."¹ Nor could the radical Freudian depict schizophrenia as a transcendental experience. Laing writes that

Perhaps we will learn to accord to so-called schizophrenics who have come back to us, perhaps after years, no less respect than the often no less lost explorers of the Renaissance. If the human race survives, future men will, I suspect, look back on our enlightened epoch as a veritable Age of Darkness...The laugh's on us. They will see what we call 'schizophrenia' was one of the forms in which, often through quite ordinary people, the light began to break through the cracks in our all-too-closed minds. 2

Indeed, Laing places the schizophrenic in a position above that of the the "normal," "healthy" person: the schizophrenic has at least begun the journey towards discovering his inner self. Cooper, in a brief chart depicting personality development, also depicts those experiencing psychotic breakdowns as being closer to "true sanity" than the average, 'normal' person.³

¹R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 121.

²Ibid., p. 129.

³Cooper, op. cit., p. 16.

The problem exposed by such a configuration is that society invalidates the schizophrenic, increases his confusion, contributes to and stimulates the shattering of his sense of self; it becomes virtually impossible for the journey to be completed for the schizophrenic to emerge whole, more truly complete than at the outset. It is because the schizophrenic experience is almost always an incomplete fragment, a truncated adventure - i.e., there are few cures, in clinical terms - that the notion of schizophrenic as hero is not carried through by Laing.

A society in which those defined as sick are healthier than those defined as normal is truly insane:

"Adaptation to what? To society? To a world gone mad?"¹

This is far more radical a critique than either Fromm, Marcuse, Brown or any of the radical Freudians have chosen to develop; it is, in fact, taking premises about the need for reformulating psychiatry to their logical conclusion. These are the very limits of radicalism.

Alternative psychological frameworks exist for the study of attitude development. The stimulus-response theory of B.F. Skinner² either ignores or manipulates internal mental and emotional processes. The learning theory that Skinner has developed stresses Pavlovian conditioning in the transmission of skills. Kurt Lewin's field theory permits the sort of diagrammatic representation of human decision-making that political scientists frequently find so

¹R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 63.

²B.F. Skinner, The Technology of Teaching (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Educational Division: Meredith Corporation, 1968).

attractive.¹ Among the non-Freudian, orthodox Freudian, and post-Freudian frameworks for the understanding of personality, the existential approach appears to be most relevant to political and social behavior. The existential perspective focuses directly and immediately upon the individual in unique, intimate relationship to his social world. Since Aristotle, political theory has centered upon the role of man in the polis, individual humans interacting - and thus behaving politically - in community. Existential psychology frees the political observer from the constraints that other theoretical schools impose upon him. The political scientist need be neither animal researcher nor therapist; the focus is upon man, the individual act, the interpersonal relationship. Each experience is important, and is political. In every human situation, developing personalities mingle within social systems that shape, order and categorize them as "normal" or "abnormal." No branch of psychology is more congruent with the theory of political socialization.

Political socialization theory has not heretofore clarified its commitments in personality and learning theories. It seems clear, however, that the social criticism and therapeutic experiences of the existential psychologists have led them to formulate a framework designed specifically to understand attitude development in the context of social systems analysis. Incorporation of the existential position into socialization theory dispels more than ambiguity. The inherently stagnant character of socialization theory need no longer be an impediment to the study of attitude change. The

¹Kurt Lewin, A Dynamic Theory of Personality (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935).

deterministic elements in orthodox Freudianism have never been properly resolved in treatments of attitude change. Existential psychology recognizes the plasticity of the human personality; by concentrating on individual experiences at moments in time, existential therapists are committed to the production of change in human attitudes and personalities. As such, the existential framework permits the inclusion of desocializing factors in a theory of attitude change.

Cultural and Political Systems

A theory of attitude development and change - one permitting socialization, resocialization and desocialization - assumes that learning is life-long and continuous. Such theory also assumes that non-political events and messages will have political implications that will help shape the individual's political orientations. Arguing from another theoretical perspective - that of systems theory - the political and social systems are analytically separable, but are best understood in relation to each other. Similarly, the concept of political culture attempts to analytically extrapolate the political predispositions of a society from the more general, non-political orientations that are colloquially labeled as "culture" by laymen. Here, too, however, the political culture of a society is best understood in relation to broader patterns not directly political in nature.¹ This is especially true since the

¹ Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 12.

political implications of materials whose meanings are not expressly political are significant elements in socialization.¹

This may all be expressed in simpler, more general terms. Cultural phenomena surround political activity. To understand politics, it is necessary to understand the cultural factors that undergird and give rise to political behavior. Despite references to the need to consider non-political life experiences in the formation of political orientations, socialization theory has largely ignored these factors. In attempting to understand the political make-up either of individuals or of large clusters of human beings, this temptation to ignore the richness and variety of human experience must be avoided.

Anomalies in socialization theory pertain to differences among individuals in their beliefs, attitudes, values, and predisposition to participate in political affairs; an important theoretical problem involves those who differ from prevailing societal orientations (i.e., the political culture). Among the many individuals who deviate from the political culture, two groups of people have had a significant impact on political life recently - the "left-wing" student radical and the hippie.

The former is characterized by political commitment centering around acts of protest and civil disobedience, with the avowed objective of replacing the present social and political systems. The latter category of political responses is defined in terms of political retreatism; though disenchanted with current social forms, the hippie eschews organized political

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 63.

change. Conscious political retreatism, founded upon a profound personal rejection of existing society, ought not be confused with political apathy. Both the radical and hippie responses represent personal and political strategies of social rejection.

Within the context of socialization theory, it would be useful to pose several questions about these two groups of people. What is the nature and content of their political orientations? How were these orientations formed? Why were these individuals imperfectly socialized, from the societal viewpoint? To what extent do these two types of attitudinal and behavioral categories have validity? If the distinctions are real, why do they exist?

In effect, formulation of these questions constitutes a restatement of an earlier proposition: that socialization theory per se cannot account for intra-societal differences, or for changes in political orientations either among individuals or in whole societies. By examining student activists and hippies, the phenomena of change and difference can be analyzed among specific groups of individuals.

Since learning is continuous and political learning can occur from an innumerable array of non-political sources, it follows that the learning experiences of student radicals must differ in some way from those of non-radicals. Two alternative explanations present themselves. The first is that the socializing agents remain the same - family, school, work - but that the messages of those agents are different. One highly testable derivative of this hypothesis is as follows: radical students and non-radical students both receive their political orientations from their parents. However, radical students tend to have radical parents¹; radicalism is thus

¹Kenneth Keniston, Young Radicals (New York: Harcourt, Brace

inter-generational. The second explanation, equally testable, is that radicals are exposed to different socializing agents whose political messages differ from those of the "normal" socializing agents. A third possibility is that both of these explanations may have some validity.

These possible explanations require further elaboration. To what different socializing agents can radical students be exposed? Are there other significant agents of political socialization, in addition to the conventional table of schools, family, work experiences, and others? To answer this question, subsidiary concepts in political socialization developed in studies of community decision-making and group behavior,¹ can be suggestive. The concept of "influential," or "opinion leader," refers to the tendency of certain individuals to be more important in the formation of attitude than are other individuals. In other words, individuals generally look to these people for "cues" as they develop opinions and attitudes. Who are the "influentials" for student radicals? If the concept of opinion leader is at all meaningful, then one of two possibilities present themselves. People whose political orientations differ must either have different perceptions of the messages of the opinion leaders, or else they must pick up their "cues" from different opinion leaders. Again, these propositions are testable, and some combination of the two explanations is a possibility.

& World, Inc., 1968), pp. 47-48.

¹See Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (New York: The Free Press, 1955).

If the second explanation has any validity, and student radicals look to different opinion leaders for their cues, then several possibilities are again present. These "new" opinion leaders may be the "normal" socializing agents, with different messages; the example of inter-generational radicalism falls within this category. The opinion leaders of radical students would be different - since their parents would be different from non-radical parents - but the analytical agent, the family, would remain the same. On the other hand, these new opinion leaders may not be the socializing agents that are customarily analyzed. These students may be receiving their cues from sources that political scientists have overlooked in the past.

These sources of political attitudes may either be directly or indirectly political; if they are functionally performing the role of opinion leader for certain population clusters, however, then at a minimum their messages must have certain political implications. There are some theoretical clues that exist that, when pulled together, may help to identify these additional sources of political attitudes.

Earlier, a broad interrelationship between politics and culture, used in a colloquial sense, was suggested. If this is so, then new opinion leaders may be found in the larger culture.

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; cultural systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. ¹

¹Milton Singer, "The Concept of Culture," in The International

What is colloquially referred to as "culture," then, is actually, within this total configuration, the artistic and literary patterns of the society. It is in this sense that the term is used in the following statements.

Various theoretical beginnings, when synthesized, lead to the following conclusions: (1) that art, music, and literature contain political implications (2) that at least some of the political implications of some forms of artistic expression are distinguishable from the dominant political beliefs, attitudes, and values of the society (3) that at least some of these implications are perceived in this manner by certain groups within the society, and (4) that among these groups are student radicals. A corollary to these hypotheses would be that other cultural leaders help to fulfill these socializing functions for non-radicals. The interrelationship between political orientations and cultural influences may extend, therefore, across the political spectrum.

What evidence exists for asserting, in specific terms, the implications inherent in linking culture and politics? One clue exists in socialization theory itself. The mass media are often listed as socializing agents. The mass media, however, are far from monolithic. Television, radios, movies, newspapers, magazines, records, and other channels for expression produce different messages, and have different effects upon the populations exposed to them. The mass media can be analyzed monolithically for certain purposes;¹

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Company), Vol. III, p. 528.

¹For example, societies can be compared according to their communications facilities. See Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press, 1966). Also Richard R. Fagen, Politics and Communication (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968).

however, in assessing this impact upon attitude formation, differentiation among different aspects of the mass media is essential. Indeed, in an era of technological advances, it should not be surprising that one of the means by which attitude change may be propagated should be a product of technological sophistication. The present generation — radical and non-radical — was raised in homes partly dependent upon television for their entertainment. It is only natural that such a generation should look to the mass media for knowledge and leadership in any quest for new values. Similarly, new figures for personal emulation would be most likely to emerge from the media.

Another reason for believing that these non-political elements may functionally serve as socializing agents relates to the structure of political opinions. Opinions about directly political phenomena — issues, parties and candidates — rest upon more general orientations, towards the political world, towards authority,¹ towards one's own place in society. These general orientations may be termed "values," which are defined as objects of any interest,² "conceptions of the desirable,"³ and preferences.⁴ Values are related to tendencies to participate in political affairs, and the content of that participation.⁵

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., pp. 63-80.

²Milton Singer, op. cit., p. 531.

³Robin M. Williams, Jr., "The Concept of Values," The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XVI, p. 283.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Mary Ellen Goodman, The Individual and Culture (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967), pp. 190-192.

These underlying values may not be expressly political; yet the possession of certain types of values predispose individuals to particular types of political reactions. As a result, it is reasonable to expect that the values of a developing personality will be at least partially shaped by non-political experiences. Among those experiences may be included the influence of the mass media, in all of its manifestations.

There is a final reason for expecting that political opinion leaders may be found outside of the conventional categories of socialization theory. An awareness of this link between cultural messages and political predispositions can be found among governmental leaders, the alleged socializing agents, and the objects of socialization in this inquiry - the student radicals.

In communist societies, this recognition and the willingness to act upon it has been particularly apparent. Socialist realism, and attempts to enforce ideological conformity in literary materials, would be one example of this tendency. Another, broader example is to be found in communist China today; songs, movies, and plays are consciously controlled cultural artifacts, designed to produce very specific political responses. In American society, the quality of our cultural life has been related to political orientations by critics of a variety of political persuasions.¹

The ambiguities, for free expression, in corporate control of and governmental regulation over the mass communications media are pertinent

¹ There are two dominant strains of criticism involved here. On the right, obscenity in movies and books is linked to a decline in moral standards, which in turn accounts for student radicalism. On the left, the quality of our cultural life is related to violence in America and a more general sterility in American life.

to this discussion. Woody Guthrie once observed, in commenting on the refusal of owners of mass communications media to play certain songs, that "they're scared to death to show us our true history."¹

The Pacifica Foundation's chain of listener-sponsored radio stations has been less inhibited. However, their broadcasting posture has not gone unchallenged.

A Tom Hayden speech is broadcast. A sole listener complains to the FCC that on such and such a date at such and such a time, the word 'f---' was heard over station WBAI. And we write our regulators explaining that Mr. Hayden used the offending word while quoting police testimony from the Conspiracy trial transcript to an audience of lawyers. We are presumably exonerated (for the moment) and our file grows thicker. I'm told there are whole rooms at the FCC just to store the files on Pacifica. Official Washington must think WBAI stays awake nights thinking up new ways to offend its sensibilities. 2

Recognition of the political implications of their work is common among artists, writers, and singers. The Dada movement, after World War I, reflected this consciousness. This bold artistic expression was closely related to the nihilistic and anarchist orientation of the artists. On a contemporary level, recent interviews with Phil Ochs, a folk singer, and The Doors, a rock group, indicate that, in part, they consciously function as agents of political socialization.³

¹Quoted in Gordon Friesen, "Songs for Our Time," Mainstream, Vol. 15 (December, 1962), p. 4.

²Bob Kuttner, "Free Expression, Obscenity and WBAI," WBAI Programming Guide, June, 1970, p. 12.

³F. Powledge, "Wicked Go the Doors," Life, Vol. 64 (April 12, 1968), pp. 86-88. Also Peter Schjedahl, "Phil Ochs: Kipling of the New Left," Avant Garde, Vol. 1 (Fall, 1968), pp. 32-37.

. . . But songs are special: I find that music liberates my imagination. When I sing my songs in public that's a dramatic act, but not just acting as in theater, but a social act, real action. Maybe you could call us erotic politicians. We're a rock and roll band, a blues band, just a band, but that's not all. A Doors concert is a public meeting called by us for a special kind of dramatic discussion and entertainment. When we perform, we're participating in the creation of a world, and we celebrate that creation with the audience. It becomes the sculpture of bodies in action. That's politics, but our power is sexual. We make concerts sexual politics. The sex starts with me, then moves out to include the charmed circle of musicians on stage. The music we make goes out to the audience and interacts with them; they go home and interact with the rest of reality, then I get it all back by interacting with that reality, so the whole sex thing works out to be one big ball of fire. ¹

In other words, their intent, in their music, is to communicate political messages, transform individual attitudes and behavior, and restructure society.

Finally, student radicals themselves are conscious of the interrelationship between culture and politics. A paper by Raymond Mungo² typifies the radical orientation towards the American media. He argues in favor of the conscious propagation of human, international values by a student-controlled international media system. The purpose would be the creation of an international consciousness among students, from which a new, humanistic politics could arise.

Moreover, SDS has traced its organizational genesis both to the cultural environment and the emergence of figures with whom disaffected youths could identify.

With the dominant social themes . . . being affluence, consumption, and adjustment, the young men and women were expressing

¹The New York Times, January 19, 1969, Michael Lydon, "The Doors: Can They Still 'Light My Fire'?", section 13, p. 7.

²The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, "Students and

their cultural oppression and personal alienation with growing intensity. Out of apathy and the gray flannel suit emerged James Dean, Marlon Brando, and the Angry Young Man - the Beat Generation. 1

The perception of radicals that values and political ideas are related, and that both can be transformed through cultural influences, leads to a final point. Heinz Eulau observes that individuals are the bearers of cultural meanings; the study of man produces knowledge about him and his environment.² Earlier, current socialization theory was deemed inadequate, in explaining attitude and value change at either the individual or social level. Expressed differently, the problem is as follows: how are cultural meanings transformed? If the aforementioned theoretical perspectives are found to have validity, the position of the artist as a cultural and hence political innovator merits serious attention. Moreover, given this theoretical perspective, the uncovering and examination of the political implications of any segment of the vast, complex, media system in the United States becomes intellectually significant. More particularly, if contemporary folk and rock music have been influential in disrupting and transforming the socialization process of millions of Americans, it surely becomes essential to understand the new messages and values these songs convey. In this way, we may discover the extent of congruence between their themes and the content of radical political attitudes.

Society: Report on a Conference," A Center Occasional Paper (Santa Barbara, California: The Fund for the Republic, 1967), p. 52.

¹ Leaflet, "SDS - An Introduction." (Chicago, Illinois), undated, p. 3.

² Heinz Eulau, The 963 (New York: Random House, Inc., 1963).

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY FOLK AND ROCK MUSIC: AN EXAMINATION OF RADICAL THEMES

Introduction

An analysis of contemporary folk and rock music may categorize the selected material in any number of different ways. Indeed, a number of anthologies and analyses of such material already exist; none of these, however, attempt to deal with the expressly political meanings within the songs, nor are relationships drawn to other theoretical perspectives.¹ Any set of classifications must be arbitrary, since the words frequently refer to aspects of life that either cut across the analytical boundaries or bypass them entirely. However, in a rough sense, the important tasks of selection and classification can be completed, so that those songs that most closely relate to each other may be properly appraised. The collection of analyzed material is limited; since the quantity of music is potentially enormous, an attempt was made to deal with only those songs that satisfied the standards of popularity and relevance. Many of the songs chosen also tended to be among those most

¹Richard Goldstein (ed.), The Poetry of Rock (New York: Bantam Books, 1969); J. Marks (ed.), Rock and Other Four Letter Words (New York: Bantam Books, 1968); Dave Laing, The Sound of Our Time (Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

frequently described as influential by respondents in the attitude survey¹ analyzed later in this study.

In delineating the basic political and evaluational themes that are present in the material, it is necessary to indicate that a written analysis of the meanings of songs represents an attempt to understand only a fragment of an experience. Songs have an effect and an influence beyond the words that are uttered; an article on the political implications of the new cinema makes this point very well.

It should be made clear, however, that it is not merely the content, but the mode of involvement in the film experience that makes its humanism effective. In terms of 'message', much of contemporary film reflects to social and human concerns that Bob Dylan, the Beatles, Simon and Garfunkel, and Joan Baez communicate. But the words of their songs often conceal the radical nature of the music in which they appear. The direct emotional appeal of the sound of 'Eleanor Rigby', 'Give A Damn', 'I Am A Rock', or 'Mr. Businessman' communicates before we have the words deciphered. Films with honest human concern, similarly, change audiences as much by their style as their message.²

Thus, the music itself has an effect, independent of the words that are sung. When the music and the lyrics are presented together, in a live performance by a group of individuals who may appear bizarre by societal standards, an audience may sense a different mood, a new set of attitudes, in conflict with those already in existence. The context of listening to the songs - whether they are being sung by demonstrators on a picket line, by a performer at a live concert, or by a singing group on a record player while the listener smokes marijuana - is thus another significant part of their influential powers. Even so,

¹See Chapter IV of this study.

²Anthony Schillaci, "The New Movies: Film as Environment," Saturday Review, December, 1968, p. 12.

however, without the music, the performers, the other listeners, or drugs, the words themselves ought to be closely examined.

There is a direct and intimate relationship between musical forms and political experiences. It would be fruitless to verify such a relationship through correlation analysis; certainly as American political and social mores have altered, so has its music and the manner in which it has been presented. Although such demonstrable correlations could be dismissed as spurious and superficial, comparative content analyses of musical themes and political events mirror one another.¹ Human needs are reflected in their songs as well as their politics; as circumstances change, modes of musical expression alter. Political scientists have generally ignored the importance of songs as vehicles for political expression; this has been an unfortunate oversight, for as John Steinbeck has pointed out,

Songs are the statements of a people. You can learn more about people by listening to their songs than in any other way, for into the songs go all the hopes and hurts, the angers, fears, the wants and aspirations. ²

In the present political environment, an hypothesis that merits exploration is that politically significant songs may functionally serve as means of expression for people who perceive few ways to otherwise voice their frustrations, hopes and political aspirations. Certainly, such a conclusion would not be unreasonable, given the radical premise that the channels of our political institutions have become blocked. The evidence is persuasive that many young people, both radical and non-radical in their political attitudes, have concluded that our universities and governmental systems are no longer

¹ Alan Lomax, Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger, Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People (New York: Oak Publications, 1966).

² Ibid., p. 8

responsive. For the composer, the singers and the audience, these songs may thus become means of political and social expression; revolutions are fantasized, new political and social eras appear and are gone. For a little while, individual loneliness is ended, and communication is established. In this connection, festivals of songs, such as the Woodstock gathering, may be regarded by the young as magical experiences.¹ Students may feel that those in authority can be neither trusted nor respected, that societal values are without redeeming features, that political and social systems are both irrational and impervious to demands for change. These feelings of alienation may contribute to an overriding sensation of social isolation, one which may be rapidly dissipated by a performer. The emotional connection between performer and listeners rests upon his uncovering and revealing of the deeply personal feelings of several thousand people, each of whom may have felt that almost no one knew, cared, or was capable of speaking about truths whose certitude was beyond question.

Songs thus provide people with a remarkable opportunity to relate to each other, to vicariously and directly express themselves, and to hope that circumstances - whether individual, societal or political - will in some fashion be ameliorated. Thus, songs of political and libidinal passion may be understood as serving similar functional ends, in the alleviation of tensions, the expression of aspirations and ideals and the construction of uncomplicated utopias.

¹Abbie Hoffman, Woodstock Nation: A Talk-Rock Album (New York: Random House, 1969).

Songs of War

Many of the folk and rock singers of the 1960's have been preoccupied with peace, an understandable obsession in a nation that has been preoccupied with war and war preparations for so many years. The songs generally reflect a deep revulsion against violence and its effects upon human beings, in body and mind. They deal both with the causes of violence in our culture and the consequences of war for our society.

There have been two main targets for anti-war performers in the preceding decade — the nuclear catastrophe that threatens the existence of life on this planet, and the Vietnam war. The former theme receded towards the end of the decade; as a possibility, it is more remote than the Indo-China war. The singers leave to Kennan, Fulbright, and Gavin the arguments that the war is not in the national interest, is detrimental to the solution of more significant domestic problems, and is having an unsettling effect upon the national economy. Their argument is simpler, more direct; the war is a moral outrage which must be repudiated in every way possible.

Among the more analytical anti-war songs is Phil Ochs' White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land.¹ Ochs attempts to explain the reasons for an inevitable American defeat in Vietnam. His conclusions are not dissimilar to those of Bernard Fall, Robert Shaplen, and Jean Lacouture;² their

¹The bibliographic style for the documentation of songs records the composer or group responsible and a record album, if any, on which the songs may be found. Phil Ochs, "White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land," Tape from California (New York: A & M, 1968).

²Bernard B. Fall, Last Reflections on a War (Garden City, New York:

findings and impressions are here, in sharpened, concise form. Ochs draws upon his understanding of the character of guerilla warfare to make an exceptionally powerful statement about the war.

The pilot's playing poker in the cockpit of the plane,
The casualties are rising like the dropping of the rain,
And a mountain of machinery will fall before a man
When you're white boots marching in a yellow land.

It's written in the ashes of the village towns we burn,
It's written in the empty beds of fathers unreturned,
And the chocolate in the children's eyes will never understand
When you're white boots marching in a yellow land.

Train them well the men who will be fighting by your side,
And never turn your back if the battle turns its tide;
For the colors of a civil war are louder than commands,
When you're white boots marching in a yellow land.

Blow them from the forest and burn them from your sight,
Tie their hands behind their backs and question through
the night;
But when the firing squad is ready they'll be spitting
where they stand
At the white boots marching in a yellow land.

The comic and the beauty queen are dancing on the stage,
The raw recruits are lining up like coffins in a cage,
Oh, we're fighting in a war we lost before the war began,
We're the white boots marching in a yellow land.

The exceptionally powerful images reveal one central tendency among songs dealing with the Vietnam war. The writers concentrate on contrasting the death, torture and brutality with the banal events of human existence. In consequence, the songs often attempt to portray Americans as both brutal and callous. Thus, Joe McDonald attacks both the American armed forces and those that support them, in contrast to the "soldier-children" of the enemy.

Doubleday and Company, 1967); Jean Lacouture, Vietnam: Between Two Truces (New York: Random House, Inc., 1966); Robert Shaplen, The Lost Revolution: The Story of Twenty Years of Neglected Opportunities in Vietnam and of America's Failure to Foster Democracy There (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

Red and swollen tears tumble from her eyes;
While cold silver birds who came to cruise the skies
Send death down to the bend and twist her tiny hands,
And then proceed to target B in keeping with their plans.

Khaki priests of Christendom, interpreters of love,
Ride a stone leviathan across a sea of blood,
And pound their feet into the sand of shores they've never seen,
Delegates from the Western land, to join the Death machine.
And we send cards and letters.

The oxen lie beside the road, their bodies baked in mud;
And fat flies chew out their eyes, and batter themselves in blood;
And superheroes fill the skies, tally sheets in hand;
Yes, keeping score in times of war takes a superman.

The junk crawls past hidden death, its cargo shakes inside;
And soldier-children hold their breath, and kill them as they hide;
And those who took so long to learn the subtle ways of death,
Lie and bleed in paddy mud with questions on their breath.
And we send prayers and praises. ¹

A number of songs reveal the pacifist foundations of war protest.

Although elsewhere, it may be possible that individuals inspired by these songs may be willing to go beyond non-violence in the eradication of social injustices, nevertheless these songs appear to reflect deep impulses shared by many young people. Thus, the principle that the individual conscience must be obeyed, that moral responsibility for one's acts cannot be evaded, enunciated by Thoreau and reaffirmed at Nuremburg, has been reapplied to Vietnam. Alternatives to carrying out unjust orders exist - refusal to fight, refusal to serve - but neither Phil Ochs nor Buffy Saint-Marie underestimate what these decisions

¹ Joe McDonald, "An Untitled Protest," sung by Country Joe and the Fish, Together (New York: Vanguard, 1968)

entail. For if the act of killing is an individual one, still, the last lines of Universal Soldier¹ indicate that guilt for national participation in a war is collective.

He's a Catholic, a Hindu, an Atheist, a Jain,
A Buddhist and a Baptist and a Jew.
And he knows he shouldn't kill,
And he knows he always will
Kill you for me, my friend, and me for you.

And he's fighting for Canada,
He's fighting for France,
He's fighting for the U.S.A.
And he's fighting for the Russians,
He's fighting for Japan,
And he thinks we'll put an end to war this way.

And he's fighting for democracy,
He's fighting for the Reds;
He says it's for the peace of all.
He's the one who must decide who's to live
and who's to die,
And he never sees the writing on the wall.

He's the Universal Soldier, and he really is to blame;
His orders come from far away, no more;
They come from here and there, and you and me,
And bothers, can't you see -
This is not the way we'll put the end to war.

Thus, in I Ain't A-Marching Anymore, Phil Ochs has fashioned a manifesto against participation in any and all wars. Moreover, the chorus reveals yet another persistent theme that expresses attitudes whose significance extends to other political and social issues as well.

It's always the old who lead us to the war
Always the young to fall;
Now look at all we've won with a saber and a gun -
Tell me, is it worth it all? 2

¹ Buffy Saint-Marie, "Universal Soldier," Donovan: Like It Is, Was, and Evermore Shall Be (New York: Hickory, 1968).

² Phil Ochs, "I Ain't A-Marching Anymore," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore (New York: Elektra, 1964).

The feeling that the youth of the nation have been the victims of the war has a dual effect. On the one hand, it establishes an isolation from and opposition to the social structure and those in authority. At the same time, common grounds of opposition tend to bring about a sense of solidarity and communion among the oppressed group.

Another vehicle for expressing these attitudes is to be found in songs about the draft. Draft Dodger Rag expresses its bitterness with humor, but Phil Ochs has made clear his motives in writing it.

In Vietnam, a 19-year-old Viet Cong soldier screams that Americans should leave his country as he is shot by a government firing squad. His American counterpart meanwhile is staying up nights thinking of ways to deceptively destroy his health, mind, or virility to escape two years in a relatively comfortable army. Free enterprise strikes again. ¹

Arlo Guthrie's Alice's Restaurant² exemplifies another song about the draft, in his commentary on the irrational nature of military pre-induction physical examinations. Tom Paxton's The Willing Conscript utilizes another technique in dealing with the draft; Paxton contrasts the martial functions and characteristics of the armed forces with the political innocence of the young.

To do my job obediently is all that I desire;
To learn my weapon thoroughly in how to aim and fire;
To learn to kill the enemy, and then to slaughter more;
Oh, I'll need instruction, Sergeant,
For I've never killed before.

¹ Phil Ochs, I Ain't A-Marching Anymore (New York: Elektra, 1964), back cover of album.

² Arlo Guthrie, "Alice's Restaurant," Alice's Restaurant (New York: Reprise, 1967).

Now there are rumors in the camp about our enemy;
They say that when you see him, he looks just like you and me;
But you deny it, Sergeant, and you are a man of war;
So you must give me lessons,¹
For I've never killed before.

Another group that perceives itself as victimized by war are the non-whites of American society. Three-Five-Zero-Zero, from Hair, is described by Nat Shapiro, on the back of the album, as a "surrealistic anti-war song."² The song brings out a point frequently made by critics of the war and of draft inequities; both are racist in their origins and implications. As one actor in the show observes, "the draft is white people sending black people to make war on yellow people to defend the land they stole from red people."³

Similarly, Richie Havens concentrates on the violent misdeeds of a white soldier, in Handsome Johnny.⁴ However, Havens, often poetic and philosophical, exemplifies another theme recurrent in politically radical music. Handsome Johnny is written with despair.

Hey, look-a-yonder, tell me what you see,
Marching to the fields of Birmingham;
Looks like Handsome Johnny with his hand rolled in a fist,
Marching to the Birmingham war.

Hey, what's the use of singing this song;
Some of you are not even listening;
Tell me what it is we've got to do -
Wait for our fields to start glistening?
Hey, wait for the bullets to start whistling?

¹Tom Paxton, "The Willing Conscript," Ain't That News (New York: Elektra, 1964).

²Nat Shapiro, Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968), back cover of album.

³Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt MacDermot, Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

⁴Richie Havens, "Handsome Johnny," Mixed Bag (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1968).

Havens' feelings of political frustration are not atypical; perceptions of social isolation and political powerlessness among the young and the black are existing attitudinal phenomena that these songs mirror. A most significant example of the political helplessness many opponents of the Vietnam war appear to feel is reflected in the popularity of a song whose one line is a simple plea.

All we are saying is give peace a chance.¹

Women, excluded from direct participation in wars, are not barred from war protest, either as performers or in the content of songs. Joan Baez has been a consistent and articulate pacifist who has long proselytized for principles of complete non-violence. The style of her singing and the content of her songs have inspired other performers, such as Joni Mitchell and Judy Collins. Saigon Bride, The Dove and the ironic With God On Our Side are several songs indicative of her concerns.² In a similar vein, Judy Collins' Masters of War protests against those who control the military machine.³

Cruel War and Where Have All the Flowers Gone? reflect the grounds for opposition to war that have motivated women of all political persuasions for centuries.⁴

¹Pete Seeger, "All We Are Saying Is Give Peace a Chance" (New York: Broadside, 1969).

²Nina Dusheck and Joan Baez, "Saigon Bride," Joan (New York: Vanguard, 1968); Jacques Brel, "La Colombe--The Dove," In My Life (New York: Elektra, 1967); Joan Baez, "With God On Our Side," Joan Baez in Concert/2 (New York: Vanguard, 1966).

³Judy Collins, "Masters of War," Judy Collins #3 (New York: Elektra, 1969).

⁴Aristophanes' Lysistrata, for example, contains similar themes.

Tomorrow is Sunday;
Monday is the day
That your Captain will call you
And you must obey.
Your Captain will call you
It grieves my heart so
Won't you let me go with you?
No, my love, no. 1

Where have all the young men gone, long time passing,
Where have all the young men gone, long time ago;
Where have all the young men gone,
Gone for soldiers everyone,

Where have all the soldiers gone, long time passing,
Where have all the soldiers gone, long time ago;
Where have all the soldiers gone,
Gone to graveyards everyone ... 2

Joan Baez has described What Have They Done to the Rain?³ as "the gentlest protest song I know;" she further stated that "it doesn't protest gently, but it sounds gentle."⁴ Sung quietly, the images are of flowers, lovers, and little children. These symbols of gentle innocence again underscore several significant political perceptions of the young. Political righteousness, political evils are among the ideological and attitudinal foundations of radical politics.

In the final analysis, however, these several concerns merge in anti-war protest into a generalized anxiety about the future existence of mankind. Early in the 1960's, fears about the possibility of nuclear war were the most

¹Peter Yarrow, "Cruel War," Peter, Paul and Mary (New York: Warner Brothers, 1962).

²Pete Seeger, "Where Have All The Flowers Gone?" in Pete Seeger's Greatest Hits (New York: Columbia, 1967).

³Malvina Reynolds, "What Have They Done to the Rain?" in Joan Baez in Concert (New York: Vanguard, 1965).

⁴Joan Baez, Joan Baez in Concert (New York: Vanguard, 1965), back

dominant theme in anti-war songs. Eve of Destruction remains significant as an early expression of the concern of the young about both the possibility of nuclear war and their own absence of political power.

Don't you understand what I'm trying to say?
Can't you feel the fear that I'm feeling today?
If the button is pushed, there's no running away;
There'll be no one to save with the world in a grave...¹

Mushroom Clouds, performed by Love, and The House at Poonell Corners, performed by the Jefferson Airplane, represent two examples of linkages between folk and rock music.² A concern about the dangers inherent in the existence of nuclear weapons is expressed by entertainers who are far from the fringe of cultural activity. The use of rock music as a vehicle for political expression is a significant conversion of a cultural instrument; radicals are not unaware of the political significance of the fusion of rock and politics and, in part, the use of rock in this manner has become a tenet of radical political ideology.³ Thus, promoters of rock performances and festivals have been accused of exploiting the youth culture; threats of radical disruption of sponsored entertainment have also occurred.

cover of album.

¹ Barry McGuire, "Eve of Destruction," Eve of Destruction (New York: Dunhill, 1962).

² Arthur Lee and Bryan MacLunen, "Mushroom Clouds," Love (New York: Elektra, 1968); Marty Balin, "The House at Poonell Corners," Crown of Creation (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

³ Abbie Hoffman, op. cit.

Kill For Peace represents a generalized attack on American foreign policy. Critics of American foreign policy have contended that the racial implications of American foreign involvements extend beyond the operations of the draft to the objects of those involvements. SDS, for example, has sought to relate capitalism, imperialism and racism, arguing that none of these features of American society can be eliminated in isolation from any other. The Fugs' Kill For Peace satirizes both the military and the attitudes perceived to be underlying American external orientations.

If you don't like the people or the way that they talk,
If you don't like their manners or the way that they walk
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace.

The only gook an American can trust
Is a gook that's got his yellow head bust,
Kill, kill, kill for peace,
Kill, kill, kill for peace...

Pete Seeger's Wading in the Big Muddy² draws a broad parallel between a training disaster at a Marine base and American involvement in Vietnam. More directly, the analogy between the Sergeant responsible for the incident and the American President - despite all the signs, "the big fool said to push on" - is unmistakable. Both the clarity of the message and the influential character of musical expression were underscored by the response of the television affiliate owned by former President Johnson to Seeger's rendition of the song on the Smothers Brothers program during the latter stage of the Johnson presidency. The affiliate, for one week only,

¹Tuli Kupferberg, "Kill For Peace," The Fugs (New York: Elektra, 1964).

²Pete Seeger, "Wading in the Big Muddy," Pete Seeger Sings and Answers Questions at the Ford Hall Forum (New York: Broadside, 1969).

substituted another television program for the Smothers Brothers, after an advance screening of the taped product.

The War Is Over and Cops of the World are brutal, angry songs. Essentially, Phil Ochs is concerned in these songs with the human consequences of war and colonialism. The psychological and sexual effects of occupation of a land by people of different racial origins, equipped with superior power and wealth, are considered.

Come get out of the way, boys,
Quick get out of the way,
You'd better watch what you say, boys,
Better watch what you say,
We've rammed in your harbor, and tied to your port,
And our pistols are hungry and our tempers are short,
So bring your daughters around to the fort -
'Cause we're the cops of the world, boys,
We're the cops of the world. ¹

One-legged veterans will greet the dawn,
And they're whistling marches as they mow the lawn,
And the gargoyles only sit and grieve;
The gypsy fortuneteller told me that we've been deceived -
You only are what you believe.
And I believe the war is over, it's over. ²

Country Joe and the Fish appear on the cover of the record album, I-Feel-Like-I'm Fixin'-to-Die, dressed in mock-military uniforms, an American flag at their side. Their sardonic attitude is indicative of the mood of many songs of dissent; although they range from solemnity to ridicule in content and outlook, deeply-felt emotions may be perceived beneath the high spirits and the laughter.

¹ Phil Ochs, "Cops of the World," Phil Ochs in Concert (New York: Elektra, 1966).

² Phil Ochs, "The War Is Over," Tape From California (New York: A&M, 1968).

Yeah, come on all you big strong men;
Uncle Sam needs your help again;
He's got himself in a real big jam,
Way down yonder in Vietnam.
So put down your books and pick up your gun,
We're gonna have a whole lot of fun.

And it's one, two, three, what're we fightin' for;
Don't ask me, I don't give a damn, next stop is Vietnam.
(wak-a-doo,
And it's five, six, seven, open up the pearly gates,
Well, there ain't no time to wonder why, we're all gonna die.¹

A final preoccupation of contemporary political troubadors concerned with war has been with the causes of violence in America. A major thesis within this grouping of songs has been that the atmosphere of violence in America is supported, psychologically, by war toys, the mass media, and the glorification of those who kill. Cartoon superheroes destroy cartoon victims; the deaths are abstract features of a humorous game.

Listen for the sound and listen for the noise;
Listen for the thunder of the marching boys;
A few years ago their guns were only toys.²

The Beatles' The Continuing Story of Bungalow Bill³ recounts the adventures of a happy hunter, whose triumph was assured through the intervention of Captain Marvel. Tom Paxton strives to relate the sale of war toys to the persistence of war in Buy A Gun For Your Son.⁴

¹ Joe McDonald, "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die-Rag," I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die (New York: Vanguard, 1968).

² Phil Ochs, "One More Parade," All the News That's Fit to Sing (New York: Elektra, 1963).

³ John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "The Continuing Story of Bungalow Bill," The Beatles (New York: Apple, 1969).

⁴ Tom Paxton, "Buy a Gun For Your Son," Ain't That News! (New York: Elektra, 1964).

The songs of protest about violence and war, then, have covered virtually all aspects of conflict. They present a radical perspective on these problems by their opposition to nuclear weapons, American foreign policy, the draft, and the war in Vietnam. Inextricably linked with the major theme of opposition to war and violence is a fundamental revulsion from the racism, materialism, hypocrisy and covert violence perceived to exist in American society. These songs, though thematically pertaining to war, violence and their causes, appear to reveal more generalized attitudes of alienation in their creators, the implications of which are far-reaching indeed.

Racism and Poverty

A second value that consistently emerges from contemporary folk and rock music involves a strong opposition to racism. As racial distinctions have always been important in America, the implications of such attitudes can be quite profound. If the arts both reflect and work upon social attitudes, it becomes possible for these songs to be understood both as symbolic of a growing consensus and as aiding in the construction of a new community, based upon a new set of values. Among those values most consistently affirmed in the material under consideration are the beliefs that racism is inexcusable, that conditions of freedom and equality must be created now, that poverty in a society so abundant must be eliminated.

These concerns have been reflected through a diversity of musical styles. One group of songs is already dated, both in style and content; while

the country has moved on towards an examination of more subtle forms of racism throughout America, these songs deal with the most blatant expressions of racial prejudice.¹ These songs are from the early sixties, when white students travelled South to register voters, organize communities, and desegregate public facilities.²

Gonna take a long awaited ride, down on the freedom line,
Down on the freedom line, down on the freedom line,
Gonna take a long awaited ride, down on the freedom line,
I ain't gonna segregate no more.

I ain't gonna segregate no more, ain't gonna segregate
no more,
Ain't gonna segregate no more.³

Woke up this morning with my mind (my mind it was) stayed
on freedom,
(Oh well I) woke up this morning with my mind stayed (set)
on freedom,
(Oh well I) woke up this morning with my mind (my mind it
was) stayed (set) on freedom,
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah!⁴

I Ain't A-Scared of Your Jail was written in a Birmingham jail, sung by prisoners in most perilous circumstances. James Farmer added the "freedom verses" to the union organizing song, Which Side Are You On, in a jail, while under arrest for participation in a freedom ride.⁵ As

¹Guy and Candie Carawan, We Shall Overcome! (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), is an excellent anthology of the songs used and adapted by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

²Traditional, "Oh, Freedom"; traditional, "I'm On My Way to the Freedom Land" (Carawan, op. cit.).

³Traditional, "Down on the Freedom Line" (Carawan, op. cit.).

⁴Traditional, "Woke Up This Morning With My Mind On Freedom" (Carawan, op. cit.).

⁵Guy and Candie Carawan, op. cit.

The Internationale and Solidarity Forever once unified workers during the struggles for union recognition, songs such as We Shall Not Be Moved and We Shall Overcome¹ - chanted on picket lines and during sit-ins, in demonstrations and jails - have served to bring people together in a common quest. Singing has become one of the chief forms of group expression in the movement.²

These are the struggle songs of the people. They are outbursts of bitterness, of hatred for the oppressor, of determination to endure hardships together and to fight for a better life. Whether they are ballads composed and sung by an individual, or rousing songs improvised on the picket line, they are imbued with a feeling of communality, or togetherness.³

That these songs have unified people in common cause, in a hazardous undertaking, to bring about a significant alteration in the laws that govern them, may be the strongest indication of the possible relationship between political attitudes, predisposition towards participation, and the arts.

The adaptation of traditional Negro religious rituals was one source of political music about racial conditions in America. Another category of songs, similar in their themes, emerged during the early part of the last decade as folk music. These songs are distinct less for their themes than for the musical forms that embody them and the identity of their performers. The folk singers were generally white, and their songs - on unamplified guitars - were based upon appeals to brotherhood and the reaffirmation of basic American ideals.

¹ Traditional, We Shall Not Be Moved (Carawan, *op. cit.*); Pete Seeger, Zilphia Horton, Frank Hamilton and Guy Carawan, "We Shall Overcome," Pete Seeger's Greatest Hits (New York: Columbia, 1967).

² Ibid., p. 9.

³ John Greenway, American Folksongs of Protest (Philadelphia:

Bob Dylan's Blowin' in the Wind was a radical statement when it first appeared; a closer reading of the text still makes it so, for he attacks the whole course of American history. Moreover, Dylan argues implicitly with the traditional optimism of Americans - that conditions will improve, that sacrifice and death are never in vain - by questioning whether the end to the suffering will ever be achieved.

How many roads must a man walk down,
Before he's called a man...¹

The chorus ends confidently enough; "the answer is blowin' in the wind" but as in We Shall Overcome, the words contain sadness, irony and doubt, as well as hope.²

Pete Seeger's The Hammer Song was one of the compositions that served to identify him as a subversive, leftist folk singer. At one point in his career, he was sentenced to prison by a judge who objected to the seditious character of the song.³ The Hammer Song attacks those institutions and practices perceived as responsible for the disparity between the ideals that the song celebrates and the reality of a divided, torn nation.

University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).

¹Bob Dylan, "Blowin' in the Wind," Peter, Paul and Mary (New York: Warner Brothers, 1962).

²Pete Seeger, Zilphia Horton, Frank Hamilton, and Guy Carawan, "We Shall Overcome," Pete Seeger's Greatest Hits (New York: Columbia, 1967).

³Gordon Frieson, op. cit., p. 17.

If I had a song, I'd sing it in the morning,
I'd sing it in the evening all over this land.
I'd sing out danger, I'd sing out warning
I'd sing out love between my brothers
and my sisters
All over this land.¹

In thematic content, these folk songs are not atypical in several respects. First, the songs seek to rededicate America to her stated ideals. Secondly, although they identify inequities and reaffirm aspirations, they attribute the difference between the two solely to ill-will. Nasty people are regarded as responsible for inequality; universal love and brotherhood are recommended as solutions to national political problems.

This theme is a recurring one; as folk music has been superceded by rock, the themes of fidelity to American ideals and brotherhood have persisted. They may be found in Everyday People, And the World Will Be A Better Place, Brotherhood Song and Trust in Men Everywhere.² These songs do not identify institutions in need of change, nor deeply ingrained practices requiring alteration.

On the other hand, it is possible to identify more directly political songs that do attack racial problems from a more analytical perspective.

¹ Lee Hayes and Pete Seeger, "If I Had a Hammer (The Hammer Song)" Peter, Paul and Mary (New York: Warner Brothers, 1962).

² Sly and the Family Stone, "Everyday People," Everyday People (New York: Epic, 1967); Jackie DeShannon, "And the World Will Be A Better Place," Put A Little Love (New York: Imperial, 1969); Dino Valente, "Brotherhood Song" (New York: Epic, 1968); Buffy Saint-Marie, "The Seeds of Brotherhood," Fire and Fleet and Candlelight (New York: Vanguard, 1967).

Links On the Chain attacks the complicity of the labor unions in the perpetuation of American racism.¹ The song is indicative of the ambivalence of many radicals in rendering political judgments on the need for and role of labor unions in American politics.²

Janis Ian, in Society's Child,³ attacks social values through her treatment of interracial sexual relations. Similarly, Peter, Paul and Mary attack racial prejudice pervading social relationships in I'm In Love With A Big Blue Frog.⁴ In Hair, Black Boys and White Boys blatantly deal with interracial sexual desires.⁵

The problems of the ghettos have also become a major theme in folk and rock music.⁶ Elvis Presley's In the Ghetto deals with the decaying slums of the cities.⁷ In Nowhere to Go and Give A Damn, the listener is urged to empathize, to transcend himself in order to understand the social conditions and psychological meaning of life in an impoverished urban setting.

¹Phil Ochs, "Links On the Chain," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore (New York: Elektra, 1964).

²In the survey discussed in Chapter IV, for example, statements indicating opposition to labor unions received divergent responses from radicals; among these were agreement, disagreement, and imputations of ambiguity to the statement.

³Janis Ian, "Society's Child," Society's Child (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1967).

⁴Leslie Braunstein, "I'm In Love With A Big Blue Frog," 1700 (New York: Warner Brothers/7 Arts, 1968).

⁵Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt MacDermot, "Black Boys; White Boys," Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

⁶Scott Fagan and Joe Kookookis, "Tenement Hall," Scott Fagan (New York: Atco, 1967); Bob Dylan, "Deal Landlord," John Wesley Harding (New York: Columbia, 1968).

⁷Elvis Presley, "In the Ghetto," (New York: RCA Victor, 1969).

Seems I just don't have nowhere to go;
Sure would like to see a face I know; ¹
Wish that I could find someplace to go.

Oh put your girl to sleep some time
With rats instead of nursery rhymes,
With hunger, and your other children by her side.
And wonder if you'll share your bed
With something else that must be fed,
Or fear may lie beside you, ²
Or it may sleep down the hall.

It is significant, however, that political solutions in these songs are limited to humanitarian gestures. The intent, in learning to 'give a damn,' is to create both an awareness of urban problems and an identification with underprivileged urban minorities. The basic thrust of the songs pertaining to poverty and racism is twofold; the problems are perceived as moral, while the solutions are to be achieved through improved awareness and communication. Means for translating this heightened sense of consciousness into political channels are conspicuously absent.

Related to this social orientation in songs pertaining to racism are treatments of racial stereotypes. The radical significance of an attack upon such stereotypes ought not be underestimated. Stokely Carmichael, in calling for blacks to redefine themselves, has observed that

Just as red men had to be recorded as 'savages' to justify the white man's theft of their land, so black men had to be vilified in order to justify their continued oppression. Those who have the right to define are the masters of the situation.³

¹Scharf and Takya, "Nowhere to Go," Anything You Choose (New York: Mercury, 1967).

²Scharf, Dorough, and Takya, "Give A Damn," Anything You Choose (New York: Mercury, 1967).

³Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: the Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 36.

These songs deal with two forms of categorization of blacks by whites. In one, blacks are lazy, dirty, uninterested in self-improvement. The other form of racial categorization focuses upon blacks as dangerous, violent, unpredictable creatures.

Country Joe and the Fish attack the first stereotype in The Harlem Song¹; the implicit threat contained therein, that "Harlem will come to you," that the next black riot may not be self-destructive, that the next fires may not be burning in the ghettos, is intentional. The album is dedicated "to Bobby Hutton - Black Revolutionary 1968-1950;" The Harlem Song is described as follows.

White America's make-believe black world meets the real American black world. The product of 400 years of white racism. For further information contact your local newspaper.²

In Hair, the question of names - labels for stereotypes - is raised; Colored Spade lists some of the words that white people employ in descriptions of blacks.³ A more positive means of self-identification may be found in I'm Black/Ain't Got No.⁴ These songs are one example of the relationship between soul music and the ideology of black power, in their stress on the need for racial self-redefinition.

The contemporary utilization of music as a means for political expression by black people is not unique. A progression in political

¹ Joe McDonald, "The Harlem Song," Together (New York: Vanguard, 1968).

² Joe McDonald, on back cover of album, Together (New York: Vanguard, 1968).

³ Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt MacDermot, "Colored Spade," Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

⁴ Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt MacDermot, "I'm Black/Ain't Got No," Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

consciousness may be discerned in a comparative analysis of the dominant themes of gospel music, the blues, jazz and soul music. Religious songs utilized the psychological technique of denial; earthly difficulties were minimized in importance, and the alleviation of injustices was anticipated after death. The blues dealt with the earthly hardships of loneliness, poverty and frustration.¹ These songs were descriptive, however, and their realism permitted expressions of complaint rather than prescriptions for change. Jazz has served functionally as a vehicle for releasing emotions, allowing the symbolic expression of feelings too potent to be directly communicated.² At present, soul music may be defined as the musical equivalent of black power. The phenomenon of soul music involves the development and communication of blackness through rock; soul music is an artistic channel for black militancy.

The contrasting themes present in the various categories of black music is revealing. The older songs - in attitude as well as time - are resigned; life is hard, in prison, on a chain gang, or at home. Dead End Street is an urban version of this song; the cycle of poverty, inadequate education, unemployment and deterioration depicted therein is similar to

¹ Charles Keil, Urban Blues (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

² A number of collections of jazz material and interpretations exist suitable for use in comparative analyses. The following are particularly useful: Book of Jazz, Encyclopedia of Jazz, and Encyclopedia of Jazz in the '60s, by Leonard Feather (New York: Horizon Press, 1963); Ira Gitler, Jazz Masters of the '40s (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966); Nat Hentoff and Nat Shapiro, Hear Me Talkin' To Ya - Story of Jazz (New York: Dover Publications, 1966); Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy (eds.), Jazz: New Perspectives on the History of Jazz Critics

that described in Michael Harrington's Poverty in America¹. However, other themes have come to prevail over these. A commitment to freedom, immediately, for everyone, can be found in People Got To Be Free and Time Has Come Today.² Related to the attempt to reclaim American ideals and make them relevant to black people is an effort to reclaim the American nation as their own. Essentially, this attitude reflects a determination to no longer dwell in America at the sufferance of whites. The Rascals' America the Beautiful and The Impressions' This Is My Country are further examples of this form of black patriotism.³

Songs of black pride are an integral part of soul music. Black consciousness and black pride are key concepts in the ideology of black power; in order for black people to organize, and thus achieve their objectives as a people, they must be proud of themselves, confident of their capabilities.⁴ Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud⁵ may be viewed as

and Scholars (New York: Rinehart, 1959); Nat Hentoff, The Jazz Life (New York: Dial Press, 1961); Nat Hentoff and Nat Shapiro, The Jazz Masters (New York: Rinehart, 1957).

¹Lou Rawls, "Dead End Street" (New York: Atlantic, 1968); Michael Harrington, Poverty in America (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963).

²The Rascals, "People Got to Be Free," Freedom Suite (New York: Atlantic, 1969); Joseph and Willie Chambers, "Time Has Come Today," The Time Has Come (New York: Columbia, 1967).

³The Rascals, "America the Beautiful," Freedom Suite (New York: Atlantic, 1969); The Impressions, "This Is My Country," Fool For You (New York: Curtom, 1968).

⁴Stokely Carmichael, op. cit.

⁵James Brown, "Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud," Say It

the anthem of this new black attitude; Don't Want Somethin' For Nothin'¹ is another song by James Brown that embodies this attitude.

Periodically, civil rights leaders have been martyred. A number of songs deal with those whom the movement for racial equality has lost. Both Carolyn Hester and Tom Paxton deal with three civil rights workers slain in Mississippi during the 1960's.

The nation was outraged and shocked through and through;
Call J. Edgar Hoover, he'll know what to do.
For they've murdered two white men and a colored boy too;
Goodman and Schwerner and Chaney.

James Chaney, your body exploded in pain,
And the beating they gave you is pounding my brain.
And they murdered much more with their dark bloody chains,
And the body of pity lies bleeding.

The pot-bellied copper shook hands all around,
And joked with the rednecks who came into town.
And they swore that the murderers soon would be found,
And they laughed as they spat their tobacco. 2

Birmingham Sunday memorializes four black girls who died in the bombing of an all-black church.

Young Carol Roberts had entered the door,
And the number her killer had given was four,
She asked for a blessing, but asked for no more,
And the choir kept singing of freedom. 3

Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud (Cincinnati, Ohio: King, 1969).

¹James Brown, "Don't Want Somethin' For Nothin'" (Cincinnati, Ohio: King, 1969).

²Tom Paxton, "Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney," Ain't That News! (New York: Elektra, 1964); Carolyn Hester's treatment of the incident occurs in "Three Young Men," contained on Carolyn Hester at Town Hall, One (New York: Elektra, 1966).

³Richard Farina, "Birmingham Sunday," Joan Baez/5 (New York: Vanguard, 1968).

The Ballad of Emmett Till, William Moore The Mailman, Carry It On, Medgar Evers Lullaby and Too Many Martyrs are several additional remembrances. That Was the President and Abraham, Martin and John are several songs composed as memorials to John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King.¹ Perhaps the most atypical musical tribute to a victim of racism is Bob Dylan's The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll, which comments upon the death of a black maid in a white home.²

Other victims of racism are remembered in songs about the plight of the American Indians. Some of the historical record of Indian tribes has been documented in song and broadcast over educational radio stations in a Canadian-produced program, Who Were The Ones.³ The forced removal of the Cherokee nation from the state of Georgia was recalled in The Cherokee Nation, a rock song released in 1969. Buffy Saint-Marie, an Indian, recounts the mistreatment of her people in Now That The Buffalo's Gone.⁴ The Ballad of Ira Hayes, which has been recorded by several artists, is the story of one of the men who raised the flag on Iwo Jima. At home,

¹ Bob Dylan, "The Ballad of Emmett Till," reprinted in Friesen, *op. cit.*; Pete Seeger, "William Moore the Mailman," Pete Seeger Sings Little Boxes and Other Broadside Ballads (New York: Broadside, 1965); Gil Turner, "Carry It On," Carolyn Hester at Town Hall, One (New York: Elektra, 1966); Richard Weissman, "Medgar Evers Lullaby," The Judy Collins Concert (New York: Elektra, 1966); Phil Ochs and Bob Gibson, "Too Many Martyrs," All The News That's Fit To Sing (New York: Elektra, 1964); Phil Ochs, "That Was the President," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore (New York: Elektra, 1964); Dion, "Abraham, Martin and John" (New York: Laurie, 1969).

² Bob Dylan, "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll," The Judy Collins Concert (New York: Elektra, 1964).

³ Canadian Broadcast System, Who Were The Ones (Montreal: Canadian Broadcast System, 1969).

⁴ Buffy Saint-Marie, "Now That The Buffalo's Gone," I'm Gonna

He was just a Pima Indian -
No money, no crops, no chance...

Then Ira started drinking hard,
Jail was his home.

They let him raise the flag there,
And lower it - as you'd throw a dog a bone.
He died drunk early one morning
Alone in the land he'd fought to save;
Two inches of water in a lonely ditch
Was the grave of Ira Hayes. ¹

Peter LaFarge, an Indian, has also written As Long As The Grass Shall Grow. The title comes from a treaty between the United States and the Seneca tribe in Pennsylvania; signed by George Washington, the treaty pledged that the land would remain Seneca

As long as the moon shall rise,
As long as the rivers flow,
As long as the sun shall shine,
As long as the grass shall grow.

The United States government subsequently abrogated the treaty, unilaterally, in order to transform the reservation into a site for a dam. ²

Through a diverse array of musical traditions, concern about racial inequalities in all of its manifestations has persisted as a lyrical theme. Common to these songs is a faith in the moral righteousness of their orientation towards human and social ills. Although few solutions are offered, the emotional nature of their appeal and the breadth of their

Be A Country Girl Again (New York: Vanguard, 1968).

¹Peter LaFarge, "The Ballad of Ira Hayes," Patrick Sky (New York: Elektra, 1965).

²Peter LaFarge, "As Long As the Grass Shall Grow," Broadside Ballads, Volume I (New York: Broadside, 1963).

concerns tends to indicate the close relationship between political and social trends and musical content.

On the Spiritual Emptiness of American
Society and Other Ills

American society is divided in so many different ways that a profound alienation from at least some of its features may well be the most common political orientation. Disaffection from societal practices, rules and direction is prevalent among large segments of the population. The Wallace voters, Nixon's forgotten Americans, the labor union members all appear alienated from American society, in different ways and for different reasons. Most of the songs that have emerged in folk and rock reflective of general political alienation have mirrored the social attitudes of the young and the black. Alternative explanations are that these groups are most vocal or that these art forms are more suited to their critical perspective.

The songs in this category are directed against many different kinds of targets; they are related only in their common dissatisfaction with features of adult American society. Little Boxes is the American dream revisited; in it, Malvina Reynolds examines life ordered by middle-class rules, in which safety, security and normalcy are the prime values. Inspired as a protest against the external uniformity of urban housing, Reynolds went beyond that statement to reject the inner conformity of the people who inhabit them.

Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes made of ticky-tacky,
Little boxes, little boxes, little boxes all the same...

And the people in the houses all go to the university,
And they all get put in boxes, little boxes all the same,
And there's doctors and there's lawyers and business executives,
And they're all made out of ticky-tacky
And they all look just the same...

And the boys go into business and marry and raise a family,
And they all get put in boxes, little boxes all the same.
There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one,
And they're all made out of ticky-tacky
And they all look just the same. 1

Donovan's The Observation reflects upon the seemingly aimless di-
rection of social life in Western society.² The Rolling Stones' Mother's
Little Helper and Nineteenth Nervous Breakdown deal with pill-popping
housewives and the nervous breakdowns of their husbands.³ In Pleasant
Valley Sunday, the Monkees object to the spiritual emptiness of life in the
suburbs.⁴ Country Joe and the Fish describe Bright Suburban Mr. and Mrs.
Clean Machine⁵ as "a bad television dream," while Simon and Garfunkel sing

¹Malvina Reynolds, "Little Boxes," Pete Seeger's Greatest Hits
(New York: Columbia, 1967).

²Donovan Leitch, "The Observation," Mellow Yellow (New York:
Epic, 1967).

³Mick Jagger, "Mother's Little Helper," Flowers (New York:
London, 1967); "Nineteenth Nervous Breakdown," Got Live If You Want
It! (New York: London, 1967).

⁴The Monkees, "Pleasant Valley Sunday" (New York: Col
1968).

⁵Joe McDonald, "Bright Suburban Mr. and Mrs. Clean Machine,"
Together (New York: Vanguard, 1968); described by Joe McDonald on
back of album cover.

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Silent Night¹ to the accompaniment of a representative sample of the evening news. Bob Dylan's It's All Right, Ma, I'm Only Bleeding² is a description of the hypocrisies and incongruities that he perceived in American society.

In brief, there is an abundance of songs critical of a wide variety of features of American society.³ A number of similarities can be found among them. Those in authority - parents, businessmen, governmental leaders - are perceived as intellectually and morally unworthy of their social roles. Social norms stressing relationships between ability and social status frequently appear to be violated.

A second theme corresponds to the dimension of meaninglessness in alienation theory. Material abundance is depicted as a corrosive force on sensitivity and moral acuteness. Furthermore, traditional patterns of life are described as inadequate for the achievement of self-fulfillment. The rejection of customary and approved social roles generally relates to a more fundamental effort to acquire a sense of meaning in life. The Beatles' A Day in the Life and Lady Madonna are two examples of songs expressing such an orientation.⁴

¹ Paul Simon, "7:00 News/Silent Night," Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme (New York: Columbia, 1968).

² Bob Dylan, "It's All Right, Ma, I'm Only Bleeding," Bringing It All Back Home (New York: Columbia, 1965).

³ Mark Spoelstra, "Five and Twenty Questions," Five and Twenty Questions (New York: Elektra, 1964); Paul Simon, "The Bright Green Pleasure Machine," Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme (New York: Columbia, 1968); Jack Bruce, "You're Going Wrong," Disraeli Gears (New York: Atco, 1967); John Mayall, "Walking on Sunset," Blues From Laurel Canyon (New York: London, 1968); Tim Hardin, "The Country I'm Loving In," Suite for Susan Moore and Damion (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1969); Tom Paxton, "What Did You Learn in School Today?" Ramblin' Boy (New York: Elektra, 1966).

⁴ John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Lady Madonna," Richard P.

George F. Kennan has written that young people who reject their parents were breaking "the golden chain of affection that binds the generations."¹ Mommy and Daddy, Mom and Dad, and She's Leaving Home may be viewed as rebuttal.²

She's leaving home after living alone
For so many years. Bye, bye...

Something inside that was always denied
For so many years. Bye, bye...³

Resentment towards parents, however, is only one aspect of a more generalized sense of social isolation discernible in contemporary folk and rock music. The isolation of life at home is frequently paralleled in these songs by an isolation from the majority of Americans and the roles that they support. These feelings of isolation are often expressed through a portrayal of Americans as isolated from one another.

Oh, look outside the window, there's a woman being grabbed.
They've dragged her to the bushes and now she's being stabbed.
Maybe we should call the cops and try to stop the pain,
But Monopoly is so much fun, I'd hate to blow the game.

Havens, 1985 (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1969); John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "A Day In the Life," Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (New York: Capitol, 1967).

¹ Kennan, George F., Democracy and the Student Left (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 1.

² Joe Medeiros, "Mommy and Daddy," The Tangerine Zoo (New York: Mainstream, 1968); Frank Zappa, "Mom and Dad," We're Only In It For the Money (New York: Verve, 1968); John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "She's Leaving Home," Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (New York: Capitol, 1967).

³ John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "She's Leaving Home," Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (New York: Capitol, 1967).

And I'm sure it wouldn't interest anybody
Outside of a small circle of friends. 1

A similar effect is achieved by The Beatles in Eleanor Rigby.²

In several short verses, the Beatles sketch the lonely lives of Eleanor Rigby and her preacher. Poor Cow, There But For Fortune and Chimes of Freedom express the view that society has either ignored or discarded those who are lost and lonely.³ Claims to a superior ability to empathize, as an indication of greater humanity, recur in radical folk and rock music. This heightened concern for and commitment to the oppressed is related to self-imputations of moral superiority by politically radical individuals.

Tolling for the aching ones whose wounds cannot be nursed
For the countless confused, accused, misused strung-out
ones and worse;
And for every hung-up person in the whole life universe;
And we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing. 4

Show me the whisky stains on the floor;
Show me a drunken man as he stumbles out the door;
And I'll show you a young man with many reasons why,
And there but for fortune go you or I. 5

Responses to perceptions of loneliness and feelings of isolation may take many forms. Eric Burden, in We Gotta Get Out of This Place,

¹ Phil Ochs, "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends," Pleasures of the Harbor (New York: A & M, 1968).

² John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Eleanor Rigby" (New York: Capitol, 1968).

³ Donovan Leitch, "Poor Cow" (New York: Epic, 1969); Phil Ochs, "There But for Fortune," Phil Ochs in Concert (New York: Elektra, 1966); Bob Dylan, "Chimes of Freedom," Mr. Tambourine Man (New York: Columbia, 1965).

⁴ Bob Dylan, "Chimes of Freedom," Mr. Tambourine Man, (New York, Columbia, 1965).

⁵ Phil Ochs, "There But for Fortune," Phil Ochs in Concert

attempts to reestablish communication with parents whose lives are portrayed as futile and tragic.¹ However, the majority of songs in this category react less with compassion than with criticism. Songs such as Insanity Comes Quietly to the Structured Mind, Games People Play, Mr. Businessman, and Hymn to an Older Generation return to the general theme of the arid, irrational character of American society and Western civilization.² Other songs criticize diverse social patterns, manifesting a disenchantment with available social roles.³

As a symbol of American society, the American flag has been ridiculed and attacked in several songs. The use of the flag to support policies and values that have largely been rejected corresponds to its rejection by many radical dissenters. The Torn Flag describes some of the things that have been done under the auspices of the flag, while Don't Put It Down is an artful tribute to those who are "crazy for the red, white and blue."⁴

(New York: Elektra, 1966).

¹Eric Burden, "We Gotta Get Out Of This Place," The Animals (New York: MGM, 1965).

²Joe South, "Games People Play," Introspect (New York: Capitol, 1968); Janis Ian, "Insanity Comes Quietly to the Structured Mind," For All the Seasons of Your Mind (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1968); Mick Jagger, "Mr. Businessman" (New York: London, 1967); Marty Balin, "Hymn to An Older Generation," After Bathing At Baxter's (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

³Barry Gibb, "Second Hand People," Rare, Precious and Beautiful (New York: Atco, 1968); Jerry Walker, "People's Games," Circus Maximus (New York: Vanguard, 1967); Steve Engel, "Plastic Palace People," Scott Walker (New York: Smash, 1968).

⁴Pete Seeger, "The Torn Flag," Pete Seeger Now (New York: Columbia, 1968); Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt MacDermot, "Don't Put It Down," Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

The loss of political innocence by the collective American nation is the subject of two songs by Paul Simon. In them, Simon describes a lost country, searching vainly for itself. The attempt to rediscover political ideals and reattain a sense of moral purity reflects perceptions about self and country that are recurrent throughout the songs under consideration.

Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio?
A nation turns its lonely eyes to you.
What's that you say, Mrs. Robinson?¹
'Joltin' Joe' has left and gone away.

'Kathy, I'm lost,' I said,
Though I knew she was sleeping.
'I'm empty and aching and
I don't know why.'
Counting the cars on the New Jersey Turnpike,
They've all come to look for America,
All come to look for America.²

It may not be unreasonable to suggest that the sense of loss described by Simon may reflect the widespread confusion and isolation of those separated from their nation's history and traditions. These songs may, in fact, be regarded as descriptions of the psychological price for some of those expressing feelings of alienation from American society.

New City might be described as the musical application of William Kornhauser's theory of mass society.³ In sensitive, searching verse, Richie Havens explores the problem of isolation in a huge urban setting. The huge crowds and towering buildings conspire to make man feel insignificant and alone, bereft of friends and purpose.

¹ Paul Simon, "Mrs. Robinson," Bookends (New York: Columbia, 1968).

² Paul Simon, "America," Bookends (New York: Columbia, 1968).

³ William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959).

I walk the streets of the city;
People everywhere, no one knows my name.
I see some things that are pretty;
Travel in the air, somehow I'm even to blame.
Those buildings so tall, where are they going
Reaching clear up to the sky?
Make me feel small, lost without knowing
Where I am going or why.¹

New City relates feelings of alienation to the conditions of mass society in huge urban centers. This sort of social and political commentary has been recently augmented by a concern with environmental decay and ecological imbalance. Singers have begun to direct their attention to technology and its attendant effects upon men and the environment. This does not represent too abrupt an innovation; rather, it again indicates the close correspondence between political issues and objects of concern in contemporary folk and rock music. Furthermore, concern about the pollution of the water and air and the ravaging of the land may be regarded as a logical extension of pre-existing musical themes; among such related themes would be the contention that Western society is characterized by a lack of concern for human values.

A charge expressed in older songs in this general category is that of excessive preoccupation with profit and material gain to the exclusion of other values. The effort to manipulate knowledge, to gain power, to control nature, to dominate the earth is regarded as antithetical by those who seek to live in harmony with the world. As these concerns continue to receive attention, more songs expressing this orientation may be anticipated.

¹Richie Havens, "New City," Somethin' Else Again (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1968).

Air has been described as the first song about air pollution.

Welcome, sulphur dioxide,
Hello, carbon monoxide,
The air, the air is everywhere.¹

Pete Seeger has been sailing down New York's polluted Hudson River for several summers aboard the sloop Clearwater, in an effort to provoke political activity through musical protest against water pollution. Tom Paxton's Standing On the Edge of Town and Mr. Blue deal with the human consequences inherent in the automating, mechanizing and organizing of a complex society.² Paxton, Buffy Saint-Marie and Billy Edd Wheeler have been concerned in their songs with the human consequences of a huge, remote, powerful bureaucracy.³ Although these performers deal with the implications in unlimited social growth, their songs reveal feelings of political futility and frustration. Governmental institutions are regarded as excessively remote for citizens to retain control over them.

Some songs have combined prophecy with allegory to deal with the implications perceived in technological advance. Automation, test-tube births, the loss of privacy are among the political issues treated in such materials.⁴ As a theme in music, the need to control technology in order that it may be made responsive to human needs represents a logical outgrowth

¹Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt McDermot, "Air," Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

²Tom Paxton, "Standing on the Edge of Town," Rambling Boy (New York: Elektra, 1966); Tom Paxton, "Mr. Blue" (New York: Elektra, 1969).

³Buffy Saint-Marie, "Suffer the Little Children" (New York: Vanguard, 1969); Billy Edd Wheeler, "The Interstate Is Coming Through My Outhouse" (New York: United Artists, 1969).

⁴A comparison of essays in Richard Kostalantz (ed.), Beyond Left

of concerns and attitudes embodied in older songs. A content analysis of general social criticism expressed through this medium reveals widespread feelings of alienation about diverse social objects. Correlations among musical awareness, radical attitudes and feelings of alienation may be anticipated if these songs are both influential and representative of attitudes other than those of their composers.

Politics: Commitment and Refusal

A fourth major theme of contemporary political music revolves about the viability of American political institutions. One common means for distinguishing among students is the extent to which they accept the validity of existing political structures. Schattschneider argues that non-participation, apathy or lack of interest represent tacit ways of rejecting the political system.¹ A convenient means for distinguishing among student radicals is through categorization into two groups. Those who have "dropped out" of the system through excessive reliance on drugs would remain radical, according to the Schattschneider interpretation; these individuals are separated from those whose lives are immersed in and virtually inseparable from intensive political activity. Although the data from the survey of radical attitudes would tend to indicate that the distinctions may be somewhat artificial, nevertheless the tension between these positions can be perceived in an examination of larger cultural influences.

and Right (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1968), with In the Year 2525 might prove interesting in this regard.

¹Schattschneider, op. cit.

In a sense, the political thought abstracted from the songs in this section constitute the record of a debate. Given the social evils depicted in the previous sections, how can Americans solve their political problems? How can America be rediscovered, and her ideals made manifest?

General agreement exists with respect to one basic premise - that present political structures are corrupt, inefficient instrumentalities for the achievement of human aspirations. Phil Ochs' Love Me, I'm A Liberal and The Cream's Politician are representative of the general effort to place responsibility for these oppressive, discredited institutions upon older citizens.¹ The analysis is moralistic; the hypocrisy of elder generations results from their having forsaken the commitments of their youth.

The singers divide, however, over the means for replacing the political institutions to which they are opposed. One group, consisting essentially of the folk singers of the early sixties, maintains that active participation in politics can be the means to building a new society. An awareness of problems unaccompanied by action is deemed to be immoral; the apathetic, the comfortable, the unconcerned are responsible for their government's acts of injustice. Young people are urged to speak out, organize, demonstrate and seek power. Phil Ochs' I'm Going to Say It Now and Pete Seeger's Last Train to Nuremberg are indicative of this political viewpoint.² This latter invocation of the Nuremberg principle of

¹Phil Ochs, "Love Me, I'm A Liberal," Phil Ochs In Concert (New York: Elektra, 1968); Jack Bruce and Peter Brown, "Politician," Goodbye (New York: Atco, 1969).

²Phil Ochs, "I'm Going To Say It Now," Phil Ochs In Concert

collective citizen responsibility for acts of injustice by nation-states is also perceived in Tom Paxton's We Didn't Know At All.¹ Paxton draws a broad analogy between the good German and the loyal American.

We saw the cattle cars, it's true;
Maybe they carried a Jew or two.
We saw them as they rattled through,
But what did you expect us to do?...

We didn't know, said the peaceful voter,
Watching the president on T.V.
I guess we've got to drop those bombs
If we're going to keep South Asia free...
I wish this war was over and through,
But what do you expect us to do? 2

The moral bankruptcy of political apathy is frequently stressed in songs embracing this perspective.³ However, political frustration has had its effects upon this group of singers. With the significant exception of the latter work of Bob Dylan, political futility has generally not led to a renunciation of political participation. On the contrary, the political messages in their songs have urged an intensification of political activity. The necessity of revolution has emerged as an important theme; violence is both predicted and legitimized as a means for producing social change. The collapse

(New York: Elektra, 1966); Pete Seeger, "Last Train to Nuremberg" (New York: Broadside, 1970).

¹Tom Paxton, "We Didn't Know At All," Ain't That News! (New York: Elektra, 1964).

²Ibid.

³Bert Jansch, "Do You Hear Me Now?" Donovan: Like It Is, Was, and Evermore Shall Be (New York: Hickory, 1968); Bob Stone, "An Angry Young Man," The World In A Sea Shell (New York: Uni, 1969); Andy Robinson, "Time For Decision," Patterns of Reality (New York: Vanguard, 1968); Tom Paxton, "Ain't That News!" Ain't That News! (New York: Elektra,

of the American nation is envisioned through a spontaneous popular uprising in a growing number of songs.¹

Others have shrunk away from the abyss. This group, generally composed of rock musicians, have expressed two basic positions on the questions of political involvement and the revolutionary alternative. The most innocuous conception contains, at the same time, the most conservative implications. In Crystal Blue Persuasion, Tommy James suggests that the political situation in America is improving; "people are changing," he argues, implying that patience is the sole requirement for young people to attain their political ends.² This is less a statement about radical change than a reenforcement of American political institutions. The system is described as working; time is on the side of the young. This stream of thought includes songs of passive hope; in them, the shape of the future is regarded as known, its realization inevitable.³ It thus becomes foolish to become involved in politics; the changes will virtually achieve themselves.

1964); The Byrds, "King Apathy III," Dr. Byrds and Mr. Hyde (New York: Columbia, 1969).

¹ Bob Dylan, "Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall," Broadside Ballads, Vol. 2 (New York: Broadside, 1963); Bob Dylan, "All Along the Watchtower," John Wesley Harding (New York: Columbia, 1968); Steve Miller, "Song for Our Ancestors," Sailor (New York: Capitol, 1969); Peter Yarrow, "There's Anger in The Land," Late Again (New York: Warner Brothers, 1968); The Amboy Dukes, "Psalms of Aftermath," The Amboy Dukes (New York: Mainstream, 1968); Moby Grape, "Bitter Wind," Grape Jam; Phlup, "Death of a Nation," Phlup (New York: Verve, 1968).

² Tommy James, "Crystal Blue Persuasion" (New York: Roulette, 1968).

³ Judy Collins, "Someday Soon," Who Knows Where The Time Goes (New York: Elektra, 1969); Joseph and Willie Chambers, "A New Time - A New Day," A New Time - A New Day (New York: Columbia, 1968); The Electric Flag, "With Time There Is Change," The Electric Flag (New York

Stephen Sills described the political conflicts between police and young people on Los Angeles' Sunset Strip in the following manner.

What a field day for the heat [the police]
A thousand people in the street.
Singin' songs and carryin' signs.
Mostly saying, 'Hooray for our side.'¹

Richard Goldstein has observed that

Stills seems to counsel dignified passivity based on a faith in the inevitability of change. 'We'll outlive them', his song seems to say. 'See - we've won already.'²

A bleaker vision of the direction in which this country may be moving is found in Concentration Moon.

Concentration Moon
Over the camp in the valley...
Drag a few creeps
Away in a bus
American Way
Prisoner: lock
Smash every creep
In the face with a rock.³

The second identifiable position pertaining to political involvement rests upon visions and fears such as those expressed in Concentration Moon. From this prospective, the political debate about alternative possibilities of political action intensifies. The dialogue flows in an entirely new direction with the consideration of a radically different perspective. The Beatles

Columbia, 1969); The Yardbirds, "Nothing Can Change the Shape of Things to Come," Greatest Hits (New York: Epic, 1967); Jerry Moore, "Winds of Change," Life Is a Constant Journey Home (New York: Vanguard, 1966); Terry Palmer and Robert Hammon, "Someone's Changing," The Savage Resurrection (New York: Columbia, 1968); George Kinney and Bobby Rector, "Evolution," The Power Plant (New York: Capitol, 1967); Mick Jagger, "Time Is On My Side," Got Live If You Want It! (New York: London, 1967).

¹ Stephen Sills, "For What It's Worth," The Buffalo Springfield (New York: Atco, 1967).

² Goldstein, op. cit., p. 101.

³ Frank Zappa, "Concentration Moon," We're Only In It For The

and other rock groups, while not allowing their political aspirations to degenerate into hopeful passivity, have rejected active political participation. Similarly, the idea of a violent attempt at restructuring society is opposed. Rather, these groups simply deny the primacy of political, economic and social matters. Instead, they argue, people should concentrate on heading free, independent lives. People should free themselves from the artificial, antiquated rules of society, understand the distinction between the real and the transitory, and act accordingly. In this manner, through millions of distinct individual transformations, radical political change can be effected and new societies be constructed. This view, implied in Getting Better, Revelation/Revolution '69 and Incense and Peppermints, is expressed blatantly in Revolution 1.¹

Occasions, persuasions clutter your mind,
Incense and Peppermints, the color of time...
Turn on, tune in, turn your eyes around;
Look at yourself, look at yourself...

To divide the cockeyed world in two,
Throw your pride to one side, it's the least you can do;
Beatniks in politics, nothing is new,
A yardstick for lunatics, one point of view.²

You say you want a revolution
Well you know
We all want to change the world.
You tell me that it's evolution
Well you know
We all want to change the world.

Money (New York: Verve, 1968).

¹ John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Getting Better," Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (New York: Capitol, 1967); The Lovin' Spoonful "Revelation/Revolution '69," Revelation/Revolution '69 (New York: Verve, 1969); John Carter and Tim Gilbert, "Incense and Peppermints," The Strawberry Alarm Clock (New York: Uni, 1968); John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Revolution 1," The Beatles (New York: Apple, 1969).

² John Carter and Tim Gilbert, "Incense and Peppermints" (New York: Uni, 1968).

But when you talk about destruction
Don't you know that you can count me out
Don't you know it's gonna be alright...

You say you'll change the constitution
Well you know
We all want to change your head.
You tell me it's the institution
Well you know
You better free your mind instead.
But if you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao
You ain't gonna make it with anyone anyhow
Don't you know it's gonna be alright?¹

The strength of cultural influences upon political attitudes may be appreciated by the gravity with which the Beatles' conclusions in Revolution 1 were received. Revolution 1 inspired the following exchange of remarks between John Lennon and a critic, writing from a "revolutionary socialist position."

John Hoyland: Perhaps now you'll see what it is you're (we're) up against. Not nasty people. Not even neurosis, or spiritual undernourishment. What we're confronted with is a repressive, vicious authoritarian SYSTEM...Such a system - such a society - is so racked by contradiction and tension and unhappiness that all relationships within it are poisoned...The SYSTEM has got to be changed before people can live the full, loving lives that you have said you want...In order to change the world we've got to understand what's wrong with the world. And then - destroy it. Ruthlessly.

John Lennon: I KNOW what I'm up against - narrow minds rich/poor. All your relationships may be poisoned - it depends how you look at it. What kind of system do you propose and who would run it?...You're obviously on a destruction kick. I'll tell you what's wrong with it - People - so do you want to destroy them? Ruthlessly? Until you/we change your/our heads there's no chance...Do you think that all the enemy wear capitalist badges so that you can shoot them?

¹ John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Revolution 1," op. cit.

John Hoyland: You talk a lot about sick heads...What do you think about a person who's content to sit around being beautiful while the rest of the world burns? ...Not that I think you're wrong about people needing to straighten their heads out. It's just that in 'Revolution' you say that people who want to change institutions should free their minds 'instead.' Why INSTEAD? What makes you so sure that a lot of us haven't changed our heads in something like the way you recommend - and then found IT WASN'T ENOUGH...Why couldn't you have said 'as well' ...? 1

New Values, New Life Styles

During the latter part of the 1960's, the number of rock groups proliferated considerably. In their outpourings of songs, specifically has been given to the individual transformations regarded as the alternative to political revolution. Both the certainty of such change and its broad outline are present in the selections. Bob Dylan has proclaimed:

If you don't like it,
Get out of the way
For the times they are a-changin'.²

The change is regarded as progressive; the new age shall be characterized by

Harmony and Understanding,
Sympathy and Trust abounding
No more falsehoods or derisions;

¹The full text of the letters appears in The Free Press, Vol. 2 (May 21-June 3, 1969), p. 6.

²Bob Dylan, "The Times They Are A-Changin'," The Times They Are A-Changin' (New York: Columbia, 1963).

Golden living dreams of visions,
Mystic crystal revelation,
And the mind's true liberation...
Peace will guide the planets,
And love will steer the stars.¹

This broad framework of ideals acquires substance when an examination is made of the several values sought by these performers.

One of the elements enmeshed in this individual and societal transformation involves a commitment to one's own uniqueness. Individuality is not to be compromised; people must respond to their own needs, satisfying their own desires.²

There's no need to discuss or understand me;
I won't ask of myself to become something else;
I'll just be me.³

This resistance to anonymous power and social manipulation is embodied in a number of songs. An opposition to harassment for individual expression is a basic common denominator.⁴ These attitudes reflect the traditional American desire for individuals to be free to control their own destinies. Similarities such as these, between the revolutionary "new values" and the oft-neglected old ones, led Sen. J.W. Fulbright in a speech at Ann Arbor to describe the young as the upholders and guardians of traditional American values. Whether the young are to be regarded as

¹Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt McDermot, "Aquarius," Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

²Jameson, "Know Yourself," Jameson: Color Him In (New York: Verve, 1967); Mick Jagger, "Sympathy for the Devil," (New York: London, 1968).

³Peter Yarrow, "If I Had Wings," 1700 (New York: Warner Brothers/7 Arts, 1968).

⁴Marty Balin, "3/5 of a Mile in Ten Seconds," Surrealistic Pillow

propagators of the new or defenders of the old may be dependent upon the values and individuals under examination. The significant point is that people are consciously creating a set of social and personal rules and prescriptions, while rejecting those currently prevailing.

Rejection of social rules also involves a repudiation of social authorities. Although this point has been explored earlier, Arlo Guthrie's songs help to delineate basic motivations for these attitudes. Several of his songs trace individual responses to governmental harassment. His attitude towards authorities ranges from irreverence to thinly-disguised hostility.

I had a friend, a friend I could trust;
He went into the park and got busted,
Doin' the ring-a-round-rosy rag.

Went into the park, late at night,
And he put a lot of people over eighty up right,
He was doin' the ring-a-round-rosy rag. ¹

You must think Santa Claus wierd;
He has long hair and a beard,
Giving his presents for free;
Why do police guys mess with these guys?

Let's get Santa Claus 'cause -

Santa Claus has a red suit, he's a communist;
And a beard and long hair, must be a pacifist;
What 's in the pipe that he's smoking? ²

Perhaps the most prominent theme in popular music has always revolved about love. The yearnings and desires remain; however, considerable

(New York: RCA Victor, 1967); Arthur Lee, "My Flash On You," Love (New York: Elektra, 1968).

¹ Arlo Guthrie, "Ring-A-Round-Rosy Rag," Alice's Restaurant (New York: Reprise, 1967).

² Arlo Guthrie, "The Pause of Mr. Claus," Arlo (New York: Reprise, 1968).

verbal camouflage has been removed. Furthermore, the appeals are now accompanied by ideological commitments. Love is defined as one of the underlying values radicals seek to establish in a new society. Those unwilling to love are regarded as unable to live. The chaste are the sinners, wasting their lives, blind to the beauty, asleep in the darkness.

Unhappy girl...
You are dying
In a prison
Of your own devise.¹

The Fugs were the first rock group to proselytize in a direct manner. Alan Ginsberg, writing in March of 1966, specifically related their appeals for sexual release to the hope for social renewal.

Birchites are lacklove, Republicans and Democrats too are lacklove, Communists lack love, Narco fuzz and White South Governors lack love. 'Turn on the love freak beam vectors, - zap zap total assault', says Sanders (of Fugs).²

Ginsberg concludes that the "soul politics ecstasy message" offers the American people the opportunity to solve their political problems through the creation of a new religion based upon love and ecstasy. In a similar vein, Jim Morrison has admitted that he utilizes the music of The Doors to promote a sensual-political-philosophical revolution; young people, through his "orgasmic rock," are urged to find "the way" through The Doors.³

In Herman Hesse's novel, Steppenwolf, the Steppenwolf was unable

¹ Jim Morrison, "Unhappy Girl," The Doors (New York: Elektra, 1967).

² See the back cover of the album, The Fugs (New York: Elektra, 1963).

³ F. Powledge, op. cit.

to exorcize the beast within through intellectual development. The rock group Steppenwolf revels in the beast without seeking to control it.¹

Paradoxically, an overriding demand is that all relationships - intense or casual, permanent or passing - be honest. Based on mutual respect and understanding, no room can be found for the illusions, deceptions and domination by which most relationships are perceived to persist. The traditional patterns are rejected not only because they are artificial or constraining; they are adjudged fundamentally hostile to life. People who "promise never to part," observes Dylan, close their eyes and heart; they live imprisoned, no longer open to the world.²

In I Think We're Alone Now, it is necessary to physically flee the adult world in order to escape the corruption.³ Sensitive to the emptiness and unhappiness, Grace Slick proposes another solution in Triad.

You want to know how it will be,
Me and him, or you and me.
You both stand there, your long hair flowin',
Eyes alive, your minds still growin'.
Sayin' to me, what can we do now
That we both love you?
I love you two, I don't really see
Why can't we go on as three?...

So you see, what we can do
Is to try something new,
If you're crazy too.⁴

¹ John Kay, "Magic Carpet Ride," Steppenwolf The Second (New York: Dunhill, 1968).

² Bob Dylan, "It Ain't Me, Babe," Joan Baez/5 (New York: Vanguard, 1969).

³ Tommy James, "I Think We're Alone Now," Crimson and Clover (New York: Roulette, 1968).

⁴ Jim Crosby, "Triad," Crown of Creation (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

The revolution in sexual relationships has led to a redefinition of the rules surrounding physical and psychological intimacy between members of different sexes. In general, the test advanced in these songs is a simple one; social values inimical to human companionship must be rejected. The willingness to simultaneously destroy and create social patterns attests both to the radical character of the content and the primacy given to love and individuality among recommended values.

Through the several analytical categories of songs, young performers have tended to view other young people as a unified collection of discrete personalities. This perception of shared values among the young is reflected in the persisting vision of the commune in radical music.¹ Communal living as a radical social alternative refers to physical habitats in which freedom, sharing and understanding characterize the inhabitants. Competition over the transient objects of a passing world becomes both ludicrous and tragic; such a perspective urges people to reach out to one another in a spirit of peace and love. All that is required for the construction of new communities is for people to join hands together in friendship; then "all will be well when the day is done."²

¹ John Kay and Bob Mekler, "Take What You Need," Steppenwolf (New York: Dunhill, 1968); Mark Lindsay, "Do Unto Others," Angel of the Morning (New York: Columbia, 1969); The Electric Flag, "See To Your Neighbor," The Electric Flag (New York: Columbia, 1969); Fred Neil, "Tear Down The Walls," The Judy Collins Concert (New York: Elektra, 1966); Chet Powers, "Let's Get Together," Stone Poneys and Friends, Vol. 3 (New York: Capitol, 1969); Jerry Moore, "Let Go, Reach Out," Life Is a Constant Journey Home (New York: Vanguard, 1966).

² Peter Yarrow, Paul Stookey, Mary Travers, "When Day Is Done," Day Is Done (New York: Warner Brothers/7 Arts, 1969).

The vision reemphasizes the continuity of values submerged beneath many of the themes across the several broad categories of ideas. The communal ideal, celebrated in song and corresponding to political developments among the radical young, rests upon conceptions of the self as essentially innocent, kind and unselfish. The existence of these perceptions of personal and political self-innocence should not be overlooked in a compilation of radical political themes found in contemporary music.

The drug culture has inspired its own kind of music. Since the use of drugs may well be politically motivated, music about the drug experience contains significant political implications. Much of today's rock appears to have been written both by and for individuals utilizing drugs.¹ The political implications of drug use are too overwhelming to explore here; it should be sufficient to note that as a politically prohibited act, any drug experience involves a violation of the laws.

The use of drugs by the young has become the subject both of musical chronicles and ideological disputation. As the amount of drug experimentation grows, the musical record of the drug experience should continue to accumulate. Advocacy and description of drug activities are often couched in symbolic language. The lyrics move on several levels; songs about rain, submarines, girl friends and guns are understandable as allegorical

¹Sajjid Tagi, "Popular Music and the Use of Drugs," The United Nations Bulletin on Narcotics, December, 1969; A. E. Curry, "drugs in Jazz and Rock Music," Clinical Toxicology (December, 1968), pp. 235-244.

treatments of the composer's last experience.¹ For some, drugs are a pleasant distraction, while others discover in them the means to an intense religious experience.²

One pill makes you larger
And one pill makes you small.
And the ones that mother gives you
Don't do anything at all...

Remember what the doormouse said:
'Feed your head.
Feed your head.
Feed your head.'³

Then take me disappearin' through the smoke
rings of my mind,
Down the foggy ruins of time,
Far past the frozen leaves,
The haunted, frightened trees,
Out to the windy beach,

¹David Peel, "I've Got Some Grass," Have a Marijuana (New York: Elektra, 1969); David Peel, "Show Me the Way to Get Stoned," Have a Marijuana (New York: Elektra, 1969); Neil Diamond, "The Pot Smoker's Song," Velvet Gloves and Spit (New York: Uni, 1969); The Peanut Butter Conspiracy, "Invasion of the Poppy People," The Great Conspiracy (New York: Columbia, 1968); The Peanut Butter Conspiracy, "Turn On a Friend," The Great Conspiracy (New York: Columbia, 1966); Mad River, "Amphetamine Gazelle," Mad River (New York: Capitol, 1968); John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Yellow Submarine," Revolver (New York: Capitol, 1966); Tandy Almer, "Along Comes Mary," The Association (New York: Warner Brothers/7 Arts, 1969); John Butler and Jimmy Wasson, "Consciousness Expansion," Generation of Love (New York: Imperial, 1966); Gene Clark, David Crosby and Jim McGuinn, "Eight Miles High," Eight Miles High (New York: Columbia, 1967).

²David Brown, "A Different Kind of Head," The 31st of February (New York: Uni, 1968).

³Grace Slick, "White Rabbit," Surrealistic Pillow (New York: RCA Victor, 1967).

Far from the twisted reach of crazy sorrow.
Yes, to dance beneath the diamond sky
With one hand wavin' free,
Silhouetted by the sea,
Circled by the circus sands,
With all memory and fate
Driven deep beneath the waves;
Let me forget about today until tomorrow.¹

A third group of experiences involves embarkations upon frightening voyages into darkness; these have not gone unrecorded.²

Well, life can be hard
Where you're holding a card
In some electronic hands.

You wander around from place to place.
Disappear without a trace,
And someone else will take your place in line.

You can fool your friends about the way it ends;
You can fool yourself.
Take your head in hand,
And make your own demands,
Or you'll crystallize on the shelf.³

The total record involves a dialogue that, in the long run, may prove as meaningful and influential for the direction of American society as public debates on the issue of drug experimentation by the young.

The new values have thus far embraced peace, individuality, libidinal freedom, love, honesty, and the use of marijuana and drugs. One general message underlying these various themes is that the senses and the

¹ Bob Dylan, "Mr. Tambourine Man," Mr. Tambourine Man (New York: Columbia, 1965).

² John Butler and Jimmy Wasson, "The Bummer (Guide Me Home)," A Generation of Love (New York: Vanguard, 1968).

³ Jorma Kaukonen, "Star Track," Crown of Creation (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

spirit must be awakened; barriers between and within people should be torn down. An additional element is involved in this vision - it must be realized now.

The sensitivity to time, to aging, is present in George Harrison's Love You To.

Each day just goes so fast;
I turn around, it's past...

Love me while you can,
Before I'm an old man.
A life time is so short;
A new one can't be bought.¹

The past has been wasted; Donovan sings that

History is of ages past,
Unenlightened shadows cast;
Down through all eternity,
The crying of humanity. ²

Donovan argues that history is without relevance; past experiences are simply not pertinent to the present opportunities to create new living patterns. That the young frequently adopt an ahistorical attitude has subjected them to critical attack; in part, such criticisms only tend to confirm their attitudes, since the relevance of historical lessons has been re-emphasized by a generation whose basic orientations are perceived as sterile.

Moving through contemporary radical political thought are claims to a new way of perceiving reality, strongly influenced by Oriental philosophy and religion.

It strikes me as obvious beyond dispute that the interests of our college-age and adolescent young in the psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian

¹ George Harrison, "Love You To," Revolver (New York: Capitol, 1966).

² Donovan Leitch, "Hurdy Gurdy Man," Hurdy Gurdy Man (New York: Epic, 1968).

experiments comprise a cultural constellation that radically diverges from values and assumptions that have been in the mainstream of our society at least since the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century...the counter cultural young...are the matrix in which an alternative, but still excessively fragile future is taking shape. Granted that alternative comes dressed in a garish motley, its costume borrowed from many and exotic sources - from depth psychiatry, from the mellowed remnants of left-wing ideology, from the oriental religions, from Romantic Weltschmerz, from anarchist social theory, from Dada and American Indian lore, and, I suppose, the perennial wisdom. ¹

Among these several influences, Buddhism, Hinduism and Taoism appear to strike a responsive chord when they teach that the world is transient and that sacrifice for material gain is futile. The concept of "oneness" - a harmony within man, between men, and between man and nature - beguiles those in revolt against excessive domination by men of each other and of the environment. These influences may be perceived in several songs; they provide the philosophical and religious underpinnings for many of the new values that are propagated. ²

Thus, the Beatles sing that "we are all together"; there is a unity to the world that renders an absence of compassion self-defeating. The dualities of Western thought, inherited from the classical Greek philosophers, are rejected.

¹Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), pp. xi-xiii.

²George Harrison, "Within You Without You," Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (New York: Capitol, 1967); John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "I Am the Walrus," Magical Mystery Tour (New York: Capitol, 1968); John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "The Fool On the Hill," Magical Mystery Tour (New York: Capitol, 1968).

Turn off your mind,
Relax and float downstream.
It is not dying;
It is not dying.

Lay down all thought
Surrender to the void.
It is shining,
It is shining.

That you may see
The meaning of within.
It is being,¹
It is being.

Oh, I have learned that inside of me
Is inside of you
And outside of me is inside of you
Inside of him, inside of him. 2

The important lesson in life is to learn to distinguish the real from the imaginary; Blood, Sweat and Tears urge one to "discover the colors that are real."³ Richie Havens advises contemplation; "take the time to think about it," and the thoughtful individual will understand that people are free only when they are capable of loving honestly and fully.⁴ Spanky and Our Gang remind the angry that an understanding of the self must serve as a precondition for social action.⁵ Jameson contends that

¹ John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Tomorrow Never Knows," Revolver (New York: Capitol, 1966).

² Richie Havens, "Inside of Him," Somethin' Else Again (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1968).

³ Blood, Sweat and Tears, "Spinnin' Wheel," Blood, Sweat and Tears (New York: Columbia, 1969).

⁴ Bob Merrick, "From the Prison," Somethin' Else Again (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1968).

⁵ John Mapes, "Come and Open Your Eyes," Spanky and Our Gang (New York: Mercury, 1967).

the end of self-discovery is living; playing like children, we can recall the "ancient splendor," the lost innocence.¹

The influence of the East is found in the music as well as the underlying philosophical orientations. George Harrison and Richie Havens are accomplished performers on the sitar. Ravi Shankar's public performances are virtually without parallel in organized Western cultural gatherings; prayerful meditation and the burning of incense precede the monotonous, seemingly interminable ragas. The music and the attitude are in harmony with the basic direction of a generation that perceives of itself as engaged in a quest for answers, open to the world.

Perceptions of Personality

This content analysis has never intended to imply that the values emergent from folk and rock music are shared by all young people. Although certain attitudes and practices may be widespread, no generation is monolithic. It has been suggested that certain concerns are mirrored in music; while frequently not directly political, the attitudes conveyed nevertheless contain far-reaching implications for the direction of American society. This thematic analysis would be incomplete without discussing the personalities that the new values are alleged to have produced. Having discovered how liberation is to be achieved in this evaluational framework,

¹ Jameson, "Windows and Doors," Jameson: Color Him In (New York: Verve, 1967).

it becomes necessary to examine the end product of social change. How do the young perceive themselves in contemporary folk and rock music?

In the survey of radical attitudes, one of the songs most frequently mentioned as influential by both radical and non-radical respondents was Paul Simon's The Sound of Silence. An examination question pertaining to this song elicited the following reflections.

I think Paul Simon is speaking to our society. The attitudes expressed are very tragic.

Paul Simon is re-echoing the cry of many people today - the empty cry of not being heard.

Someone is speaking and no one is listening.

Sounds of Silence, to me, represents the whole problem in America today. A large portion of the public refuses to listen to reason and change.

Songs and poems by people like Paul Simon must be heard for they inspire people - perhaps human compassion and love will be instilled in enough people that they will no longer be able to tolerate the injustices.

I believe that many of the young people face the truth more than their parents ever have... They reject the hypocrisy of the system and their parents don't understand - are they really that blind?

How did the song come about? All one had and has to do is look around.

Simon's words are indicative of increased alienation in our society... How can the individual not feel alienated? He has no voice.

These words express a feeling of futility.

There is something drastically wrong with a system which says 'get down to what you're here for' and then refuses to teach you the things you want to know.

Society can deal with these words of Simon and the personalities that express them by taking a long look at what society itself has done.

I don't know what can be done about this situation.

Most of the comfortable and apathetic citizens in this country...live in a sheltered world and are totally incapable of seeing past their plastic walls. Simon speaks for those of us who have grown up and suddenly recognized the presence of a void in our lives. Our society, says Simon, is like a television set with the audio portion inoperative. Mouths move, yet nothing is forthcoming.

This is an attitude of sickness and disgust that Simon represents. It is a pessimistic attitude, for he foresees no grand changes in the future. The more advanced we become technologically, the less necessity there will be to communicate with our neighbors.

There has been a lot of hypocrisy up to now, so now the emphasis must be on openness and accepting people on their terms. With his lines 'Take my arms and I might reach you', he shows the need for more personal, intimate relationships.

Sounds of Silence might be called 1984 set to music.

Paul Simon is expressing with a great many people feel, although more eloquently than most people can. Simon paints a vivid picture of indifference...he sings with the anguish of the man who has talked, pleaded, with the deaf.

And in the naked light I saw
Ten thousand people maybe more,
People talking without speaking,
People hearing without listening,
People writing songs that voices never share¹
And no one dares disturb the sound of silence.¹

The songs of Simon and Garfunkel seem, more than most performers', to be songs revolving about themes of alienation. I Am A Rock makes a virtue of non-feeling; those unable to love can be hurt no longer.

I am a rock,
I am an island;

¹Paul Simon, "The Sound of Silence," Sounds of Silence (New York: Columbia, 1965).

And a rock feels no pain¹
And an island never cries.

A Most Peculiar Man deals with suicide, a culminating gesture in a lonely, frustrated life.² Homeward Bound and Somewhere They Can't Find Me continue Simon's exploration of loneliness, while in The Dangling Conversation he again ponders the inability to communicate.³ These songs may be understood, in this context, as descriptions of the socially isolated.

Descriptions of alienated personalities may be found in the works of performers other than Simon and Garfunkel.⁴ These forms of disaffection are perhaps too deeply felt to be eradicated by an end to the Vietnam war or the passage of measures of social reform. They reflect personal gropings, the confusions of those aware that youth is temporary and the future uncertain. The perceptions of self entailed in these songs revolve about the despoilation of innocence by a hostile society.

¹Paul Simon, "I Am A Rock," Sounds of Silence (New York: Columbia, 1965).

²Paul Simon, "A Most Peculiar Man," Sounds of Silence (New York: Columbia, 1965).

³Paul Simon, "Homeward Bound," Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme (New York: Columbia, 1968); Paul Simon, "Somewhere They Can't Find Me," Sounds of Silence (New York: Columbia, 1965); Paul Simon, "The Dangling Conversation," Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme (New York: Columbia, 1968).

⁴Bob Dylan, "You Ain't Goin' Nowhere," Any Day Now (New York: Vanguard, 1969); Tom Paxton, "I Can't Help But Wonder Where I'm Bound," Ramblin' Boy (New York: Elektra, 1966); Moby Grape, "Going Nowhere," Moby Grape '69 (New York: Columbia, 1969); Time, "Leavin' My Home," Time (New York: Liberty, 1968); Johnny Cash, "Sunday Morning Sidewalk" (New York: Columbia, 1969); Janis Ian, "Lonely One," For All the Seasons of Your Mind (New York: Verve/Forecast, 1968).

Joni Mitchell's Both Sides Now reflects the new cynicism that some observers have found among the young.¹ The youthful cynics are cold as only disillusioned idealists can be. This insensitivity is embodied in songs about the "new woman"; she is a liberated, free, erotically satisfying creation. She is also elusive and hard, as apt to leave her lover as to sleep with him.² The double standard has vanished; her attitude towards sexual relations and intense emotional involvement is indistinguishable from the male outlook found in Playboy. Her attitudes represent a convergence of the values of immediacy, sensuality, and individuality. Perhaps it is significant that a male singing group, The Rolling Stones, describes Ruby Tuesday in these terms.

Don't ask her why she has to be so free;
She'll tell you it's the only way to be.³

However, when she departs, a lone male voice observes

Still I'm gonna miss you.⁴

Given the correspondence between radical political ideas and contemporary folk and rock music, it may be anticipated that if the Women's Liberation Movement grows, the political debate over the personalities and consequences of liberated women will be further pursued in song.

The possibility for personality change through physical escape remains a feature in contemporary radical music. The impulse to flee is

¹ Joni Mitchell, "Both Sides Now," Wildflower (New York: Elektra, 1968).

² Chip Taylor, "Angel of the Morning," Angel of the Morning (New York: Columbia, 1969).

³ Mick Jagger, "Ruby Tuesday," Flowers (New York: London, 1967).

⁴ Ibid.

compelling for personalities alienated from social conventions. With responsibilities gone, and all ties broken, the liberated individual chases the next sunset, searching the world for answers.¹ Steppenwolf's Born To Be Wild and The Byrds' Wasn't Born To Follow are songs about that flight from/to reality; they describe the fiercely independent, questing personalities who undertake such journeys.²

This concept of quest in the music of the young appears in relation both to the rejection of old values and the construction of new ones. One manifestation of this ferment involves the use of music - by performers and audiences - for the resolution and documentation of this process.

The Rolling Stones have always expressed the most savage urges and frustrations of their followers. Coming to hear them was a rejection of normality...Most of the crowd could not see, but they waited anyway. Streams of people still arrived like pilgrims seeking the message.³

But if the music is a throw-away, the lyrics are very obviously meant...they're an odd mixture of arrogance and fright, half-way between a boast and a confession:

I guessed Bobby Dylan,
I guessed the Beatles,
I guessed Timothy Leary,
He couldn't help me even.
They call me The Seeker,
I've been searching all night,
And I won't get to get what I'm after
Until the day I die.

And again:

¹Donovan Leitch, "To Try For The Sun," Donovan: Like It Is, Was, and Evermore Shall Be (New York: Hickory, 1968).

²Jim McGuinn, "Wasn't Born to Follow," The Notorious Byrd Brothers (New York: Columbia, 1968); Mars Bonfire, "Born to Be Wild," Steppenwolf (New York: Dunhill, 1968).

³Patrick Lydon, "Mick Jagger: A Churning, Writhing Paradox,"

Focusing on nowhere,
Investigating miles,
I'm The Seeker,
I'm a really desperate man.¹

Inevitably, some adventures prove more successful than others.

Bob Dylan recalls with regretful nostalgia life prior to a rejection of societal norms.

While riding on a train going west
I fell asleep for to take my rest;
I dreamed a dream that made me sad,
Concernin' myself and the first few friends I had.

With haunted hearts through the heat and cold,
We never thought we could get very old;
We thought we could sit for ever in fun,
Though our chances really were a million to one.

I wish, I wish, I wish in vain
That we could sit simply in that room again;
Ten thousand dollars at the drop of a hat,
I'd give it all gladly if our lives could be like that.²

In Like A Rolling Stone the remnants are traced further; the price of rejecting regimentation and respectability is tallied.

You used to laugh about
Everybody that was hanging out;
Now you don't talk so loud;
Now you don't seem so proud
About having to be scrounging
For your next meal.³

The New York Times, July 20, 1969, Section 13, p. 26.

¹Nik Cohn, "Finally, The Full Force of The Who," The New York Times, March 8, 1970, Section 13, p. 2. The song quoted is Peter Townshend's I Can See For Miles (New York: Decca, 1970).

²Bob Dylan, "Bob Dylan's Dream," 1700; (New York: Warner Brothers/7 Arts, 1968).

³Bob Dylan, "Like A Rolling Stone," Bob Dylan Self Portrait (New York: Columbia, 1969).

Arlo Guthrie comes to the end of an adventure as lonely as when it had begun.¹ However a self-perception of alienated radicals, rejecting old values for new ones, is not wholly self-defeating as conveyed in song. A grandeur surrounds these personal heroes; if, as Dylan suggests, they are striving for the unreachable, then their position as existential heroes is assured.

From all of the searching, amid the chaos of collapsing and developing values, some social rebels do emerge to the other side in their music. The Who exult "I'm Free" in their rock opera, Tommy.

I'm free - I'm free,
And freedom tastes of reality.
I'm free - I'm free,
And I'm waiting for you to follow me.

Chorus: How can we follow?
How can we follow?²

One interpretation for the lack of response to the question posed by the chorus is that the liberated personality recognizes that answers cannot be dispensed. Each individual may be required to discover his own explanations, for life and death, love and pain, in his own way. The only requirement in radical music would be that the understanding be acquired directly by the individual.

Where do I go?...

Down to the gutter,
Up to the glitter,
Into the city where the truth lies.

¹Arlo Guthrie, "Chilling of the Evening," Alice's Restaurant (New York: Reprise, 1967).

²Peter Townshend, "I'm Free," Tommy (New York: Decca, 1969).

Where do I go?
Follow my heartbeat.
Where do I go?
Follow my hand.

Where will they lead me,
And will I ever discover why I live and die?¹

Tim Buckley's Goodbye and Hello serves to draw a variety of analytical strands together.² The products of change are described as "new children"; through their genuine acceptance of new values, their personalities have been transformed, so that they may be regarded as reborn. Their innocence has been preserved or regained; political and personal frustrations have been dissipated. Buckley describes liberated personalities as playful, honest, and happy; they are unalienated from themselves and from others.

Furthermore, in Goodbye and Hello, a radical objective - the construction of an international community of free people, loyal to no single nation - is achieved. The BeeGees have stressed such an objective in the songs on their album, Odessa.³ Buckley's description of the radically free personality is significant, however, because it underscores several unifying themes in radical music in one concise statement.

The antique people are fading out slowly
Like newspapers flaming in mind suicide
Godless and sexless directionless loons
Their sham sandcastles dissolve in the tide

¹Gerome Ragni, James Rado and Galt McDermot, "Where Do I Go?", Hair (New York: RCA Victor, 1968).

²Tim Buckley and Larry Beckett, "Goodbye and Hello," Goodbye and Hello (New York: Elektra, 1967).

³The BeeGees, Odessa (New York: Atco, 1969).

They put on their deathmasks and compromise daily
The new children will live for the elders have died
And I wave goodbye to America
And smile hello to the world. ¹

The antique people are those in positions of authority and power; as antiques, their future is limited and the new society is assured. The new children, the radicals, are socially, culturally, psychologically free. As members of an international community, based upon common values and experiences, however, they are no longer Americans. This final, radical repudiation of the United States contends therefore that personal liberation can only be experienced by Americans through an individual eradication of their national origins. Whether politically radical music in other nations shares similar commitments and values would be an hypothesis worthy of exploration.

Conclusion

As with the political ideas expressed in other media, the values and attitudes expressed in the songs surveyed are susceptible to a variety of of interpretations. This effort at political analysis has sought to extrapolate the political messages in contemporary radical music, to the exclusion of any other meanings that may be present therein. The major themes, largely consistent both with attitudes of radicalism and alienation, have embraced concerns about war, racism, poverty, social disintegration,

¹Tim Buckley and Larry Beckett, "Goodbye and Hello," Goodbye and Hello (New York: Elektra, 1967).

societal values and political involvement. The broad social critiques implied in many of those songs has been accompanied by a blueprint that, although lacking in details, has sketched the broad outlines of a new system of social and personal values. If the political analysis of these songs is valid, it is to be anticipated that student radicals would themselves refer to the songs and their performers as politically significant. Although it would probably be fruitless to determine the extent to which these songs were causal elements in the development of attitudes of either radicalism or alienation, nevertheless, some degree of relationship between these attitudes and familiarity with the cultural products discussed in the foregoing analysis should be expected. In other words, while the political meanings of contemporary radical music are themselves of intrinsic importance, the significance of such analyses rests in part on a determination of the extent to which these songs were politically influential. Although relationships among cultural influences and political orientations are to be anticipated, given the theoretical perspective discussed earlier, the relationships can not be assumed. One of the purposes of the survey of radical attitudes discussed in Chapter IV involved therefore the measurement of the relationships among folk and rock music, cultural figures, alienation and political attitudes.

CHAPTER III

AN EXPERIMENT IN ATTITUDE CHANGE

Subject of Investigation

Central to a study of radicalism is an understanding of the way in which attitudes are formed, shaped and changed. Since radicalism involves a break with the past, the creation and development of new values and attitudes is a core feature of the radicalization process. Political socialization theory deals, in some measure, with the creation of political and social attitudes. Political scientists, however, have become so enamored with political socialization theory that they have tended to concentrate upon the early development of political attitudes and the means by which these attitudes are maintained by the social system. As a result, later attitude development has largely been ignored.

In a similar fashion, political scientists, dazzled by the simplicity with which information pertaining to the major background factors of age, sex, income, occupation, education and type of environment (rural/urban; size) can be acquired from individuals and subjected to statistical manipulation, have ignored the plasticity of political orientations. In both instances, political scientists and sociologists have demonstrated the manner in which their theories of political behavior have served to

reinforce the status quo. Political change is left unexplained; moreover, the possibility of attitude development necessary for radical change is scarcely permitted. These tendencies in political theory move blithely past the explosive, emotional political developments which the United States and other nations have been experiencing for some time. In an era of specialization, theories of political socialization, professing to explain the acquisition of political attitudes, have produced a framework for the understanding of truncated individuals, whose fundamental political orientations are virtually immutable and thoroughly explicable in terms of several major factors descriptive of aspects of their background. To the extent that personality theory has been considered in such an approach, only superficial insights have been skimmed from the substance of Freudian psychology. References to such psychological theory appear largely designed to provide support from that discipline for the contention that the political orientations of early childhood are largely controlling. This represents a misapplication of Freudian conclusions regarding the significance of such experiences in the development of personality.

Studies in voting behavior have most frequently embodied the view under attack herein.¹ Indeed, such studies have frequently ignored the psychological dimension altogether.

¹Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Eugene Burdick

Psychological variables as they affect the respondent's electoral behavior then are obviously and significantly lacking . . . Category III studies employ psychological variables in their conceptual designs to help explain voting decisions. ¹

These explanatory variables are expanded in The American Voter to include 'interest in the campaign' and 'concern with election outcome' in analyzing voter turnout. ²

To describe attention to such concerns as tantamount to the inclusion and employment of psychological variables in the understanding of voting behavior or of other kinds of political behavior is ludicrous. In any case, voting behavior is only one aspect of political behavior; the strength of these background variables has not been demonstrated across all age and political groupings, or over all political subjects. In the popular political polls, the background factors are used descriptively; 75% of the over \$10,000 group, for example, are found to feel one way, while only 63% of the under \$3,000 group share that particular view. Correlations and significance tests, indicating predictability of individuals within the sample population, are omitted.

Political science has, in its theories of attitudes, developed a rigid determinism based upon fragments of psychological and sociological theories;

and Arthur J. Brodbeck (eds.), American Voting Behavior (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959); Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960).

¹ Robert T. Golombiewski, William A. Walsh, William J. Crotty, A Methodological Primer for Political Scientists (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 395.

² Ibid., p. 421.

in effect, this serves to exclude the possibility for attitude change. Radicalism, by its insistent plea for change, serves to belie this theoretical rigidity. Given the specialized character of contemporary research, radicalism may well be under scrutiny by a different group of political scientists; unfortunately, the crucial tasks of theoretical revision and synthesis, to render political theory and social reality congruent, remain undone.

The chief concern here is with student radicalism and student radicals; who become radicals, what do they believe, how do they behave? These central questions attempt to describe radicals, illuminate the nature of radicalism and, perhaps most crucially, describe the ways in which radical political ideas and attitudes are transmitted. These political conversions are interruptions in the standard political socialization process; the attitudes being inculcated are rejected, to be replaced by political orientations at variance with those most widely held. It is to be expected that the political orientations of the radicalized individual would no longer be predictable by the standard background variables. Only if radicalism was confined to a statistically significant proportion of one major grouping could these variables be expected to be useful in reliably predicting radical behavior.

An important feature in assessing student radicalism is the determination of the relative effects of the college experience upon political beliefs. If radicals have acquired fixed attitudes prior to college, then the likelihood that childhood political attitudes merit primary attention would

increase. If, on the other hand, significant radicalization in attitudes and behavior appears to result from college experiences, then greater attention will have to be paid to the various factors that may impinge on the political consciousness of college students.

A number of studies have been made that observe little relationship between political attitudes and exposure to political analysis in college courses in political science. The conclusions have generally been that, on the basis of the attitudinal data depicting a low correlation between political attitudes (liberalism, for example) and previous enrollment in political science courses, these political attitudes are shaped in non-intellectual ways prior to or external from curriculum offerings. Such a conclusion ignores an alternative hypothesis, that the nature of the course material and the manner in which it is transmitted may be responsible for the lack of attitude development. The first explanation places responsibility upon the students, for their low response to the expertise of their instructors. The second hypothesis, on the other hand, does not exclude the possibility of attitude change by college students. Rather, this hypothesis suggests that the quality of teaching and the degree of relevance of course material to student needs and experiences may be largely responsible for the lack of attitude change. In any case, demonstrating the possibility of attitude change about political and social objects among college students in courses in political science becomes most pertinent in an analysis of the socialization process of radical students.

Hypotheses

One recent teaching experiment, not directly related to inducing attitude change among its subjects, nevertheless was unable to alter positively the students' "level of application."¹

On the average, they did little more than glance at the course tests. They definitely did not read the books carefully, nor study them as they would have had an exam been given. ²

The course involved a limited number of changes in teaching techniques. The central variable under consideration was whether a change to a non-graded system would affect student behavior. The inability of such a modification to produce positive results in motivation and behavior did not, however, draw the attention of the experimenter to his own instructional weaknesses.

But there is another, perhaps more significant context which is ignored or denied. Namely, the interaction that occurs in the classroom I am suggesting that the key factor in this experience experiment is Professor Rummel's overall behavior, not just his grading practice.

. . . . I suspect we will continue to reinforce the present university system, and to project our own attitudes and values onto our 'better students.'³

Lichtenstein's critique of Rummel's experiment proceeds from within an existential perspective. Interrelationships among human experiences rather than the transmittal of factual material are the dominant features in a classroom.

¹R.J. Rummel, "Course Grades," PS, Vol. 3 (Spring, 1970), p. 194.

²Ibid.

³Eugene Lichtenstein, "On Rummel and Grades and Learning,"

. . . I am unclear what hypothesis he is testing. I would guess that he was interested in evaluating the effect of course grades on a student's performance. But that is only an indirect part of the situation he describes; in fact, I find that his conclusions are based on an inaccurate perception of what actually took place within the class. What he ignores, of course, is the social context in which he and the students are functioning; he looks at behavior as though it existed outside of a social system. ¹

In order to properly appraise the results of any teaching experiment, it becomes necessary to view the participants from within the existential framework. The whole set of human transactions among teacher and students must be penetrated, and their significance appraised. In utilizing student attitudes and behavior as the dependent variable, significance can not be ascribed to any single factor in isolation from the human interactions with which the experiment occurs.

The following study of the effects of college teaching began with one clear, defined hypothesis; this was that attitude change can be induced among students in an introductory course in government. Although the objective of education is to instill qualities of critical thinking in the student, it was assumed that the development of such faculties would tend to produce changes in attitude. This followed logically from a perspective that stressed that a self-examination of one's own political beliefs was crucial to such a task. It was further hypothesized that, given the conservative character of the students' beliefs, more radical attitudes would emerge from such a process. This hypothesis was derived from exposure

P.S. Vol 3 (Spring, 1970), p. 197.

¹Ibid., p. 196.

to the beliefs and belief systems of students at the Florida State University over several quarters. The omissions in factual data pertaining to American history experienced during instruction indicated that, in the absence of specialized background in American politics, significant attitude change had not previously occurred. The authoritarian nature of the belief systems tended to indicate that most basic beliefs had gone unexamined and had thus retained acceptance. These assumptions are not offered as verified factual inferences; rather, they are presented to indicate the foundations for the hypothesis that the inducing of change would follow from stimulating qualities of self-criticism in the students in these introductory courses.

The main hypothesis, then, is that, contrary to past studies, attitude change can be induced in government courses. Subsidiary hypotheses were that background factors would be weak factors in correlating with and explaining the existence of political attitudes. This view was founded upon both the size of the sample and the belief that these factors were less powerful in predicting general beliefs among college students than may be commonly supposed. It was further hypothesized that the correlations between background factors and political beliefs would be even less significant in the survey administered at the close of the course. If attitude change can be produced from exposure to a variety of stimuli and influences in a course in political science, it follows that those variables that had previously been influential - social class, income and other factors - would decline in explanatory power. Finally, the underlying hypothesis

was that the manner of instruction and the materials and influence arising out of the course would be effective.

Theoretical Perspectives

Educational institutions are prime agents of socialization,¹ whose function is the transmission of attitudes. From this perspective, schools exist not to teach facts, or transmit information, but to serve a different function, one common to all societies. No social system can survive over time without developing institutions that induct people into the society. The young, as new citizens, are among those inducted; the process of socialization involves the implanting of attitudes and ideas - not ideas in isolation, but ideas affectively linked - in order for the individual to serve as a functioning member of society. In American society, educational institutions are one of the primary instruments for socialization; they begin their work early, developing attitudes that society considers both desirable and required for persistence and growth. Among these attitudes are those toward the political system. Thus, positive attitudes, and ideas and values linked to them, are inculcated early, through educational materials, classroom discussion, and ritual. The flag salute and the singing of patriotic songs may be cited among the latter.

This functional picture is produced through analysis of the educational institutions of a society within the broad conceptual model of socialization

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., pp. 143-180.

theory, itself subsumed within social systems analysis. Such a perspective is one means, among many, of looking at the role of education in America; undoubtedly many Americans would be displeased to regard their school systems in this manner. Indeed, if the extent to which the educational environment acts as a socializing agent were fully appreciated, more rigid screening procedures for teachers might well be instituted. Moreover, some citizens might rebel against this picture of our educational institutions, demanding that the schools be confined to "teaching the facts."¹ Even if this were possible, the students would still be insulated from the influence of their instructors. The process by which information is transmitted is not neutral; attitudes are being transmitted and inculcated so long as interpersonal relationships are proceeding. The act of teaching, as well as what is being taught, is important in considering how attitudes are inculcated in the young in classrooms. The request that the facts be taught is itself, however, a delusionary one.²

¹The commonality of such views among citizens and educators can be appreciated in either of the following general surveys of the literature: Stan Dropkin, Harold Full, Ernest Schwartz, Contemporary American Education: An Anthology of Issues, Problems, Challenges (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), pp. 25-30; Daniel Tanner, Schools For Youth: Change and Challenge in Secondary Education (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), Chapters 1-5.

²Eugene J. Meehan, Contemporary Political Thought: A Critical Study (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967), Chapters 1-2; Eugene J. Meehan, The Theory and Method of Political Analysis (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1965), pp. 38-39, pp. 169-186,

There are two types of statements, factual and evaluative.¹ The distinction between them is not on the basis of certainty; evaluative statements may not therefore be categorized as opinions, in relation to factual statements which are defined - by way of contrast - as "facts". Rather, factual statements describe what is, while evaluative statements describe what ought to be. Both types of statements express attitudes, and these attitudes underlie the opinions (the content) expressed. An evaluative statement is thus an opinion about preferences; it expresses an attitude based upon a universal ideal.² A factual statement is an opinion about the way things are; it expresses an attitude that may or may not be verifiable, and that can never be perfectly verifiable since knowledge is relative and incomplete. Descriptive factual statements are opinions; they are taken as facts either on faith or upon examination and verification. In the latter case, a fact is accepted as a "fact" to the extent that verification warrants.

Now, facts about political and social systems are less established than facts about other systems; the information transmitted in the social sciences has been less securely verified than in the physical sciences.

227-251; Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry, Methodology for Behavioral Science (San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 384-390; Fred M. Frohock, The Nature of Political Inquiry (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967), Chapter 5.

¹ Arnold Brecht, Political Theory: The Foundations of Twentieth-Century Political Thought (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 27-135.

² Ibid.

A number of alternative explanations have been presented for this situation. The subject matter of the social sciences is less susceptible to verification; hypotheses are more difficult to test operationally; the experimental techniques of the social sciences are too primitive at present. The validity of these explanations need not be discussed herein. However, the less verified character of social science information does contain a number of important problems and implications for instruction in this area.

As part of the socialization process, preferences about political systems, and positive attitudes towards the present one, are transmitted to students, particularly during early stages of instruction. Evaluative statements are frequently not separated from factual ones. Thus, residual feelings of loyalty, the emotionally-grounded product of early socialization experiences, can be found in many young radicals.¹ From an educational standpoint, teaching evaluative statements without properly distinguishing them from factual ones raises serious social and ethical questions.

Secondly, factual statements may frequently be made without cautioning students that such statements are opinions, in various stages of verification. This orientation towards instruction in the social sciences is most common in the pre-college phases of learning; the character of instruction follows logically from the importance of such learning experiences in the

¹Paul Cowan, The Making of an Un-American (New York: Viking Press, 1970), is one excellent example of this inability to fully renounce the country whose political character is so wholly deplored and repudiated.

process of induction into social roles. In short, philosophical problems of education are in microcosm in the social sciences; there are a greater number of evaluative statements, and the factual statements are even more precarious than those made in other disciplines. A third problem, perhaps most serious, is as follows.

Attitudes expressed about the political system are inculcated so intensely and so frequently, in such a variety of ways, that the attitude held-if the socialization experience "works" at all - may become virtually immovable. To dissent from Euclid's theorem or the present subjective bothers few students, teachers, parents or administrators; however, non-conformity in political attitudes, in opinions about political objects, produces intense emotional feedback, provoking further emotional responses in the students. Generally, it is to be anticipated that younger students will be most likely to be capable of attitude change in an early emotional confrontation. As the student becomes exposed to a greater variety of influences, and the political system operates upon him more directly, political attitudes may change further. At some time, however, beliefs harden, and become relatively resistant to logical attack; what determines whether a belief will be subsequently changed depends upon the place of the belief in the general structure of beliefs held by that person.

(1) Not all the beliefs a person holds are of equal importance to him; beliefs range from central to peripheral. (2) The more central - or, in our terminology, the more primitive - a belief, the more it will resist change. (3) If a primitive belief is somehow changed, the repercussions in the rest of the system will be

wide - far wider than those produced by change in a peripheral belief. ¹

A person's primitive beliefs thus lie at the very core of his total system of beliefs, and they represent the subsystem in which he has the heaviest emotional commitment. [Emphasis supplied.] ²

In contemporary American society, so heavily politicized, most citizens appear to invest considerable emotional significance in their political ideas. Political beliefs are primitive ones: attacking a political belief, so emotionally grounded, so central to the person's conception both of the self and larger social reality, is to risk an intense and even violent emotional response.

A central problem, then, is that the social sciences taught in the classroom, in its unverifiable, unverified or partially verified state (depending on the statement) is not only accepted as factual but - since socialization theory and educational practice require that political attitudes be transmitted early and often - acquires a prominent place in a person's belief system. The dangers are fairly obvious; to use Rokeach's terminology, primitive beliefs are less open to rational argument. To apply this to education in the social sciences, the overt educational ideal - consideration of all ideas - is less likely to be achieved in these disciplines, because of the emotional foundation of the political and social

¹Milton Rokeach, The Three Christs of Ypsilanti (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1964), pp. 19-20.

²Ibid., p. 20.

ideas. The social objective - socialization of the young - defeats the democratic ideal with respect to the consideration of ideas in an open society. Subconsciously, the opinions have hardened, so that the ideal may be either inapplicable or difficult to attain.

These conclusions present a number of implications. First, when a demand for the presentation of facts is made, the demand is somewhat misdirected; there are no "facts" to give. There are only opinions, either more or less verified from testing against experience. It may be worthwhile to consider a situation in which such a demand would arise. A political science instructor presenting dissenting opinions to students whose political ideas have been shaped and have been incorporated into the primitive belief system might well be resisted through the presentation of such a challenge. However, to call for the facts in such a situation may be both delusionary and somewhat authoritarian in outlook. Such a demand, in this context, represents a thorough misunderstanding both of the nature of knowledge and the character of the educational process. To ask for the facts, in this framework, is to request another set of opinions; moreover, it assumes that the questions under consideration have already been resolved, that somewhere the facts exist, ready for transmission to the student.

Another theoretical perspective, however, focuses upon human interrelationships in learning situations.¹ Such an outlook recognizes that

¹Carl Rogers, Freedom To Learn. (New York: Merrill Publishing

both the content and impact of learning experiences depend upon the kinds of affective interactions present in classrooms. The transmission of verified information as an educational goal becomes secondary to the inculcation of attitudes towards learning, knowledge and the self.

Jerome S. Bruner concentrated upon the need for instructors to establish positive human relationships with their students. More importantly, Bruner has recognized the need for greater attention to be directed towards the achievement of humanistic educational goals. These goals involve the encouragement of orientations towards reality; essentially, Bruner suggests that the development of attitudes of curiosity, imagination and individuality ought to be the most significant educational objectives.

The task of education involves "understanding how human beings, in fact, can be assisted in their learning and development."¹ Bruner focuses primary emphasis upon the individual human being in a learning situation. The implications in Bruner's theory of instruction - which involves a restructuring of educational goals, attitudes and the educational environment - cross all educational levels.

Company, 1969); Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching As A Subversive Activity (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969); Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education (New York: Horizon Press, 1964); Jerome Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966); Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); John Holt, How Children Learn (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967); Alexander S. Neill (ed.), Talking of Summerhill (London, Gollancz, 1967).

¹ Bruner, op. cit., p: 167.

There is a core of humanistic values underlying Bruner's educational philosophy that is present not only in his suggestions for curriculum reform but in his sense of what the educational process is all about. To comprehend the subjective, constantly altering nature of knowledge becomes a humbling experience, for it involves the recognition that

. . . to instruct someone . . . is not a matter of getting him to commit results to mind. Rather, it is to teach him to participate in the process that makes possible the establishment of knowledge. ¹

Instructors who embrace Bruner's values fully do so not because it will enable them to impart facts and specific data more efficiently - although his specific educational techniques would permit that - or because they can more easily create miniaturized models of themselves in their students. This latter possibility arises through intimate, individualized instruction, creating the affective links necessary for such domination. Rather, an absence of arrogance marks the theoretical approach to individualized learning experiences under consideration.

Discovering how to make something comprehensible to the young is only a continuation of making something comprehensible to ourselves. ²

Bruner's philosophy towards instruction, as with most educational theory, appears to have been largely ignored at the university level. The American Political Science Association Committee on Graduate Education, for example, has found serious weaknesses in the quality of education that

¹Ibid., p. 72.

²Ibid., p. 38

are related, in part, to an absence of attention to educational theory and methodology at that educational level.¹ Moreover, turmoil on campuses in 1969 were most frequently directed towards university conditions²; such demonstrations can invariably be interpreted in relation to a decline in the attitude of "basic trust"³ and personal respect necessary to a sharing of experiences.

The central question for instruction in the social sciences at all levels of education, then, is whether such instruction can proceed without other educational goals being neglected or vitiated. The general education goal - which can be described as developing attitudes towards learning such as are present in the scientific method of inquiry⁴ - has been attended to infrequently. The need for the social system to develop a loyal citizenry mitigates against the possibility for producing a critically thinking one. It is possible, however, to teach within the social sciences in such a manner as to achieve several educational objectives.

First, information about the political system can be honestly provided, so long as distinctions are made among types of statements.

¹Douglas Bennett, et al., "Obstacles to Graduate Education in Political Science," FS, Vol. 2 (Fall, 1969), pp. 622-641.

²Urban Research Corporation, Student Protests 1969: Summary (Chicago: Urban Research Corporation, 1970).

³Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W.W. Norton, Inc., 1950).

⁴Bruner, op. cit.

Moreover, it may be contended that a realistic appraisal of the nature of knowledge would contribute to democratic processes in two respects. First, the citizen would be less dogmatic, since knowledge would be recognized as relative and transitory. Further, the ideas would be held less tenaciously, with a reduced emotional commitment. The student would be expected to exhibit fewer authoritarian tendencies.

Secondly, the student would be more likely to deal with political statements scientifically, in a critical, thoughtful manner. General educational objectives could thus be advanced without diminishing the quantity of data provided to the student. Students aware of the philosophical underpinnings of scientific knowledge are less likely to be passive receptacles for information.

This presentation of general educational philosophy is provided as prologue to an experiment in instruction. Prior to that experience, it was assumed that most of the students would enter into the course in political science with relatively fixed orientations towards political and social issues. To confront such attitudes - of primitive dimensions, to use Rokeach's terminology - involves risks, for the student as well as the teacher. The student's deep emotional investment in his beliefs will tend to make him resistant to provocative ideas. It may be hypothesized that such a resistance accounts for the weak explanatory power of classroom exposures to political materials in the prediction of political attitudes and behavior. One study, for example, has concluded that it is almost

impossible to distinguish among students - in predicting the political beliefs they will hold - on the basis of having had instruction in classes in political science or related areas.¹ The variable of classroom experience is simply not powerful; the implications, in terms of the quality of that experience and the teaching provided, are quite significant. It is as though the instruction were without meaning, without impact, on the students involved.

There is something demoralizing about the flatness of the distributions that are controlled by year in school... Given a relatively apolitical society in a crucially political time in human history, this can only be reckoned as a failure of major proportions.²

Those teachers who attempt to deeply confront their students, in order to induce specific changes in attitudes or merely as part of the general process of educational inquiry, may face a deeply negative response. Aggression and denial represent two of the psychological responses that students may manifest. Moreover, the instructor will lack an idea that can replace, in functional terms, the one dislodged. Nevertheless, difficulties in successfully stimulating the acquisition of altered attitudes through educational experiences can be surmounted.

Theories of attitude change rest upon a premise essentially elaborated upon earlier by Rokeach. This assumption is that attitudes will persist, even when challenged, so long as they are functional for the individual. Theories

¹William Simon, Donald E. Carns and John H. Gagnon, "Student Politics: Continuities in Political Socialization," APSA Convention paper, 1968.

²Ibid, p. 1.

of attitude change, therefore, assert that dissonance - some form of disagreement or divergence between the student's beliefs and other stimuli, external to him - is necessary before attitude change can be produced. Different types of dissonance, arising from different situations, will produce divergent kinds of beliefs and behavior.¹ A crucial part of the theory of cognitive dissonance focuses on the difficulty in producing such change even where dissonance is present; the degree of dissonance - or non-congruence between beliefs and perceptions - must be above an individual's dissonance threshold in order to produce change. Only a high level of dissonance, created by the instructor and internalized by the student, can stimulate attitude change: stimuli producing such dissonance are known as "change-producing stimuli."²

It follows from this orientation that confrontation of deeply held social attitudes, produced by earlier socialization experiences, requires the introduction of such stimuli if successful results are to be anticipated. Educational literature can provide many clues as to the kind of instruction most likely to arouse student interest and provoke critical thinking. In the social sciences, the use of audio-visual aids, in a multi-media setting, have been quite powerful tools for the presentation of provocative points of view about social questions.³ The reading material itself can be directed towards the

¹Albert K. Cohen, Deviance and Control (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

²Bernard C. Hennessy, Public Opinion (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1965).

³R. Buckminster Fuller, "Technology and Education," pp. 259-262;

discussion of significant, relevant social problems.* Moreover, the selection of reading materials can be oriented toward the raising of questions rather than the transmission of data. Perhaps most importantly, however, the social sciences present unique opportunities to move beyond the classroom in a legitimate search for information. Students can gain greatest insight into both the nature of knowledge, through participation in the information-gathering process, and the subject matter under consideration through personal involvement in the social milieu. Students can learn about the first amendment freedoms, for example, by observing - or even participating in, if that is their preference - political demonstrations. Students enamored of particular racial or religious stereotypes might well benefit by interviewing those whose attitudes they profess to know. These two examples are offered not for their intrinsic merit but to illustrate a larger point. The concept of "learning through doing," popular in progressive education, thus has especially wide application for this field. Students can most profitably learn about the social and political system by experiencing it. This is particularly true when the form and character of the experience is shaped by the students participating in it.

Yet there is unanimous agreement upon one point: students will respond when they know that their response is valued.¹

Carpenter, Edmund, "The New Languages," pp. 263-281; George A. Miller, "Alternative Systems of Learning," pp. 281-287; in: Richard Kostelanetz (ed.), Beyond Left And Right: Radical Thought For Our Times (New York: William Morrow and Co., inc., 1968).

*These terms will remain undefined herein.

¹Peter G. Kontos and James J. Murphy (Eds.), Teaching Urban Youth: A Source Book For Urban Education (New York: James Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 269.

Paul Goodman has studied the compartmentalization of knowledge and the insularity of university departments in The Community of Scholars.¹ While most educational theory has been directed toward the development of particular orientations towards learning in younger children, university instructors have been largely reluctant to make the findings, techniques and philosophical orientations present in such literature applicable to university experiences. The duality of social roles of university professors - as scholars and teachers - does not guarantee an equality of attention to the requirements of each role. The difficulties inherent in the development of exciting, meaningful educational experiences - leaving such terms undefined, as they inevitably must be - ought not obscure the relevance of such experiences to the achievement of valid educational objectives.

Methodology: Teaching Techniques Employed

Given the foregoing theoretical perspective, a varied curriculum was developed. The program of instruction stressed mutual involvement and commitments; the instructor was to be involved with the students, while the students were to be involved with society. Measurement of attitudes was achieved through the use of two attitude questionnaires.

An instrument for the measurement of political attitudes was constructed from several surveys previously administered by other sources.² In part,

¹Paul Goodman, The Community of Scholars (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964).

²Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, Scales For The Measurement of Attitudes (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 359-407; Leroy N. Rieselbach, "Personality and Political Attitudes: A Bibliography

this was done to measure the contemporary validity of these scales as well as the attitudes of the students. The study, by making use of such statements, tested the continuing reliability of the items in the questionnaire. The need to periodically reassess conclusions has generally been ignored, in practice if not precept, in the social sciences. Although replicability is judged to be a scientific requirement, few studies are actually repeated; as such, the need for studies to be replicable has become a gesture to enhance the scientific status of the discipline. Attitude scales purport to be scientific instruments, valid tools for inquiry and research. However, few scales are subjected to that periodic reexamination essential in the development of such instruments. Incorporation of statements from a number of surveys can be helpful in determining whether they are contemporary measures for attitudes or only of historical interest. In the latter regard, the survey measures, to a limited degree, the extent of attitude change over time among college students.

In addition to the items from prior instruments, a number of original statements, pertaining to black power, rioting and governmental action to alleviate racial and social problems were formulated. The survey was given on the opening day of the spring, 1969 quarter to two sections of the second component of the introductory course in American government, Government 106; the respondents remained anonymous. Another survey, identical to the first one except for both the addition of several items and the exclusion of the least discriminating statements, was administered at the close of the final examination!

of Available Questionnaire Measures," unpublished manuscript, July 1966.

¹ These surveys are contained in Appendices A and B.

The program of instruction contained several distinct emphases. In the classroom, an effort was made to move beyond the dichotomy between lecture and discussion. A third choice was perceived, based on the theoretical arguments offered earlier. This was to proceed to discuss American political structures, governmental policies and social problems through the eliciting of basic attitudes towards them. There were two prerequisites for an honest involvement with the students. The first one involved the development of an atmosphere of basic trust, in which the possibility of threatening consequences was substantially removed from the classroom situation. This was essential if students were to feel a lack of constraint in the expression of their attitudes, and a diminution of pressure in the fulfillment of course requirements. A second, related requirement involved the overt expression of political values and attitudes by the instructor. Behavioral scientists have stressed that the attitudinal and value commitments of authors be overtly stated at the outset to avoid the pretense that these are absent and without influence. A similar effort appeared indicated in this experiment, particularly since an honest expression of attitudes by students had been adjudged fundamental to the stimuli of critical thinking.

The syllabus, containing information about course topics, class schedule, and course requirements, is reprinted in Appendix F. The reading material was designed to be both instructive and provocative. The biography of Ho Chi Minh served as a foundation for discussion in areas other than American foreign policy and the war in Vietnam. The book provided insights into the nature of communism, the relationship

between nationalism and communism, and the development of radical political attitudes. In classroom discussions, it proved to be most useful as a case study in an examination of the political socialization process. The juxtaposition of the texts by Fortas and Zinn was a literary counterpoint to the operation of the course in the classroom.¹ Zinn's book was written in rebuttal to the one by Fortas; exposure to conflicting ideas, each supported by reasoned argument, compelled students to examine the underlying values and attitudes of the authors. Further, simultaneous exposure to two treatises in disagreement with one another undermined tendencies to accept unquestioningly the conclusions of authors, instructors, governmental officials and others endowed with authority. Finally, the competing books, whose arguments rested so heavily on the underlying values and commitments of their authors, placed a burden of choice on the students. In order to choose between the two, students were virtually required to examine their own attitudes and values, fulfilling one of the objectives of the experiment.

Jean Lacouture's Ho Chi Minh: A Political Biography² undermined the notion that communists are born inherently evil, through an examination of the development of Ho Chi Minh's political orientations. Similarly, Black Power was an intellectual exercise essential to an understanding

¹ Abe Fortas, Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1968); Howard Zinn, Disobedience and Democracy: Nine Fallacies on Law and Order (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968).

² Jean Lacouture, Ho Chi Minh: A Political Biography (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968).

of the processes by which some black people have come to adopt a radical political ideology.¹ Although an informal poll indicated that no student, in either section, had read either an analytical treatment of the subject or a work advocating its principles, nevertheless no student was without an impressionistic orientation towards the ideology. Intellectually, then, a description of the ideology by its proponent appeared mandatory, not to instill support for black power but to transmit knowledge about it. Black Power was still another instance in which deeply held emotional orientations towards a political object were directly confronted. This process was designed to transmit more than factual data about the political system; a corollary objective to the development of critical thinking and the stimulation of attitude change was to instill a respect for the scientific method, in which underlying assumptions do not go unexamined but rather are tested against empirical phenomena.

Robert Dahl's text on pluralist democracy² provided a theoretical framework for the study of political and social conflict in America. Richard Kostelanetz's Beyond Left and Right³ was designed to provide an insight into the direction of the future. The articles in this reader discuss contemporary social issues as well as future political probabilities. The innovative nature of the articles, by providing different and creative ways

¹Carmichael and Hamilton, op. cit.

²Robert Dahl, Pluralist Democracy in the United States, Conflict and Consent (Chicago: Rand McNally, Inc., 1967).

³Richard Kostelanetz (ed.), op. cit.

of looking at standard phenomena, corresponded to larger course objectives. Further, the introduction to the reader, by concentrating on concepts of cultural and intellectual lag, was useful in illuminating reasons for discrepancies between existing social systems and technological possibilities. This was one analytical framework for the treatment of political expression, conflict and change that proved useful in that component of the course. Several articles in Beyond Left and Right were reviewed by each participant in the course.

The structure of classroom activity and the selection of reading material represented a reorganization of the two standard elements in a curriculum. The first involved the use of multi-media techniques in the treatment of political subjects. Prior to a discussion and analysis of the Vietnam war, several anti-war songs were played.¹ The students, largely unfamiliar with the songs, responded with anger and passion. The songs were played to test the hypothesis that the use of records would be more likely to elicit an expression of attitudes than either spoken or written material. This hypothesis was affirmed in both sections, tending to support contentions pertaining to the emotionally influential character of contemporary folk and rock music. Later in the semester, several additional songs were played to illuminate the content of radical political attitudes.²

¹ Phil Ochs, "Cops of the World," Phil Ochs In Concert; Phil Ochs, "White Boots Marching In A Yellow Land," Tape From California; Phil Ochs, "The War Is Over," Tape From California; Phil Ochs, "I Ain't A-Marching Anymore," op. cit.; Phil Ochs, "Draft Dodger Rag," op. cit.; Donovan sang Buffy Saint-Marie's "Universal Soldier," and Mick Softly's "The War Drags On" on Donovan: Like It Is, Was, And Evermore Shall Be.

² Arlo Guthrie, "The Pause of Mr. Claus," op. cit.; Phil Ochs,

The other component of the curriculum involved a special project, described in Appendix C. The project contained a number of options, emphasizing but not requiring social involvement. Each option tested a different hypothesis that had emerged from classroom discussions; indeed, although the project had been shaped prior to the opening of the semester, its specific structure and content were influenced by student suggestions. The flexible character of the project and the student participation in its formulation appear to have been significant factors in an understanding of the extent of student involvement with its more difficult, time-consuming aspects.

The first option in the project tested various hypotheses pertaining to the poor and the blacks. Conflicting assumptions about laziness and tendencies towards violence were among those tested; extent of unjustified reliance on welfare benefits was another contention examined. Thirty-three students, out of a total of 84 students, participated in interviews of slum residents in Tallahassee, Eustis, Monticello, Jacksonville, Pensacola and Weewahitchka, Florida. These interviews, conducted both individually and in groups, were mapped out prior to student activity. Discussions of specific locations were held, to avoid duplication, and specific interview instructions, guidelines and admonitions were also given by the instructor. Mimeographed sheets, containing specific data to be completed,

"I'm Going To Say It Now," op. cit.; Phil Ochs, "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends," op. cit.; Pete Seeger sang Malvina Reynolds' "Little Boxes," op. cit.; Richie Havens, "Handsome Johnny," op. cit.; Spanky and Our Gang sang "Nowhere To Go" and "Give A Damn," op. cit.

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were supplied to those who requested them.¹ Suggested questions for interviews are contained in the project description.² One explanation for the large number of students participating in these interviews was that classroom discussions had logically precluded other possibilities to accurately test preconceived attitudes about the character of slum residents and black people.

A related option, in which 20 students participated, involved interviews with leaders of student groups and with students at Florida A&M University. One possible reason for the large number of students so engaged was that informal polls in both sections indicated that over 50% of the students enrolled had never been to the Florida A&M campus in spite of its geographical proximity. The interviews with black students at Florida A&M and with both black and white students at Florida State University tended to utilize questions similar to those employed in the interviews with slum residents.

A third option tested hypotheses pertaining to the responsiveness of public officials and political institutions to the expressed needs of citizens. In one sense, this tested conceptions about the nature of the democratic process. Ten students elected this option. Although individuals were suggested by the instructor, all arrangements for interviews were made by the students concerned. Difficulties in arranging interviews were considered to be part of the assessment of the responsiveness of the individuals involved.³

¹ A sample form is contained in Appendix D.

² A sample set of questions, constructed by one student, is contained in Appendix E.

³ Those interviewed included the following individuals: Mr. William

These options shared two points of emphasis. First, they served to illuminate the nature of scientific knowledge. Students were given an insight into the manner in which social scientists gather data, test hypotheses and arrive at defensible conclusions; more significantly, these projects served to indicate that preconceived political notions are frequently held without empirical basis, and thus the larger objective of inculcating flexibility in belief systems was advanced. Secondly, each of these options involved direct student participation in the discovery of information through involvement in the social system. Education about social matters through involvement in society was stressed, as an application of John Dewey's concept of "learning through doing" to college instruction in the social sciences.¹

In order to avoid requiring participation in an admittedly unusual, difficult, time-consuming project, in an introductory course in which many enrolled students were non-majors in political science, a fourth alternative was available. This involved additional readings in matters pertaining to race relations. Thirteen students elected this alternative.²

Cawley, Administrator, Model States Program, Florida Industrial Commission; Mr. Robert Seidel, Assistant Head, City Planning Commission; State Senator Verle A. Pope; Mr. John W. Seay, Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction, Leon County; Herbert P. Bean, Deputy Attorney General, State of Florida; Mr. John J. Kolemij, President, Orange State Construction Company; Mr. Joe Brown, State Hotel and Restaurant Commissioner; Dr. C. B. Owens, Florida A&M University.

¹John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944).

²The number of students does not correspond to those enrolled because of other individualized projects created as the course progressed.

The possibility that the two attitude surveys that bracketed the course may themselves have helped to stimulate attitude change must also not be disregarded. In this sense, the attitude surveys - which generated considerable interest and curiosity among students regarding their results - represented another component of the curriculum directed towards stimulating self-examination of attitudes, values and beliefs.

Among those books and articles reviewed were: Jay Griffin, Black Like Me (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951); Lewis M. Killian, The Impossible Revolution (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968); Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964); Allan H. Spear, Black Chicago, The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Robert Conot, Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness (New York: William Morrow, Inc., 1968); M. Anderson, "Negro Child Asks Why?" New York Times, Dec. 1, 1963, pp. 32-32; M. Anderson, "They Are Ready If We Are," New York Times, Dec. 24, 1961; Tilman Colhran, "Negro Conceptions of White People," American Journal of Sociology, 56: pp. 458-467, 1951; Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, op. cit.; "Definitions of Discrimination," Newsweek, LXII, July 29, 1963, p. 24; Donald H. Smith, "The Rhetoric of Riots," Contemporary; Georges Bagnet, "An African in Harlem," Atlas; William B. Hixon, Jr., "Moorfield Storey and the Struggle for Equality"; J. R. Feagin and P. B. Sheatsley, "Ghetto: Resident Appraisals of a Riot," Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1968; Patricia Coffin and George Goodman, "Black-White," Look, Jan. 7, 1969; "The Radicals," Look Jan. 7, 1969; Fletcher Knebel, "The Wasps," Look, July 23, 1968; "Black and White - Progress Report," Look, Jan. 7, 1968; "Fifteen Years of Trouble," Look, Sept. 20, 1966; George B. Leonard, "Not Black Power But Human Power," Look, Sept. 6, 1966; T. George Harris, "Private War on Poverty," Look, Aug. 9, 1966; "The Right Use of Black Power," Look, Nov. 17, 1967; Francis L. Borderick and August Meier (Eds.), Negro Protest Thought in The Twentieth Century (New York: Bobbs Merrill Company, 1965); I. A. Newby, The Development of Segregationist Thought (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968); William D. Workman, Jr., The Case For The South, (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1960); materials distributed by ViSTA, Washington, D.C.

Student Responses to Social Involvement

Interviews with Students and The Poor

A full description and analysis of the papers submitted by students engaged in the different facets of the special project would be superfluous.¹ What is essential is that the effect of this activity and the social involvement implied by it upon particular students be gauged and appreciated. Unquestionably, the project was, for many students, a significant intellectual and emotional experience.

A number of themes emerge from the papers of those students who engaged in interviews with ghetto residents. One of the purposes for permitting students to interview both black ghetto residents and black students at the two Tallahassee universities was to test the validity of their general racial perceptions. Racial stereotypes would be most likely to be overcome through a direct confrontation of those holding them with social conditions and individual personalities. From this perspective, the descriptive as well as the interpretive statements offered by students about their experiences acquire significance.

The families were quite large, mean size about 6. The incomes of those families were not adequate and the incomes per working member of the family was extremely low...The families of the student interviewed were going through great hardships to put their children through school.

¹ An analysis of student responses as well as the data acquired is in preparation.

An appreciation of the problems of poverty represented one of the major conclusions shared by the interviewers. The difficulties of the working poor, in particular, and the strength of their aspirations appeared to be especially surprising to the students.

Only 20% earned a yearly wage of over \$4,500.

These figures do not represent a statistical summary or analysis of the data received from all of the interviewers taken together; rather these are figures supplied by one student, summarizing the income and earning power of the Jacksonville residents whom he interviewed. The purpose herein is to relate the student's findings to his own perceptions and attitudes. The data itself, and interpretations about the attitudes of those interviewed, are being treated in a separate study.

The income was fantastically low; one person who used to be a junior in college was making \$30.00 a week as a maid. Only 40% get over \$40.00 a week.

The living conditions were appalling...

Present housing was atrocious - only one had a fair home.

Range of family income - \$700 - \$4600... highest government subsidy \$100...

One student's paper, containing illustrations and poetry, was particularly vivid in conveying attitudes and descriptions.

I asked him why he was not working as a mechanic and did the white mechanic make more than he did. He told me that the white made up to \$250 a month while he only made \$100. Farming paid more, \$160.00 a month...

I noticed an old out-house that was tilted to one side and asked him if he still used it. He said yes. I began to look around at the other houses and noticed that they also had out-houses. I again asked was this area in the city limits. He said yes. He told me

that the road two blocks over (white section of town) had sewer lines. This area did not...

Tomorrow is only a sunlight away from our touch. Reach out for the poor.

Few of the recipients were found to be receiving sums of money from the governmental institutions at any level. Several individuals were receiving social security payments. However, student preconceptions about the extent to which welfare payments were being utilized excessively by ghetto residents made conclusions about that hypothesis particularly important. Attitudes about welfare and welfare recipients were significant in their relationship to attitudes towards blacks and towards governmental social programs. Welfare payments were found to be sporadic, poorly coordinated, and minimally funded; moreover, few individuals who could work were discovered to be receiving welfare payments. The norm involved minimal living conditions despite arduous or menial forms of employment, generally among several members of the family.

In most cases this income totalled \$3000 or less a year per family.

My area...had two blocks of houses in extremely poor condition. One entire block was condemned, and the other had some five houses which were still occupied. All five houses were in a deplorable condition, little more than shacks.

The highest paid ghetto resident had three in his family and was making \$70.00 a week. He has held the job for 29 years. There were three residents who were making less than \$24.00 a week.

Six out of seven receive money from the government in some form or another. Average payment was \$49 per month...

What shocked me most was the lack of money for food; what could I say to her?

As I was leaving, the man thanked me, told me to stop again, and asked me to help him if I could.

Their incomes ranged from \$1200 per year for a family of two to \$6400 for a family of nine. The overall average annual income was around \$4100 for an average family of six.

Only 20% currently received money from the government, all coming from the welfare program.

They all said they would be happy if the government built them a new home.

Such a response conflicted with students' tendencies to agree with the statement that government social programs tended to reduce incentive to work, as indicated in the results of the first survey.

Students were particularly dismayed over the low self-image of older black interviewees.

She was so surprised when I called her ma'am.

I'm really glad I did this. I've lived in Tallahassee all my life, but never come in contact with the poor people here, and it was really an experience.

Indeed, one lady replied that she hoped she was answering right.

When asked about their future plans, the old said they hadn't really thought much about any. They seemed resigned to their life hopeful that their children will have it better, especially if they remain in school.

Each told me to come back later. Nearly everyone interviewed invited me into their house and all were friendly. It was an unusual experience and an educational one. Many of the answers I heard relieved, shocked, and many times touched me...

In summary of my interview with this family I believe that they have accepted the fact that they are Negro and can't be much better off than they presently are.

All of the persons that I interviewed seemed to like their neighborhood, even though most of them disliked Tallahassee in general.

In my opinion, all of these persons are stuck in Tallahassee, with no way of improving themselves. They are poor and will remain poor - most of them realize this and told me so.

Most of the people that we interviewed were old and they seemed to accept their fate without complaint...they thought they were inferior to the whites and couldn't expect to live in a better house than they do now.

The questions that we asked them, must not have occurred to them before nor have they thought about changing their way of life. Their lives exist solely around their families and how to feed them.

I thought it was sad that these Negroes could not fulfill their dreams. Some said that their parents died when they were young and they could not continue with their education. Very few finished high school. One old lady was still waiting after ten years to go back to her home town and die there.

The statement which shocked me concerned his attitude towards himself. He feels that he is a Negro, always has been a Negro and always will be a Negro and therefore will always be lower to other people.

To the question, "If you could have one wish now, what would that be?", the following responses were typical.

be free totally...

parents wouldn't have to work...

to have a united black and white nation that could get along...

blacks accepted as individuals...

These aspirations, when fused with abysmal social conditions, appeared to evoke feelings of empathy and understanding.

Of particular significance to students were the responses of interviewees to the questions expressing racially stereotyped attitudes. These statements were almost uniformly rejected; some responses were in the form of an expletive, while others - particularly young black students - engaged in more lengthy disputation over the attitudes expressed. One reaction to these responses involved an appreciation of black militancy.

I found FAMU students more aware of what was happening in the world around them and more willing to do something about it.

Suspicion and pessimism were two traits I noticed evident. Blacks seem tired of white man's promises being unfulfilled and do not seem to want to hear more of them.

We started off our little conversation with him saying, 'Remember you're white and I resent you like hell, so I'm going to be completely frank.' And he was. He caught me on every statement I made; every sign of prejudice he commented on. He fired questions at me, laughed at me, cut me down, and made me start thinking things I had never dreamed of. Every so often he would try and shake me up, and he succeeded.

Too often I have run into black people who either agree with everything I say because I am white, or else try and put me down with threats of getting whitey. But now I had someone who could put me down with logic, frankness and honesty. It was no longer let ME (being white) teach you and help you, it was what can YOU (being black) teach me. How can YOU help me learn about the problem of race.

Almost a total lack of faith in political leaders was evident in those interviewed.

In addition to a lack of faith in white leaders, few black leaders were familiar to the respondents. In addition, attempts to elicit suggestions for government or corporate efforts to alleviate problems of racism and poverty were largely unavailing. Many of the older residents lacked knowledge about the political system; expressions of religious faith as a means for social improvement were not uncommon. Responses of younger blacks reflected greater political awareness, reduced religious commitments, and a more militant orientation towards organized society.

The outlook of the extremely young children interviewed provided a clear contrast both to the militancy of the college students, and the resignation of the elderly.

The black children are like all other children, they have their dreams, their favorite games and television programs. We should realize that these children are like ours and we should prevent their eventual pitfall into poverty...

One student, engaged in student teaching in an integrated environment among sixth graders, administered an attitude survey to her students.

While reading these questionnaires, I was quite surprised at some of the answers. After working with the children for several weeks, I was expecting different answers from some of them. The girls did not surprise me though because they get along together quite well...

When I read the answers, I had the papers separated into four different groups - white boys, Negro boys, white girls, Negro girls. If I had not known the race of the person in question in some cases, I would have put him or her in the other race. Some of the responses were as follows.

Do the white students like you? Some
How do you feel about them? The ones that like me are my friends.

Do the white students like you? Yes
How do you feel about them? I feel very happy about them.

Such responses led the student to conclude that, although some black students regretted an inability to attend an all-black junior high school in the fall, integrated education at the earliest grade level was desirable in reducing racial misunderstandings.

Do the Negro students like you? Yes
How do you feel about them? I like them too.

The friendliness of the respondents seemed surprising to the interviewers.

I would have expected some rudeness from the people.

The fear, mistrust and confusion that most interviewers reported experiencing prior to the interviews was projected outwards onto the respondents, in the form of expectations and findings about their behavior and attitudes towards them.

Overall the people seemed very nice and not like the slum-dwellers I expected to find, mean and spiteful.

When the project was first presented and discussed in class, I must admit, I was among the skeptics. (I have not had much contact with Negroes and I was, frankly, a little worried about the whole idea.)

Surprisingly I did not feel ill at ease or nervous as I expected.

I can't even imagine living the way they do; how they survive is beyond me.

These expressions of concern should not suggest that a uniform progression of attitudes was revealed in these papers. The following statements are somewhat indicative of feelings of racial prejudice that persisted.

In discussing responses to one question¹ that he had asked, a student observed that

100% agreed that it would...I can only say I believe in some of them; not all because I felt some were lying, why I don't know. I only imagine they lied because they just want a new place, but they won't take care of it. There are always some slobs.

I really expected more people to be receiving welfare checks.

All the people we talked to were very nice and cooperative... None tried to be nasty, which I have to admit I almost expected.

Self-descriptions were particularly useful measures of the impact of the experiences. Most common responses involved expressions of shock, surprise or dismay. A lack of knowledge about living conditions and emotional orientations of blacks was similarly frequent.

¹If the government built an apartment for the people of the area, would the apartment be taken care of?

I was amazed at what I saw...

All are (to our utter amazement) satisfied with their current living conditions. They feel that there is better housing available in Tallahassee but not that they can afford.

To our amazement, knowledge of the work of these important (black) leaders was, at best, extremely limited.

The interesting point, however, was that he said that he felt that the black man would always be inferior to the white man. I was astonished to hear this...

My first glimpse of the A&M campus surprised me...I expected to see broken-down shacks.

One of the Negro girl's answers was particularly interesting to me. She was from New York and said the only time she could remember being discriminated against was in Ocala. Well, I didn't tell her, but my uncle is past mayor of Ocala and my grandmother owned much property in the "Ocala Colored Town," I can remember, when I was younger, going with her to "inspect the property." The minute we returned home I was told to wash my hands or take a bath because, as Grandmother said, 'Everything there is so dirty, you better wash or you will be sick.' Even to this day I can not shake the feeling that, 'Negroes are always dirty.' ...I believe one of the most important things is for parents to seek to ameliorate prejudice in the home. I am living proof of what happened when a child is raised on fallacies concerning race - it has taken me nineteen years to even begin to realize the truth.

As the afternoon progressed, we had everyone in the A and M Student Union clustered around our one little table in the cafeteria, all wanting to be interviewed or to listen to the discussion...some of the things they said were shocking...they were not meant to upset us, rather to enlighten us.

I have never done anything to make a black person feel inferior but at the same time in my subconscious I do not think I ever really considered them to be my equal. That is a horrible thing to confess and to realize on my part.

Previously I had never visited the home of a Negro or really talked to a Negro. After reading Black Power I saw myself as guilty of conforming with the majority of Americans - regarding whites as superior to blacks.

I think perhaps the main difference between the younger generation and the old is that the students have respect for themselves and for their race... The young black people are no longer willing to accept the inferior position their ancestors withstood.

One student felt obliged to apologize for the white supremacist attitudes of the white FSU students interviewed.

Science does not support the claim that some races are biologically superior or inferior to others as is the feeling of some American whites and blacks.

Another student remarked that

The blacks do not want the whites to love them; they want their chance to benefit from the prosperity of this country, and most of all they want their rights. I was particularly impressed with the statement in the fourth interview. 'I feel sorry for you whites. If people could treat other people so badly for so long then there must be something wrong with them.'

Still another student administered an attitude instrument, testing racial perceptions to twenty-five students in her dormitory. Their responses, when summated and analyzed, manifested "radically backward" attitudes, according to the student.

Degree of involvement in the social involvement experiences was manifested by the creative output of the class. One student produced a short story, two included original poetry in their interpretations, one fictionalized portrayal of three model young black personalities was presented, while two students enclosed illustrations and sketches with their material.

Only 1 person out of 20 felt that surveys such as this one could not help solve the race problem. However, if 95% of the people feel that doing things such as this can help, my work was not a failure.

Such a statement reflected two significant attitudinal changes. One was a positive attitude, that replaced the skeptical if willing orientation

towards the usefulness of the project. The second attitude change involved a commitment towards personal responsibility for alleviating the problems under observation. A desire to help was a commonly expressed attitude in student papers.

From the survey we have learned what the Negro really wants and what we need to do to bridge the gap between the blacks and whites. The blacks ask for nothing that is unreasonable. They demand only equality. A chance to compete on an equal basis with whites. They don't want to be treated special or receive something for nothing. The whites have many misconceptions about the Negroes' demands...Integration does not mean Negroes living in an all white world consisting of all white culture.

In addition to an expressed desire to help in the solution of racially-related problems, an underlying theme of optimism prevailed in student reports. The cause of racial problems was ascribed to a lack of understanding between the races; the solution, following somewhat from the concept of surveys and interactions experienced, thus became obvious for many students. Every student who commented on likely solutions stressed the need for improved communication between members of different races to overcome racial difficulties in America.

Blacks almost completely pointed the finger at whites and blamed them for the conditions. Whites unanimously said that blacks and whites together were responsible for these bad conditions which many blacks live in...I feel whites are probably more responsible due to the fact that they have run the country and therefore allowed and condoned the conditions.

There seems to be a misunderstanding between the races.

What really surprised me was the interest of the people who filled out the questionnaires. Some of them even began to discuss some of the questions in detail. I'm sure with this kind of attitude that was shown to me from blacks and whites that there is an answer to the racial problem.

It is only through true communication and understanding of each race that Black and White can even attempt to settle their differences.

What is significant about this outlook, for purposes of this analysis, is its pertinence towards student attitudes towards the project undertaken. Clearly, student participants in interview projects valued the experience so highly that analogous experiences were deemed to represent the means for solving America's most persistent political and social issue.

Responses to Other Projects

One student participated in an effort to improve housing conditions and racial relations in the Tallahassee ghetto, French Town, by FSU students. Other students interviewed the President of Florida State University (FSU) student government, leaders of SDS, and the President of the Afro-American Student Union at FSU. Another student engaged in an all-day living experience in the black community, involving use of the library and cafeteria at Florida A&M University, and exposure to black public accommodations including restaurants and stores. The purpose was "to observe black culture...to observe if there is any discrimination against white patrons." None was reported by the student, whose description of the experience was highly positive.

Another student engaged in descriptive recollection of the racist implications of his experiences in the armed forces in Korea. This student commented upon the difficulties involved in marrying - as opposed to co-habiting with - Koreans; he was also disturbed by the impediments erected

by the government that served to inhibit the entry of offspring of Korean-American sexual relations. In addition, the racial perceptions of the members of the armed forces stationed in Korea were discussed; these perceptions were related to racial stereotypes in America and to allegedly racist, imperialist, capitalist system that perpetuates them for its own aggrandisement.

Those students who had been interested in testing hypotheses about institutional responsiveness were generally disappointed. In describing an interview with William Cawley, responsible for the placement of people into different welfare programs, a student commented that

When I asked him pointed questions he would repeatedly ask me who was going to see this.

Another student had attempted to poll legislators about their attentiveness to mail from constituents.

I felt that the legislators were far too inaccessible - for I have only ten interviews or answered surveys to show for six trips to the capital.

One student, who had not planned any interviews with "influentials," was motivated by the results of his interviews with impoverished residents to attempt to spontaneously produce programmatic change.

I decided someone was going to see my interviews . . . I walked into the capitol. I asked to see the governor and was told he was out . . . but would I see someone else. I said yes and was led to Mr. Richard Warner's office. He asked me to bring a copy of the summary to see him and he'd see what could be done (I had suggested forming a group of FAMU students to help clean up French Town. The interviews showed a willingness to help). He then asked me if I had participated in the recent demonstrations in front of the capitol. I said yes and proceeded to relate some of the merits of peaceful civil disobedience. The look of interest suddenly

disappeared...Mr. Warner closed the interview. He said that whenever there is a disturbance on a Florida university campus that plane reservations for Florida decrease...

Other students were less frustrated, however, by their experiences.

Interviews with Sen. Pope and Mr. Benn were described as satisfactory.

Of Mr. Robert Seidel, a student noted the following.

He was very responsive to the part of helping me in any way he could but in all fairness I was helped very little...

I asked him why they were tearing down homes in the Frenzy Town area and what plans if any there were for the future. He said . . . that they did not meet the requirements of the City Housing Code . . . and that there were no future plans for rebuilding in this area because the city does not own the property.

Only one interview with a governmental official was reported to have bolstered a student's faith in system responsiveness. Mr. John W. Seay was described in the following terms.

I just hope that other officials are as aware and sincere about the problem .

Interviews with those responsible for construction of low-cost housing, employing rent subsidies, were also held.

Mr. Koelemij felt a need in Tallahassee for new housing... The landlords of the city opposed this kind of project (according to Koelemij) because they saw a 'good thing losing out for them.'

The rent (subsidy) program is under the Department of Housing and Urban Development...The apartments are integrated...

These instances of responsiveness of private enterprise to the obvious needs of the black ghetto residents were the most impressive favorable comments on the relationship between the political system and social needs.

Summary of Attitude Surveys

The attitude scale administered on the first day of the semester appears in Appendix A. For analytical purposes, the survey was divided into six major categories. The first five categories embrace statements designed to elicit attitudes about political and social matters; the attitudinal categories include racial segregation, personal interactions with black people, Jews, ethnocentrism, and the role of government in society. The sixth category solicited information about background characteristics of the respondent, to be utilized to determine the extent to which the political attitudes could be predicted through the use of these variables.

Of the eighty statements in the survey, fifty-nine dealt with attitudes towards black people. Of these, forty-six were concerned primarily with attitudes towards civil rights, segregation and racial supremacy. The remaining thirteen were directed towards attitudes regarding personal relations with black people. Six statements attempted to measure anti-semitism, to determine whether any racist attitudes that might be elicited by questions pertaining to blacks were part of a general set of racial attitudes. In other words, the inclusion of statements pertaining to Jews was designed to determine the strength of correlations between anti-semitism and prejudice against blacks. A measure of ethnocentrism, consisting of four statements, was included for similar reasons; manipulation of the data would assess the degree of correlation between ethnocentrist attitudes and racist attitudes. Finally, a measure of general political attitudes towards governmental participation in society was included, to determine the extent to which a diminished

role in societal affairs was considered desirable by the respondents. All of the eleven government-related statements touched upon problems of racism and poverty in American society. Relationships among background variables and statements across these categories were also to be explored.

The Likert scaling technique was employed in the construction of the instrument; thus, responses were given weights from seven to one, corresponding to expressions of strong agreement to strong disagreement. The higher the score, the more the attitudes expressed by the statements were shared by the respondent. Reversed coded items, in which disagreements represented an expression of the attitude being measured, were also employed. Responses were summed for all statements in each of the five categories.

The range in sums of responses to the items dealing with civil rights and segregation were from 52 to 212. Only a few respondents were in extreme categories, in which strong agreement or strong disagreement prevailed in each instance. Thirty-six of the eighty-eight students taking this survey had sums of 92 or less, thereby averaging disagreement to the attitudes expressed in this category of students. The grouping of sums of responses are indicated in Table 1.

The sums, however, appear to have been depressed by the outdated character of many of the statements. Many of the statements correlated very weakly with each other; it can be inferred from this that standards of racial equity have risen to the extent that many statements, once useful in discriminating racist attitudes, are no longer sufficient for the achievement of that purpose.

Table 1

SUMS OF RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS
ABOUT RACIAL SEGREGATION

Number of Statements = 59

	Sums				
Number of Students per Category	to 60	61-99	100-131	132-166	167-212
	8	41	23	9	5

The range of responses for the thirteen items dealing with personal expressions of racist attitudes was relatively greater than for attitudes pertaining to segregation or civil rights. The range, thirteen to seventy-nine, indicated the greater resistance these attitudes have had to pressures for change. In other words, while most students are willing to reject segregationist sentiments, nevertheless reluctance towards interaction with blacks on an individual basis remains strong. In addition to the larger range of responses, greater differentiation in the means of responses among those in high and low categories, in an analysis of the sums, were to be found. Table 2 indicates not only the strong divisions between respondents but the relatively high means present in the category for those with less racially oriented attitudes.

Although analysis solely on the basis of sums of responses indicates a preponderance of non-racist attitudes, an examination of individual statements revealed that the sums had been skewed by the presence of relatively non-discriminating statements. Those statements pertaining at least partially to segregation or avowed racial supremacy were productive of less racially oriented responses. Interracial social activity, on the other hand, appears to be eliciting different feelings; more significantly, many of those disagreeing with statements favoring segregation were nevertheless unwilling to share in the enjoyment and use of public facilities on a personal basis.

The sums of anti-semitism scores were low; the range for five statements, excluding number three, was from five to thirty-two. However, only one individual had a score of thirty-two; the remainder were below

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES - STATEMENTS PERTAINING
TO INTERRACIAL PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS,
ATTITUDE SURVEY #1

Statement	High Mean	Low Mean	Difference	T-Value
4	6.86	2.95	3.91	11.48
6	5.09	1.27	3.82	9.94
10	2.86	1.09	1.77	5.72
12	2.27	1.09	1.18	4.79
23	6.45	1.86	4.59	14.54
51	5.23	1.82	3.41	7.01
62	3.91	1.45	2.45	5.14
63	6.00	1.55	4.45	18.27
66	3.73	1.23	2.50	6.41
69	3.86	1.05	2.82	8.28
70	3.27	1.50	1.77	4.06
78	4.00	1.18	2.82	7.74
79	4.64	1.18	3.45	9.56

Level of Significance = .01

Percent Selected for High and Low Group = 25%

twenty-three. In fact, forty-five students had sums of ten or below, indicating disagreement or strong disagreement with statements indicating prejudice against Jews. Table 3 indicates the distribution of responses.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES - STATEMENTS
PERTAINING TO JEWS, ATTITUDE SURVEY #1

Statement	High Means	Low Means	Difference	T-Value
9	2.81	1.04	1.76	6.69
20	4.15	1.48	2.68	7.79
31	2.96	1.13	1.83	6.22
43	4.92	1.13	3.79	10.24
61	2.38	1.13	1.25	4.96

Level of Significance = .01

Percent Selected for High and Low Group = 25%

The ethnocentric statements are consistent with one another when an atypical statement, pertaining to the rights of religious minorities, is excluded from analysis. When this is done, three statements capable of discriminating attitudes towards the United States remain. In each of these statements, however, the means of those in the low group of summed responses are relatively high. Table 4 includes a summary of grouped means of responses to statements in this category. Indeed, in statement 41, the means are in the same direction, since both high and low means are greater

than 5.0. The responses to the statements in this category produced the highest sums, indicating that attitudes of fidelity to the United States were most pronounced among the respondents. Only two students' responses produced an average score in disagreement with the patriotic statements.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES - STATEMENTS BOTH
NATIONALISTIC AND ETHNOCENTRIC IN CONTENT,
ATTITUDE SURVEY #1

Statement	High Mean	Low Mean	Difference	T-Value
26	6.28	2.12	4.16	23.79
29	5.62	2.16	3.46	14.93
41	6.90	5.64	1.26	3.69
65	2.72	1.68	1.04	3.61

Level of Significance = .01

Percent Selected For High and Low Group = 25%

Conservative political orientations were marked in the category pertaining to governmental participation in the solution of social problems. The range of responses extended from 17 to 67, and the extent of disagreement permitted a genuine demarcation into groups with opposing feelings. Table 5 indicates the distribution of responses among those in high and low categories. High means are found in statements 17 and 46, indicating widespread disagreement among students about government proposals expressed therein. Those statements with the greatest differentiation, on

the other hand, are numbers 5 and 50; this represents a significant distinction, in that these two statements are most directly related to perceptions about racial matters. A general measure of political conservatism would be compelled to exclude racially-connected statements, since different attitudes are elicited by their inclusion.

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES - STATEMENTS PERTAINING TO
GOVERNMENTAL ROLE IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS,
ATTITUDE SURVEY #1

Statement	High Mean	Low Mean	Difference	T-Value
5	4.91	1.77	3.14	8.88
16	2.68	1.23	1.45	4.08
17	6.23	3.50	2.73	7.88
25	4.73	2.82	1.91	4.15
46	6.64	3.68	2.95	8.65
50	4.73	1.82	2.91	6.46
53	4.64	2.55	2.09	5.28
55	5.73	2.56	3.14	8.88
59	5.45	2.27	3.18	8.99
64	5.59	2.09	3.50	12.69
72	5.32	2.73	2.59	6.18

Level of Significance = .01

The second attitude survey deleted thirty of the least discriminating statements; three of these were from the category of statements dealing with personal racism, three from anti-semitism, one from ethnocentrism¹, one from governmental roles, and twenty-two from the category dealing with segregation. Three statements were added to the latter category, one to the category pertaining to Jews, one to the attitude statements about the United States, and three to the category of statements describing attitudes towards governmental social action programs.

The extent of attitude change can best be grasped when corresponding statements from the two surveys are placed next to each other. Table 6 permits an appraisal of the responses to identical statements in the two surveys, administered several months apart. The statements are grouped by category. Those undecided or failing to respond have been excluded from the table.

Table 7 summarizes the responses to the questions present in the second survey but absent from the first, as well as those absent from the second but present in the first. Those undecided or failing to respond have been excluded from the table.

In all categories, considerable attitude change can be perceived. An intensified opposition to racial segregation, and racism in general, can be perceived. A greater acceptance of an expanded governmental role in the treatment of social ills is also evidenced in the survey results.

¹ Thus creating a category dealing solely with attitudes toward the United States.

Tendencies to adopt more questioning, critical attitudes towards the nation are present in responses to nationalistic statements.

TABLE 6
SEGREGATION STATEMENTS - SURVEYS 1 AND 2

Place of Statement on 2nd Survey	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	1	3 3	5 2	10 2	27 6	43 67
2		1 1	5 3	10 6	35 7	37 64
6	1	9 5	6 6	17 11	34 21	22 37
^a 7	17 39	42 25	17 9	5 4	6 1	1 3
10	1 1	5 1	16 3	8 4	37 21	20 50
11			2 2	3 2	13 12	70 64
^a 13	24 44	41 25	7 6	9 4	6 1	1
^a 16	35 59	40 15	6 3	5 1	1	2
19	1 1	1 1	4 5	8 2	35 12	39 58
21	2 1	8 1	8 5	13 4	41 27	16 41

^areverse coded item

TABLE 6--Continued

Place of Statement on 2nd Survey	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
22	2	7 2	13 6	15 5	33 26	20 38
24	2	3 5	9 3	15 5	31 24	28 42
^a 32	21 43	41 23	15 6	4 4	5	2 2
39		1	7 5	12 1	33 22	33 50
41	3	6 4	12 7	17 7	34 22	14 38
43		3 2	5 1	3 5	31 13	44 57
45	1	5 3	10 5	10 4	41 18	19 48
46		2 3	6 2	6 3	43 16	29 54
^a 47	7 17	30 32	23 7	10 5	13 8	2 8
^a 50	14 43	30 18	13 11	4 5	26 1	1

^areverse coded item

TABLE 6 - Continued

STATEMENTS INVOLVING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
WITH BLACKS

Statement (position on survey #2)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
^a 3	3 9	11 19	17 16	8 12	22 10	26 15
5	6 4	7 3	8 4	8 6	36 19	23 45
^a 9	41 44	36 17	5 4	4 3	2	1
15	17 8	13 9	18 14	10 14	21 17	9 18
^a 29	20 33	29 24	10 7	11 3	12 9	6 3
35	1	7 2	4 5	10 3	36 23	30 45
^a 36	12 24	29 30	11 6	16 6	13 7	7 5
40	2 2	3 2	6 3	10 2	35 24	30 44
^a 48	23 34	37 33	15 6	5 2	4 2	2 1
^a 49	20 33	43 36	10 3	5 2	9 3	1

^areverse coded item

TABLE 6 - Continued

STATEMENTS PERTAINING TO JEWS

Statement (position on survey #2)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8		1 1	6 3	9 6	35 22	37 49
14	1 1	6 4	13 7	13 10	35 25	20 33
26	5 1	9 6	5 4	11 11	25 16	33 41

ATTITUDES TOWARDS U.S.A.

18	15 8	13 11	18 11	17 11	22 18	3 20
20	5 4	14 10	29 13	15 17	22 19	3 16
^a 25	2 4	4	2 3	5 18	24 26	55 24

ATTITUDES TOWARDS GOVERNMENTAL
PARTICIPATION IN
SOCIAL PROGRAMS

4	1 2	11 5	14 8	16 22	33 22	13 22
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^areverse coded item

TABLE 6-Continued

Statement (position on survey #2)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
^a 12	1 12	1 17	25 20	17 12	26 14	18 5
17	5 6	11 3	17 6	29 18	24 26	2 20
23	11 3	11 5	8 4	24 17	26 23	8 27
^a 27	2 17	2 17	15 24	19 4	24 12	26 4
28	4 2	13 17	12 12	9 10	35 25	15 22
30	1 3	16 16	23 15	20 16	24 15	4 14
31	4 3	15 16	22 15	18 14	20 15	8 16
34	4 1	8 5	22 9	23 7	23 26	7 30
37	3 1	16 6	11 8	27 10	27 27	3 6
^a 42	1 10	13 23	24 16	18 10	26 9	4 8

^areverse coded items

TABLE 7.
RESPONSES IN SURVEY #1 TO STATEMENTS
NOT CONTAINED IN SURVEY #2

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<u>Anti-Semitism</u>						
5				1	10	77
31	3	1	1	16	36	31
^a 61	34	45	5	3	1	
<u>Ethnocentrism</u>						
65		1	5	17	46	19
<u>Segregation</u>						
13	1	1	1	3	25	57
15		1	2	4	30	51
19		5	2	11	45	25
21		2	5	8	42	31
22		3	2	13	42	28
^a 27	26	40	14	5	3	
35		5	10	15	41	17

^areverse coded items

TABLE 7-Continued

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Segregation - Continued						
^a 36	9	45	20	10	4	
37		1		4	31	52
^a 38	30	41	10	4	1	1
39			1	4	25	58
40			1	6	29	52
42		1	3	4	32	48
44		6	17	16	37	12
^a 45		2	5	21	30	30
47		2	5	4	44	33
48	1	6	10	15	40	16
49		1	1	4	25	57
52	4	20	21	15	21	6
54		2	5	5	46	30
^a 57	26	43	14		2	2
^a 60	29	41	11	3	2	2
68			1	4	45	36

^areverse coded items

TABLE 7-Continued

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Personal Interracial Relationships						
12	1		2	6	38	41
^a 66	27	44	7	6	3	1
^a 70	20	53	5	2	3	3
Governmental Involvement						
16		2	4	4	37	41
Responses to Additional Statements in Survey #2						
^a 51-USA	5	15	17	13	14	12
52-Segregation		5	4	6	19	44
53-Jews	1		1	4	20	51
54-Welfare	1	1	6	8	25	37
^a 55-Government Involvement	25	32	11	4	3	3
56-Government Involvement	1	17	16	15	26	13
^a 57-Government Involvement	17	34	12	8	4	3
^a 58-Race Relations (from Black Power)	25	29	17	3	2	2
^a reverse coded items						

Of particular interest are changes in judgments about the ideology of black power. Table 8 compares responses to statement #33, dealing expressly with the concept.

TABLE 8
BLACK POWER STATEMENT

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
33	11 2	25 3	19 3	18 7	11 24	4 39

A complete reversal of sentiment can be discerned in responses to the statement. In other instances, although attitude movement can be perceived, it is possible to interpret results as, in part, an intensification of pre-existing sentiments. However, the categories of statements expressing exceedingly conservative and nationalistic attitudes - in which highest scores were produced on the first survey - experienced greatest reversals in responses.

Relationships among political attitudes and background variables have yet to be considered. The relationships were uniformly weak in both surveys, but certain background variables in certain categories of statements were more productive than others. Table 9 presents the correlations and chi-squares for relationships among summated attitudes in the first survey and all of the background variables utilized. Race has been excluded since all respondents were white.

TABLE 9
POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BACKGROUND VARIABLES -
AMOUNT OF CORRELATION IN ATTITUDE SURVEY #1

	Personal Racism	Segregation	Government Role	Anti- Semitism	Nationalism
Age	C=.185 $x^2=2.354$	C=.177 $x^2=2.584$	C=.153 $x^2=2.075$	C=.191 $x^2=2.471$	C=.256 $x^2=5.958$
Sex	C=.196 $x^2=2.785$	C=.180 $x^2=2.668$	C=.256 $x^2=6.032$	C=.215 $x^2=2.482$	C=.367 $x^2=13.231$
Religion	C=.384 $x^2=12.980$	C=.322 $x^2=9.228$	C=.357 $x^2=12.588$	C=.305 $x^2=6.646$	C=.368 $x^2=13.330$
Political Party	C=.425 $x^2=16.488$	C=.469 $x^2=22.619$	C=.476 $x^2=25.200$	C=.330 $x^2=7.960$	C=.384 $x^2=14.699$
Size of Hometown	C=.281 $x^2=6.422$	C=.246 $x^2=5.140$	C=.384 $x^2=14.917$	C=.298 $x^2=6.320$	C=.237 $x^2=5.039$
Social Class	C=.230 $x^2=4.205$	C=.355 $x^2=11.538$	C=.351 $x^2=12.067$	C=.437 $x^2=15.369$	C=.299 $x^2=8.346$
College Class	C=.414 $x^2=15.520$	C=.378 $x^2=13.300$	C=.365 $x^2=12.785$	C=.320 $x^2=7.439$	C=.227 $x^2=4.607$
Previous Exposure to Govern- ment Courses	C=.412 $x^2=15.335$	C=.463 $x^2=21.876$	C=.315 $x^2=12.104$	C=.343 $x^2=8.105$	C=.266 $x^2=6.448$

in general, religious and political party preferences proved to be the strongest background variables in the prediction of attitudes. These variables involve the greatest element of individual choice, however, and

can hardly be considered rigid, predisposing values in all instances. This is especially true in situations in which the choices of "none" or "other" have been exercised; such choices generally involve conscious breaks with past influences.

Indeed, movement within these categories, enhancing predictability, was evident in a comparison of survey data. Table 10 indicates the differences in self-descriptions prevailing in religious and political party affiliations.

TABLE 10
POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATIONS

	Republican	Democrat	American Independent	Other	None
Survey #1	23	40	4	2	19
Survey #2	14	27	7	1	29

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None
Survey #1	53	22	6	7	0
Survey #2	49	13	6	10	0

Those characterizing themselves as "other" or "none" tended to be most in disagreement with the attitudes being measured. Their scores were lowest on scales of racism, political orientations, and nationalism. As such, although correlations tended to be lower on the second survey for most variables, religious and political party preferences were not without predictability.

Jews tended to have lower scores than other religious groups; Catholics scored higher on racial questions than Protestants; Republicans and supporters of George C. Wallace's American Independent Party tended to be more conservative than Democrats. Other than these distinctions, controlling for the operation of variables was not fruitful. Table 11 indicates the highest correlations achieved; few other statements or variables were useful in analysis.

This is not to suggest that the structure of the course was the only variable responsible for attitude change. Other experiences intervening between the two surveys may well have been responsible for considerable attitude alteration; political turmoil during the spring quarter undoubtedly was a contributing factor in the development and crystallization of political attitudes. Of course, even if external factors were controlling, this would tend to support assertions both about the possibilities of attitude change among college students and the correspondingly diminished importance of background factors in predictions of their political attitudes. In any event, despite the strength of variables external to the experiment, it appears likely that the structure and content of the course were significant factors in the attitude change evident in the second survey.

TABLE 11
MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS - SURVEY #2
FOR SPECIFIC STATEMENTS

Statement Number	Religion	Political Party
3	.417	.449
4	.478	.450
5	.373	.459
6	.389	.408
12	.455	.483
14	.438	.392
15	.394	.478
17	.376	.459
18	.484	.553
20	.427	.385
25	.526	.514
27	.446	.496
28	.441	.433
29	.432	.489
30	.468	.520
31	.549	.630
34	.495	.502
36	.389	.430
37	.459	.557
42	.442	.520
47	.436	.460
51	.442	.531
56	.467	.454
57	.445	.504

All correlations significant by chi-square test.

Conclusion

There are a number of dangers and implications in the instructional approach outlined herein. One danger is inherent and has been alluded to earlier. Challenging deeply-held feelings can create explosive situations: a record album, in which anti-war songs are played, can anger - or sadden - students whose friends or relatives have suffered in Vietnam. Similarly, songs and films about racial problems may serve to elicit feelings of racial prejudice from students, with a resultant increase in classroom tensions.

Another problem relates to the aspect of social involvement. Students may find themselves involved in situations which could create considerable pressure on instructors. A student arrested in a demonstration, or harmed during an interview of residents of the community while on a course-related project, will undoubtedly involve his parents, simply by informing them of the reason for his activities. The repercussions for the instructor may be quite unpleasant.

Other conflicts with parents can also be envisaged. Education is inherently subversive of existing attitudes and values. The sort of educational experience described herein involves, above all, a questioning of authority, an incessant demand for evidence prior to the acceptance of data. Now, since students will have acquired many of their past attitudes from the family situation, the attitudes that they will now find challenged in the classroom may coincide with those of their parents. If, in the course of study, they reject their previously-held attitudes, the likelihood is that

they - and perhaps the instructor as well - will find themselves in conflict with their parents. The difficulties that may ensue for all concerned are among the factors instructors must consider before structuring their learning situations in such a manner. A related ethical choice is whether teachers ought to be willing to engage students in educational activities that may subvert the family relationship.

Outside pressures upon the teacher are equalled in importance by internal ones. Teachers who expect students to be open in the classroom must be receptive and honest themselves. Similarly, teachers who wish to inculcate attitudes of curiosity, skepticism and self-appraisal must cultivate these attitudes as well. Therefore, teachers who choose to challenge their students' attitudes, excitingly, must know their own attitudes, be willing to discuss them, and be able to change them. This involves a certain amount of self-knowledge, as well as ingredients of emotional stability, maturity and self-confidence. These qualities are especially important since teaching in such an emotional context can provide an authoritarian teacher with the opportunity to substitute dogma for the confusion that has been created.

There are, in short, elitist implications in the teaching style outlined herein that must be guarded against. There is a strong need for fairness in these teaching situations; when challenging and possibly uprooting attitudes of importance to the individual, the danger that one set of biases may simply be replaced by another - the instructor's - without the intervening process of critical appraisal is a serious one. Some teachers, and some students, may prefer producing agreement rather

than developing an inquisitive spirit involving examination of self and society.

Finally, teachers adopting this general orientation towards instruction in the social sciences must also avoid the temptation to measure success by attitude change. It is possible that many students in the foregoing study found their attitudes challenged, reexamined them, and ultimately reaffirmed them. The goal was to produce an examination of ideas that have been taken for granted, so that students will hold beliefs that they have tested. The design of the study, however, tested attitude change, rather than the acquisition of more general orientations towards learning.

This study does not contend that the attitude change produced in the results of the second survey has been of lasting effect. Moreover, tendencies of students to generalize from the specific statements contained in the surveys to related situations have not been measured. Finally, the ability or willingness of students to make their expressed attitudes identical with their patterns of behavior may be questioned. The study compared responses to two attitude surveys; considerable change was observed in the second survey. Such changes have been plausibly ascribed to intervening experiences, among them those undertaken in the curriculum for the second segment of the introductory course in American Government. However, difficulties in measuring the achievement of educational goals are inherent in their very definition. How does one operationalize curiosity; is it possible to authentically test human tendencies to be inquisitive and self-critical? It is, however, possible to test changes in specific attitudes;

an unmistakeable progression in attitudes can be discerned in comparing the results of responses to the two surveys. The implications for instructional practices are implicit, yet not impervious to critical debate. However, the development of more radical attitudes among students - particularly in the questions pertaining to black power, governmental involvements in social programs, and orientations towards America - indicates that the totality of intellectual and emotional experiences must be considered in studying attitude development.

CHAPTER IV
A SURVEY OF RADICAL ATTITUDES

Introductory Remarks

The preceding phases of this study were designed to serve a number of purposes relative to the socialization process of radicals. Theoretical reformulations provide linkages and foundations for interpretations about influences of importance that might otherwise appear disconnected. The perspective developed in existential psychology, for example, enables the analyst to anticipate that earliest experiences would be susceptible to later modification from a number of sources. Thus, the impulse to express political ideas through lyrics accompanied by music does not appear overly surprising. Similarly, the significance of situational factors in attitude development - a structured teaching environment, direct exposure to unfamiliar social conditions - does not stand out as theoretically anomalous. However, this study has not, thus far, sought to establish among radical students per se a direct correspondence between specific experiences and their own atypical orientations.

One means for testing hypotheses pertaining to radicalism and socialization involves the administration of an attitude instrument. A necessary step in the gathering of data was the identification of the subjects for analysis. Left-wing radical students were discriminated from the rest of the sample population through their self-political affiliations, and socio-political attitudes.

Methods and Procedures

The attitude survey was constructed from a variety of sources. Numerous statements on racism and civil rights were taken from the attitude surveys administered to the two government classes. The statements pertaining to black power were taken from several additional areas, however.

Statements 26, 111, 33, 37 and 35, for example, were derived from the following comments by Stokely Carmichael, in an early explanation of the meaning and intent of black power.

Integration. . . reinforces, among both black and white, the idea that 'white' is automatically better and 'black' is by definition inferior. This is why integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy.¹

The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC² today believes that blacks must organize in the black community.

They admonish blacks to be nonviolent; let them preach non-violence in the white community.³

The reality is that this nation, from top to bottom is racist; that racism is not primarily a problem of 'human relations' but of an exploitation maintained - either actively or through silence - by the society as a whole.⁴

We won't fight to save the present society, in Vietnam or anywhere else.⁵

¹Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want," The New York Review of Books, Sept. 22, 1966, p. 6.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Ibid., p. 8.

⁵Ibid.

James R. Scofield's quotation of H. Rap Brown is mirrored by statement 11.

You better get yourself some guns, baby; that's the only way you're going to get what you need. ¹

Scofield's own viewpoint about black power is reflected in statement 15.

If you cut through the loud rhetoric, the insufferably simplistic slogans, the tracts of pseudo-Left dialectics, the separatist manifestos of neo-Africans, and even the travesty of history and religion perpetrated by Black Muslims - in short, through all the various gospels according to everyone from Roy Wilkins to Eldridge Cleaver - a singular common goal emerges: Equality of opportunity. ²

A number of statements have been abstracted from the social and political thought of Eldridge Cleaver and from the Black Panther Party program. Among these were statements 28, 44, 88, 103, 110 and 111.

A lot of people don't know anything about the prison system. I think they make the same mistake looking at prison officials as they do with cops: they think that in some sense they are guardians of the law; that they're there to protect society, and everything they say is the truth; that there's nothing wrong with what they're into, and nothing wrong with what they're doing. ³

People look at the point in the Black Panther Party program that calls for freedom for all black men and women held in federal, state, county and municipal jails. They find it hard to accept that particular point. They can relate to running the police out of the community, but they say, 'Those people in those prisons committed crimes. They're convicted of crimes. How can you even talk about bringing

¹ James R. Scofield, "The Black Power Failure," Avant/Garde, March, 1969, p. 18.

² Ibid., pp. 19-20.

³ "Reprint of an Address by Eldridge Cleaver," Ramparts, Dec. 14, 1968, pp. 6-10.

them out? If you did get them out, would you, in the black community, take them and put them on trial and send them back again? I don't know how to deal with that. It's just no. No! ¹

There's a young brother over at Juvenile Hall...They've charged him with insurrection because the Black Students Union on that campus wants black history added to the curriculum. They want an environment created on their campus - not one that will teach black people how to be black, but one that will remove the restraints, so that they can just be themselves, and their blackness will automatically flourish. ²

Most of the statements pertaining to black power, the war in Vietnam, perceptions about the United States, the desirability for revolution and general political attitudes were extrapolated directly from the literature of the New Left. This was a particularly important technique in the arrangement of statements since the attitude survey does not pretend to be a general measure of "radicalism," due to the relative nature of the term. Rather the survey attempted to identify those individuals sharing perceptions enunciated by the New Left and determine the extent of certain attitudinal and behavioral correlations for them.

The literature of the New Left, embodied in essays, books, articles, underground newspapers and songs, contains a number of recurring themes that render such literature distinct. Identification of these themes makes possible the uncovering of the basic grievances and demands of the New Left; it also makes possible the discovery of the values underlying those

¹Ibid., p. 9

²Ibid., p. 10.

attitudes. Discussions of the New Left are widely available; however, attempts to categorize New Left attitudes and values have been inconsistent and largely intuitive. Few attempts appear to have been made to extrapolate these attitudes and values from the literature of the New Left itself. This attempt to pluck out underlying values and attitudes from the literature logically preceded construction of the attitude survey.

A number of statements, representative of basic political orientations of the New Left, were taken from leaflets and newsletters distributed by the FSU chapter of SDS. Among these were statements 1, 8, 9, 13, 17, 25, 30, 34, 42, 57, 59, 81, 84, 92, and 98.

Like the ruling class, the administration allows free speech only when it can control what is said. 1

The mass media is used by the ruling class to pacify the American people. By reaching a vast number of people through a limited number of sources, it can create an image of the world that is supportive of the system. To distract is to pacify; the mass media transforms reality into symbols that deaden social awareness. 2

It is a basic principle that at a certain point an oppressive government should be overthrown by the majority of the people. It follows that if the development of a subversive majority is blocked by organized repression and indoctrination it may be necessary to employ apparently undemocratic means so that genuine free speech may emerge. Thus, SDS has physically prevented recruiters from Dow Chemical, GE, the military and other oppressive institutions from coming onto campuses. Recently, President Marshall was heckled out of an SDS meeting on similar grounds - the man who had banned SDS, slandered SDS, and finally smashed an SDS meeting with bayoneted

¹Liberation #1, Journal of the Florida State University SDS, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2.

police, came and tried to abuse the liberal's position of free notion of free speech to co-opt SDS and legitimate his position.¹

Florida State University is run like all other big universities in America - at the expense of the public but in the interests of the corporations and the military.²

Big businessmen make all the major decisions about who is on the faculty and hence what gets taught. They give the administration its orders, and let the faculty make decisions only within the implicit guidelines they lay down. This is because in the past, the function of higher education was acquainting the sons and daughters of the ruling and middle classes with the habits and skills necessary for them to continue to rule and serve the empire.³

Collusion with the military finds its most obvious expressions in ROTC. ROTC is crucial to the war effort... Since SDS sides with the people oppressed by U.S. imperialism, it opposes agents of that oppression, like ROTC. ROTC does not deserve to exist at any campus because ROTC is nothing but war production for Vietnam, war production for counter-revolution in Latin America, war production for counter-revolution throughout the world... There is no right to suppress the great popular revolutions for national liberation that are taking place in the world, and that is why there is no right to manufacture the weapons of suppression.⁴

ROTC is essential to the smooth functioning of the American military in the pursuit of these policies in Vietnam and elsewhere.⁵

In a discussion of racism at the 98% table, one 98%er asserted that if a majority of FSU students favored a segregated university, then black students should be excluded from FSU... Accordingly, SDS considers the 'Silent Majority' (financial backers, organizers and sympathizers) politically ignorant at best and, at worst, deliberately deceitful, objectively reactionary and potentially fascist.⁶

¹Ibid, p. 2.

²Ibid, p. 3.

³Ibid, p. 3.

⁴"Why ROTC Is Important," SDS leaflet, 1969, p. 4.

⁵Liberation #3, p. 3, 1969.

⁶Liberation #4, p. 1, 1969.

It would be a simple matter to end the draft and establish a 'volunteer' army, if the primary purpose of the draft were to provide soldiers for the army. But this is not its purpose. It is designed to regulate and control the lives of American males from the ages of 18 to 26 (legally to 35) - seeing that they fit into the proper slots in the society. 1

IV. The University Power Structure

A. Discrimination in Companies Tied to Trustees...

B. Banks for Trust of University Funds...

G. The Board of Trustees - What is the extent of their real power in the university? Do they represent any interest other than big business, established politics and established religion? What conflicts of interest exist? 2

The attitude survey measures, therefore, radicalism at least partially according to the ideological orientations of the most radical organization with which FSU students have had direct contact. Since students have been most exposed to its form of radical thought, the survey measures the radical attitudes with which FSU students are most familiar and which have therefore had the greatest opportunity to acquire support from them.

In general, a content analysis of the literature of the New Left revealed that imperialism, racism, exploitation and the Vietnam war were dominant themes. Ambivalent attitudes persisted over the use of drugs, sexual behavior and the utility of developing a counter-culture. The FSU chapter of SDS's official position on the use of drugs is reflected in the following excerpt from the final section of the survey.

16...C. The taking of drugs is bad because it prevents the development of the discipline needed for the revolutionary struggle in which so many young and black Americans are now engaged.

¹"Hershey Tells It Like It Is," Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) leaflet, 1968.

²"A Campus Research Guide On Institutional Racism," SDS leaflet, 1969.

Similar ambivalence exists in attitudes towards student power within the university, the use of violence and the need for revolution. The SDS chapter at FSU rejected the concept of student power as insignificant and divisive. Their efforts were directed towards unity among workers and students for common ends in the larger society. SDS's ideological orientation involved a rejection of university issues as reflective of elitist tendencies in a capitalist society.

The only way the oppressed peoples can improve their situation is by organization and struggle...But there are obstacles...The primary obstacle to our unified struggle is racism in particular, and false consciousness in general...College students are taught to snobbishly look down upon workers; students are given many privileges to separate them from workers...if our struggle is to win, we must smash racism, smash false consciousness, and build a worker-student alliance. ¹

The need for revolution, and the willingness to employ violence when appropriate, were accepted by SDS. Their rejection of pacifism was reflected in their refusal to coalesce in the anti-war march into Tallahassee, for example.

The survey attempted to measure radicalism in a variety of ways. The Likert scale with which the survey begins attempts to categorize respondents according to their opinions about expressed attitudes. This is followed by a dichotomous set of statements measuring likelihood of approval of specific radical actions. These statements were extrapolated from Howard Zinn's Disobedience and Democracy: Nine Fallacies on Law and Order, in which he suggests alternative modes of political participation.²

¹"To the Laboring People of Tallahassee," SDS leaflet, 1969. See statements 61 and 95, which deal with these orientations.

²Howard Zinn, Disobedience and Democracy: Nine Fallacies on Law

The questions on alienation were largely taken from surveys administered by Dr. Gilbert Abcarian of Florida State University. Similarly, numerous items eliciting information about extent of political activity and personal background were incorporated from surveys administered at Florida State University, including those of Mr. Larry Stern and Mr. John F. Whitney, Jr. Many of these questions and items were subjected to modification, and additional supplements to the attitude and background items were independently made. All references to cultural, literary and non-political items were independently constructed. Statements measuring extent of drug use and attitudes toward the use of drugs emerged from a consideration of the literature of radicalism in this area. The Hippie Trip was especially influential in the construction of this segment of the survey.¹ The Politics and Anti-Politics of The Young contained a statement, by a resident of a hippie commune, that was also incorporated.²

Not all New Left statements were drawn from local origins, however. Tendencies to agree with so basic a tenet in New Left philosophy as participatory democracy, for example, were measured through a statement

and Order, pp. 109-113.

¹Lewis Yablonsky, The Hippie Trip (New York: Pegasus, 1968). His survey on pp. 342-343 was particularly helpful; statements 16a and 16b in the final section were drawn from the "psychedelic creed" found on p. 57.

²Michael Brown (ed.), The Politics and Anti-Politics of The Young (Beverly Hills, Calif: Glencoe Press, 1969), p. 87. The survey statement is 37.

drawn from Carl Oglesby's writing.¹ Oglesby is former President of the national chapter of SDS. Negative perceptions were drawn from, among other sources, George Kennan's Democracy and The Student Left.²

Several conservative statements measuring radicalism of the extreme right were included in the survey. It was anticipated that the inclusion of such statements would permit a testing of the interchangeability hypothesis offered by Eric Hoffer.³ This hypothesis states essentially that radicals of either extreme orientation are drawn to such postures because of their own psychological needs. The merit of the position espoused is secondary in importance; a radical mass movement of either orientation can serve identical functional needs.

Insight Broward, a right-wing newsletter distributed in south Florida, was particularly useful in the construction of statements enabling the identification of radicals of the extreme right. The following quotations are reflected in survey statements 10, 19, 64, 68, 69, 75, 78, 86 and 87.

Our new President's statements and actions clearly indicate that NIXON IS A LEFT-WING ULTRA-LIBERAL. 4

¹Carl Oglesby and Richard Shaul, Containment and Change (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 164. The corresponding survey statement is number 83.

²Kennan, op. cit., p. 10, for example, should be compared with statement 74.

³Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: Mentor Books, 1951).

⁴Insight Brower, March, 1969, p. 1.

There is little satisfaction in saying 'I told you so', only disappointment and disgust that America faces another four years of treacherous Left-Wing leadership, directed by the same entrenched power bloc that has controlled our government for the past 35 years. 1

Here's a GOP mindbender... Spiro Agnew made several speeches in which he mentioned federal reports that proved the current wave of 'student protests' are planned and directed by various Communist-front groups... After meeting with Nixon, Agnew abruptly dropped the Communist influence theme. When questioned about it, Agnew said:

'The Communist subject has been emphasized too much - Let's just drop the Communist thing and put it to bed.'

The reference to bedtime leaves no doubt about who Agnew's started sleeping with... 2

The Reds who are placed in the universities should feel right at home among the fanatic Leftys who now infest almost every college faculty. 3

Martin Luther King was a top man in the Communist movement . . . Secretary of State Dean Rusk is affiliated with a Soviet Espionage Organization! . . . The records indicate Dean Rusk has been a Communist collaborator throughout his adult life. 4

The FACTS exposed by IB regarding the Communist activities of King and his top henchmen, like Ralph Abernathy and Bayard Rustin, have NEVER been mentioned by any of the supposedly "Factual" and "unbiased" national news media. 5

The attitude questionnaire was administered to students at Florida State University in May and June, 1969. No effort was made to achieve absolute randomness in the population sample. This was unnecessary since the survey does not in any sense purport to be representative of the attitudes of the students or the larger university community. Rather,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 5.

³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴ Ibid., Feb., 1969, p. 1.

⁵ Ibid., March, 1969, p. 23.

an attempt was made to elicit responses from radical students, among demonstrators and members of SDS. This effort was somewhat complicated by a reluctance of many students to participate in such a survey. Motivations included anxieties about its ultimate uses and applications, not unrelated to the setting in which survey administration occurred; in addition, many students made vocal a deep aversion to the statistical analysis of human beings for any purpose.

Members of non-radical organizations, including fraternities and sororities, were also surveyed. In addition, unaffiliated students residing in several dormitories were contacted. The intent was to obtain non-radical responses for comparative purposes. Of the nearly 650 surveys distributed, 287 were returned; of these, 266 were utilized in analysis. Considering the length of the survey, its voluntary character, and its being completed apart from a classroom setting, such a rate of response was quite satisfactory. All statistical analysis of coded responses was completed through user-written programs and modification of routines contained in the IBM Scientific Sub-routine Package.

Setting

The campus atmosphere at Florida State University during the period when the questionnaire was distributed and completed was one factor influencing responses that should merit consideration. It becomes evident, when reviewing questions pertaining to repression, university conditions and particularly the influence of specific situations upon the respondent's political attitudes, that the events at Florida State University (FSU) that

both preceded and corresponded with the period of survey administration contributed enormously to the responses elicited. It may be argued that conditions at Florida State University during the spring of 1969 merely reinforced pre-existing perceptions, attitudes and patterns of behavior. Persuasive evidence supports the contention, however, that university protests are most influential both in radicalizing specific segments of the student population and in raising the level of political awareness among the entire university community.¹ The frequent references among respondents, both radical and non-radical, to specific conflicts on the Florida State University campus - including, in some instances, their participation in them - makes mandatory a brief review of the general university political background at the time of survey administration.

The spring of 1968 served to foreshadow much of the conflict experienced during the spring, 1969 quarter. In 1968, the President of the university, John Champion, personally intervened to suppress publication of a story in The Legend, a university journal. Champion's judgment, based upon his determination that the story was obscene, overruled the faculty and student committees charged with the responsibilities of review. His action produced a wave of protest among both faculty and students; the student government, the student newspaper, The Flambeau, and the Faculty Council publicly opposed his action, while residents of Tallahassee, the sole local newspaper, The

¹Urban Research Corporation, op. cit.

Tallahassee Democrat, and state officials tended to support Dr. Champion. The controversy over censorship led to direct-action protests by students, who slept on the lawn in front of Wescott Hall, the university administration building. Another group of students, led by Kim Hammond, a key member of the university football team, held a brief rally in support of Champion, citing both his experience and position as well as their gratitude for the privilege of obtaining a college education. The division within the campus, between more liberal members of the university faculty and student protestors, on the one hand, and more conservative students and faculty, was complemented by a rift between the university and the local community. The appearance of these divisions marked the beginning of a pattern that remained relatively constant throughout the demonstrations of the following spring.

During 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) applied for recognition as a student group at FSU. Since SDS had satisfied all university regulations, the student government recommended that they be chartered, which would have entitled SDS to organize and hold meetings utilizing FSU facilities. The university administration argued that SDS, as a group supporting violent revolution, had forfeited its right to exist as a recognized FSU organization, that the administration had the obligation to protect both society and the university community from any group advocating such ends, and that recognition would imply to the public the university's approval of SDS's objectives.

The administration's refusal to recognize SDS had two effects. First, support for SDS was increased among non-radical students and faculty who, maintaining the traditional libertarian position, argued that all groups should have the right to exist on the campus, that recognition of this right did not imply approval of any organization's goals, and that the legitimate way to counter a subversive organization's ideology was through reasoned argument rather than repressive measures. Secondly, the refusal of SDS to abide by the administration's decision led to an intensified reappearance of the university and community divisions that had existed during the dispute over censorship. The controversy simmered, with SDS continuing to hold unofficial meetings and rallies, until the evening of March 4. On that date, SDS decided to hold a meeting in the Student Union to hear a speech by a national SDS secretary visiting southern universities. The administration refused to permit the organization to hold a meeting in a university building; when SDS persisted in its effort to hold the meeting, city police, supported both by campus police and the hurriedly mobilized Leon County guard, acting on orders from Sheriff Raymond Hamlin and Acting President J. Stanley Marshall¹ arrested 58 students.

The arrests and the mobilization of the guard were particularly divisive events. The presence of the guard, armed with fixed bayonets, aroused and disturbed those who perceived an excessive reaction to

¹Marshall had succeeded Dr. Champion, who had resigned in the fall.

SDS's activity. The university administration justified its response, citing the intended meeting as a violation of an injunction against use of university property by the organization.

The conflict over non-recognition of SDS, the armed incursion onto the campus, and the human problems of bail and trial for the 58 persons arrested made an atmosphere of tension and political crisis inevitable. However, the controversy surrounding SDS and the administration did not surface again until the middle of May, when campus political problems were abruptly intensified. On the afternoon of May 13, Phil Sanford, a former FSU student who had not registered for courses during the spring quarter, was arrested on charges of trespass while engaged in a political discussion with students in the university's Union Arcade. Sanford, an exchange student from Australia and a leading member of the FSU chapter of SDS, was arrested on a charge applicable to non-students. This was a category in which, owing to his non-registration during the spring quarter, the administration contended that he properly belonged.

The administration charged that Sanford had disrupted the armed forces recruiting table; defenders of Sanford contended that he was a student, having filed an application to register for courses during the summer quarter, that the trespass charge was therefore inapplicable, and that, in any case, non-students frequent the campus at all times without hindrance by the trespass statute. SDS maintained that Sanford had been arrested solely for his political views, that the persons with whom he had been arguing had not been arrested, and that the university had again engaged in a repressive act against SDS. The May 14 issue of The Flambeau contained

a statement by the armed forces recruiter that no persons had disrupted or otherwise interfered with his recruiting activities.

Disputation over discrepancies among SDS, newspaper and administration versions of the incident was a divisive factor during the entire dispute. On May 14, additional arrests, charges and counter-claims further clouded the situation. Two students, members of SDS, were arrested on two charges each of obscenity, allegedly committed during the events surrounding Sanford's arrest the preceding day. Sanford, who had been released on bail, was rearrested on further charges tendered by the university administration. These were disorderly conduct and obscenity, committed in connection with the May 13 discussion. During his rearrest, another student and SDS member was arrested on charges of interference with a police officer. Further actions by the administrative authorities included the suspension of three students, all members of SDS, on the grounds that they had been disruptive in verbally protesting Sanford's arrest. In addition, one of the suspended students was charged with "advocating" the disruption of the armed service recruiting tables.

The suspension of students, in violation of campus rules of procedure, jurisdiction, and due process, led to the suspension of the FSU Supreme Court, Honor Court, and all dormitory courts and house councils by the leading official of the university's student court system.¹ Although the Student Conduct Committee upheld the suspensions, the

¹"Taft: Can No Longer Guarantee Rights," The Flambeau, May 20, 1969, p. 1.

university appeals committee overturned the suspensions on May 20, leading to a reactivation of the student court system and an order that hearings on the merits of each case be held.¹

SDS responses to these actions involved attempts to involve as many students as possible in protests against alleged university repression. To this end, SDS held daily rallies on Landis Green that were widely attended. Leaflets were circulated around the campus containing SDS's factual account of the disputed incidents and larger interpretations of the causes and motivations for the university's actions. SDS claimed that the university's actions represented one facet of a national campaign against radical student organizations. SDS, in its newsletters and leaflets and at the rallies, conceived of the university's actions as an opportunity for raising the level of political consciousness among the students. Thus, SDS efforts at the rallies concentrated on SDS's analysis of the relationships among the university, the government, racism, imperialism, and capitalism; repression of SDS, its speakers argued, was not a civil libertarian issue but a political issue, since SDS had been identified as a target on campus and in the nation for political reasons. SDS held "liberation schools" that included among its topics Marxism, revolution, the distribution of economic wealth and power in America, imperialism, the role of ROTC, racism, and the women's liberation movement.²

¹Gary Smith, "Students' Suspensions Lifted," The Flambeau, May 21, 1969, p. 1.

²SDS leaflet, "SDS Liberation School - Landis Lawn."

On May 15, a list of four demands was presented to Acting President Marshall.

1. an immediate end to repression of those who speak out on campus
2. that the charges against the arrested students be dropped immediately
3. that the suspensions of the suspended students be dropped immediately
4. that the university blacklist immediately be abolished.¹

Marshall's response was that he had acted properly to protect the university; he further maintained that when the students were in full possession of the facts, they would recognize that his response had been appropriate. However, neither this response nor his subsequent written explanation served to ease tensions.² Students held an all-night vigil on the lawn in front of the health center, in which Marshall's office was located; as part of SDS's program of political education, movies of the French student rebellion and the dispute in New York City over school decentralization were shown, with accompanying analyses by SDS leaders. The vigil was dispersed during the early hours of the morning of May 16 when Marshall, supported by campus police and fifty-two county guardsmen, ordered the students to leave or face suspension and arrest.³ A ban on further demonstrations on the grounds in front of the health center was briefly circumvented when a "sick-in," proposed during a rally in Moore

¹ SDS leaflet, "What's Going On Here?"

² J. Stanley Marshall, "Statement by Acting President J. Stanley Marshall, May 19, 1969," The Flambeau, May 20, 1969.

³ Sam Miller, "Marshall Defines Freedom: Defend Week's Activities," The Flambeau, May 20, 1969.

Auditorium, led to a short invasion of the ground floor of the health center by students. Surrounding these circumstances was the announcement of another arrest for the use of obscene and profane language during the incident at the Union Arcade.

The widening circle of involvement, crucial in terms of an analysis of the wide politicization and radicalization of students that affected survey groups other than SDS and the administration. The Committee Against Repression (CARE) was created to serve as a broad framework for participation by students who, though not necessarily sympathetic to SDS, shared a concern over the use of police warrants, the occupation of the campus by outside police, and a general atmosphere of repression attributed to administration actions. The Committee for Immediate Action (CIA) formed in protest against repression of SDS earlier in the year. CIA charged that CARE was being utilized both for purposes of political indoctrination and to provoke confrontations with university officials; it was charged that SDS members had urged that requests for permission to use Landis Green for rallies and vigils be withdrawn, that the area might be used illegally.¹

A number of departmental groups involving both graduate students and faculty condemned the arrests and suspensions of students and urged that Marshall be compelled to resign. The Student Senate voted to censure

¹"CIA Breaks with CARE; Cites SDS Take-Over," The Flambeau, May 19, 1969, p. 2; "Editor's Note," The Flambeau, May 22, 1969, p. 4.

Marshall for his actions.¹ The Faculty Senate, on May 22, by a secret ballot, passed a resolution urging that the selection of a permanent university president be made from among candidates from outside the university. However, the resolution failed to obtain the requisite number of votes in a roll-call vote.² The President of the student government, in a speech reprinted in The Flambeau on May 23, maintained that

There has been little or no apparent effort to resolve conflict either through rational dialogue or through the university's own student-faculty process. On the contrary, internal processes have been by-passed. There are repeated evidences of guilt until proven innocent. There seems to be no feeling of the spirit of the law - only its convenient technicalities. This has created distrust and dissention which can easily lead to acts of violence and disruption - actions which we have yet to experience at Florida State. . . . The president must respect and in turn be respected by his university. J. Stanley Marshall does not command that respect. I do not think he can. ³

The Flambeau, in an editorial, condemned both Marshall and SDS for disturbances.⁴ The argument that SDS and the administration were jointly responsible for disorders was not uncommon. As such, more moderate alternatives - CARE, CIA, student government, the Faculty Action Caucus (FAC) - attempted sporadically to mobilize university opinion. FAC objectives were set forth in the following statement.

¹"Senate Censures Marshall," The Flambeau, May 22, 1969, p. 1.

²"Senate Passes, Nixes Marshall Censure," Bill Hampton, The Flambeau, May 23, 1969, p. 1; "Heated Reaction on Both Sides," op. cit.

³"Presidential Memo," Canter Brown, The Flambeau, May 21, 1969, p. 4.

⁴"A Case of Caution," The Flambeau, p. 4.

To present a rational and objective picture of university events to interested public officials and citizens.

To demonstrate to frustrated students that they are not the only ones interested in academic freedom and concerned about legal harassment.

To provide a forum for wide and meaningful dialogue between faculty and students on subjects of mutual concern.

To help provide a rational, constructive program for reform within this university so that its academic picture improves in an atmosphere of calm collaboration by all its members. 1

Another group, the Silent Majority, claiming to represent 93% of the students - allegedly those students who did not engage in demonstrations or protests - circulated petitions that supported Marshall while urging unspecified peaceful change on the university.² The group was attacked because of its financial backing by local business groups; further, SDS charged that it represented an attempt by authorities to attempt to manipulate students in order to further the candidacy of Marshall for appointment as permanent President of the university. The spokesman for the Silent Majority maintained that the university channels could be utilized to effect peaceful, orderly change. The Silent Majority petition drive gathered over 6,000 signatures, 75% of which were students; these petitions were presented simultaneously to Governor Kirk, state legislators, university presidents from across Florida, and members of the Board of Regents of the state university system.³

¹"FAC Lists Objectives For Their Organization," The Flambeau, May 28, 1969, p. 1.

²The Silent Majority, "Fellow Students."

³"Silent Majority Calls Press Conference," The Flambeau, May 19, 1969, p. 1; Tallahassee Democrat, May 31, 1969, p. 5.

The response among state legislators was strong and unified. A bill to eliminate tenure in the state university system, to facilitate the dismissal of "undesirable" professors, received strong vocal support in the state Senate.¹ The bill received twenty-three signatures from members of that body, responding both to campus demonstrations and the indecisive actions of the FSU faculty senate. The Chancellor of the university system and the FSU faculty voiced objections to the measure, which was subsequently permitted to expire.²

On May 20, approximately 600 students marched to the Capitol to present the four demands to Gov. Kirk. Kirk refused to meet with the group and the marchers refused, in turn, to designate any representative to meet with Kirk.³ During the rally, Sanford's wife and another SDS member, Rita Reiss, circulated through the group raising bail money. Although no police objections were voiced at the time, Reiss and Sanford were arrested after leaving the rally, on the way to a bank to deposit the funds. The bail money that had been collected, approximately \$94.00, was confiscated by the police for use as evidence.

Numerous other acts of harrassment were claimed by SDS during this period. Mrs. Sanford was arrested because one of her checks had been

¹"Legislators Attack Faculty Senate," The Flambeau, March 19, 1969, p. 1; Tallahassee Democrat, May 31, 1969, p. 6.

²David Morrill, "Proposed Legislation on Tenure Denounced," The Flambeau, May 26, 1969, p. 1.

³Ken Jones, "Marchers Make Demands At Capitol," The Flambeau, May 21, 1969, p. 1.

rejected by a bank for insufficient funds. Another student, John Madsen, was arrested on a 10-day-old traffic violation; his bail was set at \$50.00. SDS further charged that local ordinances had been applied to their bookstore, Praxis, in a repressive and discriminatory manner. A city ordinance required that bookstores selling communist literature post a public notice and obtain a license; SDS claimed that only Praxis, among local bookstores, had been required to comply with the regulation.¹

SDS also maintained that two radical members of the faculty had been suspended and that other faculty and teaching assistants were not being rehired. One of the identified faculty, Prof. Fine, was arrested on a charge of drunken driving, which was later dismissed. SDS also charged that wiretapping, police surveillance, police questioning and the use of "John Doe" warrants for search and/or arrests had established an atmosphere of police repression on the campus, instigated and condoned by Marshall, the Board of Regents, and the state and federal governments.²

On May 25, the Faculty Action Caucus, in conjunction with CARE, proposed four demands at a rally on Bryan lawn.

- An immediate end of suppression to those who speak out on campus. Cease the use of suspensions as a policy of harrassment.
- drop charges against those arrested.
- abolish black list.
- clarification of the so-called clerical error in the Administration's denial to allow Sanford to reenter the University.³

¹SDS, "Continued."

²SDS, "University Freedom Report"; "Summary of Events," The Flambeau, May 19, 1969, p. 1; Mike Bane, "Care Schedules Teach-In," The Flambeau, May 19, 1969, p. 1.

³"CARE and FAC Outline Objectives," The Flambeau, May 26, 1969, p.1.

Bryan lawn, in front of the administration building, became the meeting area when meetings and all-night vigils on Landis Green were ignored by university officials.¹ On May 25, two letters to Phil Sanford, from the Office of the Registrar, were publicly released. The first letter, dated May 6, informed Sanford of his readmission to FSU for the summer quarter; the second letter, dated May 16, advised Sanford that, due to a clerical error, he had not been readmitted. His application remained under review.

The protests and vigils ended almost as abruptly as they had begun. Their inability to produce substantive results generated feelings of frustration and futility that were one factor in the diminution of student participation. During the first week in June, trial and sentencing occurred over the events of March 4. The Flambeau published pictures taken during the arrest of Sanford during the March 4 incident, indicating that he had neither resisted arrest nor engaged in disorderly behavior. These pictures directly contradicted the subsequent trial testimony given by the campus police about Sanford's behavior. In spite of the photographic evidence, Sanford was convicted by a jury of local citizenry on two charges.

Sanford was convicted after (and because) prosecutor Rudd asked the jury to regard Sanford as a symbol of student unrest. The pre-sentencing officer, George Wood, interviewed Marshall, Tanner and others hostile to Sanford, before making his recommendations. Jude Gwynn, on sentencing Sanford, made the following observations: (1) Sanford is part of an international conspiracy; (2) he was sent to Tallahassee (presumably by said

¹"Students Camp Undisturbed At Bryan," The Flambeau, May 23, 1969, p. 1.

conspiracy) because this is the capital of Florida; and (3) Marshall and the pre-sentencing board has recommended the maximum sentence. 1

SDS initially urged students and faculty to support an ACLU appeal of Sanford's conviction.² However, Sanford agreed to cease all appeals, in return for release from prison, a dropping of charges, and deportation. Mrs. Sanford maintained that their deportations were an act of political repression.

We haven't killed or robbed or done anything to hurt people... All we've done is speak. 3

On June 12, Sanford and his wife were deported from the United States. Sanford's admission to the United States had been based upon his position as an exchange student; his deportation was required, according to immigration authorities, by his failure to maintain his status as a registered student at the university.⁴ The deportation of Sanford, final exams and the end of the spring quarter brought the protests to an end. The final action of the quarter was a sparsely attended anti-war rally, involving a march of students in to Tallahassee; SDS did not participate

¹ SDS, "Sanford's Innocence."

² Ibid.

³ 'Coonie' - 'All We've Done Is Speak,' St. Petersburg Times, June 12, 1969, p. 2-b.

⁴ "Sanford To Be Deported," St. Petersburg Times, June 11, 1969; Martin Waldron, "Activist Student at Florida State Faces Deportation," The New York Times, June 1, 1969; "Militant Exchange Student, Wife, Depart Tallahassee For Deportation Journey," St.

in the march as an organization because it disagreed with the underlying rationale.

We are not opposed to all wars! We support wars of liberation and therefore we support the armed struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and capitalist exploitation...

We don't want 'peace' in Viet Nam unless it is a victorious peace for the PEOPLE of Viet Nam against U.S. imperialism and capitalist exploitation... We feel it is time for 'peace' marches to take an anti-imperialist stand instead of an anti-war stand. ¹

Hypotheses

One of the purposes guiding construction of the attitude instrument was to test various perceptions about political behavior, attitude formation, and the character of the radicalization process. Descriptions of radicals - in terms of dress, sexual behavior, drug use, political activity - were also tested. In large measure, however, the survey attempted to test the theoretical perspectives underlying the various descriptions. One such perspective is alienation theory.

The concept of alienation has both literary and sociological origins. Its intellectual history is interesting, for the behavioral revolution has left its impact upon it. The concept has been rigorously defined, and specific attitudinal and behavioral correlates have been developed.² In short,

Petersburg Times, June 13, 1969, p. 1-b.

¹ SDS, "Anti-War...No! Wars of Liberation...Yes!"

² Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (1959), pp. 783-791.

alienation has been made operational; imputations of alienation can thus be tested and either verified or disproven. As such, the concept has had utility in psychological and sociological research; in political science, however, its application has been limited,¹ and references to feelings of alienation are often imprecise and impressionistic.

Alienation has relevance to a study of non-modal political orientations. One of the first problems in such an inquiry is to establish the content of those orientations in the subjects; the existence of feelings of alienation, in any of its several dimensions, can be highly useful in this effort. Use of the concept can help to clarify what is involved, in specific attitudinal and behavioral terms, in arriving at particular political and social orientations. Current descriptions of radicals conflict, for example, on the nature and degree of alienation among activists and hippies; in part, the two groups are distinguished on the basis of extent and character of alienation.² Alienation theory also has relevance to an effort to utilize psychological perspectives in political analysis. Whether certain personality "types" tend to be alienated, and to hold certain political views, is one type of question that linkages between alienation and socialization theory can answer. A more significant problem, perhaps, is whether certain experiences and relationships involved in the development of the personality

¹Gilbert Abcarian and S.M. Stanage, "Alienation and the Radical Right," Journal of Politics, Vol. 27 (1965), pp. 776-796; Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965).

²Kenneth Keniston, Young Radicals (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), pp. 297-342.

correlate with later feelings of alienation, and whether further correlations exist between these experiences and feelings, on the one hand, and political attitudes and predispositions, on the other.

As used in the construction and analysis of this attitude instrument, the concept of alienation shall be employed in a multi-dimensional fashion.¹ These dimensions relate to individual expectations; use of this theoretical framework, therefore, does not imply any judgment upon the objective accuracy of the feelings under scrutiny. Furthermore, the framework does not require the individual to be consciously aware of his alienation. Thus, for example, an individual who would be loathe to reply affirmatively to the

¹Much of the foregoing discussion can be related to the development of the concept of alienation by the following authors. J. Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review 26, Oct., 1961, pp. 758-777; D. J. Bordwa and R. H. Simers, "Reply and Rejoinder," American Sociological Review 27, June, 1962, p. 416; D. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review 26, Oct., 1961, pp. 753-758; Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review 22, Dec., 1957, pp. 670-677; M. E. Olsen, "Alienation and Political Opinion," Public Opinion Quarterly 29, Summer, 1965, pp. 200-212; Arnold M. Rose, "Alienation and Participation; a Comparison of Group Leaders and the Mass," American Sociological Review 27, Dec., 1962, pp. 834-838; Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review 24, Dec., 1959, pp. 783-791; C. Browning et al, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review 26, Oct., 1961, pp. 780-781; M. Seeman, "Reply to Whittier College Group," American Sociological Review 26, Oct., 1961, p. 701; Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces 38, March, 1960, pp. 185-189; Kenneth Keniston, "Alienation and the Decline of Utopia," American Scholar 29, Spring, 1960, pp. 161-200; W. E. Thompson and J. E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," Social Forces 38, March, 1960, pp. 190-195; Gilbert Abcarian and Stanley M. Stange, "Alienation and the Radical Right," Journal of Politics 27, Nov., 1965, pp. 776-796; William M. Gerson, "Alienation in Mass Society: Some Causes and Responses," Society and Social Research 49, Jan., 1965, pp. 143-152.

question "Do you feel that decisions are being made over which you have no control?" may yet unmistakably display feelings of powerlessness in his beliefs and practices.

Powerlessness is one of the several dimensions found in the alienation approach to social attitudes. An individual so categorized would tend to express or indicate feelings of political futility. The individual feels a minimal ability to have an impact upon those in authority making socially binding decisions.

A second dimension of alienation may be termed meaninglessness. This orientation may be said to exist when an individual is excessively confused about the purpose of his life. Events appear random, chaotic, irrational; as an individual, he is unable to perceive a meaningful role for himself in such an environment. Feelings of meaninglessness, then, embrace attitudes regarding the self and the environment. The inability to arrive at a satisfying relationship between self and environment is central in feelings of alienation.

A third dimension of alienation is normlessness. Normlessness possesses two interrelated concepts. On the one hand, the individual feels that society and the individuals in it are no longer committed to any norms. The moral structure of society is perceived to be crumbling about the individual; in such an environment, those who break society's expressed norms are rewarded. Such perceptions may be related, consciously or unconsciously, to an internal breakdown of norms. The individual himself is no longer certain about the validity of the expressed norms of society; his own values, then, may be lacking certitude.

A fourth dimension of alienation may be termed social isolation. The individual exhibits feelings of exclusion from his society and culture; he is a stranger to his social environment. His values are not those that society typically rewards. The individual feels deprived of opportunities for meaningful social contact. Social situations are perceived as personally threatening, containing penalties and punishments that may be produced by his behavior.

Logical relationships can be perceived among these several dimensions. Indeed, an additional category, bringing together several of these analytically distinctive forms making special reference to university circumstances, was included in the survey. It was anticipated that the different alienation measures would be positively related to each other. To some extent, survey results were designed to test whether forms of alienation act interrelatedly, as a syndrome, or in a set of discrete components appearing separately in individuals.

In addition to testing the utility of alienation theory in a study of radical attitudes, the survey attempted to examine theoretical approaches discussed earlier. Thus, an effort was made to illuminate relationships between cultural interests and political predispositions. The general notion of political opinion leaders among cultural figures was explored; the identification of influentials by radical and non-radical respondents was also sought.

The eliciting of responses pertaining to politically influential cultural involvements attempted to determine if empirical support existed

for contentions about the importance of such indirectly political materials for political analysis. A further empirical elaboration of the existential approach involved an open-ended question about specific situations deemed important by the respondent in the acquisition of his political attitudes. Other relationships, among social attitudes and behavior patterns, were tested, in an effort to penetrate the life experiences of the individuals under observation as much as possible.

A specific hypothesis was that left-wing radicals would be clearly distinguishable from those in other political categories along all dimensions. It was not anticipated that radicals would be interchangeable with those in any other group. Indeed, individual differences in perceptions and experiences were not excluded by the categorization of responses necessary to statistical analysis.

The following hypotheses were corollaries to the preceding one. It was anticipated that political socialization functions would be performed by non-political personalities and instrumentalities. It was further hypothesized that both radical and non-radical students would tend to look to these non-political sources for criteria for validating their political judgments. The criteria and sources were expected to differ in content. Radical students, in other words, have different artistic opinion leaders than non-radical students. Moreover, a preliminary assertion was that radical students would more frequently refer to non-political sources as significant political elements than non-radical students.

It was assumed that radical students would tend to be more alienated, in all of that concept's dimensions, than non-radical students. In other

words, it was proposed that a high measure of association would be found between alienation and radicalism scores. It was also assumed that radicals would be distinguishable in terms of their political interest and participation from non-radicals. Radical life experiences were also expected to differ significantly from those of non-radicals. Religious affiliations, experimentation with drugs, sexual activities, and degree of remoteness from parental figures were among the primary areas of difference anticipated between radicals and non-radicals. Other background features, such as social class, parental education, and income, were expected to be less useful for more radical students.

Analysis of Data

Political Attitudes and Survey Validity

One of the primary analytical tasks in the assessment of data pertains to the validity of the scale employed. The Likert scale statements present in the beginning of the survey of attitudes were analyzed in a dual manner. The individual items were analyzed in relation to each other, to determine the extent to which allegedly related statements tended to vary together.¹ Secondly, the sums of responses to the seven categories of statements were related both to other measures and variables and to individual statements, to determine the extent to which common political orientations transcended the

¹As a result of ambiguities and misprints, responses to statements 35, 41, 56 and 102 were excluded from consideration.

analytical categories. Relationships between individual statements and summated responses also aided in the determination of those atypical items that apparently measured attitudes other than those sought.

Tables 12 through 18 demonstrate the extent of relationships among the seven categories of statements. The high multiple correlations when attitudes towards the United States is utilized as the dependent variable indicates the extent to which such attitudes can serve to predict other political attitudes measured by the survey. The measures, in short, tend to vary together. Particularly high measures of association, enhancing predictability, exist among statements pertaining to the United States, the war in Vietnam, black power, ideological extracts from New Left literature, and more general political orientations. Similarly high multiple correlation coefficients appear when each of these categories is utilized as the dependent variable.

The figures when summated attitudes towards black power is made dependent merit further examination. Virtually 80% of the variation in responses may be predicted, or explained, through comparison with other scale measures. Individual correlation figures indicate, however, that a similarly high measure of predictability can be attained through the employment of only one of the measures. The extent to which attitudes towards the New Left and black power vary together, indicated in Table 16, is significant since statements included in those categories emerged from related aspects of radical literature. Tendencies to express sympathy for or disagreement with ideological formulations by both black power and New Left organizations

TABLE 12
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER MEASURES
OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Mean	Standard Deviation	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	32.17293	11.06987	0.51047	-1.02970
3	9.21804	5.22517	0.52808	2.26510
4	22.73683	7.40198	0.76275	2.75276
5	61.61653	17.74881	0.72761	-0.76480
6	122.60150	36.43625	0.73350	2.65171
7	127.24060	35.53770	0.79887	5.86792
8	15.68797	3.65858	0.71134	2.49821

Dependent is 1

19.41353 6.12950

Multiple Correlation is 0.85176; F Value is 47.38341

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
 - 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = General Political Attitudes
 - 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience
-

TABLE 13
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ATTITUDES TOWARDS
CIVIL RIGHTS AND OTHER MEASURES
OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.51047	-1.02967
3	0.61956	5.16302
4	0.59242	0.55105
5	0.57608	2.49374
6	0.75448	8.68904
7	0.46274	-3.24225
8	0.52347	1.06214

Dependent is 2

Multiple Correlation is 0.80361; F Value is 32.68600

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
 - 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = General Political Attitudes
 - 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience
-

TABLE 14
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG RACIAL ATTITUDES AND
OTHER MEASURES OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.52808	2.26511
2	0.61956	5.16303
4	0.54434	0.96522
5	0.51033	0.74962
6	0.60506	0.78665
7	0.46022	-0.98263
8	0.46844	-0.13714

Dependent is 3

Multiple Correlation is 0.68686; F Value is 16.01277

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
 - 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = General Political Attitudes
 - 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience
-

TABLE 15
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE
VIETNAM WAR AND OTHER MEASURES
OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.76275	2.75273
2	0.59242	0.55096
3	0.54434	0.96519
5	0.71434	-1.89705
6	0.80321	6.00242
7	0.77171	4.17868
8	0.72488	2.46398

Dependent is 4

Multiple Correlation is 0.86817; F Value is 54.86646

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards United States of America
- 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
- 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
- 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
- 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
- 6 = General Political Attitudes
- 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
- 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience

TABLE 16
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG BLACK POWER ATTITUDES
AND OTHER MEASURES OF
POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.72761	-0.76479
2	0.57608	2.49361
3	0.51033	0.74958
4	0.71434	-1.89705
6	0.75382	2.98548
7	0.85939	12.01265
8	0.73477	2.64886

Dependent is 5

Multiple Correlation is 0.89308; F Value is 70.64862

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards United States of America
- 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
- 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
- 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
- 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
- 6 = General Political Attitudes
- 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
- 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience

TABLE 17
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG GENERAL POLITICAL
ATTITUDES AND OTHER MEASURES OF
POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.73350	2.65164
2	0.75448	8.68883
3	0.60506	0.78656
4	0.80321	6.00237
5	0.75382	2.98547
7	0.71816	-0.07725
8	0.69735	0.75170

Dependent is 6

Multiple Correlation is 0.89765; F Value is 74.38019

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards the United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
 - 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = General Political Attitudes
 - 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience
-

TABLE 18
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NEW LEFT ATTITUDES
AND OTHER MEASURES OF
POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.79887	5.86763
2	0.46274	-3.24223
3	0.46022	-0.98264
4	0.77171	4.17857
5	0.85939	12.01241
6	0.71816	-0.07721
8	0.75307	1.75370

Dependent is 7

Multiple Correlation is 0.91851; F Value is 96.75043

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards the United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
 - 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = General Political Attitudes
 - 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience
-

and spokesmen indicate the extent of attitudinal compatibility between these orientations towards American social problems.

Table 18 indicates the particularly high relationship obtained when the New Left statements were utilized as the dependent variable. The New Left statements proved to be the most discriminating and divisive in the survey. On the other hand, low relationships in the tables of correlation may be found among the racist and segregationist measures and other variables. Table 14 indicates that, as anticipated, those two categories tend to vary with each other more closely than with other categories. However, such relationships - depicted in Tables 13 and 14 - that do appear are significantly lower, particularly in relationship to those obtained among other categories. In a general measure of left-wing radical tendencies, attitudes towards personal interactions with individuals of another race and towards civil rights policies are relatively ineffective. The use of all measures in correlating attitudes, expressed by the multiple correlation coefficient, provides a predictability of less than 50% between attitudes toward personal interracial relationships and other measures.

The most useful measures, then, pertain to the more politically extreme categories of statements; a general political orientation towards political and social reality tended to appear in responses, giving credence to the hypothesis that such orientations rest upon more generalized, underlying attitudes. The left/non-left dichotomy tended, in short, to cut across all types of issues except for the two relating to civil rights and racial interrelationships. Such a finding tends to indicate that such questions may be losing their controversial character. This is also indicated by the

relatively low means found in these attitudinal categories, as indicated in Table 12. The means for these categories were the only ones indicating that the typical response was one embodying a more leftward orientation than would have been found by an opposite result.

One possible inference from these results is that new standards for measuring racism among college students may be required, to correspond with changing measures of racial prejudice. In this context, the black power responses merit renewed examination. Those responses vary most poorly with the older measures of civil rights and racial issues. One possible hypothesis derivative from such a finding is that attitudes towards ideological expressions of black militancy may be most useful in measuring contemporary racial orientations among white college students.

Although the inclusion of statements pertaining to civil rights and personal interracial relationships did not produce the high correlations across attitudinal boundaries present among other measures, further analysis of the responses in the category indicated some discriminatory power for them. Twenty-six of the 266 individuals analyzed in the survey manifested extreme attitudes of racial prejudice in statements pertaining to personal interrelationships with blacks. Of these, only one individual - under any of several measures of radicalism, including summated responses to other categories of statements, self-descriptions, and political affiliations - who could be described as a left-wing radical fell within this grouping. On the other hand, 38% of those with racially extreme perspectives were discernible as radical right-wing individuals. Another way of

arranging the data produced the following results. Racial extremists accounted for 10% of the sample; however, nearly half of the strongly conservative group and 33% of those who identified positively with George Wallace were among these respondents.

The racially liberal perspectives of the majority of respondents, many of whom were not politically radical, depressed the discriminating power of the statements. However, breakdown of racial responses according to political affiliations indicated that those with extreme political attitudes do possess differing racial outlooks as measured within this survey. Furthermore, since the measure under examination pertains to personal relationships rather than directly political judgments, the data does not tend to support Eric Hoffer's hypothesis pertaining to the interchangeability among radicals embracing different extreme positions. A convergence in racial perspectives, in any event, was not discernible within this data for respondents of opposing radical persuasions.

Table 12, indicating the means and standard deviations produced by the survey, reveals a high range of responses across all categories. The presence of extreme attitudes at both ends of the spectrum, cutting across all categories of statements, indicated that the sample population contained groups and individuals whose differing perspectives made further comparative analysis useful. The need to control variables and to analyze responses within sub-categories was especially essential, since higher standard deviations may tend to distort the meaning of correlation

and regression coefficients and multiple correlation figures.¹

Analysis of responses to the array of actions of civil disobedience dichotomously arranged further tends to support the validity of the instrument as a measure of left-wing radical attitudes. Relationships between orientations towards specific acts of civil disobedience and attitudes towards the New Left were the most closely associated measures; table 19 indicates the correlation coefficients generated by the data. On the other hand, as in the racially-oriented statements, relationships were depressed by tendencies of otherwise non-radical individuals to share in radical perceptions on this particular measure.

The mean and standard deviation for the civil disobedience measure indicates that while responses ranged from complete approval to complete disapproval of all suggested acts, the central tendency indicated approval of at least several acts by respondents. However, another possible explanation for the mean of 15.7, over a range of summated scores from 10 to 20, involves a balancing of extreme responses. Table 20 indicates the distribution of responses by category.

Of those in the numerically large third category, only twenty respondents obtained scores of 20, indicating a disapproval of all suggested acts of civil disobedience. In other words, fewer than 8% of the respondents rejected all forms of civil disobedience; since many of the remaining 92% were far from radical in their other orientations, tendencies towards

¹Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 81-82.

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG POLITICAL ATTITUDES - CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE AND OTHER MEASURES
OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.71134	2.49815
2	0.52347	1.06205
3	0.46844	-0.13717
4	0.72488	2.46394
5	0.73477	2.64883
6	0.69735	0.75169
7	0.75307	1.75371

Dependent is 8

Multiple Correlation is 0.83111; F Value is 40.04376

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards the United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Interracial Personal Relationships
 - 4 = Attitudes towards United States Involvement in Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = General Political Attitudes
 - 7 = Attitudes towards the New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Acts of Civil Disobedience
-

approval or rejection of civil disobedience may appear to have failed to vary with other radical measures. However, those with the lowest scores, indicating a more comprehensive approval of suggested actions, tended to be more radical. Thus, the correlations among measures described in Table 19 were produced, in spite of a fairly widespread willingness on the part of all respondents to approve of some forms of civil disobedience.

TABLE 20

Distribution of Respondents:
Civil Disobedience

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>	<u>Range</u>
1	65	10-13
2	65	14-16
3	136	17-20

A further restriction in the interpretation of civil disobedience data, limiting the use of the measure as a measure of radical orientations, involves its application to radicals sharing a pacifist philosophy. Such individuals, although deeply disenchanted with American political structures and policies, might nonetheless be inappropriately categorized because of a rejection of the use of force required in several of the suggested actions. Six individuals, at various points in the survey, amended their disagreement by indicating their pacifist orientations.

Alienation

Table 21 indicates the distribution of respondents among alienation measures. Statements reflecting attitudes of normlessness were those that generated most frequent expressions of alienation; this result was obtained not merely among those in category 1 but in category 2 as well. Table 22 indicates the means, standard deviations and average scores of individual responses to categories of alienation statements. The sample population tended to be neither alienated nor unalienated in outlook, when the mean is employed. The high standard deviations indicate the extent of diversity within the sample population.

Tables 22 through 26 indicate the extent to which responses to the several measures of alienation tended to vary with each other. The multiple correlation coefficients indicate, in general, that while individual alienation measures vary together in a statistically significant manner, measures of association for the students in this survey did not produce a high degree of predictability between them. On the other hand, the use of all five alienation measures simultaneously can enable a high degree of predictability to be achieved for a given form of alienation. Thus, while attitudes of generalized alienation towards the university could not be explained through any other alienation measure, the use of all of the other measures combined to make possible powers of explanation and predictability capable of accounting for approximately 66% of the variation.

More detailed analysis also reveals that certain alienation measures tended to more frequently vary with each other. Those most closely associated were attitudes of meaninglessness and social isolation; on the other

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS:
MEASURES OF ALIENATION

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
<u>Alienation From University</u>	
1	13
2	95
3	139
4	12
<u>Meaninglessness</u>	
1	10
2	91
3	130
4	28
<u>Normlessness</u>	
1	46
2	118
3	79
4	13
<u>Powerlessness</u>	
1	12
2	81
3	146
4	12
<u>Social Isolation</u>	
1	25
2	102
3	123
4	5

TABLE 22
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG GENERAL STUDENT
ALIENATION AND OTHER ALIENATION
MEASURES

Variable No.	Mean	Standard Deviation	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	46.41353	13.57748	0.69338	4.85584
3	35.01503	12.95245	0.65733	4.46887
4	15.04511	5.74464	0.58937	1.34800
5	33.58646	11.53732	0.62116	3.07828

Dependent is 1

Multiple Correlation is 0.79187

F Value is 30.14391

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

TABLE 23
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MEANINGLESSNESS
AND OTHER ALIENATION MEASURES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.69338	4.85575
3	0.58144	0.31793
4	0.64079	2.73055
5	0.71616	6.49403

Dependent is 2

Multiple Correlation is 0.81020

F Value is 34.25356

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

TABLE 24
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NORMLESSNESS
AND OTHER ALIENATION MEASURES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.65733	4.46885
2	0.58144	0.31794
4	0.61799	3.46520
5	0.56013	2.12805

Dependent is 3

Multiple Correlation is 0.74764

F Value is 22.72295

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

TABLE 25

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG POWERLESSNESS AND
OTHER ALIENATION MEASURES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.58937	1.34800
2	0.64079	2.73058
3	0.61799	3.46523
5	0.61711	1.16198

Dependent is 4

Multiple Correlation is 0.78680

F Value is 29.13425

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

TABLE 26
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIAL ISOLATION AND
OTHER ALIENATION MEASURES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.62116	3.07825
2	0.71616	6.49407
3	0.56013	2.12803
4	0.61711	1.16197

Dependent is 5

Multiple Correlation is 0.79960

F Value is 31.78384

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

hand, attitudes of normlessness, so frequent in their expression, while most closely associated with general student alienation, were not exceptionally well related to any of the other alienation measures.

Of particular interest is the role of authoritarianism as related to the alienation measures. Statements reflecting authoritarian tendencies¹ did not evoke widespread agreement. Moreover, authoritarian attitudes were not well associated with several specific forms of alienation. However, attitudes of powerlessness were more closely related to attitudes of authoritarianism than with any dimension of alienation. Moreover, the relationship obtained between those two variables represented the strongest instance of association between authoritarianism and any other alienation measure. The significance of this relationship, from a theoretical perspective, involves the logical congruity between those attitudes. The relatively high relationship between authoritarianism and social isolation also tended to support explanations relating authoritarian tendencies to a sense of exclusion from society. The limitations on the significance of these relationships relate to the structure of the sample population and the low - in absolute

¹The following works provide the theoretical foundation for treatment of authoritarian characteristics. T. W. Adorno et al, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); I. A. Taylor, "Similarities in the Structure of Extreme Social Attitudes," Psychological Monographs, 74 (1960), pp. 1-36; Sylvan Tompkins, "Left and Right: A Basic Dimension of Ideology and Personality," in Robert W. White (ed.), The Study of Lives (New York: Atherton, 1963); Fred I. Greenstein, "Personality and Political Socialization: The Theories of Authoritarian and Democratic Character," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (Sept., 1965), pp. 81-95; D. Stewart and T. Houtt, "Social-Psychological Theory of the Authoritarian Personality," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (Nov., 1959), pp. 274-279.

terms - correlations that are under observation. Nevertheless, table 27 underscores the significance of findings pertaining to authoritarianism within the context of this survey. Although authoritarianism did not serve as a useful tool in predicting attitudes of alienation across all categories, the application of five alienation measures was capable of accounting for 71% of the variation in authoritarianism scores. Moreover, the multiple correlation coefficient for authoritarianism was higher than that produced for any measure of alienation.

More detailed analysis permits the identification of those embracing extreme attitudes of authoritarianism. Table 28 indicates the distribution of responses to summated statements about authoritarianism utilized in the survey. These individuals tended to obtain high scores in measures of personal racism; furthermore, their general political orientation tended to be extremely conservative. Only one individual approved of any act of civil disobedience; such a result should not be surprising, since tendencies towards obedience to those in positions of authority characterize the theoretical model of the authoritarian personality. Finally, tendencies towards isolation from situational, intellectual and cultural influences were especially marked; an absence of political activity was a common characteristic of authoritarian respondents. Since the authoritarian personality is assumed to be closed-minded, relatively impervious to external influences that might produce attitude change, one might anticipate a low familiarity with intellectual and cultural figures mentioned in the survey. Such a finding did, in fact, result. Only one individual indicated a familiarity with Phil Ochs or Hermann Hesse, for example, in a test

TABLE 27
AUTHORITARIANISM AND
ALIENATION

Variable No.	Mean	Standard Deviation	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	64.68796	18.53773	0.48656	-0.12614
2	46.41353	13.57748	0.55469	1.19354
3	35.01503	12.95245	0.49888	1.43200
4	15.04511	5.74464	0.67244	5.80626
5	33.58646	11.53732	0.63193	3.83439

Dependent is 6

Multiple Correlation is 0.84142

F Value is 43.46736

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

6 = Authoritarianism

applied to all respondents. In short, the portrait of the authoritarian personality drawn in the theoretical literature tended to find support in the data in this survey. Findings pertaining to authoritarianism also tended to support the valid character of measures of alienation, particularly those pertaining to powerlessness and social isolation. Finally, the usefulness of employing an existential approach to the acquisition of political orientations was supported by the application of situational, intellectual and cultural data for these respondents. This was particularly so since the manipulation of information pertaining to their background - other than those variables pertaining to political party affiliation - was unable to produce results comparable in their explanatory power.

TABLE 28
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS:
MEASURE OF AUTHORITARIANISM

Authoritarianism

1	4
2	30
3	162
4	58

Alienation and Radicalism

Strong relationships between alienation and radical political attitudes were among the hypotheses proposed at the commencement of this study. In

a sense, claims regarding the utility of concepts of alienation for political analysis have tended to rest upon such assertions. Thus, it was anticipated that attitudes of alienation would vary with the possession of radical political attitudes.

In table 29, normlessness and alienation from university life were most commonly related to attitudes towards the United States; however, such relationships are low, involving an explanatory power of approximately 18% for the responses. No correlations of any significance can be discerned, however, in tables 30 and 31. The less useful character of the political and social measures involved in these tables accounts in part for the depressed relationships depicted therein. In the other tables, normlessness and general student alienation are the measures most closely related to the categories of political responses employed. Tendencies to approve of acts of civil disobedience were also most closely related to these two alienation measures. Willingness to violate norms, and disenchantment with university life, render such relationships logically explicable. However, the correlations remain too low for the existence of a clear measure of association to be discerned.

The results of relationships among the most powerful and discriminating measure of political attitudes, those in the New Left category, and the alienation measures bear separate analysis. Within the context of this survey, relationships among the most radical of measures and the alienation and authoritarian tests acquire some significance. Responses to the New Left category of statements and attitudes of university alienation and

TABLE 29
ALIENATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE UNITED STATES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.42489	1.25465
3	0.28309	-1.05896
4	0.42265	-0.85474
5	0.30672	-0.09526
6	0.24580	1.63528

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

1 = Attitudes towards the United States of America

2 = General Student Alienation

3 = Meaninglessness

4 = Normlessness

5 = Powerlessness

6 = Social Isolation

TABLE 30

ALIENATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS
CIVIL RIGHTS

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.06470	-0.65955
3	0.04183	-0.50252
4	0.13663	0.08063
5	0.01673	-0.57536
6	-0.00579	-0.32758

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

1 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights

2 = General Student Alienation

3 = Meaninglessness

4 = Normlessness

5 = Powerlessness

6 = Social Isolation

TABLE 31

ALIENATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS
PERSONAL INTERRACIAL
RELATIONSHIPS

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.12436	-0.34804
3	0.10159	1.19708
4	0.15496	-0.41334
5	0.10364	1.56438
6	-0.00013	-1.44491

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

1 = Attitudes towards Personal Interracial Relationships

2 = General Student Alienation

3 = Meaninglessness

4 = Normlessness

5 = Powerlessness

6 = Social Isolation

TABLE 32
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALIENATION AND
ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE
VIETNAM WAR

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.33906	0.96514
3	0.22682	0.72936
4	0.34986	-0.66809
5	0.23155	1.31360
6	0.11979	-2.19626

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards the Vietnam War
 - 2 = General Student Alienation
 - 3 = Meaninglessness
 - 4 = Normlessness
 - 5 = Powerlessness
 - 6 = Social Isolation
-

TABLE 33
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALIENATION
AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS
BLACK POWER

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.38817	0.25317
3	0.26027	0.35392
4	0.44211	0.53944
5	0.27112	0.07905
6	0.16806	-1.06042

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

1 = Attitudes towards Black Power

2 = General Student Alienation

3 = Meaninglessness

4 = Normlessness

5 = Powerlessness

6 = Social Isolation

TABLE 34
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALIENATION AND
ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENERAL
POLITICAL ISSUES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.22623	-2.48730
3	0.15983	-0.19747
4	0.30359	0.71365
5	0.14662	-0.19223
6	0.12058	3.09217

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

1 = Attitudes towards General Political Issues

2 = General Student Alienation

3 = Meaninglessness

4 = Normlessness

5 = Powerlessness

6 = Social Isolation

TABLE 35
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALIENATION AND
ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW LEFT
STUDENTS

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
2	0.47203	1.69872
3	0.30063	-1.33117
4	0.51288	2.99077
5	0.33707	1.68817
6	0.21125	-1.13455

Dependent is 1

Table of Variables

1 = Attitudes towards New Left Students

2 = General Student Alienation

3 = Meaninglessness

4 = Normlessness

5 = Powerlessness

6 = Social Isolation

normlessness were more closely related than in other attitudinal categories. Rejection of social rules and values marks a number of the statements in the normlessness test; furthermore, a correspondence between radical attitudes and perceptions of discrepancies between socially proclaimed standards and actual practices ought not be unexpected. Similarly, disenchantment with university conditions and tendencies to generalize from them towards larger social and political matters might also be anticipated. The superior generation of logically explicable correlations by the measure of New Left radical orientations is supportive of that measure's valid character; on the other hand, an inability to generate higher correlations made mandatory the control of responses in a more detailed analysis of relationships.

Further inferences from table 35 might relate to the absence of significant correlations between the possession of radical attitudes, feelings of powerlessness and attitudes of social isolation. Extensive political activity reported by radical respondents in questions pertaining to political participation and group affiliation may represent a partial explanation. Membership in political groups engaged in protest activities might have tended to reduce prior feelings of powerlessness; similarly, such participation might have diminished scores in categories of social isolation and meaninglessness. These inferences become more likely in view of the fact that most radical participants in demonstrations had begun such activity during the spring quarter, 1969. The effect of the setting, in elevating radical scores, diminishing feelings of alienation in certain categories,

and possibly increasing alienation from social norms and university conditions, ought not be discounted.

Tables 36 and 37 indicate the organization of alienation data for those with extreme attitudes of alienation and political radicalism. Since such respondents are, in fact, the objects of concern in this study, the breakdown is mandatory if the results of the survey are to be made pertinent. In this regard, certain figures acquire more significant meaning. Left-wing radicals account for only 22% of the respondents in the sample population. However, 52% of those manifesting extreme attitudes of normlessness are politically radical; 41% of all left-wing radicals indicated the possession of normless attitudes. The latter figure was representative solely of the normlessness measure, however. Although manifestations of several forms of extreme alienation were not uncommon among those radicals who were alienated in any one dimension, no other form of alienation was so widespread across the radical population. However, among those in the sample population who expressed feelings of powerlessness, 50% were radical; similarly, 60% of those to whom feelings of meaninglessness may be attributed were radical. Finally, 44% of the socially isolated and 62% of those alienated from university life were left-wing radicals. In short, although the percentage of alienated radicals was small, in all dimensions except normlessness, radicals were among the extremely alienated in percentages far in excess of their numerical proportion to the sample population. Moreover, the remaining radicals were generally in the second category of responses in each dimension; the figures for the

extremely unalienated - with the exception of social isolation - find radicals virtually absent from these categories. The figures on social isolation were explicable in terms of the effects of group membership on such attitudes and the distorting character of the sample size for that category. In the former connection, data on group affiliation for radical students indicates that several participants in the sample were more ideologically oriented, with radical affiliations preceding the activities of the spring quarter. In a sense, then, the radical population in the survey was not uniform; radical statements elicited affirmative responses from more recent political conversions as well as from those whose radical orientations had been shaped in a more distant past.

TABLE 36
ALIENATION AND RADICALISM:
DISTRIBUTION BY CATEGORY

<u>Type of Alienation</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>	<u>Number of Left-Wing Radical Students</u>
Alienation from the University	13	8
Normlessness	46	24
Powerlessness	12	6
Meaninglessness	10	6
Social Isolation	25	11

TABLE 37
LEFT-WING RADICALISM AND EXTREME
ABSENCE OF ALIENATION

Type of Alienation	Number of Students	Number of Left-Wing Radical Students
Alienation from the University	12	1
Normlessness	13	2
Powerlessness	12	0
Meaninglessness	28	1
Social isolation	5	2

The absence of any correlations between authoritarian and radicalism is especially important, in view of the widespread national sentiment that such radicals are hostile to the democratic process. Among those FSU radicals participating in the survey, however, such attitudes were not present. In fact, tendencies towards authoritarianism most closely coincided with extreme political and cultural conservatism. The findings thus reject the hypothesis as applied to radicals discovered by this survey. Furthermore, the relatively close relationship between authoritarianism and normlessness earlier discerned, the absence of authoritarian tendencies among radicals, and the high rejection of social norms among radicals logically identified those responsible for the correspondence between the

authoritarianism and normlessness measures. Those tending to accept societal norms - most politically conservative among the students sampled - also were among the most authoritarian. These findings, while leading to the rejection of hypotheses about the undemocratic character of radical youth, tend to verify assumptions about the nature of authoritarianism. An acceptance of social norms and an unquestioning, obedient attitude towards those in authority ought logically to follow one another. The data described herein tend to support such a view.

Sexual Attitudes and Behavior

Among the hypotheses relating to both radical and alienated individuals are various psychosexual concepts purporting to explain their behavior. Application of psychosexual interpretations to political analysis has been infrequent; attempts at widespread, quantitative verification of such hypotheses are unknown. As such, the validity of the sexual measures utilized herein may be questionable.

Objections to questions eliciting personal data were infrequent; few respondents omitted data pertaining to sexual experience. Imputations of dishonesty among respondents can not be verified; more significantly, such imputations can not be isolated to this survey nor to any single analytical category within this survey. Discrepancies between attitudes and practices and between "real" attitudes and those elicited by a survey will always be possible. So long as such limitations are not ignored in offering interpretations of data, the enlargement of survey research into previously overlooked areas of inquiry is scientifically defensible.

Controls for age, marital position, and sex were included in all analysis data pertaining to sexual matters. Table 38 indicates the distribution of responses to the several measures of sexual activity. A number of descriptive trends emerge from the data.

77% of the students rejected traditional social values regarding the propriety of sexual activity; only 23% were willing to confine sexual activity to the post-marital situation. 59% required only that such human relationships be "honest"; only 34% favored "free sex," with pleasure the sole validating requirement. Honesty, rather than promiscuity, emerged as the dominant value sought in the configuration of sexual relationships. In short, marital relationships were not defined as the sole honest relationship possible, and necessary, for the justification of sexual activity.

Table 38 indicates that a diversity of sexual experiences characterized the sample population. Such findings permitted the verification, within the scope of the survey, of several hypotheses relating to sexual activity. The extent of promiscuity among radicals could be assessed; imputations of decadent social behavior, involving promiscuous sexual activity and use of drugs, have been among those advanced containing psychosexual hypotheses pertaining to radical activity. On the other hand, Freudian theory argues that frustration of libidinal drives may produce sublimation of the demands of the id. Lasswell has attempted to account for the behavior of the political agitator, for example, in such terms.¹

¹Harold D. Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950).

Thus, the extent to which sexual deprivation and political activity were related was studied in the survey.

TABLE 38
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES: SEXUAL
ATTITUDES AND SEXUAL EXPERIENCES

Attitudes Towards Sex*

<u>Type of Attitude</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
"Free" sex - natural, for pleasure	91
Sex only with intimate, honest relationships	157
Sex only if marriage is planned	36
Sex only after marriage	61
<u>Sexual Experiences</u>	
<u>Sexual History</u>	
Extensive Sexual Experience	48
Average Sexual Experience	42
Infrequent Sexual Experience	36
No Sexual Experience	107
<u>Sexual Self-Appraisal</u>	
Complete Satisfaction	39
Satisfactory	116
Less Than Satisfactory	58
Very Frustrated	33

*more than one response permitted

Table 39 depicts relationships among sexual data and alienation. As might be anticipated, sexual activity and normlessness were most strongly related; those most willing to disregard social norms might be most contemptuous of those pertaining to sexual behavior. However, despite the high relationship that prevailed between radicalism and normlessness, it would be unwarranted to argue from the data that sexual activity and political radicalism correlate in any direction. Feelings of normlessness account for only 16% of the variation in responses to questions about sexual activity. Moreover, none of the other measures of sexual attitudes produced comparable correlations with any expressions of alienation.

None of the correlations elicited by the comparison between sexual experiences and political attitudes were capable of accounting for a significant degree of variation in responses. The uniformly negative relationships would tend to indicate, however, some correspondence between sexual activity, sexual satisfaction and political conservatism. Higher scores on the measures of political attitudes were apparently correlated with lower scores on the sexual measures, providing the relationship stated above.

A slightly altered relationship was present in measures of political participation. Conservative sexual attitudes - a willingness to restrain sexual activity until after marriage - correlated with non-radical political orientations and non-participation in politics. Lack of political activity was not correlated with sexual promiscuity so much as with sexual abstinence; Lasswell's application of Freudian theory to political participation was not supported for the FSU students in this sample population.

TABLE 39
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SEXUAL DATA
AND ALIENATION

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
1	0.37433	0.93818
2	0.28468	0.66529
3	0.41488	1.96063
4	0.34212	1.30047
5	0.16059	-2.03632
6	0.46453	3.79078
7	0.46680	6.90601

Dependent is 8

Table of Variables

1 = General Student Alienation

2 = Meaninglessness

3 = Normlessness

4 = Powerlessness

5 = Social Isolation

6 = Sexual Attitudes

7 = Sexual History

8 = Sexual Self-Appraisals

Closer examination of the data revealed that male radicals were more likely to be sexually promiscuous than female radicals. On the other hand, the extensive correspondence between the use of drugs and sexual activity was the most divisive factor in the testing of hypotheses regarding psychosexual explanations for political radicalism. 40% of the student radicals shared a belief in the official SDS doctrine proscribing the use of drugs; this doctrine states that the use of drugs distracts individuals from reality, thereby preventing the discharge of their revolutionary functions. No indications of ideologically motivated sexual abstinence were reported, however; radicals unanimously rejected societal prohibitions against sexual activity. However, a low correspondence between sexual activity and sexual experiences among radicals existed; many of the student radicals had extensive sexual histories, while others were without any. Moreover, many of those who were sexually frustrated had engaged in sexual activity with great frequency. Similarly, expressions of sexual satisfaction were elicited from among the virginal and the promiscuous.

The use of drugs represented an additionally complicating variable that also served to account for contradictory and cross-cutting correlations. The variable of drug use, when excluded from considerations of sexual and political relationships, makes artificial the sexual and political human experiences under consideration. Extremely frequent usage of marijuana and hard drugs characterized radicals and selected non-radicals. Table 40 provides a distribution of responses to items pertaining to motivation for and the legitimacy of drug use, personal experiences with drugs, and personal experiences with marijuana.

TABLE 40
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES: DRUG ATTITUDES
AND DRUG EXPERIENCES

Attitudes Towards Drugs*

<u>Type of Attitude</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
Religious	37
SDS position	23
Drugs are bad	110
Drugs are harmful, but marijuana is all right	92
People should do what they want (spontaneously added by respondents)	7

Drug Experiences

<u>Experiences with Marijuana</u>	
Have tried marijuana only once	10
Use Marijuana sometimes	40
Use Marijuana often	30
Never used Marijuana	168
<u>Experiences with 'Hard' Drugs</u>	
Have tried drugs only once	6
Use drugs sometimes	40
Use drugs often	17
Never used drugs	185

*more than one response permitted

A low correspondence was found between personal use of drugs and positive attitudes towards the use of drugs. Although 68% of the respondents did not take drugs or smoke marijuana, only 41% thought that use of such hallucinogens was harmful and to be avoided. A slim majority of respondents did not have any objection to the use of marijuana.

Thirty-two percent of the sample population had used marijuana at some time in their lives; 25% had also used some or all of the more potent drugs, including heroin, amphetamines, and LSD. An analysis of the sexual and political experiences of those with religious attitudes towards drugs, and those who have had extensive experience with drugs, indicates that these experiences are too diffuse for any hypothesis pertaining to this group to be sustained. The apolitical hippie, described as having dropped out from society, can not be found in large numbers here; on the contrary, sporadic political activity characterized a large segment of the group experimenting heavily with drugs. Nor are attitudes of political radicalism characteristic of the group as a whole. Only two characteristics appeared as dominant for those individuals whose experience with drugs has been extensive.

First, a clear correspondence between religious attitudes toward drugs and an unconstrained attitude towards sexual relations may be perceived. Secondly, alienation towards features of university life appears to be more characteristic of these students than attitudes of political radicalism. To summarize, the use of drugs is a characteristic of neither the most apolitical segment of the sample - in terms of political participation - nor the most radical. A willingness to violate social norms pertaining both to drug use and sexual activity appears to be related. Given the absence of

a single indicator of political orientations for this category or respondents, however, their attitudes and experiences prevent the sustaining of hypotheses pertaining to relationships among sexual experiences, political participation and student radicalism. The results in this survey tend to indicate that a clear correspondence between sexual activity, sexual attitudes, and political experiences ought not be anticipated.

Respondent's Background Characteristics:

Power of Predictability

The critical remarks lodged against behavioral scientists who have extensively utilized background characteristics for the prediction of political attitudes makes mandatory a close examination of the influences such factors had upon respondents in this study. It had been hypothesized that, on the aggregate, neither radical political orientations nor alienation could be predicted with any degree of statistical significance by the manipulation of such variables. In fact, it was felt that general political tendencies among all students sampled would not be related too strongly to their background characteristics. This expectation had been supported by the absence of strong relationships in either of the two surveys administered during the experiment in attitude change in the classroom.

Tables 41 through 44 indicate the uniformly low relationships discerned between all background variables, responses to individual statements, and summated responses. These variables may well prove useful in the prediction of voting behavior or the determination of political attitudes across a spectrum of liberalism/conservatism. Although, strictly speaking,

TABLE 41
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG POLITICAL ATTITUDES
AND BACKGROUND DATA

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
--------------	-----------------------	---------------------

<u>Dependent is 9</u>		
1	0.01662	-1.79433
2	-0.01373	-1.48145
3	0.04250	0.89226
4	0.03071	1.51130
5	0.08864	1.33617
6	0.01767	-0.09048
7	0.03641	-1.14979
8	0.14561	0.51478

<u>Dependent is 10</u>		
1	0.11212	-0.16770
2	0.07355	1.06924
3	0.07706	-0.37109
4	0.08086	-0.97233
5	0.16702	-0.04247
6	0.10180	0.38712
7	0.14172	1.99719
8	0.20824	-0.14398

TABLE 41 - Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
<u>Dependent is 11</u>		
1	0.04616	-1.02439
2	0.01179	-0.65761
3	0.09565	2.09526
4	0.03686	0.90090
5	0.05941	-0.59879
6	0.02263	-0.37499
7	0.03713	-0.12890
8	0.14509	0.25827
<u>Dependent is 12</u>		
1	-0.07892	1.91034
2	-0.16085	-0.67667
3	-0.12301	0.66129
4	-0.18652	-0.53739
5	-0.13835	0.38692
6	-0.17310	-0.48060
7	-0.16469	-0.82340
8	-0.09306	0.18836

TABLE 41 - Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
<u>Dependent is 13</u>		
1	-0.39127	-0.44287
2	-0.33539	-0.27737
3	-0.37642	-2.31268
4	-0.45219	-1.38308
5	-0.40236	-0.32862
6	-0.41237	0.34903
7	-0.44395	-1.58461
8	-0.33276	0.34296

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards the United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Personal Racism
 - 4 = Attitudes towards Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = Attitudes towards General Political Issues
 - 7 = Attitudes towards New Left Statements
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Civil Disobedience
 - 9 = Mother's Education
 - 10 = Father's Education
 - 11 = Level of Income
 - 12 = Parental Religion
 - 13 = Own Religion
-

TABLE 42
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN BACKGROUND DATA
AND SELECTED STATEMENTS

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
<u>Dependent is 10</u>		
1	0.11435	2.44589
2	-0.08761	-0.72991
3	0.07093	1.86625
4	-0.01375	-1.12068
5	0.00910	0.45911
6	-0.10928	-2.35482
7	-0.05326	-0.38689
8	0.02602	0.13186
9	0.02256	-0.05479
<u>Dependent is 11</u>		
1	0.04391	-1.03800
2	-0.03608	-1.41758
3	0.06891	0.53441
4	0.02550	-0.18272
5	0.01238	-0.28705
6	0.04399	0.35636
7	0.07073	0.70114
8	0.09717	1.42989
9	-0.02904	-0.68468

TABLE 42 - Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
--------------	-----------------------	---------------------

<u>Dependent is 12</u>		
1	0.06811	1.18143
2	-0.05426	0.29059
3	0.02828	-0.01553
4	0.00995	0.28926
5	-0.00845	-0.78610
6	0.00684	0.56432
7	0.06866	1.76510
8	-0.02042	-1.47544
9	0.02724	0.87057

<u>Dependent is 13</u>		
1	0.12010	1.86368
2	-0.01894	0.33339
3	0.08872	1.05778
4	0.05880	0.04003
5	0.02590	-0.03819
6	-0.00662	-0.86494
7	-0.01823	-0.70474
8	0.09957	0.99385
9	-0.06248	-1.08982

TABLE 42 - Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
<u>Dependent is 14</u>		
1	-0.13799	-1.23875
2	-0.19814	-1.56620
3	-0.06862	0.90276
4	-0.03037	0.87836
5	-0.03171	1.84427
6	-0.14446	-0.56083
7	-0.12163	-0.01279
8	-0.06353	-0.66106
9	-0.08027	-1.62138
<u>Dependent is 15</u>		
1	-0.30876	-2.35736
2	-0.29897	-2.02094
3	-0.31696	-1.85924
4	-0.25338	-1.95486
5	-0.29074	-1.03723
6	-0.34525	-0.92448
7	-0.28552	-1.61552
8	-0.06896	2.03019
9	-0.00824	0.99604

TABLE 42-Continued

Table of Variables

- 1 = Statement 85 (Likert Scale)
 - 2 = Statement 8 (Likert Scale)
 - 3 = Statement 11 (Likert Scale)
 - 4 = Statement 28 (Likert Scale)
 - 5 = Statement 79 (Likert Scale)
 - 6 = Statement 6 (Likert Scale)
 - 7 = Statement 10 (Likert Scale)
 - 8 = Statement 27 (Likert Scale)
 - 9 = Statement 62 (Likert Scale)
 - 10 = College Class
 - 11 = Size of Hometown
 - 12 = Social Class
 - 13 = Level of Income
 - 14 = Parental Religion
 - 15 = Own religion
-

TABLE 43
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG BACKGROUND VARIABLES
AND SELECTED STATEMENTS

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
--------------	-----------------------	---------------------

<u>Dependent is 8</u>		
1	-0.00929	-0.25978
2	0.02849	-0.04367
3	0.02631	0.66069
4	0.03061	0.11906
5	0.06498	1.00993
6	-0.01644	-0.25072
7	-0.01893	0.06496

<u>Dependent is 9</u>		
1	0.10581	1.43640
2	0.00746	-1.45948
3	0.00023	-0.32709
4	0.05126	0.59759
5	0.05931	0.70191
6	0.10429	1.23413
7	-0.03344	-1.44161

TABLE 43--Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
<u>Dependent is 10</u>		
1	-0.01794	-0.89475
2	0.06449	2.23524
3	-0.04034	-0.27382
4	-0.04357	-1.62167
5	-0.00584	-0.29612
6	0.01894	0.74086
7	-0.02996	1.16488
<u>Dependent is 11</u>		
1	0.05540	0.52565
2	0.07154	0.81918
3	-0.01589	-0.63016
4	0.03733	0.07435
5	0.05318	0.49929
6	0.04977	0.22884
7	0.00967	0.13325
<u>Dependent is 12</u>		
1	-0.12699	-0.27520
2	-0.07569	0.22964

2000

TABLE 43- Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
3	-0.10573	0.63996
4	-0.11016	0.17031
5	-0.09601	0.37865
6	-0.14230	-0.57229
7	-0.10822	-0.16172
<u>Dependent is 13</u>		
1	-0.26192	-1.40200
2	-0.31586	-1.32125
3	-0.35681	-2.05159
4	-0.32180	-0.91038
5	-0.32425	-0.58089
6	-0.33671	-1.12673
7	-0.29713	-0.29135

Table of Variables

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 = Statement 74 (Likert Scale) | 8 = College Class |
| 2 = Statement 13 (Likert Scale) | 9 = Size of Hometown |
| 3 = Statement 42 (Likert Scale) | 10 = Social Class |
| 4 = Statement 59 (Likert Scale) | 11 = Level of Income |
| 5 = Statement 84 (Likert Scale) | 12 = Parental Religion |
| | 13 = Own Religion |

TABLE 44
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALIENATION MEASURES
AND BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
--------------	-----------------------	---------------------

<u>Dependent is 6</u>		
1	0.22674	-0.38808
2	0.22551	0.22802
3	0.19819	-0.58080
4	0.15113	-1.25636
5	0.18695	0.22029

<u>Dependent is 7</u>		
1	0.29193	1.27581
2	0.25688	0.07089
3	0.28943	2.76606
4	0.19272	-0.36220
5	0.21337	0.13770

<u>Dependent is 8</u>		
1	0.18583	-1.48801
2	0.18975	0.03324
3	0.17696	-0.96608

TABLE 44 - Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
4	0.20209	1.50161
5	0.14728	-0.51602
<u>Dependent is 9</u>		
1	-0.00285	-0.15326
2	0.07171	0.34764
3	-0.05582	-0.55075
4	0.01151	-0.07209
5	0.05269	0.54213
<u>Dependent is 10</u>		
1	-0.12273	-1.71958
2	0.03003	2.64855
3	-0.17658	-2.40139
4	-0.02212	-0.66562
5	0.02223	-1.46398

Table of Variables

1 = Student Alienation
 2 = Meaninglessness
 3 = Normlessness
 4 = Powerlessness
 5 = Social Isolation

6 = Mother's Education
 7 = Father's Education
 8 = Level of Income
 9 = Parental Religion
 10 = Own Religion

the results of any survey pertain only to the respondents therein, the miniscule relationships attained tend to indicate that for the possession of extreme social and political attitudes, different variables and influences are in operation. Nor are these poor relationships spurious; they are logically explicable within the realm of an expanded theory of political socialization. Radical tendencies appear to be related to interruptions in the socialization process at some point in personal experience. The orientations of radicals ought not be predictable through the standard framework utilized in the study of attitude acquisition.

As in the study in the inducing of attitude change, only political and religious affiliations were at all useful in the prediction of political orientations. That these are the least deterministic of variables, however, was made clear by the low correspondence between parental and respondent's religious and party affiliations. A correlation coefficient of .43 (T value = 6.18) was found between religious orientations of parent and respondent; a correlation coefficient of .29 (T value = 4.6) was produced for political party affiliations.

These relationships stress the actions of human choice involved that distinguish these variables from those relating to income, social class, parental education, and size and character of hometown. It is not surprising that some of the individuals who indicated "none" or "other" for religious or political party identification also were alienated or politically radical. However, some of the individuals making such selections were in neither of the two latter attitudinal classifications. In short, the low correspondence between parental and respondent orientations was not produced

by the depressing influence of the radical respondents. In fact, the majority of students - radical and otherwise - manifested a considerable degree of distance in their parental relationships. Responses to the following statements in the survey are significant in this regard.

If my parents knew all about all of the things I do, they probably would disapprove of a lot of them. True or False?

If my parents knew all of the things I believed in, they would probably disapprove of a lot of them. True or False?

The means for the above statements were 1.3 and 1.4, indicating that agreement with such statements represented the norm. Since only slightly more than 20% of the respondents were radical, a decline in positive orientations towards parental figures may be discerned among students of non-radical political persuasions as well.

In a sense, statistical manipulation of variables in this sector of the study was designed to indicate if the identity of a number of groups in the sample population could be determined. These groups - the dependent variables, in a larger sense - were the left-wing radicals; the racists; the alienated; the drug-users; the sexually promiscuous; the active political participants. Their identity cannot be discerned from any of the numerous arrays and matrices of background data and responses that were utilized for that purpose.

Figures in this survey do support certain relationships that attest more to the validity of the scale than to any more powerful conclusions. Thus, age and college class, age and marital status, marital status and college class, levels of education for each parent, and political orientations of each parent are background features of respondents that correlate

especially well with each other. In other words, certain background characteristics can predict other such variables for the respondent; they weakly correlate with political attitudes and behavior patterns, however, which are the objects of attention in the study. Thus, it is to other variables that we must turn in determination of political attitudes and orientations among radical students.

General Radical Characteristics

Radicals were more likely to have engaged in political activity than non-radicals. While non-radicals often indicated either a lack of interest or, at best, an attention to political matters confined solely to the press or television, radicals indicated that they both followed political events through the media and participated in political gatherings, rallies and demonstrations. Participation in types of political demonstrations also coincided with the possession of particular political attitudes. Previous participation in anti-war and civil rights demonstrations correlated especially well with measures of New Left radicalism. A lower relationship existed between participation in student rights demonstrations and the possession of radical attitudes. This was not unexpected, since the events of the spring quarter had involved many non-radicals into previously proscribed forms of political activity.

The primacy of political matters for radical students was underscored in several areas. Radicals were more likely to comment upon particular statements within the survey. Furthermore, radical responses to open-ended questions tended to be lengthier and more involved than those of

non-radical students. Radical and highly alienated students tended to comment upon political matters when questioned about the future; non-radicals, on the contrary, were more likely to be concerned about personal matters. The former group of students also tended to view the personal and political future apocalyptically, involving predictions of revolution, war and destruction. Two tables of political leaders, black and white, in which rankings of preferences were solicited, were rarely completed by non-radicals; often, question marks, "don't know" or some other indication of non-familiarity was placed beside names on the list. This rarely happened among radical students, indicating the greater level of political awareness and interest among that group. A final indication of the primary personal importance radicals lend to political questions involved a statement about the effect of political change upon personal life. Radicals, more frequently than non-radicals, were in agreement that positive political change would have a strong impact upon their lives.

Self-descriptions by radicals were generally valid. Radicals generally described themselves as "left-wing radicals"¹ in describing their political views. Similarly, radicals tended either to list political parties other than Republican, Democratic or American Independent or to indicate an absence of party affiliation. A declining level of political consciousness and awareness was found as the scores on measures of political radicalism

¹A number of radical students, selecting "other" in this category, described themselves as socialists and anarchists.

moved in the opposite direction. Thus, extreme conservatives, racist individuals, segregationists, and those embodying radical-right sentiments often described themselves as moderates or moderately liberal in political orientation. Such self-assessments did not correspond, in short, with the categorization of their attitudes used in this survey.

Political Orientations and Cultural Influences

Several areas of the survey were designed to elicit responses pertaining to the extent of cultural impact upon respondent's political orientations. Among these were a number of open-ended portions, eliciting specific commentary, as well as certain statements useful in statistical manipulation. Some of these segments of the survey are listed below.

Who, in our society, do you admire most?

Are there any actors, painters or other artists whom you particularly admire and seek to emulate? If so, please name them.

Do you feel that any of these people had or are having any effect on your political attitudes? If so, which ones?

Place a check next to each name that you recognize in the following list. (table of singers and singing groups)

Do you feel that any songs that you have ever listened to have ever had any influence on your political views or your ideas about society, yourself, and the world?

If so, which songs (and performers) have had the greatest impact on you in shaping your views and personality? (You are not confined to the above list in answering this question)

Place a check next to each name that you recognize in the following list. (table of literary figures)

Do you feel that any poets or writers of fiction have had any effect on your political views or your ideas about society, yourself, and the world?

If so, which writers have had the greatest impact on you in shaping those ideas? (You are not confined to the above list in answering this question)

Are there any non-fiction writers - historians, philosophers, economists, political scientists, etc. - whom you feel have affected your political and social ideas? If so, please specify.

What non-political activities do you enjoy doing most?

Do you feel that these non-political interests influence you in any way in the formation of your political attitudes? If so, how?

Although politically radical individuals appeared to be manifesting a greater familiarity with the tables, an attempt was made to determine the extent of statistical predictability between familiarity with selected cultural and intellectual figures and political attitudes. Phil Ochs, the folk singer, was selected from among the list of performers for a number of reasons. He has rarely performed on television, and his recordings are generally absent from commercial radio. His following is therefore limited to those individuals who have been directly exposed to him through records or personal performances. Given the radical content of his songs, it was assumed that such individuals would tend to be politically radical.

Motivations in the selection of Hermann Hesse among the list of literary figures were more complex. Hesse's writings are in vogue among college-age youth at present; indeed, translations of his earliest works are being completed under the auspices of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, so that the works of his pre-Asiatic, German Romantic period are now being added to the list of available Hesse publications in America. Yet the nature of Hesse's most popular works do not appear to characterize them as having universal appeal. They are frequently mystical treatments of individual

lives, with parables and messages that attempt to explain reality through a fundamentally different way of perceiving it. It was anticipated, for avowedly subjective reasons, that readers of Hesse's post-romantic works¹ - the only ones in translation at the time of survey administration - would somehow be affected by them and adopt from them a different set of philosophical orientations towards personal, political and social problems.

The operative hypothesis, then, was that familiarity with Hesse and Cchs - mere recognition of their names - would be related to the existence of radical attitudes. Relationships were also tested between radical attitudes and affirmative responses to questions pertaining to the politically influential character of literature and records.

Table 45 indicates relationships between political attitudes and the four cultural/literary measures employed therein. The figures are not high; however, a greater relationship exists between summated political attitudes and measures of alienation described earlier. That recognition of Cchs and Hesse and acknowledgement of cultural and literary influence - the actual extent of influence and the degree of causality may remain moot - should have been capable of greater predictive power with respect to radical attitudes than alienation measures is significant.

¹Hermann Hesse, Demian (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1966); Hermann Hesse, Siddhartha (New York: New Directions Publishing Corp., 1957); Hermann Hesse, Magister Ludi (The Bead Game) (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1949); Hermann Hesse, Journey to the East (New York: New Directions Publishing Corp., 1956); Hermann Hesse, Steppenwolf (New York: Random House, Inc., 1929); Hermann Hesse, Narcissus and Goldmund (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc., 1968).

TABLE 45
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CULTURAL INFLUENCES AND
POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
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<u>Dependent is 9</u>		
1	0.39012	3.73605
2	0.21587	0.78108
3	0.20702	-0.90626
4	0.28719	0.25128
5	0.30854	1.30627
6	0.26376	-1.53095
7	0.27015	-2.25404
8	0.37310	2.26508

<u>Dependent is 10</u>		
1	0.32631	-0.47379
2	0.24741	-0.86822
3	0.36356	2.80441
4	0.26820	-0.50192
5	0.38676	2.03565
6	0.31383	-0.34116
7	0.33482	-0.17278
8	0.35260	0.34537

TABLE 45--Continued

Variable No.	Correlation X vs Y	Computed T Value
<u>Dependent is 11</u>		
1	0.26656	0.68492
2	0.10885	-1.16871
3	0.18222	0.36669
4	0.22616	0.99984
5	0.20315	-0.73660
6	0.19545	0.05343
7	0.21385	-0.41504
8	0.26556	0.85737
<u>Dependent is 12</u>		
1	0.32636	0.50049
2	0.25730	1.02589
3	0.27691	-0.06321
4	0.22654	-2.49284
5	0.34347	-0.33412
6	0.30508	0.75522
7	0.32530	1.17075
8	0.34530	0.96479

TABLE 45 - Continued

Table of Variables

- 1 = Attitudes towards the United States of America
 - 2 = Attitudes towards Civil Rights
 - 3 = Attitudes towards Personal Interracial Involvements
 - 4 = Attitudes towards Vietnam
 - 5 = Attitudes towards Black Power
 - 6 = Attitudes towards General Political Issues
 - 7 = Attitudes towards New Left
 - 8 = Attitudes towards Civil Disobedience
 - 9 = Familiarity with Phil Ochs
 - 10 = Influence of Songs on Political Views
 - 11 = Familiarity with Hermann Hesse
 - 12 = Influence of Poetry or Fictional Material on Political Views
-

Other relationships between these influences and attitudinal and behavioral data were generally without power. Some relationships were found between familiarity with Ochs and parental disapproval of both views and actions, and with political affiliation, but in no instance were correlation coefficients in excess of .5. A breakdown of the distribution of responses, however, revealed the identities of those familiar with Ochs and Hesse and those who were unfamiliar with them.

Only 38% of the sample had heard of Ochs; a similarly low familiarity with Hesse (39%) was reported. However, although 22% of the sample population were left-wing radicals, they accounted for 34% of those familiar with Ochs. Viewing the data from a somewhat different perspective, 59% of those who were radical had heard of Ochs; however, only 32% of the non-radicals indicated a familiarity with Ochs. The relationships were lower but comparable for Hesse. Radicals accounted for 30% of the affirmative responses, a figure somewhat greater than their proportion to the sample. More significantly, 53% of the radicals had heard of Hesse, while only 34% of the non-radicals were familiar with his name.

Even more striking is the breakdown of the responses of the politically conservative group. Only 23% of those possessing extreme conservative political attitudes had heard of Ochs, while fewer than 15% were familiar with Hesse. The lack of familiarity of the authoritarian individuals has been discussed earlier. In further contrast, only 16.7% of the pro-Wallace individuals had heard of either Ochs or Hesse.

These findings are particularly important for several reasons. The survey was directed toward mere recognition of the artist; neither familiarity with nor approval of the content of his work was measured. Moreover, the ease with which students moving through such a table could indicate familiarity made a higher rate of recognition probable. Finally, more detailed analysis revealed that the strongly liberal individuals - those in categories 2 on the political attitude measures, for example - accounted for the bulk of the remaining positive responses. As such, it becomes possible to envisage a model of openness to certain artistic and literary influences in which radicalism tends to increase with exposure. An absence of political liberalism appears to be present at the point of complete unfamiliarity with the figures in the questionnaire.

These results are not intended to demonstrate a causal relationship, wherein political radicalism is the direct result of the impact of a particular individual's writings or songs. Such conclusions are not warranted from the data. The research in this area places us at a more primitive stage; the identification of the proper variables for analysis in a consideration of the socialization process of radicals remains to be completed. However, the strength of these cultural and intellectual variables, particularly by comparison with background items used so frequently in analysis of voting behavior, ought to indicate that further research in this area may prove useful. One-to-one relationships were not found; however, the selections of cultural and literary influences for analysis were highly subjective choices. The distribution of responses to the cultural and literary questions made possible the identification of Ochs and, to a lesser degree, Hesse as individuals whose works appear

politically relevant to the radical experience. The identification of the influential figures and materials represents the preliminary stage in an analysis of cultural influences over political perceptions.

The mean for the question pertaining to the influential character of songs was 1.3 (1=Yes; 2=No), with a standard deviation of .54. The mean for the question devoted to the influential character of fictional materials was 1.2, with a standard deviation of .55. The central tendencies for the preponderantly non-radical population, then, involved agreement with respect to the presence of influence. The radical group shared in these perceptions.

An examination of the songs and performers named by respondents in the open-ended questions proved particularly useful. Respondents of differing political persuasions tended to identify different individuals and works as politically important. Table 46 summarizes the individual artists, writers, and singers with whom radical respondents tended to identify. Table 47 performs the same function for non-radicals.

Some of the comments of respondents indicated the type and intensity of relationship perceived between the individual named and the respondent.

I outgrew (drugs) - it's only a kick, childish, un-needed...
Later I tried to use it expressly to get into music - it did no good - with music I'm naturally stoned (like I've cried during instrumentals identifying with a screaming guitar - wanting to help it)...

The Beatles have led me to want a society where dog-eat-dog and money-grubbing are not important. The Doors convey spirit and daring in undertaking.

The protest songs and songs of social criticism of Bob Dylan helped a lot...

TABLE 46

POLITICALLY INFLUENTIAL ARTISTS, WRITERS
AND SINGERS IDENTIFIED BY RADICALS* .

Writers, Singers and Artists Admired Most in Society	Influential Performers	Influential Fiction Writers	Influential Non-Fiction Writers
Steve McQueen	Jefferson	Hermann Hesse	Michael
Joan Baez	Airplane	Ray Bradbury	Harrington
Bob Dylan	Simon and	Robert A.	Timothy Leary
Dick Gregory	Garfunkel	Heinlein	Karl Marx
Phil Ochs	Donovan	Franz Kafka	Mao Tse-tung
Robert A. Heinlein	Joan Baez	Lawrence Fer-	Thomas
Smothers Brothers	Bob Dylan	linghetti	Jefferson
Paul Newman	Phil Ochs	B.F. Skinner	Friederich
Robert Vaughan	Judy Collins	Le Roi Jones	Hegel
Pat Paulsen	Tim Buckley	Philip Wylie	Henry David
Tim Buckley	Traffic	Aldous Huxley	Thoreau
Salvador Dali	Jimi Hendrix	George Orwell	John Locke
Dustin Hoffman	Janis Ian	Albert Camus	John Stuart
The Beatles	Mason Williams	Jean-Paul	Mill
The Doors	Leonard Cohen	Sartre	Gordon Parks
Timothy Leary	Peter, Paul	Ayn Rand	Richard Alpert
Arthur Miller	and Mary	Fyodor Dos-	Carl Jung
Norman Mailer	Al Kooper	toevsky	Arnold Toynbee
Kahlil Gibran	Stevie Winwood	Thomas Hardy	Sigmund Freud
Peter, Paul	Buffalo	J.D. Salinger	Stokely Car-
and Mary	Springfield	Arthur Miller	michael
Richard Pryor	Procol Harum	Alan Ginzburg	Howard Zinn
Cliff Robertson	MC5	Joseph Heller	Paul Goodman
Lenny Bruce	Arlo Guthrie	Dick Gregory	Ralph Nader
Allan Ginzburg	Country Joe	Gore Vidal	Eldridge Cleaver
Arlo Guthrie	and the Fish	Isaac Asimov	Malcolm X
Andy Warhol	Barry McGuire	Carson Mc-	Che Guevara
Donovan	Steve Miller	Cullers	Kenneth Keniston
Marlon Brando	Band	Richard Wright	Bertrand Russell
Montgomery Clift	Tom Paxton	H.G. Wells	Herbert Marcuse
James Coburn	Len Chandler	Kahlil Gibran	Friederich Nietzsche

*Not listed in order of frequency

TABLE 46-Continued

Writers, Singers and Artists Admired Most in Society	Influential Performers	Influential Fiction Writers	Influential Non-Fiction Writers
Pablo Picasso	Leadbelly	James Joyce	C. Wright Mills
Diego Rivera	Woody Guthrie	Nathaniel West	Christopher Lasch
Sidney Poitier	Pete Seeger	Thomas	Erich Fromm
Richard Burton	Aretha Franklin	Pynchon	B.F. Skinner
Pete Seeger	James Brown	Richard Farina	Charles Silberman
Simon and Garfunkel	The Beatles	John Keats	
John Hawkes	Steppenwolf	Norman Mailer	
Nathaniel West	The Mothers of Invention	John Hawkes	
Marc Chagall	The Fugs		
Judy Collins	Dave Van Ronk		
Bill Cosby			

TABLE 47

POLITICALLY INFLUENTIAL ARTISTS, WRITERS AND SINGERS
IDENTIFIED BY NON-RADICALS*

Writers, Singers and Artists Admired Most in Society	Influential Performers	Influential Fiction Writers	influential Non-Fiction Writers
Liberace	Simon and Garfunkel	J.D. Salinger	Arnold Toynbee
Lee Marvin		D.H. Lawrence	Theodore Sorensen

*Not listed in order of frequency

TABLE 47-Continued

Writers, Singers and Artists Admired Most in Society	Influential Performers	Influential Fiction Writers	Influential Non-Fiction Writers
James Garner Robert Mitchum Richard Burton Omar Sharif Paul Newman Clint Eastwood Andrew Wyeth Barbra Streisand Bill Cosby Steve McQueen Leonard Bernstein Leon Uris John Wayne Sandy Dennis Gene Barry Bob Hope Shirley MacLaine George Jessel Anthony Newley Sidney Pottier Kathryn Hepburn Julie Andrews Salvador Dali Ringo Starr James Coburn Tom Jones Rod McKuen Lucille Ball Robert Goulet John Hartford Smothers Brothers Danny Thomas Pat Paulsen Joe Pyne	The Beatles Peter, Paul and Mary James Brown Ray Charles Chad Mitchell Trio Rod McKuen Otis Redding The Kingston Trio Spanky and Our Gang Barry McGuire Dion The Supremes The Mothers of Invention Janis Ian Bob Dylan Judy Collins Mary Hopkin Dionne Warwick Tom Lehrer The Yardbirds The Lettermen The Byrds The Young Rascals	Samuel Beckett George Orwell T.S. Eliot Rod McKuen William Faulkner F. Scott Fitzgerald Ernest Hemingway James Baldwin Walt Whitman Ayn Rand Truman Capote Leon Uris John Barth John Steinbeck Shirley Jackson Allen Drury Aldous Huxley Thomas Mann Joseph Conrad J.P. Donleavy John Updike Sinclair Lewis Robert Frost John Knowles Alan Paton J.B. Phillips Upton Sinclair Antoine de St. Exupery Arthur Miller William Golding William Saroyan Thomas Wolfe	Barbara Ward Allen Watts Marshall McLuhan Aristotle Plato The Gospel Bruce Catton Richard Hofstadter Eric Hoffer Bernard Fall Martin Zuber C.P. Snow John Locke Eldridge Cleaver Hugh Hefner Karl Marx Theodore H. White Henry S. Commager William Buckley, Jr. Walter Lippmann John Storer Erich Fromm Winston Churchill Charles Beard John Kenneth Galbraith

TABLE 47-Continued

Writers, Singers and Artists Admired Most in Society	Influential Performers	Influential Fiction Writers	Influential Non-Fiction Writers
William Buckley The Beatles Norman Rockwell Glenn Ford Gregory Peck Dick Gregory George Segal Sammy Davis John Steinbeck Johnny Carson Jack Webb Charlton Heston Peter O'Toole		John Hersey J.R.R. Tolkien	

(The songs were influential) more as a call to humanity than as a political comment...

Donovan and Dylan - I listened to them when I was much younger and they started me thinking - Jefferson Airplane now says a lot.

Folk music in general (has influenced me)...

I admire political protest songs about personal freedom and human decency.

The few black respondents uniformly had different political musical interests that transcended political boundaries. James Brown and Aretha Franklin were identified in each situation, while they were virtually ignored by white respondents.

Many of the names selected in each list appeared in the survey's tables, so that their usage in open-ended responses was not surprising. Nevertheless, radical and non-radical selections differed widely; only several performers - Bob Dylan, The Beatles, Simon and Garfunkel - were commonly regarded as influential by radical and non-radical respondents alike. The literary lists are particularly interesting for radical students. The frequent addition of science fiction writers - Isaac Asimov, Ray Bradbury, and particularly Robert Heinlein - to the list by radical students was not duplicated by non-radical respondents. Among the writings specified as influential were Robert A. Heinlein, The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress; Philip Wylie, Magic Animal; Ray Bradbury, Fahrenheit 451; B. F. Skinner, Walden 2; Aldous Huxley, Island.

Island - showed me how society should be run.

The delineation of the future in such science fiction writings makes comprehensible their attraction for radical students. The construction of utopias according to specific ideals would tend to make exposure to such writings significant, relevant experiences for radical students. These writings, in some measure, serve as fictional counterparts to the utopian guidelines and blueprints drawn in the non-fictional writings of radical persuasion to whom radical students were drawn.

The specific songs mentioned by respondents were generally among those analyzed in the study of contemporary radical music. Non-radical respondents frequently listed songs by Simon and Garfunkel, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez, as well as Dion's Abraham, Martin and John, among their

groupings of politically influential material. Blowin' In The Wind was mentioned frequently by non-radical respondents. The moral and pacifist content of these songs apparently made them palatable to individuals who would reject the more directly political messages contained in the songs of Phil Ochs and Tom Paxton, for example. On the other hand, listings of songs by radicals were quite extensive. Alice's Restaurant, I Ain't A-Marching Anymore, Untitled Protest, I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag, Society's Child, and Times They Are A-Changin' were among the most frequently mentioned songs by radicals. In addition, radicals mentioned a number of songs - Richie Havens' Oxford Town - and a number of performers - the MC5, for example - that had been overlooked by the earlier analysis of politically radical music.

It is clear, however, that radicals and non-radicals look to different artistic personalities and compositions for political cues. In some instances, individuals were described as negatively influential; John Wayne was mentioned several times by radicals in such terms. The identification of such individuals, an analysis of the content of their political messages, are analytical tasks that remain to be completed. However, the clear presence of recurring identification with certain individuals and the listing of a different type of artistic compositions means that it is possible to commence on a productive demarcation of cultural and literary materials whose implications are political into various categories of political content.

Situational Influences

The relevance of situational experiences in the radicalization process was clearly indicated in the responses to the following question.

Are there any particular incidents or situations, here at this university or elsewhere, that have had a particularly strong impact on you in shaping your political views. If so, briefly describe them.

The breadth of such a question might well have elicited a set of political experiences of great diversity. However, most respondents directed their responses to the political events at Florida State University. Over 90% of the respondents agreed that incidents at FSU had had an effect upon their political orientations. While it is advisable to bear in mind that the sample population was not intended to be representative of the university community, both radical and non-radical populations tended to be critical of the administration. The non-radicals, however, were also frequently critical of SDS tactics; moreover, non-radicals tended to list the FSU experiences alone, while some radical students wrote minor autobiographical essays extending over the backs of the pages provided. The following comments are representative of the radical responses to this question.

unfair arrests beginning 3/4; suppression of free speech - Spring, 1968; arrest of Huey Newton; riots in Chicago

the continuing degradation of our total environment; tremendous misallocation of resources; Vietnamese and other 'police actions'; the 'Bomb' and the endless proliferation of delivery systems.

The exploitation, racism and repression; Vietnam war; poverty; bourgeois society (especially the Greeks); ignorance of political leaders.

The indiscriminate application of archaic obscenity laws to repress students with political viewpoints that contradict those of the administration.

The U.S. Army has radicalized me more than anything else. The daily conscienceless life ... is sickening. A tool run by a slap-happy Fascist mentality in an extremely dangerous world.

The repression on this campus, Berkeley, CCNY, Harvard, SF State.

Censorship controversy, SDS controversy, Columbia 1968; Cornell, 1969, Chi riots 1968 and SF State.

Yes - assassination of JFK - became dedicated to his goals; civil rights, war Chi convention, and the anti-SDS movement at FSU are all radicalizing me.

Censorship protest last spring helped explain to me the mentality of school officials - 3/4 incident at Student Union showed the lengths to which some officials will go to further their glory and show their power. More recent 'political arrests' show the kind of freedom you have in this country - it showed Phil Sanford at least...

The 98%ers!

The rednecks here continually degrade you if you look different from them...

Bayonets on campus - made slightly radical liberal out of my previously liberal beliefs.

The fascist attempts of President Marshall and the local gestapo to silence unfavorable comment. The Chicago Democratic Convention illustrated the corruptness of parts of our society.

Until events of these past two quarters, I'd have been unwilling to label administrators or legislators 'fascist'. Due to recent events here and recognition of the full meaning and implications of these events, the term comes easily.

SDS repression! refusal to recognize the organization, pigs on campus with bayonets, arrests of students; arrests and suspensions of SDS leaders on trumped up charges; deportation of Phil and Coonie Sanford; incidents at Berkeley, Columbia and Harvard -

repression of radical students; police brutality at the Chicago convention; repression of GIs at Fort Jackson and Presidio Stockade.

Too many criminology bastards are narcs.

The whole situation at present has shown me another side of 'political' thought. The police acting on a peaceful demonstration, non-effective communication with university administration...

Use of riot squads against peaceful gatherings...

It is noteworthy that few university courses were listed as influential events in the shaping of respondents' orientations. Several students who apparently participated in the government sections in which experimentation in attitude change was attempted referred to them in their responses. Another student observed that

Art professors are different from other professors at this university.

The student who was fearful of criminology professors was a heavy user of drugs; as such, his experience with courses had apparently had a negative effect. The following comment represented one of the few additional references to the effect of course experiences on attitude acquisition.

Humanities 205, when I was a soph, opened up a 'new world' giving me the foundation of an intellectual life which justified and vindicated the alienation I felt.

The comments of non-radical students, while sharing their radicals' criticisms of university officials, are somewhat different from them in tone.

SDS - I don't believe in their views but I feel they have a right not just a privilege to exist.

The Democratic National Convention shows me we are at a dangerous stalemate.

Treatment of students and their pleas...

SDS - made me more aware of the social and political unrest - Awareness.

the demonstrations...

35 cops with bayonets; Marshall's actions in calling in police at any time; suppression of free expression in Faculty Senate.

Westcott burning and student effort to help.

I don't approve of SDS actions. But I also don't approve of some of the administration's counter-actions.

I don't believe that the radicals had a right to meet unauthorized in a university room. But I also do not agree with Marshall's handling of the incident. I think everyone should have the right to speak openly.

Trial of Sanford (1st one); response was unbelievable; came home dazed and in shock. The judge and prosecutors seemed totally ignorant and intolerant of change. They tried him on whether he was 'decent folk' or not.

Recent arrests of SDS members.

Refusal to recognize the SDS; law that faculty better shut up or get out.

Movement for free speech - students were jailed for speaking their mind.

The sentencing of 1 1/2 years hard labor to a high school boy in Tallahassee for possession of marijuana.

Phil Sanford's court trial; the political arrests and suppressions; discussions with informed students.

The anti-censorship controversy.

A general exclusion of non-university incidents characterized the responses of non-radical students. In addition, their comments were briefer

and non-ideological in content. The more conservative students supported the actions of the administration, thus clearly responding differently to similar influences.

The garbage SDS espouses. I'm dead-set against them.

I don't like SDS methods.

SDS is hurting their cause and turning myself and others against them.

The ridiculousness of the SDS's attempts to gain recognition.

The way the SDS are trying violently and ridiculously to gain recognition on campus.

I think SDS is sick. The university is giving you the privilege of attending their school, don't knock it!

The latter comment was offered by one of the few students who manifested authoritarian attitudes in the survey. His remark tended to indicate the degree of consistency in attitudes expressed throughout the survey. Relationships between descriptions of situational influences and political orientations were evident in the type and direction of influences mentioned.

Conclusions

The results of this study do not pretend to contain any single explanation for the development of radical attitudes among individuals. Such an intent would face a number of obstacles. The study was limited at the outset by the need to operationally define radicalism, since all imputations of radicalism are subjective, to a considerable degree. Methodologically, the confines of time and setting provided both opportunities - given the politically chaotic conditions - and pitfalls; among the latter might be included the

refusal of many radicals to participate in any survey of their attitudes and background. In any event, generalization to the radical attitudes at other campuses or in non-university circumstances would not be wholly supportable.

Moreover, there is an absence of theoretical aggrandizement in the study; no claim is made that radicals are created solely through the impact of a particular situation, book, article, movie or song. Such spontaneously created transformations, though not impossible, are highly improbable. More importantly, other variables are always present and in operation. This must necessarily be so, to explain why all individuals exposed to a particular influence do not experience identical or similar reactions. The survey data cannot explain why those non-radical individuals who had heard of Phil Ochs, for example, had not been radicalized. The reluctance of strongly liberal individuals to move towards more radical interpretations of American life, in spite of feelings of alienation, extensive political participation, and exposure to radical culture influences, is not readily explicable. It is maintained, however, that among those variables towards which attention should be directed are the political messages of cultural and literary opinion leaders. The identification of these individuals and analysis of the content of their work are two tasks presently ignored by political theoreticians. It is further argued that the most useful framework for studying the changing individuals against whom socializing influences are directed is that developed by the existential psychologists. The acquisition, development and reformulation of political attitudes by the individual is an ongoing process; possibilities

for choice and change remain. Placing an enlarged theory of socialization within such a framework, with attention centered on a changing individual rather than an inherently static social system, would enable the discipline to both incorporate and be enriched by previously unexamined materials.

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CHAPTER V

PHIL OCHS: PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS CULTURAL LEADER

A Thematic Analysis of Ochs' Compositions

The data pertaining to cultural influences upon political attitudes would tend to mandate closer attention to the particular political doctrines and messages of individual "influentials" or opinion leaders emanating from within popular culture. Such scrutiny seems particularly warranted in instances in which cultural figures have been identified on the basis of themes contained in their works. For example, although Cliff Robertson has been cited for his efforts on behalf of Biafran refugees, while Paul Newman and Robert Vaughan were frequently mentioned in connection with their anti-war organizational activities, these political efforts were external to their artistic functions and works. On the other hand, singers such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and Pete Seeger have attained roles as politically influential performers primarily on the basis of the messages and themes contained within their compositions rather than through acts external to them.

A number of the political themes within contemporary radical music have already been subjected to exploration. Given the analysis of the data collected through the attitude survey of radical students, however, it would appear to be useful to focus analysis upon the body of work

of a given performer. Since familiarity with and specific reference to Phil Ochs was most frequently related to attitudes of political radicalism, an inquiry into his material should prove most promising in an analysis of student radicalism. Having established some sort of linkage - causal or otherwise - between left-wing radical beliefs and tendencies to regard an individual performer in a particularly favorable manner, a next logical step should involve specific analysis of his material to determine precisely the ideas and values being communicated. In addition, given the attitudinal fluctuations among the politically radical in the last decade, Ochs may well be capable of serving as an archetype of the young radical. It may therefore prove possible to utilize his output to trace the progressive development of radical attitudes experienced among many young Americans.

From this latter perspective, the early albums of Phil Ochs¹ reflect a degree of political optimism clearly distinguishing them from more radical pieces later in his career. Written during the Kennedy era, these earlier albums contain romantic ballads among the protest tunes.² The protest songs were present, but they were directed towards specific social evils. In the first album, All The News That's Fit To Sing, Ochs deals with both the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam war with

¹Phil Ochs, All The News That's Fit To Sing (New York: Elektra, 1963); Phil Ochs, I Ain't A-Marching Anymore (New York: Elektra, 1964).

²Phil Ochs, "Celia," All The News That's Fit To Sing; Phil Ochs and Alfred Noyes, "The Highwayman," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore; Phil Ochs, "Changes," Phil Ochs In Concert (New York: Elektra, 1966).

comparative humor, when contrasted with later treatments of identical or comparable problems.

Sailing over to Vietnam,
Southeast Asian Birmingham;
Well training is the word we use,
Nice word to have in case we lose,
Training a million Vietnamese to fight
For the wrong government, and the American way.

Well they put me in a barracks house
Just across the way from Laos;
They said 'You're pretty safe when the troops deploy,
But don't turn your back on your houseboy!
When they ring the gong,
Watch out for the Viet Cong.' ...

Well I walked to the jungle around the bend;
Who should I meet but the ghost of President Diem;
He said, 'You're fighting to keep Vietnam free
For good old Diemocracy.'
That means rule by one family and fifteen thousand
American troops,
Give or take a few (pause) thousand (pause) American
(pause) troops. ¹

The number of troops indicated represents only one measure of the distance Americans have travelled since the beginning of the Vietnam conflict. Ochs' optimistic outlook blended irony with social comment during the early years of his protest music. Draft Dodger Rag is representative of the mood in the songs on the first two albums.

Oh I'm just a typical American boy
From a typical American town;
I believe in God and Senator Dodd
And keeping old Castro down.
And when it comes my time to serve,
I know better dead than Red;
But when I got to my old draft board,
Buddy, this is what I said.

¹ Phil Ochs, "Talking Vietnam," All The News That's Fit To Sing also see Phil Ochs, "Talking Cuban Crisis," All The News That's Fit To Sing.

Sarge, I'm only eighteen, I got a ruptured spleen
And I always carry a purse;
I've got eyes like a bat and my feet are flat
And my asthma's getting worse.
Yes think of my career, my sweetheart dear,
My poor old invalid aunt;
Besides I ain't no fool, I'm a-goin' to school,
And I'm working in a defense plant. 1

A deep-rooted, generalized alienation from American society is not present in the content of these early songs. The commitments are traditionally civil libertarian. Ballad of William Worthy, for example, was written both in opposition to the State Department ban on travel to selected communist nations and in defense of freedom of the press.

Well it's of a bold reporter a story I will tell;
He went down to the Cuban land, the nearest place
to hell;
He'd been there many times before, but now the law
does say
The only way to Cuba is with the CIA.

William Worthy isn't worthy to enter our door;
Went down to Cuba, he's not American anymore;
But somehow it is strange to hear the State
Department say
You are living in the free world, in the free world
you must stay. 2

Similarly, Knock on The Door³ is a defense of rights of individual privacy against totalitarian incursions. Iron Lady⁴ treats another

¹ Phil Ochs, "Draft Dodger Rag," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore.

² Phil Ochs, "The Ballad of William Worthy," All The News That's Fit To Sing.

³ Phil Ochs, "Knock on The Door," All The News That's Fit To Sing.

⁴ Phil Ochs, "Iron Lady," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore.

traditional civil libertarian concern, capital punishment. Moreover, in addition to the commitment to tenets of political liberalism, Ochs sings a number of songs in celebration of the American land. Bound For Glory, a tribute to Woody Guthrie, appropriately acknowledges the relationship between Guthrie's songs - This Land Is Your Land, for example - and Ochs' Power and the Glory and Hills of West Virginia.¹

As expressed in the earliest albums, Ochs' most radical commitments involved attitudes in opposition to war and racism. The underlying political philosophy, however, appears more humanistic than radical. In the context of the Kennedy administration, his concerns may have subjectively appeared in harmony with a changing political atmosphere rather than in opposition to a stagnant, immovable political system. Even as late as 1968, during the McCarthy campaign, Ochs directly rejected the implication that non-violent change within the political system was impossible.

Look...you can't say things aren't changing. America may be corrupt, but it's still capable of reform. The air is full of strivings for something new - there's McCarthy, Yippies, the New Left, Black Power, and so on...

Look, I can't stop believing in reform and evolution. I guess I'm still some kind of democratic socialist. 2

¹Phil Ochs, "Bound For Glory," All The News That's Fit To Sing; Woody Guthrie, "This Land Is Your Land"; Phil Ochs, "Power and the Glory," All The News That's Fit To Sing; Phil Ochs, "Hills of West Virginia," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore,

²Peter Schjeldahl, op. cit., p. 34.

This thematic stage in Ochs' political philosophy reached a culminating point in the following celebration of freedom and peaceful change.

What's that I hear now, ringing in my ears;
I've heard that sound before.
What's that I hear now, ringing in my ears,
I hear it more and more.
It's the sound of freedom calling,
Ringing up to the sky;
It's the sound of the old ways-a-falling;
You can hear it if you try. ¹

The assassination of President Kennedy appears to have had a significant effect on the direction of Ochs' ideas. One of Ochs' responses to Kennedy's death was the song of memorial, That Was The President.² Ochs has been described as "a born hero-worshipper."³ He has described himself in the following terms.

I've been James Dean-ized, Elvis Presley-ized, John Kennedy-ized, Malcolm X-ized, Fidel Castro-ized, and Che Guevara-ized. That's my whole life right there. All the rest is fiction. ⁴

The third and fifth albums reflect the influence of Ochs' latter heroes.⁵ The deepening American involvement in Vietnam is the central political theme among the directly political lyrics. The last ballad appears

¹ Phil Ochs, "What's That I Hear," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore.

² Phil Ochs, "That Was The President," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore.

³ Peter Schjedahl, op. cit., p. 33.

⁴ Ibid, p. 32.

⁵ Phil Ochs, Phil Ochs in Concert and Tape From California, (New York: A&M, 1968).

upon the third album, Phil Ochs In Concert; significantly, Changes¹ serves both to describe and foreshadow a personal, philosophical redirection. Those songs appearing after the major American escalation in Vietnam, and the emergence of student radicalism as a significant phenomenon in America, are characterized by complex, inward melodic and lyric development. The directness of the early topical songs of protest is gone; the differences are not merely stylistic, however. The early songs attend to specific social evils from a perspective that viewed them as temporary aberrations in the American system. The latter songs are allegorical and personal; their treatment of social problems becomes virtually tangential to a form of poetic self-exploration.

A loss of confidence in the ability of American political institutions to deal effectively with social problems characterizes Ochs' outlook in the albums succeeding Phil Ochs In Concert. A number of the songs during the later period stress the personal consequences for the composer of the political acts of his nation.

I don't know, but it seems that every single dream's
painting pretty pictures in the air;
Then it tumbles in despair, and it starts to bend 'till
by the end it's a nightmare...

I don't know, but I see that every thing is free;
when you're young, the treasures you can take;
But the bridge is bound to break, and you reach the end
screaming it's all been a mystery. 2

¹Phil Ochs, "Changes," op. cit.

²Phil Ochs, "Cross My Heart," Pleasures of the Harbor,
(New York: A&M, 1968).

The passing of youth and innocence, in a corrupted nation, thus appears as a prominent theme. America's loss of political innocence finds its reflection in a personal loss of political certitude and national feeling. Ochs' public self-contemplation, depicting a personality uprooted by political events, recurs in several songs.¹

Who's that coming down the road, a sailor from the sea,
He looks a lot like me, I'd know him anywhere, I had to
stare.

Feathers on his fingertips, a halo 'round his spine,
He must have lost his mind,
He should be put away, right away...

New York City has exploded and it's crashed upon
my head,

I dove beneath the bed and started biting nails, turning
pale.

The landlord's at my window and the burglar's at my door,
I can't take it anymore.

I guess I'll have to fly, it's worth a try.

Someone's banging on the wall, but there's no party to
recall.

Singer of the shadows of his soul, so he's been told...

From the mirror of my mantle to the velvet on my bed,
Trapped upon a stolen stage, a Barrymore at best.

My rhymes are all repeating, my ballads are growing
blind,

Words have turned to water, the women turned to wine.

The draft board is debating if they'd like to take my life,

I'd sooner take a wife and raise a child or two, wouldn't
you?

Peace has turned to poison and the flag has blown a fuse,
Even courage is confused, and I'm all afraid I'm near the
grave. ²

¹Phil Ochs, "I've Had Her," Pleasures of the Harbor; Phil Ochs, "The Party," Pleasures of the Harbor; Phil Ochs, "When in Rome," Tape From California; Phil Ochs, "Pretty Smart On My Part," Rehearsals For Retirement. (New York: A&M, 1969).

²Phil Ochs, "Tape From California," Tape From California.

Ochs describes personal experiences with marijuana and drugs as personal palliatives. These are found lacking for a personality previously committed to political and personal involvement in societal affairs. The effects of political events upon the content of Ochs' songs, particularly in their evocations of personal disintegration, attest to the primacy that he has given political matters.

Ochs' rejection of political retreatism has led to an exploration of the political alternatives. His early songs condemned political non-involvement, and rallied about politically libertarian positions pertaining to freedom of expression and organization. This attitude was coupled with an acidic regard for apathetic orientation towards social matters.

So keep right on a-talkin' and tell us what to do,
But if nobody listens, my apologies to you;
And I know that you were younger once
'Cause you sure are older now
And when I've got something to say, sir,
I'm going to say it now. 1

And I won't breathe the bracing air when I'm gone,
And I can't even worry about my cares when I'm gone;
Won't be asked to do my share when I'm gone,
So I guess I'll have to do it while I'm here.

And I won't be laughing at the lies when I'm gone,
And I can't question how or when or why when I'm gone;
Can't live proud enough to die when I'm gone;
So I guess I'll have to do it while I'm here. 2

¹ Phil Ochs, "I'm Going To Say It Now," Phil Ochs In Concert.

² Phil Ochs, "When I'm Gone," Phil Ochs In Concert.

However, the effects of political frustration are evident in two correlative thematic expressions that have developed through Ochs' work. Essentially, they reflect a dual outlook - both personal and political - upon the prospects for political change through radical measures. Although his material has become more sympathetic to the alternative of violent revolution, neither confidence nor pleasure appear to characterize his consideration of it.

The seeds of revolutionary violence were present relatively early in Ochs' music. I'm Going To Say It Now¹ alludes to student revolutionaries in other lands; in That's What I Want To Hear², Ochs exhorts the workers to "get together and fight." Days of Decision³ envisages "mobs of anger" "roaming the streets"; Ring of Revolution⁴ becomes a celebration of violence, in which "only the dead are forgiven." Prophetic warnings of violent revolution are contained in the following brief passages.

There's been warnings of fire and warnings of flood;
Now there's a warning of the bullet and the blood. 5

The anarchists are rising while we're racing for the moon;
It doesn't take a seer to see, the scene is coming soon. 6

¹ Phil Ochs, "I'm Going To Say It Now," op. cit.

² Phil Ochs, "That's What I Want To Hear," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore.

³ Phil Ochs, "Days of Decision," I Ain't A-Marching Anymore.

⁴ Phil Ochs, "Ring of Revolution," Phil Ochs In Concert.

⁵ Phil Ochs, "Days of Decision," op. cit.

⁶ Phil Ochs, "Tape From California," op. cit.

The riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago marked another turning point in Ochs' work. Arrested during the Yippie Festival of Life for his participation in the release of a pig in the streets of Chicago as the Yippie's Presidential nominee, the post-convention album contained a cover picture of Ochs beside his own tombstone. From the title of the album - Rehearsals for Retirement - to the markings upon the stone - "Phil Ochs...Died in Chicago" - to the content of the songs, Ochs' outlook upon self and society moved beyond alienation, prophecy, and personal exploration toward an avowed embracing of the revolutionary alternative.¹ Thus, as Ochs' faith in reform diminished, and personal visions darkened progressively with each album, the appeal of revolutionary release became increasingly welcome. A general outlook upon the American system as one unwilling to bend to human demands led Ochs to the conclusion that such a system must therefore be broken.

The enemy is unmistakably identified.

Farewell to the gangster, we don't need him anymore;
We've got the police force, they're the ones who break
the law;
He's got a gun and he's a hater, ²
He shoots first, he shoots later.

The police force, as a revolutionary target, serves both as symbolic and literal representatives for American society.

¹Phil Ochs, Rehearsals for Retirement.

²Phil Ochs, "I Kill Therefore I Am," Rehearsals for Retirement.

I am the masculine American male;
I kill therefore I am. 1

The post-Chicago album concludes with Cchs, musing upon his personal retirement and perhaps imminent martyrdom², moving from earlier descriptions of revolution to an avowed pledge. There is one final cry - "Leave my life alone"³ before the oath is taken.

So I pledge allegiance against the flag,
And the fall for which it stands... 4

Phil Cchs: A Postscript

On March 27, 1970, Phil Ochs gave two concerts in succession to audiences that twice filled Carnegie Hall in New York City. An examination both of his performance and the responses that it engendered may prove instructive. Among the hypotheses that may thus be tested are the extent to which such concerts serve as means for radical political expression; furthermore, the depth and nature of the bond between a politically influential cultural figure and his audience may be assessed.

¹Ibid.

²Cchs' self-image as an individual expressing his views through song at risk of considerable peril has been persistent. His interest in and portrayal of Joe Hill, in his composition "Joe Hill" on Tape From California, as a folk singer martyred by America for his radical sentiments is one example of this attitude.

³Phil Ochs, "My Life," Rehearsals for Retirement.

⁴Phil Ochs, "Another Age," op. cit.

Phil Ochs' entrance upon the stage, alone, was received with clamorous cheers and applause. Earlier, as the audience waited to move into the auditorium to take their seats for the second performance, at midnight, many young people had sung songs from his record albums. Now, as Ochs walked slowly to the center of the stage, amid the applause, and began strumming his guitar, many in the audience shouted suggestions from these albums. They were not disappointed, as Ochs began singing "The Bells," from All The News That's Fit To Sing, produced in 1962.

In "The Bells," Ochs adapts the verse of a poem by Edgar Allen Poe to his own melody. In considering the course of the concert, Ochs' choice of "The Bells" as his initial selection was a significant foreboding.

'The Bells' is an exercise in onomatopoeia, the sounds of the four types of bells evoking moods of merriment, happiness, alarm, and melancholy. Each stanza is longer, more complex, and more intense than the preceding one; the effect is climactic and even tragic. The poem is also a quaternion: the four bells symbolize the four stages in man's life: childhood, marriage, maturity and old age culminating in death. ¹

The poem, which grew by accretion over a period of one year, was completed shortly before Poe's death from intoxication.² "The Bells" was not published in its entirety, in fact, until one month after the demise of the artist.

¹ Norman Foerster and Robert P. Falk, Eight American Writers: An Anthology of American Literature: (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1963), p. 8.

² Ibid., p. 36.

"The Bells" may be understood as essentially a poem about the death and destruction of an artist. The concepts of martyrdom and self-destruction, recurrent in Ochs' work, whether of symbolic or literal meaning, thus presented themselves at the commencement of his performance. Morbid in tone, "The Bells" involves artistic self-contemplation of an imminent demise. Ochs' delivery of this song - one of the earliest in his career - supports the interpretation that its place at the opening of the concert represented a consciously symbolic decision. Ochs labored through the piece; at various points, his singing ceased and his voice cracked. Silently strumming through a chorus, the guitar slowed the melodic pace. When he had concluded, Ochs retreated several steps, to confused applause, and four other performers came onto the stage.

Ochs' apparel was uncharacteristic. The traditional clothes of the urban folk-singer had been abandoned. Ochs' customary appearance is described below.

...he was wearing a version of the old Village uniform (which is a uniform by dint of being as little like a uniform as can be): jeans and a battered suede jacket over a work shirt, modified by a more fashionable leather vest. ¹

In their place he wore tight mod pants, a gold lame jacket, and high black boots. He resembled, in his costume, one model of a rock and roll star of the 1950's; it is in this guise that he appears on the cover of his most recent album, Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits, on which a number of the

¹Peter Schjeldahl, op. cit. . p. 32.

compositions rendered during the concert appear. The other members of his entourage were similarly dressed to resemble the group of entertainers who accompanied the rock and roll stars of that era. The drummer, guitarist and bass player wore dark glasses, tight dungarees and leather jackets. Only the piano player, Lincoln Mayorga, attired in a tuxedo with tails, remained apart from this display; with his tails thrown over the back of the piano bench, and his dark glasses, his appearance was similarly bizarre and uncharacteristic.

Strumming aimlessly on his guitar, Ochs gave a rambling address to the audience, which was difficult to follow both because of the acoustics and Ochs' tendency to slur his words. The general thrust of his remarks was that he did not want the second performance to be similar to the first. He announced that the audience during the earlier show had objected to his new repertoire; the performance had ended abruptly as a result of a bomb threat.

You can call up and make a bomb threat. I don't care. I don't want this to be like the first show. I want to have a good concert.

Somehow, after the first show had been aborted by the bomb threat, Ochs had pushed his hand through a glass door. Periodically, he reminded the audience that he had done this to demonstrate his political sincerity, that he was playing with a hand whose nerve endings may have been severed, and that guitar playing for him was thus difficult and painful.

Ochs and his group played one apolitical song which was followed by Ochs' first major explanatory address pertaining to his appearance,

the character of his group, and his musical repertoire.

You may wonder why I, Phil Ochs, New York folksinger, stand before you in my gold lame jacket. How I, Phil Ochs, New York folk-singer, can come before you as a rock and roll star. This is what America has made me.

Ochs revealed that his costume was not an attempt at satirical comment; the ironic joke, discernible only to the cognoscenti, was, in fact, the new reality. His personal appearance and musical interests, both altered to reflect a return to those common in the 1950's, corresponded to the evolution of political forces in American society. As such, they represented serious, deeply motivated personal decisions.

As Ochs spoke, members of the audience began shouting requests for songs once again.

Ah, The Highwayman. Someone wants to hear the story of the bandit who robbed from the rich.

Ochs refused, however, to return to his older material. In one respect, the conflict between audience requests for older material and the desire of entertainers to mine their newer interests is not uncommon. Ochs' explanation indicated, however, that his reluctance was based upon an alteration in his political outlook. Ochs argued that he had been a protester "long before you people were protesting"; that he continued to protest through his songs "after Dylan and the others had stopped"; that he had been to Chicago, had been arrested and had "testified for the Chicago 7 and Judge Julius Hoffman treated me very nicely."

What else is there to do after Chicago? ...I died in Chicago and now I'm starting all over again. This is what America has made me. And that's why I stand here - I stand here before you

- me, Phil Ochs, All-American boy, New York folk-singer, in my gold lame jacket, with my rock and roll band looking like a couple of Hell's Angels.¹

As members of the audience loudly remonstrated with him, Ochs led the band in another apolitical number, containing a rock beat reminiscent of the mid-1950's. Ochs' attempt to follow it with another song was interrupted, however. An audience, devoted to Phil Ochs, the protest singer of the radical left², could not listen patiently to songs that - in terms of both music and content - were completely contrary to their initial expectations. A loud chorus of boos prompted Ochs to elaborate further upon his behavior. As he began, a girl cried "Be yourself." Ochs responded that he was, indeed, himself and that for him to play his old songs would represent a betrayal of his current political feelings.

I'm the same Phil Ochs I always was. I could have come up here and gotten your applause. I've come back to New York for four years now. I've filled Carnegie Hall for four years, and I've gotten applause from you people every year. I could do that again by singing the same old songs, but I don't want that anymore. I don't need that anymore.

Ochs observed, in a rambling manner, that he currently lived in Los Angeles³, that he was born in Ohio and that he had lived in New York for several years while performing as a folk-singer in Greenwich Village.

¹ The statement illuminates the symbolic meaning of the album cover for Rehearsals for Retirement described earlier.

² John Kifner, "A Spectator's Guide to The Troublemakers," Esquire, Feb., 1969, pp. 86-91. Ochs, Joan Baez, Arlo Guthrie and The Fugs' Ed Sanders are described as four radical personalities operating within the context of their music.

³ The trek from New York City was chronicled in Tape From California.

He regarded New York as narrow and insular; he contended that the young radicals in the audience, who were bombing, marching and shouting "right on!" at rallies, were ignoring the larger political forces of the nation. An entire country of citizens with political beliefs different from those of New Yorkers existed; they were the majority, and people interested in political change had to learn to understand their viewpoints. Genuine radicals would leave New York City, move to the South and mid-West, and "become like the rest of the country." Ochs then proceeded to play a medley of songs from Elvis Presley, Little Richard and Buddy Holley, rock and roll stars of the mid-1950's.

The pattern for the concert was thus established. Ochs' attempt to perform would be countered by requests, objections, shouts, and periodic booing from the audience. His explanations would be interrupted in a similar manner; he would reiterate that he was the same Phil Ochs that he had always been, that America had produced him, and that he wanted to be a part of America. His dialogue would gradually terminate, to be replaced by one of two types of songs. The first category consisted of popular melodies from the rock and roll era of the 1950's; those songs lacked political content or musical originality but were generally introduced by Ochs as a valid political statement in relationship to the American heartland. The second category consisted of new songs that appear on Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits.¹ Despite its title, the album contains no selections from previous albums; both the title and the cover picture of Ochs in his concert apparel were designed to continue Ochs' self-portrayal as an American rock and roll star.

¹Phil Ochs, Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits (New York: A&M, 1970).

A content analysis of these latter songs reveals one consistent theme. Ochs' songs, though superficially apolitical, display a respect for his mid-West, non-urban American origins, significantly political in its implications. This tendency is evident in their melodic character and structure as well as in their lyric content.

Born in Ohio appeals for understanding and appreciation of the homeland that shaped Ochs' values and personality.¹ In Jim Dean of Indiana Ochs relates the life of James Dean, the late movie star who died in a motorcycle accident and became, in death, the object of cult-like adoration.² Ochs indicated during the concert that he was inspired to write the song by an old man whom he had met during a visit to Dean's former Indiana home. The man remarked to Ochs that he had not liked Dean very much because of his resistance to work; nonetheless, Ochs claimed that the old man, whom New Yorkers allegedly would regard with condescension, understood Dean, sensed his dreams, and felt a greater genuine respect for him than the more sophisticated young people in New York and Hollywood who proclaimed their affection. In Kingdom for a Car, Ochs relates the significance of the automobile in teenage dating practices in rural, middle America.³ The song was prefaced, during the concert, with introductory comments that argued that the truly provincial people were those who had

¹ Phil Ochs, "Born in Ohio," Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits.

² Phil Ochs, "Jim Dean of Indiana," Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits.

³ Phil Ochs, "Kingdom for a Car," Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits.

never left New York and that, as such, their obligation was to understand the social and political realities of the greater number of Americans. The actions and concerns of the latter segment of the population were less provincial by virtue of the fact that these represented the social environment of greater numbers of people.

Ochs' social comment in these songs reflects, at a minimum, the anti-urban attitudes that have periodically emerged among social and political thinkers commenting upon American social practices. Attitudes towards the mores of those sections of America not characterized by large urban centers have oscillated between contempt and horror, on the one hand, and romanticism.¹ These latest songs reflect the latter tendency; only those that are not part of urban, Eastern America can be described as genuinely relating to American society.

Ochs' performance at Carnegie Hall was politically significant for several reasons. The problem confronting American radicals, in the aftermath of Chicago, may be simply stated. Peaceful political change within a political system perceived as discredited and oppressive is regarded as impossible. The alternatives are violence, accommodation, exile or a cessation of political activity. In a situation so structured, each alternative represents an escape both from self and country; in each instance, achievement of political ends is ruled out as a possibility. Those

¹In this regard, the contrasting views of Lord Bryce, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexis De Tocqueville among others, might be compared with Spiro Agnew's orientations towards rural and Eastern, urban segments of America.

who embrace violence discard some of their social objectives by the adoption of these means. Often their initial ideological motivations, relating to revulsion against the violence perpetrated by American political institutions, are either ignored or rationalized away. In any case, the self-betrayal of the violent revolutionary is a form of escapism, since a serious disruption of American political, social and economic life can hardly be contemplated. The likelihood that superior force can be successfully utilized against the American state is not soberly calculated; such reasoning is replaced by quotations from guerilla leaders and Black Panther party spokesmen and through political prophecies. In the latter, that which ought to be done is achieved seemingly through the fervor of the expressed hope.

Ochs verbally rejected those whose political interests manifested themselves through bombings, marches and attendance at mass rallies. The context of his songs tends to indicate that Ochs has sought to symbolically return to his roots, to again become a part of the country that he had emotionally and politically forsaken for so long. To do so, however, required a form of self-immolation unique among political/cultural heroes. For example, Ochs' commentary became increasingly difficult to follow, apparently as a result of the bottle from which he conspicuously drank between songs. His words were slurred, his singing and playing careless.

Ochs' attitudes were reflected in his behavior towards the audience, particularly in his treatment of their requests for his songs of protest.

Ochs received considerable applause when he began to play Tape From California; however, he changed the melody, giving it a standard rock and roll beat. At the end he said

And that's the right way to play it; that's the way it should have been played all along.

The political significance inherent in a change of tempo and the grafting of an alien musical style onto a protest song may appear remote; yet Ochs' intent in making the change was evident in his announcement, and it was received with disapproval.

Audience perceptions of Ochs ranged from shock to sadness to anger. Moving through the audience, listening to comments, two dominant interpretations for Ochs' behavior appeared to prevail. One held that after the events at the Chicago convention, Ochs had somehow been deprived of his mental faculties.

He's lost his mind.

He's freaked out. His mind's gone. I mean, he's really freaked out.

The other dominant interpretation appeared to be that Ochs was, for reasons as yet unclear, insulting his audience; no longer approving of New Yorkers, as young radicals, he was indicating his lack of concern for them by ignoring their wishes in his choice of musical selections. It is noteworthy that neither group doubted Ochs' sincerity, particularly since as the concert wore on - it expired at approximately 3:30 A.M. - Ochs repeatedly reiterated that the superficially apolitical songs were valid representations of his current political attitudes.

One girl, among the second group in her appraisal of Ochs, shouted that he should care about his audience by performing the songs that they wanted to hear. Ochs maintained that his artistic integrity entitled him to play what he wished; "this is where I'm at now, politically, musical-ly." Despite his argument that it would be dishonest for him to play songs no longer representative of his political attitudes, Ochs' pursuit of his own musical vision was not popularly received. Long before the intermission, and through most of the post-intermission performance, paper planes - created from discarded programs containing a brief biography of the artist - flew from the several tiers of Carnegie Hall towards the stage. By the close of the evening, these paper planes - many of which came perilously close to Ochs as he sang - were strewn about the stage and the performers.

In addition to the symbolic rendering of The Bells and the musical mutilation of Tape From California, Ochs played two other songs from his previous albums. As he began the second segment of the performance, after the intermission, Ochs emerged upon the stage alone. Thus, he commenced the latter portion as he had the first; the difference was that this most recent entry alone upon the stage was unexpected. The audience, apparently hopeful that the other members of the group had been permanently removed from the concert, responded enthusiastically as Ochs began to strum I Ain't A-Marching Anymore. Ochs' position as the troubador of the New Left¹ has partially rested upon the popularity of

¹ John Kifner, 92. Cite., p. 59.

I Ain't A-Marching Anymore; appearing on his second record album, it is one of the most popular contemporary anti-war protest songs. Ochs sang it distractedly; his voice broke, acquiring a quiet tenor and a melancholy texture. One verse was completely omitted while several musical errors appeared on the guitar. In spite of the psychic pain that such a performance must have inflicted upon his following, Ochs was vigorously applauded at its conclusion. That the audience had, at that point, taken him back, having forgiven all that had earlier transpired, was made most clear when the four other members of the group returned to the stage. Their reentry produced the loudest chorus of booing yet, for this indicated that Ochs intended to persist in his new political/musical style. Ochs had not been bent to the audience's will; on the contrary, Ochs proceeded to perform Olde From Muskogee, a country and western song as hostile to young student radicals as Welfare Cadillac is to recipients of welfare payments.

Ochs, in an apparent attempt at ironic rebuttal to audience disapproval, also elected to perform I'm Going To Say It Now; this was the final song from his musical past, and it was also the last song performed alone.

If I've got something to say, sir,
I'm going to say it now. ²

This was a final proclamation to the audience of his independence from them; he intended to play the songs that he had chosen regardless of

¹Merle Haggard, "Olde From Muskogee," Olde From Muskogee, with Strangers (New York: Capitol, 1969).

²Phil Ochs, "I'm Going To Say It Now," op. cit.

their desires. The song has been a vehicle of expression for college students rebelling against administrative restraints on their behavior; it was employed in this setting as a weapon against an audience largely composed of such students seeking to thwart the altered musical intentions of its composer. The effect was not diminished by the omission of a verse, repetition of another verse, and the rearrangement of the lyrics in a third.

Phil Ochs' long estrangement from the political beliefs of the majority of Americans was not terminated by the events of this concert, nor by his most recent record album. In fact, it would be somewhat imprudent to predict the present content of his political views, given the emotionally-loaded atmosphere that characterized the two performances considered herein. However, his political judgments expressed during the concert should be appreciated as a response to political frustration by a nonviolent opinion leader of the radical left. In some measure, it is analogous to the decision of many concerned students who have chosen to work within the electoral political system. In doing so, these students often feel obliged to observe guidelines upon their appearance and behavior that do not reflect their genuine perceptions. Those students who were "clean for Gene" in the McCarthy campaign, for example, felt that short hair and inconspicuous dress were necessary for political effectiveness. The necessity to modulate political beliefs and consign radicals to the extremely irrational sector of the political spectrum is another aspect of the self-abnegation political radicals seeking accommodation with the system must undergo to achieve political success.

In each instance, those seeking to reduce their level of political frustration have felt compelled to diminish their individuality in order to attain their objectives. Compromise of political beliefs has never been painless, particularly for political partisans whose extreme positions contain a purity of purpose as part of their political and social message. Ochs' extreme attempt to return to his mid-Western American origins manifested itself in several ways. He renounced his previous involvement as a protest singer in no uncertain terms. Those songs that he did choose to sing from that era were performed lackadaisically; they emerged as musically and lyrically mutilated products. In doing so, however, Ochs disclaimed responsibility for his own behavior; he appeared, he claimed, as a product of American society. Ochs defended his behavior as a valid assertion of his current attitudes, however, so that the disclaimer of responsibility was ambivalent in its effect. His disregard of his audience was not unintentional. At one point, he demonstrated how easily he could receive their applause, by consenting to perform I'm Going To Say It Now. In spite of the ironic reference to the audience's behavior that the song contained, the audience did respond enthusiastically to the rendition. Undoubtedly, the response served to reinforce Ochs' feelings towards them by illuminating the ease with which he could still manipulate them. His performance of his past songs throughout the evening indicated a degree of contempt for those who could continue to applaud an individual who had rejected himself and had repudiated his admirers.

The feelings of self-estrangement and self-disgust that accompanied Ochs' disapproval of left-wing protest music produced, in short, a mirror image requiring the deflection of those feelings outward toward the audience as well as inward toward the self. The Bells was therefore a fitting prologue to the evening. The concert represented an attempt at artistic self-destruction and personal self-immolation that largely succeeded in its objectives. By the evening's end, Ochs had symbolically been martyred; by alienating himself from his following, and repudiating his political/musical past in order to become closer to an America that had refused past pleas for change, he had achieved a form of self-destruction. Although accomplished by his own acts of choice, Ochs perceived his evening as martyrdom, not suicide; "this is what America has made me," he proclaimed early in the concert. Ochs subjectively achieved the fate at the hands of America that he had been predicting would be his for so long.

Conclusion

The political odyssey of Phil Ochs is interesting both in itself and as a guideline to possible trends among student radicals. It has been suggested earlier that the themes of popular culture and particularly of popular music may serve as useful measures of developing political consciousness. The songs of Phil Ochs provide an outline of, and a guide to, the very special oscillations to which youthful American radicalism has been subjected in the past decade. This concert indicates that the personality and style of Phil Ochs, no less than his music, have travelled

upon their own unique voyage through political turmoil. He has not emerged without scars; as with James S. Kunen, Sally Belfrage, Paul Cowan, Jerry Rubin and the other young radicals who apparently feel obliged to display their wounds, these mutilations are most important political phenomena worthy of examination, if we wish to penetrate and understand their experiences.¹ Ochs' music, in particular, represents an almost continuous stream of avowedly autobiographical material that can be read in conjunction with standard prose self-portraits produced by other radicals.

Ochs' new political direction appears to parallel that of Bob Dylan, whose apolitical adaptation of country and western music provides a functional equivalent for Ochs' new sources of material. These seem representative of a new form of "dropping-out" from the American system increasingly common among American radicals; this form of political retreatism is not dependent upon the utilization of drugs in a semi-religious manner.

By the end of his memoir, Mungo has dropped out of the day-to-day struggles of a New Left he feels has 'changed from flowers and yellow submarines, peace and brotherhood, to sober revolutionary committees, Che-inspired berets, even guns.' Mungo, at the end, has reached a place of

¹Paul Cowan, The Making of an Un-American (New York: The Viking Press, 1970); Sally Belfrage, Freedom Summer (New York: The Viking Press, 1966); James S. Kunen, The Strawberry Statement: Notes of a College Revolution (New York: Random House, 1969); Jerry Rubin, Do It! (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970).

contentment similar to Bob Dylan's in 'Nashville Skyline.'
He cares most about nature, the country, private virtue,
community, writing and his friends. 1

The responses of the audience merit brief analysis. The audience reactions oscillated among feelings of affection, surprise and anger; the first performance closed with a bomb threat, while the second was characterized by vocal objections and soaring paper missiles. At the close of the concert, departing members of the audience gravitated towards several positions. One comment was that "something is wrong with him"; Ochs' political explanation for his performance was rejected, while Ochs' mental and emotional stability were questioned. The following comment was particularly significant.

Man, I'm never gonna pay to see him again. I'll just have to stay home and play the old ones.

The new songs were thus rejected as unrepresentative of Ochs' authentic political and social philosophy; on the other hand, the songs that Ochs himself had repudiated remained valid to his listeners. In other words, that Ochs had altered his orientation and had sought to regain his pre-radical youth under compulsion was deemed insufficient grounds by his audience for them to do likewise. Nor was the residual affection for Ochs banished; Ochs was described as "not being himself." The authentic, pre-concert vision of Ochs as the eloquent troubador of

¹Raymond Mungo, Famous Long Ago: My Life and Hard Times With Liberation News Service (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), reviewed by Jack Newfield, The New York Times Book Review, June 28, 1970, p. 6.

protest successfully competed with the reality that performed at the concert and was so impervious to argumentation from his following.

The Carnegie Hall concert was an extraordinary musical and political event. An audience that attends an artistic display, with political overtones, is rarely disappointed. One previous instance was Bob Dylan's reversion to electric guitars from non-electronic folk music at the Newport Folk Festival in 1965; at that time, the audience opposed his transformation, regarding it as a "sell-out" or mercenary compromise. By the close of that performance, they had been won over, however.

The introduction of electronic instrumentation on *Bringin' It All Back Home* was met with the anathemas of outraged fans who screamed 'cop-out' and 'sell-out' at their self-made demi-god. (How many people remember that Dylan was shouted down by his 'fans' at the '65 Newport Folk Festival? How many people remember the photographs that showed the tears in our hero's eyes when he reappeared on stage to sing 'It's All Over Now, Baby Blue'?) With respect to his musical transition Dylan told *Playboy*, 'My friends in the Village who were painters couldn't keep on painting the same pictures with the same colors over and over; neither can I. ¹

The Ochs performance was less successful; as such, it represents a virtually unique case study of the process of political identification between large segments of the population with a cultural figure. It was a virtually ideal experience for such a study because the initial positive identification was disrupted. The political and musical expectations of the audiences were completely and abruptly rebuffed. Such a comprehensive disregard for audience expectations is unusual and, as such, it

¹Allan Bennett, "Somethin's Happening," *The Kudzu*, Vol. 1, May 13, 1969, p. 8.

permitted insights to be gained into the nature of the identification process. The frustration of audience anticipations revealed the intensity of the audience involvement with the performer. The plea for Ochs to be faithful to himself and to care about his audience represented a desire for the sudden cleavage between them to disappear. In this context, the cry for Ochs to "be himself" was essentially a request for him to "be like us" as he had been in the past. It is noteworthy that each positive gesture towards his past, no matter how feebly performed, evoked pleasure; the new musical repertoire, on the other hand, produced highly emotional responses to the sudden disruption of the bonds.

The frustration of audience expectations by a performer with whom previous political ties have produced intense emotional identification was a rare and perhaps unique experience, for both performer and audience. The break-down of this linkage, however, most convincingly tended to support the hypotheses pertaining to its existence and importance. The disruption of musical communion between audience and entertainer that occurred at Carnegie Hall, over political issues, should serve to remind political scientists that political experiences may occur in superficially non-political settings. Students of political behavior in general and radical political activity in particular must attempt to delineate and study the possible types of experiences that may be politically significant. This political experiment should be another reminder that voting behavior is not the only nor necessarily the most significant form of political expression.

The analysis of political experiences such as the Phil Ochs concert, the Newport Festival, or the 1969 Woodstock Festival in Bethel, New York presents a serious challenge to the social sciences. These experiences are themselves non-replicable; interpretations are not based upon quantifiable data that, once produced, can be generated again. The politically significant and illuminating interactions between the audience and Phil Ochs at Carnegie Hall can not be produced again; this sample of political cultural behavior was not an artificially created experiment under the careful control and supervision of social scientists. As such, the experiences of the participants can not be penetrated again; this form of political event is not susceptible to replication. The spontaneous political behavior displayed during the performances can not be duplicated. At best, similar experiences - another concert, by Phil Ochs or another performer, during which analogous activities transpire - can be witnessed and analyzed.

In addition, however, the findings resist external verification because they are not based upon quantified data. Assessment of audience responses was not based upon a scientific sampling of the population; nor were attitude surveys completed prior to and after the concert. Thus, the interpretation of the political, psychological and cultural significance of the Phil Ochs concert is both impressionistic and subjective; it could hardly be otherwise. That the strictest canons for scientific, scholarly inquiry may have been violated in the preceding analysis should not be cause for concern. These standards are variable in applicability; to

consider them binding upon all subject matter under examination, regardless of their appropriateness, would excessively rigidify the social science disciplines. Political science, in particular, ought not exclude political behavior that is not susceptible to quantitative and statistical manipulation. Only a discipline that construed a very narrow pattern of behavior as political could afford to limit its analysis in this manner. The richness and complexity of political life requires that political scientists concerned with a variety of political questions seek out for study empirical behavior in forms other than those under the examiner's strict control. Significant political experiences that may not be quantifiable may merit examination. Appraisal of these experiences can be performed intelligently and unashamedly.

All assessments of political phenomena are inherently subjective; it is exceedingly pretentious to deny that personal values, attitudes and experiences shape critical judgement, no matter how rigid the standards of inquiry imposed upon the material. The subjective nature of knowledge is a commonplace among behavioral scientists and philosophers of science¹; however, an avowedly subjective interpretation of non-replicable, non-quantifiable material represents the logical termination of a political science that treats the political world as virtually coextensive with the world of experience. The full implications of both a broad definition of "political" and the acceptance of the subjective nature of political assessments are tested by the study and inclusion of phenomena traditionally

¹ Abraham Kaplan, op. cit.; E. E. Schattschneider, op. cit.

excluded from political analysis. If political scientists are to reestablish their ability to communicate with the lay public, and to test hypotheses against empirical phenomena that may be both bizarre and difficult to scientifically interpret, then both the scope and means for analysis must be broadened. Only in this manner can the full extent of political reality be studied, and unique political relationships be thoroughly appreciated.

CHAPTER VI

AN EXISTENTIAL POLITICAL SCIENCE

This study has approached the related areas of socialization theory and political radicalism from a variety of perspectives. In one sense, the number and origin of the specific attitudes that have been measured confines the application of the study to larger social and disciplinary issues. However, it is characteristic of social science research that its broadest conclusions and interpretations frequently rest upon narrow foundations of verified data. Konrad Lorenz's On Aggression¹, for example, expounds a provocative explanation for the behavior of the entire human species, from its origin, upon experiments and observations with a small sampling of animals. One model representing social science theory might well be in the shape of an inverted pyramid, with conclusions at the height and data at the narrow base. The remarks in this final chapter are not offered, however, as verified propositions; rather, these are speculative inferences, offering both interpretations of phenomena studied herein and proposals for future research.

It is possible to perceive current political orientations as indicative of new and increasingly personal and individualized ways of expressing

¹Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966).

attitudes profoundly political by implication. The causes for the diversified means of political expression are many; the impact of technology, the influence of new media systems, and the effect of social and economic systems require further investigation and research. The justification for such inquiry rests with the implications of political expression for the direction of both the political system and the discipline charged with its study.

A number of distinguishing means of responding to political influences can be categorized. Direct political involvement has been given greatest attention by political scientists; its polar opposite, political apathy, has not gone unignored. The political meanings of drug experiences have not, however, been sufficiently studied; it appears to be a value-laden simplification to describe drug-users as, in turn, radical, alienated, apolitical or ill. Distortions in future survey results in this area can be anticipated, with the entry of former soldiers in population samples, given the widespread smoking of marijuana among American troops in Vietnam. Indeed, it may not be possible to discover the personal meanings and political implications of drug experiences through survey research; the uncovering of such information may require more direct, intensified penetration of individual motivations.

Other means of political expression have been largely ignored by political scientists. Radicals and journalists, not political scientists, have focused attention on the political implications contained in folk and rock music. The transformation of cultural gatherings into political events is of profound political importance; given the emotional linkages

between cultural figures and individuals, a closer examination of the political and social content of messages of songs, movies and other vehicles of cultural expression is of singular importance. The ideological importance radicals attach to rock as a political tool, for example, should be sufficient grounds for political scientists to divert their attention toward its content. Moreover, more rigorous efforts will have to be made to assess the degree of attitude change - as distinct from reinforcement - produced by such messages. Further efforts to differentiate among characteristics of cultural leaders and the nature of their political messages would also be indicated.

Inquiry into the nature of the identification process would also have implications for theories of charisma. The direct entrance of cultural personalities into politics remains a relatively atypical phenomenon; however, the extent of their influence, while operating in indirectly political ways, remains to be studied. The functional character of such linkages would be a primary research area for political scientists interested in this field. The presence of common personal characteristics or social philosophies among those individuals gravitating towards particular cultural figures is another hypothesis that might merit further attention. Comparative analyses of the political messages contained in different types of music at different points in time might also prove fruitful. In short, a whole range of researchable topics - a comparison of the music of the IWW with contemporary radical music, or an inquiry into the functional significance of types of music for different American subcultures - are present in this

area.¹ The interrelationships between cultural forces and political events requires that they be studied, if a proper appreciation of the sources of political ideas and the direction of contemporary political theories is to be attained.

Nor are the political messages in music the only ones that merit consideration. Political theorists too frequently assume, in their work, that descriptive or evaluative political theory can only appear in the form of non-fictional narrative. Political theorists in the discipline of political science appear to study and communicate with other theorists; a decline in output of a theoretical character emanating from this relatively constricted circle produces the cry that political theory is dying.

There is no contemporary absence of political theory; individuals comment upon, and respond to, situations of political and social importance

¹ Among the available materials are: Benjamin A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); Arna W. Bontemps and Langston Hughes, The Book of Negro Folklore (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1958); Benjamin A. Botkin, Sidewalks of America (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954); Theodore Bikel, Folksongs and Footnotes (New York: Meridian, 1960); Oscar Brand, The Ballad Mongers (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1962); Oscar Brand, Singing Holidays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957); Oscar Brand, Folksongs for Fun (New York: Medallion, Berkeley Publications, 1954); Benjamin A. Botkin, Treasury of New York City Folklore (New York: Random House, 1956); Milton Okun, Something to Sing About (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968); Normal Luboff, Songs of Man (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965); Joyce Kornbluh, Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1964); Edith Fulton Fowke, Songs of Work and Freedom (New York: Doubleday, 1951); Alan Lomax, Folksongs USA (New York: Duell, 1947); Alan Lomax, Pete Seeger, and Woody Guthrie, op. cit.; Guy and Candie Carawan, op. cit., Waldemar Hille (Ed.), The People's Song Book (New York: Boni and Gaer, 1948).

in strikingly different ways. Theories are incomplete and avowedly subjective; film-makers, composers, painters, sculptors and writers often express political judgments and theoretical orientations in their works. That these are difficult for political scientists to accurately examine does not negate their existence. As such, an uncovering of the political content in all aspects of cultural expression may prove highly provocative. Such investigation might well be directed towards the answering of a number of pertinent questions.

What underlying values can be found in these works? What, if any, are the direct political messages contained therein? Do political and social groups in American society tend to identify with particular artists with distinct social philosophies? Are the messages emanating from different cultural media in accord with each other? What common political orientations can be found in or animate those interested in particular cultural products? Can significant differences in content be found through historical or sociological analysis of cultural figures and political messages? Has the character of response and the intensity of linkages and identification been constant? An attempt to relate political orientations to larger cultural influences must also refine our theoretical framework for considering such relationships.

The data in the survey would tend to indicate that attention to the importance of political messages in science fiction may be particularly warranted. A useful analysis might involve an examination of the changing nature of social utopias depicted therein. The values revealed by both the substance of the social blueprint and the author's attitude towards

it might be particularly instructive. The attraction of individuals with different political philosophies for different science fiction writings would not be unanticipated. Of particular interest would be a cross-national survey of political commentary taking the form of science fiction. An analysis of themes in American and Soviet science fiction materials might serve to illuminate underlying tendencies in the direction of both societies.

The forms of political expression described above are not exhaustive; in a sense, virtually all forms of personal expression are not without their political implications. The personality is shaped by political and social situations; personal interests - in particular literary or musical matters - are but one manifestation of a broader human orientation towards reality. An understanding of atypical personality structures in relation to the surrounding social system may be useful in indicating one of the theoretical arguments being advanced. Studies of personality, utilizing psychological and psychiatric techniques and methodologies, may have greater relevance to studies of political behavior than has hitherto been supposed.

As described earlier, schizophrenia may be understood as an attitude towards the world; it involves a relationship towards social situations.¹ Ronald D. Laing's clinical work, almost solely with schizophrenics,

¹ Shirley S. Angrist, "Mental Illness and Deviant Behavior: Unresolved Conceptual Problems," Sociological Quarterly 7, Autumn, 1966, pp. 436-438; Eugene T. Gendlin, "Research in Psychotherapy with Schizophrenic

has led him to conclude that schizophrenic withdrawal may be essential for particular individuals if such individuals are to protect their essence and integrity. Moreover, Laing has analyzed the schizophrenic response in terms of its political implications; schizophrenia may be approached as a strategy of personality organization by which the self expresses attitudes deeply political in meaning.

'Schizophrenia' is a diagnosis, a label applied by some people to others...

There is no such 'condition' as 'schizophrenia', but the label is a social fact and the social fact a political event. This political event, occurring in the civic order of society, imposes definitions and consequences on the labeled person. It is a social prescription that rationalizes a set of social actions whereby the labeled person is annexed by others, who are legally sanctioned, medically empowered and morally obliged, to become responsible for the person labeled. The person labeled is inaugurated not only into a role, but into a career of patient, by the concerted action of a coalition (a 'conspiracy')...

The 'committed' person labeled as patient, and specifically as 'schizophrenic', is degraded from full existential and legal status as human agent... More completely, more radically than anywhere else in our society, he is invalidated as a human being. ¹

Moreover, Laing's ultimate solution for the schizophrenic phenomenon is politically messianic; he proposes a radical restructuring of political forms, social values, and personal modes of behavior. In this context, attempts to relate personal disorganization to alienation become somewhat ludicrous.² Concepts of personality, disorder and normality

Patients and The Nature of That 'Illness'," American Journal of Psychotherapy 20, January, 1966, pp. 4-16.

¹R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 120.

²Melvin L. Kohn and John A. Clausen, "Social Isolation and Schizophrenia," American Sociological Review 20, June, 1955, pp. 265-273.

are too imprecise for such analysis to be useful. The more basic and fundamental problem relates to the manner in which political attitudes manifest themselves in personalities. How do persons respond to stresses (real or imagined) emanating from or caused by the political system? The appropriate problem for research with the concept of alienation is not whether the alienated are ill; rather, what does alienation represent or imply in terms of interrelationships between personalities and political systems.

Laing's use of the term "political event" refers to the actions of socially designated individuals and institutions towards a particular person and the consequences of their actions for that person. The term "political" may be used in another sense, however. Schizophrenia - as well as other forms of personality disturbance - can be described as political from the viewpoint of the disturbed individual. It is his response that is political in nature, as well as whatever other responses to his actions may develop. Schizophrenia and other forms of personality disturbance may be understood as types of political expression. As a means of political expression, responding to social causes, to preserve some semblance of individuality before the ego is completely shattered, schizophrenia may serve as a weapon of social rebellion. For young people, such forms of withdrawal may be particularly beckoning alternatives. For them, means of political expression may be perceived as relatively unavailable and rarely potent. Schizophrenia and mental illnesses are among the personal strategies of human personality devised to cope with socially entrapping situations.

The incidence of mental illness among the young has not gone unnoticed.¹ Laing, after quoting statistics comparing university enrollments in Britain with the number of commitments to mental institutions, observed that

we are driving our children mad more effectively than we are genuinely educating them. Perhaps it is our way of educating them that is driving them mad.²

There are nearly ten million Americans under twenty-five who require mental health treatment; only five percent of these young Americans are receiving any attention at all, in contrast to the positive assistance that they require.³ The statistics for American and British youth are overwhelming; the millions of uniquely personal responses that they describe cannot be divorced from social conditions. For young Americans, family and school experiences are among the most dominant. Paul Goodman has described quite vividly the crushing experiences of American school systems; these experiences should be understood, in light of this discussion, as contributing factors in socially-induced personality disturbance.

¹R. D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 104.

²Judy Stone, "Things to Live For - Like the Beatles," The New York Times, Section D, April 19, 1970, p. 17; quoting study on mental health problems by joint Congressional commission published as Crisis in Child Mental Health, (Harper and Row, 1970).

³Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-Education (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 22; R. D. Laing, op. cit., p. 120.

Other poor youth, herded into a situation that does not fit their disposition, for which they are unprepared by their background, and which does not interest them, simply develop a reactive stupidity very different from their behavior on the street or ball field. They fall behind, play truant, and as soon as possible drop out. If the school situation is immediately useless and damaging to them, their response must be said to be life-preservative. ¹ (emphasis supplied)

The description of "reactive stupidity" parallels the way in which schizophrenics so often withdraw from personal contact, in order to defend themselves against oppressive situations. For the children that Goodman describes, reality is schizophrenic. The words "life-preservative" - although representing a value judgement by Goodman - accurately depict what these children and schizophrenics perceive, on some level, their response to be. Withdrawal becomes necessary, from the point of view of the individual so acting.

This discussion refocuses attention upon the role of instruction in the development of political attitudes. It is also pertinent to the way in which political scientists, in their teaching capacities, discharge their functions. No more radical a perspective can be envisaged than that implied by the complete personal withdrawal from social contact involved in schizophrenic experiences. The role of educational institutions in this experience is only beginning to be understood. A number of implications are already clear, however.

Teachers dealing with particularly intractable students would do well to resist the temptation to label them as "disturbed." To invalidate their

¹R. D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, pp. 120-121.

experiences without examining the individual's alternatives to them is to casually employ sanctioned violence against the young human so labeled. Whether displaying behavior commonly described as neurotic, schizophrenic or normal, the individual is responding intelligibly to social pressures upon him, social threats against his identity. His self is threatened, by his family, by larger social experiences, by the educational environment, perhaps by the instructor. Those experiencing greatest difficulty require a more deeply involving relationship with an instructor - or therapist, if necessary - capable of examining himself and the youth in an honest, humble way.

Schizophrenia, science fiction, rock music and the use of drugs are experiences far removed from each other. However, analytic relationships can be perceived among them. These are, among other things, ways of experiencing political reality; the implications for both political systems and political theory are enormous. The individuals politically expressing themselves through these diverse channels may lack a cogently developed political eschatology; their theories of politics may be inchoate and subjective. At some level, however, human beings construct frameworks for understanding political events based solely upon personal experiences and emotional responses to them. These orientations may be both valid for that individual and functional for the political system, by permitting personal survival and social change. Moreover, as both Laing and respondents in the radicalism survey have indicated, the responses - whether schizophrenic, drug-induced or influenced by rock

singing groups - may be valid as political theory. That is, the ideas and orientations thus expressed may not only be functional but merit study from a normative perspective.

When common influences are ascribed to or indicated by large groups of people, they merit independent examination. References to the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, or the assassination of President Kennedy, indicate that those influenced by these events were psychically present at them. These experiences were personally felt, emotionally perceived. The inner meanings given to them were shaped by previous politically influential experiences. The resulting political theory - political ideas describing and/or evaluating the political environment - is avowedly and unavoidably subjective. To penetrate them, and grasp their meaning, requires an alteration in theoretical perspective by political scientists.

To understand political experiences and attitudes so conceived requires, at the outset, an unpretentious and openly subjective discipline.

Theory (is) an effort to make sense of one's experience... to locate and interpret the meaning of what one has lived.

...knowledge of the world cannot be advanced apart from a sociologist's knowledge of himself and his position in the social world, or apart from his efforts to change these. (A reflexive sociology) seeks to transform as well as to know the alien world outside the sociologist as well as the alien world inside of him...the roots of sociology pass through the sociologist as a total man. ¹

¹Alvin W. Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

Gouldner's approach to sociology demands that sociologists view social data, themselves and their discipline within an existential setting; social theory cannot be produced apart from the unique personal experiences that structure the individual. Gouldner's description of the functional importance of claims to objectivity for a discipline need not be examined. Of prime importance is his dual contention that sociology must be existential¹, and social theory openly subjective.

This orientation to social science research is not illogical. For having recognized that knowledge is subjective, efforts to understand social experience can no longer forestall criticism behind a curtain of purported objectivity.

Actual life...doesn't have a total meaning, it is simply a wild confusion of events from which we have to select what we think significant for ourselves. Look at any morning paper. It makes no sense at all - it means nothing but chaos. We read only what we think important; that is to say, we provide our own sense to the news. We have to do so because otherwise it wouldn't be there...

This selection, this tone, this emphasis, is art. All communication...that not only gives the facts, but puts some valuation on the facts, is art. There is no other means by which the feeling about a fact can be conveyed. 2

Above all, the social sciences, particularly political science, can not claim that value-neutrality surrounds the impact of work completed within the field. Nor need comment be centered on relationships among

¹Gouldner utilizes the terms "reflexive" and "radical" to describe the alterations in outlook that he recommends for sociology.

²Joyce Cary, Art and Reality (Cambridge Press, 1958), pp. 5, 9-10.

the government, the military, corporate structures, and institutional research. In broader terms, political science is a committed discipline - not only through its relationship to socialization theory and social stabilization - but because of the uses to which its findings may be put by organized society. Harold Lasswell has stated, in affirmative terms, this conception of the role of political science in American society most explicitly.

Civic training is, indeed, our province; there is no argument about that. ¹

The policy task of a free society is to put its own distinctive value-variables into practice and to control the factors that condition their attachment. ²

From this perspective, student unwillingness to participate in a survey of their attitudes becomes most comprehensible. No assurances could be made to them regarding the use to which findings about characteristics of radical students would be put. No guarantee could be provided that such information would not be utilized to screen out potentially radical students from future entrance classes. A "neutral" political science is not, and cannot be, "neutral" in impact; findings obtained under the auspices of scientific inquiry can be utilized to attain ends far from those of the researcher.

¹Harold D. Lasswell, The Future of Political Science, p. 171.

²Harold D. Lasswell, The Analysis of Political Behavior - An Empirical Approach, p. 37.

Some of the political implications in value-free, objective research in social science disciplines have been subjected to radical attack.

The 2 great 'hopes' of French sociology are the jargon of Parsons (author of 'The place of ultimate values in sociological theory') and the cult of statistics (at least a bit of real science, this); these are the keys to every problem. In short, sociologists by a tour de force have succeeded in taking out the political sting from their doctrines, which is equivalent to satisfying the status quo. 1

How can one 'understand' modern students? Only by trying to understand their place in society. 2

Cohn-Bendit's remarks, while self-descriptive, represent a radical recognition of the relevance of the existential framework for an analysis of political experiences. What is required of political science is its re-formulation as an existential discipline, subjective, dynamic, expansive. An existential political science would permit a number of intellectual developments to reach fruition.

First, it would allow political scientists to study political events from the point of view of those exposed to them. Political scientists could take into account the full life experiences of individuals in considering their political orientations. A narrow, constricting framework need no longer be imposed over experiences prior to a political analysis of them.

An existential political science would be unable to ignore the importance of the teaching experience in the development of social attitudes.

¹ Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Obsolete Communism; the Left-Wing Alternative (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), p. 39.

² Ibid, p. 41.

It would be difficult for the impact of the personal relationships involved in teaching situations to be ignored by individuals viewing them in an existential context. The reorientation of the discipline along existential lines would therefore be likely to produce a redirection of attention towards classroom experiences.

An existential political science would permit the researcher to legitimately inject, rather than disguise, minimize or ignore, his own personal experiences in the description and explanation of political events. The validity of such experiences when applied to general social situations is not under scrutiny herein. Recognition of the importance of these experiences for individual political orientations - of scholars as well as non-professionals - is symptomatic of a larger trend.

One is obliged by the evidence, I think, to conclude that the most unbelievable thing is the astonishing reversal of belief in the scientific, that is, the objective, the detached, the dispassionate character of the social sciences...this reversal is to be found...in the social sciences themselves; more precisely, in the minds of a constantly increasing number of younger social scientists and among these most crucially, of students, graduate as well as undergraduate, in the social sciences. ¹

A further implication that is implicit in the reorientation of the discipline involves the regaining by political scientists of their ability to communicate with the public. The overspecialization of social scientists leads to their being able to communicate only with narrow segments of the population. Cohn-Bendit has speculated that the political system requires

¹Robert Nisbet, "Subjective Si! Objective No!" The New York Times Book Review, April 19, 1970, p. 1.

such over-specialization in order to insulate and isolate social scientists, that the system's ends be served most efficiently. No such sinister motivation need be advanced; the development of specialization may undoubtedly have resulted from a variety of intellectual, economic, social and political forces. At present, however, the isolation of political scientists, the fragmentation of the experiences they study, and the exclusion of their own personal experiences and values from their research inhibits their ability to understand and communicate the political meanings in personal behavior. An existential political science would legitimize forms of inquiry and expression previously proscribed.

An existential political science permits the discipline to view not only individual political experiences within an enlarged framework of analysis but the discipline itself. Placing the discipline within such a frame of reference enables political scientists to take into account the external and internal pressures on the discipline. Similarly, the impact of the research and teaching experiences of its members can not be ignored in such a theoretical setting. The role of political science - in its claims to, idealization of, and motivations for both value-neutrality and objectivity - can be appraised and studied within such a framework.

Finally, an existential political science can act as a bridge between the normative and empirical forms of political theory. Both a more powerful theory of political behavior and a renewed attention to the profusion of contemporary political theory in diverse forms can be produced by a discipline structured around existential concepts. These two dimensions

of political analysis divide the discipline in each of its major categories of study. An existential discipline, however, involves an enlarged form of behavioral analysis; both the sources of political attitudes and the kinds of politically meaningful expressions have been extended to include situational, intellectual, cultural, and psychological influences.

However, the study of the political implications of these factors remains normative in its character. Research so directed treats political evaluations couched both in avowedly subjective language and in indirectly political ways. In so doing, existential political research recognizes the existence of human choice. While contemporary normative political theory is artificially divorced from many authentic political experiences, an existential approach is concerned with the subjective and uniquely personal forms of political evaluation that arise from life experiences. While contemporary behavioral theory largely precludes the possibility of change and development, an existential political science permits conditions and possibilities of human choice to remain. This is essential for both a healthy society and a unified discipline, for in a deterministic environment, in which the possibilities of choice are excluded, normative judgment becomes impossible.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

**INITIAL ATTITUDE SURVEY ADMINISTERED TO
STUDENTS IN EXPERIMENT IN INDUCING
ATTITUDE CHANGE IN A COURSE
IN GOVERNMENT**

An Attitude Questionnaire

This questionnaire has been devised to measure your attitudes on a number of significant social issues. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers - the only right answer is the one which best reflects your true personal opinion toward the statement. This questionnaire is to remain anonymous; please do not put your name anywhere upon it. Please be completely frank and honest in your responses. This is not an intelligence test. The choices you make will in no way affect your grade in this course.

Please circle the answer which most nearly represents your own opinion. If you aren't sure about some of these matters, then just give your estimate (or guess) about the situation. Please give an answer to each question.

1. Racial segregation is an effective and practical social arrangement which has no serious effect on the vitality of democratic ideals.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. The best safeguard of a democracy is the solid stability of social tradition such as is involved in the maintenance of segregation.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. The Jews are a menace to any nation and to any country in which they happen to live.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. I would consider dating a Negro, providing he or she met all of my other standards.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. The most serious political issue of our day is the encroachment of the federal government upon states' rights.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. I would not accept a Negro as a roommate in a dormitory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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7. Integration threatens one of the principles of democracy, the right of each citizen to choose his own associates.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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8. Although the IQ of Negroes in the South is on the whole lower than the IQ of whites, this difference in intelligence is mainly due to lack of opportunity for the Negro and will eventually disappear under an integrated school system.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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9. The Jews have too much power and influence in this country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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10. It would make no difference to me if my teachers were of my own race or a different one.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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11. The Negro lives the way he does because of his own innate qualities.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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12. I cringe at the thought of shaking hands with a Negro.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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13. Under no circumstance should Negro children be allowed to attend the same schools as white children.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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14. The white race must be kept pure at all costs, even if the Negroes have to be killed off.

>

- | | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 15. The Negro should have freedom but should never be treated as the equal of the white man. | | | | | | |
| 16. Civil rights laws are enemies of liberty. | | | | | | |
| 17. The government should build new homes for all the people living in the slums of this country. | | | | | | |
| 18. By nature the Negro and the white men are equal. | | | | | | |
| 19. Since integration will require some painful adjustments, the best solution would be to leave the races segregated. | | | | | | |
| 20. There may be a few exceptions but in general Jews are pretty much alike. | | | | | | |
| 21. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites. | | | | | | |
| 22. Most Negroes would become overbearing, arrogant, and disagreeable if not kept in their place. | | | | | | |

23. The prospect of intermarriage is repulsive to me.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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24. Full equality of opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, is vitally necessary for the welfare of this country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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25. Providing jobs for the unemployed is the responsibility of private industry and not the government.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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26. This is in every way the greatest nation in the world.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

27. Equal educational exposures in integrated schools will help both the Negro and White students to profit from the best of the two cultures.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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28. The Negro race is physically and mentally inferior to the white race and integration would not help to erase the innate differences between the two races.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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29. America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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30. Most Negroes are lazy and lack ambition.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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31. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for the Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
32. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
33. There's no place for rioting in this country, since we have a democracy here.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
34. Separate churches for white and colored people should be maintained since church membership is a matter of individual choice.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
35. One of the reasons for maintaining segregation is that the Negro will be able to find more equal opportunities with his own people.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
36. The Negro race will eventually reach the cultural and intellectual level of white people.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
37. The Negro should be thought of and treated as a servant for the white man.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
38. Our refusal to accept the Negro is not based on any fact in nature but on a prejudice which should be overcome.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|

39. The Negro will always remain as he is - a little higher than the animals.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

40. No person with the slightest trace of Negro blood should associate with white people or be classed as a white man.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

41. I don't feel any special pride in being identified with the United States.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

42. The Negro is a necessary evil and is to be endured.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

43. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

44. After you have educated the Negro to the level of the white man, there will still be an impassible gulf between them.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

45. The best way to solve the race problem is to encourage intermarriage so that there will eventually be one race.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

46. The government ought to guarantee a minimum standard of living for all Americans, regardless of whether they are working or not.

Strongly Agree Mildly Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

47. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.

- | | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 48. The trouble with letting Negroes into white schools is that they gradually give them a typical Negro atmosphere. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 49. Negroes should not be allowed to associate with white people in any way. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 50. Cutting off federal aid to schools that refuse to desegregate is a disgrace to our free society. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 51. I would not hesitate to join a fraternity or sorority which admitted Negroes. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 52. Although certain radical Negro leaders try to make people think otherwise, the majority of Negroes do not want integration and would be satisfied with "equal but separate" school facilities. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 53. Federal participation in local affairs can not exist without undesirable federal control. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 54. The Negro will remain ignorant and superstitious despite equal educational opportunities. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |

55. The idea of a minimum national income will destroy our best American institutions.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

56. The Negro should be considered as equal to the white man and be given the white man's advantages.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

57. I believe that the Negro deserves the same social privileges as the white man.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

58. Black power is something that will harm the Negro more than it will help him in the long run.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

59. Federal aid to schools, civil rights laws, and other such laws are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic countries.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

60. Negroes should be allowed to enter any university they choose.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

61. Jews are just as loyal to the country in which they live as any other citizens.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

62. Regardless of what anyone else says, I believe that my race is superior and should be accepted as such.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

63. I would not object to dancing with a good Negro dancer.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
64. The federal government's building of new homes for Negro slum residents, and subsidizing their rent, will do more harm than it will good.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
65. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
66. I would not mind having my children taught by a Negro school teacher.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
67. The white man has clearly shown the dominance of his race and should continue to exercise his power of leadership over the Negro.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
68. The granting of wide educational opportunity to Negroes is a dangerous thing.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
69. If one of my best friends married a Negro, I would stop inviting him to my home.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
70. I would accept a traffic ticket as graciously from a Negro as from a white police officer.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|

71. Negroes living in white neighborhoods lower the standards of cleanliness.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
72. Increased government services in social welfare programs may increase an individual's freedom.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
73. I can stand a "nigger" in his place but I cannot stand him as the equal of the white man.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
74. Negroes are often dishonest and they increase the amount of cheating when admitted to white schools.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
75. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
76. I think the colored race should hold a somewhat lower social position than the white race.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
77. The fact that there is no racial segregation in certain European countries indicates that desegregation can be made to work here.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
78. I would not mind sharing a table with Negroes in a crowded cafeteria.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|

79. I would not object to sharing a public swimming pool with Negroes.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

80. The basic reason for the Negro's condition in America today can be summed up in two words: white racism.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

GENERAL INFORMATION - PLEASE COMPLETE.

1. Age: under 17 17-20 21-23 over 23

2. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

3. Class Standing: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

4. Size of Hometown:

Over 100,000 population	50,000-100,000 population	under 50,000 population
----------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------

5. My family background could best be described as:

Upper class	Middle class	Lower class
-------------	--------------	-------------

6. Religious Preference: Protestant Catholic Jewish Other

7. Race: Caucasian Afro-American Oriental other

8. Political Party Preference: Republican Democratic American
Independent

Other (specify) None

9. Have you taken any other government courses in college? If answer is yes, please list them.

APPENDIX B

**SECOND ATTITUDE SURVEY ADMINISTERED
TO STUDENTS IN EXPERIMENT IN
INDUCING ATTITUDE CHANGE IN
A COURSE IN GOVERNMENT**

An Attitude Questionnaire #2

This questionnaire has been devised to measure your attitudes on a number of significant social issues. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers - the only right answer is the one which best reflects your true personal opinion toward the statement. This questionnaire is to remain anonymous; please do not put your name anywhere upon it. Please be completely frank and honest in your responses. This is not an intelligence test. The choices you make will in no way affect your grade in this course. This is NOT part of the Final Examination.

Please circle the answer which most nearly represents your own opinion. If you aren't sure about some of these matters, then just give your estimate (or guess) about the situation. Please give an answer to each question.

1. Racial segregation is an effective and practical social arrangement which has no serious effect on the vitality of democratic ideals.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

2. The best safeguard of a democracy is the solid stability of social tradition such as is involved in the maintenance of segregation.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

3. I would consider dating a Negro, providing he or she met all of my other standards.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

4. The most serious political issue of our day is the encroachment of the federal government upon states' rights.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

5. I would not accept a Negro as a roommate in a dormitory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

6. Integration threatens one of the principles of democracy, the right of each citizen to choose his own associates.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
7. Although the IQ of Negroes in the South is on the whole lower than the IQ of Whites, this difference in intelligence is mainly due to lack of opportunity for the Negro and will eventually disappear under an integrated school system.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
8. The Jews have too much power and influence in this country.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
9. It would make no difference to me if my teachers were of my own race or a different one.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
10. The Negro lives the way he does because of his own innate qualities.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
11. The white race must be kept pure at all costs, even if the Negroes have to be killed off.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
12. The government should build new homes for all the people living in the slums in this country.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
13. By nature the Negro and the white men are equal.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|

14. There may be a few exceptions but in general Jews are pretty much alike.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

15. The prospect of intermarriage is repulsive to me.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

16. Full equality of opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, is vitally necessary for the welfare of this country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

17. Providing jobs for the unemployed is the responsibility of private industry and not the government.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

18. This is in every way the greatest nation in the world.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

19. The Negro race is physically and mentally inferior to the white race and integration would not help to erase the innate differences between the two races.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

20. America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

Strongly Agree	Agree Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

21. Most Negroes are lazy and lack ambition.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

22. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

23. There's no place for rioting in this country, since we have a democracy here.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

24. Separate churches for white and colored people should be maintained since church membership is a matter of individual choice.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

25. I don't feel any special pride in being identified with the United States.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

26. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

27. The government ought to guarantee a minimum standard of living for all Americans, regardless of whether they are working or not.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

28. Cutting off federal aid to schools that refuse to desegregate is a disgrace to our free society.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

29. I would not hesitate to join a fraternity or sorority which admitted Negroes.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

30. Federal participation in local affairs can not exist without undesirable federal control.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

31. The idea of a minimum national income will destroy our best American institutions.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

32. The Negro should be considered as equal to the white man and be given the white man's advantages.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

33. Black power is something that will harm the Negro more than it will help him in the long run.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

34. Federal aid to schools, civil rights laws, and other such laws are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic countries.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

35. Regardless of what anyone else says, I believe that my race is superior and should be accepted as such.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

36. I would not object to dancing with a good Negro dancer.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

37. The federal government's building of new homes for Negro slum residents, and subsidizing their rent, will do more harm than it will good.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

38. I would not mind having my children taught by a Negro school teacher.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

39. The white man has clearly shown the dominance of his race and should continue to exercise his power of leadership over the Negro.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

40. If one of my best friends married a Negro, I would stop inviting him to my home.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

41. Negroes living in white neighborhoods lower the standards of cleanliness.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

42. Increased government services in social welfare programs may increase an individual's freedom.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

43. I can stand a "nigger" in his place but I cannot stand him as the equal of the white man.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

44. Negroes are often dishonest and they increase the amount of cheating when admitted to white schools.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

45. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

46. I think the colored race should hold a somewhat lower social position than the white race.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

47. The fact that there is no racial segregation in certain European countries indicates that desegregation can be made to work here.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

48. I would not mind sharing a table with Negroes in a crowded cafeteria.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

49. I would not object to sharing a public swimming pool with Negroes.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

50. The basic reason for the Negro's condition in America today can be summed up in two words: white racism.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

51. The United States is the greatest threat to peace in the world today.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

52. If a majority of students at this university favored a segregated university, then students of other races should be excluded from the campus.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

53. I would prefer to belong to a social group that did not have any Jewish members.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

54. Most of the people who are on welfare in this country are either lazy or unambitious.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

55. It should be the responsibility of the federal government to see to it that everyone gets adequate medical care.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

56. Social welfare programs tend to destroy individual initiative.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

57. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

58. Black people in this country are living in what amounts to a colonial relationship with white people.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

GENERAL INFORMATION - PLEASE COMPLETE.

1. Age: under 17 17-20 21-23 over 23

2. Sex Male _____ Female _____

3. Class Standing: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior GR

4. Size of Hometown: Over 100,000 population 50,000-100,000 population under 50,000 population

5. My family background could best be described as:

Upper class Middle Lower class

6. Religious Preferences: Protestant Catholic Jewish Other

7. Race: Caucasian Afro-American Oriental other

8. Political Party Preference: Republican Democrat American
Independent
Other (specify) None

9. Have you taken any other government courses in college? If answer
is yes, please list them.

APPENDIX C

**DESCRIPTION OF THE SPECIAL PROJECT
UNDERTAKEN BY STUDENTS IN THE
EXPERIMENT IN ATTITUDE CHANGE**

Special Project

Purposes:

To increase individual understanding of racial problems in this country; to test differing conceptions about the attitudes and behavior of black people; to discover solutions, if any, to racial problems; to test the extent to which the political system is democratic (i.e., responsive to the population, in terms of its needs and policy suggestions).

Methods:

There are a number of ways in which these purposes may be achieved. What follows are some alternative projects.

1. Students may administer a survey, or conduct an interview, of slum residents (black or white) to discover their attitudes towards a variety of matters. Students may engage in this activity either as individuals or in groups, according to their own wishes; the groups, in turn, may all be drawn from the class, or may involve students from Florida A&M, Tallahassee Junior College, or black students at Florida State University. In the latter case, cooperation with the Afro-American Club might be desirable.

The contents for the interview are flexible, as is the format. Students may wish to give residents a short questionnaire to fill out, and then may wish to supplement the questionnaire with a brief interview. Certain information should be obtained from each person interviewed, to permit proper analysis of the responses. This information is as follows:

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Number of persons in family
4. Place of birth
5. Length of time in Tallahassee
6. Length of time in current place of residence
7. Occupation
8. Whether currently employed or not; if so, amount of time at current position; if not, amount of time since last employed
9. Number of persons in family currently employed
10. Number of years of schooling completed
11. Estimate of family income (annually); estimate of individual income (annually)
12. Race
13. Religion

14. Political party affiliation
15. Whether currently receiving any welfare payments; if so, amount, and governmental source.

There are a number of things that can be done to permit a frank and amicable exchange of information. Students should identify themselves and indicate the purpose and scope of the survey; an indication that this is an attempt to discover the attitudes of people, on a large scale, may serve to involve the respondent positively, while the fact that the survey's results will be anonymous should remove inhibitions to frankness. The above fifteen items can be mimeographed in the government department office, and the person being interviewed can simply fill it out; this can also help to remove inhibitions, since these items are the most private of the information to be obtained.

The background information is standard; beyond that, however, the survey of attitudes should remain flexible. In terms of format, it can consist of an interview, or it can consist of statements on a questionnaire. In view of the literacy problem, the latter may serve only to confuse; questionnaires, without conversation, would not produce the kind of personal involvement that is sought.

What follows, therefore, are suggestions for types of questions that may be asked, or types of information that can be discovered in the interview. They are suggestions only, of course, and the final decision should rest with the interviewer(s); however they do cover most of the pertinent kinds of information.

It might be useful to begin with general kinds of information, such as the first few items, before proceeding to inquire into more personal attitudes. What follows are some sample questions.

1. How would you rate the following black leaders, in terms of what they are doing for black people in this country? Dick Gregory; Eldridge Cleaver; Stokely Carmichael; Roy Wilkins (head of NAACP); Adam Clayton Powell; Rev. Abernathy (Martin Luther King's successor); Julian Bond; Edward Brooke; the Black Muslims.

2. How would you rate the following political figures, in terms of what they are doing for black people in this country? Richard Nixon; Sen. Edward Kennedy; Sen. Eugene McCarthy; Ronald Reagan; Nelson Rockefeller. Which political leader in the 1960's did you most have confidence in?

3. What do you think are the main problems currently facing this country? How do you think that they will be solved?

4. With respect to the race problem, do you think the Government is really trying to solve it? What do you think about the idea of black people arming themselves? What do you think of black power? How do you think the race problems can be solved in this country? What do you think black people need most right now - education, jobs, housing or power?

5. With respect to your own personal situation, do you feel that you have ever faced any discrimination in your life? Often? Do you feel that there is less discrimination against black people now than there used to be? Why? (whether yes or no) Do you feel that this is fundamentally a racist society? Why? If so, how can this be overcome?

6. If you could do one thing to help improve the living conditions of black people in this country, what would that be? If you could do one thing to improve your own position in life, at present, what would that be?

7. Are you satisfied with your present job? Do you feel that you have ever faced any discrimination in finding a job? The government often states that the employment problem is one of lack of skills; do you feel that you do not possess sufficient skills to get a better job? Would you be willing to participate in a government-sponsored job training program?

8. Are you satisfied with your children's schools? Do you feel that they are getting a good education? Is the school integrated? If so, do you feel that this has improved things in that school? If not, do you feel that integration would improve things at that school? Are the teachers both black and white? Do you feel that the white teachers care as much about the black students as they do about the white students? Many white people oppose integration of schools because they feel that black people lower the quality of education at the school, and also make the school dangerous for their children. How would you respond to those comments?

9. Are you satisfied with your current living conditions? Do you feel that there is better housing available in Tallahassee? Do you think that black people can buy or rent any of those places? Would you be willing to move to better housing? If the government built you a new house, would you be pleased? How would you feel if the government built a new apartment house, gave you a big apartment in it; and paid almost all of your rent? Many people feel that welfare, and other examples of the government giving people things, takes away a person's incentive to work. Do you agree with that? Many white people feel that it would not be a good thing to live with black people because if black people moved into their neighborhood, the value on their property would fall, and conditions in the neighborhood would decline, and crime and violence would increase. How would you respond to those comments?

10. How do you feel about the concept of a minimum annual income, to be paid to all people by the government, regardless of whether they are working or not?

11. Do you feel that things would be better if you lived in a place other than Tallahassee? Where? Would you be willing to move there? Why (or why not)? Do you think that there is less prejudice in the North than there is in the South?

12. Do you feel any resentment towards white people in general? Why (or why not)? Many white people feel that black people have only themselves to blame for things, and that their conditions are their own fault. They feel that black people should spend less time complaining, and more time improving themselves. How do you feel about that?

13. What do you see as the future of the United States of America? In terms of your own personal situation, what are your future plans? When you were young, what did you want to be when you grew up? If you could have one wish now, what would that be? Do you feel that your children will have it better, in this country, and that there'll be more equality of opportunity when they grow up?

14. Do you think democracy can work? Do you participate at all in politics? Do you vote? Do you belong to any organizations?

15. Do you feel that any improvements can be made in this neighborhood? What improvements should be made first? Whose responsibility is it -- the government's or the resident's? Would you be willing to help in putting in parks, or paving streets, or building new homes, or building playgrounds, in this neighborhood? How do you think your neighbors would feel about helping in these improvements?

16. What do you think about Florida A&M? What do you think about FSU? Do you think these universities should be made into one big university? Do you think FSU students are, in general, concerned about racial problems in America? Do you think that they are less prejudiced towards black people than their parents were?

17. Do you think surveys such as this can help at all to solve the race problem?

Interviewers should be courteous at all times: they should observe the conditions of the housing, and should note - after the interview - the attitude of the person being interviewed (i.e., was he hostile to the idea of being interviewed?). Interviewers should show interest in the views of the person being interviewed, and should be attentive at all times. Above all, interviewers should not engage in debates or arguments with the persons

being interviewed. The objective is to obtain information about how people feel; the objective is not to tell people that their feelings are wrong, or to attempt to change those feelings. Attempts to do so will prevent the person being interviewed from expressing his true feelings, since he will either become hostile or else try to say things that he thinks will meet with your approval. Students should thank the people that they interview for their time, courtesy, and patience in listening to and answering their questions.

Again, the above questions were all suggestions only; however, the wording of the questions should be observed. There should be an attempt to keep the questions informal; thus, the language employed must be conversational. Further, it is not too difficult to so phrase the questions as to avoid giving offense; attitude surveys of this kind have been done frequently.

Questions that bring out the true feelings of the person being interviewed can begin with statements attributing commonly held sentiments to other people (i.e., "the government maintains"; "Many white people feel"). Similarly, we can find out if people are apathetic or active, lazy or ambitious, by finding out their attitudes towards moving, making improvements in the neighborhood, the idea of welfare. Examples of ways not to phrase things are the following: overly direct question - "why are you apathetic?"; "As a slum dweller, how do you feel about"; "why do you live in a shack"; as the sample questions indicate, this information can all be discovered through indirect questions, carefully phrased.

There are many opportunities and possibilities that can arise in the survey. Interviewers may find that the only person at home is not an adult, but a child of school age. Interviewers may want to informally ask him some questions. Some examples follow.

How old are you? Do you have any brothers and sisters? How old are they? Do they go to school? Do you go to school? Do you like school? Are there any white students in your school? Do they like you? How do you feel about them? What do you want to be when you grow up? If you could be President for a week, what would you do for the country? Do you like President Nixon? Do you think he's going to help make things better in the United States?

Questions would vary, of course, with the child's age, his willingness to respond, and the interviewer's interest.

Questions would also vary, obviously, if a white family were living in a particular neighborhood and the interviewers wished to talk to them as well.

2. Students may wish to interview influential people, in or out of government, who have the power to make decisions that can affect the lives of slum-dwellers and of black people in general. Among the people who could be approached would be the mayor; the city commissioners; state legislators; heads of state government departments (the person in charge of the welfare program for the state of Florida, for example, or the person in charge of the job training program); heads of federally-run or federally-financed programs. Questions would vary with the person being interviewed; however, there are several types of questions that could be raised. Note: The people in the following examples may appear, at first glance, to be rather inaccessible to students. If that is so, it is itself a significant finding. However, many of these people would be willing to grant interviews, of varying duration.

A. The person being interviewed helps to administer some progress that is supposed to solve some aspect of the race problem. He can be asked to describe the program; to state exactly how many people have been helped by this program (for example - exactly how many people have been retrained under your job retraining program, during the last year; do you have any breakdown on this by race; for what jobs were they trained; of those retrained, do you have any information on the number that found jobs; how many are still employed; why do you think that this is the case); to state what, if anything, he thinks is wrong with the program; how he feels the program can be improved, if at all. An attempt should be made to find out his attitude toward the ideas of government getting involved in this area; it would be interesting if the man running the welfare program was opposed to the idea of welfare. An attempt should be made, also, to find out his attitude toward the people he is helping; does he find the people to be, by and large, lazy, unambitious, somewhat inferior? It would be interesting if the man running the welfare program were highly prejudiced, for example. Finally, the interviewer may wish to present his own suggestions for the improvements of the program, based on some article he has read or that we have discussed in class.

B. The person being interviewed is an official of government - he may be in a position of power in the state government, or the state legislature (on an important and relevant committee), or in the Tallahassee city government. Depending on the person being interviewed, he can be asked what he thinks about a particular problem and how it can be solved. Bearing in mind that the attempt is to discover his attitudes, his responsiveness, and his general commitment to solving racial problems, an official can be asked what he thinks of the shacks in Tallahassee (or what he thinks should be done about "Frenchtown"); what does he think of the idea of the rent subsidy; increased welfare payments; the minimum annual income; would the official favor the government cooperating with private builders to rebuild the slums?

C. The influential person being interviewed need not be a government official. Several low-cost apartment complexes have recently been built near Orange Avenue; the new tenants do not have to pay all of the rent. The Federal Housing Administration pays a percentage of the rent; eligibility to move into these apartments is determined by a formula involving income, age, residence, and displacement from original home by governmental action. John J. Koelemij of Orange State Construction, and Dr. C. B. Owens, a Florida A&M Professor, are two of the men responsible for these new buildings. Hotel and Restaurant Commissioner Joe Brown has responsibility for overseeing safety measures in the apartment houses. The City Recreation Department has responsibility to provide parks and recreation facilities for the area. The Capital City First National Bank provided the necessary financing to the builders. These people can all be approached, interviewed about their project, and asked about the general idea of and feasibility of building new homes for all slum dwellers. Other builders can be asked what they think of the idea, and why they have not started building low-cost apartment houses. Responsible officials at other banks can be asked - without any difficulty - if they would be willing to finance builders engaged on such projects. (As an aside, the residents of these apartment houses can be interviewed, under project one; it would be interesting to see if their attitudes towards society and towards themselves were significantly different - and in what ways - from those of people still living in the slum area.)

Robert Kennedy once proposed that quasi-governmental corporations be established, by governments, banks, and private industry, and that these corporations rebuild the slums of our cities. Banks and builders and governmental officials can all be asked if they would be willing to participate in that project; reasons for their responses can be requested. Such a project was attempted in Tampa, for example; only one of approximately twenty banks indicated a willingness to participate. President Nixon's idea of Black Capitalism requires a willingness on the part of banks to grant loans to impoverished black people, in order to get them involved in business enterprises. Banks can be asked about their willingness to do so; traditionally, they have been reluctant to grant such loans, since there is a higher "risk" involved in doing so. What is involved in all of this is simply the following: on the one hand, we are attempting to ascertain the degree of responsiveness and commitment on the part of the government; on the other hand, to those who declare that all of these social programs would best be left to private industry and private financing, (i.e., banks), we are attempting to discover the degree to which the private sector is indeed willing to cooperate on these projects. It becomes ludicrous at best, and callous at worst, to state that the government should stay out of these programs and leave them up to the private sector, if the private institutions are unwilling to participate; we can only find out the latter, however, if we ask representatives of banks and relevant industries. To my knowledge, this has never been done before and yet, in many ways, it is the heart of the debate over the proper role of the government in our society.

3. Students may wish to increase interaction with students at the other universities in Tallahassee. Students may wish to talk to other individual students, on this and at other campuses, about the problems of race. Students may wish to attempt to find out what proposals have been offered to solve racial problems. Students may interview leaders in student government; leaders of political clubs; leaders of Afro-American Clubs. The basic objective here is to discover the attitudes of these students, and to hear their suggestions for improving our racial situation. Only by knowing their suggestions can we possibly discuss and evaluate them.

4. Students may wish to read articles or books that analyze the race problem and present proposals to solve it. Sociological articles on racial attitudes, on the effects of poverty, on discrimination in America, on the causes of riots, would all be useful. Analysis of the minimum annual income proposal, the rent subsidy, the idea of the quasi-governmental corporation, black capitalism, the war on poverty, VISTA, the community action programs, the food stamp program, urban renewal, welfare, school integration, community control of school systems, would all be appropriate. Although highly useful, obviously this alternative does not carry with it any of the dimensions of involvement or of education through participation which are part of the objectives of the project.

Conclusion:

1. Students participating in the first part of the project would have to present, in writing, the results of the survey and interview. Obviously, if several students are involved on an interview, only one copy of the responses would be required. A typical report, then, would contain the responses of all of the persons interviewed. Each student would also be required to very briefly describe their experience, and the personal impressions that were made upon them.

2. Students participating in the second part of the project would present, in writing, the results of their interview. Particular emphasis would be placed on the students' appraisal of the responsiveness of the official in question. Personal impressions, as well as the account of the interview, would be valuable.

3. The requirement for this section of the project would be a written account of the experience. The views of students or of the groups that they represent should be summarized in the account. Personal impressions of attitudes would also be required. Proposals to solve aspects of racial problems, if they are given, should also be summarized in the report.

4. Students would be required to summarize, in writing, the material that they read; all such material must be approved by the instructor.

5. The four alternative facets of the special project are to be viewed flexibly; the guidelines for the project are to be regarded as advisory. There are few restrictions on the project, in order that students may feel free to be as creative as they wish - or as they are able to be - with respect to it. Students may wish, in addition, to engage in other projects that they believe to be appropriate, given their understanding of the project's purposes and objectives. Students who have some other project in mind may indicate their preference in the space available below.

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE FORM UTILIZED BY STUDENTS DURING

INTERVIEWS IN THE ACQUISITION OF

EACKGROUND DATA OF

RESPONDENTS

Interview

Please fill out the following information as accurately as you possibly can. This information is for research purposes only. Your name will not appear anywhere on this form. The information will remain completely confidential.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. Thank you very much.

Age _____

Sex: Male _____ Female _____

Number of persons in my family _____

My place of birth _____

Length of time I have lived in Tallahassee _____

Length of time I have lived in my present home _____

Occupation _____

Do you have a job at present? Yes _____ No _____

If you do have a job at present, how long have you been employed at this position? _____

If you do not have a job at present, how long has it been since you were last employed? _____

How many years of school have you completed? _____

About how much money do you personally make each year? _____

About how much money does everyone in your family, all together, make each year? _____

Race: White _____ Black _____ Oriental _____ Other _____

Religion: _____

Which political party would you consider yourself to be a member of?

Democratic _____ Republican _____ Other (which one?) _____

Do you currently receive any money from the government, such as social security, or welfare? Yes _____ No _____

If you do currently receive money from the government, about how much do you receive every month? _____

From what program does this money come? (welfare? social security? something else?) _____

APPENDIX E

**SAMPLE SET OF QUESTIONS AND STATEMENTS
UTILIZED BY STUDENTS DURING INTERVIEWS
IN ELICITING ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS**

How would you rate the following black leaders, in terms of what they are doing for black people in this country? Dick Gregory, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, Roy Wilkins, Adam Clayton Powell, Rev. Abernathy, Julian Bond, Edward Brooke.

How would you rate the following political figures, in terms of what they are doing for black people in this country? Richard Nixon, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Eugene McCarthy, Ronald Reagan, Nelson Rockefeller. Which political leader in the 1960's did you have most confidence in?

What do you think are the main problems currently facing this country? How do you think that they will be solved?

With respect to the race problem, do you think the Government is really trying to solve it? What do you think about the idea of black people arming themselves? What do you think of black power? How do you think the race problems can be solved in this country? What do you think black people need most right now - education, jobs, housing, or power?

With respect to your own personal situation, do you feel that you have ever faced any discrimination in your life? Do you feel that there is less discrimination against black people now than there used to be? Do you ever feel that this is fundamentally a racist society? If so, how can this be overcome?

If you could do one thing to help improve the living conditions of black people in this country, what would that be? If you could do one thing to improve your own position in life, at present, what would that be?

Are you satisfied with your present job? Do you feel that you have ever faced any discrimination in finding a job? The Government often states that the employment problem is one of lack of skills; do you feel that you do not possess sufficient skills to get a better job? Would you be willing to participate in a government-sponsored job training program?

Are you satisfied with your children's schools? Do you feel that they are getting a good education? Is the school integrated? If so, do you feel that this has improved things in that school? If not, do you feel that integration would improve things at that school? Are the teachers

both black and white? Do you feel that the white teachers care as much about the black students as they do about the white students? Many white people oppose integration of schools because they feel that black people lower the quality of education at the school, and also make the school dangerous for their children. How would you respond to those comments?

Are you satisfied with your current living conditions? Do you feel that there is better housing available in Tallahassee? Do you think that black people can buy or rent any of these places? Would you be willing to move to better housing? If so, if the government built you a new home, would you be pleased? How would you feel if the government built a new apartment house, gave you a big apartment in it, and paid almost all of your rent? Many people feel that welfare, and other examples of the government giving people things, takes away a person's incentive to work. Do you agree with that? Many white people feel that it would not be a good thing to live with black people because if black people moved into their neighborhood, the value on their property would fall, and crime and violence would increase. How would you respond to those comments?

How do you feel about the concept of a minimum annual income, to be paid to all people by the government, regardless of whether they are working or not?

Do you feel that things would be better if you lived in a place other than Tallahassee? Where? Would you be willing to move away? Do you think there is less prejudice in the North than there is in the South?

Do you feel any resentment towards white people in general? Many white people feel that black people have only themselves to blame for things, and that their conditions are their own fault. They feel that black people should spend less time complaining, and more time improving themselves. How do you feel about this?

What do you see as the future of the United States of America? In terms of your own personal situation, what are your future plans? When you were young what did you want to be when you grew up? If you could have one wish now, what would that be? Do you feel that your children will have it better, in this country, and that there'll be more equality of opportunity when they grow up?

Do you think democracy can work? Do you participate at all in politics? Do you vote? Do you belong to any organizations?

Do you feel that any improvements can be made in this neighborhood? What improvements should be made first? Whose responsibility is it - the government's or the resident? Would you be willing to help in putting in parks, or paving streets, or building new homes, or building playgrounds, in this neighborhood? How do you think your neighbors would feel about helping in these improvements?

What do you think about Florida A&M? What do you think about FSU? Do you think these universities should be made into one big university? Do you think FSU students are, in general, concerned about racial problems in America? Do you think that they are less prejudiced toward black people than their parents were?

APPENDIX F

SYLLABUS OF THE GOVERNMENT COURSE

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Government

Government 106

Mr. Levine

Office Hours: 558 Social Science Building; by appointment.

Texts:

Robert A. Dahl, Pluralist Democracy in the United States, Conflict and Consent.

*Lacouture, Jean, Ho Chi Minh: A Political Biography.

*Fortas, Abe, Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience.

*Zinn, Howard, Disobedience and Democracy: Nine Fallacies on Law and Order.

*Carmichael, Stokely, and Hamilton, Charles V., Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.

*Kostelanetz, Richard (ed.), Beyond Left and Right: Radical Thought For Our Times.

Review Book: (For students who have not taken Govt. 105)

*Pritchett, C. Herman, The American Constitutional System.

Course Topics:

- A. American Foreign Policy; the war in Vietnam.
- B. The Nature and Content of Freedom in the United States.
- C. The policies of governments in the United States; principles for their evaluation.
- D. The formation of political attitudes in individuals.
- E. The means for the expression of political attitudes: political parties, interest groups, violence, non-political forms.
- F. Conflict in the United States; Black Power.

Reading Schedule:

- Topic A: Lacouture (entire book); Fact Sheets (to be distributed).
- Topic B: Fortas (entire book); Zinn (entire book); Fact Sheets (to be distributed).
- Topic C: Kostelanetz (Preface; Introduction; pp. 60-83; pp.404-415).
- Topic D: Dahl (Chap. 13, pp. 329-337; Chap. 14).
- Topic E: Dahl (Chap. 8, 9, 15, 16, 17).
- Topic F: Dahl (Chap. 10, 11, 12, 13, pp. 325-329); Carmichael and Hamilton (entire book).

Class Schedule:

1. Discussion of the course: purposes and objectives; survey #1.
2. Discussion of a project.
3. Framework for the analysis of American foreign policy.
4. The war in Vietnam; analysis; personal values; songs.
5. The "Devil" theory of communism; the origin of communists and an explanation for their behavior; lessons for American foreign policy.
6. Freedom, justice, equality, and rights; the Constitution; the Declaration of Independence; the Bill of Rights; an analysis of some of its specific protections.
7. Supreme Court decisions on the Bill of Rights: expansion, contraction, and change in the meaning and application of freedoms and rights; freedom of the press; censorship and obscenity; freedom of speech; demonstrations.
8. Civil disobedience: Henry David Thoreau; George Wallace; George Kennan; a radical statement.
9. Fortas v. Zinn on civil disobedience and the American system; assumptions, premises and values.
10. Freedom of association; right to privacy; the university; new rights and freedoms; the relationship between freedoms and rights, and conceptions of justice and the quality of life.
11. Individual freedom and national security; loyalty oaths; academic freedom; the draft; freedom of religion; freedom from religion; suicide and human sacrifice.
12. Political and social equality; the relationship between freedom and equality; the relationship between freedom, equality, and the purpose of America.
13. Equality of justice; the problem of law and order.

14. Cruel and unusual punishments: marijuana and drugs; the rights of non-citizens; freedom, rights, and justice: a summation.
15. Midterm.
16. Return of Midterm.
17. Concepts of government; the two models of government; application to issues; the twin alternatives; the sense of purpose.
18. Government as a positive force in the protection and extension of rights and freedoms.
19. Political socialization theory; the formation of attitudes about politics.
20. The formation of student political attitudes; the formation of radical political attitudes; songs.
21. The characteristics of American political parties: textbooks and reality; parties and government; parties and democracy.
22. Proposals for change in the American party system.
23. Interest groups: functions and problems; the systems framework.
24. The Central Intelligence Agency as an interest group.
25. Systems and the expression of political attitudes; reasons for conflict; an application of the theory of conflict (Dahl) to the problem of race relations in America.
26. Completion of the application of the Dahl theory; an evaluation of the theory; its lessons for the problem of race relations in America.
27. The meaning of Black Power.
28. An analysis and evaluation of Black Power.
29. Survey #2.
30. An evaluation: how democratic, and responsive to human needs and demands, is our political system?

Tests and Grades:

There will be a mid-quarter examination, covering topics A and B, and a final examination, covering topics C through F. Each of these examinations will be worth 30% of the grade. There will also be a review (see below), which will be worth 30% of the grade. In addition, the department requires a uniform final, with attendance compulsory, which will be worth a maximum of 10% of the grade.

Attendance at the regular class meetings is voluntary but expected. Similarly, participation in classroom discussions is voluntary. Neither attendance nor participation nor the content of statements made in class discussions will in any way be considered as components of the grade. However, both attendance and participation will be useful if the course is to be worthwhile.

Article Review:

Students will be required to prepare a critical analysis of an article or group of articles in Beyond Left and Right. The article or articles selected are to be analyzed, in terms of the premises and values of the

author, the logical consistency of the ideas and presentation, and the values of the reviewer. The basic theme of the material (and the presumed reasons for the author's having written it) should be presented; the implications of the author's ideas and suggestions, in terms of the American political system and democracy in general, should also be dealt with. An attempt should be made to relate the ideas in the article (or articles) to material dealt with in other areas of the course (other readings; class discussions).

All reviews are due the last week of the quarter. The length of these reviews is irrelevant. All articles selected for review must be approved by the instructor. Students experiencing difficulty either in selecting articles or in analyzing them may feel free to come up to my office to discuss these matters at any time.

A second report - a brief summary of experiences and ideas, arising out of a special project - may also be required; this will be discussed in class at the second session.

APPENDIX G

**ATTITUDE INSTRUMENT ADMINISTERED DURING MAY
AND JUNE, 1969, TO MEASURE RADICAL POLITICAL
ORIENTATIONS AND GATHER DATA
ABOUT THE RESPONDENTS**

An Attitude Questionnaire

This questionnaire has been devised to measure your attitudes on a number of significant social issues. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers - the only right answer is the one which best reflects your true personal opinion toward the statement. This questionnaire is to remain completely anonymous; please do not put your name anywhere upon it. All of the information contained in this survey will be used for research purposes only, as part of a cross-national study of student attitudes; they will in no way be used by any governmental or university official.

Please circle the answer which most nearly represents your own opinion. If you aren't sure about some of these matters, just give an estimate (or guess) about the situation. Please give an answer to each question.

1. The United States is the greatest threat to peace in the world today.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. The most effective and practical solution to racial unrest is racial segregation.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. I would not be the roommate of a person of another race.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. The United States' involvement in Vietnam is, overall, a just and honorable action.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. Black power represents an unfortunate response on the part of American blacks to their social and political problems.

Strongly Agree Agree Mildly Agree Mildly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. Students who don't like the rules at this university should transfer to another university.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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7. Our military leaders are best qualified to make the really important decisions concerning our national defense.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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8. If a majority of students at this university favored a segregated university, then students of other races should be excluded from the campus.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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9. ROTC does not deserve to exist at any campus because ROTC is nothing but a tool of the government used to provide man-power for its unjust wars.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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10. There are too many leftist teachers in our schools today.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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11. Blacks are going to have to use violence to achieve their ends because white America cannot be reached through talking, one man to another.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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12. I would not date a person of another race.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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13. In order to combat imperialism, racism, and economic exploitation it is necessary that students band together and physically prevent recruiters from Dow Chemical, the military, and other oppressive institutions from coming onto college campuses.

- | | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 14. America may not be perfect, but it is still the best land on earth. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 15. All that black people really want is equality of opportunity. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 16. The white values in this society are essentially corrupt. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 17. It's useless to engage in a dialogue with the authorities, in society or in the university, because they are the enemy, have power behind them, and are willing to use that power to suppress students and blacks. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 18. The officials of our government are not interested in truth or justice. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 19. One of the reasons the country's in its current condition is that our government has been controlled by a leftist power bloc for too long. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 20. Many of these so-called "student protests" are planned and directed by various Communist-front groups. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| 21. Allowing just anyone - including uneducated people - to vote is a poor idea. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Mildly
Agree | Mildly
Disagree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |

22. Government regulation of industry unjustifiably violates the free enterprise system and the rights of private property.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

23. If the truth were known, most of the country's politicians would be found to be corrupt and dishonest.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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24. Teachers and hospital workers should not be permitted to go on strike.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

25. The mass media in this country is used by the ruling class to distract and to pacify the American people.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

26. Goals like "integration" reinforce the idea that "white" is automatically better and "black" is by definition inferior.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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27. The labor unions have come to hold too much power in this country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

28. The police should not be permitted to enter black communities without the permission of the residents of those communities.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

29. Lyndon Johnson is a war criminal.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

30. Slogans like "law and order" refer to the attempt by whites to keep blacks from achieving power and liberating themselves.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

31. Patriotism and loyalty to one's country are more important than one's intellectual convictions and should have precedence over them.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
32. This country is a racist society.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
33. If people want blacks to be nonviolent, they ought to first get the white power structure to become nonviolent.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
34. Many university trustees are connected to racist corporations and as such are not qualified to run a university.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
35. This society, at present, is not worth saving or fighting for.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
36. The policy our government is pursuing in Vietnam can best be described as a "no-win" policy.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
37. There should be places, like hippie communes, where people could go and live free and take acid or smoke pot if they want to.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
38. The real traitors to this country's ideals are the ones who fly Confederate flags and sing Dixie.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|

39. The riots at the Democratic Convention, in Chicago, were largely the fault of the police at that city.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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40. The assassins of President Kennedy are still at large.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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41. Policemen should be permitted to enforce the laws of society on university campuses.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

42. The universities in this society act as tools of capitalism by serving to perpetuate imperialism, indoctrinating students with the government's ideology, and teaching techniques of military and social control.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

43. The government should not attempt to limit profits.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

44. There must be freedom for all black men and women held in federal, state, county and municipal jails.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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45. Tokenism is the best word for describing the phony and hypocritical effort to "recruit" black students and professors at most universities.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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46. The government should withdraw student deferments from students who protest against the war in Vietnam.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

47. Most of the people who are on welfare in this country are either lazy or unambitious.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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48. There's nothing morally wrong with burning your draft card if you're against the war in Vietnam.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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49. I believe that my race is superior to all other races.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

50. The government should build new homes for all the people living in slums in this country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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51. I don't feel any special pride in being identified with the United States.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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52. There's no place for rioting in this country, since we have a democracy here.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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53. Blacks have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and prevent them from having too much contact with whites.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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54. Federal aid to schools, civil rights laws, and other such laws are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic countries.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

55. People who advise students on ways to avoid the draft should be arrested.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
56. Under no circumstances should the police be called into the campus to deal with "student disorders."
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
57. The college administration, like the ruling class of this country, only allows free speech when it can control what is being said.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
58. There are too many professors in our colleges and universities who are radical in their social and political beliefs.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
59. At present, genuine social progress and thorough social change are impossible without the aid of violence.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
60. The labor unions have come to hold too much power in this country.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
61. Students should be permitted a large role in the formulation of curricula and the hiring and firing of Professors.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
62. Private citizens should be permitted to purchase firearms without obtaining prior approval from the government.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|

63. The condition of black people in America is largely the result of their own innate characteristics.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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64. The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia is further proof of the unshakeable desire of the Russian leaders to dominate the globe.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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65. Dr. Martin Luther King was basically responsible for his own death.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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66. Capital punishment, consistently applied, would serve as an effective deterrent against criminals.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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67. Radicals should be kept from spreading dangerous ideas because they might influence others to adopt them.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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68. We are at war with world communism, but are losing that war simply because we don't, or won't, realize it.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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69. Most of the recent civil rights demonstrations are probably communist-inspired.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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70. Few, if any, people are actually unable to achieve success due to their race.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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71. It should be the responsibility of the federal government to see to it that everyone gets adequate medical care.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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72. Social welfare programs tend to destroy individual initiative.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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73. Cuba is a model from which all Latin Americans can benefit.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

74. The Hippies are, in their use of drugs and marijuana, and in their general withdrawal from society, to be viewed with horror and pity.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

75. The dominant threat to the United States and the free world is from the forces of subversive communism.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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76. If black people support black power, they are doing a perfectly natural and right thing, given their history and suffering.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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77. The prospect of racial intermarriage is repulsive to me.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

78. The American free enterprise system has been seriously weakened by the adoption of socialistic programs.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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79. The Black Power leaders are conspiring against the government to bring about riots and disorder, and should be arrested and punished for their crimes.

- | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|---|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| 80. People have a moral responsibility to disobey the law when it appears to them to be unfair. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 81. The futures and careers for which most American students now prepare are largely intellectual and moral wastelands. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 82. The assassination of Martin Luther King was the work of a well-organized conspiracy. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 83. Any decision not made by the people directly, in free association, whatever the content of that decision, cannot be good. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 84. The only way we will be able to solve our problems in this country is through a revolution. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 85. The hippie commune is the ideal place to live. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 86. The military-industrial complex so often referred to is largely a myth. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 87. Our country needs more safeguards against subversion from within. | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

88. It's a mistake to think that the police are the guardians of the law and the protectors of our society.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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89. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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90. Our laws give too much protection to criminals.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

91. The real patriots are those who protest against the Vietnam war and refuse to serve when called.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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92. The purpose of the draft is not only to provide soldiers for the military but also to regulate and control the lives of American males, to see that they fit into the proper slots in the society.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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93. The best way to deal with people who break the law is to punish them so that they fear the consequences of breaking it again.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

94. There are a whole lot of people who are in jail in this country who don't belong there.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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95. The time has come for students to attempt to radicalize the workers of this country to bring about drastic social changes.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

96. Most internal problems our society faces, like unemployment, can be solved better by the government than by private industry.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
97. The federal government has too much power over state and local governments.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
98. We will never be able to end racism in this society until we do away with our capitalist system.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
99. In capitalist countries, like the United States; it is really big business that controls the State, not the people at large.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
100. Cutting off federal aid to schools that refuse to desegregate is a disgrace to our free society.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
101. This is in every way the greatest nation in the world.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
102. I support most of the demands of student protestors, but I think they should try to get their point across responsibly, through the legitimate channels.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
103. The white racist male has used the black woman, black man, and the white woman as scapegoats for his filthy sexual and racist sins.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Mildly Agree | Mildly Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|

104. Public school and college teachers should be required to sign a non-Communist loyalty oath.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

105. Black power is something that will harm black people more than it will help them in the long run.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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106. The government is not really interested in trying to solve the race problem in this country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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107. The government ought to guarantee a minimum standard of living for all Americans, regardless of whether they are working or not.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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108. The government should take away a person's scholarship if he breaks university regulations and tries to take over a building.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

109. The United States should admit its mistake and withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------------	--------------------	----------	----------------------

110. Black people in this country are living in what amounts to a colonial relationship with white people.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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111. Courses in the psychology, culture and history of blacks are necessary to end the misinformation that has been spread by whites over the years.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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The following statements represent hypothetical situations, some of which have happened, some of which may happen in the future. Using your best judgment, indicate whether you think you would be likely to approve or disapprove of the act. Please give an answer to each statement.

1. Students create an Underground Railroad for those evading the draft, as was done for slaves before the Civil War.

Approve

Disapprove

2. Students forcibly defend a young man against federal agents trying to take him into custody for refusing to fight in Vietnam.

Approve

Disapprove

3. Students keep a representative of Dow Chemical "prisoner" in protest against the use of napalm in Vietnam.

Approve

Disapprove

4. Students take over school buildings in connection with demands for greater enrollment of black students and more democracy on campus.

Approve

Disapprove

5. Students give blood and send medical aid to North Vietnam, to aid wounded soldiers and civilians.

Approve

Disapprove

6. Students occupy offices of Professors who engage in classified military research for the Pentagon.

Approve

Disapprove

7. Students violate an injunction and hold a meeting of an organization that the university administration had banned from the campus.

Approve

Disapprove

8. 250 medical students announce that they will refuse to serve as medics in Vietnam.

Approve

Disapprove

9. Americans begin withholding that portion of their income tax that is to be devoted to the war in Vietnam.

Approve

Disapprove

10. Slum tenants hold a sit-in in the offices of the Governor, protesting inaction on rat control legislation, lack of adequate housing, and exploitation by landlords.

Approve

Disapprove



Rank the following people in the order you admire them, in terms of what they have done or are doing for black people in this country. In other words, place the number "1" next to the name of the person you admire most, "2" before the name of the runner-up, and so on. Be sure to give each person a ranking.

_____ Stokely Carmichael	_____ Dick Gregory
_____ Martin Luther King	_____ James Farmer
_____ Ralph Abernathy	_____ Jesse Jackson
_____ Roy Wilkins	_____ Malcolm X
_____ Thurgood Marshall	_____ Julian Bond
_____ Eldridge Cleaver	_____ Edward Brooke
_____ Whitney Young	_____ No One
_____ Adam Clayton Powell	_____ Others (please specify by name)

In the same way, rank the following people in the order that you admire them, in terms of what they have done or are doing to bring about the kind of society that you want to have in this country.

_____ Richard Nixon	_____ Tom Hayden
_____ Lyndon Johnson	_____ Jerry Rubin
_____ Hubert Humphrey	_____ Barry Goldwater
_____ George Wallace	_____ Ronald Reagan
_____ Robert Kennedy	_____ Richard Daley
_____ John Kennedy	_____ Teddy Kennedy

_____ Eugene McCarthy _____ No One
_____ Nelson Rockefeller _____ Others (please specify
by name)

What other political leaders around the world, if any, do you admire.

Who, in our society, do you admire most?

Are there any actors, painters or other artists whom you particularly admire and seek to emulate? If so, please name them.

Do you feel that any of these people had or are having any effect on your political attitudes? If so, which ones?

Are there any particular incidents or situations, here at this university or elsewhere, that have had a particularly strong impact on you in shaping your political views? If so, briefly describe them.

Place a check next to each name that you recognize in the following list.

_____ Tom Paxton	_____ Tim Hardin	_____ Tim Buckley
_____ Simon and Garfunkel	_____ James Brown	_____ Joan Baez
_____ Carolyn Hester	_____ Dave Van Ronk	_____ Tom Rush
_____ Peter, Paul and Mary	_____ Bob Dylan	_____ Lou Rawls
_____ Phil Ochs	_____ Judy Collins	_____ The Fugs
_____ Donovan	_____ The Grateful Dead	_____ Pete Seeger
_____ Country Joe and the Fish	_____ Arlo Guthrie	_____ The Mothers of Invention
_____ Moby Grape	_____ Jefferson Airplane	_____ Richie Havens
_____ Aretha Franklin	_____ Francoise Hardy	_____ Spanky and Our Gang

Do you feel that any songs that you have ever listened to have ever had any influence on your political views or your ideas about society, yourself, and the world?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If so, which songs (and performers) have had the greatest impact on you in shaping your views and personality? (You are not confined to the above list in answering this question.)

Place a check next to each name that you recognize in the following list.

_____ Joseph Heller

_____ Franz Kafka

_____ Thomas Mann

_____ J.D. Salinger

_____ Ernest Hemingway

_____ John Barth

_____ Hermann Hesse

_____ George Orwell

_____ Thomas Pynchon

_____ Lawrence
Ferlinghetti

_____ James Baldwin

_____ Rod McKuen

_____ F. Scott
Fitzgerald

_____ Alan Ginsburg

_____ Kenneth Patchen

_____ J.P. Donleavy

_____ Aldous Huxley

_____ LeRoi Jones

Do you feel that any poets or writers of fiction have had any effect on your political views or your ideas about society, yourself, and the world?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If so, which writers have had the greatest impact on you in shaping those ideas? (You are not confined to the above list in answering this question.)

Are there any non-fiction writers - historians, philosophers, economists, political scientists, etc. - whom you feel have affected your political and social ideas? If so, please specify.

The following statements reflect a variety of attitudes about different issues and experiences. There are no "correct" answers to these statements. Your answer should be the one which most nearly

represents your own opinion. Please give an answer to each statement.
React to the statements by using the following code:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. I strongly agree | 5. I disagree a little |
| 2. I agree on the whole | 6. I disagree on the whole |
| 3. I agree a little | 7. I strongly disagree |

- ___ 1. When all is said and done our university instructors don't really care what we think.
- ___ 2. Most university teachers aren't interested in their students as persons.
- ___ 3. Most instructors don't really care whether their students do well or not.
- ___ 4. Students can get into serious trouble later on by expressing their views while they are still in the university.
- ___ 5. If a student disagrees with the views of his professor, his grades in that class will probably suffer.
- ___ 6. More and more I am coming to ask myself, "What's the use of it all?"
- ___ 7. Life has become less satisfying for me since I have been in the university.
- ___ 8. When a student goes in to see his instructor, he is usually trying to improve his grade.
- ___ 9. There are few dependable ties between people anymore.
- ___ 10. College students aren't as free today to express their opinions as they used to be.
- ___ 11. American college students are generally treated very childishly.
- ___ 12. My religious views have changed for the worse since I have been in the university.
- ___ 13. My grades never really show how much I get out of a course.
- ___ 14. The views of college students don't really count for very much in our society.
- ___ 15. The international situation is so complex today that it just confuses a person to think about it.

- _____ 16. One should make the most of the present and let the future take care of itself.
- _____ 17. It's hard to sleep at night when you think about continuing crises in the world and what would happen if they exploded.
- _____ 18. The tensions in the world today make one wonder whether he will be around in a few years.
- _____ 19. With so many religions around, a person doesn't really know which one to believe.
- _____ 20. The only thing a person can be sure of today is that he can't be sure of anything.
- _____ 21. Most people live lives of quiet desperation.
- _____ 22. Today things are changing so fast, I often wonder whether I will ever have anything certain to depend on.
- _____ 23. There are so many ways to live today that there just don't seem to be any definite rules to live by.
- _____ 24. In order to get elected to public office, a candidate must make promises he does not intend to keep.
- _____ 25. Having "pull" is more important than ability in getting a government job.
- _____ 26. In getting a good paying job, it's necessary to exaggerate one's abilities, or one's personal merits.
- _____ 27. Those running the government must hush up many things that go on behind the scenes, if they wish to stay in office.
- _____ 28. In getting a job promotion, some degree of "apple polishing" is required.
- _____ 29. Success in business can easily be achieved without taking advantage of gullible people.
- _____ 30. In order to have a good income, a salesman must use high pressure salesmanship.
- _____ 31. Those elected to public office have to serve special interests (for example, big business or labor) as well as the public's interest.

- ___32. The Golden Rule cannot be followed by businessmen today if they want to get ahead.
- ___33. For a strike to be effective, picket-line violence is often necessary.
- ___34. Most rich people have cheated in order to get where they are today.
- ___35. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
- ___36. Most people are not really sincere in their relations with others.
- ___37. The way things are now, a person has to look out pretty much for himself.
- ___38. Most married people in our country lead trapped (frustrated) lives.
- ___39. Real friends are as easy to find as ever.
- ___40. The world we live in is basically a friendly place.
- ___41. People are just naturally considerate and friendly.
- ___42. Most people seldom feel lonely.
- ___43. I have very little faith in democracy.
- ___44. I often feel like crying when I see the suffering that exists all around us.
- ___45. Sometimes I really hate some of our politicians so much that I'd just like to see them all destroyed.
- ___46. The possibility of salvation is very important to me.
- ___47. It wouldn't really affect me one way or another if the government changed its policies.
- ___48. I find that my ideals and attitudes are very much in accord with the traditions of our society.
- ___49. Most students are primarily concerned with finding a secure position in the established structure.
- ___50. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

- ___51. In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
- ___52. Voting does not really give a person much control over what his government is doing.
- ___53. I have often had the feeling that it's no use trying to get anywhere in this life.
- ___54. I have often had the feeling that I would like to kill somebody.
- ___55. I often feel strongly moved by things I read in books.
- ___56. Individuals who are against churches and religions should not be allowed to teach in colleges.
- ___57. It's pretty silly to become emotionally upset from a movie when the characters are only fictional.
- ___58. Religion is a very important factor in my life.
- ___59. Sometimes I feel kind of left out of things.
- ___60. I'm more sure of my beliefs than most people I know.
- ___61. Most student radicals have a profound contempt for the democratic process.
- ___62. I get tense and anxious when I think that people are disapproving of me.
- ___63. I do better when people give me strict orders about doing things, rather than letting me do anything I want to.
- ___64. Sometimes I feel like I'm not worth very much in this world.
- ___65. Personally I no longer feel the need to always hear and discuss all sides of issues in order for me to make up my mind about what is right.
- ___66. I think I'm more strict about right and wrong than most people I know.
- ___67. God exists, in the form in which the Bible describes Him.
- ___68. There are certain books, written to support the fascist policies of our government, which I would not mind seeing publicly burned.

- ___ 69. I'd say I'm moodier than most people I know.
- ___ 70. I don't really understand most of the other students at this university.
- ___ 71. People like myself have few opportunities to get our views heard by the government.
- ___ 72. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- ___ 73. Most college administrators don't really respect college students.
- ___ 74. Sometimes I don't think anyone feels as lonely as I do.

Please select the one (and only One) statement, of each of the following pairs of statements, which you believe more strongly to be true. Be sure to check one item for each pair.

1. ___ The values of me and my friends generally reflect the values of most students.
___ The values of me and my friends are largely different from what most students believe in.
2. ___ I find it hard to identify with people other than my really close friends.
___ I frequently find myself identifying with people whom I've never even met before.
3. ___ I don't think students in this country really have all that much in common with students in other countries.
___ Students in this society are part of an international community of students with a common set of values and interests.
4. ___ More and more, I feel helpless in the face of what's happening in the world today.
___ I sometimes feel personally to blame for the sad state of affairs in our government.
5. ___ Being a member of some group really helps me to feel like I'm accomplishing something these days.
___ Being a member of some group these days is just too important to most people.
6. ___ The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.

- _____ This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
7. _____ A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
_____ A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
8. _____ There's very little persons like myself can do to improve world opinion of the United States.
_____ I think each of us can do a great deal to improve world opinion of the United States.
9. _____ In the long run, people get the respect they deserve in this world.
_____ Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
10. _____ It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
_____ How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are.

Answer the following questions as best as you can. Thank you.

1. I consider my political views to be best described as:
- a. Left-wing radical b. Strong liberal c. Moderate liberal
d. No political views e. Moderate f. Moderate conservative
g. Strong conservative h. Other (please specify)
2. I consider my political views nearest to those of the following party:
- a. Republican b. Democratic c. American Independent
d. Other (please specify) e. None
3. My parents think of themselves mostly as: (please fill in party)
- Mother _____ Father _____
4. How frequently are political questions discussed in your family?
- Often Somewhat Very Little Never

5. Has anyone in your family ever held political office? If so, was this office at the national, state or local level?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Level of government

6. If my parents knew all about all of the things I do, they probably would disapprove of a lot of them. True or False?

_____ True _____ False

7. If my parents knew all of the things I believed in, they would probably disapprove of a lot of them. True or False?

_____ True _____ False

8. Most students do not plan to participate in politics after finishing their education. True or False?

_____ True _____ False

9. Some people don't pay too much attention to politics. How much interest would you say you have?

Very Interested Somewhat Interested Not Too Interested No Interest

10. How much interest did you have in the 1968 Presidential election?

Very Interested Somewhat Interested Not Too Interested None

11. How much interest have your parents shown in politics? (Fill in one of the above choices)

Mother _____ Father _____

12. Please check those items which best describe your own personal participation in politics:

_____ Do Not Participate	_____ Writing letters and articles
_____ Follow politics in the press, on TV, etc.	_____ Helping to organize meetings
_____ Voting	_____ Participation in legal demonstrations or picketing
_____ Passive attendance at political meetings	_____ Participation in illegal demonstrations or picketing

- a. Family b. Fellow Students c. Faculty d. Religious leaders
e. Others (please specify) f. No One

22. What non-political activities do you enjoy doing most?
23. Do you feel that these non-political interests influence you in any way in the formation of your political attitudes? If so, how?
_____ Yes _____ No How? (if applicable) _____
24. What career do you plan to enter after you leave this university?
25. What two or three things worry you most?
26. What do you think you'll be doing ten years from now? About how much money do you think you'll be earning at that time?
27. What do you think this country will be like ten years from now?

This final section asks for some general information on your background and past experiences. This is for purposes of analysis only. Do not give your name, since all of this information must remain completely anonymous. Circle, check or fill in where appropriate.

1. Age: Under 17 17-20 21-23 over 23
2. Sex: _____ Male _____ Female
3. Marital status: Single Married Divorced Separated Widowed
4. Class standing: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior
 Graduate Other (specify)
5. Size of hometown:
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Over 500,000 | 100,000-
500,000 | 50,000-
100,000 | under
50,000 | rural
farm |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|
6. My family background could best be described as:
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Upper Class | Middle Class | Lower Class |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|

7. My parents' educational level is:

Mother _____ Father _____

8. My parents' income is (approximately):

under 4,000	4,000- 5,000	5,000- 6,000	6,000- 8,000	8,000- 10,000	10,000- 15,000	15,000 or over
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9. My family's Religious Preference:

Protestant Catholic Jewish Other None

10. My personal Religious Preference:

Protestant Catholic Jewish Other None

11. Race: White Black Oriental Other

12. Major Field of Study: _____

13. What is your father's present occupation? _____

14. Has your father been in the military service? If so, what was the highest rank he attained?

____ Yes ____ No ____ Rank (if applicable)

15. Have you ever served in the military? If so, what was the highest rank you attained?

____ Yes ____ No ____ Rank (if applicable)

16. Which of the following statements best describe your current attitude toward drugs? (You may check more than one item)

- a. Drugs are sacraments for a greater knowledge of the universe and the self.
- b. People should "drop out" from society, seek to understand reality, and try to find their true spiritual condition.
- c. The taking of drugs is bad because it prevents the development of the discipline needed for the revolutionary struggle in which so many young and black Americans are now engaged.
- d. People should not take drugs because drugs are harmful.
- e. People should not take drugs but there's nothing wrong with smoking pot.

17. Circle the drugs listed below that you have used. Circle or fill in other information.

			<u>Date First Used</u>
Pot		Used Often	Sometimes
LSD	# of trips _____	Used Often	Sometimes
Methedrine		Used Often	Sometimes
"A" or Speed Pills		Used Often	Sometimes
Heroin		Used Often	Sometimes
Hashish		Used Often	Sometimes
Other drugs (please specify)	_____		
Have Never Used Any Drugs			

18. (if applicable) Which was the first of the above drugs that you used, and under what circumstances?
19. Are you in favor of the legalization of drug use? If so, which ones? If not, what do you think are the appropriate penalties and punishments that the state should enforce?
20. Are you working in any way for legalizing drug use? If so, briefly describe.
21. Have you ever been locked up? If yes, check the appropriate box below and fill in the reason.
- Jail _____
- Mental Hospital _____
- Prison (over 6 months) _____
- Other _____
- Never been locked up _____
22. How would you describe your hair style? (Circle one)
- Different or eccentric About the same as most people
23. How would you describe your manner of dress? (Circle one)
- Different or eccentric About the same as most people
24. How important do you think your hair style and manner of dress are to you? (Circle one)
- Very Important Not Too Important Unimportant

25. How important do you think your hair style and manner of dress are to other people when they see you?

Very Important Not Too Important Unimportant

26. Which of the following best describe your current attitude toward sex? (You may check more than one item)

- a. Sex should be free, and should be naturally acted out without guilt - for pure pleasure and communication.
- b. People should engage in sexual relations as a natural part of life, as something to be done because it feels pleasurable.
- c. People should engage in sexual relations with each other if they have established an intimate and honest relationship.
- d. People should engage in sexual relations with each other only if they plan to be married.
- e. People should engage in sexual relations with each other only after marriage.

27. How many times do you think you have had sexual intercourse? With how many different people? At what age did you first engage in sexual intercourse? (if applicable)

of times _____ # of different people _____ Age _____

28. Which of the following statements best describe your current "sex life"?

Complete Satisfactory Less than Very
Satisfaction Satisfactory Satisfactory Frustrated

If you have any additional comments on any items in this survey, or any comments to make about the survey itself, you may feel free to do so here. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

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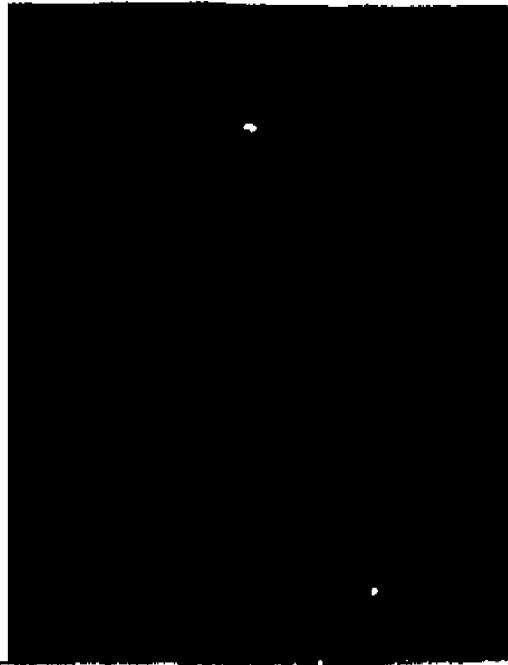
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