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What I'm saying is that Carmichael's analysis of the Negro is correct in so far as it stands, but it doesn't allow for examination of the role that we live out, how we live out kind of our lives in ways which are different from but quite similar to the Negroes. The extent to which the violence of the system impinges upon us and sort of suffocates us. I'm saying that to try to bring up the area of where one stands as, say, a hippy, or a person who is trying to see this, or as a person trying to involve himself in kind of change. I say that one has to make a commitment of one's life to a total sort of change in the structure of one's immediate social relationships and so on, total change in the sort of social field in which one is involved. Those people who have the illusion that one can into this, say in the OND, for a couple of years and then go back to sort of the University and become part of it all - this is an illusion, this gets you right back into the kind of morass. And the kind of analysis that I would engage in would tend to show this. Hence I was saying that I would disagree with Carmichael that only Negroes are subjected to the system in such a way that there's no way they can get out of it. I would say we are all subjected to the system, that is the Western world, in such a way that there's no way we can get out of it. And those very few people who have the illusion - or have the power, - is increasingly, in terms of Mills again, power-elite - it's increasingly clear that the kind of operations in which they're engaged are completely fragmented, disorganised and chaotic, in terms of the operation of the system as a whole.

So it brings us back to the point of how one goes about changing that of which one is a part, and what kind of social model one utilises in this change. I would say we're quite lucky in that we don't have a developed, conceptualised and highly structured model of social change, with which to work. We don't have this

model in the sense of sort of a Marxist analysis of society as it would stand, say, in 1910. This is the kind of model - it's a kind of function that one has to begin to kind of generate ourselves. I would say that in the kind of isolated areas which we begin to kind of confront in our own lives, we create the circumstances by which a multi-focal and multi-pocketed kind of analysis of our social circumstances can occur, in that - in the way of a direct confrontation with which we are involved. By the way in which we engage the system as it stands, creates the means for internal change and for developing sort of a possible model of a society? the model including the possibility of complete sort of reorganisation of our own model as it developed. I would say that all of us have internalised the society, especially western society, as it stands; in the same way that all of us internalised our families as a particular aspect of a micro-social organisation. And we are given the opportunity, thus, to sort of deal with the kind of internalisations that we have, in the way in which we confront society by sort of Free Universities, anti-institutions, riots, etc.

I would say that, in closing the kind of remarks, that we can create a possible schedule or timetable for revolution in society, in a way that is quite related to sort of what Mao talked about in terms of revolution in China. The first stage he talked about was organisation, consolidation and preservation. The second phrase, he talked about progressive expansion of his revolution. The third phase, he talked about sort of the decision, that is the total confrontation. I would say the first phase in this consolidation, phase of consolidation and preservation, is that, one, the creation of a large number of sort of small group communities, communes, all over the western world by people who are both students and non-students, who are able sort of to demystify their own existence by the creation of these groups. These groups are being created now and they're expanding. I would say that at the same time these groups would create, would begin to create other means by which they could live completely apart from

the system as it stands: by schools, by education, by economics, by sort of hospitals - one develops a series of sort of isolated - that is isolated from the total system - institutions related to the communes, by which one sort of opts out of the whole system into something else. And that's beginning to subvert.

The second phase, I would say, in which these groups begin to link up in highly specific ways. And this is kind of - the ways in which particular groups, whether it's German students, Hippies, Provos, Negro sort of groups such as Black Muslims that are developing - they'll come to the point where they'll be able to sort of find a common sort of internal process, an internal organisation, a confrontation which they've undergone, which in a sense is a kind of group therapy in a psychiatric sense - will be able to sort of link up and begin to, like an plate, seed the entire sort of structure. And you'll see all over, sort of little specks beginning to expand, which are linking up and which are gradually beginning to sort of Swiss Cheese: create like a Swiss Cheese; which by their sort of linking ups have created a sort of Swiss Cheese, in which the sort of usual corrupt, dying, jaded, nightmare institutions in which we are involved no longer have a link up themselves, but become part of the holes of this cheese.)

And the third phase of type of consolidation, in which all these specific groups, having kind of worked through this, their bit of themselves, their own kind of cultural revolution themselves then become the major kind of social structure in the countries involved. That is, the major institutions, I don't like the word institutions, but the most highly developed, the most creative, the most energetic, the most powerful social structure in the countries involved become these groups which have linked up.

pg2(not on Congress transcript).Berke:an important aspect of this is the cultural revolution. Why is it that the black people can't get involved with the white people/ [The black people have undergone 200 years of cultural castration. Internally they're smashed, they're no good, they're bad. That's when Malcolm said, "Look baby, you're beautiful, that black skin is really groovy"/ as an attempt to get at what these black people are really experiencing and why they hate so much.] What is this hate all about. One also gets involved with other sub-groups, working within the whole total structure which we are talking about, who are also dealing with their own experience. These groups have all their own fantasy experience of the world, how it works, which is taken inside. One of the reasons why we are involved in a heterogeneous conflict and clash is that there is a series of impossible cultural clashes among the people which it is impossible to resolve within the structure in which we are working. These cultural clashes are immediately evolved through the internalised fantasies with which we are working. Example of the fantasy. Why should we develop an atomic bomb/ The Chinese a thousand years ago had a very complex and very highly developed civilisation in which they no doubt could have developed an atomic bomb, but chose not to do so. Why have we chosen to do so/ I would say the answer to that is that [the atomic bomb, is an externalisation of our own internal experiences. All of us, as the products of a given social structure, experience ourselves in the world as potentially exploding. Hence, one deals with a desire for internal explosion by creating outside of ourselves something ~~which~~ which will incorporate it - we put our internal explosions into that.] I say that in terms of developing a shared social fantasy with which we are engaged. The Higs as a group are a people who have a shared social fantasy within a total people working within our system. A second aspect of it is that all of which we have been subjected to is the authoritarian model which we have incorporated and which we are confronting. And at tremendous cost to ourselves we are trying to confront this. [The kind of

thing I was trying to develop was the way of getting together with people who have these shared social fantasies in ways which are, in terms of our advanced technological society, socially subversive. May be in a way which would be anti-authoritarian in a way which would allow us to come to grips with the impossible internalised structure which we have inside ourselves.

Berke: ... almost any aspect of life in the States from birth, to adolescence, to education, to work, to sexuality, to the point where old persons are dumped away in Old Folks' Homes, is such a net of horror

CUT

Berke:... who are involved in this upheaval right now, are essentially saying, What are you going to do about it, white man? Carmichael, reflecting upon one particular minority in the States that is subjected to real - overt and covert violence, in terms of their position within the structure of American society. The negroes however are just one of several minorities to whom Carmichael's description really applies. The first minority group

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Berke:.... they're in it. They have internalized it from birth, and in terms of the educational system, this is described by Henry as in his chapter on Education exactly how this comes about. And the only possibility they have

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Berke:.... participating in the system in which they are involved. I would say that for a majority of people this is more of an illusion than anything else. Because the technologist and the power elite that describes in his book are a very small minority of the total middle-class and upper-middle-class group of people who seemingly have a lot to do with what goes on in the States and the vibrations that ramify from the States. This person enters into his adulthood confronted with several possibilities of being in the world. One is schizophrenia, which is a rather common way of dealing with a complex situation

CUT

Berke:... a huge, specialized, highly developed technological society an enormous bureaucracy with fingers in every pie, which is able to control almost all our movements. And which has the means, both covertly and overtly, to get at us in the way it wants to, if we are able to confront it at all. Politically speaking, about 2 years ago there was a large demonstration in Washington in which a number -

..... what I put together was, you spoke of a network of Hippies, and people like that going over the US, and I presume you mean people like the Provos in Holland and things like that. Now, when you talk about it ? it gives me a great deal of inspiration, because I feel that I can really identify with those people and with that network that's being set up, and I do like the idea of undermining the structure rather than throwing it over, because I think that to use something peaceful for a peaceful end, it makes sense. When I had put together that network of Hippies, what came into my mind was what you said about Muslims also, the fact that they put up their own society within a society, and have their own stores, their own schools, their own churches. And then I related it to a third thing which I know about, and here I may fall short, but I related it to the way the Jews came into America, in the sense that they came in and managed to maintain their own culture within a culture and to build that culture and still keep a kind of uniqueness which has added to American culture a great deal, and yet not detracted from them. And in putting together those three things I think that each one can learn from the other. I've not sketched out a big enough picture yet to really put them in, but that's just a brainstorm.

(mike crackel)

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(mike crackle)

CUT

(mustache chap)..... system is very fucked up. Well, you know, this is the beginning of our agreement. There are all kinds of diversities here, but when we start to have authentic experience, and not fantasy experience of what is going on, why then we begin to pull in the same direction. Now people start in totally different ends: the Hippie may start by looking at and seeing that his family is a total mess, whereas the activist may start by something like the contradictions of Capitalism and overproduction. But they've all got two ends of the same bag, baby. Because there are two kinds of political movement

possible then, there's the kind which is based on this authentic experience, and is beginning to see what is really going on, and then there's the kind that is based on this: when a man gets up and he shouts some slogans, and the slogans really swing - Hitler, he was using ones about 'the nation' and 'the folk' and 'the people', and 'the race', and so on, and those sounded good in Germany. A demagogue now would be using things like 'democracy' and 'self-determination' and so on. But are those slogans for the people, or are people understanding what is going on? This is why every true revolutionary army, or every true revolutionary movement, whether you are talking about Mao's army or the Diggers, is a great educational enterprise. Because the cook-boy has to understand that something is fucked up.

CUT

(from audience) there is talk about 4 kinds of violence. The first kind is playful violence, which is OK, like football. (mike crackle). The second kind is (mike crackle)

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