

(00:00:40.14]

Violence is, and will always be necessary to tear away the shreds of myth and absurdity that we've been encased in since we were born.

(00:00:52.24]'

What are you doing? You haven't done a God damn thing to stop white violence have you? Have you? Have you?

(00:01:02.12]'

Don't escalate the hostility, don't escalate the anger. Control your mind. Watch what you are doing. Be aware, totally.

(00:01:14.15] (berättare)

It was a two week congress of intellectuals in London. Black power people headed by Stokely Carmichael, the flower people represented by Allen Ginsberg. Political scientists and a host of sociologists and social psychologists from the US and Britain. The common theme of the meeting was violence and revolution. How to explain them, how to manipulate them, how to avoid them.

(00:01:40.21] (forts.)

The form the congress took was academic. Lectures followed by open discussion. It was open to the public and attracted crowds ranging from the professional spectator to the obviously uncommitted. The participants seem to accept the picture of a world divided into two great political power blocks, with the third world, underdeveloped countries and underprivileged minority groups being violently exploited by the two giants in such a way that their only relief from this exploitation is by violence.

(00:02:15.03] (Paul Goodman)

The peculiar character of violent domination is the following -and this applies both in Harlem and in under-developed countries and it applies with regard to all of the big powers- is that they want these people to shut up. See these people don't belong in this lovely, high technological, interesting system. They are unnecessary. We don't need them really, we don't need their labour (--), we don't need their raw materials, but unfortunately they are people who when they starve get rambunctious. See, and why don't they shut up? See, why do they exist?

(00:03:03.15] (berättare)

But violence is not only the protest of the "have-nots" against the "haves", another speaker sees it as an essential part of American society.

(00:03:13.09] (Herbert Marcuse)

It is a capitalist society with a high concentration of economic and political power with an enlarging sector of automation and co-ordination of production, distribution and communication with private ownership in the means of production, which however depends increasingly on ever more active and wide intervention by the government. And it is a society growing under conditions of accelerating waste, planned obsolescence and destruction while the substratum of the population continues to live in poverty and misery.

(00:04:16.06] (forts. Marcuse)

This activates and intensifies in the society primary aggressiveness to a degree I think is (--)  
unknown in history. A primary aggressiveness which must be mobilized in socially useful ways, lest it explode the system itself.

(00:04:44.05] (Berättare)

In the eyes of many, the proof of Marcuses' words is in the explosions of Newark and Detroit that immediately preceded the congress. In a group discussion on the relationship between art and violence the ghetto rebellions are interpreted in terms of happenings and of auto-destructive arts.

(00:05:03.07]'

...it says here about the function of the present violent rebellion in American (--negro) society is one aspect of the idea of auto-destructive art, a mirroring of the wastefulness, the build up of material goods and material....and of technology and then the elimination of this (in?)rapid time sequence in wars or other forms of (---).

(00:05:32.16]'

What if destructive carried over into politics or some mean of destruction of one self?

(00:05:38.05]

No I don't think so, I must agree with Carolie in emphasizing the protectiveness of art towards the individual.

[00:05:46.22]'

You get rid of self destructive things you get rid of self-justifying things, you get rid of the aspects that would be most torturing. In other words that you come into a trusting relationship with what motivates you and your relationship to the things in the life environment that you can use.

(00:06:09.13]'

People come up to me and say: Haven't you destroyed yourself? And I just smile and I say: Don't be ridiculous. The idea that all sort of arts destroy things in part is a matter of protecting the individual.

(00:06:20.15]'

I think that people underestimate the capacity of people to defend themselves and to adjust to destruction. The more violence there is the more people take violence for granted. I'll give an example: a letter I got from New York yesterday, where the incident in Spanish Harlem say five years ago would have raised incredible chaos and commotion, and they described it in the letter as: well nothing has really happened in New York yet there has just been a few incidents of light rioting. Because compared to what happened in Detroit say, something that three years ago would have caused tremendous commotion is passed off with relief and I think that this can build and build and build upon itself to the point where we can even suggest the possibility of five million people being killed by an atomic bomb. And not, you know, just fall apart.

(00:07:13.13]'

They wanna feel it, they wanna see it, they want those bodies crushed. It's like there's this huge fantastic happening going on and they never get a chance to participate and that happening is Vietnam, it's a mysterious journey, it's outcome is not determined. Everybody is organized, they all know what they have to do, they are in a related shifting kind of sequences of actions and tasks that have to be performed, they've got the best technicians and all the money, all the garbage, all the stuff, whatever they want like they're in there.

(00:07:46.13]'

I wonder what happens in Detroit say, where the destruction comes closer? And you say, you know, they want to participate in it, as long as it's all off there. I'm sure you do set up the, you know, a shock wave when it's in this particular city on a large scale.

(00:08:04.02]

But the trouble is when people get (de-, this?)sensitive, first of all the human being I don't think ever really believe it's gonna happen to them. Like even if you're in the midst...unless the situation comes so close to you, you never really believe it's gonna happen to you and you get completely de-sentisiveized to it.

(00:08:22.02]

As far as I can see it's the artist who is always feeling that it could happen to him. And that he stands right where that other human being is and that's where his commitment is and that's where his position is to begin to expose and throw it all out and make it concrete in whatever way he can.

(00:08:40.00]'

During one of the early sessions Stokely Carmichael and Allen Ginsberg are the chief protagonists. Carmichael's call for deliberately manipulating violence for political ends is attacked by a young white liberal.

(00:08:53.28]'

...tactics, co-ordination and action and we don't have to ask Stokely Carmichael "what the hell should we do?". He is busy, he's doing his things and he's talking to a conscience of the third world. We should get together, stop the high sounding phrases and begin to organize to smash the kind of machinery which is also oppressing him. Thank you.

(00:09:18.23]'

The way that the so called Black Power, so called violent (---) operate is getting them nowhere in terms of their own aspirations or nowhere in terms of white liberals fears. If I may exemplify: Stokley said, well he says things and as soon as...I better move away cause someone might hit me. As soon as Stokley makes a statement, however obvious, however inane, then there's a small group down here who somehow feel obliged to stand up and say: Yeah! Black Power Man! Now, I may be a white liberal but what I wanna ask Stokley is: what are you? You're not a black liberal. I don't think he is a black fascist as some people label him but I think he may be a black totalitarian. If you want to beat something in terms of violence then you have to become a mirror-image of it, if you wanna beat the fascists then you have to use fascist methods. But I think if Stokley wants to get anywhere then he should do what he says. Be a violent man! Only a few years back, Stokley was...he was non-violent, he went down on the pavements and he got arrested. What I wanna ask him, this is my question: is since you became a so called violent man Stokley, since you started advocating Black power, have you been arrested? Have you got a (--)? Have you gone down in the streets of Newark (--) from the windows, with all the kids who are starving?

(00:11:04.27] (Stokely Carmichael)

Yeah I was arrested before I came here for (---) to kill a cop!

(00:11:09.28]'

Yeah but did you have a rifle?

(00:11:12.01]'

I always got my stuff with me.

(00:11:14.10]'

I don't mind you advocating violence if you take the risks! The only risk you have is of becoming (martyr?) I'm not advocating violence, I'm not advocating (---) That is why I am not killing or telling others to do so.

(00:11:40.25]'

I asked you how did you stop it, not what you advocated! Have you stopped it? That's the question. What have you done to stop it? Oh you don't want to stop white violence do you? You don't wanna stop it do you? Why don't you stop it? Because it's my survival I'm fighting for white boy! That's what I'm fighting for! Have you been fighting for it? Have you stopped any of it? You are the descendants of the violent society, have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? If you had stopped it I wouldn't try to stop it. Have you stopped it? Have you stopped it? I will. I will.

(00:12:44.24] (Allen Ginsberg)

I think it's...the fact remains that neither the white boys, nor Stokely Carmichael, nor the Black Power have stopped the violence that continues today both in this hall and in Vietnam.

[00:13:00.16]

The reason it is going to be stopped is because when a white man comes with a gun he is going to know the same thing can happen to him that he is gonna do to the black man. He can die just like

anybody else. That is the only way you are gonna stop it. That is the only way you will stop it and if we can't stop it that way I will say like your (--) prime minister Winston Churchill said, which he stole, a poem from a black man: if we must die, we will nobly die fighting back.

(00:13:38.12]

If we must die oh let us nobly die, and everybody went to a fever pitch, did you know that poem was written by a black man from Jamaica named Claude McKay? And did you know that Claude McKay wrote that poem for us? But they have co-opted everything we have, used it for themselves and then given it back to us. The white mans' definition is what we find ourselves trapped by. His definition of what is good and what is bad. His definitions of what is reasonable and what is unreasonable. His definitions of what is savagery and what is not savagery and that is perhaps where we've really been trapped because the white man has been subtly making us feed ourselves. The white man has been playing God for centuries and the reason he has played God for centuries is because we've let him. It's time for us to tell him that playtime is over. It's time for us to let him know that we will no longer tolerate his nonsense. It is time for us to let him know that we are forging together for our struggle for humanity and every time he touches one of the peoples in the third world he is gonna go to war with all of us, wherever we are. That's what we have to tell him. That's what we have to tell him.

(00:15:16.23]'(Paul Goodman)

I can tell you frankly that the real inner policy of the United States upper class, and I don't mean the upper class, I mean the great majority of the people, with regard to the negroes, is not racist at all. The (--) has nothing against the negroes, if only they would go in the middle of the Atlantic ocean and drown. But see that's different. It's a different attitude, what a bore, you know, why don't they go away? If you compare, you know the beating up of...by police, of negroes, with say the way they set on some hippies, lets say in square in New York, there was no comparison for brutality. Because the reaction to the negroes is: Yee... why don't they go away? Why do they demonstrate, it's so noisy and so. But the reaction to the hippie is a gut reaction. That is...they are indecent. If they exist in the world somehow I am threatened. It's not society that is threatened, it's everything that's threatened. And this is a much deeper, you know...understanding by the cops of what the real nature of the situation is. It's a situation that excludes more and more of life and finally the majority of life.

(00:16:44.04] (Emmett Grogan)

To stand in the street corner waiting for no one is powerful. These children are evolving from every single suburb, liberal and fascist and (--) and conservative and radical homes and are leaving. The language in these homes has always been, will always be, too functional. It cannot understand anything. Nothing means anything. If the change we are all talking about in this dialectics would have come about most of the people in this room right now would not understand that change and would die.

(00:17:45.07]'

But that again is not the whole story. There is in the abyss(?) and especially in such tendencies of the hippies as (--) and (---). There is an inherent political element and perhaps in the United States even larger than here, it is the appearance and need of new instinctual needs and values. This experience is there. Also there is a new sensibility against efficient and insane reason(\_\_\_\_).

(00:18:26.16] (Allen Ginsberg)

And then beginning to move in on authority with those weapons which have been called "flower power". Flower Power being euphemistic for a simple calm, tranquil equilibrium, non-violent as far as possible, as far as the self can be controlled so that it can relate to other selves in disguise, including the police.

(00:18:50.12]'(Stokely Carmichael)

With all of your flowers, with all of your marches, with all of your love, have you altered it?

(00:18:58.10]'(Allen Ginsberg)

It isn't love that is being sought here, it's not love that's being offered. What's being offered in a sense is...or proposed I mean, is awareness of what your own feelings are and of the movements of your own mind including the movements towards hysteria. I mean, you gotta make up your own mind, just because everybody around you is screaming the same thing it doesn't mean that you have to join in or be lost in the universe. You're still there, in your belly, you know. Unless you get out there in a fantasy and you cling to that fantasy as being the only answer... as the man who attacks you, the policeman or the capitalist attacking you, is attacking a fantasy of you. His fantasy, his image cause if you're there neutral, not intending him any particular harm actually but trying to straighten him out and getting him out of his bag... and he projects on you a monster-fantasy where you are going to like rape his mind or destroy his entire universe in some way that...or even without a universe, or without feeling good in the place where he is. In other words, if he feels threatened and if you threat him, by God, he's gonna feel threatened, he's gonna take the appropriate action that any mad man in a nut house will take when he feels threatened. He will strike back at you. So if you get into fights with people in the mad house you're probably there as a patient I would guess, or a doctor.

(00:20:20.27] (forts)

You control your temper completely, you never say a harsh word. You listen very carefully to trace back the lines of feeling of their racism, of their fear, of their need for material extension. You reassure them as much as possible on the subject, policemen to begin with, president Johnson first of all. (---). The whole...whole business, the whole fabric, top to bottom. Where would you begin? Well, in San Francisco began to some extent say, with the media people, which meant the a (?) conspiracy of everybody to take them all to bed. To turn them all on. To turn them into friends, I mean what's the point of having enemies when you can have friends?

(00:21:09.20] (Berättare)

The congress generally charge society with the employing and fostering violence. Many of the leaders of the congress felt their specific job was to make others aware of society's' failure to wipe out the causes of violence and to work at destroying the present institutions they blame for it.

(00:21:29.08]

This is a revolution because before we'd always, if you like, thought we discovered the nature of things. But now during this last generation we're suddenly living in the violent realization that we not only discovered the inherent meaning of things but we originate them. And the only thing which, if you like, can be human, can make us human is a community in which...mesh together in mutual acceptance, understanding and enrichment, whatever ideology etc. Now society does not (--) this. Society does not (--.) this. The institutions are high, are vertical. Life is becoming horizontal. And there is an institutional neuroses because these institutions do not move and live with us. You know, dancing, living fully etc. You know these institutions are not doing it. We must live.

(00:23:01.20]

The point is that you can't regard yourselves, all you people here as the gardeners who have grown these lovely plants on the rest of the people, you can't regard them as (?) cause they are not (?) for you to grow a plant of revolution on. You are the people who have got to go to them first, it doesn't matter about all this "come to me, come to my little shelter, we'll get together in a little group and talk to each other and we will lick each others wounds because we've all been so hurt by this terrible society. I'll lick your wounds, you'll lick my wounds". That's nothing. You're doing the same as all these people that have ever done before, exactly the same thing. You're just interested in yourselves. If you really were interested in other people then you go and talk to the people who are hard to talk to. Not the people who are easy to talk to. Help the people who are hard to help. The people who are gonna be your worst enemies if you ever get your society, cause that's what working people in this country are gonna be because they've been conned more than you have. Nobody here has been conned or they wouldn't be here. Go and talk and un-con somebody who has been conned. Don't talk to me cause I can see the con. Go and make somebody see the con who hasn't seen it. This is all chat.

(00:24:22.15]

I wish you would take what has just been said as seriously as I take it. I have been asking this question myself. The right of these people maybe just as much right as our own right. What right have we to tell the vast majority of the people that their society should be changed from top to bottom that an entirely new social system should be created if these people live, makes their living in this society, make their living in this society probably better than they ever did before.

(00:25:05.11] (Berättare)

In an attempt to dissect the nature of contemporary violence the congress tried to explain paradoxes such as why they find a revolution is needed in a world of increasing affluence and human welfare. It was an explosion of ideas and opinions some new, many old. A large percentage of those who had attended expecting illumination were left with only a feeling of:

(00:25:32.04]'

Confusion. Massive confusion. Well as I said the day before yesterday I just felt out of my mind, I felt, you know, I didn't know what was happening, I wasn't relating to anything. The intellectual ones have been very broken down and made aware of the pedantic stances of intellectuals and the kind of superficiality of it.

(00:25:56.29]'

Others found hope:

(00:25:59.02) (släkt med cowgirl från TS?? Lol)

In the sort of organized chaos or dissolution of the organization, of the congress itself, the dialectic has in fact taken place. The people who came to hear Stokely, some of them have stayed to hear Marcuse and have in the process been meeting each other. Although it seems that everyone is talking about revolution as a matter of fact there has been a great plea from even the most violent elements for brotherhood. And this is evolution.