PSYCHOLOGY FOR PEACE ACTIVISTS:

A NEW PSYCHOLOGY

FOR THE GENERATION WHO CAN ABOLISH WAR

by

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PERSONAL INTEGRATION VS. BURNOUT

To sustain action and affiliation, these steps must be integrated with an activist's other social relations, including family, friendships, and means of earning a living. The question of personal integration is especially important because it enables an activist to sustain a lifetime of involvement and to avoid the danger of burnout.

The danger of burnout is especially great for peace and justice activists because more than others, they are con fronted by deliberate pressures from the forces of militarism and exploitation. These pressures can be overwhelming such as those that led to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Most major peace activists have been under attack by the police and mass media, and many have been sent to prison at one time or another. The pressure intensifies at certain periods

A.J. Muste and Dorothy Day join in a draft-card burning to protest the war in Vietnam: "We must have a community, a group, an exchange with others."

Photo credit: Tom Cornell, Ben Fernandez and the Marquette University Library

of history: thus, for example, it is not accidental that during World War I when Eugene Victor Debs, Dorothy Day and Bertrand Russell were imprisoned and Emily Balch and A.J. Muste lost their jobs, that Debs, Day, Russell, and Jane Addams all had physical and nervous breakdowns.

Sustaining a lifetime of personal action and involvement requires a network of social support. Thus, for example, despite the great pressures against him, Martin Luther King Jr. was able to sustain his work with the help of his "ground crew." This included not only his wife Coretta and the rest of his immediate family, but also their church, the Ebenezer Baptist in Atlanta:

> His wonderful Ebenezer family had encouraged him and given him and his organization unstinted support during all the difficult years of his struggle. They were truly what he referred to as "the ground crew." Without them doing their job in the background, in a very big way, he could not have given to the nation and the world the kind of leadership he did.

In many ways, King's "ground crew" was ideal. In addition to the new support he obtained for civil rights action in the Montgomery community, not to mention around the world, he could integrate this with a loving and supportive family, a salary from the church, and the support of his past activities (academic work) and affiliations (the church). However, they did not all immediately support his broadening the commitment to oppose the war in Vietnam, and for that support it was necessary for him and Coretta to struggle.

Eugene Victor Debs was able to sustain his lifelong commitment with the support of a network similar to King's "ground crew." As biographer Ray Ginger points out, the following description by Debs of his wife's support could also describe the support from his parents, his brother Theodore, and his brother-in-law Arthur Baur:

> She shared what came in stormy days without complaint, and when I returned after many weeks of weary travel she had the home sweet and cozy and ministered to me in all tenderness until I was rested and refreshed for another journey....For years she was our secretary of state. She wrote all my letters in long hand before the days of the typewriter, and I had a large correspondence. She trudged through the snow to a cold office when I was out on the road, lighted the fire, emptied the ashes, cleaned the office, answered the mail, shipped bundles of literature to me and to others, and then returned to cook her meals, set the house in order, and attend to the wants of the home.

For Debs, like King, the key question was whether the support network continued to support him when he broadened the scope of his commitment from trade unionism to socialism around 1896 and again to his opposition to World War I in 1917. According to the Ginger biography the immediate family of Debs, as well as many of his trade union comrades, supported his move to socialism. But when he opposed World War I, he found himself without such support, which may help to explain why he was "hesitant and floundering," in "ill-health," and "groping in the dark," in the months before he gave his famous anti-war speech in Canton, Ohio, for which he was arrested, tried and imprisoned.

To sustain the struggle, activists must share the burden of political responsibility with other people in their organizations - developing relationships of mutual support. Otherwise, the whole "burden of the world" seems to sit on their shoulders alone, and eventually the stress becomes too much for a single individual to take. Apparently, this is what caused Helen Caldicott to announce, at the 1985 national conference of WAND, that she was retiring from her active leadership of the organization she had founded:

> I've been working for 16 years....travelling all the time, sleeping in strange beds, giving two or three speeches in a day, dealing with the press all day, having to give a speech and arouse an audience enough to make them cry and change their lives that night or that day. I dream about it every night, as I'm sure many of you do. And I wake up in a cold sweat, frightened, anxious, guilty. I feel the whole world is on my shoulders. Well, that's right. I should feel that, but I'm sinking into it. I'm drowning in it. I have to stop.

"Burnout" is not just the absence of the feeling of social support, but it is also a particular psychological state that may deepen by degrees into depression with inactivity, disaffiliation, despair, debauchery, guilt, exhaustion, nervous and physical illness. All of these symptoms are described by Dorothy Day in her description of her "long loneliness." The psychological processes by which the phases of depression lead deeper and deeper, like a vicious circle, are not yet well understood scientifically. No doubt, as I have written in a technical article, they include profound hormone changes that transform the entire physiological response to social situations.[II]

In describing her "long loneliness," Dorothy Day is quite explicit about the social causes and the integrative cure that was needed:

> I was lonely, deadly lonely. And I was to find out then, as I found out so many times, over and over again, that women especially are social beings, who are not content with just husband and family, but must have a community, a group, an exchange with others.

"Just husband" for Dorothy Day was Forster, with whom she had a common law marriage and a child named Tamar. But Forster did not support her activity, because he was an anarchist whose anger was turned inward rather than being used to stimulate action (see quotation on page 16). Finally, Dorothy Day met Peter Maurin and together they built the kind of community she was looking for. Maurin aroused "a sense of your own capacities for work, for accomplishment." Maurin called it "a synthesis of 'cult, culture, and cultivation.'" For Dorothy Day, it meant the synthesis of all her past actions and affiliations: social activism, journalistic work, a family, and Roman Catholic affiliation.

Personal integration provides not only practical support, but it also produces an enriching and rewarding psychological transformation. By integrating each new affiliation with their previous networks of personal relationships and group affiliations, King, Debs, and Day (after meeting

Maurin) were able to grow not just in public stature and strength, but also in private individuality. They were not "swallowed up" by their new affiliations and did not lose their individuality in any nightmare such as the fear of "enthusiastic crowds" that prevented Bertrand Russell from taking the step of affiliation. Instead, through affiliations they developed even more unique personalities.

When organizations such as religious and political cults discourage the personal integration of their members, they contribute to the myth that affiliation requires persons to lose their individuality. The extreme case is the deperson-alization process of the U.S. Army by which they "break in" new recruits by stripping them of all personal relationships and affiliations and putting them into a standard uniform. Many religious and political cults that have sprung up in recent years engage in similar depersonalization procedures. There is a danger that organizations in the peace movement may adopt such methods which, in the long run, weaken rather than strengthen the new recruits. For example, there was Muste's dream for the "Comradeship" that envisioned "the formation of a band of evangels, patterned partly after the original Christians....cut loose....from the existing order.... dressing uniformly (though not 'too much like a military uniform or clerical dress') to symbolize their internal unity and their repudiation of the world." It is not surprising, given such a vision, that Muste later in life fell victim to sectarianism, in which his analysis became narrow and out of touch with the historical movement of the times.

One method that the State uses to repress movements for peace and justice is to outlaw organizations and force the membership underground where personal integration is much more difficult to achieve. For example, in the biography of Sandy Pollack, one misses any description of the struggle it must have been for her to integrate her affiliation with the Communist Party, which must have been secret to some extent, with all of her other social relations. The tension of such a struggle may help explain why it is that she blossomed after she began to work internationally in solidarity movements with Cuba and Nicaragua where she could be openly proud of being a Communist.

The repression of sexuality in our society makes personal integration more difficult. This is such a problem that the profession of psychoanalysis has developed largely to deal with it. The personal costs of society's sexual repression have been described well by W.E.B. DuBois:

> On one aspect of my life, I look back upon with mixed feelings: and that is on matters of friendship and sex ....Indeed the chief blame which I lay on my New England schooling was the inexcusable ignorance of sex....In my hometown sex was deliberately excluded from talk and if possible from thought....As teacher in the rural districts of East Tennessee, I was literally raped by the unhappy wife who was my landlady. From that time through my college course at Harvard and my study in Europe, I went through a desperately recurring fight to keep the sex instinct in control. A brief trial with prostitution in Paris affronted my sense of decency. I lived more or less regularly with a shop girl in Berlin, but was

ashamed. Then when I returned home to teach, I was faced with the connivance of certain fellow teachers at adultery with their wives. I was literally frightened into marriage before I was able to support a family.

The cost of sexual repression helps explain why DuBois' marriage of 53 years was not well integrated with his political development. Instead, "it suffered from the fundamental drawback of modern American marriage: a difference in aim and function between its partners." And the repression of sexual-ity in our culture also helps to explain why DuBois was led to make a serious mistake when he dismissed "a young man, long my disciple and student, then my co-helper and successor to part of my work" because he was arrested for homosexual behavior. Afterwards, DuBois "spent heavy days regretting my act."

Both Jane Addams and Emily Balch may have been hampered in their attempts to achieve personal integration of their anti-war work by the repressive attitudes about sexuality, including homosexuality, in our society. Both were victims of burnout. When Jane Addams was attacked viciously by the press for her opposition to World War I, abandoned by many of her friends from social work, she fell ill and suffered from "three years of semi-invalidism" and "a bald sense of social opprobrium....very near to self-pity." And Emily Balch suffered from nervous fatigue which forced her to interrupt her work for long periods. Although each had the support of a close woman companion, Mary Rozet Smith in the case of Jane Addams and Helen Cheever in the case of Emily Balch, it seems likely that prevailing sexual mores may have limited the extent to which they could be fully integrated into their life. Emily Balch regretted having only "the half-life of the unmarried woman." Whether or not their relationships were homosexual (and we may never know), they could not be made public and thereby integrated with their political lives. As their mutual friend Alice Hamilton explained to a biographer of Addams, such topics were not discussed in those days, and "the very fact that I would bring the subject up was an indication of the separation between my generation and hers."

The work of earning a living is transformed when it becomes integrated into work for peace and justice. Raising money for the "movement" is not the same as raising it for yourself and your family. It is removed from the private, "selfish" domain of capitalist society, into the unselfish, collective domain and becomes a part of one's political work. Dorothy Day describes how, after founding the Catholic Worker, she took to the road to seek contributions to keep the paper in print. And Helen Caldicott describes how, after joining the physician's movement, she would approach her physician colleagues at meetings to sign petitions and give one dollar so that the petition could be published.

For most people, including many activists for peace and justice, the step of personal

integration is the highest step of consciousness development. But the peace movement needs leadership and for that a higher step of consciousness is needed, world-historic consciousness.

WORLD-HISTORIC CONSCIOUSNESS VS. SECTARIANISM

World-historic consciousness, the highest step of consciousness, is not the quality of an individual acting alone, but of a leader working in affiliation. It is the kind of leadership that enables action and affiliation for peace and justice to develop in an effective and progressive rather than a narrow and sectarian direction. It's the ability of a leader to know the mood of the people, to analyze the strengths and directions of all political forces, and to organize and broaden the political character of the movement so that it is in step with the agenda of history, which, in the present time, means the abolition of war.

First of all, a leader must know the mood of the people. This can come only from long and direct experience working among them. The leadership of Eugene Victor Debs came from such experience:

> I had fired an engine and been stung by the exposure and hardship of the rail. I was with the boys in their weary watches, at the broken engine's side and often helped to bear their bruised and bleeding bodies back to wife and child again. How could I but feel the burden of their wrongs? How could the seed of agitation fail to take deep root in my heart?

Her years of service among the people enabled Jane Addams to play a leading role in the peace movement:

> ....in every social grade and class in the whole circle of genuine occupations there are mature men and women of moral purpose and specialized knowledge, who because they have become efficient unto life, may contribute an enrichment to the pattern of human culture....he who would incorporate these experiences into the common heritage must....be equipped with a wide and familiar acquaintance with the human spirit and its productions.

Second, a leader must understand the strengths and directions of all political forces in a systemic, not a superficial way. Such understanding must be "radical" - it must go to the roots of things - their economic and social causes. It must not be content with talk of superficial change, but must recognize that peace requires fundamental economic and political changes in society. In the words of Emily Balch:

> When war came in 1914 I felt this at first mainly as a senseless interruption of social-economic progress. I felt that war must be got rid of so that the threat of war might not interrupt and distort the course of this progress. Only gradually I came to understand at least partly how deeply war is intertwined with our whole economic and social system, our scale of values, our ideas of what is right and of supreme importance. I see no chance of social progress apart from fundamental changes on both the economic and the political side, replacing national anarchy by organized cooperation of all peoples to further their common interest, and replacing economic anarchy, based on

the search for personal profit, by a great development of the cooperative spirit.
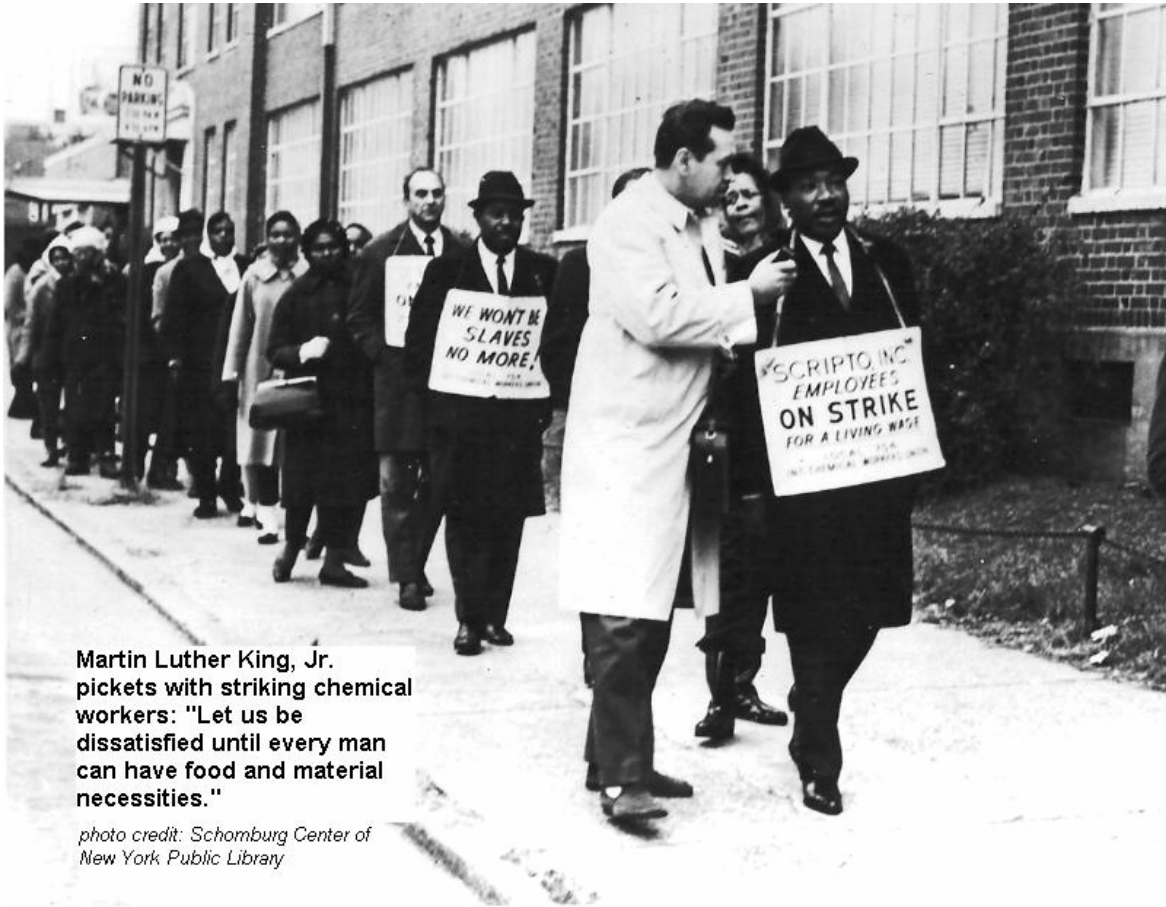
Martin Luther King, Jr.
pickets with striking chemical
workers: "Let us be
dissatisfied until every man
can have food and material
necessities."

*photo credit: Schomburg Center of
New York Public Library*

In retrospect, Eugene Debs realized that such a radical perspective was missing in his ill-fated keadership of the American Railway Union.

> My supreme conviction was that if the railroad men were only organized in every branch of the service and all acted together in concert they could redress their wrongs and regulate the conditions of their employment ....I had yet to learn the workings of the capitalist system, the resources of its masters and the weakness of its slaves....It all seems very strange to me now, taking a backward look, that my vision was so focalized on a single objective point that I utterly failed to see what now appears as clear as the noonday sun.....

World-historic consciousness requires what Helen Caldicott has called, "a global view of reality and a sense of moral responsibility for humanity's future." Jane Addams called it "a new consciousness, a nascent world consciousness:"

> But whether we care for it or not, our own experiences are more and more influenced by the experiences of widely scattered people; the modern world is developing an almost mystical consciousness of the continuity and interdependence of mankind. There is a lively sense of the unexpected and yet inevitable action and reaction between ourselves and all the others who happen to be living upon the planet at the same moment. Perhaps no presentation is so difficult as that which treats of the growth of a new

consciousness....this nascent world consciousness....

As Emily Balch puts it, this global view of reality is not a view of what already exists, but a "trend of development" towards "a planetary civilization:"

> In looking back over the years, I have not the feeling that our efforts have been unreasonable. On the contrary, I have the impression that although the world was not ready to realize them, the trend of development runs obviously and unmistakably toward the end that we have sought - a planetary civilization.

In the development of a world-historic consciousness, one important factor is world travel in which the travel is used as a means to study and reflect both upon the direction of world events and the means of achieving social change at home. As DuBois recalls:

> The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe; but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the close of the war and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia and Constantinople in 1926. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breath of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

World-historic consciousness is a result of struggle on ever-widening planes of significance, as the development of the individual becomes increasingly enmeshed with the development of all humanity. In describing the development of Martin Luther King Jr., his wife, Coretta, compares it to a scroll unfolding:

> When Martin got the Nobel Prize...then, when he made the statement on Vietnam, I had the strong feeling that this was the beginning of a larger work for him which would develop into something greater than we could conceive at the time. All along in our struggle one phase had led to another. As the years unfolded, it was like watching a scroll unfolding, you see more and more as you unroll it. There was a pattern and a process at work for the development of mankind.

For King, there was a progression from one plane of work on civil rights on behalf of Afro-Americans, to a broader plane for justice for the working class (he was killed in Memphis where he was speaking on behalf of the garbage workers strike which he characterized as "not a race war, it is now a class war"), to the broadest plane of all, his opposition to the Vietnam War and advocacy of peace and freedom for all the peoples of the world.

King's tribute to the world-historic consciousness of DuBois, on the 100th anniversary of his birth, could as well have been a tribute to King himself:

> In conclusion let me say that Dr. DuBois' greatest virtue was his committed empathy with all the oppressed and his divine dissatisfaction with all forms of injustice. Today we are still challenged to be dissatisfied. Let us be dissatisfied until every man can have food

and material necessities for his body, culture and education for his mind, freedom and human dignity for his spirit...Let us be dissatisfied until our brother of the Third World - Asia, Africa and Latin America - will no longer be the victim of imperialist exploitation, but will be lifted from the long night of poverty, illiteracy and disease. Let us be dissatisfied until this pending cosmic elegy will be transformed into a creative psalm of peace and "justice will roll down like waters from a mighty stream."

For DuBois, the journey towards world-historic consciousness led him from one plane of action to another. He overcame a narrow, sectarian view confined to the question of race relations (he supported World War I because it was a chance to advance Afro-Americans as military officers), and he achieved a mature consciousness that included the entire world and all races within its scope:

> I wavered for years, advocating socialism first as a racial program; then as a national effort and after this trip of 1958 as a definite and direct step to join the world movement toward a socialism leading toward communism, and embracing the colored world and that part of the white world willing to give up colonialism and private capitalism. But, as I say, this decision was slow in the making.

For recognizing and acting upon the fact that socialism had become the leading force for peace (DuBois was responsible for leading the drive to collect millions of U.S. signatures on the Stockholm Peace Appeal), he was put on trial at the age of 83 as an "agent" of the Soviet Union. DuBois' vision went far beyond that of his critics, however, as he foresaw not only the leading role for peace played by the socialist countries, but also the important role for peace that would be played by the emerging non-aligned movement:

> ....Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels....should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life...in peaceful cooperation and without presuming to dictate as to how Socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

As DuBois progressed in the development of his world- historic consciousness, he was forced to leave the organization that he had founded 25 years earlier, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People:

> No sooner had I come to this conclusion [the necessity of socialism] than I saw that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time.

DuBois illustrates a most important truth that can be quite painful in its operation: that consciousness development, in order to avoid sectarianism, often requires one to leave organizations with narrow perspectives and to seek out new affiliations with a broader view.

Eugene Victor Debs progressed from one plane of activity to another in much the same way

as DuBois, widening its scope until it encompassed the whole world. Debs began with a narrow sectarian view of labor federations, first only the locomotive firemen, then all the railroad workers, then all the working class, and finally came to a political commitment to socialism as a system of peace and justice for all people in the world (see quotation on page 21). Just as DuBois did not develop his analysis in isolation, but in dialogue with the Communist Party, so Debs developed his analysis in affiliation with the Socialist Party of his day.

For Sandy Pollack a vision came from a visit to Cuba:

> Perhaps more than any other single event, that visit to Cuba in November 1969 on the first Venceremos Brigade focused the rest of her life....Sandy saw that socialism was possible, could be successful. She could see it, touch it, examine it....It was tangible; it could work.

For world-historic consciousness one does not have to become a socialist or communist, but one must work with them. One must recognize them as powerful allies in the present struggle against war and that they help provide a concrete vision for a future peaceful world. Anti-communism is the most destructive form of sectarianism. It weakens the unity that needed for strength and the vision needed for inspiration. Martin Luther King Jr. recognized this fact. Although he was not a communist, himself, King acknowledged that DuBois was a "radical all of his life" and "some people would like to ignore the fact that he was a Communist in his later years." King concluded that "our irrational obsessive anti-communism has led us into too many quagmires to be retained as if it were a mode of scientific thinking [10].

Of course, not every activist rises to the step of world-historic consciousness. For example, despite the great intellectual talents of Bertrand Russell, his temperamental inability to affiliate stunted his development and kept him from working with groups where he could have developed world-historic consciousness. Instead, the older he grew, the more cynical he became:

> The way in which the world has developed during the last fifty years has brought about in me changes opposite to those which are supposed to be typical of old age. One is frequently assured by men who have no doubt of their own wisdom that old age should bring serenity and a larger vision in which seeming evils are viewed as means to ultimate good. I cannot accept any such view.

It is ironic that Russell should blame "the way in which the world has developed" rather than the way in which he himself developed for the failure to achieve a "larger vision." Dorothy Day also failed to achieve a world-h9istoric vision. In her preface to **The Long Loneliness** she asks "What is man, where is he going, what is his destiny?" and answers, "It is a mystery. We are sons of God, and 'it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God.'" She concludes that in her life, "I feel that I have done nothing well." Such a conclusion is quite similar to the one that Bertrand Russell came to: "I cannot pretend that what I have done in regard to social and political problems has had any great importance." In each case, it was impossible for them to appreciate

the great importance of their work because they lacked the world-historic consciousness with which to evaluate it.

The failure of Russell and Day to achieve world-historic consciousness had serious historical consequences. Although both ended up playing progressive roles in opposing the Vietnam War, each played a reactionary role with respect to the rise of the Cold War. Bertrand Russell's anti-communism led him for several years to work for British Cold War propaganda agencies and even to publicly advocate a nuclear attack upon the Soviet Union. Later on,

Eugene Victor Debs (center) receiving the Presidential nomination in 1920 from a Socialist Party delegation while he was imprisoned for opposing World War I.
Photo credit: Tamiment Library of New York University

however, he reversed his position and the Russell-Einstein manifesto of 1955 set the stage for the first East-West scientific cooperation for peace, the Pugwash Conference of 1957

Dorothy Day became caught up in the contradictory approaches of the catholics and communists; although she made a personal integration in her own life, she could not resolve the historical contradictions between them. As a result, she had a major negative impact on the Cold War, without even having to take a public position concerning it. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which grew out of a study group she had started at the Catholic Worker in the depression years, developed into a sectarian organization that attacked communists in the trade unions. They were largely responsible for destroying the labor involvement of the CIO in the

peace movement during the critical early years of the Cold War. As I recount in **The American Peace Movements** (see footnote 3), the Association did....

> "its utmost to turn the key Catholic CIO leaders....   into anti-Communists." The Catholic attack on the labor movement was carried out by spies, informers, infiltrators, and "ACT" cells" in the CIO that were "pledged to keep Communists out" of key areas in the labor movement. Once the CIO withdrew its organized labor support, the Wallace campaign had no chance of victory.

The defeat of the Wallace campaign not only ended mass opposition to the Cold War, but it also led into the period of McCarthyism, the worst period in U.S. peace movement history.

Sectarianism can take various forms, although in today's world, sectarianism is usually marked by anti-communism in one form or another. Taking up the cause of nonviolent opposition to U.S. racism and nuclear weapons in the 1960's, A.J. Muste remarked that:

> we are not any longer a sectarian - using the term in a good sense - movement, existing apart from the main political decisions and affecting them only in a very long-range and indirect sense. We now function in mass movements.

But Muste learned of sectarianism from bitter experience. During the 1930's, while most of the peace movement was joining together to fight against the rise of fascism, Muste took what he later called a "detour" into work with a small radical sect of Trotskyites, which, under his leadership, came to be called "Musteites." And after World War II, caught in the quagmire of anti-communism, he refused to take part in the greatest attempt to stop the Cold War, the Progressive Party campaign for Wallace in 1948, because of what he perceived as its "heavy Communist influence." Later, however, during the Vietnam War, Muste overcame sectarianism and played a major role in refusing to exclude Leftist groups and welcoming all organizations into the growing anti-war coalition.

World-historic consciousness brings history and psychology together into an inseparable unity. In contrast to the individualist approach that consider freedom as "freedom from the constraints of history," this approach to consciousness development sees true freedom as the freedom that comes when individuals take part in shaping the history that, in turn, shapes them. In other words, world-historic consciousness is "freedom through history." In the words of Debs, you find yourself by making history.

> You will lose nothing; you will gain everything. Not only will you lose nothing but you will find something of infinite value, and that something will be yourself. And that is your supreme need - to find yourself - to really know yourself and your purpose in life. You need to know that it is your duty to rise above the animal plane of existence. You need to know that it is for you to know something about literature and science and art. You need to know that you are verging on the edge of a great new world.

At the end of the speech, which is the speech for which he was tried and imprisoned because he

called for non-cooperation with World War I, Debs called upon his listeners "to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be."

The freedom of world-historic consciousness is also a burden, because it is the quality of leadership rather than the quality of an individual. The leader is responsible to all who look to him or her for leadership, which can be a heavy and difficult responsibility. Coretta Scott King describes the burden that the Nobel Peace Prize placed upon her husband:

> What was the deeper meaning of all this - some meaning that we were not yet able to understand? For this was not just a prize for civil rights, but for contributing to world peace. Though we were very happy, both Martin and I realized the tremendous responsibility that this placed on him. This was, of course, the greatest recognition that had come to him, but we both knew that to accomplish what the prize really implied, we still had a long way to go. It was a great tribute, but an even more awesome burden.

World-historic consciousness corresponds to the ancient religious belief in immortality,. By engaging one's life with the development of history, the peace and justice activist becomes an integral part of an undying human tradition. In his obituary for Sandy Pollack, the Cuban ambassador to the United States, H. E. Oscar Orama expressed the form of poetry:

> Sandy
> You are tomorrow.
> You are today.
> You reached the summit of the human species
> and you will be kept alive

THE UNITY AND UNIVERSALITY OF CONSCIOUSNESS DEVELOPMENT

Consciousness development is a single, unified process that reflects both the unity of the individual and the unity of human history. Although we may distinguish six discrete steps of consciousness development, we should not lose sight of the essential unity of consciousness development in the individual and its universality among all human beings. In the individual, the steps of consciousness development build upon each other so that each step is transformed by the addition of the next and no development is lost. The steps are not separate, isolated qualities, but are interrelated in the functioning of a single "person," with his or her own "personality."

In the human species, consciousness development is a shared process of all people. Our values derive from a common history, in which we are members of a vast multitude of people that extends throughout the world and that includes those who have died and those yet to be born as well as those living today. We all face a future that is increasingly tied to the future of each other. Consciousness development is not the possession of a certain, select group of people, but is available to all who have language and membership in society. And the potential to reach the highest steps of consciousness development is available to all people, even if it is only attained by some.

The highest level of consciousness development comes only through the participation in the making of history, and for that reason at the present time, it can only be attained with peace activism. This is true because at the present time the achievement of peace with justice is the primary issue on the agenda of history. All other activism for social justice is related, in one way or another, to the quest for peace; it will all come to nothing if civilization goes up in the flames of nuclear war.

Today we have the opportunity to achieve a higher level of consciousness than in any previous period of history. Never before has there been such a single, universal threat to our species and such an all-inclusive, world-wide task as the task of abolishing war. Never before has our species as a whole been faced with its own ultimate question of life or death. We have come full circle: the species consciousness that gave each of us the opportunity to attain individual consciousness is now endangered; and only the full development of individual consciousness in the masses of humanity can save it.

ROOT CAUSES OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

To foresee the tasks of the new psychology, we must understand its root causes. We have said that the new psychology is emerging in response to the demands of history, but history does not "cause" anything in a direct way. Instead, we must speak of a "causal chain" that begins from the economic roots of historical change. These produce political events, such as wars and revolutions, which, in turn, are the stimulus for the growth of peace movements. When peace

Helen Caldicott, founder of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament : "A global view of reality and a sense of moral responsibility for humanity's future."

Photo credit : Helen Caldicott and WAND

movements grow into massive size, they provide the social context for the intensification of consciousness development of individuals. Finally, it is this intensification of consciousness development that requires a new psychology.

The causal chain linking economics to wars to peace movements is documented in my book, **The American Peace Movements** (see footnote 3). The six, mass-based peace movements of U.S. history illustrate how peace movements arise in response to wars and threats of war. The Anti-Imperialist League (1898-1902) developed in response to the Spanish- American and Philippine Wars. The People's Council of America was a response to World War I (1917-1919). There were two U.S. peace movements in the 1930's in response to the rise of European fascism, the American League Against War and Fascism and the Emergency Peace Campaign. From 1946-1948 there was a mass opposition to the Cold War in the form of the Progressive Citizens of America, which sponsored the Wallace presidential campaign. In response to the Vietnam War (1966-1970) the mass peace movement was organized loosely into the "Mobes." And today, in response to the New Cold War, we have a mass peace movement associated largely with the campaign for a Nuclear Freeze. There have been many smaller peace

movements, both in response to these wars and war threats, and at other times, but no others that have been able to mobilize millions of people in the United States.

The six wars and war threats that caused the mass U.S. peace movements all arose as a result of basic economic factors. These also are documented in **The American Peace Movements** and will be presented here only in outline fashion. The Philippine War and World War I were the response to economic crises of over-production and unemployment, which led the imperialist countries to increase their exploitation of poor colonial and neo-colonial countries, and which led to economic rivalry among them for these foreign markets and investment areas. These economic factors continued to play a role in causing the rise of European Fascism and World War II, as well as the Cold War and the Vietnam War, but were joined by a new factor as well: the attempt by the capitalists to reverse the shrinkage of the "free world," - i.e. the part of the world that is free for capitalist investment and exploitation. Finally, the most recent wars and war threats, culminating in today's New Cold War, are caused not only by all of the previously mentioned factors, but a new and especially powerful force: the military-industrial complex. The military-industrial complex promotes war preparation in order to profit from government orders which are free from the competition of a capitalist market.

The same economic factors that have caused wars have also caused revolutions and national liberation movements. Mass unemployment has stimulated the rise of revolutionary working class movements. The exploitation of poor colonial and neo-colonial countries has produced movements for national liberation. Both of these often take place in the ruins of capitalist countries following the devastation of inter-imperialist wars.

At one point, to many observers, socialism seemed on the way to construction a world economic system that seemed not to need war. Although the socialist countries were born through revolutionary and national liberation wars, and although they were forced to defend their revolutions militarily against invasion and attack, they avoided many of the intrinsic causes for war. Their economies were not characterized by over-production and structural unemployment. In the relations among socialist countries, there was no imperialist exploitation. To the contrary, the net flow of wealth proceeded from the richer socialist countries, towards the poorer ones [11].

Although the first edition of this book maintained that the socialist countries had escaped from the burden of a military-industrial complex, that turned out to be in error. The world was shocked at the end of the 1980's by the economic and political collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The collapse was caused by the overburdening of the Soviet economy with military production. Attempts to reverse the declining economy with conversion from military to civilian production were resisted by the Soviet military-industrial complex. Eventually the economy crashed and the political system collapsed on top of it.

The Soviets had tried to match the West in terms of military production, but based on an economy only half as powerful. Therefore, they were forced to invest a percentage of their science

and technology that was twice as great as that of the West in their military industry. It has been estimated that 85% of all Soviet scientists, engineers and skilled workers were invested in military production, including those with the most skill as they could command higher salaries in the military sector.

By the end the Soviet economy could not produce any industrial goods of sufficient quality to export except for military and related aerospace products. Computers, machine tools, automobiles, electronic goods, clothing, all suffered from the diversion of technology, labor and raw materials to the insatiable arms race. In today's global market it is only a matter of time before such a system crashes.

The immediate effects on world peace were contradictory. On the one hand, Gorbachev and others managed a transition without repression and war, unlike what had happened after the collapse of Germany 60 years before. And major disarmament agreements were made with the West. On the other hand, the loss of socialist perspectives in the United Nations gave the West a free hand to use the UN for war-making in the Persian Gulf. And the loss of socialist support for national liberation led to defeats of progressive movements around the world.

The destruction of the socialist world resulted from a deliberate policy of the West to bankrupt them with the arms race. The long-term effects for world peace were negative, as it was interpreted as a victory for military confrontation in the West. And now there is no longer a developed alternative to the underlying causes of war in the exploitation of people within the capitalist nations and between the rich and poor nations.

But the arms race is a two-edged sword. The U.S. economy is also overburdened by military production as a result of it. The U.S. is less and less able to produce quality industrial goods for export or for internal consumption [12]. It may be headed for a similar economic collapse, with political consequences that could be very dangerous for world peace.

With the end of the Cold War, the danger of inter-state wars has receded, and the danger of civil wars has become more evident. More than ever we become aware that the culture of war has always had internal as well as external aspects, that militarism has historically been used not only for war between states, but also for the maintenance of power within the state. I have documented the internal interventions of the military in U.S. history and found that there has been an average of about 20 interventions and about 12,000 troops per year for more than a century [13]. In the early years of the 19th Century, these interventions were directed primarily against native Americans and used for the maintenance of slavery. After the Civil War the interventions were used to break strikes and curb the power of trade unions. And since World War II, they have been used primarily for the control of urban riots which involve unemployed youth for the most part.

There is no reason to think that the situation in U.S history is much different from that of all the other great powers. If we are to see the replacement of the culture of war with a culture of

peace, it will be necessary to replace the use and/or threat of military force for internal state control with a system of democracy which can ensure stability without coercion. This task requires an economy of peace, as well as political institutions of participative democracy.

What is needed at this point in history is the development of peace economies that are able to satisfy the needs of people without exploitation and without resort to military production. Whether this can be done at the level of the nation-state, or whether it must be accomplished at other levels, both local levels and international/regional levels, is very much a question of the day.

TASKS OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

The old psychology that is taught in American universities and used to train American psychotherapists is entangled, like the rest of the educational system and the mass media, in the web of militarism and inequality that pervades U.S. society. It is incapable of meeting the needs of those who are striving to translate the emerging vision of peace into reality.

The new psychology must proclaim the values of peace and justice. Its very purpose should be to promote these values in the people. This is totally unlike traditional psychology which takes a position of political "neutrality" and claims that it should not be involved in questions of

Children's march for peace on New Haven Green, October 25, 1986: "The new psychology must proclaim the values of peace and justice."

photo by the author

values and purpose. Practically speaking, there is no such thing as neutrality. Silence can only be interpreted as acceptance of the dominant militarism of the society. The new psychology must begin from the standpoint that its task is to oppose the values of militarism and promote the values of peace and justice. It should teach the pursuit of peace as the purpose of life.

It is not enough to stress the values of peace and justice in the family and within the circles of traditional peace and justice organizations. The new psychology should take part in the struggle to promote the values of peace and justice in the government, the mass media, and the educational systems. Whether it is the election of Congressional candidates who will speak out and work for peace, or the struggle for peace education programs in the public schools and universities, or the task of printing letters-to-editors or appearing on talk shows in order to provide an alternative to the media's militarism, the task is difficult, but ultimately necessary and rewarding. We may put ourselves in the place of the parents of a King or Pollack, the ministers of a Balch or Muste, and the teachers of an Addams or DuBois to see what the ultimate fruits can be.

The rising emphasis on values and purpose for peace comes at a time when the problem of alienation is more acute than ever for society in general and for psychology in particular. Inundated by media programs of violence, children are not sure if they will ever grow up to be adults, let alone take their part in the cycle of generations. Depression, hopelessness and despair are everywhere, and the resultant problems of suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, and criminality have reached epidemic proportions.

Anger is on the increase, fueled by increased levels of economic and political exploitation. Terrorism is also on the increase. To some extent the terrorism is conducted by the forces of militarism. But to some extent, it also comes from the accumulating anger in people who feel that have no other resort for social change. However, rather than advancing the cause of peace, terrorism victimizes the innocent and fragments the peace movement, frightening people away from activity. To reduce terrorism, the new psychology can provide an optimistic rather than pessimistic channel for the expression of anger, turning it to constructive rather than destructive action.

Many see the rise in anger as a sign for despair, but the new psychology will see it as a force to be harnessed. However, anger is not only ignored as a positive force, but it is actively discouraged by contemporary American psychology textbooks. It is treated as if it were pathology and disease, and it is blamed for the ills of society including war and crime, while the true economic and political roots of these phenomena are hardly discussed.

It will not be enough for the new psychology to "authorize" anger. Anger is a skill that needs to be harnessed so that it is used constructively rather than destructively. When I say that "anger is the personal fuel in the social motor that resolves the institutional contradictions of history," I imply that anger is useless unless it is put into the "social motor." The new psychology must help engage people in today's "social motor," which is the peace movement, teaching them

that their anger takes on constructive value within that social context. At the same time, it must guard against the harnessing of anger into reactionary social movements such as fascism.

The use of fear must not be encouraged, but must be exposed as the method of militarism and repression. The fact that fear is not an effective motivational means for changing attitudes has been known for some time by professional psychologists [15]. Instead, fear is used by those who seek to repress not only action and affiliation, but also the expression of anger. Those in the peace movement, such as Helen Caldicott, who have sought to motivate people by making them afraid of the consequences of nuclear war should reconsider their tactics lest they simply increase the feelings of helplessness and pessimism that pervade the mass media and prevent people from taking action.

The new psychology should share in the development of the emerging vision of a culture of peace. With the end of the Cold War, it may be said that such a vision is now becoming a fully developed and new step in the consciousness development of peace activists (see preface to Second Edition).

The old psychology, without the vision of a culture of peace, has been a case of the blind leading the blind. Not only does it lack vision, but it has preached pessimism. Even if war is not called "instinctive" (and sometimes the myth of the so-called "instinct for war" is actually taught in psychology courses), the old psychology teaches that personality, intelligence, sex differences, and other important personal characteristics are largely determined by genetic and early childhood factors. This gives helpless students the feeling that there is little they can accomplish by action and affiliation. This fits neatly into the pessimism of the mass media where hurricanes, plane crashes, wars, and crimes are considered "newsworthy" while organized action of peace and justice (for example, trade union actions) are censored or minimized [16].

As well as providing a concrete basis for optimism, the new psychology should directly combat the psychological warfare of pessimism. We should work to expose and eliminate the "image of the enemy" that is used to justify the arms race and isolationism which prevent cooperation with the rest of the world. We should expose and eliminate the myth of the "instinct of war" by such means as dissemination of the Seville Statement on Violence (see footnote 9). And we should take part directly in the struggle against the pessimism of the mass media, a struggle that we may expect to sharpen in the coming times.

The new psychology will be a psychology of action, unlike the old psychology that ignores action and emphasizes, instead, all kinds of passive processes. Psychology textbooks are loaded with studies of sleep and dreaming, "states of consciousness" that are considered in terms of drugs and yoga meditation, attitude change that is defined in terms of an "outside" force changing the attitudes of an otherwise passive subject, and personality traits, intelligence, and sex differences that are treated as unchanging, inherited qualities. The dominant technique of psychotherapy has been one in which the patient lies down on a couch facing away from the

therapist and recalls his or her dreams and child   hood experiences. How more passive can you be? Even though the practice of psychotherapy has changed in most cases, the theory derived from the old practice still dominates clinical psychology.

The new psychology must teach the skills of affiliation. From our study of autobiographies, we have seen that these skills include the willingness to compromise and accept group discipline, the courage to give of oneself and to accept criticism, while curbing the excessive criticism of others, and the patience to help others develop their own unique powers of thought, feelings, and actions. Given the emphasis on "individualism" in the U.S., it is not surprising that introductory psychology books give almost no space to these skills. Instead, the old psychology, like most of our educational system, supports the "myth of individualism." Competition and individualism begin from the first grades of school when they are called "cheating" and they extend throughout a person's academic career, including the Ph.D. process which must be done without assistance, and the tenure process. In psychology departments, co-authored papers are often discounted as evidence for tenure because they do not prove the "individual competence" of the candidate. It is a myth that the U.S. is ruled by such "individualism." In fact, the bankers, corporation managers, military officers, and government officials derive their power not from individualism but from a network of collective action and affiliation. It is even indicated in the words they use such as "corporations."

What are the factors that cause people to affiliate? What are the qualities that an organization needs in order to involve more people in its work? What is the psychology of recruiting and training new members? How does one design an organization and train its members so that it can analyze situations clearly and take effective action? These are some of the questions that the new psychology will face. Here we may take advantage of the work previously done by industrial and management psychology that was developed to serve capitalist business. In order to answer these questions, the new psychologists will have to be themselves affiliated so that they speak from practical experience. Already, we have such groups as Psychologists for Social Responsibility, as well as similar groups for Educators and Physicians and the more traditional peace and justice organizations, where psychologists can develop and practice the skills of affiliation.

The new psychology has a special role to play in helping activists achieve personal integration of their political lives. Burnout becomes more of a risk when activists are faced with an increasing number of potential actions and organizational commitments. If one tries to engage in every action and work with every organization, the task becomes overwhelming. Instead, activists must learn to share the load with others and develop a stable and supportive family and work situation for sustainable, long-term activity.

It is true that the clinical practice of psychotherapy is devoted to the issues of personal integration, but by itself that is not enough. Without the explicit commitment to values of peace

and justice, and to action in the cause of these values, the practice of psychotherapy leads only to individualism, the satisfaction of private needs, and withdrawal from the struggles of history which is the only arena in which consciousness can fully develop. We need to develop more "movement psychotherapists" who place the problems of personal integration squarely within the framework of commitment to action and affiliation for peace and justice. Rather than practicing in isolated fashion or small groups, as is done today, the new clinicians should be joined together as a major component of the new psychology and the peace movement as a whole.

Finally, the highest challenge to the new psychology is to help train leaders of the peace movement who have attained world-historic consciousness. As developed by Debs, DuBois, and King, such leadership overcomes sectarianism and unifies all anti-war constituencies into one great working force for peace. It knows the mood of the people. It can analyze the strengths and weaknesses of all political forces in a systemic and radical, not superficial, way. It organizes and broadens the political character of the movement to keep it in step with history. And today, unlike any time in the past, it must grasp and express the emerging vision of peace and give inspiration to the peace movement for the decisive struggles ahead.

The task of developing leadership with world-historic consciousness is not a task for psychology alone, but is a central task of the peace movement as a whole, in which the new psychology should be thoroughly integrated. Out of the peace movement there will emerge leaders who have the qualities of world-historic consciousness and who have made their work for peace not only a profession, but the very core of their being. As Debs puts it, these are the "social builders." Helping to recognize and develop such leaders is the highest task to which the new psychology is called.