

## THE STATE OF THE REVOLUTION

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, an interesting and constructive approach to the problems of Revolution has recently been described by Mr. Ed Butler who is widely known as host of the weekly TV series "The Square World of Ed Butler." His remarks were made on February 3d at the opening of the George Washington University Center in Washington, D.C. In them Mr. Butler states that for better or worse, revolutions of several categories will be with us for a long time to come. To cope with these problems he proposes a new major in conflict management to be set up at the university level.

Because of my concern with campus unrest and the currency of this problem, I insert Mr. Butler's remarks and other material in the RECORD:

## THE STATE OF THE REVOLUTION

(Remarks by Ed Butler at opening of the George Washington University Center, Washington, D.C., February 3, 1970)

President Nixon has presented the State of the Union Message, because politics is his business. I am about to discuss the State of the Revolution, because "Revolution Is My Profession."

In President Nixon's discourse, he surveyed our nation's national and international problems from his position at the pinnacle of power. In our conversation tonight, we will also consider the same problems from a much less lofty point of view.

And so there will be some similarities of topic, but few of tactic . . . some identity of purpose but none of procedure. President Nixon spoke, then left the press, the people, and their representatives to ponder the impact of his words upon their lives, as is traditional. I speak from a much humbler vantage point, and so I shall expect and invite questions at the conclusion of my talk. In my profession, there are few traditions but many challenges, and the *people always* have the last word.

Please note any questions you have on the cards now being given out. We probably won't be able to answer all tonight, so put down your name and address.

While the cards are being distributed, let me say that it is good to be back in Washington. I lived nearby in Alexandria for two years.

I last spoke here on Veterans Day in mid-November to a throng of 15,000 Americans at the Washington Monument. I was surprised to receive thunderous applause from the so-called "Silent Majority" for some very revolutionary statements about securing peace in Vietnam, through revolution. What surprised me even more was the rebuff a few days later from the so-called revolutionary leaders of the Moratorium Mobilization, who refused to permit me to speak to their followers . . . the stated reason was lack of space on the agenda, but I sensed the real reason was that, while I wholeheartedly supported their demand for peace, I categorically rejected "immediate and total withdrawal" as a euphemism for surrender, which always leads to worse wars later. Postponing problems doesn't solve them.

Thus, paradoxically, we had the spectacle of the "Silent Majority" shouting approval of revolution as the solution in Vietnam, while the leadership of the "revolutionary minority" censured my speech because it did not

conform to their doctrinaire view that "peace" and "surrender" are synonymous.

What was perhaps the most astonishing paradox of all was the startling willingness among nearly all the citizens I spoke to in Washington that hectic week, to listen with cordial attention to some new, creative alternatives, even when presented by so freaky a figure as a self-proclaimed professional revolutionary.

To complicate matters more, I am not only a revolutionary, but an admitted SQUARE, who believes that underlying ethical standards of right and wrong are essential, precisely because human beings deviate from them so often and drastically. Nor do I exempt myself. I am disgustingly human.

Because we are all now thrust into a no-man's land between peace and war—called revolution—we need standards more than ever. And yet, because much of the territory is unexplored, the old charts won't work, and we must draw up new ones as we go.

This creates a certain amount of indecision, confusion and inner conflict, to which none of us is immune. For example, as a revolutionary I am the "natural enemy" of the Establishment, from President Nixon on down. But, as a square, I sympathize with every President's belief in the American heritage—from Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, on up.

As a revolutionary, I can share with the Left an urgent need for the new. As a square, I can see the logic of the Right's reverence for the old.

I treasure these inner conflicts, because, in the process of resolving them (a dialectical/idealistic process incidentally), new ideas are born. My baby is called Conflict Management, and you may have heard the term for the first time on our show ("The Square World of Ed Butler" with John Wayne WITG, Channel 5, Sunday, 10:30 p.m.) a week ago last Sunday (Jan. 25).

Here's a definition:

"Conflict Management is the study and practice of Revolution as a profession. Basically, it is the use of words and symbols by the few to influence the many in favor of freedom."

Which leads to the need to define the term "revolution"—the briefest way to say it is:

"Revolution is the radical change in the existing order through propaganda and agitation."

This bald statement could be misleading unless we realize . . .

First, military and diplomatic methods—the procedures proper to states of war and peace—are often haphazardly blended with revolution, which leads to its reputation for violence and turmoil.

Second, in any case, revolution is among the most drastic operations that can be conducted upon the body politic, and should never be undertaken by amateurs without professional advice and counsel.

Third, if, however, revolution is professionally managed with an adequate ethic, it is far preferable to war and can be a practical step to peace.

So let me be clear. I believe . . .

We are in a world revolution.

We started it nearly 200 years ago, with the shot fired at Lexington and Concord that was heard round the world.

The revolution cannot, and should not, be stopped.

It must be won or lost, for freedom. Every day.

Am I calling for a persistent revolutionary condition, with minimum violence and maximum progress? Yes. Isn't this just another way to say "evolution?" No. Evolution is a cruel, violent process which involves the annihilation of whole species, the survival of the fittest, and proceeds in jumps and

starts. It is a bestial way to progress. Revolution is a more human way.

Ironically, although the American Revolution set in train awesome events in France, Latin America, Asia, Africa and, ultimately, the whole world, we got out of the business for a hundred years. Then, the Civil War reminded us of our revolutionary heritage, but not enough to prevent us from resorting to mainly military means on both sides. As soon as possible, we got back to business as usual and the reconstruction began.

Now, the third revolutionary climax has begun to occur in America. It is urgent that we recognize this revolutionary reality, and identify immediately our own role in the struggle. For the revolution is globally pervasive—every human being has a part to play—if only passive, as a victim.

The two basic, *active* categories of participation in Conflict Management are as "Patron" or "Practitioner."

The *Patron* is a part-time participant, but he is as essential as patient to physician, or client to lawyer. He both supports and controls the profession.

The *Practitioner* is a full-time professional revolutionary, responsible to his Patrons. They can be organized as citizens groups, foundations, churches, governments, businesses, conflict corporations . . . you name it.

But the essential factor is that there are many Patrons and Practitioners, at once competitive and cooperative.

Only within the framework of a *profession* can competition and cooperation be so combined that they produce progress.

For example, every physician is, in a sense, competing with every other physician for patients, and, at the same time, they share medical knowledge through publication and consultation, and the facilities of hospitals.

Similarly, lawyers are adversaries of the strongest kind in court, yet cooperate to share legal knowledge.

Because Doctors, Lawyers and Clergymen have so much life and death power—potentially—the professional method of organization was developed to check and balance them, so that humanity could use their services without undue fear of consequences.

This does not mean that abuses do not develop despite the professional organization . . . as we shall see, abuse is inevitable because of the Tendency Toward Tyranny that is in us all.

But one only need imagine what would happen if all Doctors decided to strike for a day . . . or a month. Or worse, if they agreed to inject all the slow-paying patients with encephalitis . . . to imagine the vast powers physicians possess, but never think of using.

Which brings us at last to the *Enemy* . . . that *Tendency Toward Tyranny* which is part of human nature and thus is in us all. "TTT" leads to *war*, for war is never fun or popular with a people, but often is with leaders greedy for power. Similarly, the "TTT" leads to *poverty*, because material gain at the expense of others is always ultimately unprofitable, leading to customers who won't buy and consumers who can't consume, but again it is the greed for power—property is only one path—which causes the abuse.

I call those afflicted with an inordinate TTT "Tyrannists." It is not a monopoly of the "Right" or "Left."

Tyrannists of every stripe are continually inventing ideological justification for seizing power . . . from The Divine Right of Kings, to Communism and Nazism, to Objectivism.

Therefore, "Conflict Managers"—professional revolutionaries—are needed now, by the thousands, to cope with this inherent inclination in humanity, before we incinerate ourselves from the face of the earth.

We can help reinstitute revolution as an honorable profession in America. Tonight I

calling upon you, upon the educational leaders, elected leaders and American public to do so.

I have called upon the leadership of the American Political Science Association to bring up at their next meeting the establishment of a framework in which to train professional revolutionaries—Conflict Managers—at the university level.

This would be a new "major" within the Schools of Government or Political Science Department of our universities. Now, I'm an activist not an academician, and I call upon educators in the field of political science only because I personally believe that Conflict Management might be most logically placed in this scope of study. I only suggest Conflict Management as a needed profession. The rest is up to our educators.

I am sure many people in our society will say, "Well, we've survived before. Why must we take the risk of putting such great power in the hands of a few?"

But ask yourself: Could we have avoided or minimized human losses in World War II, Korea, Vietnam and other conflicts if our schools were graduating Conflict Managers? Did we pay the price of war by neglecting the profession of revolution?

Could we have alleviated racial injustice, poverty, pollution and other socio-economic problems before they reached the crisis stage if Conflict Management had been included in the curriculum of our schools?

Although national and international affairs are actually intimately entwined, let's look at what might happen if Conflict Management were properly employed at home and abroad.

#### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Campus revolution.**—The best young people in America have been involved in the campus revolution . . . either in bringing it about, or turning it toward freedom. But we must face the fact that many are deeply disenchanted with government, disappointed that the injustices they've identified have not been solved, and eager to continue to apply the revolutionary talent for propaganda and agitation they have learned. After a three-hour interview about the problem, an editor of a college magazine wrote an editorial warning businessmen that, unless The Revolutionaries of Today become the Conflict Managers of Tomorrow, things would be bad for America. I completely concur.

**Service men's revolution.**—It is fashionable to deny that soldier morale has dropped, marijuana use has skyrocketed, and that a general malaise grips our troops.

This is understandable. It is difficult for an officer to give unpopular orders to a group of armed men, when he believes their discipline and morale are high. When he knows it is not, such a stance may seem suicidal. Also, we know that demoralization can be vastly increased—and spread—by simply admitting it exists.

By the same token, blindly denying the truth does not stop disintegration. An alternative—creative and meaningful—to military war must be developed, and deferments perhaps awarded to those who pursue it. Conflict Management could be that profession, and put tens of thousand of disillusioned GI's to work, productively and patriotically, upon separation.

Russia and Germany are but two examples of what happens when a disillusioned, demobilized army drifts into a nation without hope or ideals. Both Communism and Nazism were nurtured by such despair. Conflict Management can help America avoid a rerun of that all-too-recent history.

**Urban revolution.**—This includes the myriad problems of pollution and corruption, traffic congestion and housing. Pressure groups are continually forming in the independent sector, but their success in large measure depends on the professionalism of their staff. Without it they cannot hope to

cope with entrenched political machines and big business. On the other hand, a private pressure group inspires the natural sympathy of a "David versus Goliath." Thus, unless its operations are ethically managed, this sympathy can be perverted by Tyrannists to a tool for personal power, displacing one evil with a greater one. Conflict Managers can guarantee both efficiency and ethics on both sides of the coin.

**Political revolution.**—"Decentralization" and "Power to the People" are the cries of the hour, and government will hear them at every level only so long as they are responsibly, and effectively articulated. Amateurs typically vacillate from whispers to hysteria and are consequently either ignored or abhorred. No government is self-critical or self-effacing enough to dismantle itself with top efficiency. After all, government is only an organization of human beings who provide administrative, military and diplomatic services. And, fortunately, through a benign cooperation with communications, government today can produce an unconscious tyranny, perpetuate its power, and enforce illusions among the populace. Then, when a Tyrannist like Oswald comes along and smashes the highest symbol of national authority, the entire nation slips into cultural shock—and as illusions fall, violence rises. The present conflict between the government championed by Vice President Agnew, and the media, represented by the networks, is healthy only so long as the competition/cooperation continues. Conflict Managers—employed by both sides—can see that these checks and balances expand.

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

I'd like to preface this portion of my talk by saying I believe the day of the expeditionary force is over. What needs doing abroad must be done by natives of the nations concerned, primarily. Americans can teach, and America can serve as a secure base area for revolutionary forces fighting for their freedom. But we must never undertake to export the American system of the 1970's to any other country. Each must find the appropriate level of freedom for itself.

But I am convinced as deeply as I can be, that every nation deserves liberty and every people are "ready" for some degree of liberty immediately. I am equally certain that no one's freedom is safe as long as one human being is enslaved.

Here are just a few areas where revolution could shift the balance toward freedom.

**Latin America:** Miami was the secure base area for the Cuban revolution and Cuba has been the secure base area for the current American revolution. Base areas are as essential to revolutions as service stations are to automobiles. When you see one, you know the other cannot be too far. To re-claim the revolution which Castro betrayed, Americans should make contact with Cubans, now, for joint Conflict Management training. Likewise, in many areas of Latin America today, militaristic juntas have forestalled the democratic process. The left wing does not have any monopoly on tyrannist tactics and popular forces are continually threatening reactionary regimes.

The government should maintain a strict hands-off policy toward any such popular initiatives for freedom, neither supporting nor thwarting them. Revolution is the business of the people, just as diplomacy and military defense are the province of government. If officials persist in intervening in this area, it is up to Conflict Managers to outwit them, test and help change the laws which perpetuate injustice. A basic premise: no government has the right to make agreements with another government which endorses or extends tyranny. Conflict Manager's very presence can help prevent this common abuse.

**Eastern Europe:** The shameful silence

among some . . . especially student leaders who claim to be revolutionaries . . . while Czech students were slaughtered, was one of the most sickening cop-outs in history. The fact that these massacres were managed by the same kind of regime some would like to install in America also says a lot. Revolutionary potential is always present in Eastern Europe, waiting for the sparks to ignite it. We should be ready, privately, next time the opportunity occurs, and this means Conflict Managers from every nation of Eastern Europe must be trained for the great task of liberation.

**Southeast Asia:** Vietnamization can work on a military and diplomatic level only to the extent that the revolution is diverted toward freedom. The people of Vietnam, in the North as well as the South, deserve at long last the chance to determine their own destiny. Now that Ho Chi Minh is dead, the Communist regime is more vulnerable in the North, and the military regime in the South can be steadily democratized. This work must proceed in all areas proportionately under the leadership of Vietnamese Conflict Managers, who can, and should, be trained here, at first. The alternative to liberation is unending military/diplomatic/revolutionary conflict, and misery for millions.

Africa and Asia are ripe for revolution. China is insecure as a national entity, and Mao's demise could accelerate fragmentation and revolution there. In Russia, the Jewish populace is suffering renewed oppression, and, for the first time in memory, individual revolutionary acts are being carried out in Soviet Russia.

Trained Conflict Managers, citizens of each of the nations involved, could bring about radical changes in favor of freedom, swiftly. Of course, there are those whom the word "radical" frightens as much as the word "revolutionary." However, radical means root, and we must aim at the underlying causes if we are ever going to achieve both peace and freedom on this planet.

Are there Conflict Managers available? Yes, but not nearly enough, nor are those who exist necessarily conscious of the term. I'd consider Ralph Nader a Conflict Manager, and John Banzaf of ASH, who put anti-cigarette smoking commercials on the air, is certainly a Conflict Manager, whether he is aware of the term or not. So, I suspect, is Saul Alinsky, although we argued about it for hours one evening in Chicago after a memorable TV debate. In my opinion, Richard Cornuelle, who discovered and named the elusive Independent Sector in his excellent book, *Reclaiming the American Dream*, is a Conflict Manager. So are Richard Warren and Larry Kihnel of INCA down in New Orleans, who put together the very successful "National Student Conferences on Revolution" in 1968 and 1969. Certainly Lee Edwards, who introduced me tonight, fits the bill, with his relentless efforts on behalf of the enslaved peoples. He has been called the "Voice of the Silent Majority" by the *New York Times*. The attractive young lady who quietly arranged this conference, Lo Anne Wagner, certainly qualifies as a Conflict Manager in my mind.

As you can imagine, old-fashioned divisions of partisan politics—right and left, Liberal and Conservative, Reactionary and Radical—don't describe Conflict Managers very well.

What is urgently needed are some different labels which can be invested with more accurate meanings. That's why I sign myself "square." People come to sneer and put me down, but often stay to cheer for a square deal for minorities and a square meal for the disadvantaged, and a square shake for enslaved peoples everywhere.

Even more than simplistic slogans and labels, we need in-depth academic exploration, study and specialization in the whole vast arena of "Conflict Management." Some

of this has already begun according to an article by *Newsweek's* Thomas Gordon Plate. At the University of Michigan, a "Center for Research on Conflict Resolution," publishes the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; and The American Arbitration Association handles 17,000 cases each year. But these are exclusively oriented toward the resolution of Conflict which is but one part of Conflict Management—the Conflict Manager must also know how, when and where to initiate and not to initiate conflict; how to limit, control and channel it constructively; how to sustain it when necessary and end it when possible. For Conflict is essential to human nature. By setting aside a group of professionals to deal with it on a day-to-day basis, just as we have assigned lawyers to deal with injustice and doctors to deal with disease, our nation and our world can begin to adjust to revolutionary reality and grow within its exciting atmosphere.

Remember, the word "Revolution" was coined to describe the orbiting of heavenly bodies and was appropriated by the politicians. As mankind enters the Age of Aquarius and sets its sights on the planets, it might be well to remember that original meaning of revolution.

America has had its New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and Great Society. I call upon the Citizens of the Country, not just the President, to face revolutionary reality now . . . we can create for all humanity. . . . A square deal!

#### ED BUTLER: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ed Butler is host of the weekly TV series "The Square World of Ed Butler." The half hour informational format is a combination of music and discussion of today's vital subjects, geared to the youth of America.

A political maverick who defies labeling and insists terms like "right" and "left," "liberal" and "conservative" are outmoded and obsolete, he also is editor/publisher of the *Westwood Village Square* magazine, which reached a circulation of 150,000 in 1969, and author of the provocative book, *Revolution Is My Profession* (excerpts on Conflict Management attached).

An internationalist who conceived, and helped to organize, the Information Council of the Americas (INCA), a private, non-profit educational organization with links in 16 nations of the hemisphere, he was named New Orleans' "Outstanding Young Man for 1968" when he received the Jaycee's *Distinguished Service Award* in January, 1969. He is also the recipient of the Americanism Award of the Young Men's Business Club of New Orleans (1963) and Award of Merit from the Cuban Journalist's in Exile (1967).

#### ADDENDUM

[As professionals, Conflict Managers will serve all segments of society on domestic problems—in business, education, labor, communities, cities, state and federal governments—on a non-partisan basis. Tyranny has many faces—economic tyranny, or greed, causes men to wield power over their fellow man; political tyranny, fear of reprisals, causes men to wield power over their fellow man; prejudice is a form of tyranny if it results in one man thwarting the liberty of another; pollution—although not fore-planned as a form of tyranny—is now sapping the liberty of all society.

The list is endless. Revolution can perfect the institutions of our society—governmental as well as private—by releasing them, via the Conflict Manager, from responsibilities they have not and cannot meet.]

#### PROFESSION NOT ORGANIZATION

(Excerpts from "Revolution Is My Profession," by Ed Butler, *Twin Circle*, 1968)  
Conflict Management must operate as a profession, not only because the work is

complex and vitally necessary, but also because Conflict Managers could become as dangerous tomorrow as Communists are today, and Nazis were yesterday, unless care is taken to prevent it. How do you delegate life and death power, but retain it?

It is just this kind of dilemma that mankind has solved in the past by creating professions. Mere organizations won't do.

Let's illustrate with some examples: There are many professions, but theology, law and medicine are recognized as the three learned professions at present. Each was presumably devised to answer a basic human need, and provide professionals to serve it.

Each day thousands confide their innermost secrets to *clergymen*—secrets which could ruin them. They do it without a qualm.

Hourly, businessmen, housewives, young and old, on every matter from murder to divorce, whisper personal facts which could compromise them to *attorneys*, without hesitation.

At this moment people are baring their bodies to *surgeons' scalpels* and *physicians' searching eyes*, as a matter of course.

In evolving these professions, man was required to delegate potentially dangerous powers to their practitioners, who after all, were men like himself and could betray the trust. Yet mankind found a way to do it routinely, without much worry.

The reason is that within a profession, and only within this framework, are there sufficient psychological and organizational safeguards to allow man to delegate the great powers of life and death. But at the same time, to be relatively secure against their abuse.

There are four major means by which every profession checks and balances the practitioners:

1. The Professional Ethic
2. The Decentralized Organization
3. The Internal Self-Interest
4. The Restricted Method

*The Professional Ethic*—Instills in both the practitioner and his patron positive motivations for the proper exercise of power. And it also implants negative inhibitions against its abuse. The practitioner adopts a stylized professional conscience, which acts as a personal check upon his ambition. By contrast, the diversity of business and the representative nature of government, makes it extremely difficult to establish a uniform set of standards for businessmen or statesmen. The Conflict Manager, however, operating in an area which is filled with temptation and opportunity to accumulate power, needs rigid standards.

*The Decentralized Organization*—Makes each practitioner responsible for his bread and butter on a daily basis—not to some distant boss—but directly to those whom he serves.

For example, the physician who betrays his oath finds his practice departing and his living standard diminishing.

Likewise, the Conflict Manager who attempts to seize control of the state for his personal purposes, or otherwise abuse his powers, can be made to feel the disfavor of his Patrons. Fast and firmly.

Every profession provides watchdog powers so that those who are most immediately affected by the practitioner's actions can control them, day-to-day. By contrast, stockholders may normally exercise such powers only once each year (if, indeed, at all). Voters can register complaints only once every two, four, or six years upon elected officials, and nearly never appointed ones. Business and government can get by without continued close scrutiny, because life and death decisions are not a daily duty. But Conflict Management operations must be continually checked out by the Patrons who pay for them.

*Internal Self-Interest*—Puts the profes-

sionals into dynamic internal competition with each other, thus balancing powers practically. For example, when a lawyer is disbarred, other lawyers do the disbaring.

So, too, must the Conflict Manager be constantly subject to the censure of his peers, should he merit it.

The latent power of the majority to cast out an individual or minority whose actions could injure the professional as a whole, are a strong deterrent and effective insurance against anyone getting out of hand.

Such internal self-interest in professional purity does not apply in business. Anti-trust statutes have been enacted from outside to prevent collusion against the public interest. Nor does it apply in politics, where numerous devices, from impeachment and recall proceedings, to elections themselves, are provided for outside governance.

There is nothing evil about business or politics. It is simply that the virtues of diversity, competition, and compromise outweigh any social advantages to be gained by the stylized uniformity, and purity of purpose, which is essential to a profession.

*The Restricted Method*—Prevents practitioners from gradually expanding their powers into a total tyranny, by limiting them publicly at the outset. Before theology could become a profession, sorcerers and false prophets had to be expelled, and the duties of the ministry carefully limited.

Before Conflict Management can achieve professional status, the quacks and charlatans must be discredited, and the beginning and end of its power must be clearly defined.

In government and business the imperatives clearly point to the opposite direction. The less limitation on opportunity the better. The less restrictions on personnel the better.

It is significant that in the time of greatest political danger for democratic nations, the conduct of war is the province of *professionals*. Of military men. The President joins the professionals to lead the armed services and the nation as Commander-in-Chief.

Similarly in business, whenever life and death decisions become part and parcel of the daily routine, professions have been evolved to minimize the risk. Thus in the building trades, architects and engineers who take the responsibility for designing bridges and buildings which must bear the burden of hundreds of lives, have come to be classed as professionals.

Certified Public Accountants, who check and control funds, which in America's corporate oriented economy can mean the sustenance of millions, have been gradually achieving professional status over the past several years.

Because they are needed, but potentially dangerous, Conflict Managers must be *professionals*, not organization men.

The problems that called it forth are but the natural product of innate and unchanging human weakness. The problems will change, but the weaknesses won't. Therefore, the Conflict Manager must stand guard permanently, precisely because the problems themselves will change, while human nature remains the same.

Viruses mutate and make old remedies obsolete, requiring physicians to remain on hand, both to hold, and to extend, the ground that has been gained. So, too, will a group of professional Monitors be always required, even after all tyrannies have been liberated, both to keep them liberated, and combat the ingenious new methods that neo-Tyrants devise.

And here is where the concept of Conflict Management beckons to those who would promote world peace. For Conflict Management, by professionally controlling the essential human drives of those who seek and abuse power to launch war, or perpetuate poverty to satisfy their lust for power—Conflict Management can become the international peace enforcement mechanism