the normal, acceptable solution for a problem....A cardinal fact about violence is that once initiated it tends to get out of hand. Its limits are not predictable."

A corollary conclusion is that violence rewarded breeds further violence and perpetual violence ultimately produces a brutal counterreaction.

Civil disobedience, at best, is a dangerous policy, since it opens the path for each man to be judge and jury of which laws are unjust and may be broken. Moreover, civil disobedience leads inevitably to riots, and riots condoned lead inevitably to revolution — which, incidentally, is a word we are hearing more and more frequently from advocates of black power.

We have also witnessed dramatic debacles such as the Poor People's March, which sought an amorphous commodity, "a just share of the wealth." This is impossible for society to define or deliver. Utopian purposes simply build frustration on all sides and tragically leave all people worse off than they were before.

Capitulation to violence, either to keep the peace or from misguided compassion, is suicidal for society. While hardening of attitudes and polarization is paralyzing, an acceptance of mass guilt coupled with an abrogation of individual responsibility could be disastrous for this great country of ours.

We seem to have lost all sense of proportion and perspective. Encouraged and abetted by the mass media, we have embarked upon a national whining catharsis. We're so fascinated scrutinizing our exposed racism that we've forgotten the problems altogether. I think we've followed this negative, moribund course to its natural dead end — and it's time to play a new game called "What's right with the United States." The tragedy and in its way the greatness of the Kerner report came in its embodiment of the group guilt thesis. From the vantage point of a hundred years, I suspect it will be viewed as a genre piece depicting the psychology of a nation strangling on its own success.

The United States has come of age. Now we must decide whether we are going to use our affluence and knowledge constructively or destructively. Are we going to continue in the vigorous discipline of individual opportunity and responsibility which brought us this far, or are we going to surrender to the Bread and Circus destiny that befell the Roman Republic? We are at this juncture now and