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Stanford Chappard

Interview:

H. BRUCE FRANKLIN

by Linda Moulton

H. Bruce Franklin is a 33-year-old Associate Professor of English at Stanford. Last winter he was a lecturer and honorary Dean at the Free University of Paris and was involved in the student protest against Humphrey when the Vice President was in Paris. This fall he held informal seminars on Maoism and the Cultural Revolution in Rinconada, in addition to his regular teaching load. In early November this year, he was grabbed and threatened by a Stanford policeman as he approached the office where the CIA job interviews were being held. In 1966, he wrote an article for Sequoia about "How We Started Our War Against North Vietnam," and appeared twice on the Joe Pyne show in Los Angeles to argue his position on Vietnam and Communism. He has now taken a position supporting Mao Tse-tung and Maoism. This interview was tape recorded and transcribed and then presented to Professor Franklin for review and final correction.

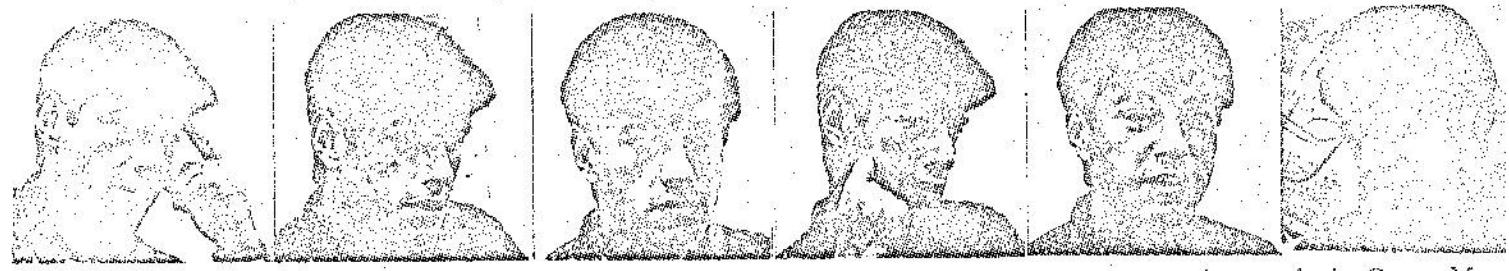
Q. WHAT IN MAOIST PHILOSOPHY APPEALS TO YOU?

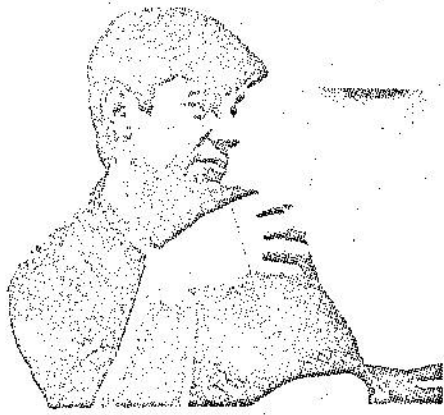
The best overall statement that I can make is that Mao restores will and consciousness at least to their original position in Marxist thought. And then he develops it in the direction that both Marx and Engels suggested. Briefly, they were concerned in most of their work

with tracing the causal relationship from economic things to what they called elements of the superstructure; e.g., values, politics, the State, culture in general. But they saw late in their lives that people were misinterpreting them as saying that all causation is economic. They saw their philosophy being interpreted as deterministic in a way it was not meant to be. They pointed out that they had said the superstructure could also play back on the economic base and could change it. But with the death of Lenin, this idea was largely lost, Lenin was really will and consciousness; he was anything but a determinist. But with his death, Marxist thought became extremely deterministic. Socialism became defined as State ownership of the means of production and control of the State by the workers. The only thing that was lacking was the necessary modern industry, and so, if modern industry could be attained, by whatever means, that would be socialism. For Stalin this meant largely forceful means, or the "stick." For the modern revisionist—Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Kosygin and the rest of the gang—it means largely the "carrot." Instead of forceful collectivization, it means the profit motive, a little capitalism to get to socialism. Stalinism and modern revisionism both give very deterministic definitions of Socialism.

What Mao has done is to emphasize the superstructure itself. He doesn't see socialism as just being in the political and economic realms. He sees socialism largely in the world of values, and I argue that the world of values is a causal world which can cause all kinds of material things. So that you can have the means of production being owned by the State and the workers running the means of production, but if you start having a bureaucracy and a power elite building up, then that elite can reconstruct an economic base for itself and change the economy, as we see in the Soviet Union, back toward a capitalist economy. That's one area in which Mao is stressing will and consciousness.

From this follows the necessity of the cultural revolution. A socialist political revolution destroys an old state and creates a new one; this introduces an economic revolution. Then it is necessary to have a cultural revolution to combat the old values of selfishness, self-seeking, ambition, authoritarianism, slavishness, etc., which can give to a power elite the opportunity to reconstruct society in its own interests. In self-seeking and selfishness aren't present as high social values, then there is no movement back to them. When people really learn communal and social values and live these values, these become the culture. Then





there is no longer any active force to destroy socialism.

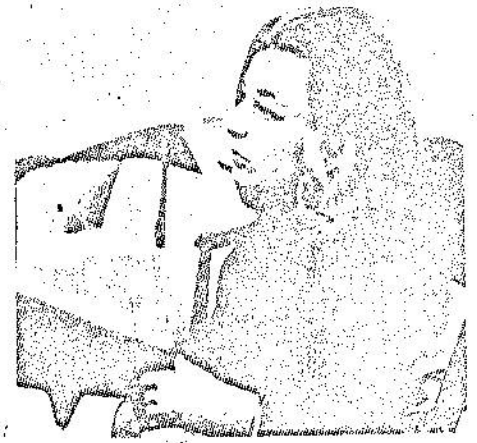
If the cultural revolution can succeed and if they can have a society without the destructive old values where people do have a sense of their bonds with their fellowman, where they really do believe that no man is an island, then there is tremendous hope for man. This is one significance of the Chinese experiment. More than that, it is tremendously relevant to our own society because what the Chinese are doing is dealing with the problems of an advanced industrial society, a technocratic society, before they even get there. They see the dangers in all the bureaucrats and experts running a society, taking peoples' lives away from them. Mao is trying to deal with that problem as it emerges rather than wait for China to get to the condition that, say, the U.S. or the Soviet Union or any other advanced industrial country is in now. Many kinds of groups are beginning to emerge in our country that see the value in this aspect of Mao's thought and realize that it might not even be necessary to wait until after the political revolution to have a cultural revolution. In fact, of course a part of any revolution is always a cultural revolution.

This brings us to the second main area of Mao's contribution to Marxist-Lenin thought: the whole theory of revolution conceived as a developmental dialectic. It's not a conspiratorial party gradually convincing people to its point of view and then launching a sudden insurrection or coup to cease political power. The revolution itself takes place in the dialectic process which develops a

different kind of society from the society that exists. The kind of state the revolution is in competition with is not the kind of state that will be produced. It is in the dialectics of the struggle itself that the new society has its initial being.

Q. ISN'T THERE A CONTRADICTION IN MAO'S WANTING FREE WILL AND CONSCIOUSNESS AND HIS INSISTENCE THAT HIS PHILOSOPHY BE READ AND FOLLOWED BY EVERYONE?

The question is who is making the insistence. No one is forcing me to read Mao. I think this is largely coming from the grassroots. To understand the position of Mao in Chinese society you have to take a step into the historical context. There you see a country that for literally thousands of years was an example of unbelievable human misery, probably more misery in China than anywhere else in the world. More people starving, more plain human degradation of every sort, more varieties of horrible cruelty. And one man comes along and largely through his leadership and revolutionary thought leads a revolution which overthrows all that, does away with most of the misery, does away with most of the degradation, with the serfdom of women, with illiteracy, with starvation. Nobody is starving in China. You talk about slavishness or people not having intellectual freedom. How much intellectual freedom did people have when less than 10% of the people could read and write? Now I understand everybody under 50 can read and write. There has been a tremendous cultural resurgence in the country. People working in the factory, or on the farm, having the right to make all kinds of fundamental decisions about their lives—a kind of freedom people in this country simply don't have. And all this largely through the leadership of one man—not that he did it alone, nobody thinks he did it alone, but it was his thought that showed the way and which developed the revolutionary methods that made this possible. And in that context, obviously not only is this man going to be tremendously admired, but his thought is going to be seen as absolutely crucial to



the continuing development of the country and keeping it from relapsing into what it was before. So the question is: is the philosophy being pushed down on people or is it something which a great mass of people see as absolutely vital to their historical development? There are those of us here who feel that one of the main tasks is for people to really understand Mao Tse Tung's thought and to see how it relates to their lives. I certainly would argue that anybody here who considers himself a revolutionary has an obligation—if he wants to fulfill his role—to understand Mao's thoughts and to see how they apply in this country. I think if he doesn't he will be repeating the same errors that have been made by the so-called revolutionary forces for the last 50 years.

Right at the center of Mao's message is: Believe in the people. Don't manipulate the people. Put your faith in the people. So if the people are paying tremendous homage to this man, they are paying homage to a man who is saying, "I believe in you," which is a very different kind of act than anything we are familiar with.

We don't see anything wrong with worshipping Jesus Christ. Christ walks on the water and the response we're supposed to have to that is to fall down on our knees and say Jesus Christ is God and so forth. He can walk on water, so he is God and we're just men. Well, Mao swims the Yangtze, but the message is not to fall down before Mao because he can swim the Yangtze. The response is that everyone should be able to swim the Yangtze; it's something man can do and, as a result, there is a mass campaign and

everybody learns how to swim. Last summer I think it was 75,000 people that swam across the Yangtze in the same place that Mao swam. It was not a debasement of the people in homage to a man they see as God, but rather a heroic response of people who see this man as someone who provides heroic leadership. They can swim, they can be great revolutionaries, and they can be philosophers. This is a central part of the cultural revolution and central to the idea of the people reading Mao's essays.

Q. HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE RED GUARD'S REVOLT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT?

The Red Guard belongs to that later stage after the political revolution — the cultural revolution. They revolted against established bureaucracy, slavishness, selfishness, the entrenched power particularly in the party itself, but also against the kinds of administrative functionaries that extend from the party. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, is the main target as a person. One of the main things he is being attacked for is a passage in his book about how to be a good Communist. He says that a good Communist is a person who obeys orders whether he understands or believes them, whereas Mao's position is that if you don't believe in the orders you shouldn't follow them and should criticize the person giving the orders.

The struggle is similar in many ways to the struggle, say, here at Stanford or at Berkeley against the administration and bureaucratic authority with all its rules and regulations and obfuscation of issues. You look at the scene at Peking University in May 1966 when the cultural revolution started and you see a repetition of a pattern we are familiar with: a group of students tired of the administration constantly hiding behind committees and regulations and red tape and clouding all the essentials and tired themselves of having an educational system designed to turn them into square plugs to fit into square holes in a technocratic machine. The turning point in the cultural revolution was when Mao took the side of the Red Guards against the

party bureaucracy. It would be like President Johnson coming out openly taking the side of the students, assailing the bureaucracy in the administration and central government, proclaiming that the students should bombard all the buildings in which the bureaucrats are establishing their bureaucracy, and then summing up the philosophy of his life in the words: "It's right to rebel."

Q. ISN'T MAO HIMSELF CAUGHT UP IN A KIND OF BUREAUCRACY THAT ENABLES HIM TO SPREAD HIS PHILOSOPHY AND DIRECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION?

No. He doesn't really operate with bureaucratic power and never has. The direction comes from the people themselves; that's the whole idea. Look at the Chinese army. No insignia, very little bureaucratic protocol. When they were fighting, before battle, the officers would propose various plans to the men and the men would propose plans and offer critiques. They would work out the plans together. The officers would of course lead in battle where it was necessary to make quick decisions, and then after the battle, even before the men had had time to rest, the men would criticize the officers. That is not a bureaucratic structure and it doesn't seem to me at all that Mao is a bureaucrat. What does a bureau mean? A desk or office. He doesn't believe in sitting behind a desk in an office or dealing with the world through a fog of abstractions. He believes in merging in the real working life of real people, and in taking direction from the people themselves.

That's why the Vietnamese have been able to wage the struggle they have. In the revolutionary struggle the initiative comes from the people themselves. That's why the U.S. with the most fantastic military machine in the world is engaged in the longest war it's ever been engaged in and being beaten.

Q. SPEAKING IN PURELY THEORETICAL TERMS, WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAO'S CONCEPT OF BELIEVING IN THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE AS

YOU HAVE DESCRIBED AND THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY?

American democracy as a political theory does have some belief in some people. When the founding fathers talked about all men being created equal and all that stuff in the Constitution, a very noble document, what did they mean? They meant first of all that they did not include women, that did not include black people, that did not include Indians, that did not include people who didn't own property and that did not include people under 30 generally. What they meant by the people were property owning, mature, white men. There have been struggles since that time to extend democracy and to a certain extent they have been successful. Women can vote, most white people can if they are 21, and some percentage of black people can vote. But still our system is one which is not democratic, and even in theoretical terms can't be because the control of the whole electoral process is in the hands of one class. The class that owns newspapers, television stations etc., determines what goes on in the classroom, what goes on in church, who runs the university and determines what it's going to do and what it is not going to do. The men who are the government are the same small group of people. So the broad masses of the people are not given any democratic choice to make, inconceivable that real democracy exist. The real question here is democracy for whom?

Q. BUT DO THE MASS PEOPLE IN CHINA REALLY HAVE ANY MORE VOICE THAN THE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES?

Sure they do. A hell of a lot more. Let me give an example of the difference. We do have certain kinds of liberties in this country that are strongly protected, and that's very important. We have the liberty to criticize the draft, we can say all kinds of things about how bad it is. But of course when the draft comes along and says you got to go, then you have to go or you kill people or be killed or else be

prison for five years. Now, in China they don't have a draft. Military service is entirely voluntary, and the army doesn't fight any offensive wars anyhow. Which is the greater freedom?

Q. BUT ISN'T THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT MAKING MILITARY SERVICE PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND SOCIALLY NECESSARY; THUS, AMOUNTING TO CONSCRIPTION?

No. I think the people are in the army in China for the same reasons that people would be in the army in this country if this country were under the threat of foreign attack. The U.S. government provides the psychological campaign. If there were Chinese bases ringing the U.S. and Chinese planes flying over everyday, occasionally dropping bombs, and if there were a constant threat to attack our country, most American people would like to be right in there to defend their families, homes, etc. China is not engaged in imperialist wars outside their borders and that is an enormous difference. The Chinese army is actually numerically smaller than the American army, even though their population is over three times as large. And they depend, like we once did, on an armed militia to rise up to defend against any foreign invasion.

Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK CHINA'S PART IS IN THE VIETNAM WAR?

I think the Chinese are giving what support they are giving to the Vietnamese people simply as a fulfillment of their revolutionary responsibilities. There are people in this country who feel the same kind of responsibility but don't have the same means to help. I think that as the liberation struggle begins to develop in South Africa there will be various people around the world who will try to give aid to the liberation forces. That's what people should be doing.

Q. ISN'T IT TRUE THAT THE CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE HATE EACH OTHER?

The people of North Vietnam and most of the people in South Vietnam do not believe in "enemy people" anymore

than the Chinese believe in "enemy people." To give you an example from my own experience, when I met the first Vietnamese in France last year, there was a peasant girl from the North, a guy who was a factory worker from the North, somebody from the diplomatic corps and two students from the South. Each had had close relatives killed by Americans. When I met these people and was introduced by somebody there as a person who had been active in the anti-war movement in the U.S., these people responded by putting their arms around me and kissing me, the men as well as the woman, and crying. Those people, like the other Vietnamese I have met, have an incredible love for the overwhelming majority of the American people. They do not have the feeling that the American people are their enemies at all. They recognize that most of the American soldiers in Vietnam are as much victims as they are. The Chinese are the same way. It's not nation against nation and people against people. That's the way our kind of government sets things up when we are engaged in a war. In WW II, the Japanese were hated and Japanese Americans who had lived here for several generations weren't "safe" according to our government's propaganda and were put in concentration camps. It was the same in Japan where the Japanese people were stirred up to hate the American people. But you don't find this kind of thing in a culture like that in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or in China. I have talked to a lot of Vietnamese specifically about the problem of Chinese-Vietnamese relations and they recognize that there has been a whole history of Chinese encroachment and occupation of North Vietnam. The last time the Chinese invaded North Vietnam something like 200,000 Chinese were killed. There are two hills in Hanoi that are made up of the bodies of the Chinese who were killed there. But Vietnamese feel that all those people who were fighting were victims of a government that sent them on an imperialistic conquest. They don't hate the Chinese; they recognize them as comrades.

Q. DO YOU THINK MAO WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND THE BOUNDARIES OF CHINA?

No. I think that's demonstrable. You can go around the borders of China and see again and again where the Chinese have inherited historical boundary disputes and have settled them amicably with country after country: Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Korea, Vietnam. A striking case is Mongolia. The U.S. doesn't have diplomatic relationships with Mongolia because Chiang Kai-shek claims Mongolia to be part of China. But one of the first acts the Chinese Communists performed was to recognize the national independence of Mongolia. The business about Tibet is ridiculous because it's been part of China for at least 200 years. The so-called war was a matter of abolishing serfdom in Tibet. And the only case that anybody can point to that is even at issue as far as Chinese expansion is concerned is the case of India. Here you find something very revealing. China is, as far as I know, the only country in the world which when involved in a dispute with another country publishes all the documents on both sides of the question. So, if you want to read about the Sino-Indian border dispute and read all the Indian and Chinese documents, they are available in a single book published in Peking (sold at China Books in San Francisco). And if you read through the documents on both sides, I think that any fair-minded person would see that China was being attacked by India in an area that is historically Chinese and that China had offered time and again to mediate the dispute in the same way they had with other countries in border disputes. I don't think there is a question of Chinese expansion, but that does not mean to say that China is not a revolutionary country that believes in revolution. I think everybody should believe in revolution.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE OFTEN IMPLIED THREAT OF CHINESE INVASION INTO AUSTRALIA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD?

This is a myth that is manufactured

1/2 look at people

for very specific reasons. The U.S. government wants to open up Southeast Asia for American imperialism. Look at the case of Korea. The Chinese came into Korea when the American forces were almost at their border. All Chinese forces have now been withdrawn from Korea—there are no Chinese forces in Korea—and nobody is there to stop them from being there. (The U.S. is not going to protect the Communist government of North Korea). But the U.S. forces are still in South Korea. They are called UN forces, but they are American forces. There are 60,000 American troops in South Korea and 60,000 South Korean troops fighting in South Vietnam, being paid and equipped by the U.S. So which is the expansionist country? There are totally defenseless countries, like Nepal, on the border of China. China doesn't want Nepal, for they believe in national self-determination.

Q. BY SELF-DETERMINATION DO YOU MEAN THAT MAO DOES NOT CARE IF HIS PHILOSOPHY AND GOVERNMENT EXTEND TO THE REST OF THE WORLD?

No. They are revolutionaries who believe that the people of the world should be running the world, that people should not be ruled and exploited by a small class which owns the means of production for its own benefit.

Q. BUT ISN'T THE IDEA OF ALL PEOPLE HAVING EQUAL STRENGTH AND INTELLIGENCE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION NAIVE WHEN PEOPLE OBVIOUSLY AREN'T BORN WITH EQUAL STRENGTH AND INTELLIGENCE?

That's a view that comes out of our culture—it's an elitist view. I don't believe it's true. I think the majority, the overwhelming majority, of the people can know what they want, just as Mao says. They recognize their own needs and they are perfectly capable of doing for themselves. They can manage their own enterprises and do better than some elite which comes to tell them what to do. And I think the Chinese are proving it. In only 18 years they have taken one

of the most backward countries in the world and gotten it to a point where it is almost a modern industrial country. They are actually ahead in some areas of science and technology. Did you know that they synthesized living protoplasm over a year ago?

Q. WHAT WERE YOU TRYING TO DO AT THE CIA RECRUITMENT PROTEST IN EARLY NOVEMBER?

I believe it's right to rebel. Not only that it's right to rebel, but that we have to. The only thing that's going to prevent the destruction of an enormous amount of the world's population in the last third of this century, is if the American people revolt against their rulers and take away the kind of weaponry those guys have before they use it.

Q. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE SUCH A REVOLUTION REMAIN NON-VIOLENT?

Sure. Mao says the same thing. The point is that it's not the revolutionary forces that choose violence; it's the counter-revolutionary forces that are always the ones who choose violence. It's true in Vietnam, and we weren't the ones using violence in Oakland. We went up there unarmed. A lot of people I think were very courageous to face armed police. Violence was thrown at them. A lot of people were sitting down which is certainly not a very violent act. And they were doing this in an established tradition of protest. They were there to be arrested in a kind of sit-in and, instead, the police started beating them down into the pavement. But look at the world. These guys will stop at nothing. They don't care who gets in their way, they'll kill anybody and they have. Think of the number of people they are killing one way or another right this minute—it's incredible, the mind boggles at it.

Q. ISN'T THERE A BASIC CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITALISTIC MATERIAL VALUES AND VALUES OF WILL AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN TRYING TO APPLY MAOIST THOUGHT TO THE U.S. AS IT EXISTS TODAY?

I just don't see the conflict. We're in a position economically where we could be liberated any time we choose to be. We don't have the problems that the Chinese have of starting with nothing and somehow or another developing modern industrial society to feed enormous masses of people. We have the most incredibly developed industry in history and it's capable of fulfilling all our physical needs and more any time we want it to. Right now any one of the major car manufacturers could produce more than the number of cars now sold each year despite planned obsolescence and the total advertising environment. At the same time we have real human needs that are not being satisfied because we're enslaved to the profit system.

I think there are enormous numbers of people in this country who do some of their hardest work not for pay but for what that work creates. This creativity is what Marx and Mao talk about when they speak of work as an essential part of what it means to be a man. To be a fully human, man must work to create where as in all of history, so far, man has worked only to live, a negation of man's humanity. But we, with the possibility of automation in this country, could have all work be creative instead of just selfishness in order to live.

Now, as far as the question of revolution is concerned, we have a revolution going on in this country right now. Granted, except for the black revolution, it is very small. And the blacks did choose armed struggle. It was fought upon them. Revolutionary struggle always starts out with the revolutionary forces being very small compared to the powers of the State, which has a monopoly on the means of communication, the school system, the religious establishments, etc. Go back to Mao in his dialectics of revolutionary struggle, whether or not armed struggle is not the point. The revolutionary struggle is primarily a struggle of consciousness. That's where revolution really is largely taking place. In the dialectics of revolutionary struggle the revolutionary forces gradually gain strength in a protracted period

time. If the revolutionary forces were already stronger than the State, they would be the State, so there wouldn't be any need for revolution.

Q. DO YOU THINK ANY ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE TO UNITE THE BLACK REVOLUTION WITH THE STUDENT RESISTANCE?

Everyone talks about it. I think there are several different problems here. The people in the black power movement have made it very clear that no alliance is possible until there is a white force on the same level as the black revolution. In other words, there is no possible alliance between black revolutionaries and white liberals. Another important aspect of this is that it is impossible to think in terms of an alliance that begins founded on trust and love or anything like that. We're fighting 400 years of history. In the meetings that I have had with black revolutionaries where we have common aims, there's no question about our trusting each other. We don't. But I think it is a tremendously positive thing that we have reached that stage of recognizing that any trust we say we have is phony. It's particularly true for the blacks. No black person can trust a white person. That's just the way it is now. As things go along, though, and alliances do develop out of mutual self-interest where two individual forces ally because they have the same enemy and are trying to accomplish some of the same ends, then trust can begin to develop and perhaps in the future much closer relationships can develop. I think eventually there will be an alliance between black and white revolutionary forces in this country.

Q. IS THERE ANY ORGANIZED MAOIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY?

Yes, there is a political party called the Progressive Labor Party which is basically Maoist. They believe that Mao is the most creative Marxist thinker of our times and has an important message relevant to our struggle here. And the PLP has done a lot of interesting work based on Mao's theories. For instance, in the Mission district they have proceeded

from the real needs of the people in very dramatic ways. They went into the Mission district three years ago and instead of trying to impose on the people what they thought their needs should be, a lot of fancy theories, etc., they found out what the people thought they really needed: a traffic light on a certain corner where a lot of kids had been hurt. So they fought for six months to get the traffic light and they got it. Then, again proceeding from the needs of the people, they fought for rent control programs and out of that fight came the Tenant's Union. The PLP people whom I know are enormously honest with a tremendous amount of integrity, and feel a real dedication to the people and are fighting for them. The people recognize this and there is a great mutual trust.



Q. DO YOU THINK CHINA WILL USE NUCLEAR POWER AGAINST THE REST OF THE WORLD TO ACHIEVE ITS REVOLUTIONARY GOALS?

No. They have said absolutely that they will never use nuclear weapons first; that they are opposed to nuclear weapons for a basically philosophic reason: nuclear weapons will kill large masses of the working people and they don't want to see nuclear weapons used in any war against anybody. They have

said over and over again that at any time they will be perfectly willing to sign any agreement to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. But they are not going to sit there under the threat of American nuclear weapons without trying to get some kind of deterrent.

Q. BUT DIDN'T THE U.S. AND RUSSIA TRY TO GET CHINA TO AGREE TO THE NUCLEAR BAN TREATY?

Yes, but the Chinese aren't going to put their faith in American and Russian restraint; they've been betrayed enough and they are going to defend themselves. They know in the long run that the only thing that would keep them safe from an American nuclear attack is their own nuclear capability. Just as now the Soviet Union is not under threat of American attack any more than America is under threat of Russian attack. And so America and the Soviet Union, because they both have this nuclear thing, are the ones who could outlaw nuclear weapons if they wanted to. Now when China gets it and really has it, maybe it will be possible to outlaw nuclear weapons. But America and Russia are never going to agree to outlaw nuclear weapons as long as they hold nuclear superiority over China.

Q. AFTER MAO'S DEATH WHAT'S GOING TO KEEP REVISIONISTS FROM DEVELOPING A NEW BUREAUCRACY AND POWER ELITE WHICH WILL RECONSTITUTE AN ECONOMIC BASE FOR ITSELF THAT WILL CHANGE AGAIN THE CHINESE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, MUCH AS IN RUSSIA?

If the Cultural Revolution is successful, the common people of China will all be capable of making dialectical analyses of their own society. The point really is to give each person the tools that Mao has forged so that he too can develop theory and practice. With an adequate socialist economy, broad participatory democracy, arms freely available to the people, and cultural values based on man as a truly social being, how could an elite gain the power they would need to establish control?