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JOTTINGS

VIETNAM MUON NAM: The approach of spring is heralded, as usual, by several perennial phenomena. The days are growing longer, the crocuses are beginning to emerge from the soil, and United States spokesmen are once more speaking optimistically about the war in Vietnam. Administration people do not like to employ the term "victory" or attempt to predict the duration of the war, having so often in the past been proven wrong, but it is obviously difficult for many of them to restrain themselves. One hears phrases such as "highly satisfactory military situation", "substantial progress" and "dramatic results in 1967", and it is only a matter of time, I suppose, before some spokesman imbued with the heady atmosphere succumbs to the temptation to mention a date by which the war will be won. Most of the optimism appears to be founded upon the reduction by the NFL of large-scale military operations, plus the fact that Air Marshal Ky has remained in power longer than all of the other "strongmen" since Diem put together. In a way, it's almost funny. Every American policy-maker and spokesmen without exception gives lip-service to the truism that a war of this sort can be won in any meaningful sense only by the indigenous government, through social (or "civic") action; but at the same time they hold onto the delusion that "victory" is achievable through United States military action. Theoretically, it is possible for the United States to have so much military power in South Vietnam that the insurgents couldn't move three peasants and a pregnant water buffalo from one house to another in the same village without being smashed by five battalions of troops. It is possible for American or American-directed occupation troops to have physical, gunpoint control of every man, woman and child in South Vietnam. But this does not constitute "victory"; it constitutes merely an opportunity for victory. It is what happens after physical control of the people is secured that matters. Some day, in five, ten or fifteen years, the foreign occupation of South Vietnam must come to an end; this is conceded by every US political and military spokesman. If at that time there is not a government in Saigon capable of competing for the loyalty of the South Vietnamese people, then all of the years of killing and dying will have been utterly without purpose. For the National Front of Liberation, no matter how badly its armed forces have been mauled, will always be there, a political organization with roots in a thousand hamlets, ready to rise up as soon as the military pressure

is eased. United States officials invariably underestimate the importance of this political apparatus. The NFL is conventionally referred to as "the political arm of the Viet Cong". Insofar as the term "Viet Cong" can be employed to designate the insurgent military forces, it ought to be the other way around: the Viet Cong is the military arm of the NFL. That is not merely a semantic distinction; it illuminates a vital matter of emphasis, a confusion between what is the dog and what is the tail. (A few historical examples might point up the importance of this distinction: The Continental Congress was not the "political arm" of George Washington's army; rather, that army was the military arm of the Congress and the clandestine organizations of rebel sympathizers in communities throughout the Thirteen Colonies. The Bolshevik party was not the "political arm" of Trotsky's Red Army; rather, the Red Army was the military arm of the Bolshevik central committee and the district soviets and party committees throughout Russia.) The insurgents possess a widespread political organization; no government which has reigned in Saigon has ever possessed a social/political infrastructure remotely capable of competing with it. It is possible, of course, that such a government could come into existence, but I am inclined to consider this possibility extremely unlikely. The problem, chiefly, is that the army --or, more properly, the officers corps of the army--exists as a class-for-itself, loyal to its own interests--which rarely coincide with the interests of the population as a whole. Even supposing that the proposed elections are actually held, that they are reasonably free and honest, and that a reform-minded government came to power as a result of them--and those are three impressive "ifs"--it would be a miracle if such a government lasted three months without an army coup. For the one kind of civilian government which could successfully compete with the NFL for the loyalty of the people is precisely the kind which would be most obnoxious to the generals.

SOME THOUGHTS ON COLLECTIVISM: Socialism, communism and, more broadly, collectivism are looked upon as dirty words by a substantial segment of the American people. This was true even before United States foreign policy dedicated itself to an apocalyptic struggle against something called the International Communist Conspiracy, and it would remain true even if once again, as during World War II, the US were to ally itself with a Marxist-Leninist country against non-Communist states. This national hostility toward any suggestion that there might be something to be said for collectivism is the result of this nation's (largely mythical) traditions of Rugged Individualism, laissez faire economic patterns and minimum government "interference". Although not so prevalent as it was during the days of rampant murder and lawlessness on the frontier, there is still in this country a vein of ultra-individualism verging on anarchism which causes many Americans, particularly conservative Americans, to be opposed not only intellectually but emotionally to any form of collective endeavor. By its pseudo-intellectual spokesmen, chiefly the Randists (a remarkable faction which has managed to elevate selfishness to the position of a high philosophical tenet), this sort of arch, each-man-an-island individualism is claimed to represent the ultimate development of liberty. It is, of course, the liberty of the strong to abuse the less strong; freedom, for the ultra-individualist, means the freedom of the jungle--i.e., freedom for the tigers, at the expense of the larger population of sheep, monkeys, squirrels, etc.

In the greater perspective available to historians in some more civilized future era, this unique American attitude will be seen as a most peculiar aberration. Here we have virtually an entire people who have seemingly managed to convince themselves that unlimited struggle

between individuals, otherwise called Competition, is the natural order of things; or, at least, they pay lip service to this weird notion. The fact is, of course, that precisely the opposite is the case: collectivism--we may even call it, for maximum shock value, communism--is the basic law, not merely of human life, but of all life since the beginning of life on earth. To find the real heyday of Rugged Individualism, we must go back, not just to the middle of the Nineteenth Century, but half a billion years beyond to the time when this planet's life consisted entirely of single cells propelling themselves erratically about in the warm surface layers of the oceans. Here, indeed, were rugged individuals, fully deserving of any Objectivists' praise. Each of these unicellular beings was a completely independent entity, a brave and self-sufficient hunter in a small but extremely vicious jungle. And they were successful, make no mistake about it. Their direct descendants, the amoebae and paramecia of today, are still swimming around in water droplets devouring other amoebae and paramecia. Their mode of existence has not changed one iota in five hundred million years (I use that figure only for convenience; it may be closer to six hundred million). There is something magnificent about that. There is also something depressing about it: five hundred million years, without the slightest progress. But of course, progress is hardly to be expected from independent, single cells; the limitations of that mode of existence simply do not permit progress. A single cell simply cannot attain the volume and complexity necessary to enable it to do much of anything except swim around and devour other cells.

Progress toward higher forms of life had to come from another direction, and it did. Some cells, evolving toward greater efficiency, formed colonies (sponges are a good contemporary example), in which individual cells developed specializations which, while they contributed to the overall efficiency of the colony, sharply reduced the ability of the individual cells to survive on their own. Cell colonies are very primitive, however; and the individual cells comprising them are still able, if necessary, to survive individually--though not as efficiently as cells which remained independent. The colony idea was sufficiently progressive that it eventually led to true multicellular life forms. These are, for the first time, aggregations of cells which are something more than the sum of their parts. Multicellular organisms are considerably more efficient than cell colonies, but the individual cells are so specialized for existing in cooperation with other cells that they are totally unable to survive on their own. This innovation, which occurred several hundred million years ago, ought to give Objectivists an upset stomach; this is collectivism with a vengeance. That it was a progressive innovation there is no doubt, for multicellular organisms have ever since been growing more complex. Even such a relatively advanced organism as an annelid worm (which may not seem very advanced to you, but it is as much higher than an amoeba as a man is higher than that worm) may survive if cut in two, but as we proceed ever higher on the scale of life it becomes progressively more difficult for life to persist unless the entire organism is functioning properly.

That brief story of the evolution of life (Dr. Asimov tells it better, but the above will suffice for our purposes) ought to be sufficient in itself to demonstrate that collectivism, not individualism, is the basic law of nature; but there is more. After hundreds of millions of years of evolution finally produced a creature--perhaps Dr. Leakey's Homo habilis--which, while not yet Homo sapiens, deserves to be considered at least a proto-human, the whole process of collectivization began all over again. Initially, it is assumed, human "society" (the use of the term "society" at this stage is questionable) consisted of lots of Rugged Individuals, running around in a hirsute condition, collect-

ing nuts and berries, killing small animals and each other, occasionally whacking a handy female over the head and copulating with her. One suspects that, while this may be a nice era from which to draw philosophical ideals, even Miss Rand wouldn't have wanted to live there (or then). In any event, men didn't continue to live that way for too long, because they weren't really, apart from their brains, a particularly impressive life form, and they already had enough trouble with hostile animals and natural forces without killing each other at the drop of a fig leaf. So they used their unique brains, and began to cooperate. First, permanent families came into being; men finally realized that instead of humping all the neighborhood women, they'd be better off (or, at least, the race would) if they settled down with one and helped her to keep the children alive until they were old enough to fend for themselves. Families grew larger when they began to include cousins, in-laws and grandchildren, and eventually the family became a tribal unit--usually consisting of several families with many points of inter-relation. Then the tribes themselves got bigger and became political groupings; alliances of minor political groupings produced larger political groupings, and ultimately nation states. At some periods in history there have even been groupings of nations, either in empires dominated by a single state (or a single ideology, like Catholicism or Marxism-Leninism) or in alliances of independent states. Lately--I mean in the past century--some visionaries have been thinking in terms of a single world government. That may not be just around the corner, but it's coming. The ultimate grouping is simply: mankind. When men begin to think of themselves just as men, instead of as Americans or Hindus or Xhosas or Communists or Caucasians, and the "common good" means the good of every person on earth, then we shall have achieved what was achieved by the cells comprising the first truly multicellular organism. And some people will find this appalling. Because every time cooperation is extended to a larger number of fellow beings, the individuals in the participating groups lose some of their "freedom"; that is to say, those who were strong or rich or powerful in the smaller group are no longer as strong or rich or powerful in the new, larger group, so they complain that everybody is losing freedom: they lose the freedom to take another man's house or the product of his labor, and that other man loses the freedom to have this done to him, the freedom to be screwed by the more powerful. One wonders if both will complain of the loss.

People to whom collectivism is a hideous concept invariably point to the social insects, bees, termites and ants, as Horrible Examples of what collectivism--communism--means. We are told that a cooperative rather than competitive society must incorporate the evils of a termite society. ("Evils", of course, is a value judgment. The aspects in question aren't "evil" with respect to the termites; only in human terms do they acquire a moral character.) And admittedly there is something rather terrifying about trying to conceive of a human society which functions like a beehive or a termite mound. But the analogy leaves something to be desired; it is, if not actually false, misleading. It would be equally true to point out that non-social insects--say, Japanese beetles--have an unpleasant mode of life which humans ought to avoid imitating. Because the trouble with a termite society is not that it is collectivist, but rather that, the termites having no intelligence, the society is collectivist by instinct. The termites do not have an opportunity to vote on the form of their society; they do not even have the opportunity to rise up in revolt against it. They're just mindless bugs. The social order of solitary wasps, a very individualistic one indeed, is equally unappealing--not because of its individualism, but because the creatures involved are pawns of instinct. This is not the case with human beings, among whom collectivism may be the result of true cooper-

ation (i.e., a willingness to pull together for the greater good). Randists have difficulty appreciating the idea of individuals voluntarily placing the interests of the society above their own, since this is foreign both to their nature and philosophy, but for less doctrinaire opponents of collectivism I recommend a study of a kibbutz, a collective farm with chicken soup. It would be difficult to imagine something more in contrast to a termite mound. (This essay would be incomplete, however, without some mention of coercive collectivist societies, such as are found in the so-called "Communist" countries. I am of the opinion, briefly, that Marxism-Leninism is a couple of hundred years too early, and that any attempt to force people to live in a collective will inevitably fail. At least a substantial majority of the population must desire a cooperative society if one is to exist and prosper. That will happen, eventually, but not just yet.)

THE CASE OF THE CARLYSLE CAPER: (Synopsis: Renwood Falquon III, World's Greatest Jewel Thief, has boarded a ship for the first leg of a journey to Upper Volta, where he and his compatriots--Freddy Nkakamwakam, Dr. Bertram Bedsore, Linda Luscious, Lord Leslie Trenchfoot, Sister Mary Theresa and former USAF Captain Niles Needleman--plan to steal that nation's crown jewels. Unfortunately, former Captain Needleman has become seasick, and in the process of throwing up over the rail has rather disturbed several young ladies sunbathing on the lower deck. One of them, in the middle of an angry outburst, has invited Falquon to her cabin that evening.)

"Now that's odd..." Freddy observed, watching the retreating form of the attractive girl on the lower deck.

"Yes, it is," Renwood Falquon III agreed. "Some people get angry at the most insignificant things."

"I don't mean that. I mean, it's odd that a girl you've only just met, and then under fairly unpleasant circumstances, should invite you to her cabin for a late evening rendezvous."

Falquon smiled modestly. "One becomes accustomed to things of that sort, Freddy, when one is a handsome and dashing fellow like me."

Linda Luscious leaned against the railing, displaying her luscious figure, and arched a luscious eyebrow at Falquon. "Are you going to go there tonight, Rennie?" she asked in a sweet baritone.

"Naturally, my dear. It's going to be a long sea voyage, and I might as well enjoy it, as they say, to the fullest."

"Beware!" Dr. Bedsore warned ominously. "She may be a Russian agent."

Former Captain Needleman, still hanging over the rail, began to moan pathetically, and Linda cast a compassionate glance in his direction. "Isn't there something you can do for him, Doc?"

"Why should I be able to do anything for him?" Dr. Bedsore asked indignantly. "I am a surgeon; I cannot be concerned with trivial matters like seasickness." He was becoming agitated now, speaking loudly and gesticulating with his hands. "That I, who could have been the most famous brain surgeon in the Western world, should be bothered with trifles like seasickness and backache. Oh tempora, oh mores!"

"By the way," Renwood Falquon III, World's Greatest Jewel Thief, interrupted, "whatever became of your medical career? I don't believe Trenchfoot ever told me why you abandoned medicine."

Dr. Bertram Bedsore drew himself up to his full five feet four inches, and stood in dignity and righteous indignation. "My eminent colleagues"--these words he pronounced like a curse--"destroyed me; in the face of true genius, they themselves were shown to be so incompetent that they combined to assassinate my career. They were conventional where I was bold, they were conservative where I was imaginative.

They insisted on the enforcement of petty, obstructionist regulations. They..."

"They insisted he should have a license," Freddy Nkakamwakam interrupted. "He didn't see it that way."

Bedsore threw a dirty look at the Bantu, started to move toward him menacingly, thought better of it, and finally retreated to his ever-present hip flask. "You're lucky I'm in a good mood, you young whipper-snapper," he muttered.

"All the same," Linda persevered, "there ought to be something you can do for former Captain Needleman."

"Oh, very well," sighed Dr. Bedsore. He turned to Freddy Nkakamwakam. "Come on you purveyor of calumny, you character assassin, help me get him to his cabin. I may have to operate." Needleman's eyes widened in horror, but Freddy reassured him with a smile. "Don't worry, Niles, I won't let anything happen to you. You still owe me eight dollars from that night in Albuquerque, remember?" Together the two men dragged the still-moaning Needleman away, leaving Renwood and Linda to stand at the rail and peer into the deep and mysterious ocean.

The gorgeous redhead smiled radiantly at the World's Greatest Jewel Thief and, in a voice of crimson velvet, invited him to take a stroll around the deck. "Some other time," Falquon responded. "Right now I'm going down on B deck and watch the crew polish the brass."

"That's what I love about sea voyages," Linda Luscious muttered as he walked away. "Always something exciting to do..."

(To Be Continued)

BELIEVE THIS AND I'LL TELL YOU ANOTHER DEPT: I have written extensively about the Vietnamese conflict, quoted letters to the editor, State Department documents, interviews with North Vietnamese government officials, critical articles from the mass media and government statements of all sorts. Now I am going to quote from the campaign speeches of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., assembled the following excerpts into one depressing pile in his recent book, "The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy 1941-1966":

"Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless actions which might risk the lives of millions and engulf much of Asia." (August 12, 1964)

"I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war and result in committing a good many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land. And for that reason I haven't chosen to enlarge the war." (August 29, 1964)

"There are those who say you ought to go north and drop bombs, to try to wipe out supply lines, and they think that would escalate the war. We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get involved in a nation with 700,000,000 people and get tied down in a land war in Asia." (September 25, 1964)

"We are not going north and we are not going south; we are going to continue to try to get them to save their own freedom with their own men, with our leadership and our officer direction, and such equipment as we can furnish them." (September 28, 1964)

"We are not going to send American boys nine to ten thousand miles from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves." (October 21, 1964)

Would you buy a used car from this man?

AN ESSAY ON WORMS: Most of us can fondly recall at one time or another in our lives--usually as children--summer afternoons spent in a zoological garden. Hours spent wandering over the acres of a well-stocked zoo, looking at specimens of animal life assembled from all the continents of the earth, offer a reminder of the wonder and diversity of living organisms. But of course the creatures present in even the most extensive zoological garden hardly reflect the true diversity of living organisms. Zoos do not include sections devoted to worms, for such sections would be difficult to display like birds or bears for popular viewing; but if a zoo were to attempt such a collection, it would be possible to assemble in one medium-sized room a menagerie which would exceed in variety the populations of every zoo on the face of the earth. The astounding diversity of the lowly worms is perhaps best grasped by recalling that, while all of the fishes, amphibians, birds, reptiles and mammals, including man, are part of a single phylum, Chordata, there are five separate phyla of creatures classified as "worms" of one sort or another: Platyhelminthes, Nemertinea, Nemathelminthes, Trochelminthes and Annelida. Compared to the infinite variety and fantastic adaptive specializations of worms, the creatures comprising Chordata are a dull lot indeed.

Nematodes, as the worms in the third phylum are collectively known, are probably the most abundant multicellular life forms on earth. A cubic foot of soil may contain as many as six million individual nematodes; the smallest measuring less than a hundredth of an inch in length, the largest still less than a fifth of an inch. (Among nematodes inhabiting other than a soil environment, the smallest is a marine form measuring one-three-thousandth of an inch long, and the largest a parasite of whales known to attain a length of 27 feet.) Most nematodes are white, thread-like roundworms, much more primitive than the common earthworms which the term "worm" automatically suggests to most people but still complicated organisms by comparison with their even more primitive brethren in the first two phyla. There are somewhat in excess of ten thousand species of nematodes, and they inhabit a broad range of environments. Many are soil worms, feeding on roots and causing hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage to crops all over the world. There are also fresh- and salt-water nematodes, and others, such as pinworms and hookworms, which stumbled into the evolutionary cul-de-sac of parasitism and spend their lives in the intestines of warm-blooded animals.

Among the most primitive of multicellular creatures are the planarians, members of the Platyhelminthes phylum. Like nematodes, planarians, or flatworms, are found all over the world in practically every land and sea environment, but they are most plentiful in the tropical and semi-tropical regions. Hundreds of species are known, ranging from a fraction of an inch to a foot in length. The land species, collectively referred to as terricolae, are efficient predators; some of primarily scavengers, but most species are known to actively pursue and devour

living creatures, frequently as large as themselves. The terricolae are of interest to students of evolution because the group as a whole presents examples of several stages in the initial evolution of eyes. Some of the land planarians are totally blind, but most have parallel rows of light-sensitive cells along their backs. These "eyes", numbering up to several hundred in a single individual, are capable of distinguishing between light and darkness, and of telling the direction from which the light is coming. They thus represent the very earliest stage in the development of photo-receptor organs. A few species of planarians, however, show evidence of evolution toward true eyes: the light-sensitive spots closest to the brain (a primitive knot of nerve tissue at the nexus of several nerve fibers near the front of the body) are more complicated and, presumably, more efficient receptors than the others. Because of their extremely low order of organization, the terricolae are exceptionally hardy creatures. Deprived of sustenance, a planarian gradually digests itself and shrinks. Jean Rose has mentioned in these pages the capacity of reptiles to continue to live for long periods without any sort of nourishment by utilizing the fats and protein stored in their bodies. Terricolae, being much more primitive than reptiles, are able to accomplish this much more efficiently. The flatworms digest their rudimentary internal organs, the muscles of the body wall and even a considerable portion of their "brain". This isn't as serious as it sounds, for once nourishment is again available the terricola can quite easily regenerate all of the cannibalized portions of its structure. This low order of organization also permits the planarians to break apart into fragments, each of which becomes a new individual.

Even the planarians are a sophisticated life form compared to dicyemids, minute parasites which live within the kidneys of octopii. Tentatively classified as part of Platyhelminthes, it is conceded by most authorities that these creatures may deserve a phylum of their own. The dicyemids may represent the first stage of progress beyond unicellular protozoans. They possess no muscle tissue, no nervous system, and no digestive, glandular or excretory organs. Their bodies are composed of a single, extremely large cell, nearly half an inch long, in the shape of a hollow tube, which is surrounded by a single layer of smaller cells. An oddity of the dicyemids is that offspring are produced parthogenetically and remain inside of these smaller cells. These offspring reproduce in the more conventional manner, however, and their offspring--the "grandchildren" of the parthogenetic parent--leave the body of the oridicyemid and live briefly as free-swimming organisms until they manage to invade the kidney of another octopus.

Nemertineans are, by comparison, highly advanced worms, though they still remain primitive compared to the annelids. Although, like most worms, they are found in a variety of different environments, the nemertineans are pre-eminently creatures of the sea shore. The majority of the known species are found either on the beach or in the shallow waters just off-shore. Nemertineans have fairly sophisticated (for a worm, that is) brains and nervous systems, a circulatory system, an advanced digestive system with a true mouth, and eyes that actually form images, after a fashion. They have well-developed organs of touch, and may in addition be able to hear and smell. Five hundred species have been classified, but the actual number is anybody's guess. Like planarians, nemertineans are active hunters, and they have developed a rather efficient "spear-gun" in the form of a hollow proboscis tipped with barbs which can be shot out from the front of the body with great force and speed. Also like planarians, the nemertineans can stave off starvation by absorbing themselves (one was observed to reduce its size to one-twentieth of the original length without suffering any permanent ill effects) and break apart when attacked, each fragment eventually grow-

ing into a new individual. In the case of the more complex nemertineans, however, the regenerative process is considerably more difficult. Having broken into fragments, each fragment will encyst itself and remain dormant for weeks or even months while new organs are being formed.

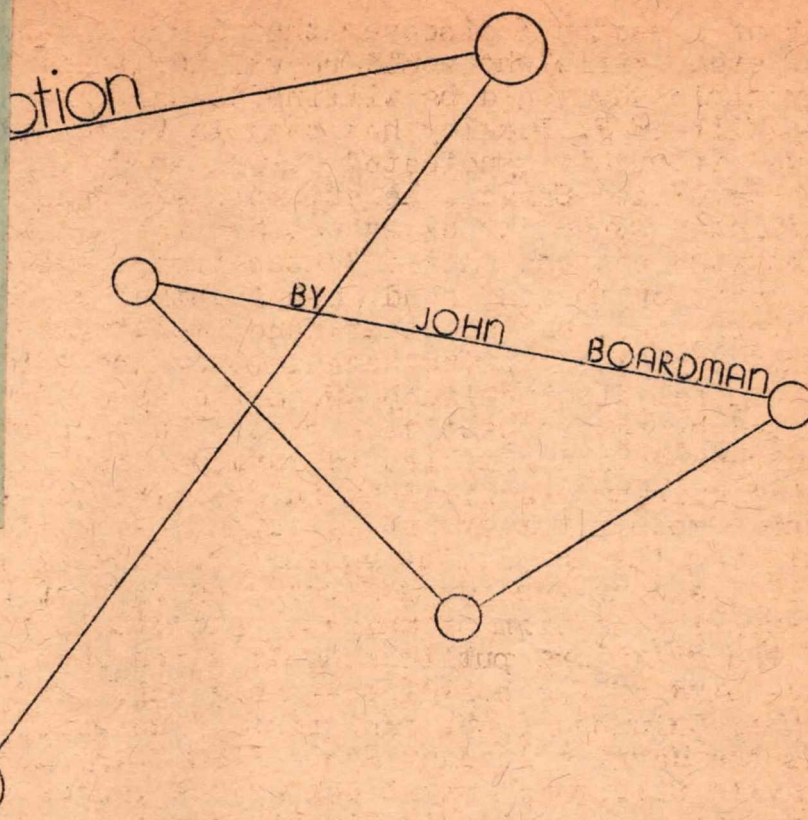
The highest order of worms are the Annelida, which include earthworms and the smaller redworms that you're doubtless familiar with if you've ever gone fishing. The principal identifying characteristic of annelids is their segmented bodies. Not all of the members of this phylum, however, are as innocuous as the earthworms. In central Ceylon, there is an annelid called haemadipoa which may be the most pernicious leech on earth. These leech worms, which exist by the millions in the Ceylonese jungles, are about two inches long and, gram for gram, just about the most ferocious and bloodthirsty creature you could imagine. They have triangular mouths with sharp, chitinous teeth, and the bite is so rapid and smooth that there is rarely any pain to warn the unfortunate victim. The haemadipoae cling to the skin by means of a pair of suckers, one anterior and one posterior, and secrete hirudin into their victim's wounds to prevent the clotting of blood. The leech gorges itself on three times its own weight in blood at a sitting. For three centuries, the haemadipoae effectively protected the Ceylonese kingdom of Kandy from European armies.

SHORT NOTES ON LONG SUBJECTS: The thesis I expounded in "Venezuela: The Deadly Duel" (#116) has recently been reinforced by events in that country. As I pointed out, the Castroites, unable to maintain a high-level insurgency against an elected government, are concentrating on terrorism in an attempt to goad the Leoni regime into repressive actions which would alienate substantial numbers of citizens. (In California, where the insurgents use picket signs instead of machineguns, this is called "confrontation politics".) In December, the Caracas government finally cracked under the pressure and suspended constitutional guarantees, declaring a state of emergency. On Thursday, March 2nd, the state of emergency was lifted, and the terrorists--who had been practically dormant during the emergency--promptly assassinated a former cabinet minister. Whereupon the government obligingly suspended constitutional guarantees again. +++ Would you believe that the Ladies' Home Journal, the Timbaktu Transit Company, Nellie's Whorehouse in Encino, California, the Nashville Pool Cue Company and the government of Bulgaria are secretly funded by the CIA? +++ Good Grief, Charlie Brown! Dept: In debating the filibuster with Chay Borsella in #118, I described the House of Representatives as a body which "requires a two-thirds majority for passage of bills". That may be true of the Inner Mongolian House of Representatives, but it is not, of course, true of our House of Representatives, where a simple majority suffices. These ...uh...minor errors of detail (!) will creep in to the magazine, won't they? Remind me someday to tell you about the time I relocated the capital of Malaysia from Kuala Lumpur to Singapore (yeah, after Singapore seceded and became an independent country). +++ In its first full week of meeting, the new (reapportioned) state senate discarded in ten minutes a 306-year-old anti-miscegenation law. The vote was 35-7, and there was no prior debate (i.e., even the seven who for one reason or another voted to retain the ban on inter-racial marriage didn't insult the intelligence of their colleagues by bothering to stand up and argue in favor of it. The vote in the lower house was not quite so one-sided (97-25), but there was never any doubt about the outcome. +++ I remember Dick Gregory once saying that he sat-in at a restaurant for two years and when they finally agreed to serve him, they didn't have what he wanted. I think I know how he felt. So now it's legal for me to marry a Negro, Filipino, Samoan, Malayan, Trobriand Island or Javanese girl, and

all of a sudden I discover that I don't know any Negro, Filipino, Samoan, etc., girls who would be willing to marry me. (In fact, I don't know any girls who would be willing to marry me, but that's another story.)

+++ William F. Buckley has been in Vietnam recently, as anyone who follows either his syndicated column or National Review knows. In one column datelined Saigon, he attempts a defense of the civilian casualties inflicted by US forces by noting that we should recognize a "moral distinction" between United States troops and the insurgents. Well, I do. We have, on the one hand, men fighting on and for the soil of their ancestors; and, on the other hand, men transported halfway around the world who are fighting because they are told to. Obviously, there must be a moral distinction between the acts of violence and brutality committed by the respective forces. The terrorism of the men fighting for their homes and families is more understandable (hence excusable) than the terrorism practiced by interlopers whose homes and families are not even remotely threatened by those they kill. But I somehow doubt that this was the moral distinction Mr. Buckley had in mind. +++ Coincidentally, a couple of days after "Memories of P.S. #99" (Kipple #118) was stencilled, a firm of Chicago consultants released a nine-month study of the Baltimore public schools which recommended the replacement of one-third of the buildings--among which, of course, was good old Christopher Columbus (rah! rah! rah!). The worst school cited by the report was the Harriet Beecher Stowe Elementary School, at Argyle Ave. near Lanvale St., which was teaching the youngsters of Baltimore before John Brown began a-mouldering in his grave. +++ But don't think that's an old school. Remind me to tell you someday about the Pharoah Akhenaton Elementary School. Now that's old... +++ Sutton Breiding reports that the conflict between him and his high school over his right to wear his hair the length he prefers remains a standoff. Since he can only be suspended from school for five day periods, he has lately been attending every sixth day: every time he returns, unshorn and unrepentent, they suspend him again. "Meanwhile," he says, "I've been doing more things than I ever dreamed of doing." +++ Addressing the Georgia legislature, George Wallace delivered a shrill condemnation of the "bearded beatnik bureaucrats" (!) in Washington who are usurping states' rights. Associating hated groups under a single classification is an old trick of rightist demagogues ("Nigger-loving-Jewish-Communist-papist-conspiracy"), but Wallace's phrase makes strange bedfellows indeed. I wonder which group--the borodachi or the government functionaries--is most insulted by the lumping together? +++ Anduril (\$1/eight issues from 3822 Barker Rd., Cincinnati, Ohio, 45229) is the successor to Vanguard. It is Vanguard minus the "dirty words" and "irreverence". The emasculated version is necessitated by the banning of the original by the principal of the Walnut Hills High School and one Judge Benjamin Schwartz of the Cincinnati Juvenile Court. John Peter Zenger is spinning in his grave... +++ The Broken Line is a "tri-weekly" journal issued every four months or so by John Reiner, Apt. #4, 361 S. Elm Dr., Beverly Hills, Calif., 90212, and available at 10¢ per copy, 10/\$1. The third and most recent issue contains editorial comments and letters on socialism, racism, the war in Vietnam, etc. John is, I believe, fourteen or fifteen years old, and claims to be immature. Actually, the only immature thing John does is to call himself immature, an idiot, and so on. Apart from this annoying self-detraction, he is remarkably mature, articulate and perceptive. John considers himself a socialist, so his dissatisfaction with society has a special emphasis which most intelligent youngsters (who are also bugged by society) lack: "Every year to the seventh grade we go through the ritual of the pledge of allegiance as 'doing honor to our country',

CONTINUED AFTER "MATTER IN MOTION"



The installment of this column which appeared in Kipple #116 addressed itself to the basically white supremacist character of American conservatism. This analysis can be supported in detail by an examination of a favorite American pastime--the rating of Congressmen.

Such numerical ratings of members of Congress according to their votes began among liberals; the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the AFL-CIO have been doing it for several years. More recently the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) has taken up such ratings from the conservative perspective. The latest group to get into the act is the Sons of Liberty, a California conservative group which has revived the name used by pro-slavery northerners during the War of the Rebellion.

The Sons of Liberty has recently published an account of "How Congress Votes on Race". This analysis goes into twenty votes taken during the 1965 session of the 89th Congress; a score of +5 was given to a member of Congress who voted "for the White Race", and -5 for a vote "with the President against the White Race". Thus, by the standards of the Sons of Liberty, a perfect score is +100, while the worst possible score is -100.

Of particular interest in this tabulation are the northerners who get positive scores by the Sons of Liberty ratings. (For the purposes of this article, "South" shall refer to the eleven states whose governments were in rebellion from 1861 to 1865, and "North" to the remaining thirty-nine states.) Of course, it may be possible to excuse positive votes on the part of some of these men, attributing them to convictions other than racism. However, a positive vote of more than 50 leaves little room for doubt that here we have men voting, not out of a general distaste for Federal power or, like southerners, because they fear rampant racism among their constituents, but out of sincere white supremacist conviction. These men (Representatives unless otherwise designated) are:

<u>Name (with state, district and party)</u>	<u>SoL</u>	<u>ACA</u>	<u>ADA</u>
H. R. Gross (Iowa, 3, R)	+100	96	0
James B. Utt (Calif., 35, R)	+100	95	0
William S. Baring (Nev., AL, D)	+85	92	0
George V. Hansen (Ida., 2, R)	+80	85	0
Paul C. Jones (Mo., 10, D)	+80	76	0
H. Allen Smith (Calif., 20, R)	+80	95	0
Durward G. Hull (Mo., 7, R)	+75	100	0
Sen. Robert C. Byrd (W. Va., D)	+70	36	6
W. R. Hull, Jr. (Mo., 6, D)	+70	52	8
Sen. Wallace Bennett (Utah, R)	+60	100	0
Page Belcher (Okla., 1, R)	+60	92	0
Glenn R. Davis (Wisc., 9, R)	+60	96	8
Gerald Lipscomb (Calif., 24, R)	+60	90	0

The comparison with ACA ratings for the same Congress provides yet another correlation between racist votes, as tabulated by the Sons of Liberty, and conservative votes in general, as seen by the ACA.

No one will be greatly surprised that Republicans average higher than Democrats in the Sons of Liberty index, or that the House of Representatives leads the Senate. In the Senate the averages are:

Northern Democrats: -74	Northern Republicans: -4	all northerners: -46
Southern Democrats: +55	Southern Republicans: +100	all southerners: +100
all Democrats: -34	all Republicans: +5	total Senate: -23

The House of Representatives adds up as follows:

Northern Democrats: -75	Northern Republicans: +8	all northerners: -44
Southern Democrats: +50	Southern Republicans: +80	all southerners: +54
all Democrats: -38	all Republicans: +16	total House: -20

More than half of all northern Democrats score -90 or below on the Sons of Liberty ratings. Forty-six of them score -100--as contrasted to only one Republican with such a rating, Seymour Halpern of Queens. Out of 205 northern Democrats, only 14 do not have negative scores; in fact, even 12 out of 89 southern Democrats managed to compile negative scores. By contrast, only 38 out of 141 Republicans--none of them southerners--had negative scores. This analysis strongly opposes the popular belief that northern Republicans have about the same civil rights stand, on the whole, as northern Democrats.

Scores of the House delegations of representative states are as follows:

<u>California</u>		<u>Maryland</u>	
Northern Democrats	-84	Democrats	-82
Northern Republicans	+9	Republicans	-35
all northerners	-44	total	-70
Southern Democrats	-79	<u>New York</u>	
Southern Republicans	+36	City Democrats	-85
all southerners	-36	City Republicans	-67
all Democrats	-81	all from city	-82
all Republicans	+23	Upstate Dems.	-86
total	-40	Upstate Reps.	-6
<u>Illinois</u>		all upstate	-46
Democrats	-89	all Democrats	-85
Republicans	+20	all Republicans	-19
total	-39	total	-62

A comparison of the average votes of various state delegations shows that our two newest states are also our best on this issue; Alaska and Hawaii both score -90. Close behind them is Connecticut with -89. As might be expected, Mississippi and South Carolina tie at the other end with +100. But next behind them is North Carolina with +91. North Carolina, through adroit use of token integration, has managed to present an image of slow and steady compliance with integration laws. In fact, however, it has the largest Ku Klux Klan in the country, and a state government determined to preserve segregation without such fanfare as has drawn national attention to Alabama and Mississippi.

A comparison of Democratic and Republican delegations shows that, of the 34 states with both parties in their delegations to the 89th Congress, only two sent Republicans ranked lower by the Sons of Liberty than their Democratic colleagues. In Virginia, Democrats scored +85 to the Republicans' +60, and North Carolina Democrats beat out their Republican colleagues +93 to +80. Obviously, the only states in which Republicans proved less satisfactory than Democrats to the Sons of Liberty were states in which the Republicans had unsuccessfully attempted to go to the right of local Democrats.

It should be stressed that these ratings of support for segregation were not drawn up by integrationists. The ratings used in this article were compiled by convinced racists, for use as a voting guide by other convinced racists. They represent their own assessment of the national political scene, not someone else's guesses as to how they may assess it.

The deep split that exists within the Republican Party on the issue of civil rights is also evident in this tally. Of the 11 states north of the Potomac and east of the Alleghenies, 8 have Republicans in their House delegations. All eight of these delegations came in with negative scores--and the only other such Republican delegation in the entire country consisted of one Oregonian. Democrats show a similar regional division. The Democratic delegations with positive averages are those from 10 southern states, plus Nevada and New Mexico, states largely settled by southerners. Tennessee's Democrats averaged -15, mainly due to Rep. Grider of Memphis--however, thanks to that state's Republicans, the total Tennessee was +12.

Unquestionably the Sons of Liberty will find the 90th Congress more to their liking. Among the Democrats defeated in 1966, with their Sons of Liberty scores, were George Grider (Tenn., -70), J. J. Gilligan (Ohio, -90), James Morrison (La., -60), W. E. Vivian (Mich., -100), John Schmidhauser (Iowa, -95) and T. C. McGrath (N.J., -100). There is an impression among liberals that the major battles in the struggle for civil rights have been won, and that we can now relax on our legislative laurels. This, unfortunately, is far from being the truth. Our vigilance to protect these gains, and reward the legislators who have helped write them into law, must exceed that of the Sons of Liberty and conservatives generally to wipe them out.

--John Boardman

JOTTINGS

CONTINUED

i.e., General Motors, Ford, ITT, Esso." His comment on the Ramparts feature on the children of Vietnam: "It may be nice to be an American, but for me it's damn humiliating." God, when I think what a naive clod I was at that age, thinking of nothing but school, baseball and girls. +++ When a rock was thrown through the window of a politically-oriented book store on Park Ave. by nightriders identifying themselves as members of the Ku Klux Klan (they left calling cards), the only person to deplore this incident in the local newspapers was a letter-writer named C. R.

Borsella. That is of course our own beloved Catherine Rose, otherwise known as Chay. +++ Chay, incidentally, is no longer a schoolteacher. She has resigned from that vocation in order to become part of the welfare state bureaucracy she opposes. She is now a caseworker for the Baltimore City Department of Welfare. Well, why not? +++ More on old schools: In 1951, the Beale Elliot Elementary School, at Gilmore and Prestmann Sts., was described by the school board as "unsatisfactory". Notwithstanding this fact, the 90-year-old ghetto school remained in service without significant renovation until Feb. 26, 1967, when it was destroyed by a six-alarm fire. Residents of the neighborhood watched the building burn for half an hour before anybody notified the fire department. Well, that's one way to get rid of an "unsatisfactory" school. +++ Lon Atkins done left his little old southern fried home and moved out to California. His mailing address until further notice is: c/o Dave Hulan, Box 1032, Canoga Park, Calif., 91304. +++ Jay Kinney criticizes the format of "Short Notes", claiming that the practice of dividing segments only with three pluses makes the column difficult to read. How many others find it difficult to read? +++ The largest operation of the Vietnam war recently took place. "Operation Junction City" was a drive by 45,000 US troops into the NFL headquarters area in Tay Ninh province, which aimed to trap as many as a full division of enemy troops and clear them out of this stronghold. (Its chief result seems to have been to materially contribute to the establishment of a new one-week record for American casualties.) "Dispatches report a well-planned and well-executed major raid on a notorious Viet Cong stronghold in Tay Ninh province, northwest of Saigon and close to the Cambodia border; that stronghold is out of business, the protecting jungle burned away and the routes to it exposed, its provisions and ammunition stocks destroyed." That quotation has nothing to do with "Junction City"; it is from the June 6, 1964, Morning Sun. The stronghold in Tay Ninh, otherwise known as "War Zone C", has been put out of business numerous times... +++ Meanwhile, over in the important part of the war, an effort of the pacification program to clear the Viet Cong out of the provinces surrounding Saigon, known as "Operation Hop Tac", was quietly closed down last November after two years of failure. +++ After an absence of several months due to the pressure of mundane activities, George Price has returned, bigger than ever, to the letter column. (Hit that man in the back who booed!) Welcome back, George; not having you to argue with, my mind has been getting rather flabby of late. +++ There was a teach-in on Vietnam at Towson State College on the evening of March 6th. That was also the evening CBS telecast Hal Holbrook's brilliant ninety-minute portrayal of Mark Twain. Fellow peaceniks will be disappointed to learn that I chose to spend my evening with Mark Twain (mainly because it was raining like hell). On the other hand, considering the things Twain had to say about this country's first colonial venture in Asia (the Philippines), maybe he qualifies as one of us pinkos; if so, watching the Twain special would be almost as commendable as attending the teach-in. Anyway, I think I deserve half a gold star; after all, I could have avoided both the teach-in and Mark Twain, and just stayed home, got high on pot and spent the evening watching the wallpaper move around. +++ Jean Rose is going on a Geology Dept. field trip to Florida, where she'll be skin diving and dividing her attention between collecting arthropod eyes and avoiding sharks. Happy snorkeling, Jean. +++ Misery is being told by a friend of a girl you're hung up on that she's hung up on you--on April 1st. +++ Background music for the typing of this column has included: Rita Hughes and Tennyson Stevens doing "Come on Home", selections from "The Second Barbra Streisand Album", Phil Ochs' "The Highwayman" and Buddy Rich's incredible "West Side Story" medley.

--Ted Pauls

JAY KINNEY :: 606 WELLNER ROAD :: NAPERVILLE, ILLINOIS, 60540

The Baltimore political scene sounds rather interesting. Perhaps you're interested in the Naperville political scene, which is also rather interesting. At present, the city is run by a mayor and four commissioners. The incumbent Mayor, Zaininger, isn't trying for another term, and so four or five other local businessmen have jumped into the running. (Candidates bear no party affiliation; Naperville, being in DuPage County, is practically 100% Republican.) The big issue in the campaign is whether the form of government in the city should be changed, with the mayor replaced by a (professional) city manager. Four of the candidates for commissioner have banded together (they are known as "The Four With Foresight") and are running as a team; advocating the change to the city manager system--which, if instituted, would apparently sort of replace them. Old Zaininger, though not running, has placed an ad in

—DISSENTING OPINIONS—

Letters of comment on past issues

the local weekly knocking the proposed switch to manager government, since the person so chosen would be hired on a business basis and wouldn't necessarily come from Naperville itself. But basically the issue is: Do we want an old man with a hand in the cash register or a professional who knows how to run things?

You know, sometimes it just sort of hits me--a lot of things would be a helluva lot easier and simpler if Jack Ruby hadn't come along. This feeling has replaced any fleeting thrill and/or approval that might have been felt at the time toward his murder of Oswald. Back then, it seemed that Ruby was just saving the government time and acting out a lot of citizens' repressed desires toward Oswald; but now I look at it a lot differently. You know, even if there were to be another investigation of the assassination, it would probably be too late to really uncover anything. I mean, the actual assassin could have been one of those eight nurses murdered here in Chicago, and we would never know it now.

Re disrupting the LBJ consensus by demonstrating: Everybody seems concerned about working from the outside. Why not try working from within? One enterprising anti-war hypnotist could give ten or so top officials a post-hypnotic suggestion. And certainly wouldn't your faith in LBJ and Co. be shaken by seeing via TV at a news conference the President leading top brass in unison nose-picking? Give it a thought. It's unethical, of course, but all's fair in love and war and Texas. (Yes, I see definite possibilities in that suggestion. After the unison nose-picking session, perhaps we should have the Joint Chiefs of Staff take off their clothes and skip merrily down Pennsylvania Avenue, tossing small bouquets of petunias to passersby.)

Boardman seems to take the Ku Klux Klan's early self-labeling of itself as "conservative" as evidence that they were the first and oldest, etc., conservative group in America. This is all very well, but

just because a person (or group) says it is something doesn't mean that it is that something. Even granting that the KKK was actually a conservative organization in the beginning, it soon grew beyond its original purpose and leaders and became a collection of vengeful poor whites, a group that probably didn't care what it called itself. Generally, I think, a conservative is one who dislikes upsetting the status quo. This may involve non-support of attempts to integrate, but racism is only one area of such conservatism, not the focal point. Presently, the race issue is in the limelight, so it may be sort of a link between the conservatives, but it is pretty foolish to assert that the race issue was always the main link and big issue.

"In the steaming jungles and rice fields of this small Asian nation, the world's super-power--the U.S.--today finds itself stalemated by relatively minor military forces of an elusive enemy.

"There seems to be little for the U.S. to show in the way of firm results after six years of escalating war.

"The cost of this war to the U.S. is already immense and growing greater, with no victory--or even evidence of decisive progress--in sight...

"Despite the growing weight of U.S. military might in South Vietnam, a country little larger than Florida, the enemy seems as confident as ever--and apparently as strong." --US News & World Report, January 2, 1967.

BOB VARDEMAN :: P. O. BOX 11352 :: ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO, 87112

Kipple #117: Re your article on "The Protection of a President", I would like to point out that hindsight is better than foresight. No matter how thorough the Secret Service can be, there is always the possibility that a potential assassin will creep through their net. While the Secret Service would be concerned with mental cases, there is an old adage to the effect that "there are more nuts out than in". In a city the size of Dallas, the number of possible mentally unbalanced killers would be staggering. Obviously, the Secret Service could not through any stretch of the imagination investigate each one--especially if nothing had been done previously to merit suspicion. In the case of Oswald, he was more a subject for the FBI's scrutiny than for the Secret Service's. There was no reason to suspect that Oswald might try to assassinate Kennedy--to the best of my knowledge he had made no public statements, written or otherwise, expressing this intention. What a man has in his mind is not easily discernible, and even though Oswald might have been more suspect than John Q. Public there was no reason to harass him on purest suspicion--this is a free country. Besides this, it was my impression that the Presidential motorcade had a choice of two routes--one of which wouldn't have taken it past the Depository--and only at the last minute was the final route chosen. Oswald seems to have guessed correctly.

Clarifying my statement on the Carcano for John Berry: the long and rather awkward throw of the bolt (complicated by the scope) would hinder even an above average marksman. The FBI experts state that such a rifle can be cocked and fired in 2.5 seconds, but they do not say how accurately or at what distance. I freely admit that I am no expert and could never even approach this figure, but it seems to me that Oswald wouldn't be too much of an expert either. At a range of almost 90 yards, shooting at a small target moving 10-15 mph, using a poor quality rifle, in the seven seconds allotted Oswald, I would like to see the experts make three snap shots and match the purported accuracy. I am not neces-

sarily saying there was another assassin, but I am saying that I find the FBI's report to be slightly incredible.

While I would not presume to put words in Chay Borsella's mouth, I think that some of the following might elicit a nod of assent. But first I must make a small point. You stack the deck slightly when you imply that you want a list of liberties denied each and every one of us. While some of these do not affect any of Kipple's readers directly, they very easily could with only a slight change in circumstances. For instance, are you familiar with the Hatch Act? It prevents government employees from participating in political campaigns or public discussions of a political nature--like Kipple. How would you define the following situation: A person is forced under threat of imprisonment to do something which, although not necessarily odious, is contrary to his personal desires. Of course, submitting to this involuntary servitude yields recompense in the form of food, shelter, medical care and a little money. Sound like slavery? Nope--the draft. How would you like to read something only to find that a Federal edict prohibits it? To the best of my knowledge, Roth v. US is still the precedent for the opinion that "obscene" material is not entitled to protection under the Constitution. The freedom to bear arms has been abridged in several states, but now Senators Dodd and (Bobby) Kennedy are trying to compound the infringement and pass a Federal statute outlawing several aspects of the right to own property. For instance, mail order sales of firearms would be prohibited, and while I could not be prosecuted I would not be allowed to receive (from a Federal arsenal) a rifle which I have had on order for some time. In other words, I would be prevented from finishing a transaction legally started before such a law went into effect. Have you heard of Otto Otepka? A frightening example of the suspension of due process. Did you read about the University of Minnesota student who was arrested by the FBI for espionage? All he had done was to run a personal in the newspaper stating "Frodo Lives". Rather absurd, but it did happen--and could happen again on equally ridiculous grounds to any of us. And those persistent rumors that the IRS is used for the persecution of certain individuals might be purest fantasy or there might be an element of truth in them; the latter seems more likely. I suppose I could go on, but as Chay said, the topic would fill volumes. (A list at last! Of course, I never denied that government in this country frequently violates individual liberty. The reason I insisted upon a list of specifics was so I could show that the abuses protested by libertarian conservatives like Chay are also opposed by most leftists. With a single exception, I am opposed to all of the laws and administrative abuses you have listed. The exception is firearms control, which I believe necessary. Preferably, this would be accomplished through a system of Federal registration (nobody objects to automobile registration, and a car is only incidentally a deadly weapon). A gun is not merely a piece of property, like a breadbox.)

"A friend is a person who knows you for what you are...but doesn't care." --Johnny Hart, in "BC".

GEORGE W. PRICE :: 1439 W. NORTH SHORE AVE. :: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60626
To show the supposed similarity between Viet Cong terrorism and American Revolutionary terrorism against Loyalists, you quote Gen. Nathanael Greene deploring the "massacres" by and of civilians on both sides which threatened to depopulate the South. You could hardly have picked a better example to disprove your point. Greene, a high rebel official, deplored the slaughter. Had he been a Viet Cong type, he would

have applauded and in fact sponsored the mass murder of Loyalists. The terrorism in South Vietnam is not fighting between two groups that hate each other; it is cold-blooded murder of people who wish only to be left alone. This is one more reason why comparing the VC to the American rebels is perverse and grotesque. (Don't you ever concede even the most minor point in a straightforward manner? You asserted in #114 that the "mistreatment of the Loyalists--confiscation of property, beating, tarring and feathering--" could not be compared to the "terrorism" in South Vietnam because it was "orders of magnitude less than what the VC does to dissenters". In my reply, I showed, by quoting an officer in the rebel army, that there was indeed genuine terrorism--and a good deal of it --in our Revolution. Granted, this was not sanctioned by the Continental Congress; but it happened, which you appeared to be denying in #114. As to the terrorism in South Vietnam, I will agree that when the insurgents kill innocent civilians it is "cold-blooded murder of people who wish only to be left alone". Of course, I must insist on applying that term also to the killing of civilians by the United States. Having decided that both sides engage in the cold-blooded murder of people who wish only to be left alone, it remains to discover which side is more reprehensible: the one that does this in its own country or the one that goes halfway around the world to do it?))

"Marx and the Evolution of Society": You see Marx's most serious failure in his prediction that "the proletariat's standard of living must decline absolutely..." Then you say "Had Marx merely confined himself to the assertion that the masses would continue to be exploited, the point would have been difficult to dispute." I dispute it with no difficulty at all.

"For the Marxist thinker, exploitation is an inescapable aspect of the capitalist system, inherent in any situation where one man labors for the profit of another. It doesn't matter how high the wage...if (the worker) is producing more value than he receives, and the excess is appropriated by someone else, then he is by definition 'exploited'. This is the Marxian doctrine of surplus value." Very clearly put. This is, I think, the central doctrine of Marxism, and it is shot through with fallacies. That's why Marx's predictions failed so grossly: he reasoned quite logically from false premises.

Let's begin with a point of semantics. Marxists--and to a lesser degree, most other economists--treat "profits" and "wages" as two very different things. This error is unconsciously reinforced by our use of two dissimilar words. For clarity, we should speak of "compensation". Thus "wages" are the worker's compensation; "profits" are the investor's compensation; "prices" are the merchant's compensation, and so on. The real problem is whether the compensation of one group is more or less than it should be in relation to other groups.

It is indisputable that exploitation is inherent where "one man labors for the profit of another", but this is not relevant to a capitalist society. The worker does not labor for the profit of another--he labors for his own profit. If "profit" may be defined as the excess of income over the expenses of doing business, then the worker's "profit" is whatever wage he gets beyond what is necessary to pay for his personal tools, work clothing, technical education, and other outlays necessary to holding his job. For most workers, this is only a small fraction of income, and all the rest may be rightly considered profit. (I will not accept this attempt to erase the distinction between profits and wages. Consider the employer: out of his company's gross he pays for the maintenance of equipment, salaries and other benefits to employees (including managerial personnel who run the enterprise for him), advertising costs, etc. Whatever is left beyond his original investment in facilities is pure profit, i.e., money for which he hasn't done any-

thing. The worker realizes no such profit. The money he receives in excess of his "overhead" (tools, work clothing, technical education, the minimal nourishment necessary to keep him healthy enough to work, etc.) is paid in exchange for his time, effort and sweat. In a nutshell, the difference is this: while the produce wholesaler can be making money while he's on the gulf links or sailing his ketch, the longshoreman who unloads the bananas can only make money while he's carrying fruit.))

But that is a side issue. The core of Marxism is the presumption that the worker produces "more value than he receives, and the excess is appropriated by someone else." If true, this would indeed be exploitation. I shall try to show that it is neither true nor false, but irrelevant.

It is fundamental morality that "to the worker belong the fruits of his labor", where "worker" means everyone who contributes to the process of production. Whoever adds to the value of what is produced should be compensated, preferably in proportion to his contribution. (The Marxist slogan "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" I dismiss as morally shabby, and in any event thoroughly impractical, as communists and socialists have discovered whenever they tried to practice it.) Very well, who contributes to production? The laborer contributes his labor, the manager contributes planning and coordination, and the capitalist (investor) contributes the physical equipment. For simplicity let's lump laborer and manager together as "workers"--I think this is acceptable to Marxists--and simply discuss "workers" and "capitalists". Each provides an essential factor of production. The central problem is: how to calculate what proportion each contributes and what his compensation should be. I assert that this problem is inherently insoluble.

Consider: Without the worker, the machinery provided by the capitalist is useless. Without the machinery, the worker's production is either very small or non-existent. Leaving aside the relatively tiny amount the worker could produce with his own personal tools, we can say that both worker and machines are 100% essential to production: either is useless without the other. How then can we possibly decide what proportion of production should be attributed to each? You could pick any set of proportions you please--50/50, 90/10, 10/90--and be unable to either prove or disprove its correctness. It is impossible to determine if "the worker is producing more value than he receives" because it is impossible to determine what value he is producing. You can easily find what value the worker and the machinery together produce, but not what is attributable to either alone. Note well that it is not that the problem is complicated or requires excessive computation. It is that the problem simply does not have a solution. It's indeterminate, like trying to divide by zero.

So when we talk of the capitalist (i.e., the equipment-provider) as "expropriating" some fraction of the worker's output, we are not merely mistaken, we are talking nonsense. Unless, of course, the Marxist means that the capitalist does not deserve any recompense for having provided the tools for production. This would be to say that savers--those who forego present consumption in order to provide the means for greater future production--deserve no reward. If that's what the Marxists mean, then they are no better than thieves.

A market economy bypasses the whole question of what proportion of production should be attributed to each factor of production. The compensation of each factor is determined by the competition of the market place and tends toward the limit set by marginal productivity. The resulting division may not be as equitable as we would like in all cases (though it is enormously better than socialists believe), but at least we are spared the morass of indeterminacy which is all that pure social-

ism can offer. The impossibility of solving this problem within the socialist framework is one of the two rocks upon which socialist economies come to grief. The other rock is the related problem of economic calculation, but that's another argument.

Bob Vardeman charges that auto manufacturers do converge on one price, as I said, but that this price is "set by them, not by the consumers as in a perfect free market system. By agreement they can set the price anywhere they want..." Oh? You have some evidence of this "agreement"? Some such conspiracy may well exist (in flagrant violation of free-market ethics)--I say only that convergence on one price is in no way proof of a price-fixing agreement. Mr. Vardeman finds the "lower priced" American cars are over-priced, wherefore he goes to a better-built foreign make. But how is this? You mean all this price-fixing doesn't apply to the VW? But man, that's competition! Maybe we've got something of a free market in cars after all. Look, let's face it: Detroit iron is over-priced only to the minority, like Mr. Vardeman and myself, who are more interested in engineering than in style and status.

Mr. Vardeman then turns to the public utilities as a better example: "They have a monopoly and can charge whatever they please...they charge just enough under the price where the consumer would do something about being robbed blind to make a good profit. Now, Mr. Price, tell me what you are going to do with your water and lights shut off? Go to another dealer?"

Perhaps things are different in New Mexico--but no, I wouldn't go to another dealer. I would go straightway to the Illinois Commerce Commission and demand to know why they (not the utility) set the price so damn high. Lord almighty, man, don't you know that public utility rates are all set by government bodies? That's how the utilities get to be monopolies. They charge what the state allows, and in turn the state supresses any competition. If you don't like it, complain through political channels. But please don't use it as an example of a fault in the market economy. The market economy is certainly not without faults, but the vast majority of the faults are cases where the ethics of the market are being violated. In contrast, the peculiar faults of socialism and communism are mostly due precisely to attempts to adhere to theory. (I am reminded of an amusing aphorism currently popular in Eastern Europe: "Communism is superior because it adequately copes with difficulties that do not exist under other systems.")

"And now, since this book is really me, what is my greatest hope and my wildest and most ambitious dream for it?

"Only this: that when all the dissertations on abstract art shall have been reduced to finicky footnotes in neglected tomes full of pretentious scholarship, I shall be patiently waiting under a willow tree while the burning adolescent who brought me along in his sweaty hands will be neglecting me for the sweeter glory of tumbling his gigglish but complaisant girl friend in the tall, fragrant summer grass, somewhere!"
--Alexander King, in "May This House Be Safe From Tigers".

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Read with interest your comments on Stamping Out the Flames of Discontent (Kipple #117), but your implication was too plainly that--since the activities you cited showed what could be done in countries where subsidized insurgency couldn't fall back across an open border into a sanctuary country--the question of North Viet Nam's validity should be re-examined. While any decent person must shudder at the Administra-

tion's action in refusing to consider liberation of the Vietnamese now enslaved by militant imperialism, the reunification of Viet Nam under a people's government is a more difficult administrative problem than might follow from consideration of the weakness of the Hanoi regime. I admit that the increased democratization of the Republic of South Viet Nam has worked to vastly strengthen it; with the elections of spring over 2/3 of the government will be directly responsible to the people (66.6% ahead of Hanoi, after all), an immense advantage. But the infrastructure of technically proficient personnel in such vital fields as agriculture and industry is still thin-spread. It would probably not be possible for South Viet Nam, out of her own resources, to improve standards in North Viet Nam more than 50-80%, even at the cost of slowing South Vietnamese progress by a half. Considering the matter dispassionately, therefore, I suggest that your tacit solution is premature. Let the matter stay unmooted for a year or eighteen months: after a wait of thirteen years, redeeming the betrayed liberation movement can't suddenly have become an imperatively urgent matter.

"If two hitherto rival football teams, under the influence of brotherly love, decided to cooperate in placing the football first beyond one goal and then beyond the other, no one's happiness would be increased. There is no reason why the zest derived from competition should be confined to athletics. Emulation between teams or localities or organizations can be a useful incentive. But if competition is not to become ruthless and harmful, the penalty for failure must not be disaster, as in war, or starvation, as in unregulated economic competition, but only loss of glory. Football would not be a desirable sport if defeated teams were put to death or left to starve." --Bertrand Russell, in "Authority and the Individual".

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I see that I still haven't been able to give you a satisfactory answer to the question of what I would like to do which the increasingly liberal government, by diminishing our freedom, prevents my doing. I had said that I am prevented from determining how the government spends the ever-increasing sums of money which it collects by taxation. But now, your question reads "What is it that you would like to do, say tomorrow morning..." etc., which the government forbids my doing.

Of course, I can't hand you a long list. Inasmuch as I'm a very uncomplicated person and never do much anyway, I don't expect that the government will prevent me from doing anything. But this isn't a concession! My main concern lies with what the government, if the trend toward centralized control continues, will prevent anyone from doing in the future. Such repressions will be psychological rather than physical. Freedom has very little domain over what I am going to do tomorrow, but it has a very real domain over how I am going to think. Will my thoughts arise spontaneously, or will they be planted by the dictates of a corporate system? Will there be room for mental searching, or will all the answers be provided in the interests of a specious "order" and "efficiency" of the State? Is there a possibility that I will be so lulled by materialistic comforts handed to me on a federal platter that I won't be able to think at all? Such aren't the conditions yet. But these are some of the things people have in mind when they lament diminishing freedom. (You're beautiful, baby, as Claude Brown would say. As this discussion progresses, I become more and more convinced that you, a professed conservative, are a better spokesman for the New Left philosophy than half the members of the SDS. Your apprehension that you may "be so

lulled by materialistic comforts handed to me on a federal platter that I won't be able to think at all" reminds me of this statement by Professor Raymond Bauer of Harvard to which I believe you would subscribe: "The worst kind of dictatorship is the kind that gives people what they want, the kind in which you can't tell you're being controlled." It is precisely this kind of situation, whether in the community at large or in the micro-community of the university, against which people like Tom Hayden, Mario Savio, Todd Gitlin, Jerry Rubin, et al., are struggling. On the back page of the Feb. 20th New Left Notes (SDS organ) there appears a filler which expresses your fears rather well: "Sure, you think what you wish. But you wish to think what the controllers wish you to wish to think." Incidentally, if you want to read something that'll make your flesh crawl, I recommend "The Future-Planners", by Andrew Kopkind, in the Feb. 25th New Republic. The article concerns "social accounting", which sounds like the invention of a second-rate imitator of George Orwell but--unfortunately--isn't fiction.))

Still, there are examples where people will be directly hampered from doing something "tomorrow". There is, for instance, the law which demands that every child attend school until he reaches his mid-teens. The noble rationalization states that democracy requires educated masses. The unstated truth is that adolescents must be kept off the streets and (above all) off the labor market. Accordingly, in an awful lot of cases, schools are purely incarceration centers, genuinely preventing freedom to perform specific actions.

Most of the cases where I have personally been hampered from doing something stem from the tyranny of collectivist interest groups, the adjuncts and outgrowths of the liberal collectivist government. The tyranny of "big labor" has affected me most directly. Within the last ten years, it has prevented me from catching my morning bus, reading the newspapers and buying food at supermarkets. (I'm not certain that this list answers your question satisfactorily, but I don't feel that I'm stretching a point to blame the labor fiasco on liberal tendencies in the federal government.) Such strikes against the public interest are about as justifiable as a policeman's firing his gun into a crowd of bystanders to prevent the escape of a burglar who has hidden in their midst. (As I pointed out to Bob Vardeman above, I don't deny that the government frequently interferes with individual liberty. But such abuses are in nearly every case opposed by the majority of real liberals and radicals. Actually, the problem extends beyond the matter of governmental interference, whether acts of the legislature (like the one which prevents me from reading certain books) or bureaucratic regulations (like the one which attempts to dictate the length of Sutton Breiding's hair). The worst abuses of individual liberty are frequently the unwritten laws enforced by community pressure--what used to be called Creeping Conformity. Laws and regulations, at least, allow channels of appeal; there is no appellate process for silent stares, raised eyebrows, social discrimination.))

I have a suspicion, though, that such examples of being prevented from performing a physical action have nothing to do with freedom; that freedom is almost completely an attribute of the mind--freedom of thought, etc. Secondarily, freedom is a license to do certain things; but this latter kind of freedom is of a lower calibre because it leads to all kinds of individual abuses, and sometimes needs to be curbed. (An awful conclusion, after this long discussion!) One action-type of freedom which I would curb--and I am purposely taking a direct issue with John Berry, who calls himself a "libertarian"--is the allowance of topless waitresses. If necessary, I would make a city law barring the practice, even though I have no personal objection. So, why? Because the general populace is not emotionally ready to accept such a change, and

would be unnecessarily vexed by this conflict with their own ethical code; and because the existence of topless waitresses would be a direct attack on the ethical code held by most people which, though imperfect, happens to be needed at the moment. I believe this "libertarianism" can lead one to anarchy. (This opinion is in direct contradiction to the philosophy you have been espousing, and I assume that on second thought you will decide against opposing "toplessness" because it offends the "ethical code" (actually, the moral code) adhered to by most people. (Obviously, this is no place for a lengthy treatise on the philosophical distinction between "ethics" and "morals", but briefly: an ethical code is a set of personal standards of conduct in relations with other people, while a moral code is a set of rules handed down ex cathedra by family or church or community and enforced on individuals.) Inter-racial marriage no doubt offends the moral sense of a majority of Marylanders. Did you oppose on that account the recent repeal of the anti-miscegenation law? I didn't think so... The assertion that, while you have no objection, the general populace is not "emotionally ready" for topless waitresses is most uncharacteristically arrogant. Like all censorship, the opposition to topless waitresses seeks to treat adults like children. No one who is offended by bare breasts is forced to go into a "topless" establishment.))

"We know of no culture that has said, articulately, that there is no difference between men and women except in the way they contribute to the creation of the next generation; that otherwise in all respects they are simply human beings with varying gifts, no one of which can be exclusively assigned to either sex. We find no culture in which it has been thought that all identified traits--stupidity and brilliance, beauty and ugliness, friendliness and hostility, initiative and responsiveness, courage and patience and industry--are merely human traits. However differently the traits have been assigned, some to one sex, some to the other, and some to both, however arbitrary the assignment must be seen to be (for surely it cannot be true that women's heads are both absolutely weaker--for carrying loads--and absolutely stronger--for carrying loads--than men's), although the division has been arbitrary, it has always been there in every society of which we have any knowledge."
--Margaret Mead, in "Male and Female".

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It's been brought up lately, the question whether you can justify pushing for various things like desegregation and pacifism (or at least anti-Vietnamism) if you don't believe in God, or haven't some strong ethical code which you hold to a priori in sort of the same way people believe in God. I sort of think this is the wrong approach, because it assumes everybody wants to run around killing people and being nasty. Now, I don't believe man, or any other species, is Essentially Good, any more than it's Essentially Bad; and we may all be jam-packed with territorial imperatives. But if the territories we identify with are big enough (and this I think genuinely is a matter of education), and barring some aberrations--who'd want to kill, etc., anyone else? You don't have to justify forbidding doing it--you don't even have to forbid it. You don't forbid starving to death, because people don't do it just for kicks.

If you really catch on that you are related to everything (even to non-living things, though in a rather different sense)--that we're all made of the same stuff; that the same clock that ticks in the stars runs in my blood, and we're all running down together, Children of the

Universe--then, you'd hardly want to kill your closest relatives, any more than you'd want to kill yourself.

The really tricky part about this brotherhood business is feeling for, not only the poor bastard peasant in Vietnam who got smashed to pieces...but for the bastard who smashed him, and the one who ordered it. These, after all, are the ones we regard as enemies. Can you love these people? Do you know that same urge? It's true, though--if you really mean brotherhood, you mean that. And I mean it. Hell of a note, wot?

Let me add another by-the-way sort of note: Except for a few sick people, people almost never do things they think are wrong--not for any length of time, anyway. I once was, I thought, "stabbed in the back" by a friend; I howled betrayal and carried my hurt around for three or four years. Then one day it dawned on me that she did what she thought was right; she thought I was wrong, misled, stupid, etc. Well, I don't agree--but it certainly makes such notions as "forgiveness" irrelevant, doesn't it?

You know, if you really understand yourself and other people, it leaves you totally without virtue. You can't say, anymore, "Well, at least I never..."; there's nothing left to hug to yourself, to make you feel better than the next guy. You get rid of a big load when you get rid of virtue, but you feel kind of naked without it.

"Dean Rusk is basically an Elmer Fudd type."

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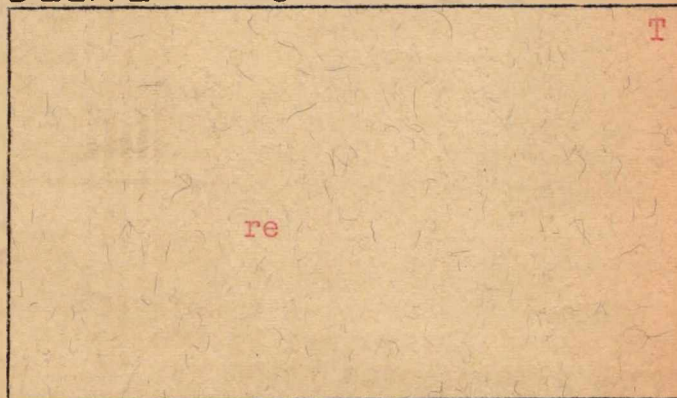
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LOVE, BABY, LOVE

SIMPLIFIED QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE NATIONAL DEBT

- (1) What is the present National Debt of the United States of America?
- (2) What percentage of the figure given in (1) represents deficit spending for military purposes during World War II?
- (3) Would you prefer that the amount given in (2) had not been spent?
- (4) What is the population of the United States of America?
- (5) Divide the amount given in (1) by the number given in (4). This is your share of the National Debt.
- (6) Has anyone been dunning you lately for the amount given in (5)?
- (7) Do you still think that National Debt is analogous to personal debt?

(John Boardman)