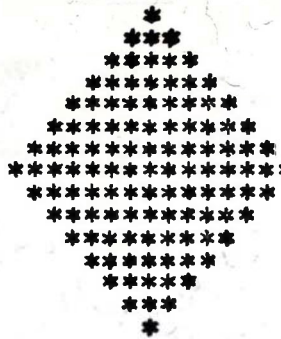


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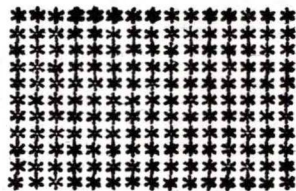
"Those who are awed by their surroundings do not think of change, no matter how miserable their condition. When our mode of life is so precarious as to make it patent that we cannot control the circumstances of our existence, we tend to stick to the proven and the familiar. We counteract a deep feeling of insecurity by making of our existence a fixed routine. We hereby acquire the illusion that we have tamed the unpredictable. Fisherfolk, nomads and farmers who have to contend with the willful elements, the creative worker who depends on inspiration, the savage awed by his surroundings--they all fear change. They face the world as they would an all-powerful jury. The abjectly poor, too, stand in awe of the world around them and are not hospitable to change. It is a dangerous life we lead when hunger and cold are at our heels. There is thus a conservatism of the destitute as profound as the conservatism of the privileged, and the former is as much a factor in the perpetuation of a social order as the latter." --Eric Hoffer

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-WOKLpress-



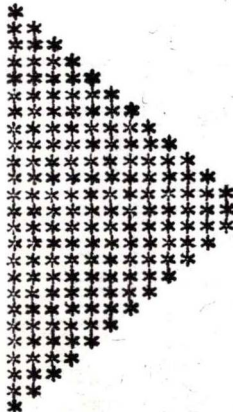
THE SLAG-HEAPS OF MEROI



by John Boardman

The slag-heaps of Meroi are eloquent
In silence. Under hot Nilotic skies
They contradict a racial argument
Which on their non-existence still relies.
These are not Pittsburgh's grimy clinker hills,
Nor is this slag from either Birmingham,
Nor did a Russian leave the Sverdlovsk mills
To forge steel pilings for the Aswan Dam.

No; centuries have left Meroi in dust
Since black hands worked the peerless Nubian steel.
The swords of Queen Kandake's men are rust.
But now the students of the past reveal
That ere two thousand years these slag-heaps grew,
And half the world bought steel in the Sudan;
While naked Britons daubed their backsides blue
And dined on rib-roasts from their fellow man.



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Dissenting Opinions

GEORGE W. PRICE :: 873 CORNELIA AVE. :: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60657

You ask at what point, as the Communist societies evolve, will I "admit that the preservation of Western democracy no longer demands the elimination of communist power?" You supplied the answer yourself, in predicting that "within the next decade or two the major Communist powers will abandon in practice (though not, for some time after, in theory) the idea that the existence of non-Communist nations is a temporary aberration which must be rectified." When--and if--this prediction comes true, we will have no further reason to fight the Communists.

There is some danger that we will not recognize that the Communists have abandoned their aggressive intentions, and that by continuing to fight them after the necessity has passed, we will actually convince them that they must destroy us for their own safety. I do not see how this risk can be entirely avoided. How do we judge when the Communists are no longer aggressive in practice? I suggest that, as a very minimum, they must stop sponsoring and supporting "wars of national liberation".

The evolution, such as it is, of the Communist powers toward genuine coexistence is, I think, primarily due to our resistance to their aggression. The quickest, and perhaps only, way to turn them towards peaceful coexistence is to teach them, by painful experience, that whenever they prod the West they will draw back a bloody stump.

If I think that most of the world's troubles are due to governments violating the rights of others, you ask, how can I urge my own government to adhere to the same policy? "An individual who goes on record as advocating that his government nullify by force the results of elections in other countries can hardly object to other governments failing to respect the rights of smaller nations."

I don't think I have advocated nullifying elections as such; what I claim is that our government has the right to punish other governments which violate the rights of Americans. How the offending government came to power is beside the point. Specifically, I advocated over-throwing newly-elected communist governments (and also old elected and non-elected communist governments), not because the people don't have a right to choose communist rulers, but because by so choosing they have joined our enemies in the war between communism and democratic civilization. If a country should adopt a government which was socialist and tyrannical, I would deplore and detest it, but as long as it was not affiliated with our enemies I should say that we would have no right to overthrow it. (Unless, of course, it started abusing the rights of Americans.) I believe that people not only have a right to choose their own governments, they also have the "right" to suffer the consequences if they choose a government of brigands or aggressors. (Obviously, the United States is entitled to take counter-measures against any government which consistently abuses the rights of Americans, but there are almost no circumstances which would require us to secure the protection of Americans' rights by deposing legitimate governments. Of course, when a state of war exists between two countries, then the overthrow of the adversary's government is a legitimate goal, but that isn't the sort of situation we were discussing. If I were certain that the mere existence of a particular regime constituted a serious threat to our security, then I

would certainly not exclude the possibility of deposing it; but the history of United States intervention in Latin America demonstrates that what is interpreted as an abuse of Americans' rights is often merely the termination of privileges to which we were not entitled to begin with. Incidentally, your portrayal of the current conflict as a "war between communism and democratic civilization" is rather ridiculous. Conservatives are fond of these little black-and-white pictures of world affairs, but surely even you can't believe in that Good Guys vs. Bad Guys description of the situation. The conflict (it isn't actually a war) is between a group of nations adhering to various interpretations of Marxist-Leninist ideology and another coalition of nations, even more heterogeneous, many of which claim to be democratic and civilized, and a few of which actually achieve these admirable goals.))

You want me to explain why I "have consistently advocated that the United States utilize the tactics of the Communists", in view of the fact that I do acknowledge "that a nation, by adopting the methods of its enemy, negates the purpose of the struggle against that enemy." I think you are failing to make the distinction between those methods which are characteristic of Communism, and those which are simply part of warfare. I do not condemn the Communists for all the methods they use in making war against us; I condemn them for the war, regardless of methods. Only some of the Communist methods are intrinsically evil, like brainwashing or slave labor, and those I have never advocated even for use against the Communists. The basic crime of the Communists is that they seek to forcibly impose their socio-economic religion upon others; this would be scarcely less evil if only the traditional methods of military conquest were employed.

(: : : :) "My name is Joshua M'boke, Economics Minister of Lower
 (¯ ¯) Kuum. Ten years ago, when my country achieved its inde-
 (U) pendence, the majority of our people were dwelling in a
 ((=)) state of abject poverty."

"Seventy percent of the population was illiterate, life (: : : :)
 expectancy was 31.7 years, and the average yearly income (¯ ¯)
 per family was \$105. The first thing we did, therefore, (U)
 was to request economic assistance from other nations." ((=))

(: : : :) "The response was immediate and overwhelming. The United
 (¯ ¯) States began constructing a railroad line to connect the
 (U) coast with the interior, and also provided a loan of ten
 ((=)) million dollars to modernize our port facilities."

"The Soviet Union began building us a steel-mill, the (: : : :)
 French constructed an airport and gave us several modern (¯ ¯)
 passenger planes, and the Germans provided several ship- (U)
 loads of automobiles." ((=))

(: : : :) "Today, seventy percent of the population is illiterate,
 (¯ ¯) life expectancy is 31.7 years, and the average yearly
 (U) income per family is \$105."
 ((=))

We agree that we should not use methods that make us as bad as our enemies. But which methods are these? Certainly I do not consider war to be bad per se; it depends on the purpose. Many of the methods of the Communists are horrible enough, in all truth, but those are peripheral evils. The core is that they do not recognize the right of any other society to exist, even though it be no threat at all to them. If we, in our zeal to defend ourselves against Communism, should ever reach the point of denying other societies the right to exist, simply because they are different, then we too should be done away with.

Like yourself, I would be interested to read Eric Blake's explanation of "what Negroes are like". My own not inconsiderable experience is that they are rather like white people: a few saints, a few free-wheeling bastards, and a great majority "just slidin' through".

You are "appalled" that I would consider using non-lethal diarrhea-causing gas against the Berkeley demonstrators at Sproul Hall (dare we call them sprawl-ins?), whom you describe as "peacefully protesting Americans". Now I flatly deny that they were "peaceful" except by a vast perversion of language. They were "non-violent" only in a narrow technical sense. They were the aggressors. They had no right to be in Sproul Hall once the authorities told them to leave; by their obstructive presence they were violating the rights of those who did have legitimate business there. The demonstrators did not strike the first blow, but they were nonetheless responsible for the violence, in that their behavior was such as to require others to use violence in order to exercise their legitimate rights. (If you find a burglar in your home, and you attack him, he is the aggressor, not you.)

Many of the civil rights sit-ins in the South can be justified on grounds that all legitimate means of protest are closed off, and "law enforcement" is a bitter joke as far as concerns the rights of Negroes. No such excuse can be made for the Berkeley episode. The state of California is not a tyranny; there are many channels open for legitimate protest. The students are not prevented from sending petitions and memorials to the Administration, the Regents, the Legislature and the Governor. They may even, as private citizens, take political action to defeat at the polls the offending politicians. And if all these methods fail, what of that? It is of the essence of democracy that when democratic methods don't get us what we want, we should subside and accept the fact, not resort to riotous behavior.

It seems to me that the FSM punks have somehow gotten the idea that since they are right (by their reckoning) then they are entitled to do anything to win. This is exactly the reasoning by which the Klan justifies suppression of Negroes. When civilized people in a democratic society find themselves in a minority on some issue (not involving fundamental rights), they do not make war upon society. But then, the likes of Mario Savio hardly qualify as civilized people, do they? (Your hostility toward the participants in the Free Speech Movement is remarkable. One would think, from your vehement denunciation and name-calling ("punks", "hardly qualify as civilized people"), that they were at least guilty of murder, rape and mayhem. The unanimity with which spokesmen for the Right condemn the Berkeley demonstrations and all other manifestations of the philosophy of the New Left probably indicates that they are desperately frightened for their comfortable traditions, prejudices and privileges. The standards revealed by this reaction are appalling. The same individuals who so roundly condemn Mario Savio (who committed the monstrous crime of trespassing, and that only for the purpose of dramatizing a protest) place themselves on record as advocating that we "forgive and forget" in the case of Nazi war criminals.)

I wonder if the Liberals who are so incensed at the awful treatment accorded Mexican migrant laborers have ever bothered to look at it

from the viewpoint of the braceros? Granted that often the pay is low, the quarters verminous, and the work torturous; is that enough reason to abolish bracero traffic? Have Secretary Wirtz and his humanitarian helpers ever inquired into how the braceros are recruited? They are not shanghaied by press gangs, you know. They volunteer. Since the conditions are so bad, why are the jobs sought after? Surely by now the word must have gotten around as to what the jobs are like. Of course the answer is obvious. The jobs, bad as they are by our standards, are still very much better than those open to the Mexicans at home. It follows that when our government forbids the bracero traffic, it is not doing the braceros any favor. It is in fact condemning them to even worse jobs, or unemployment, in Mexico. This is humanitarian?

Along the same line, if you are curious as to why teenagers, and especially drop-outs, have so hard a time finding jobs, you might look into the minimum wage laws. These ensure that anyone whose productivity is not worth the minimum wage will have to go unemployed. Naturally, this hits hardest just exactly those with the least experience and skills: the drop-outs. It is said that machinery is taking over the muscle jobs which used to be the starting point for the inexperienced or uneducated. True enough, but what is not said is that it is frequently the minimum wage requirement which makes it necessary to do by machinery what could be done by unskilled labor if it could be gotten cheaply.

Oh, I just love the bleeding hearts who save the poor from being "forced" into low-paying "exploitative" jobs--and thereby make sure that they don't get any jobs at all. If I wanted to grind the faces of the poor, while appearing to do them favors, I would just keep raising the minimum wage.

"I think the time has come to say something aloud about those who habitually employ words like 'bleeding hearts' and 'do-gooders' in a bitter and critical sense. The time has come to call these men what for the most part they are: dry-hearted do-nothings. If we learn anything from history it is that truly significant progress has often been achieved by those rare individuals whose hearts do bleed for their fellow men and who effect what material or spiritual good they can for them as a result of this tender concern, this rage for universal justice. Let it be recognized that the man who sarcastically calls others 'bleeding hearts' thereby brands himself as the unfeeling boor that he is."
--Steve Allen, in "Mark It and Strike It".

JOE STATON :: 469 ENNIS ST. :: MILAN, TENNESSEE, 38358

I found your comments on President Johnson in #78 terribly interesting, but in a way there was a bit of unintentional humor in them. You were more or less afraid that LBJ would not turn out to be a progressive, liberal chief executive, while during the campaign I was constantly hearing from the conservative types in this neck of the woods that he was a dangerous radical. In fact, one kid who walked around reading Citizen's Council pamphlets all the time quite seriously told me that he wouldn't be a bit surprised if Johnson turned out to be a card-carrying Communist.

At any rate, I myself rather admire President Johnson. I know it's sort of simple on my part, but whenever he makes a speech and talks about seeing poverty first-hand and wanting to be able to do something about it, I can't help but believe him. I can't help but feel that, for all his failings and "wheeling and dealing", Lyndon Johnson is a President who really cares about people. And of all the people in the world,

he comes closest to being the one who can do something for them. I was always sure, of course, that President Kennedy wasn't actually indifferent to the sufferings of the lower classes, but he never impressed me as having the active concern that marks LBJ.

I'd like to recommend the chapter entitled "Reforming the Reformers" in Stuart Chase's book, "The Proper Study of Mankind", to the terribly idealistic liberals who have jumped on the consensus theory of innovation with both feet. Chase makes the point that during the Great Depression the cultural patterns of the country were ready for massive social change. Franklin Roosevelt fitted the demands of the changing patterns with his New Deal legislation. However, FDR did not sufficiently grasp the nature of the resistance he encountered among the wealthy industrialists of the country and other such groups. Because of this, he stepped on some toes that he could have avoided if he had taken the precaution of preparing the total cultural pattern for his new concepts. For example, the administrator of FDR's Food Stamp Plan, whose name I forget at the moment, was a social scientist; and he prepared the way for this program so that when it was put into effect it encountered, for all practical purposes, no opposition.

It may be that President Johnson, since he was so influenced by Roosevelt, has learned from FDR's mistakes and is making certain that the cultural patterns will tolerate the introduction of important legislation. To my way of thinking, this is infinitely preferable to trying to bulldoze the society into a shape it will resist violently and being shot down in a blaze of glory.

It is a pretty pragmatic way of looking at things and probably offends the more idealistic of liberals, but General Patton once said something to the effect that you don't win wars by dying for your country, but by making the other guy die for his. The same thing applies to politics, ideals or no.

Your use of the statistics to back up your anti-capital punishment stand was more or less valid, but by themselves they fail to prove anything. All sorts of sociological points could account for the murder rates, not to mention the phases of the moon or sunspots or whatever. Incidentally, while you brought out that the high Southern murder rate was perhaps due to the scheme of prejudice, you also reminded me of something else. I find it interesting that the South has such a high homicide rate and yet is called the Bible Belt because of its supposed high level of religion.

Re John Boardman's "Islam and the American Negro": Boardman says, "No American to whom black supremacy and white supremacy doctrines are equally repellent will find much to regret in the retaliation which is now being visited upon them [the Black Muslims]." Well, I am a determined foe of any form of racist concept, but I find this "retaliation" extremely regrettable. If we lived, say, in the Amazon basin, in huts like the rest of the savages, then when somebody killed one of our number, I wouldn't be surprised if we went out and killed that guy's outfit off, but we do not live like savages--or we aren't supposed to, anyway. I find jungle law repellent in a civilized society, no matter what two groups are involved in the vendetta. I know Boardman is a very well-educated man, so I cannot chalk this idea up to ignorance, but I would really like to know how he reconciles his supposedly liberal outlook with this apparent support of the crudest sort of "animal justice".

Chay Borsella's report in #79 on the restrictions placed on teachers reminded me of something that happened here not too long ago. The biology teacher at the local high school is something of a "Mr. Novak" type--good-looking, intelligent, something of an Angry Young Man in his way. So it was just natural that he was bound to clash with the reactionaries of the area. The approved biology text is a shamefully

watered-down thing, and he seldom used it anyway, preferring to lecture and give notes, but he wanted a good, meaty text so the students could get all they were supposed to out of the course. When the time arrived for the school to buy texts for the next year, he hopefully put in his request for one of the new texts he had looked over. I think he really had his heart set on that book, too. My sister is in his class and she said that when he told them about "some narrow-minded people" who wouldn't let him have the book because it contained some illustrations of the reproductive system, he was completely infuriated. I had a chance to talk to him not long after that, and although he wouldn't say exactly who stomped on him, I got the impression that it was somebody on the school board. He still sort of grits his teeth whenever he mentions the incident.

People ask why schools don't do the kind of job they're supposed to do, and then when they get a teacher who is trying, they make sure that he can't. I don't understand it.

"The fading of ideals is sad evidence of the defeat of human endeavor. In the schools of antiquity philosophers aspired to impart wisdom, in modern colleges our humbler aim is to teach subjects. The drop from the divine wisdom, which was the goal of the ancients, to textbook knowledge of subjects, which is achieved by the moderns, marks an educational failure, sustained through the ages. I am not maintaining that in the practice of education the ancients were more successful than ourselves. You have only to read Lucian, and to note his satiric dramatizations of the pretentious claims of philosophers, to see that in this respect the ancients can boast over us no superiority. My point is that, at the dawn of our European civilization, men started with the full ideals which should inspire education, and that gradually our ideals have sunk to square with our practice." --Alfred North Whitehead, in The Hibbert Journal (July, 1923).

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In Kipple #79, George Price refers to a statement of yours that "'economic freedom' generally refers to the freedom of a small minority to grow fat off the labor of the masses". This, as Price points out and as you recognized in making the statement, is typical socialist jargon having no relation to the facts of economic life. It would be closer to the truth to regard socialism in its various forms as an attempt by the socialist to grow fat off the labor of the people who are actually doing the work. The main impulse behind socialism, as behind communism, foreign aid, liberalism and theft, is an attempt by the lazy to gain the fruits of labor without doing any actual work for them. If one man tries this, he is arrested for larceny; but if 43,000,000 men try this, it is called "the Great Society".

John Boston asks me about free will and God's interference in the material world. Fortunately for us mortals, God has been interfering in the material world ever since its Creation--most noticeably when He was born into it Himself. I suggest that we leave to Him the decision as to when and how He carries out such "interference".

I want to point out to Marty Helgesen that the multi-racial societies which do exist do not have any high level of accomplishment which might justify their integration. I have been in several of the Central American nations which have multi-racial societies, and am not impressed by the consequences of integration as evidenced in their back-

CONTINUED AFTER "JOTTINGS"

guishes morality from the more rational and more pragmatic ethics, however, is that the dictates of morality, whatever their origin, depend for their enforcement almost solely upon community pressure and the weight of tradition.

Over a period of generations, even the most rigid moral code becomes gradually modified, and given sufficient time specific principles may become completely reversed, i.e., actually transmuted into their opposites. Each generation, interpreting and consequently obeying the tenets of morality in a somewhat different fashion, exerts a modifying influence on the societal moral code, while vigorously claiming to have been faithful to tradition. This profession of undiminished faith in the moral code as it has been handed down is demanded by the compelling desire to conform which is an integral part of the human personality. It is important to remember that this energetic assertion of fidelity to the past may conceal the most radical innovations; yet it is not a hypocritical assertion, for each generation sincerely believes that its particular interpretation of morality is more faithful to the original spirit than was the interpretation of the preceding generation or generations. The result of this is that the abandonment of a specific prohibition may not become apparent for a number of generations after the actual deed. But even the most absolute tenet of morality is gradually altered from generation to generation, often into grotesque forms, and the apparent immutability of societal morality is therefore highly illusory. As an illustration of this, the reader might examine the application of the Ten Commandments throughout the history of Christendom.

In view of this, it appears that an excellent functional definition of societal morality might well be this: Morality is the codification of current practice stated in the language of tradition. Whenever there exists a consensus to the effect that a certain action is morally acceptable, a suitable provision will be incorporated into the societal code, regardless of how radical a departure this may be from previous custom; and there will always be a theoretician to assert that the new principle is more faithful to the spirit of morality than the one which was previously observed. The dictates of morality may also be interpreted differently in different nations which nominally adhere to the same religious and philosophical traditions, in different regions of the same nation, and among different social classes within the same community. This does not necessarily indicate that one group is acting correctly and another acting improperly, although this may, indeed, be the case in certain instances. The innate ethnocentrism of human communities ensures, however, that whenever one group interprets traditional morality differently than another, each will consider the other to be acting "immorally".

Societal morality (which, in advanced societies, is largely concerned with sexual relationships) is constantly being revised, so there are no absolute standards according to which particular acts may be judged and found "immoral". An act can be immoral from this standpoint only in relation to an essentially arbitrary set of rules; hence, the moral relativist (a classification which, to an extent, includes all liberals) refuses to recognize standards which stigmatize unconventional behavior as immoral behavior. (The position of the moral relativist can be carried to extremes, but it is basically a healthy attitude which enables individuals to avoid the common pitfalls of narrow-mindedness and ethnocentrism. Generally speaking, the more knowledge an individual possesses in such fields of academic pursuit as history, ethnology, sociology, philosophy and political science, the more likely he is to be a moral and cultural relativist, and consequently the less likely he is to be a chauvinist, a dogmatist or a racist.)

It should be clear from the foregoing that it is altogether im-

possible for an entire society to be "immoral", because the moral code of a society is determined by the manner in which the dominant segment of the population does in fact behave. Yet those who are presently actively condemning modern society as a bastion of immorality are frequently able to cite impressive evidence in support of their case. It is undeniable that sexual relationships in our society are characterized by an incredible amount of hypocrisy; there is a wide gulf between the professed code of sexual morality in the United States and the actual facts of sexual conduct. It is equally undeniable that the conventional institutions of family and church are rapidly losing their moral authority. Obviously, this is symptomatic of something. The posturing prudes and the censorious harridans who struggle under the tattered banner of obscurantist fanaticism assert that these developments are symptomatic of the moral collapse of our society, but I believe that the definition of societal morality previously outlined in this essay suggests an alternative explanation. I have referred above to the gradual modification of societal morality, but it should be recognized that during periods of rapid technological advancement the modification may be anything but gradual. Since the development of innovations in the moral code occurs initially in practical experience and only later is translated into a system of organized precepts, there is naturally some delay between the time the modification is adopted into practice and the time it is assimilated into the code which theoretically governs the society; and the more fundamental and ramified the alterations and additions, the greater this delay.

We are in a transitional period, out of which will evolve a revised concept of societal and personal morality which, in many respects, promises to be gratifyingly rational and free of the arbitrary restrictions which were characteristic of the previous era. But this "new morality" has not yet been clearly articulated, with the result that behavior today is often judged according to a previous (but no longer applicable) standard of morality. It is this fact which tends to lend credence to the assertion that modern day American society is characterized by an extraordinary abundance of "immorality". Obviously, this is an entirely accurate judgment according to the standards of the neo-Victorian morality of the first quarter of this century. But this morality, according to which homosexuality was virtually a hanging offense and fornication an invitation to social disgrace, is irrelevant today. Unfortunately, it is this moribund standard of conduct which is suggested

(; ; ; ;) "My name is Rutherford Comstock. I am a Professor of
 (= =) Business Administration at Blaugh University. It is the
 (w) purpose of our institution to instruct American young-
 ((-)) sters in the processes of the free enterprise system."

"Socialists, Communists and statist liberals are fond of (; ; ; ;)
 criticizing the free enterprise system. It is the high (= =)
 purpose of the faculty of Blaugh U. to correct the mis- (w)
 conceptions which they foster." ((-))

(; ; ; ;) "Next year I expect to become Assistant Dean of Men, but
 (= =) presently I am engaged in teaching a course in 'Advanced
 (w) Price-Fixing'."
 ((-))

to the average person by the phrase "moral code", because the modern morality has not been sufficiently articulated. This is the disadvantage of living in a period of transition.

Once an individual has come to the conclusion that immorality is rampant in our society, of course, it is not difficult for him to cite suitably appalling instances and illustrations. There are any number of reasons why the belief that we are "immoral" appears to be gaining support. It has always been a temptation for each generation to assert that the members of the "younger generation" are lacking in respect for their elders, and no doubt this entirely human tendency of individuals to berate their successors is partially responsible for the belief of many persons that America is "immoral" today. (Plato recorded, some twenty-four centuries ago, that the children he saw about him were less disciplined and less respectful than children had been when he was a youngster. Since then, the accusation has been repeated by each succeeding generation, usually with the same justification in every case.) Another factor which supports this view is the tendency of the moralists to concentrate on superficialities such as girlie magazines. To conclude that sexual immorality is more prevalent today because it is more openly discussed (or, alternatively, to believe that Victorian England was free of fornication because no one talked about it) is to stumble into a massive fallacy. It is also generally overlooked that an important reason why pre-marital sexual intercourse is more prevalent today than in many previous eras is that young people of today, especially teenagers, are provided with greater opportunities than teenagers of the last century. Finally, an important contributing factor is certainly the tendency of human memories to be selective in their recollections: most of the damning incidents cited to demonstrate our immorality (e.g., crowds watching while people are assaulted and failing to go to the aid of the victims) have their counterparts in every previous era. But the difficulty is essentially one of a failure to recognize that "immorality" is a highly relative matter, and that the fact that current practice does not conform to the traditional code is not necessarily unhealthy.

THE DILEMMA OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT: Probably a useful clue to the reasons underlying the continuing expansion of the Federal Government at the expense of state and local government consists in the fact that it is never quite possible to take local government seriously. It is undeniable that, as a general rule, the calibre of the individuals attracted to government service tends to increase as one progresses from smaller to larger units of government, while at the same time the intensity of the public spotlight focused on government officials similarly tends to increase with the importance of the position. The combination of these two factors insures that a majority of the incompetent legislators and administrators in the country are relatively secure from public exposure of their inadequacies. While members of the United States Senate and high administrative officials are subjected to constant and penetrating scrutiny by the zealous hirelings of the Fourth Estate, lower echelon officials and politicians whose influence is confined to the state or local level are largely immune from exhaustive examinations of their activities. As a consequence of this unfortunate aspect of our political system, city and county councils and local administrative bodies are likely to be sanctuaries for an immense variety of conspicuous nincompoops, running the gamut from feminists to prohibitionists. Graft and corruption are, of course, rampant at the state and (especially) local level, but what is even more directly responsible for the disdain with which local government is viewed by sophisticated Americans is the prevalence of lunacy at this level. The

national government perpetrates an act of consummate imbecility such as the Volstead Act only at rare intervals, but local governments enact utterly preposterous ordinances with stunning regularity. It is fortunate for the continued health of our political system that the most blatantly absurd ordinances enacted by local governments usually are found to abridge fundamental constitutional liberties and are consequently reversed by the federal judiciary. But even this corrective process contributes to the malaise affecting most citizens with regard to their local officials, because once it is recognized that local legislative blunders will automatically be rectified by the intervention of the national authority, there is little reason for any citizen to concern himself with the activities of his city or county administration.

It is important to recognize that the growing disinterest in the activities of local government bodies is not restricted to the ignorant. There is, regrettably, a significant and apparently growing segment of the population which remains uninterested in government at any level, but I wish to draw a distinction between this mass of political illiterates and those individuals who are (sometimes fervently) interested in politics but tend to emphasize national affairs to the exclusion of local affairs. Your obedient servant falls into the second category. I doubt that I could be accused, even by the wildest stretch of imagination, of not being interested in politics, but I do plead guilty to the charge of possessing a decidedly limited interest in local political affairs. Offhand, I cannot recall the name of the individual who represents my district in the city council--although I suppose, if it were important, I could find the information readily enough. In my own defense, permit me to observe that, whatever his name, there is little likelihood that this individual could truly be said to represent me or any group of independent voters in the district. The very nature of the political situation in this city (as in most other populous cities) virtually insures that all of the city council members are henchmen of one or another political machine. This alone would tend to discourage interest in local political controversies. When you consider, in addition, that any action taken by the Baltimore City Council can be overruled by a variety of state and federal courts, there is, in truth, no particular reason why any resident of the city should consume valuable time by paying attention to the activities of the local government.

This is, of course, an exaggeration of the true situation. There are areas in which local governments are empowered to act which profoundly influence the lives of individual citizens, and which must therefore inspire public interest in the activities of local officials concerned with these areas. It should also be understood that when I speak of my lack of interest in local government I am actually referring to a relative lack of interest, and despite a notable absence of enthusiasm for the scholarly analysis of local and community affairs, I have naturally acquired over the years considerable information about the social and political peculiarities of Baltimore and the surrounding counties. I add this qualifying statement because experience has taught me that to admit to a lack of interest in anything inclines those to whom you are speaking to conclude that you are completely ignorant with respect to that particular topic. But just as my admission that the study of economics has never held any particular fascination for me should not be interpreted as meaning that I am totally ignorant of its principles, the statement that I have developed no intense interest in local affairs should not lead the reader to conclude that I know (or care) nothing about city politics. It is impossible to live in a city for all of one's life without acquiring a certain amount of information about its political situation. Perhaps it would be more accurate to state that most of the political controversies in which I am critically interested

tend to be thrashed out at the state and national level, with the result that city and county affairs are relegated to a decidedly secondary position in my sphere of interests.

Nevertheless, the central fact remains that, along with many other citizens, I can develop no enduring interest in local political affairs. This is an inevitable development of our society, I suppose, but it is not necessarily a healthy one, for the lack of community interest tends to amplify the already existing faults of local government. As fewer and fewer politically aware individuals participate in the government process at the community level, the number of incompetent officials who become ensconced in the administrative hierarchy multiplies. This leads in turn to a further lessening of public interest, and thus the vicious circle (or, more accurately, vicious spiral, since the situation continually deteriorates) is nurtered.

That such a process is in operation today is not, of course, an original observation; nor can I claim credit for discovering the self-reinforcing nature of such a dilemma, which has been frequently discussed in this as in other contexts by numerous commentators. Like them, I cannot presume to offer a solution to the problem, which seems to me to be inherent in the evolutionary phase through which our society is currently passing. A renaissance of state government may, as some liberals predict, be achieved as a result of the legislative reapportionment decisions of the Supreme Court, and perhaps a similar effort to increase the extent to which they are truly democratic would solve some of the problems currently confronting city and county governments. But basically the problem consists in the fact that the utter irrelevance of 90% of the decisions adopted by local governments militates against the development of intense community interest, and it is difficult to perceive any conceivable means of arresting or reversing this trend. I conceive it to be extremely probable that local governments, as we know them today, will be completely obsolete before the next generation of Americans has grown to maturity.

AN ESSAY ON CONSERVATISM: Conservatives have been predicting the imminent collapse of civilization for several thousand years, each generation remaining wonderfully oblivious to the failure of the previous generation's prediction to come to pass. This remarkable phenomenon has in the past been equated with the touching spectacle of those religious fanatics who cart about signs proclaiming the end of the world on a particular date and then, when the anticipated day passes and the calamity fails to materialize, merely substitute (by divine direction, we are assured) a future date and continue their agonizing vigil. This sort of philosophical aberration is harmless enough, I suppose; but, unfortunately, the majority of its victims, apparently lacking the unshakeable faith of the devout few in a better life to come; are not content merely to await the approaching catastrophe. Instead, they are impelled to undertake measures aimed at preventing or at least delaying this event. This misdirected effort has caused incalculable grief throughout all of recorded history. One need not be especially perceptive in order to recognize that the belief that the world is crumbling to dust and must somehow be salvaged can, given the proper circumstances, be extremely dangerous, and this danger is tremendously multiplied by the existence of two corollary postulates. In examining the conservative mentality down through the centuries, it is not difficult to perceive how these corollary postulates are manifested. First, to anyone committed to the belief that civilization is collapsing, any significant deviation from the status quo will appear to contribute to this result and therefore be considered an evil or dangerous tendency. Second, the defense of civilization is such an obviously

noble and important pursuit that anyone convinced that he is acting in such a purpose will feel perfectly justified in discarding the rules of ethical conduct and utilizing methods which he would ordinarily consider unacceptable. The combination of these attitudes produces the sort of mentality best exemplified by Dietrich von Nieheim, Bishop of Verdun, who in the year 1141 A.D. authored this concise defense of inquisitorial methods:

"When the existence of the Church is threatened, she is released from the commandments of morality. With unity as the end, the use of every means is sanctified, even cunning, violence, simony, prison, death. For all order is for the sake of the community, and the individual must be sacrificed to the common good."

This attitude is currently identified with Marxist revolutionaries, but this is a comparatively recent development. For the first few thousand years of recorded history, this attitude and the actions which invariably result from it were almost entirely confined to defenders of the status quo rather than its attackers. It is important to understand that I am not using the term "conservative" in any narrow sense: it is probably true, as Derek Nelson asserts in Kipple #76, that political conservatism, as such, did not exist prior to the Eighteenth Century, but even Derek concedes that the conservative temperament dates from antiquity. (Exercising the right of any debator to advance the most favorable examples in order to support his case, Derek suggests Aristotle as an early proponent of the conservative outlook. Using the same geographical area and approximate historical period, I would select instead Meletus and Anytus, the accusers of Socrates, and the jury which condemned him to death for "corrupting the youth" by compelling them to question the values of their society.)

It is in the nature of this conservative temperament to ruthlessly oppose any alteration of the status quo. Such opposition is, of course, doomed to eventual failure as the result of the evolutionary nature of human society, but this does not prevent conservatives from making the effort. It is central to the philosophy of conservatism that it does not profit from experience--which is indeed ironic, when you consider that conservatives are frequently inclined to excoriate others for their insufficient knowledge of history. I freely concede that an unusually large percentage of conservatives are knowledgeable in the realm of history, but unfortunately this does little to prevent them from succumbing to the affliction suffered by conservatives throughout every epoch of human history: viz., the firm belief that the contemporary status quo represents a level of human society so high that any fundamental change must necessarily result in a loss. Consequently, the

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(5 5) "The new military government of South Vietnam has announced that it will remain in power until the Communist
(W) guerillas are defeated, peace and security return to the
((=)) countryside, and corruption has been eradicated."

"These generals must possess superb confidence in their ability to resist the ravages of advanced age..."

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history of conservative thought is at every juncture characterized by excessive conformity, oppression, obscurantism, bigotry and narrow-mindedness. In the process, it is true, conservatism has rendered valuable service in the preservation of a cultural tradition and a spiritual heritage; and at certain moments in history, conservative institutions have been the guardians of knowledge and learning. But the price has been dreadfully high, and I submit that, on balance, the conservative temperament has been largely a burden to mankind in its continuing progress towards enlightenment.

THE MIND OF MATT MURPHY: In early May, the heretofore completely insignificant hamlet of Hayneville, Alabama, was prominently featured in newspaper headlines all over the country, for Hayneville had been chosen as the scene of the most recent episode in the continuing tragedy of Southern courtroom justice. Twelve stalwarts of the community were invited to listen to arguments in the trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins, a member of the United Klans of America, who, along with two companions, was charged with the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker from Detroit. The trial was unusually brief and generally unexciting, and culminated in the announcement that the jury was unable to reach a unanimous decision as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. As a result, this travesty of jurisprudence will be re-enacted at a later date. Actually, I suppose that even achieving a mistrial as the result of a hung jury represents a victory of sorts for the forces of decency, since in previous years an acquittal would have been all but automatic. However, the elation inspired by this apparent progress should not be permitted to obscure the central fact that the three defendants, despite eyewitness testimony to their participation in the homicide and a defense attorney who made no effort whatever to refute the factual evidence introduced by the prosecution, were not convicted.

The most appalling aspect of the Hayneville trial was the disgusting performance of Matt Murphy, Jr., the Imperial Klonsel of the United Klans of America, who acted as counsel for the principal defendant, Collie Leroy Wilkins. It should come as no surprise to readers of this periodical that segregationists accused of civil rights offenses are usually defended by the most nauseating and flagrant appeals to bigotry and hatred, but rarely have the efforts of defense attorneys to play upon the prejudice of the jurors been as overt as in the case of Wilkins and his confederates. Several acquaintances of mine became physically ill after reading the transcript of lawyer Murphy's summation; the mind capable of authoring this offensive diatribe can only be described as utterly depraved. Quoting extensively from this tirade (as published in the New York Herald Tribune, May 7, 1965) may cause the reader some discomfort, but I believe that the following excerpt constitutes a valuable lesson in the absolute lunacy of bigotry:

"'I'm up here to throw you a straight ball,' Murphy told the jurors. 'Right down the line. One white man to another white man. What kind of man is this Rowe? [Gary Thomas Rowe, an FBI informer and eyewitness to the crime, was the principal prosecution witness.] What kind of man is this that comes into a fraternal organization by hook or by crook? What kind of man is this who took an oath and joined the You-nited Klans of America, took the oath with his hand raised to his Almighty God? And then sold out like Judas Iscariot. And ah say, gentlemen, he betrayed himself, his God, his own oath. He is a liar, perjurer. He'll do anything.

"He'll accept money from the Communist Party. He'll accept money from the NAACP. He'll accept money from this Martin Luther King organization. Yes! He sold his soul for a little gold. Pouring himself out to be a white man. He's worse than a white nigger.

"And the FBI expert. A great man in the laboratory and the Federal Government of the You-nited States for 26 years. He lives in Washington. No, I'm sorry, he doesn't. He moved to Virginia. He moved out of Washington because he got children and he didn't want them to go to school in Washington, D.C. He moved to Virginia, where they still fight the battle against integrating and mongrelizing the race.

"The white confederacy,' Murphy was screaming. 'And this other FBI agent, the one who told you that Gary Rowe wasn't drunk when he informed the FBI of the murder. You heard me. I asked him his name. He said "Shanahan." And you heard what I asked him. I asked him, "Are you Irish?" and he said "Yes." And I said, "Are you shanty Irish? Are you a Catholic?" You heard me ask him that. Well, I'm not Catholic. But I know how to deal with these shanty Irish.

"And this woman, this white woman who got killed. White woman? Wait a minute.' He turned around. 'Where's that NAACP card?' A Ku Klux Klansman at the defense table brought Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo's NAACP membership card over to Murphy. He held it out in front of the jury and spoke softly. 'Ah never thought ah'd see the day,' he said. 'Ah never thought ah'd see the day when Communists and niggers and white niggers and Jews was flyin' around under the banner of the United Nations, not the American flag we fought for, not the flag of the country which we are in and I'm proud to be white and I stand here as a white man and I say we're never gonna mongrelize the race with nigger blood and the Martin Luther Kings, the white niggers, the Jews, the Zionists who run that bunch of niggers, the white people are not gonna run before them. Jim Clark says "Never!" I say "Never!" myself. You know that she was in the car with three black niggers? One white woman and three niggers sittin' back there! Black nigger Communists takin' us over. White niggers! Some of 'em even infiltrated this courtroom.'

"Murphy, arms waving, sweat pouring from his face, swung around and pointed to the press section.

"Never!" he yelled. 'We shall die before we lay down. Niggers are against every law God ever wrote. Noah's son was Ham and he committed sin and was banished and his sons were Hamites and God damned them and they went to Africa and the only thing they ever built was grass huts. Black men in a straw hut covered with mud. No white lady can ever marry a descendant of Ham. If you do, you shall be destroyed. That's God's law. You cannot overcome God. Do what the people with God said.

White woman, nigger man. You shall be destroyed!

"Murphy was screaming. His arms were spread wide. His mouth was locked open and the words bellowed out of him so loudly that he could barely be heard. And now he just began screaming words in a stream, 'Rabbi with a nigger...white woman, nigger man, nigger woman, feet to feet...'

"Then he stopped. And knees bent, he crouched forward at the jury. 'You notice his ahyes,' he said. He meant the witness, LeRoy Moton, who was in the car when Mrs. Liuzzo was shot. 'You see him sittin' up there? You look at his ahyes? Oh, Ah did. Ahyes di-lated. You see them? You see them starin'? Pupils di-lated? You see him talkin' under the hypnotic spell of narcotics? You din't? Well, Ah did. And Ah tell you as one white man to another that this card-carrying member of the Communist Party...'"

At this point in the proceedings, the Herald Tribune reporter apparently stepped out into the hall to vomit and missed the conclusion of Imperial Klonsel Murphy's defense. But the above speaks eloquently for itself and continuing the transcript of these remarks could only have been anti-climactic. Probably the most appropriate response to this widely publicized courtroom screed was that of the usually verbose television performer, Jack Paar, who, after reading the transcript, could only ask, "Is this a human being?"

--Ted Pauls

"You have considered this a Christian nation, all your life. Our Constitution implies as much. But a minute's thought might have shown you years ago--decades ago--that the United States of America was not in any real sense a Christian nation at all. Numerically? Less than half the people had even a nominal church membership. There goes the sacred majority. Dogmatically? Those who belonged to churches belonged to so many different faiths at swords' points with each other on matters of creed and technique that even the definition of Christianity crumples to absurdity. You laughed over the medieval theologians who argued about the number of angels who could dance on a pinpoint--and then deliberated petulantly on whether or not a proper baptism consisted of a sprinkling with Holy Water, a complete immersion in a small swimming pool with the preacher in rubber boots, or a mere symbolic laying on of a minister's hand wet in something that came unblest out of a faucet. Even if you personally avoided these mighty encounters, your fellowmen engaged in them, wherefore it was up to you either to stop their nonsense or take the consequences of it. Religion in our Christian land was mostly puerile fiddle-faddle before science kicked it apart.

"The kick--or the repeated kicks--which made it inescapable to all but abject dupes that 'the things that you're liable to read in the Bible...ain't necessarily so' had no refining effect. The dross of sentiment, fable, error and fundamentalism (which was everything but fundamental) was not discarded for the pure gold of exquisite logic and insight which remained in the Scriptures. The whole business was thrown overboard. And the church did not try to retain any integrity, because its bishops, priests, canons and ushers had never known which parts possessed integrity. Nobody had shown them." --Philip Wylie, in "A Generation of Vipers".

DISSENTING OPINIONS.....CONTINUED

wardness, high disease rates and frequent revolutions. (Incidentally, the Portuguese colonies in Africa do not have laws against miscegenation, but do require a certain level of culture before a man can take part in the local decision-making process.)

Instead of making it possible for more people to vote, I sometimes wonder whether restricting the franchise might not be more effective. Certainly under the present situation many people cast votes without any understanding of the issues involved. A full examination in civics need not be given to each prospective voter, but some assurance that voters know what they're doing might not be out of place.

What is my interpretation of the Sino-Soviet quarrel? It's the sort of quarrel you might imagine in any thieves' den. Stripped of its "humanitarian" pretensions, international communism is a plundering expedition directed at the concentrations of wealth in the free world. The organizers of this expedition are simply trying to determine whether they should ask for their loot at the front door (Russia) or break in a rear window (China).

Communitistic atheism is an adjunct to this scheme. If there is no such thing as sin, then of course this theft on the grand scale is not wrong. Under the circumstances, I object to your characterization of atheists as having "a rather highly developed ethical code". Communism offers to its followers a whole world of slaves to do with as they will, and there are unfortunately enough people to whom this notion appeals that we are presently in very serious trouble. Certainly we need the threat of (civil and divine) punishment to keep them from doing this. (I usually exclude Communists from the category of "atheists", since Communism occupies substantially the same position as conventional religion in the minds of its True Believers.)

What are Negroes like? If Baltimore is anything like New York, I can refer you to the crime statistics in the morning newspapers--which I understand have now been restored to you. Not the most sanguine liberals can deny that the crime rate among Negroes is much higher than that of whites. A Negro is not just a white man who had the misfortune to be born in a black skin, as many northern liberals are now beginning to find as the "black revolution" reaches the streets of their own cities.

"I wanted the sense of continuity, the assurance that our contemporary blunders were endemic in human nature, that our new fads were very ancient heresies, that beloved things which were threatened had rocked not less heavily in the past." --John Buchan, in "Pilgrim's Way".

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The argument of "where do we draw the line?" is one of the most overworked and consequently least effective devices in the debator's handbook. It is driven into the ground by both ultra-rightists ("If we allow them blackies to vote, pretty soon we'll be sleeping with them") and far leftists ("What's obscenity?"). Now you, a responsible moderate, are using it. (John had suggested, in Kipple #77, that "habitual criminals" ("be they killers, rapists, robbers or kidnappers") be executed in order to effectively protect society against them. I observed that, if this cold-blooded attitude were accepted, then the execution of habitual litterbugs or habitual jaywalkers might also be in order. The argument concerning where the line is to be drawn may indeed be venerable,

but it is extremely relevant to this particular controversy. There is a very fundamental issue involved. Conventionally, execution has been considered the ultimate form of punishment, the final and most threatening in a series of penalties which begins with fines, progresses through various terms of imprisonment, and finally culminates with the legal snuffing out of a life. There has, historically, been agreement to the effect that the punishment should ideally be made to fit the crime, and in recent years the imposition of the death penalty for minor infractions has been considered a barbarous holdover from an uncivilized past. If, however, your apparent belief that execution is not a form of punishment at all but merely an efficient means of removing certain types of people from society is accepted, then there is no particular reason why the death penalty should be reserved only for major crimes. You have gone on record as advocating that habitual robbers be executed; by the same reasoning, a similar fate should be imposed upon other petty criminals and habitual lawbreakers who upset the smooth operation of society. Incidentally, your characterizing me as a "responsible moderate" has no doubt induced an attack of apoplexy in Derek Nelson, and in all fairness I should mention that I do not deserve the title.))

Of course, the limits to which capital punishment would be employed under my "plan" would be very definite and strict. There would be no danger of "habitual litterbugs" being gassed, although there may be some provision for the apprehension and punishment of these people. It is very plain that our present system of insuring justice is both too expensive and too ineffective. The lives of hardened criminals are not sacred; locking them up for a few years and then releasing them is pure poppycock.

Revenge satisfies a definite need in the human organism. Granted, it is not constructive, but with all the pills and devices that are on the market these days neither is sex, and I don't see anybody trying to abolish that! The "machinery" that you mention is merely a safety requirement to make sure that killing for revenge is not misused. If innocent men were gassed, what would be the good of the system. ((Surely you realize that this has occurred...?))

The practice of downgrading one's opponents has long been a subject of great interest to me. The tactic is as old as the hills; I believe that Adam was the first, most probably, to hit upon it. I'm not surprised at all to see the liberals of today engaged in insulting those who oppose them.

Very often one can ridicule one's opponent by exaggerating his views. In Kipple #80, David Bradley presents a fine example of how and where to do this: always tell as little of the truth as possible in a magazine whose readers are mostly favorable to your views. Another good method of downgrading an opponent is the direct way. It is so much easier to call a man a "vicious hypocrite" than to oppose him legitimately. And if one has been responsibly dissenting, what could possibly be gained by stepping on the borderline of libel. Just because one disagrees with somebody is not reason enough to label that man a fool nine times over.

I believe that if it were not for the enlightened and timely actions of George Wallace, there would be at least five times as much vi-

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"Ted Pauls asked me what I thought of Peter, Paul and Mary, but I told him that I preferred not to become involved in theological controversy."

olence in the state of Alabama as there has been. The Governor knows that no matter what he does the state is going to be integrated. He also realizes that there are those people in the state who will, at the slightest provocation, initiate a bloodbath. Mr. Wallace is walking a very delicate line indeed between inevitable integration and possible mob action. So far, I feel he is doing a very fine job of balancing. It is a good leader who can accept defeat; it is a great one who can do it without destroying his people. (Several months after Governor Wallace's much publicized "stand in the schoolhouse door", the elementary schools of several Alabama communities (including Huntsville) were order desegregated by a federal court. The local authorities were willing (if not exactly eager) to comply with this court order, and there was no danger of mob violence because the local police conceived it to be their duty to protect the Negroes (which sounds reasonable enough but is comparatively uncommon in Alabama). Governor Wallace dispatched state troopers to these cities and forced the closing of the schools. Television reporters interviewed a number of the citizens who observed this "enlightened and timely" action from nearby street corners, and they were unanimous in stating that Wallace's unsolicited interference had ruined what would otherwise have been an uneventful example of progress in the state of Alabama. Perhaps these "enlightened and timely actions" of Governor Wallace's had something to do with the request of a number of citizens in moderate Huntsville that their area be annexed by Tennessee, as they did not wish to be associated with the racist belt of southern Alabama any longer.)

Just a thought: Could the fact that Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana have more Negroes than many of their sister states be a factor in their high crime rates? If not, why not? (Certainly the large number of poor and uneducated people in these states would have some bearing on their extraordinary murder statistics, and it happens that a large percentage of this group is composed of Negroes. Their race is not in itself a factor, however.)

"Freud believed that if psychology were to justify itself as a science it would have to discover the unknown causes of behavior. That is why he made so much of unconscious causation or motivation in the early years of psychoanalysis. For Freud, what is unconscious is what is unknown." --Calvin S. Hall, in "A Primer of Freudian Psychology".

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My God! It is difficult to believe that George Price is serious with his sixteen proposals for the elimination of the United States and turning back the clock to the Eighteenth Century--or even earlier. I suppose, Ted, that you would consider me conservative, in that I believe men should be given an opportunity not a guarantee, but if I am conservative I am not of the same stripe as George Price. This is a conservative program? Ridiculous. I think that George Price has either a remarkably short memory or else has made only a superficial study--or none at all--of his subject. For example:

(1) Abolition of all farm subsidies and elimination of crop and acreage controls. George Price apparently has never talked to anyone who did any farming during the first third of this century. There were no subsidies or controls then; farmers were mortgaged up to their eyeballs and the return on a crop seldom met the cost of raising it and getting it to market.

(2) Abolition of all business subsidies. But what would keep

businesses going? Price specifically mentions ship-builders, so let's consider the transportation industry. With the exception of the automobile makers, this is probably the most heavily subsidized industry in the country. It has to be. Ship-builders cannot compete with foreign yards. The aircraft industry is even more dependent on the government. Without subsidies, there would be only one or two lines, and they would be flying Ford Tri-Motors.

(8) Return to the full gold standard. I don't find this proposal at all objectionable--just stupid. Where are you going to get the gold, George? Transmute it? Me, I'd love to get paid in gold. It is more satisfactory listening to the clink of gold than to the crinkle of paper. But let's face it, there isn't enough gold available to permit this. If one could get all the gold that has ever been mined since Umalakavitunevskin picked the first shining yellow pebbles out of a stream roughly half a million years ago into one big brick, it would form a cube about ninety feet on the side and be worth roughly \$100,000,000,000--not nearly enough to cover the currency in circulation today and just about enough to cover the federal budget for one year. And there isn't that much gold available any more. A vast amount of it has disappeared, been buried, sunk to the bottom of the sea and even been shot off into space. Gold? The government is even now trying to come up with a satisfactory new metal for coins, since we are rapidly running out of silver.

Inasmuch as this is 1965 and not 1765, and the country is urban and industrial not rural and agricultural, and the population is rapidly approaching 200,000,000 not 2,000,000, George Price's proposals are, well, foolish, to put it mildly.

"The difficulty of finding an objective criterion of truth in social science cuts deeper. But it is based upon an intellectualist philosophy which hankers after abstract truth. It largely disappears if we take the more robust view that science is control as well as knowledge, and that these two aspects cannot be separated. There can be some measure of general agreement on the practical results of social experiments, especially if these are properly planned. Thus in social science, experiment is not the remote preliminary to action that it is in natural science, but is itself partly action--both pure and applied science simultaneously. Solvitur operando should be the working principle of the social sciences. It implies that progress in social science and its applications will be slower and more sprinkled with practical mistakes than progress in natural science; but it does not mean that we should deny its possibility." --Julian Huxley, in the Eugenics Review.

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This letter is being written to tie up a few loose ends that have been bugging me.

Capital punishment: I favor it simply because it is the most effective method of removing a dangerous cancer from the social body. It is, you must admit, just retribution for a heinous crime (and I am discussing first-degree murder, cold-blooded and pre-meditated, not crimes of passion or insanity). On the other hand, I oppose it for an equally simple reason: it is as great a crime to legally kill an innocent person "by mistake" as was the original murder. So I rest my case with this proposition: replace the death penalty with a 99-year sentence (not "life", which means seven to twenty years) and I'll join the abolitionists. No gambles on whether he might kill again if released.

The present case in England where the House of Commons has voted to end capital punishment has an interesting side-light. Polls show al-

most 70% of the population opposed to abolition, so should the House of Lords vote to express the wishes of the people, or should they vote to express the wishes of the Commons? If the Lords is a check on the Commons, I'm inclined to think that this is the time to prove it.

Eric Blake: I hate to point it out to you, old man, but you're too late. There is no power (unless God does exist) that can save the West from collapse, and most certainly not that mishmash of rightists who reside outside the power structure of American society. The liberalism you reject (that is, political liberalism) is a product of Western society's evolution, not an external force. It is, as Burnham points out, the vehicle rather than the cause of Western decline; and however rotten liberalism may be, anyone who accepts the organic view of civilizations must be pretty well reconciled to its continued triumph--and to the collapse of the West. (It must be psychologically and spiritually debilitating to sincerely believe that your civilization is in the process of collapsing. It is difficult to see how an individual who accepts this view could find any pleasure in life, and I truly feel sorry for you.)

When are people going to learn the difference between totalitarian and authoritarian governments--the difference between Hitler and Mussolini, or Mao and Tito?

You, Ted, continually lump groups like HUAC, the KKK and the English nobility along with Czar Nicholas II in one pile and call them conservative. It pains me to suggest this, but the existence of HUAC is guaranteed by the annual votes of liberal-dominated Congresses. See how many opponents there are to HUAC this year, with the most liberal House in history? The KKK operates outside the law and established authority; ergo, it cannot be conservative, particularly with its creed of violence. I have no objections to having the Czar named a conservative, but I'd probably disagree with you on details. (The Ku Klux Klan exists for the sole purpose of preserving (i.e., conserving) the status quo of white supremacy; therefore, it is conservative in orientation. And sure-

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"My son is currently participating in a 'Junior Achievement' program, manufacturing and marketing desk blotters. Isn't that wonderful?"

"Under 'Junior Achievement', youngsters learn about the free enterprise system at first hand by operating small businesses under expert adult guidance. The profits from these ventures are modest, but nevertheless give the kids a healthy feeling of independence and some pocket money."

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"We had programs like that when I was a kid, too, you know, but I don't recall that they had any fancy name like 'Junior Achievement'."

"In my neighborhood, we learned about business and picked up pocket money by peddling marijuana and running numbers."

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