

THE

POINTING VECTOR

#17

August 1963

MEET MRS. BOARDMAN

I am extremely happy to report to the readers of the POINTING VECTOR that on 30 January, I was married to Perdita Girsdansky. Perdita, whom I have known ever since we were undergraduates at the University of Chicago 12 years ago, is a commercial artist. (If you have a college pennant on your wall, or a stencilled t-shirt on your torso, there's a good chance that she designed it.)

Perdita was born in Kansas, and lived in Detroit until she entered Chicago. For the past few years she has lived in New York. We had been out of touch for 2 or 3 years when we ran into each other at a Mensa meeting last fall. Renewing acquaintance, we soon discovered that marriage would suit us very nicely. Since neither of us likes fuss and ceremony, we had a quiet civil wedding at the borough hall.

By a previous marriage Perdita has a 7-year-old daughter, Karina. She is a very bright and active girl, and big for her age - she's the size of her new cousin Flint, who's a year older than she. She and I are adjusting to each other quite well.

We live in an apartment in Washington Heights, Manhattan. (Apt. 64, 248 Audubon Avenue at the corner of 178th Street. Our phone number is WA 8-2657. Please use PO Box 22 for mail.) Married life seems to suit Perdita and me very well.

Karina is currently cooped up in the apartment with a cast on her left arm. When she was a baby she burned her left hand, leaving a scar that crooked up one finger. Last week she went into Presbyterian Hospital for an operation to graft skin on the scar and straighten the finger to give her the use of it. The operation was performed on 7 August, and went off very smoothly. A free graft of skin from her left buttock was made, and she was out of the hospital in 5 days, long before we had originally expected to have her home again. She'll have to stay in the house while she has the cast on; she's a lively girl, so this won't be the easiest thing in the world for her.

Over Labor Day weekend, Perdita and I will be in Washington for the World Science-Fiction Convention (DisCon). Karina will stay in New York with friends. We are looking forward to renewing many old acquaintanceships with science-fiction writers and fans.

The POINTING VECTOR is a personal newsletter of fact, opinion, and comment on just about anything. It is published at irregular intervals, and the next one will probably come out sometime around the end of October. It is 25¢ per copy, or 5 issues for \$1. The OPERATION AGI-TATION colophon also appears on KNOWABLE, a science-fiction fanzine published on the same schedule and for the same price, and GRAUSTARK, a biweekly publication for players of across-the-board or postal "Diplomacy" at 10 issues for \$1. (GRAUSTARK is free to participants in postal "Diplomacy". Please write for further information.) All these things are edited by John Boardman, Box 22, New York 33, New York, U. S. A. (My ZIP code is 10033 if you think that helps.) All items in these publications are by myself unless otherwise indicated. Anyone may reproduce any material appearing herein, provided he acknowledges the source and sends me a copy. Please report address changes promptly, because third-class mail is no longer forwarded under any circumstances.

This is

O At
 P Great
 E Intervals
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 A Appears
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 O Optic
 N Nerves

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POINTING VECTOR #17 had not originally been planned for this early date, but quite a bit of important news has to be sent out about now (see p. 1), and I'm using the opportunity to include a few other things of moderate interest.

Please inspect carefully your copy of POINTING VECTOR #18. Joe Pilati has announced his intention of doing a parody issue. Nonetheless, Joe is regarded here as a Good Man. On his recent visit I informed him that I lacked only #5 to make my collection of Mad complete. Upon learning this, Joe did not loan, trade, or sell me his copy, but gave me it.

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"I have some definite plans for Professor Galbraith, Ed Murrow, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. I can't reveal these plans because if there's a leak they might get out of the country before I'm inaugurated." - Senator Barry Goldwater, U. S. News & World Report, 12 February 1962, p. 70.

WHAT OTHER NAMES ARE ON HIS LIST?

ARE WE AT WAR?

The articles "Satyagraha, Havlaga, Treblinka" and "A Thing Done Has an End" brought out several letters critical of the recommendation of violent counterattack against segregationist violence. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of these letters was somewhat diminished because they arrived at the same time as the news that a segregationist mob attacked and burned to the ground an integrated children's camp in North Carolina. It is evident that neither the destroyers of Camp Summerlane nor the murderers of Herbert Lee, Paul Guihard, William Moore, and Medgar Evers will ever be punished for their crimes. Alternate solutions on what to do under these circumstances will be appreciated.

Of all the criticisms received of these articles, Dick Fredericksen's letter is the most comprehensive and realistic. As he raises all the points which other critics did, I will confine myself to printing and answering his remarks, which follow.

To unleash a campaign of violence against racists, conservatives, and the radical right in America would be the ultimate madness. People like you and like me could never establish ourselves as guerillas; there are no friendly peasants hereabouts. At best we might operate for a time as commandos, harrassing the enemy on terrain unfriendly to us at the outset and probably progressively more envenomed against us the longer we carried on.

Such tactics might make sense if one could look to ultimate rescue by a friendly force outside. You know of any? I sure don't.

Those who make a show of casting pacifist sentimentality out the window leave themselves open to a reasonable demand: "If, then, hardboiled realism is to be our guide, let us be scientific; let us coldly and precisely classify our enemies, our allies, the fence-sitters who might potentially slip one way or the other; and let us quantify the enmity or support we may expect from each."

Let us, moreover, if force is what we want to use, size up scientifically where the force is to be found, and how we can muster the most against the least.

As I sense the situation, ninety-eight or more percent of the whites in America are prejudiced against the Negro. They are prejudiced, however, in vastly different degrees.

Down south, there is a body of white people, probably equal in weight to the Negro population itself, whose prejudice is spiteful, vindictive, taunting, and determined. These are the enemy of the day. They have their supporters in the north, but in the north this is not the common form of prejudice.

The average northern white dislikes Negroes, or is at

least uneasy in their presence; but in general his prejudice is not so spiteful. He seeks to flee, to separate, to forget; he tries to think of ways to discriminate without being rude and uncouth. He doesn't want to hurt; he merely wants to forget that he ever heard of a Negro and enjoy his patio and his water-skiis.

This northern white, in general, has a mildly troubled conscience. It doesn't trouble him enough to take a hand in integrationist activities, and it certainly doesn't induce him to stay put when Negroes approach his neighborhood, but it at least troubles him enough so that he can't formally vote against formal resolutions against racism. As he doesn't want his segregationist behavior to hurt Negroes -- merely to get them out of his hair -- he can be appealed to when the offensive crudity of southern (and lower-class northern) racism is held up to him.

It is this alignment of forces, I think, which dictates the tactics which Martin Luther King, SNCC, CORE, and now even the NAACP have chosen. By making an almighty nuisance of themselves, they prevent the northern white from sweeping the problem under the rug as he would like. By keeping the protest non-violent, they neutralize the underlying prejudice of the northern white and insure that the action he is obliged to take will be on their side.

It is the magnificent self-control of the current effort which has made it so effective. So long as Negroes hold their temper under conditions of utmost provocation -- so far as is humanly possible in a mass movement -- the northern white can do nothing but grudgingly admire. (You may be sure that racists welcome occasional lapses into bottle-throwing and the like; undoubtedly they do all in their power to provoke such fracas.)

So long as the Negroes go to their demonstrations praying and singing, the northern white can do nothing but go on passing his formal resolutions against southern whites who are so obviously, by all the symbols of the culture, revealed as aggressors.

If a few Negro organizers suffer hurt, and hundreds of children suffer incarceration, so much the better for propoganda purposes; all this truly outrages the northern white's feeling that discrimination should not hurt.

Now, I ask you: which is the more scientific use of force -- the fit of fury which lands Mr. Williams a broadcasting job in Cuba, or the pious chanting of Rev. King which brings U. S. marshalls swooping down on Alabama? The pitiful attempts of a handful to outshoot the forces of a police state all by themselves; or the skillful propoganda effort which first gets a prejudiced white citizenry to pass resolutions formally condemning prejudice, and then obliges the same white citizenry to send the might of one of the world's most powerful nations into town to back up those resolutions?

You want to talk Realpolitik? Let's talk Realpolitik, then. How many troops did your approach muster? And how many troops did King's approach muster?

Should the civil rights movement ever resort to coun-

terviolence, not only will it lose the propaganda war in the north -- and all the armaments which success in that war has thus far lent it -- it won't even succeed in defending itself. The southern racists are not without courage. Courage, however, is sustained by conviction. So long as the civil rights movement comports itself se as to demonstrate even to an increasing number of people in the South that stereotypes about the Negro have been all wet, it will progressively undermine racist self-confidence. Let it drown out the discussion with violence, however, and southerners won't think -- they'll just fight, like any other population in the world.

Hot temper, incidentally, is a quality I share with you. I, too, would like to kick some racists and so-called conservatives in the teeth. The discussion, however, is about the most effective means of bringing about a world free of racists and rightists; and I contend that in America, a program of violence (even in self-defense) isn't it.

I agree with your formal criteria, by the way, for deciding when satyagraha is appropriate and when it's not. You put it very well: "If the revolt is made by a subjugated and exploited people against rulers who are amenable to national and world opinion, and can be reached by humanitarian arguments, satyagraha has high hopes of success. But if the aim of the ruling nation, class, or race is not subjugation but extermination; or if these rulers defy general condemnation of their rule and methods; or if they are so convinced of the inferiority of their subjects that humanitarian arguments bear no weight with them, then a campaign of non-violent resistance is merely a way of throwing away lives."

You will note that I have not argued for non-violence as a principle, but have argued that enough of the U. S. population is amenable to the "soul-force" of non-violent demonstrations to make it an advisable tactic.

* * * * *

Boardman here. The case for a complete reliance on non-violence against segregationists is well-stated in the above letter. Medgar Evers lived his life by it. Look what it got him.

I would not make so high an estimate of the number of white northerners who are prejudiced against Negroes. Many have served with distinction in the struggle against segregation, not only in the North but in the South as well. But Frederickson describes well the attitude of a large number of white northerners. Even at the most critical moments of civil conflict, a large majority of a people are more concerned with avoiding the issue than with giving it any kind of a solution.

But in practice this condemnation by northern whites of southern acts of violence is not enough to do much good on the firing line. The FBI will not endanger its good working relations with southern local police forces on non-political criminal cases by hunting down segregationist political criminals. This leaves aside the racist sympa-

thies within the FBI itself, which have been reported at length by ex-agent Jack Levine in the Nation and the National Guardian.

A pattern has set itself up. First southern segregationists murder, mutilate, or manhandle a Negro or a white integrationist. Local law enforcement agencies refuse to look into the case. The FBI or the Department of Justice expresses its polite interest, then file, and forgets. If unusual pressure is brought, an arrest may be made, but local juries refuse to convict any white man accused of violating the civil rights of a Negro. Then the northern liberal press makes a nine-days' wonder out of the case. Tearful editorials deplore, funds are raised for the victim or for his family, a question is asked at a presidential news conference, Guy Carawan writes a ballad. The detractors also appear. Southern newspapers call the victim mentally ill, and National Review obliquely hints that his activities were so offensive that he really brought it all on himself. After the case has disappeared from the interior pages of even the New York Post, all is as it was before.

Can the proponents of non-violence offer any way of breaking out of this futile pattern? Or are segregationists to be confirmed in the conviction that their acts of violence can continue forever with impunity?

To get to specific cases: Robert F. Williams was not exiled to Cuba through a "fit of fury", but by a trumped-up charge of kidnapping which arose when Williams saved two white segregationists from a group of angry Negroes. The FBI accepted at face value the local KKK-dominated police force's evaluation of the affair, and Williams had to flee the country. A fuller account appears in Williams' book Negroes with Guns, reviewed in POINTING VECTOR #16.

"The pitiful attempts of a handful to outshoot the forces of a police state all by themselves" is just what we today honor the Hungarian revolutionaries for doing. It was John Brown's way, and although he and his men were martyred, within two years hundreds of thousands of men were marching southward to finish the task he began. It was the way of the men of Lexington and Concord. We are a free people today because of the efforts of such men, and if the benefits of these freedoms are to be extended to all Americans, it will be because today's integrationists have profited from the lessons of history.

As I point out in the articles in the last POINTING VECTOR, the time and place for non-violence must be carefully assessed. New York City is one of the few jurisdictions whose police can be counted on to deal with segregationists firmly. The National Renaissance Party, and various Nazi offshoots with which it cooperates, have been arrested often on charges of possessing illegal weapons and instigating violence. By contrast, the American Nazi Party has been operating with near-impunity in Virginia, because local authorities share the ANP's master-race ideals.

(continued on p. 9)

IF WE HAD HONEST GOVERNMENT...

Next year the New York legislature is required by the state Constitution to reapportion the legislative districts of the state in accordance with a procedure which was adopted in 1894 with the intention, expressed openly by proponents of the plan, of giving less weight to the city voters than that to which their numbers entitled them. This reapportionment will leave New York City badly underrepresented in Albany, although City collections make up the greater part of the revenues which this Legislature disburses so liberally to the constituents of its upstate majority.

In the following table, the column headed "Is" indicates the number of seats which certain counties and groups of counties will have in the 1964 apportionment. The column headed "Ought" gives the number of seats which these counties would have if apportionment were based strictly on population.

	State Senate		Assembly	
	Is	Ought	Is	Ought
New York City	21	27	56	70
Manhattan	4	6	12	15
Bronx	4	5	10	13
Brooklyn	7	9	19	24
Queens	5	6	13	16
Staten Isl.	1	1	2	2
Nassau	3	4	10	12
Suffolk	3	2	5	6
Westchester	3	3	6	7
upstate	27	21	73	55
total	57	57	150	150

How New York is cheated out of 6 seats in the Senate and 14 in the Assembly, and how her suburbs lost 4 more Assembly seats, is described by David Wells in his thorough and informative booklet Legislative Representation in New York State. (This booklet is published by and may be obtained from the Political Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.) Wells, who is active in the Liberal Party, discusses in detail the existing apportionment system and several proposed alternatives. Maps and graphs show how the 1961 reapportionment of congressional districts was deliberately designed to convert a majority of Democratic votes into a majority of Republican Representatives.

Sometimes the cure for this imbalance is worse than the disease. The New York City Council is presently elected from 25 single-member constituencies; a 12-year experiment in proportional representation was scrapped in 1947 because, with a party's representation proportional to its total vote, Communists managed to get elected. Although the New York electorate is roughly 60% Democratic, Demo-

crats

hold 92% of the Council seats. Minor parties, regularly elected to the Council under proportional representation, now have no voice there.

In 1961 the City Charter was amended to establish 2 At-Large seats from each borough, as described in POINTING VECTOR #16, p. 3. This would have the effect of reducing the Democratic preponderance on the Council to about 80%. But the state Supreme Court (which is not the court of final appeal in New York) has decided that this system is unconstitutional, since it gives the voter only one vote for two seats on the Council. This decision appears to be justified in democratic political theory. The elementary arguing position of the voter: "If you do thus and so I won't vote for you" can no longer be invoked if the number two man in the voting is elected anyway, along with his principal opponent.

Pending final decision by the Appellate Division, the announced candidates for these posts are going ahead with their campaigns.

Reform Democrats in Manhattan have high hopes of unseating yet more Tammany Hall members of the party's County Executive Committee, and of increasing to a majority the 40% vote they now have there. This victory will accomplish a great deal towards democratizing the party's inner workings, and making it more responsive towards community needs. Will POINTING VECTOR readers outside New York City please bear with me while I make the following endorsements in the Democratic primary elections which will be held on Thursday 5 September from 3 to 10 PM?

- * - This candidate's election is particularly important
- # - Defeat of this candidate's opponent is particularly important.

Councilman-at-Large, Manhattan: Paul O'Dwyer

Councilman-at-Large, Bronx: Richard Flynn

Councilman, 21st S. D.: Oliver Sutton*

District Leaders Male and Female, Manhattan Assembly Districts:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 South: Edward Koch # | 10 South: Edwin Murphy |
| Carole Greitzer * | |
| 2 West: Peter Stanford # | 11: George Miller |
| Nicola Benitez | Sarah Smith |
| 3 South: Ira Shein | 13 West: Michael Rosenbaum # |
| Anna Zuckerman | Marjorie Cox |
| 3 Middle: Eugene Connelly * | 15 South: Manuel Guerreiro ** |
| Barbara Fife | Susan Cohn ** |
| 4 North: Robert Fine | 15 North: Laurence Klepper * |
| Constance Kopelov | Arlene Striger |
| 6 South: Ernesto Martinez * | 16 South: Leroy Miller |
| Susan Brownmiller * | Maria Rivera |

Most of these candidates are endorsed by the Committee for Democratic Voters. For further information phone PL 1-6550.

In the Republican primary for Manhattan Councilman-at-Large, John Lamula represents better than Richard Aldrich the traditional policies and views of his party.

ARE WE AT WAR?
(continued from p. 6)

It is not easy to abandon the reliance of a lifetime that an appeal to the constituted authorities will result in the doing of justice, without appeal to extra-legal force and violence. It is with reluctance that I propose abandoning this procedure in dealing with specific cases of segregationist violence. But grave injustices do in fact exist, and the constituted authorities of the regions in which they are being perpetrated do not redress them, or even regard them as injustices. To say that the perpetrators of these injustices may not be retaliated against, is to say that they have committed no crime at all.

Segregationists look after their own. The actual murders are committed by boorish rednecks, and by police dogs with two or four legs. But they are defended and protected by the best legal and journalistic minds available on the right wing. United States Senators defend segregationist killers on the floor of the Senate, and reply with calumny against their victims. America's most influential conservative magazine, National Review, excuses them, and urges that Negroes be prevented from voting even at the cost of violence. (See POINTING VECTOR #16, p. 15.)

The most recent example of how northern and southern segregationists work together was the burning of Summerlane children's camp in North Carolina. The actual burning was carried out by a Transylvania County mob, encouraged by the sheriff. But this mob had been formed at the urging of a Staten Island conservative who circulates a right-wing newsletter through the South.

The people who suborn and condone this segregationist strategy of violence are as guilty as the actual murderers and hoodlums. Is their role in the mob violence to be ignored? Or should they learn the direct way that you cannot instigate violence without risking it?

I would like to see a state of affairs in which the segregationist criminals were promptly brought to justice and convicted. Where legal methods suffice, extra-legal methods are not only unnecessary but destructive of the framework of society. But such a state of affairs does not in fact exist. I prefer to deal with what is, not with what if. I believe that the protagonists of non-violence have failed to do so, and that they have offered no remedy for the present state of "cold civil war" in the South. Thus far, their criticisms of my position have not included a feasible method of keeping segregationists from killing integrationists.

* * * * *

Much to the surprise of his fellow-alumni of Syracuse University, that principled bachelor Jon Oliver Gaines has recently been married. In his last letter, Jon enclosed a photo of his wife, a pretty blonde named Martha Jane, nee Ludwig. Jon is now a teacher at Madison Junior High School in Syracuse. He still keeps his hand in folksinging, and has just returned from the Newport festival.

IN MEMORIAM: GEORGE SCRIBINE

The patrons of Gregory's Restaurant in Syracuse will remember George as the cheerful headwaiter of the cafe run by his mother and stepfather. His fellow-students at Syracuse University know him as an excellent student and a nice fellow all-around. The roomers at 630 South Crouse Avenue knew him as the landlady's son, who was always ready to help out. Chessplayers were acquainted with him as a formidable opponent and sometime participant in the state championship tournament, who at the early age of 13 had played a draw with the grandmaster Ewfim Bogolyubov.

On 13 August 1963 it was revealed by the Yugoslav News Agency that George Scriabine had been identified as one of the victims of the Skoplje earthquake. He had been staying at the totally destroyed Hotel Makodonia.

George, the grandnephew of the composer Scriabine, was born 27 years ago in the Soviet Union. His father was killed in the Stalinist purges of the '30's, and with his mother and elder brother he was taken prisoner by the Germans during the Second World War. They came to America from Germany in 1950. His mother, Mrs. Helene Scriabine, lives in Iowa City, where she is head of the Russian Department of the State University of Iowa. Her address is 623 Burlington Street; George's wide circle of friends should drop her a few lines of sympathy.

BOOK REVIEWS

One of the most ingenious comic strips ever published was Gustave Verbeek's "Upside-Downs", which appeared in the New York Herald from 1903 to 1905. These gems, long out of print in their only previous collection, have just been republished in The Incredible Upside-Downs of Gustave Verbeek. (\$2, Rajah Press, Box 23, Summit, N. J.)

At first glance, the strips are 6-panel adventures of Old Man Muffaroo and Little Lady Lovekins. Muffaroo is a raffish gent in a sombrero, wide mustachios, wrinkled forehead, and a toothy grin, and Lovekins is a demure little girl, always getting in some kind of trouble by panel six. But when the comic strip is turned over, behold! there are six more panels. Muffaroo's wide sombrero becomes Lovekins' skirt, his wrinkles are her facial expression, the grin becomes the band of her hat, and his legs are transformed into streaming ribbons. Their adventures continue in these panels as Muffaroo rescues Lovekins from her plight.

Verbeek, who died in 1937 at the age of 70, shows fantastic ingenuity in this collection of his strip. Each panel must make sense at either orientation, and the continuity of the story must be coherent. The book is a delightful tour de force.

The myth has arisen in post-war Germany that the Wehrmacht was actually opposed to fighting the Second World War, and that there was hostility between Party and Army all during the Nazi era. At last the source of this myth

has been identified - as a British "black propaganda" radio which broadcast to German troops in western Europe during the war! These broadcasts purported to come from a German military station, and subtly built up hostility to the Nazis within the army and also in the civilian population. This propaganda worked too well, giving birth to the present myth of the "good German army".

The story of this "black propaganda" has at last been told by the director of these broadcasts, Sefton Delmer. (Black Boomerang, Viking, \$3.75) Delmer, now with the London Daily Express, tells how the "Black Radio" was set up, how it spread disaffection in the Wehrmacht, and how it helped set in motion the 1944 generals' plot against Hitler. Delmer's chief concern is to explode the legend of how the German army was opposed to the Nazi Party which, in fact, the German officer caste had helped to establish and place in power.

Such a plot between high-ranking officers and right-wing groups may be going on in America today. A former member of the John Birch Society, distressed over its subversive plans, has released much well-documented information on these plans. Birch Putsch Plans for 1964, as told to Stanhope T. McReady (Domino Publications, Chicago, \$1.25) reveals the next steps in the Bircher plan to get control of the country and to scrap its democratic institutions in favor of a Fascist government such as those of Spain and Portugal, which Bircher leader Robert Welch so warmly admires. The JBS believes that Communists are presently in effective control of the government, and must be thrown out. In foreign affairs they favor withdrawal from the UN, no talks with the USSR, and invasion of Cuba. McReady gives long lists of generals and admirals who belong to the JBS, as well as industrial leaders who also belong, and bankroll its activities. A frightening parallel is drawn between the cooperation of these men in American conservatism, and the way in which a similar coalition put Hitler in power.

The similarity is heightened by documented cooperation between American rightists and German neo-Nazis.

Alert Americans Association, a Los Angeles rightist group, is attempting to stimulate greater cooperation among conservatives to further these ends. To this purpose they have compiled and published the First National Directory of Rightist Groups, Publications, and Some Individuals in the United States (and Some Foreign Countries) (\$2, Noon-tide Press, Box 713, Sausalito, Calif.) The booklet contains 2096 listings, ranging from the American Jewish League Against Communism to the American Nazi Party and the National States Rights Party. Many members of Congress are listed as friendly to the cause. The directory is useful in showing the cooperative network which exists among the many autonomous rightist groups.

* * * * *

A court order has banned the election of Councilmen-at-Large in New York City this fall. The endorsements for these positions on p. 8 are therefore invalid. The New York state court of final appeal is the Court of Appeals, not the Appellate Division as there reported.

The table of contents is on page 2 this time.

You are receiving this issue of the POINTING VECTOR because:

- I have seen or heard from you lately.
- I haven't seen or heard from you lately, but I'd like to.
- I haven't heard from you for a long time, and suspect you may have lost interest in getting PV. Future issues will be sent to you only at your request.
- You are related to me.
- A mention of you appears in this issue.
- I would like to have a contribution from you for a future issue.
- I thought you might be interested in receiving this.
- You thought you might be interested in receiving this.
- A friend (?) of yours, namely _____, thought you might be interested in receiving this.
- You paid. Your subscription expires with issue _____.
- We trade.
- Do you want to trade for _____?
- For no good reason.
- I realize that extraordinary circumstances keep you from writing, so you're getting this anyhow.

The POINTING VECTOR
#17, August 1963
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U. S. A.

P R I N T E D M A T T E R O N L Y

I M P R I M E S - D R U C K S A C H E

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