

# Kipple 65

SEPT. 14, 1964

"Unless they are an expression of the common interests of men working together in freedom, direction and control are not themselves a creative force. Given socialization of the means of production, only the conscious will of the individual arising from his personal, material and moral interests can become such a creative force. The greater the consciousness of the worker that his interests are inseparable from those of the community and the greater the degree to which, through the organs of self-government, he participates as an equal in solving problems relating to his material and moral welfare and to that of the community, the more powerfully does the will of the individual find expression. What determines the quality of an individual's creative labor, physical or mental, is the quality and intensity of his will to create. This cannot be raised nor further intensified by control, inspection and external pressure. This is even truer after the means of production have been socialized than it was before." --Edvard Kardelj

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Disputing my contention (Kipple #63) that the principal aim of Communist governments is the propagation of Communism, you say that "...whenever the interests of Communism are in conflict with the interests of the national state, the former are invariably sacrificed." Such a broad claim would be all the better for proof. Two examples to the contrary spring to mind. Russia's aid to the Red Chinese directly after World War II was scarcely in the national interest of Russia, who should certainly prefer to be flanked by an impotent Nationalist China than by a powerful Red China. At the opposite end of the Soviet empire, Marshall Plan aid was vehemently rejected by Russia and all her satellites, apparently for no other reason than that it would undermine their ideology to accept help from their ideological enemy. (One of the finest examples of the interests of the national state being put ahead of the interests of the Communist movement concerns the non-aggression pact concluded in 1939 between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. The spectacle of the homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution entering into such an agreement with Hitler delivered a blow to Communist Parties outside the bloc from which some have never recovered. This result was surely anticipated by Stalin and his staff, but in the interests of Russia--which needed time to prepare for the eventual conflict with Germany--the agreement was concluded. Of course, the national motives underlying actions of Communist nations are not always so apparent; in any given case, it is easy for a spectator to outline what he thinks the national interests of a particular nation are, but it is rather difficult to determine in what terms the leaders of a country conceive of its national interests. There may have been a number of reasons for the Soviet rejection of Western aid under the Marshall Plan; I tend to think this attitude was a manifestation of traditional Russian xenophobia. You may recall that during the period of the German advance into Russian territory, the Soviet Union was not prevented by ideology from accepting all the aid it could get. As for the motive underlying the Soviet Union's decision to aid the Communist Chinese, you have the advantage of being able to bias the discussion by your choice of words for your proposition. Obviously, Russia would prefer to be flanked by an impotent Nationalist China rather than by a powerful Communist China. But this was not the choice offered. It is hardly reasonable to assume that Nationalist China, receiving massive United States assistance, would have remained impotent indefinitely. The actual alternatives which faced the Russians after World War II were: (1) a Communist-dominated China which would eventually be a regional power and possibly (though there is no certainty that Moscow foresaw this) a challenge to Soviet authority; or (2) an anti-Communist China, allied with the Western powers. It is pretty obvious to me in which direction the national interest of the Soviet Union lies.)

Admittedly, it is difficult to decide whether ideology or nationalism has the greater weight, since most Communist actions can be interpreted either way. When the Soviet Union builds up military strength, is it because a powerful Russia is the real goal, or is it because a powerful Russia is necessary as a base for the advancement of Communism? We cannot read their minds, so we must look for other indicators. (Does



the United States maintain its imposing military establishment because a powerful United States is the real goal, or is a powerful United States merely considered necessary as a base for the advancement of Western Democracy?))

For one such indicator, consider the nature of Communist parties in non-Communist countries. The ideology is the unifying factor for all such parties; assuredly very few native Americans, Frenchmen, Brazilians, etc., would support Communism as a vehicle for Russian nationalist expansion. Most of these people are True Believers, who are willing to risk all for their religion. Had they been patriots or nationalists, they would never have become Communists. Now why must we assume that Russian or Chinese Communists are different? When their revolutions succeed, does this suddenly wipe out their internationalist beliefs and convert them to nationalism? ((It is necessary to understand that the administration of a government carries with it some responsibilities which bomb-tossing revolutionaries and pamphleteering zealots meeting clandestinely in dark basements needn't concern themselves with. When the first stage of the revolution (i.e., taking control of the government) is successfully completed, idealism ceases to be the overriding factor and is replaced by national survival. This conflict arose in the Soviet Union shortly after Lenin's death in 1924: the internationalist-idealists, led by Leon Trotsky, argued that the Bolshevik Party had to maintain its structure as a revolutionary organization even after acquiring state power, and actively encourage, by whatever means, proletarian revolutions in other countries; the pragmatists, under Stalin, argued that primary consideration must be given to strengthening Russia, closing the technological gap between it and the capitalist powers, and building a military machine capable of ensuring the state's ability to defend itself against aggressors. The pragmatists prevailed. The metamorphosis from revolutionary fervor to nationalism is the inevitable result of the acquisition of power by a mass movement. There is an excellent parallel in the history of Europe. At the beginning of the Reformation, the Protestants were solidly united by common ideology and missionary fervor. However, once they began to wield decisive power in several nations, the transition to nationalism occurred, and we find Dutch Protestants pursuing the interests of Holland, English Protestants pursuing the interests of England, and so on. Ideology remains a factor after revolutionaries of one sort or another gain control of the apparatus of a national state, but it is no longer necessarily the dominant factor.))

It may be argued that the new generations raised under Communist government will be nationalists rather than ideologues, but this is dubious, at least for the near future. The societies of Communist countries are organized from top to bottom with a view to keeping the Party in absolute control. And in turn, entrance into the Party is dependent on convincing the Party chiefs that the postulant is thoroughly ideologized. No doubt some unbelievers fake their way through, but the system appears to ensure a quite high proportion of ideologues in the Party ranks. And those who are not ideologues must pretend that they are, and behave accordingly.

To assume that the propagation of Communism is no longer the central goal of the various Parties is to do the Communists less than justice, for it is to assume that the leadership is largely composed of cynics and disillusioned apostates. It appears to me that most Communists are idealists, dedicated and sincere in their beliefs--which makes them all the harder to deal with, since they cannot be reasoned with or bribed, but only fought. ((Theoretically, a Christian is an idealist, dedicated and sincere in his beliefs, prepared to sacrifice his soul's temporary physical garment in defence of his religion. Theoretically, a



Hindu is utterly indifferent to the prospect of his death. Theoretically, a Communist is completely faithful to the doctrines of the Marxist-Leninist Party. However, these theoretical assumptions have very little relevance to reality. In fact, the average Christian is extremely anxious to avoid being torn apart by the lions, even if doing so entails compromising his religious philosophy; in fact, the average Hindu faces death with no more equanimity than the average atheist; in fact, the average Communist reacts to a situation in much the same manner as the average non-Communist might. Take, for example, the doctrinaire Marxist thesis of the inevitability of war with the imperialist nations. I am prepared to concede that the Chinese Communists believe this, in the same nebulous sense that your milkman believes he is going to Heaven or Hell upon dying. They obviously do not believe that war is inevitable tomorrow or next week; if they did, they would launch an attack now, in order to gain the greatest advantage, rather than sit back and wait to be attacked. Perhaps they believe that war is inevitable next year or next decade or next century; maybe they believe that war is inevitable within the next ten thousand years. In any case, although this belief is bound to have some effect on the actions of the Chinese, it is not going to be the overriding factor governing their policies.))

I suspect that insistence on regarding Russia and China as essentially nationalist states with a veneer of ideology springs from an inability to comprehend that Communists really do think differently from us. Most modern Liberals believe that national sovereignty has been, to say the least, overrated; why then should it be so hard to understand that the Communists are prepared to disregard it entirely? If a man of the Middle Ages, knowing only the feudal system, were to be brought to our time and allowed to study our social problems, he could go crazy trying to interpret events in terms of conflict between kings and nobles. Perhaps we should try a little harder to understand that Communists do not think in terms of national interests or national sovereignty, but in terms of Party interests and the sovereignty of the "working class". ((I prefer to think that my "inability to comprehend that Communists really do think differently from us" is something a bit more admirable than simple ignorance. The doctrine that others "really do think differently from us" has been the cause of a great deal of difficulty throughout human history, and it has nearly always been untrue except on an extremely superficial level. Communists, socialists, democrats, liberals, conservatives, Catholics, Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Somalis, Japanese, prohibitionists, American Indians, file clerks, oil millionaires--all think differently, but all share a common designation: Homo sapiens. Whenever one group decides that another cannot be reasoned with but must be fought and destroyed, this view is justified by the statement that the offending group "thinks differently"; but thinking in terms of evident differences obscures the underlying similarities. If I concerned myself with the ways in which other people "thought differently" from me, I would end up like A. G. Smith...))

Hopefully, Communist ideology will in the long run be overcome by nationalist urges. It has already happened in Yugoslavia to some degree (although it has not been determined whether Tito rebelled because he wanted to save Yugoslavia from Russian domination, or because he as an individual did not want to be under Stalin's thumb). But there seems scant evidence for assuming that it has already happened in all Communist countries, and that their professed ideology merely serves nationalist ambitions. As I suggested in #63, our strategy should be to speed this development by discrediting the Communist chiliasts, in hope that they will be superseded by patriots rather than ideologues. To this end we should repel and punish all Communist aggressions, and otherwise demonstrate that Communist missionary activity will always be thwarted.



To my suggestion that we should grind down Communist power, "being careful to never hit them so hard at any one time as to provoke the thermonuclear holocaust," you respond that this strategy is like playing catch with a bottle of nitroglycerine. True. And what do you think we're doing now? They keep throwing these bottles of nitro at us; I think it's time we started throwing them back--and adding a few of our own.

Your comment implies that any aggressive action on our part might very likely result in atomic war, an opinion which is widely shared in Washington, to judge from our quandom foreign policy. There is here an outrageous asymmetry. The Communists offer us the most blatant provocations--the invasion of Korea, the suppression of Hungary, the capture of Cuba, the Berlin wall, etc.--right up to the brink. They very plainly have no fear that we will start shooting the big ones except in the last extremity. But on our side, we have acted as though the Communists were just looking for the teensiest excuse for nuclear war, and we must therefore avoid giving the least little provocation. This has just been put to a small test, in the retaliatory raid on North Vietnam. As I expected, the Communists did not choose to escalate, nor, I daresay, will they ever. They are no more eager for suicide than we are. ((The circumspect foreign policy advocated by liberals is not based on the belief that the Communists are "just looking for the teensiest excuse for nuclear war"; rather, it is founded on the premise that confrontations between a prudent nuclear power and a reckless one are less likely to result in mutual annihilation than confrontations between two reckless nuclear powers.))

You ask what I would do about Communist expansion, as in Cuba, which is not directly due to Russian or Chinese action, and which therefore could not be stopped by maintaining military force superior to Russia and China. In the first place, I did not claim that military force is the only desideratum; I should of course prosecute the conflict across the entire spectrum of military, political, and economic action. In the second place, assuming that we have lost the "peaceful" conflict and the Communists have seized control of a government, as in Cuba, I would not hesitate to use military force to kick them out. Note well that I do not say that we should restore the old government; only that we should dethrone the Communists. ((Yes, but what political and economic action would you undertake in pursuing this phase of the conflict? And, incidentally, would you use military force to kick out Communists who had risen to power through popular elections?))

Charles Crispin says Derek Nelson should not try "to make us leftist-radicals take the blame for Hitler; he's yours, Nelson, the epitome of right-wing extremism." I can't let this pass unchallenged. As the terms "right" and "left" are used nowadays, Hitler was indeed a leftist.

Nazism and fascism are outgrowths, not of laissez faire capitalism (which scarcely ever existed in Germany and Italy), but of socialism. Historically, the Nazis in Germany (and the Fascists in Italy) were recruited from those who were impatient with the slow advance of democratic socialism.

No political party of this century has been more accurately named than Hitler's National Socialists. They believed in, and practiced, government control of industry and labor, allocation of resources, and wage and price controls. Under the Nazis, the institution of private property was reduced to a mere formality. The Nazis were tyrants and racists, but they were also socialists, and therefore, by American usage, leftists.

The Communists hung the "rightist" tag on the Nazis. In Communist eyes, the Nazis were a "rightist" deviation from pure Marxism, just



as the Trotskyites were a "leftist" deviation.

The terrible enmity between the Communists on the one hand and the Nazis and Fascists on the other, arose not so much from their few differences as from their many similarities, both of program and ethics. They competed for the support of the same type of person. It is no coincidence that a large part of East German officialdom consists of ex-Nazis turned Communist. The principal genuine difference was that the Nazis and Fascists were intensely nationalistic, as opposed to the internationalism of the Communists.

Let's look at the five cardinal points of the Fascist Party, as published in 1921, just before Mussolini's takeover: (1) a republic (instead of a liberal monarchy), (2) separation of Church and State, (3) a national army, (4) progressive taxation for inherited wealth, and (5) development of cooperatives (i.e., collectivism). Points 2, 4, and 5 would now find far more favor with Liberals than with the "Radical Right". It is, then, absurd to equate the Radical Right with Nazism or Fascism; the rightist program is closer to anarchy than to any of the totalitarian ideologies.

Speaking of Hitler, Mike Deckinger comments that Cassius Clay "supported the Black Muslim philosophy as fanatically as Hitler's generals supported him." I don't know about Clay, but it is a gross exaggeration to say that Hitler received "fanatical" support from his generals. It is rather well proven that most of the German generals had little sympathy for Nazism or Hitler. Bear in mind that most of the generals had received their training, and imbibed their ethics, before Hitler came to power. They submitted to Hitler because it was their duty as soldiers to obey the government unquestioningly. In short, they went entirely too far in acquiescing to the principle (much beloved of modern liberals) of civilian control of the military. It is worth noting that the only German attempt to depose Hitler was made by a group of his senior generals.

James Newman's review of Kahn's "On Thermonuclear War" was just as fascinating as when I first read it in Scientific American. I don't think I have ever seen a more visceral and non-rational review of any book. Really, it is not so much a review as it is a long shrill scream of rage that anyone should dare to even think about thermonuclear war. Apparently Mr. Newman has taken to heart President Eisenhower's vapid dictum that nuclear war is "unthinkable".

To take just one point, Mr. Newman implies that there is something grossly immoral about Kahn's assertion that a war with 40 million dead is less disastrous than one with 80 million dead. So what's wrong with that? Wouldn't most of us agree with Kahn, especially if we happen to be among the 40 million who would survive the one war but die in the other?

Mr. Newman describes Kahn's positions in a way that implies that they are wicked and preposterous, but he neglects to say why. He seems to feel (and I mean "feel", not "think") that the madness of Kahn is self-evident. If there is a thread of logic in the review, it consists in the implication--never clearly stated--that to treat of thermonuclear war as anything less than racial annihilation is to make such a war more probable by accustoming us to the idea.

"This evil and tenebrous book...is permeated with a bloodthirsty irrationality such as I have not seen in my years of reading." I don't recall anything in Kahn to warrant the appellation of "bloodthirsty"; he makes it amply clear that he does not regard nuclear war as desirable, or as anything less than an unparalleled catastrophe. What Kahn does is to treat nuclear war as highly possible, and to suggest ways to minimize the "unprecedented catastrophe". If that is "bloodthirsty", then we must so describe any public health official who lays plans for coping with a



possible plague. (I agree that "bloodthirsty" was an inappropriate appellation in this context. The term "bloodthirsty" implies at least some sort of feeling, and what is profoundly appalling about Herman Kahn's work is its utter lack of any feeling whatsoever.)

As for irrationality, it is Mr. Newman who appears to suffer from a horrible and enormously dangerous form of irrationality: the belief that a disaster can be averted by refusing to admit the possibility of its occurrence. I am reminded of the Jews in Nazi Germany who could not bring themselves to believe that the Nazis really intended to murder them all. How many Jews might have survived had they realized what Hitler intended--really felt it in their guts--and had bent every effort to escape? Maybe half would have been killed trying to escape--but the other half would have lived. Instead, all too many of them clung to their delusion that even the Nazis could not do anything so horrible. The delusion was blown away in whiffs of Cyklon B. To be sure, because of the secrecy of the death camps, the Jews did not have complete certainty of what their fate was to be. We do not have that excuse. We know that thermonuclear war is very possible indeed. To know this, and to still refuse to plan to win and survive if, God forbid, the war does happen--that is the uttermost pinnacle of irrationality.

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"All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions; and betting naturally accompanies it. The character of the voters is not staked. I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right, but I am not vitally concerned that the right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority. Its obligation, therefore, never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail." --Henry David Thoreau, in "Civil Disobedience".  
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I don't think any Republican would be capable of dislodging Johnson in November, because the American people seem to be resistant to switching presidents every four years. It seems the incumbent has an overwhelming advantage. You have to go back thirty-two years to Herbert Hoover (1928-1932) to find a president who remained in the saddle for only four years, and even in this case Republicans had been in power for twelve years (1920-1932). With regard to changing the party in power, at no time in this century has one party reigned for only the minimum four years. One can envision an invisible pendulum swinging in an eight-year cycle. The Democrats grabbed the White House in 1960 after an absence of eight years; the way I see it, they will more than likely hold on for four years more. I suppose a major catastrophe would get a party out in four years; but it would have to be a bigger political incident than we've had this century. Certainly the current administration has made a few blunders, but nothing this severe has cropped up. The Republicans will try to blow up the Bobby Baker issue and President Johnson's accumulation of wealth. But the kind of people who would fume at such gonifry as the Baker business probably don't bother to vote anyway.

Enid Osten: I grant that our country has a "social and ideological structure" completely different from Russia's. But these philosophical abstractions lead to the development of some kind of an economic system, which certainly runs the range from the free market economy, free market with appropriate and necessary adjustments, eventually to government price-setting and unnecessary tampering, to a welfare state.



Of course, I do not deny the necessity for occasional compromise.

Clyde Kuhn's letter puzzles me a bit. Mr. Kuhn has taken the economic position of socialism. Then, using the same word in a different way, he declares that he dislikes social legislation, citing the fact that socialistic ideals are quite diverse in the United States. I am assuming that he is viewing the Civil Rights Act as "social legislation" and that he sees the civil rights problem as basically a sociological one. But I'd not want to view the racial situation as mainly sociological. It seems more aesthetic to view it as a moral problem, and I suppose that those who let the matter weigh heavily on their super-egos would be committed to take a moral approach. To me, it seems that the label of economic problem is more versatile. I'm sure that the sociological jargon can be plugged in, replete with catch-phrases, in any discussion of the racial problem in this country. If we're going to use any of the sociological angles at all, though, we seem obliged to try on the whole science for a fit. The result is more cold and clinical than any economic discussion could be. Could a Colored family in a mainly White neighborhood ever find friends? A sociologist would have to laugh at this, because a sociologist knows that we have no friends, no hobbies or interests; instead we have "norms"--someone or something that we occupy time with so that we delude ourselves into thinking that we matter. And have we selected these "norms" of our own volition? Most certainly not, for we have no free will with which to select anything. Man blows helplessly about, and the winds are his heredity and his environment. Now perhaps someone in the mainly White neighborhood resents the presence of a non-White family and throws a Molotov Cocktail through the latter's window. Can we say that the thrower has done something wrong? No. All we can say is that he has broken a more or a folkway, depending on whether the house is in New York or Mississippi.

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"The man in the street still thinks in terms of a necessary antagonism between society and the individual. In large measure this is because in our civilization the regulative activities of society are singled out, and we tend to identify society with the restrictions the law imposes upon us. The law lays down the number of miles per hour that I may drive an automobile. If it takes this restriction away, I am by that much freer. This basis for a fundamental antagonism between society and the individual is naive indeed when it is extended as a basic philosophical and political notion. Society is only incidentally and in certain situations regulative, and law is not equivalent to the social order. (...) Even in our civilization the law is never more than a crude implement of society, and one it is often necessary to check in its arrogant career. It is never to be read off as if it were the equivalent of the social order."  
--Ruth Benedict, in "Patterns of Culture".  
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Der Stellvertreter: Unfortunately, the title of this play cannot be translated into English with retention of all its original meanings. Literally, a Stellvertreter is someone who takes another's place. Thus, "deputy" is a permissible translation. But the German word is also used to translate the Pope's title, "Vicar" of Christ. The English translation obscures the fact that the sensitive young priest who, in the end, makes the commitment the Pope cannot make, and who goes to the gas chambers, is the true Deputy of Christ. (In the British Isles, incidentally, the title of Hochhuth's play was translated as "The Representative".)

I haven't read the play, so I cannot criticize it further. But I



do know a little about the historical events that the play covers. Like many European aristocrats and churchmen of his time, Pius XII was so fearful of Communism that he could not bring himself to condemn anyone who was fighting Communists. For this reason he acquiesced in his predecessor's accommodations with Mussolini, never criticized Italian Fascism, and limited his opposition to Nazism to mild criticism (as in the bull "Mit Brennender Sorge") and the highly cautious sanctioning of the hiding of Jews by the lesser clergy.

But if Pius XII showed hypocrisy in his dealings with the Axis powers, he was only following the much more dubious actions of his predecessor, Pius X. When World War I broke out, Pius X expressed deep concern about the prospects of a long and bloody conflict. For the last few months of his life (he died in December, 1914) he desperately tried to put together some kind of negotiated peace. Yet there lay at hand a powerful weapon which he apparently never considered using. If he had ordered a truce date, and threatened excommunication upon all Roman Catholics who violated it...

This would not have been so futile an action in 1914 as it would have become in later years. In 1914 the public consciousness was not yet habituated to the idea of all-out war, nor was nationalism as dominant as it later became. But there were strong clerical influences in the governments of France, the Dual Monarchy, and the south German monarchies which furnished so many soldiers to the Second Reich. A flat threat of excommunication would have seriously hampered the conduct of the war, even in countries like England and Russia where Roman Catholics constituted minorities.

Derek Nelson: It wasn't me that called Heinlein a Fascist; it was the British anarchist science fiction critic John Pilgrim. The word "fascist" is flung around without much thought by a lot of liberals and leftists. In the strict sense of the word, it refers to the supporter of a nationalistic and corporate organization of the state and its economy. A fascist sees positive virtues in war, seeks no foreign alliances except with other fascist states, and favors a sort of capitalism under state coordination, with the state's blessing upon monopolistic and oligopolistic markets. There is nothing inherently racist about fascism; there could be, and have been, Jewish and Negro fascists.

The whole set of laws and regulations on drug usage in this country is a mess. Basically, they are sumptuary laws--and if there is one principle that has been demonstrated, again and again, through all history and in widely differing societies, it is that sumptuary laws don't work. In the birth control argument, it is often pointed out that laws against contraceptive devices are an infringement upon the relationship between doctor and patient. It is also true that the present drug laws infringe this relationship; at present a physician is forbidden by law to prescribe the taper-off cure for drug addiction.

I am not convinced by a lot of this talk about marvelous new Weltanschauungen that are supposed to result from drugs. Apparently drugs are the latest kick, replacing Zen, which was also supposed to Do Wonderful Things. But I am impressed by the progress being made in dealing with mental illness by drugs--this is a lot more productive line of research than the lobotomies that were all the rage ten years ago.

Marty Helgesen: All I can do is repeat Thomas Paine's remarks--why should I accept a revelation revealed to someone else?

Ted: Some interesting points about the Castello Branco coup in Brazil: (1) The revolt was made against a government which had considerable support from labor unions, intellectuals, and students. (2) The existing government had instituted social reforms far beyond anything that had previously existed in the country. It had thus incurred the hatred of the landed and industrial aristocracies. (3) The opposition



to the government was led by the governments of some of the more rural states, and by most generals and admirals. Every one of these conditions exists in the United States today. Was someone using Brazil as a proving grounds?

A little-known point about the Brazilian revolt is that the U.S. Sixth Fleet was ordered into the Caribbean from its Norfolk base as soon as the revolt began. It stood by until it became evident that the revolt would succeed without United States intervention; then it returned. I have this information from my brother, who is in that fleet.

Next question: If Dr. Salvador Allende is elected President of Chile, will the United States permit him to take office?

Deckinger: Apparently Vatican II has thought better of the draft absolving Jews of guilt in the death of Jesus. If the council adjourns without doing anything about the "deicide" accusation, then I would suggest reprinting and distributing the Toldot Yeshu. This is a Jewish biography of Jesus, written at a very early date. (Origenes found it necessary, in his writings, to attack it.) The Toldot Yeshu and other derogatory references to Jesus were edited out of many editions of the Talmud during the Dark Ages, under Christian pressure. But a few editions still exist. To the best of my knowledge the Toldot Yeshu has never been translated into English, although French and Yiddish versions exist. It refers to the illegitimate birth of Jesus, and names his father as a Greek soldier named Panthera. He is depicted as a rogue and charlatan, who attempts to lead Jews away from the teachings of their fathers by magic and by proclaiming himself the Messiah. His death is told as the ending of a moral tale on why a good Jewish boy shouldn't let himself be led astray. A very brief account of the Toldot Yeshu appears in Fact #4.

A question will of course be raised as to why we should accept the Toldot Yeshu over the Gospels, or vice versa. Well, the Gospels have to be bolstered up by the claim that they have divine authority, while it was thought necessary to make no such claim for the Toldot Yeshu. Draw your own conclusions.

Every so often a couple of Christian conversionists set themselves up outside the principal entrance of Brooklyn College and try to convert the student body, which is about 85% Jewish. This is always good for laughs, as the Jews seem better grounded in religious discussion than the missionaries. But the futility of the missionaries' efforts can be seen by their own works. Revelations 7:5 asserts that only 12,000 of the tribe of Judah will enter Heaven. This is about one-tenth of one percent of all Jews now alive, and an infinitesimal proportion of all the Jews who have ever or will ever live. Why try to buck odds like that?

I don't envy Vatican II their job should they try to absolve the Jews of today from the accusation of deicide. There are those who try to argue that anti-Semitism is unscriptural, but they run straight up against Matthew 27:25, which assigns to all Jews of all generations the guilt for the murder of Jesus. It seems to me that all Vatican II can do to squelch the deicide accusation is to strike this verse from the Bible.

Boston: The last word on the "social contract", it seems to me,

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"My name is A. G. Smith. I am a Hate Group."



was made by the novelist Harvey Allen. (And a great pity it was that he didn't live to complete his magnificently conceived work, "The Disinherited".) In his "Bedford Village", a garrison surgeon at Fort Pitt addresses these words to a lawyer he is tending: "You lawyers would persuade us in these days that society was formed by men making a contract. Contract! Contact, I say. Society was formed by a man making a contact with a woman, and by her having children..."

From here I can refer you to "The Origin of the Family", by an author whose name would raise so many passions not connected with the immediate subject that I forbear to mention it here.

What, incidentally, happened at this meeting whose blurb constituted the front cover of Kipple #60? (I attached to John's copy of that issue a segregationist circular which had been forced on me by one of those famous little old ladies in tennis shoes while I was at a suburban shopping center on some errand or other. The flyer exhorted its readers to attend an open session of the Baltimore County Council and attempt to block appropriations for the Human Relations Commission (an endeavor which apparently failed, as the latter group continues to function), and also contained recommendations for segregationist candidates in the primary election, all of whom, I believe, were defeated rather handily.) I am reminded by the frame of mind demonstrated by the leaflet of an event that occurred in Baltimore many years ago. A Democratic primary ballot indicated names of various European ethnic origins repugnant to some of the old-line families in the neighborhood. So, in desperation, the old-line WASPs voted for the only name indicative of the old-line aristocracy of the town--and woke the next morning to find that they'd given the nomination to a Negro. (See Murray Kempton, "Part of Our Time".)

Helgesen: "Time" requires an operational definition, which is usually given now in terms of light flashed back and forth between two moving observers. If, as now seems likely, the universe originated with a state of very high density and temperature some  $10^{10}$  years ago, no measure of time could be carried back beyond this state. Tolman hypothesizes that this state was the consequence of a previous phase of contraction, which would of course have destroyed all evidence of the contraction. At the time the expansion began, all the matter of the universe was packed into a volume whose radius was approximately that of the orbit of Mars.

Your use of the term "who passed the law" with respect to the laws of nature illustrates a semantic confusion. Unfortunately, the same word, "law", is used for the codified institutions of human society and for the principles upon which the physical universe operates. Don't leap from this to any analogies about "legislators" for "natural law". (Actually, the term "physical universe" is redundant. The whole works is physical in the final analysis.)

Ted, there is no such thing as the "Viet Cong". No group in Vietnam calls itself by that name. I think what you're referring to is the Vietnam Front of National Liberation. (We had one once in this country. It was led by a revolutionary named Washington. And he took aid from a foreign country with whom the existing government was locked in a worldwide cold war. Big deal.)

Aside from this, though, your views on Vietnam are sensible. I wonder what's going to happen when Ho Chi Minh is no longer on the scene? That old fox has been maintaining a precarious independence of action from both Moscow and Peking, but I don't believe any of his potential successors are capable of it.

This may be what is behind the PT-boat action in the Gulf of Tonkin. One day one of Ho's subordinates was speculating on what he could do to improve his chances to succeed the old man. His eye fell on a copy



of "PT-109"...

De Camp: Infinite inflation? That is not necessarily a consequence of paper currency. Consider the humble farthing. When it was first coined in the reign of Edward III, you could buy a chicken with it. When it was demonetized, two or three years ago, it was worth about half a U. S. cent. Most of this depreciation took place before paper currency became widespread. The same thing happened in every country, with every monetary unit, with or without paper currency. Why does a given monetary unit continually decline in value over the course of the centuries?

And what's wrong with inflation? (I don't mean a scrap paper inflation such as sometimes comes in the wake of a war.) Money is not an end in itself, but a means to other ends. Sometimes, in order to accomplish a desirable end such as winning a war, ending a depression, or building needed public works, inflation must be accepted as a consequence.

Price: Capitalism doesn't hinder upward social mobility, true, but it drags it out for several generations. As long as we're applying our own personal histories to this topic: my great-grandfather was a farmer, my grandfather was a gandy dancer, my father is a salesman, I'm a physicist. But I know no colleagues who made it from farmer to physicist in one generation, save only the late John Franklin Carlson, and he had to run away from home at the age of 14 to accomplish it. (Who can get away with running away from home these days?)

There are some three million unemployed in our minimum-wage economy. Before the minimum wage law was passed, there were fifteen million unemployed. Does this suggest anything to you, George?

If, as you suggest, wages ought to fall as a result of competition by the unemployed for jobs, then why didn't this happen in practice? There have been cases of capitalist economies so inefficient that there was widespread unemployment even during wartime. This state of affairs was of major importance in the collapse of Tsarist Russia.

Pepsicola: Let's get away from conservative theory for a while and look at the hard facts, conservatism as carried into practice by conservatives. Could you please answer the following questions:

Who killed James Chaney?  
Who killed Andrew Goodman?  
Who killed Mike Schwerner?  
Who killed Herbert Lee?

Who killed Medgar Evers?  
Who killed William Moore?  
Who killed Lemuel Penn?  
Who killed Louis Allen?

Once we've disposed of these matters, we can continue with the theoretical discussions.

On computerized courtrooms: Rog Phillips once placed a story in a future society in which the judges were computers. The computers were simply programmed with the existing legal codes. Since there was no need for appeal, sentence was imposed immediately after the verdict, even if it were a death sentence. In the course of a minor civil case, one litigant puts his opponent on the stand. He begins questioning the man about a child, now dead, which he and his wife had. He asks whether the couple had intended to have the child. When an affirmative reply is received, the first man points out that his opponent and wife had brought a child into the world deliberately, knowing it to be mortal, and had thus caused its death. The judge promptly sentences them to death for murder.

Crispin: In some of the regions under his control, Hitler exterminated the Jews so thoroughly that, by 1944, a leading Nazi was worrying that young Aryans had an insufficient appreciation of the Jewish menace because there were no Jews around.

Ryan: It is a fairly open secret that Wallace quit the presiden-



tial campaign in return for a veto over the Goldwater nominations for Attorney General and the Supreme Court justiceships. These were the same terms that the unpledged electors hoped to extort as the price of their votes in 1960, had a deadlock developed.

There is talk going around that this would be the Goldwater Cabinet: William Knowland (Secretary of State), George Humphrey (Secretary of the Treasury), Edwin Walker (Secretary of Defense), George Wallace (Attorney General), Dean Burch (Postmaster General), Harold L. Hunt (Secretary of the Interior), Ezra Taft Benson (Secretary of Agriculture), Robert H. W. Welch (Secretary of Commerce), Stephen Derounian (Secretary of Labor), and Joseph McD. Mitchell (Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare).

Where Karl Marx seems to have slipped badly is in his unstated assumption that his own theories are immune from the dialectical process which he elsewhere extols. His views have become a thesis, and have been met by an antithesis which is in the process of moving toward another synthesis, world without end, amen. This is why there are divergences between Marxist theory and existing realities.

Boston: Who was the agnostic newspaper publisher who once said, "If I sent four reporters out to cover an execution, and they handed in four stories like the Gospels, I'd fire the lot of them"?

Smith: Your remarks about Vietnam not being worth the life of one American soldier bear a striking resemblance to a remark by a man with whom you have a great deal of intellectual sympathy: Otto, Prince von Bismarck. "The whole of the Balkans are not worth the bones of one Pomeranian grenadier." I have no doubts that Vietnam is a land worth fighting for, to those who live there--but then, they don't count, do they?

Price: Production used to create its own purchasing power. When 50 men are replaced by a machine, whose purchasing power is increased? How nice so many conservative economic arguments would be, had it not been for the Hoover Depression!

Brooks: The people who rioted against Mrs. Murray and drove her out of Maryland were acting in a Christian manner. That is just the trouble with it. For twenty centuries, from Saxony to Sulu to South America, Christians have been imposing their religion on others by raw force. Their hagiologies are replete with warrior saints: Jaime de Compostella of Spain, Jeanne of France, David of Wales, Alexander of Russia, Vartan of Armenia, etc., etc. Why do you expect them to behave any differently in 20th century Baltimore?

Hulan: The "radical Reconstructionists" whom you impugn wanted to admit Negroes to the full rights of citizenship including voting, free public education for children of all races, and the suppression of guerilla insurrections. Do you oppose these aims? This time the South is going to be reconstructed along these lines and it's going to stick. Stand in the way at your own risk!

Borsella: The Bill of Rights was not adopted to "facilitate the government process", but to safeguard the rights of individuals. The decisions of the Supreme Court have been totally in accord with this idea. How are your freedoms endangered if Elizabeth Gurley Flynn goes to Moscow to compare cabbage recipes with Nina Khrushchev, or whatever else the two old ladies do when they get together?

Once you grant that it is right for a government to take taxes from people without children and use them to support a school system, you have admitted the basic principle of the socialism you deplore. The only question remaining is: how far are you going to carry this principle into practice?

Ted, Plato's republic may have had a communistic economy, but its social theory was blatantly elitist. The "Republic" is a blueprint



for tyranny, but for an aristocratic rather than a communistic tyranny. "The Republic of Mikardand" on De Camp's planet Krishna is obviously a picture of a platonic republic, modified by the weaknesses of human nature.

Price: After Castro, what? Any suggestions? Masferrer is a brutal thug, the Tabernillas are worse, Prio is a sticky-fingered grafter, Artime is a posturing rhodomont, and Ray is distrusted by much of the emigré movement as a secret fidelista.

If you restrict the franchise, you create a class which has no interest in the preservation of the status quo. This is a situation fraught with danger for the stability of the state.

Kuhn: Are you sure that "a large Protestant Communion in North America" is such a great idea? The last thing this country needs is a majority church. Religious liberty is best assured when a lot of little sects are pulling at cross purposes with each other.

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"A strange effect of narrow principles and views! that a prince possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and esteem; of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning, endowed with admirable talents, and almost adored by his subjects, should, from a nice, unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands that would have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people. Neither do I say this with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character, I am sensible, will, on this account, be very much lessened in the opinion of an English reader; but I take this defect among them to have arisen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say that there were several thousand books among us written upon the art of government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds--to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth consideration." --Jonathan Swift, in "Gulliver's Travels".  
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JEAN ROSE :: 221 STADIUM PARK :: IOWA CITY, IOWA, 52241

A matter that concerns Bob and me whenever we move--which we seem to do rather frequently--is that of some sort of national registration of the many things that are now handled only locally--cars (registration and driving licenses), various more personal things such as insurances and so on, and voter registration. We were rather worried when we came here that we might not be allowed to register in Iowa City because we were students, living in University Housing (married student barracks). Our fears were unfounded, as it happened; apparently, graduate students don't count, fortunately. But it could have worked out that way, and there have been times for both of us when we had no other legal residence than where we were, and it wasn't a long enough residence to allow us to register. I can see requiring a certain period of residence in order to vote in local elections, but it seems to be that there ought to be some special form of registration that people who were rather itinerant could get that would permit them to vote anywhere in a na-



tional election. We also get continually tangled in the matter of car registration; some sort of national license-plate should be instituted for people who don't have a state to call their own. I noticed on the way out here a number of plates reading "USA" in place of the state name, but they always seemed to be driven by men in uniform, although they were private cars and generally carried families. I suppose that is something the Army uses, or perhaps all the military; but it would be damn handy for people who intend to wander all over the country, as we shall probably be doing.

This is all connected, in my mind at least, with the origin of the country as a federation of states. I don't like it. I have not, since I was a child (and cared very much for belonging to small groups and so on), cared much about the rights of any particular state or county; this country has enough trouble running itself without the states mucking it up. I've got a grudge against several states now, mostly because they insisted on being States more than on being members of a Nation (much less than of a world community). Now, I couldn't really see why any particular individual, or even bunches of them, would give a faint damn about the rights of their particular state, and I presumed that all this fuss was made by a handful of crooked politicians who made a living from it; and to a certain extent this is true. But there does seem to be a feeling among people, at least out here (and I suppose the same is very much the case in the South), that you must be from somewhere, that you must have a Home Town and a Home State that is Yours--and you are Its, too, I suppose. I get very tired of being constantly asked where I am From; I'm from a whole lot of places, most of them better to be from than going to. I'm Here, now, even if that isn't wholly to my liking, and I haven't got a Home Town. I don't have a permanent address, and I sometimes think I never will. Bob at least has given his parents' home as a sort of permanent address for many years now, and has registered and voted there and generally registered his car there. But we doubt we will go back to New Jersey for many, many long years to come, and so now even he is registering things here. I haven't used my parents' address for anything since I was about 16. What am I to give? Former addresses used by me and my former husband, with other names? Glory, this damn university has my Home Town listed in their directory as Revere, Massachusetts. Bob and I lived there about a year, and it was mostly a place to sleep at night. In no sense could we have been said to live in Revere; we did all our living still in Cambridge, but I haven't had a Cambridge address in two years, or more.

People ask me where do I live, and I say Stadium Park; and they say yes, but where's your Home; and I say, over there at Stadium Park. But where do you Live? Here. You mean you're From Iowa City? Not yet--but in another year or two I may be, damnit.

Well, that was a long and rambling way of stating my dislike of the parochial mind, wherever encountered. It's these kind of people in these kind of states that keep Congressmen like Mr. Gross and Mr. Jensen in business, and that ultimately kill reapportionment. These people--the country and small town vote--elected Jensen and Gross, and many other Senators and Representatives, and of course they are going to oppose reapportionment; their political lives depend on it. I doubt seriously, what with that nasty bit tacked onto the Foreign Aid bill, that states like Iowa will ever reapportion. Too many loopholes, now.

I hope very much that we are allowed to vote in the local as well as the national elections (we're still not quite sure what student status is in that respect). There are a couple of City Council members that we're just itching to vote against. I don't know that there are too awfully many better men to put in their places, if any--but just getting them out would help, I think. One in particular is against everything



that's decent or sensible, and is so outspokenly for himself against the whole world that I wonder that even the folk of Iowa City can stand him. His poor wife, even, had to sue for a court order to make him leave her alone after they separated. He opposes any kind of fair housing ordinance, even the toothless thing the rest of the Council worked up. (It had absolutely no enforcement provisions at all--in fact, it has a sort of anti-enforcement provision, stating that you could, in fact, not do anything to punish a householder who did not comply with it.) If I could, I think I'd vote against him two or three times.

Well; the workings of small-town politics, the graft, the dirty deals, etc., are hardly a new thing. We don't stay anywhere long enough to let us get sufficiently embroiled in things to be effective citizens, and I suppose we never shall. And I have a conspicuous lack of talent for politicking--I'm too honest, too liable to shoot off my big yap. I'll vote when I can, though that may not be often, and probably live as far away from people as possible. I suppose the defeatist and retreatist attitude does not appeal to you, but I thoroughly muck up any endeavor of a public nature that I undertake, and I'm safest just left voting. (I bitterly recall a stirring speech on a matter related to civil rights that I delivered in a high school class-meeting. It was about putting posters up for the annual Senior Prom in the other high schools in the city, and it was debated whether we should put one up in the Negro high school--this was in Delaware--and I, of course, said Why Not? A great discussion ensued, and some--the moderates--argued that we might at least put one up there as a courtesy, since none of "them" were likely to come, after all. And others said, "But what if one of 'them' should come? What would we do?" Yet another said her father would take her out of school if one of "them" should ever come to a function there, and there was much weeping and gnashing of teeth. And like a great conquering hero, I, the fat and despised one, arose and put forth my impassioned all; lord, I don't know what I said exactly or how I said it, but I was mad, and let loose. The class then promptly voted not to put a poster up in the Negro school. This was in a Quaker school, mind you, and the class was small (about 35-40 students)--all, or almost all, cream of the intellectual crop, and almost all children of the worthiest and most influential citizens. I have pretty much kept away from fiery speeches since then; for after the meeting, my Dutch friend who lived with us said, "You just made them angry with that; there's no point in it. You should keep quiet--you just do more harm.")

I was tremendously interested in the experiment reported on in Science last spring on determining degree of genetic relatedness by DNA (or RNA) molecular matching upon being shaken together (that's a damn poor way of expressing it, but maybe you'll know the report I mean). I was seeing the Heavenly Light of the Final Solution to the problem of fossil classification until I came to the end, where it was explained that this method could not be used with fossils or plants, because only heavy molecules could be used and, of course, only the lightest ones are still found in fossil remains. But this method may still be the answer, ultimately, to a definition, or expression, of the concept of species in a fashion that will be workable for both paleontologists and biologists.

The whole business of defining genera and species on parts of an animal, when you don't even know what kind of an animal it is, burns me up. Conodonts, one of the specialties of this school, are the prime case in question. I concede the necessity of having some kind of nomenclature system for them, since they are--or are said to be, by those here--one of the prime index fossils (age indicators for the enclosing sediments). But the ICZN won't grant a special category for parts-of-animals taxa; thus, if any time the nature of the whole animal is dis-



covered--say, perhaps, that a carbon-film impression is found in a shale of the animal eventually, as seems likely--then the name of the whole-animal will be--What? There are assemblages of these small objects found together, and they are not all of the same kind (as our teeth are not all of the same kind; I gather quite a similar situation exists in regard to Fossil Man, many species of which are defined on teeth alone). Which of the species of the assemblage will give its name to the whole animal? And, as we do not know now at all certainly to what phylum, even, these parts-of-animals belong, what can we say of their ecology and habits? How can we tell that they are not in some fashion facies-controlled--i.e., controlled by their environment? And if they are more controlled by environment than by strictly timewise evolutionary forces, how can we be so all-fired sure that they are perfect time-indicators?

It has seemed to me that one of the strongest arguments used by those who oppose using hallucinogens to induce a mystic or quasi-mystic state is that the true mystic--or anyone who gets a true insight--does so by fasting or other physical and mental discipline, and that the state so induced is therefore essentially different from that induced by the drugs. The drugs, they say, work in a "merely chemical" fashion. On the other hand, the state achieved by fasting, etc., is almost certainly likewise "merely chemical"--our bodies being run in that way, so that all our states are merely chemical, or controlled chemically or physico-chemically. Gretchen Schwenn's paragraph to Harry Warner I generally agree with; but it does seem to me that the drug might be a valuable and helpful "crutch" to those whose minds have not yet been "stretched" or extended in this fashion before. Of course, I think they should be used carefully, with much attention to the surrounding; and quite probably there are some folk who should not use them, and others who do not need to, and many who do not want to. I don't think they can do very much harm to most people; and people who are determined will be able to get them, one way or the other, to use for better or worse. As with many drugs, it is better to have them freely available, say on easily obtained prescriptions if not on the open market, with advice from physicians on using them, than to surround them with an aura of forbidden, wicked mystery that makes them alluring to exactly the kind of people who shouldn't monkey around with them.

I doubt their value for me, though; the states that have been described by those using the drugs seem familiar, and not strange, to me. I think, perhaps too smugly, that I can achieve the states described without their use; and I am quite wary of over-heightening my perceptions except at times when I feel very dull and loggy, because it happens very easily that I get over-heightened perceptions without the use of drugs, and that is often too much. I'm not sure my nervous system could take the drug in stride. Pattern-awareness in particular I am extremely subject to, and I have to be cautious even when looking at prints of paintings, not to get an overdose, so to speak. I have sometimes gorged myself on books of prints, and felt the inevitable results of gorging: visual indigestion. Auditory indigestion is as bad, if not worse. I have heard of scientists having principles revealed to them when their minds were cleared and their awareness of relationships accentuated by hallucinogens, and I must say I am tempted to try it for this reason. But sometimes, too, I get moments of such sudden perception of relationships, and the main problem is that it comes in a big whopping flash, and there are usually too many things to perceive; the thing required is time to sort them out and get them fixed in mind so that they will stay when the moment is gone. Perhaps the drugs would help with this, perhaps not. At any rate, I haven't got any hallucinogens and I'm not going to play with them in uncontrolled conditions, because this is going into a field about which I know too little. (I have



had no personal experience with hallucinogenic drugs, but several persons with whom I am acquainted have experimented with them. Intensification of perceptions (e.g., of color, sound, texture, etc.) is apparently a nearly universal reaction, but the emotional effects of hallucinogens appear to vary widely with the individual. In the final analysis, I suspect that a hallucinogen, like alcohol in quantity, merely amplifies the pre-existing emotional state of the subject. The more pleasant emotional reactions described as deriving from experiences with drugs such as LSD (intense, excited pleasure, buoyant satisfaction, and so on) sound like the feelings I experience just after listening to a particularly enjoyable piece of music.)

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"When I observe a tottering child lowering its inquiring face into the pettles of a buttercup, and when it lifts up its head again and I notice that its nubbin of a nose is covered with the rich, golden dust of the sweet little flower, my eyes sometimes fill with sudden tears of gratitude because I am still privileged to witness the recurrence of this eternally miraculous event. But if I felt that I had another ten or fifteen years of life left, who knows with what piece of important silliness I might have been occupied at the time of this enchanting happening?" --Alexander King, in "May This House Be Safe From Tigers".  
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HARRY WARNER :: 423 SUMMIT AVE. :: HAGERSTOWN, MARYLAND, 21740

This noon I heard a talk by the head of the Republican speakers' bureau in Washington, who gave an explanation of the question that disturbs your own rest, about the activities of those North Vietnamese torpedo boats. This young man told a local service club that this was a good illustration of the Communists' nefarious plot. This plot consists of making us think that the Communists are trying to win friends and influence people in Asia. The Communists are using this as a smokescreen to blind us to their much more diligent activities in the United States and in Cuba. The speakers' bureau man also answered a question about the incident. He said that Goldwater approved of what Johnson did about the attacks on those American destroyers. But Goldwater didn't think that Johnson did it the right way.

I wonder if the controversy over the topless bathing suits might not be evidence that the nation's attention is leaving the breast as a female sex symbol for some other region of the anatomy not yet evident. The very fact that there is a controversy over the things is a good reminder of the fact that there are liberals on the matter. A century ago there would have been nobody to create a controversy. At that time, all the secret thoughts of men seemed to center on the legs of women, and women didn't seem to take any particular pains either to hide or to magnify the breasts by the way they dressed; you got a vague impression of something that stuck out further than the stomach for some of the younger girls, and that was about all. But legs were the items that great and minor authors kept hinting about in an embarrassedly humorous manner in their novels and conservative women wore gowns that gave no opportunity for determining if they got around on legs or on wheels. In the course of the century, men have come to take only a normal masculine interest in the legs and the legs have come right out in the fresh air. I suspect that something similar will happen to the breasts but I wouldn't care to predict where the next center of attention will be.

Maybe I'm as hopeless and incorrigible individual as Herman Kahn. But you know, I sympathize with the plight of anyone who decides to write about the topic of nuclear conflict at length, for I'm quite sure that I couldn't continue to feel the enormity of the meaning of those



millions of probable deaths, if I thought about them daily. You probably realize that on the nights when you go to bed--a majority of all the nights, I hope--more than half of your fellow human beings throughout the world are going to be hungry. I doubt that you brood over it. You can walk down Pratt Street or Charles Street or even Edmondson Avenue and look at every ninth adult you pass with the knowledge that that person will die of cancer, painfully and slowly in most cases, and you don't jump off the Bay Bridge or rush to Johns Hopkins and ask if you can be a volunteer in some kind of human guinea pig program for cancer research. The human mind is able to throw a censorship of common sense over the matters that would cause the emotions to remain permanently out of control if not held in some kind of check. Maybe Herman Kahn has thought about the subject enough to treat it as an electronic brain might handle it, and if he sometimes wakes in the middle of the night after horrible dreams, he probably doesn't look for pencil and paper to do some writing while the nightmare is fresh in his memory.

Those early Christian communities with their communistic ways of operation were probably closer to the ideals of St. Paul than to those of Christ. I believe that Christ would have been appalled at the thought of true believers sitting around in villages sharing everything with all the fellow villagers. He would have wanted them to be out on the road, spreading the Christian message to the many parts of the world that could not have heard it in those televisionless days. I also suspect that Christ would have been as disgusted with a community ownership of property as he would have been with private ownership. His whole way of life shows a disdain for property, ownership quite aside. Of course, all this was founded on Christ's certainty that the kingdom was at hand and that his second coming would be quite soon, making it quite unnecessary to think forward to insure the comfort of one's children or to prevent the land from being ruined by wrong crop practices or to keep the temple in good repair. I imagine that St. Paul's fame as a Christian leader was at least partly due to the fact that he sensed that there would be quite a wait before the end of the world, and proceeded to rearrange doctrine to suit his altered circumstances.

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"Today there appear to be a rather large number of people who are frightened because of the freedom American education enjoys. And there are people, including ourselves, who are dissatisfied with the progress we have made. Some in the face of the threat of totalitarianism now appear inclined to feel that our schools and colleges should become centers for indoctrination. This surely would be to lose the greatest battle of this century without a fight. Americanism does not mean enforced and circumscribed belief; it cannot mean this. We know that free men are developed not by indoctrination but only by that superlative kind of gifted teaching which can engender fresh thought and living concern."  
--Nathan M. Pusey.  
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JOHN BOSTON :: 816 S. FIRST ST. :: MAYFIELD, KENTUCKY, 42066

The English masses might have been less "viciously exploited" in Marx's time than in the 17th century, as George Price says, but it was a difference of degree rather than kind. It might be comparable to the situation of the American Negro. They have come forward a little bit, but not far enough and not through the workings of the existing social milieu. They still have a long way to go before their goal is to be achieved. Likewise with the workers. "Unfettered capitalism" wasn't helping the worker; the restraints on capitalism, the reform bills being passed in Parliament, were what eased his burden, and probably prevent-



ed a socialist revolution in England.

Your "Grim Fairy Tale" was quite amusing, but inaccurate. A better analogy for my attitude would be the following:

"Once upon a time, a person was walking through a village, when he spied a milling knot of men above him. He could hear cries emanating from the small crowd: 'Slug him!' 'Knock him down!' 'You leave him alone!' 'Joe hit Sam first!' 'Did not!' 'Did so!' 'Sam called Joe a so-and-so!' 'You're a liar!'

"Upon looking more closely, the lone pedestrian saw that in the center of the group fists were flying and blood was being shed.

"The pedestrian decided to leave the quarrel alone, and took a different route to his destination."

The main flaw in that analogy is that the police should have been called. In several of the versions of the Breen affair that I have come across, there was mention of one faction or another seeking legal advice and/or taking its grievance to the police at some time, so the constabulary may be assumed to have been on the scene. (Yes, the local police officials were apprised of the accusations against Walter Breen and investigated him. Walter remains a free man today. Does this suggest anything to you?)

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"Freud never felt that his work was finished. As new evidence came to him from his patients and colleagues, he expanded and revised his basic theories. In the 1920's, for example, when Freud was seventy years old, he completely altered a number of his fundamental views. He revamped his theory of motivation, completely reversed his theory of anxiety; and instituted a new model of personality based upon the id, the ego, and the superego. One does not expect to find such flexibility in a man of seventy. Resistance to change is much characteristic of older people. But Freud cannot be judged by ordinary standards. He learned the lesson early in life that scientific conformity means intellectual stultification." -- Calvin S. Hall, in "A Primer of Freudian Psychology".  
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BETTY KUJAWA :: 2819 CAROLINE ST. :: SOUTH BEND 14, INDIANA

Had I the time I'd go hunt down the early family photograph albums and send you a picture of me in a topless bathing suit. Around the age of three I didn't look bad in one at all...

I croggled more than just a little upon reading Bob Lichtman's letter in Kipple #64. I croggled almost as much at you for not commenting, but on second thought I figure you do know the facts and left his rather amazing contention stand unchallenged just to get a rise out of your readers.

The physiological development of both male and female infants (as well as other mammals) is such that erotic arousal and orgasm can be reached by the newborn--not all, but enough of each to warrant it being not extraordinary. I refer Bob to pages 101-106 of the 1953 edition of Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey's book, "Sexual Behavior in the Human Female". There one will find ample information as to sexuality and erotic responsiveness in pre-adolescents, including a masturbatory incident observed by the mother of a three-year-old girl.

"After all, how could a three-year-old be turned on sexually?" is a most astonishing comment. If Bob observed this incident and does not know this fact or facts, then his evaluations and conclusions cannot be taken for much. I wonder how much he knows about other subjects? I would have expected him to be more cognizant of such basic and obvious information. Any mother, or--as in my particular case--anyone who has majored



in Child Psychology--has had opportunities to observe the phenomenon often. It is far from rare. An infant boy can have an erection, due to stimulus or a full bladder, moments after birth--or so our family doctor told me this week when I inquired into the matter. And little girls can masturbate themselves far earlier than the age of three.

Unless, then, the little girl involved in the incident with Breen was in some way defective physiologically (which I am certain she was not--I have enjoyed her company, and she is a bright, sprightly, beautiful child indeed), Walter's treatment of her did cause some reaction. I--and the physician I spoke to--believe Bob when he says that her reaction was to giggle and show pleasure; it was an erotic stimulation and quite pleasurable. Since time immemorial nursemaids, servants or older siblings have oftentimes soothed and quieted-down crying infants in their cribs by stroking and manipulating the genitals. This practice has been written up in so many books for so many years by so many people that I can't imagine how Bob Lichtman could make such a statement and expect others to believe him.

I am tempted to continue with facts as to the erotic reaction by children to various things such as swinging on swings, bouncing on teeter-totters, bike riding, and the like. (The children, of course, may not recognize the sexual nature of these responses: on page 141, Kinsey mentions records of one seven-month-old infant and five others under one year of age who were observed in masturbation.) I am not, mind you, implying that Bob "molested" the child by swinging her back and forth on the swing, though it is one way that little girls can and do get genital pleasure under certain circumstances. But obviously if we are to view everything from this angle, most anything would be suspect. One sees tiny children hugging and rubbing themselves against parents or other adults excitedly and with obvious intent to stimulate themselves; it is quite an ordinary thing, as anyone who has been around children for any length of time can testify. One channels their interest and attention elsewhere; one does not reach for a pencil, with or without eraser, to give further titillation to the child. One of Walter's intelligence and educational background surely knows this and knows his responsibilities in such a situation. I myself would not indulge in such pleasantries, nor would you, Ted, I am sure.

In the future, I hope Bob will do just a little checking of facts before making such statements; it would make his conclusions far more believable and reliable.

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"I observe that a very large portion of the human race does not believe in God and suffers no visible punishment in consequence. And if there were a God, I think it very unlikely that he would have such an uneasy vanity as to be offended by those who doubt his existence." --Bertrand Russell, in "What is an Agnostic?"  
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In #63, Charles Crispin again shows his confused state of mind when it comes to the political-historical field. From some snowy masterpiece he has acquired the idea that conservatives oppose all change, a charge both patently ridiculous and easily disputed. To quote Burke again: "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its own conservation." I could just as easily have pointed to the writings and actions of all the great conservatives of the English-speaking world: Churchill and Disraeli, Hamilton and Lincoln, Macdonald and Deakin, and so on. It was the continental European conservatives of the de Maistre, Don Cortes and Donostsev (for France, Spain and Russia respec-



tively) school that he seems concerned with. They are the status quo absolutists who would stop the path of history and oppose all change in an indiscriminate manner. They represent the stream of conservatism in Eastern and Southern Europe (if I must generalize) and, to a large degree, in Latin America. They are authoritarian, but not totalitarian, and absolutist without pining for the millenium. They brought about the crash in Russia and France, Spain and the Balkans, and on their heads must lie equal responsibility for the France of the Revolution and that sea of hate that radiates from Moscow--Bolshevism. They are the present allies of Castroism in Latin America--certainly in fact, if not in philosophy.

But Crispin lumps together all conservatives, whatever their nature and actions, whatever their philosophical fountainhead, into one vaguely-defined group that always "opposes change, per se". And for one who believes in the flow of history, of not taking a particular time period to prove a point, he certainly pulls the English Civil War, for example, out of its historical period and warps both its origins and conclusions. It was no simple struggle between Divine Right and Parliamentary supremacy; rather, it was a struggle over constitutional interpretation, finances and monetary policy, and the issue which finally felled Charles I--religion. There was little outcry about Charles' Personal Rule of eleven years without summoning Parliament, but many felt the king was infringing on areas under Parliament's jurisdiction in order to raise money to reign throughout that decade plus one year. Coke and Eliot, for two, led Parliament in an attempt to prevent the king from seizing their constitutional rights to set taxes, and hence were the conservatives--as opposed to a monarch who seemed to be moving toward absolutism, who was doing the innovating (as James before him had tried). Yet Charles would not have died for this alone, nor even for the undercurrents of a rising capitalist class in the cities and his apparent support for savagely hated Catholicism and Popery. What doomed Charles was the complete takeover of Parliament by Puritan radicals and a Republican Army. They destroyed the Parliamentary royalists and the Puritan moderates, and Cromwell with the Army destroyed all other opposition.

But the point I wish to make is this. Only at the end was the war against the king, and then only by the extreme radicals and republicans. Conservatives and liberals, if such terms can be used, were royalists and as effective as the corpse of Parliament. And worst of all, the whole Civil War, because it violently severed the nation from its roots, solved nothing. The whole question of Parliamentary supremacy over taxes was challenged by Charles II and James II (and note that the former still ruled by Divine Right) and the hopes of absolutism and Popery were not dealt their death-blow until the revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights passed then. The Civil War was a bloody interlude that solved nothing, a radical upheaval that would never accomplish what the evolutionary change of 1688 could and did do.

And yet can Crispin see that evolutionary change can produce the desired results without radicalism destroying the social fabric? I doubt it, for the radical wants quick change, and he cares little if it is violent change. The ends justify the means: the Horror of 1793 is justified by France being republican and free nowadays. Yet was it rationalist rootless France or traditionalist conservative England that faced the radicalism of Hitler with success in World War II? And which are the stabler nations: the rationalist Southern European and Latin American countries, or the traditionalist English and Scandinavian nations, with their kings and misty constitutions? Freedom existed long before democracy, and those like Crispin who say savage Rebellions bring liberty are only deluding themselves, by substituting democracy (which ex-



ists in Communist totalitarian ... ty, which has long existed in England, all through the p ... power--in the democratic sense--gradually swung from king to C ... and then to the people. (I doubt that we can fairly attribute England's success in defending the free world from Nazi Germany to the social and political structure of that nation. France fell to the forces of the Third Reich while England resisted not because one country was "rationalist" and "rootless" and the other "traditionalist", but because the military strategy of France was obsolete and its geographical position vulnerable, while England possessed the immense strategic advantage of being separated from the mainland by a difficult-to-cross channel and had a modern, dynamic military outlook. Incidentally, I detect in your observation about England facing "the radicalism of Hitler" a misapplication of emphasis which is distressingly characteristic of conservative thinking. Hitler's "radicalism" presented no particular problem to the British; it was Germany's military might which had to be faced.)

The foolishness of Crispin is again evident in his comment on Hitler: "He's yours, Nelson, the epitome of right-wing extremism, don't blame us leftist-radicals." He believes he can say the magic words "right-wing" and "Hitler" and lump conservatives with that vile creation of evil. I blame no single group for Hitler, but rather economic conditions produced by a capitalism gone astray, a world war that should never have been fought, a peace treaty of high stupidity, the liberal democratic rationalism forced on a nation not ready or used to it, and conservatives who thought they could use Hitler when instead he was using them. Rather, I was defending Bismarck's gentle authoritarianism and conservative social justice against a force that culminated in Hitler--the vicious "Volk" nationalism of the German radicals like Jahn, the pseudo-liberals of his day. A continuation of the Empire, with its muted democracy but stable institutions, would have been better than the rationalist, ultra-democratic, liberal Weimar Republic that collapsed before Communist radicalism on the Left and Nazi radicalism on the Right. ("...Nazi radicalism on the Right"? Mr. Nelson, meet Mr. Price; Mr. Price, this is Mr. Nelson...)

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"The majority of distinguished Republicans in this country supported the partial nuclear test-ban treaty, but not Senator Goldwater."

"The majority of Republican spokesmen in this country voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but not Senator Goldwater."

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"The majority of Republican office-holders were in favor of the tax-cut bill, but not Senator Goldwater."

"Of course, the majority of distinguished Republicans in this country have lost elections at one time or another, but not Senator Goldwater."

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I doubt the possibility of  
persuasive the argument, and Crispin  
ly other writer in Kipple who is, to  
Dave Hulan. (Publicola sounds too  
for my support, though I notice few  
much conservative philosophy or even  
om.)

A. G. Smith, who is an interesting personality with an occasional devastating comment on the Liberal Establishment, is certainly no conservative, as he himself has admitted. His isolationism, his rabid laissez faire capitalism, his fervid anti-religious attitude, etc., all place him in a different camp, the old social darwinist-Manchester liberal school that is dead except among some of the Goldwater conservatives in America.

Then there is George Price, whose capitalism rather repels me, since I don't believe in natural laws for economics. If economics, why not politics, and I refuse to accept the principle that a man born anywhere on the face of this earth, whether New York or the Lower Congo, has a natural right to vote--or, for that matter, to live. The laws and traditions of his society determine these and other factors, the prescriptive rights of his culture-nation, and nothing from heaven above or abstract principles below.

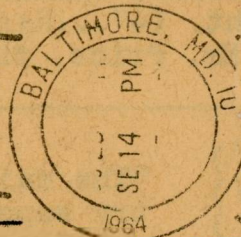
As a parting shot, Ted, let me record the first word that immediately came to mind when you asked Chay Borsella what liberal cause you espouse: Justice (pure, abstract and undefined). (Well, perhaps I do tend to be somewhat zealous in my advocacy of justice; but even Senator Backwater admits that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue...))

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