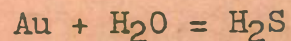
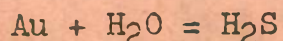
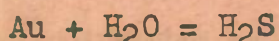


"In proportion as casts disappear and the classes of society approximate,--as manners, customs, and laws vary, from the tumultuous intercourse of men,--as new facts arise,--as new truths are brought to light,--as ancient opinions are dissipated, and others take their place,--the image of an ideal but always fugitive perfection presents itself to the human mind. Continual changes are then every instant occurring under the observation of every man: the position of some is rendered worse; and he learns but too well that no people and no individual, how enlightened soever they may be, can lay claim to infallibility: the condition of others is improved; whence he infers that man is endowed with an indefinite faculty of improvement. His reverses teach him that none have discovered absolute good,--his success stimulates him to the never-ending pursuit of it. Thus, forever seeking, forever falling to rise again,--often disappointed but not discouraged,--he tends unceasingly towards that unmeasured greatness so indistinctly visible at the end of the long track which humanity has yet to tread."

--Alexis de Tocqueville

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JOHN F. EDWARDS FROM DESK

THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: However humiliating his approaching defeat may be, Senator Barry Goldwater has assured himself a lasting place in American history. By any reckoning, he is one of the most extraordinary individuals ever to aspire to high public office in the United States. What immediately impresses one about Senator Goldwater is the interesting fact that, despite his having been in public life for a reasonably long period of time, he is completely out of place in the milieu of politics. Other Americans, to be sure, have risen to positions of political eminence while retaining charmingly non-political personalities, but Senator Goldwater is more than simply not a politician; he is a veritable anti-politician. In a nation and a political system noted throughout the world for having refined the science of political maneuvering to its ultimate degree of efficiency, Senator Goldwater manages somehow to remain totally aloof from "politics", with all its disreputable connotations. While the very term "politician" implies a devious, calculating, slightly dishonest pragmatist, Barry Goldwater epitomizes precisely the opposite characteristics: he is an idealist, utterly incapable of deliberate deviousness, too naive to be calculating, and rigidly honest beyond a shadow of a doubt. He is probably that heretofore hypothetical creature, the absolutely incorruptible public official.

It is because he is an idealist that politically sophisticated Western Europeans, save only the ardent Gaullists, fear the prospect of his election. They recognize that, as an idealist, Senator Goldwater conceives of world affairs as an exclusively black-versus-white picture, a classical confrontation between the forces of good and the forces of evil. The dangers inherent in such an outlook are manifest. Granted the accuracy of this view, all-out conflict necessarily suggests itself as the eventual and inevitable result. For absolute good and absolute evil can never achieve a compromise; at best, there can be a temporary truce, while both sides marshal their hosts. The inevitability of war which doctrinaire Marxists envision as a materialistic principle has its counterpart in Senator Goldwater's philosophy, which envisions a total and irreconcilable divergence of spiritual values leading ultimately to a glorious test of strength and faith. To an idealist of Barry Goldwater's calibre, the question is not, will there be a war?, but rather: when will it begin? But this eventual war is not the terrible holocaust predicted by liberals and appeasers who desire to frighten us; it is merely another in a series of conflicts in which the United States has been forced to engage in order to defend the right, one in which faith, determination and purity of soul will be decisive factors. The outcome, of course, is entirely predictable--for does not good always triumph over evil in the end?

Modern Europe also fears Senator Goldwater because he is a patriot, if not indeed the ultimate pa-

triot. The Senator is today's foremost proponent of the American Way of Life, a completely ambiguous but nonetheless inspiring phrase, and the central tenet of his philosophy consists of the assumption that it is the manifest destiny of the United States to make the planet safe for virtue, as defined by the United States. We have, according to this view, achieved a way of life which is, politically, spiritually and materially, inherently superior to any alternative system, and it is therefore our solemn duty to deliver the benefits of this wonderful way of life to the less fortunate nations of the world--against their will, if necessary. Senator Goldwater, in other words, is a devoted American nationalist, a chauvinist, but of a more sophisticated variety than his crude forerunners. His is not a desire for simple military domination of the world; rather, he desires for his country permanent cultural, political and economic predominance. This rabid nationalism is the basis for Senator Goldwater's determined opposition to the United Nations as a body wielding genuine authority as well as his cavalier attitude toward world opinion and the decisions of the World Court. Submitting to the authority of an international tribunal--or even recognizing its right to require submission in a hypothetical instance--is intolerable to a vehement nationalist, since to do so undermines the sovereignty of the national state--just as, over one hundred years ago, the acceptance of Federal authority was seen to be detrimental to the altogether theoretical and slightly ridiculous "sovereignty" of the state of South Carolina. It is little wonder that Senator Goldwater speaks favorably of the cause of states' rights, for he is championing exactly the same point of view on an international scale.

Most Europeans are terrified by violently enunciated nationalism, because they have had a great deal of experience with the results of placing supreme power in the eager hands of chauvinists. To the majority of Americans, however, an unwavering patriot such as Senator Goldwater is a symbol of strength and success, rather than misery and failure. We have been exceedingly fortunate in this country, having managed to emerge victorious from every war in which we have engaged. In fact, winning wars has become so much an accepted part of the American experience that we refuse absolutely to entertain the thought that it might be possible for the United States to lose one. Consequently, the American electorate is not restrained by that healthy fear of war which is responsible for the popularity of peace movements in most other major countries. Rampant nationalism of the American variety tends to be identified with Theodore Roosevelt, who was clever enough to exercise his predilection for gunboat diplomacy only in areas where the United States was powerful to the point of omnipotence. Americans who, harkening back to the glorious days of unchallenged American hegemony in the hemisphere and isolation from the tumultuous stage of Europe, see Senator Goldwater as their savior, have failed to recognize that the United States is no longer in a position where it may look upon war as a logical extension of policy. They do not recognize, in short, that if we attempt gunboat diplomacy in this era, our gunboats will be sunk. We possess, if anything, an even bigger stick than Theodore Roosevelt's, but that is just the trouble--our "stick" is so huge that we cannot use it without committing national suicide.

One of the most widely recognize attributes of Senator Goldwater as a political figure is his tendency to constantly contradict himself while making ad lib observations. Usually, such a characteristic in a politician is attributed to dishonesty and lack of principles; but Senator Goldwater is not a politician. He is honest to a degree remarkable among public figures, and it would not seriously occur to him that political expediency could justify the sacrifice of a principle. This

honesty and utter devotion to the principles which he espouses render his contradictions even more frightening, because they are revealed as unconscious exercises in doublethink. Orwell defined "doublethink" as "the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them." But even this definition seems to imply deliberate dishonesty, a calculated device to avoid entrapment in inconsistencies. Barry Goldwater's brand of doublethink is in a completely different class; it is neither conscious nor deliberate, and it is certainly not calculated. Rather, it is an intrinsic quality of his thinking, as natural to him as breathing. Senator Goldwater is able to make two contradictory statements with absolute conviction and sincerity, realizing that they are contradictory, yet not thinking this important. As Gore Vidal observed, the Senator doesn't connect things in his mind; he fails to perceive the relationship between ideas and concepts. His policies and suggestions, whatever their individual merits, have no consistent relation to each other. Consequently, it is possible for him to criticize the continuing growth of Federal power while, simultaneously and with disarming sincerity, excoriating the incumbent administration on the basis of rising crime statistics and demanding that the federal government intrude upon the local prerogative of law enforcement in order to put an end to this disgraceful spectacle. He advocates, with complete candor, reduction of government spending and abolition of the draft, while at the same time promising to pursue a foreign policy which will lead to numerous (and expensive) Korea-type conflicts. He condemns the TVA as a malevolent, socialistic institution interfering with individual initiative and private enterprise, while defending the Central Arizona Project as a massive vindication of the free enterprise system--and he actually believes that there is enough difference between the TVA and CAP to justify this double standard. He accuses the Johnson Administration of preparing for a negotiated settlement in South Vietnam but also at the same time warns that the Democrats are about to precipitate a crisis there. While actively seeking to capitalize on racial antipathy, Senator Goldwater is still capable of announcing during a news conference: "I hope to God that civil rights doesn't get into the campaign at all."

Barry Goldwater is a man of striking simplicity, childlike faith, and a naivete with regard to the realities of the outside world which would do credit to a fairytale character. His basic appeal is messianic; and he exhorts the electorate to revolt against the complexity and moral decadence of the twentieth century, and offers them in exchange a dream world of simplicity and common sense in which the good guys can be distinguished from the bad guys without a program. He has become the symbol of resistance to the present and longing for the past, because, even his closest friends and political advisers will admit, he is hopelessly bewildered by the modern world, which will not stand still long enough to be catalogued in the old reliable terms. If it were not for the possibility (however slim) that he could find himself in a position to incinerate the Northern Hemisphere, Barry Goldwater would be a sympathetic character, rather like the pathetic souls in Greek tragedy who are constantly being torn by forces beyond their comprehension and remain pitifully bewildered by the entire process.

Senator Goldwater moves in a dimension of unreality which is largely or totally inaccessible to the rank and file--and, indeed, to all but the hard core of faithful lieutenants. From the privacy of this comfortable little haven, the Senator formulates and releases his incredible public statements. It is because of his orientation to this unreal universe that the Senator constantly finds it necessary to explain, clarify, rephrase, and reinterpret what he has previously said. Most of Senator Goldwater's public statements are geared to this dream

world; in its context, they are completely comprehensible and entirely appropriate. Unfortunately, when the Senator utters them, his listeners have a tendency (natural, under the circumstances) to attempt to apply them to their own world. They don't fit this world. "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue"--this is one example of such a statement. In Senator Goldwater's private little universe, that statement undoubtedly possesses a meaning which is both clear-cut and admirable; but applied to the outside world it fares poorly. The Senator was undoubtedly scandalized and appalled to learn after making that statement that he had justified the Bolshevik Revolution, the Harlem riots, and the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. This is not what he had meant, of course; but who cannot see that his ambiguous statement may reasonably be applied to--and used to justify--practically every social and political upheaval in the history of the world?

Another fault of Senator Goldwater's which is the natural corollary of one of his virtues is his apparently boundless faith in the inherent goodness of individuals, especially those who agree with him politically. A conservative is traditionally cynical with regard to the moral fibre and intellectual abilities of common people; but not so Senator Goldwater. He believes that most of the domestic problems facing our nation today are primarily moral problems which can be solved by confronting the mass of basically good citizens with the proper kind of leadership. When others observe that integration can only be accomplished by a change in the hearts of men and not by laws, they are merely indulging in a maneuver to stall the progress of the civil rights

(' ' ' ') "Good afternoon, sir. I am the founder and director of
(0 0) the Scarsdale League for Sexual Liberty, an organization
(o) dedicated to combatting repression and prudery in all
((=)) its forms."

"We believe that sex is inherently healthy and beautiful, (' ' ' ')
and should not be dealt with as something to be hidden in (0 0)
dark corners and discussed in whispers. Sex is a normal (o)
activity which should be freely enjoyed by all." ((=))

(' ' ' ') "The immediate practical goals of our group include the
(0 0) legalization of prostitution, frank and thorough courses
(o) on sex education in public schools, and the encourage-
((=)) ment of pre-marital intercourse for youngsters."

"Furthermore, we are devoted to the liberalization of the (' ' ' ')
so-called 'vice' statutes, the widespread distribution of (0 0)
contraceptive devices, and the legalization of abortion." (o)
((=))

(' ' ' ') "In addition--what's that you say? Oh, well, if that's
(0 0) the way you feel... Incidentally, I am also the founder
(o) and director of the Scarsdale branch of the Society for
((=)) the Preservation of Morality and Decency in Literature.
Let me outline our program..."

movement; but Senator Goldwater honestly and firmly believes this. He sincerely believes that the white power structure of rural Mississippi will eventually recognize the error of their ways and integrate the Negroes into the society, if only the federal government will cease interfering with their local problems. The Senator seems to naively assume that, because he is honest and true to his principles, anyone who agrees with his political opinions must also be a paragon of integrity. Thus, confronted with copious evidence of their crude and pernicious methods, Barry Goldwater continues to assert that the members of the John Birch Society are "the kind of people we need in politics". He is not therefore being hypocritical; it has simply never occurred to him to connect the extremist actions which receive newspaper headlines with the patriotic words uttered by those members of the John Birch Society who agree with so much of the Senator's program. Perhaps this factor also explains his startling choice of William E. Miller as his running mate. Because they agree so closely on matters of policy and are reasonably compatible in terms of basic philosophy, Barry Goldwater believes that Representative Miller must also be, at heart, the same kind of individual. The Senator tends instinctively to trust those who share his conservative outlook. So one of the most honest and direct legislators of the century consents to share a ticket with one of the most vicious and venal men ever to emerge from the House of Representatives, a gut-fighter, a politician in the grim tradition of Huey Long, a man completely devoted to nothing except his own interests. It is one of the remarkable paradoxes of Goldwater's campaign.

His almost childlike trust in people of similar political leaning would make Barry Goldwater as President extremely vulnerable. There is good reason to believe that Goldwater would be a helpless pawn in the hands of opportunists, a poor, befuddled fellow who permitted his friends and political allies to enrich themselves at the expense of the country. Barry Goldwater would never consciously be a party to such activities; the danger is that they would occur without his knowledge, undertaken by those who had used and betrayed his trust. For Barry Goldwater is innocent; he could not comprehend the motives of corrupt subordinates, could not understand that everyone is not as honest as himself merely because they profess the same moral tenets, and could not believe that fellow conservatives could heartlessly use him to gain positions of influence and line their pockets.

In the final analysis, the prospect of Senator Goldwater's election to the presidency is horrifying not primarily because of his conservative outlook, however objectionable it may be to liberals, but because of his erratic personality, intellectual shallowness, and administrative incompetence. The best characterization of Senator Goldwater is still the strikingly concise one tendered by Ray Bradbury: he is the man with the foot-shaped mouth.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES is one of the cardinal principles of modern liberalism. Essentially, the principle states that the civil liberties which are enumerated in the Constitution of the United States must be applicable to every citizen of this nation, regardless of the circumstances of any particular case. Judicial interpretation determines (and must continue to determine) the precise scope of these constitutional tenets, but they are absolute in the sense that the existence of a civil liberty cannot be dependent upon the identity or circumstances of the individual attempting to exercise it. As a necessary corollary of this fundamental premise, all laws must, both in expression and enforcement, apply equally to every citizen. (For purposes of this discussion, children are considered wards of their parents or the state rather than true citizens, for obviously it

is necessary to restrict the activities of children in many ways which, if enforced against a competent adult, would be considered intolerable infringements against constitutionally guaranteed liberties.) So manifestly desirable appears this principle, which merely provides that legal pressure may not be discriminatorily exerted against portions of the citizenry, that it is alarming to note that many otherwise well-meaning Americans refuse to accept it. Racists do not, of course, believe that Negroes are entitled to equal protection under the law, religious fanatics condemn a system of government which accords atheists the same rights as believers, and right-wing lunatics are incensed when Communists or accused Communists utilize their constitutionally guaranteed liberties to avoid prosecution. But experience has taught us that extremist elements of any segment of society are capable of advancing without compunction (or cogitation) the most ludicrous propositions in favor of their special interest. What is altogether unnerving, however, is the fact that intelligent, thoughtful Americans, who would ordinarily defend the Bill of Rights to the death, are prepared to withdraw its protection from certain individuals or groups upon what they consider sufficient provocation. These are not vindictive and ruthless zealots seeking vengeance upon some despised minority; they are merely good Americans who, in order to defend the Constitution, are willing to unwittingly weaken its most hallowed provisions.

This school of thought is best represented by those individuals who, on the ground of national defense, advocate legal action to curtail the activities of the Communist Party of the United States. What they propose in order to deal with the over-estimated menace of domestic Marxism are discriminatory laws, i.e., laws placing individuals of certain specific political opinions under restrictions which are not imposed upon the vast majority of the population. To put into practice such a program would be nothing less than a disaster for the American principle of equality before the bar of justice. You cannot, in a free society, penalize an individual for holding a political opinion, however distasteful it may be to the majority, however dangerous it may be to the very freedom of that society. The damage likely to have been caused by the opinion which is suppressed will not be nearly as great as the damage resulting from the creation of separate standards of legality for various groups or political parties.

Whenever someone chooses to argue in favor of such legislation, the point is invariably raised that the society possesses the right to protect itself against the espionage and sabotage which are usually part of the program of a subversive organization. This no one would deny. But sabotage and espionage are illegal for all citizens; obviously, a Communist could and should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law if he engages in espionage or commits an act of sabotage. There can be no objection to this, just as there can be no objection to prosecuting a Communist who has, for one reason or another, committed grand larceny. But these laws are applied universally to all members of the society. It is quite another matter to prosecute a Communist merely for being a Communist, when he has not committed any act which is generally considered criminal (i.e., one which would be considered a crime if committed by a non-Communist).

Some advocates of controlling the Communist menace by direct legislation, apparently troubled by conscience, have promulgated the ridiculous thesis of cumulative illegality. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, in their informative if somewhat one-sided volume, "What We Must Know About Communism", phrase it in this manner: "...when enough of these lawful actions have been added up, a point is reached where quantitative change becomes qualitative: where the sum total of the lawful, viewed in the context of Party purposes and allegiances, becomes unlaw-

ful." This remarkable doctrine appears to be the direct descendant of the concept of cumulative treason, which figured prominently in the unsuccessful attempt by Parliamentary forces to impeach Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the English Civil War. So absurd is this distortion of law for repressive purposes that one might suppose that its propounders would be even more embarrassed by the legal fiction than by the pangs of conscience which led them to espouse it. The sum total of a number of lawful acts cannot add up to an unlawful one; the entire history of Anglo-American jurisprudence stands to refute this ignominious doctrine.

Finally, discriminatory legislation against the adherents of "subversive" doctrines is defended by those who, while in substantial agreement with the liberal principle of the universal application of laws, contend that national security justifies exceptions in certain cases. This is an untenable position. The principle is properly viewed as an absolute one, not because leading liberal spokesmen are particularly fond of absolutes, but for the very simple reason that the principle becomes hollow otherwise. Once the possibility of legitimate exceptions to the rule is admitted, a veritable Pandora's Box is opened. If Communists may be excluded from protection under the Bill of Rights on the ground of national security, then so may any other group of subversives. But atheists are "subversive" in the eyes of dedicated religious zealots, integrationists are "subversive" by the standards established by the state of Mississippi, Catholics are "subversive" according to staunch Protestant bigots, ad infinitum. The legal precedent which can function against Communists today can be utilized to destroy socialists tomorrow and Republicans sometime next week. Civil liberties must be universal in application, because once the precedent of depriving a minority of these liberties is established it cannot be confined within its original limitations; eventually, it will be used to crush all dissent.

DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS, a pronounced trend toward experimentation with various types of ungraded classes has been noticeable in school systems all across the nation. The theoretical utility of such a system has for many years been widely acknowledged among the "intellectuals" in the sphere of education, but only recently has there been widespread practical application of this concept. The first really extensive and widely publicized experiment with ungraded classes in a public school was undertaken at University School in Tallahassee, Florida, beginning several years ago and continuing to the present time. Although technically a public school, University School is a subsidiary of Florida State University's School of Education, and as such it occupies the position of an experimental laboratory attached to the parent institution. By virtue of this association, University School has access to the most remarkable array of talented educators and experts ever placed at the disposal of a public school. It has pioneered a number of revolutionary concepts, most of them devised by the energetic and brilliant director of the school, Joe Hooten, Jr., but University School's greatest claim to fame has been its virtually complete abandonment of the grade system. Every child attending the institution, which includes both elementary and secondary schools, is permitted to progress at his or her individual rate. At University School, it is impossible to "fail" a course or semester; each pupil simply continues to study at each level until the material is mastered and he is therefore prepared to advance to the next level. A child is encouraged to assimilate information as rapidly as he is able, and no individual student is pressed beyond his capabilities or allowed to become bored by the enforcement of an arbitrary schedule of instruction supposedly

tailored to the abilities of the "average" child.

The example of University School is being widely imitated throughout the United States. In most school systems, the ungraded classes are isolated units, intended primarily as experimental models, but eventually the advantages of the system will become apparent in the districts where it is being tried and ungraded schools will become the rule rather than the exception. In Baltimore, one of the first major cities to explore the possibilities of this technique, ungraded classes have been operating on a limited scale for four years. While only twelve city schools have been involved in this experiment, the results of abandoning the traditional separation of schools into inflexible and not altogether sensible compartments have been so favorable that there is excellent reason to believe that this arrangement will be instituted on a citywide basis in the foreseeable future. The nature of bureaucracy insures, of course, that this happy situation will not materialize until at least three years after everyone concerned has decided that the step is necessary and desirable.

It is to be expected that traditionalists will resist this innovation with all their considerable resources, but--surprisingly--there has to date been remarkably little overt opposition in Baltimore to the experiment in ungraded classes. The instructors who have had contact with the program appear to be completely satisfied with its results, and the parents of those children presently enrolled in ungraded schools would seem to have no legitimate ground for complaint. Nevertheless, the history of Western civilization abundantly demonstrates that no revolutionary idea or concept has ever been introduced without encountering diehard opposition from some quarter, and it is extremely doubtful that homogeneous grouping (i.e., grouping on the basis of ability rather than age--the earliest and most common form of ungraded schooling) will fare a great deal better in this regard than social security or Columbian world-roundness. Perhaps the nature of the opposition to be expected is indicated by a letter which recently appeared in the Baltimore News-American, wherein a lady (though that is perhaps a wild assumption) named Patricia Bullington unburdened herself of some criticisms of the new system:

"Children haven't got a chance these days! For the past two years the Baltimore City Public Schools started a new system of teaching. It's only to the sixth grade but that's enough!

"The new system is called the 'non-graded' and consists of students from grades one to six. They progress on their own speed which isn't helping them but making them lazy. Of course, if a young child can get away with hardly any work they won't rebel. A child should advance as we did; given the encouragement and extra push. If you want him to learn and succeed it is necessary for all these plus work to enrich his mind.

"Any child denied this extra help and push will never succeed until completely taught at home, even if many parents haven't the qualifications to teach correctly. If the new system shows to be hurting the children and is demolished, they still suffer. Experimenting this way hurts many."

The most amusing aspect of this dissertation, of course, is that Miss Bullington, who believes that modern children should learn as she

did, is a remarkably poor advertisement for conventional education--at least in the related fields of English composition and grammar. But the fact that traditionally structured classes failed to education one woman in the correct manner of writing a letter does not in itself constitute a legitimate argument against the system; I suspect that, under pressure of argument, the average alumnus of an ungraded school would be equally capable of switching from the singular to the plural in the middle of a sentence and leaving out a few essential commas. (Indeed, even the seasoned journalists of Kipple's immense office staff occasionally commit equally grave grammatical sins, despite the mandatory penalty of summary dismissal imposed for such offenses.)

What is more interesting than the apparent fact of Miss Bullington's miseducation is the basis for her principal criticism: viz., that permitting pupils to progress at their own individual pace encourages laziness. I know of no reliable empirical information to support this accusation, which, if true to any great extent, would certainly constitute a potent argument against the innovation. But Miss Bullington and others of similar persuasion have apparently been misled by the fact that incentive, which is admittedly necessary to promote learning, has traditionally been provided solely through direct competition between the thirty or forty students who together comprise the class. Since American education has been conducted on this basis since the inception of the public school system in the United States, it is not surprising that, to many otherwise intelligent spectators, competition might appear to be the only workable form of incentive. This is not, as it happens, the case, but in view of the fact that direct competition is stressed in American classrooms almost to the exclusion of any other

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"The Federal Government is nothing but a conspiracy of anti-American power-seekers, attempting to rob the people of their dignity and make them slaves."

"The State Department is riddled with Communists, dupes and sympathizers, engaged in a gigantic giveaway program designed to destroy the sovereignty of the United States of America."

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"The Supreme Court is a communistic institution, headed by that pinko, Earl Warren, who should be taken to the nearest tree and strung up."

"Everywhere you look, one of those communistic, race-mixing Jews or Catholics is at work, undermining American traditions of individual liberty. If America doesn't wake up soon, it will be too late."

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"I am a patriot."

incentive, it is an entirely understandable misapprehension.

As a matter of fact, a child competing against his own previous standard is provided with as much incentive to improve as one competing against classmates of varying abilities. That this is the case is due to the peculiar nature of the social structure which has developed in this country, which, unlike the "status societies" of Europe, places a premium not so much on position as on continued advancement. (See Margaret Mead's excellent observations on this unique characteristic of American society in the concluding chapters of "Male and Female".) The concept of "keeping up with the Joneses", so integral a part of middle-class society, does not entail striving for a fixed point, but rather advancing continually at a rate comparable to that of the leading family in the community (the mythical Jones family). In the context of the classroom, this ideal implies successfully competing with classmates not merely to attain a position of superiority within a particular group but as a means of gauging constant advancement. Consequently, direct competition is nothing more than a means to an end, and is not itself a necessary incentive. Since continued improvement is the actual goal, competition against one's own previous standard may comfortably be substituted as an incentive to classroom effort.

Of course, an ungraded system can promote procrastination under certain conditions and with certain individuals; but this will be decidedly the exception rather than the rule, and the failing is more than adequately compensated for by the immense advantages of instruction oriented toward the individual rather than toward the group. In addition, the benefits of direct competition in the conventional classroom environment are easily offset by the fact that much of the competition is unfair--and, in any case, a pragmatic standard is substituted for the theoretical one of absolute competition. (The two points touched on in this statement demand further clarification and expansion. First, direct competition between thirty-five or forty children of widely varying intellectual capabilities creates feelings of inferiority on the part of those unable to successfully compete. This has long been accepted as a necessary evil of the educational system; I suggest that, while it is undoubtedly evil, it is no longer necessary to in effect penalize children for ignorance. Surely it is not the function of the educational system to punish stupidity. Second, even if direct competition were not in this sense harmful, it is obviously unsatisfactory and self-defeating to conduct this competition on the basis of an unreasonably low standard. Yet this is precisely what occurs in most schools today, for in practice the instruction is not aimed at a midpoint between the highest and lowest intelligences, but rather at a point somewhat closer to the lower than the higher. This is never explicitly acknowledged by the majority of educators, however, who maintain that their lectures and lessons are directed at the "average" pupil. This lowering of standards is permitted in order to correct the unfortunate effects of group-oriented education on those of lesser ability, but it accomplishes this purpose only imperfectly and then only at the expense of increasing the burden on those of exceptional intelligence.)

Miss Bullington's evident belief that a child will not learn enough unless forced to directly compete with his age-peers and spurred on by the terrifying prospect of "flunking" betrays, I think, a childish attitude toward children. Despite a wealth of second-rate motion pictures and television dramas to the contrary, and despite the offhand remarks of many children contemplating their return to school after a summer vacation, I believe that the vast majority of children in public schools want to learn. It could not be otherwise, given the nature of the society into which they were born. Admittedly, few small children are able to fully appreciate the value of education, per se, but they

are trained by their parents to appreciate the necessity of achieving success. A child permitted to progress at his own rate will, after the novelty of his situation wears off, feel no less compelled to put forth sustained effort and earn the congratulations of teachers and parents than one forced to directly compete with forty classmates.

Interest is the key. A child interested in learning will do so just as rapidly (if not moreso) in the environment of an ungraded classroom as one taught by conventional methods; on the other hand, a child not interested in learning will not learn very much, no matter how authoritarian may be the methods employed. Thus, freeing the young mind from the excessive fear of "flunking", which is not so much a necessary pedagogic device as a social punishment for lack of ability, does not automatically imply making him lazy, i.e., unwilling to learn. There still exists sufficient incentive; it is merely of a different variety. The vast bulk of empirical evidence indicates that most children learn more and learn it better in an ungraded system, because the instruction is more nearly geared to the individual. The conventional system, which assumes that an arbitrarily chosen rate of progress will be applicable to a large and heterogeneous group, makes about as much sense as manufacturing suits exclusively in one size.

--Ted Pauls

"There is no position which depends on clearer principles than that every act of a delegated authority, contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the Constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men acting by virtue of powers may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid." --Alexander Hamilton, in "The Federalist" (No. 78).

"Best is the man who can himself advise;
He too is good who hearkens to the wise;
But who, himself being witless, will not heed
Another's wisdom, is a fool indeed."

--Hesiod.

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without incessantly revolutionizing the instruments of production; and, consequently, the relations of production; and, therefore, the totality of social relations. Conversely, for all earlier industrial classes, the preservation of the old methods of production was the first condition of existence. That which characterizes the bourgeois epoch in contradistinction to all others is a continuous transformation of production, a perpetual disturbance of social conditions, everlasting insecurity and movement. All stable and stereotyped relations, with their attendant train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, and the newly formed becomes obsolete before it can petrify. All that has been regarded as solid, crumbles into fragments; all that was looked upon as holy, is profaned; at long last, people are compelled to gaze open-eyed at their position in life and their social relations." --Karl Marx, in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party".

"We dare more when striving for superfluities than for necessities. Often when we renounce superfluities we end up lacking in necessities." --Eric Hoffer, in "The True Believer".

BY ED GORMAN

a rider of the purple tube

Because of the Republican Convention, I twice missed work, caught cold, and was entrenchedly hostile to all about. I came away pitying rather than hating Senator Goldwater; planning for rather than demeaning all those ellubient Napoleons who rendered him Nominee; and feeling assured that, despite the deepness of their anti-Negro bias, the Republican ticket would not use the race issue dishonestly. I was confident of the latter not because of anything as American as Faith, but only because Goldwater's use of obviously prejudiced phrases and tactics would give him an even worse press. Naively, I had not extrapolated the ingenuity of American bigotry--especially when used by someone as irrational and primitive as William E. Miller.

Here is a man that such clumsy and menial bigots as Governors Wallace and Johnson must revere with Christian Depth. For despite such overtures as, "Shucks, boy, I grew up with nigra's", their images, alas, are wrong: Wallace has stood in schoolhouse doors, and Johnson has scathed the Administration for inviting and accepting the "flotsam" of Africa and Central Europe. Their old-South accents pervade their new-South sentiments.

But consider William Miller; his accent, his religion, his residence. Northerners still have that truly patriotic flair for the double-standard: over a beer and before a television a Northern laborer can denounce police dogs, sustained segregation, and Southern twang as neatly and forcefully as a CORE worker. He modestly asserts (1) that Negroes in the North have it made ("Christ, they're makin' two-twenty-seven--two-thirty-five'n hour!") and (2) that they're fine to work with but should keep to their own, and when he thinks of his daughter out with one--he shudders, literally, soul-deep. He is, if polled, a pseudo-liberal: hang the South. I don't honestly think he could stomach forthright anti-Negro speeches. Enter Miller: his accent alone (point one) is persuasive.

Catholic bigots have always told me, "We're discriminated against, too, you know. Do you hear us complain?" This is basically true, but still, the most obvious trait of Catholicism is abstinence from meat on Friday. Negroes, for some still-debated religious reason, are black. But overlooking this, looking at Miller as a member of a flimsily-legitimate "persecuted"-minority (Catholics complain of Mason persecution, but could one rationally compare the Masons and the KKK?), shouldn't one be motivated to say, "Here is a man who knows the sting, the un-Christian fire, the Protestant-ethic bite of non-godly bigotry"? Should one? Could one--believably? Certainly.

Point three supplements points one and two; Miller is New York, and New York is reasonably well integrated, religiously and racially. And, after all, Miller does (and will continue to, I hope) reside there. He's no Southern radical--he voted for the Civil Rights Bill (and here residence meant all--there aren't enough Negroes in Iowa to affect the

likes of Bourke B. Hickenlooper). He knows the Northern-Christian-white way to treat Negroes. He knows, in other words, how far to let them go.

What dast one say about a political image such as this? He's speaking man to man!

Miller has attempted several avenues of getting his prejudice subtly but effectively across. The first was handed him: the Republican platform. The second, tending to be ambiguous but hammered into a definite direction, were the Harlem, Philadelphia, etc., street riots. White man's burden. The second, the best going until this week, was however still somewhat neutral and opportunistic--Miller wasn't going out of his way to slug Negroes; and if you're going to win backlash-votes, going out of your way is ground rule number one. But today, Labor Day, Mr. Miller proved his resourcefulness, his skill in circumventing the crass and obvious. He handed the Indianans he spoke to a modest-appearing box--filled endlessly with Chinese-puzzle boxes. Mr. Miller found a theme.

It is not original. The Republicans used it in the 1920's, the Southerners used it just recently, but Miller refined it, gave it impetus it doesn't deserve, and universality that unfortunately ends with the American Negro. It is, superficially, the seemingly pertinent subject of immigration quotas. Considering the man, his platform and his ultimate objectives, one can easily deduce the pitch, particularly when one considers that the audience was labor-oriented. You know, of course, who is going to take your jobs---foreigners! And who, fellow whites, is the American domestic-foreigner? Which unnamed group (groups, actually, when one considers that there are several distinct shades of brown) are the descendants, the feelers for this oncoming mass of job-stealers? It was naturally much more clouded; but need we even wonder about the conversations in whites-only union taverns in Gary, Indiana, after Mr. Miller left town?

Immigration quotas are something that Mr. Miller should reel with pride about. Through it one can offer a historic view of bigotry in the name of reason--particularly economic reason. Strange that the issue, though House and Senate both have been dickering with new legislation for years, should appear in this campaign. Neither Kennedy nor Nixon saw fit to use it. But then we didn't have so many foreigners.

Perhaps I'm mistaken about Mr. Miller's daintiness; do the concepts of African "flotsam" and foreign job-stealers seem semi-synonymous?

--Ed Gorman

"I have already remarked that in all states revolutions are started by trifles. In aristocracies, above all, they are of a gradual and imperceptible nature. The citizens begin by giving up some part of the constitution, and so with greater ease change something else in the government which is a little more important, until they have undermined the whole fabric of the state. At Thuri there was a law that generals could be re-elected only after an interval of five years. Some high-spirited young men who were popular for their military prowess with the soldiers of the guard, despising the magistrates and thinking they would easily gain their purpose, set out to abolish this law, and allow their generals to hold perpetual command. For they well knew that the people would be glad enough to elect them. Whereupon the magistrates who had charge of these matters (...) at first determined to resist; but afterwards consented, thinking that if only one law was changed, no further inroad would be made on the constitution. But other changes soon followed, which they in vain attempted to oppose. The state passed into the hands of the revolutionists, who established a dynastic oligarchy."
--Aristotle, in "Politics".

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Jean Rose: There ought to be no value judgement made on the method of inducing a "mystical experience". Fasting is a perfectly valid way of perhaps bringing it about, but this takes a long time and you run into problems of malnutrition and extended uncomfortableness. On the other hand, drugs, such as peyote, are easily ingested (especially when processing is done to tone down the terrible taste) and the whole process, and "mystical experience", can take place (in its most immediate effects) within six to eight hours--after which you can then go about your business. It seems to me that, in terms of bodily and mental damage, both methods run about the same risks--you can starve yourself dangerously by fasting for an extended period; you can injure yourself in other ways by overdoses of drugs. To paraphrase Barry Goldwater, "Excess in

DISSENTING OPINIONS

the pursuit of mysticism is no virtue." (Although, as you say, the physical and mental dangers of the sharply divergent methods of achieving a "mystical experience" may be equivalent, fasting differs from the use of drugs in that it requires sustained effort. Individuals are likely to ingest hallucinogens on a sudden impulse, in order to enjoy the pleasant effects of "getting high". Initiating and maintaining an extended fast requires courage and determination, concentrated over such a long period that unstable personalities are weeded out in the early stages.)

Everyone who hasn't tried hallucinogens but is a fairly intelligent and perceptive person leaps to the conclusion that they "don't need the drug to gain new perceptions." This is a pile of crap. You never know until you've tried it. At most, you are going to undergo a period of physical discomfort before the more positive aspects of the hallucinogenic take over. This is if you are someone who should or could take the drug without harm. If you have psychotic tendencies, or are "disturbed" or depressed normally most of the time, I would not recommend you take something like, say, peyote, and definitely not one of the stronger hallucinogenic drugs like LSD. It could (at least in theory) push you over the edge. It may not, then again, but to paraphrase a comment made by a friend of mine, "You only get one mind in your life; don't screw it up."

If you just don't want to take a dose of peyote, then don't, because it will probably just produce things you will not want to see. (Even though they may be the Truth about you, which you won't admit to yourself.) If you are in a shaky mental state, again don't; it could flip you over the edge. On the other hand, if you are prepared to accept a little bit of uncomfortableness, and are prepared to see things about yourself in an entirely new and clear light, then maybe you could benefit by perhaps a one-time try at something like peyote. But, no matter, if you find you should want to, by all means while you are under the drug be with a person whom you trust implicitly, and who--preferably--has been up before (but not with you, then) and can help you over any rough spots you may encounter.

And one other thing--don't be afraid or disgusted at the idea of throwing up after a while. It's a beautiful experience.

Betty Kujawa: When I said, "After all, how could a three-year-old be turned on sexually" I meant just that. I am perfectly aware of all the things you say about how nursemaids, servants, etc., "from time immemorial" have soothed infants by manual-genital contact. I am perfectly aware of child masturbation and of the ease with which little boys get an erection (I was a little boy once, and I know). I also know that little children try to gain maximum physical contact when they hug you, in order to produce pleasant stimulation. But, despite all this, I maintain that the pleasure produced by all these means, however erotic, however pleasant, is not sexual, for the following reason: that the child is not aware of sex at the age of three and thus does not make the mental connection between the physical, erotic pleasure and anything whatsoever having to do with that which adults consider sexual arousal. (It seems to me that you are ridiculously splitting hairs in asserting a significant difference between erotic stimulation and sexual arousal in this particular context. My (no doubt simple-minded) dictionary defines "erotic" as "Of or relating to sexual love; amatory." You seem to be saying that sexual arousal is impossible to someone who is not "aware of sex" on a conscious and intellectual plane.))

That is to say, to particularize, when I was three and got pleasure out of handling my penis when I was laying in bed--it was something to do, after all--the pleasure I got was not sexual, but just pleasurable. It was quite a few years later that I realized that the pleasure I got at age three from manipulation of my own genitals had anything to do with "adult" sex and--to take things further--that I could get this pleasure in similar measure by sexual play with a woman/girl. At age three, the manipulation of one's genitals, whether by one's self or someone else, is merely a pleasurable sensation-producing activity/action; it takes more years of experience/awareness to realize that this is a sexual reaction being produced and that, in a certain frame of reference, something like the pleasure of sexual intercourse is only a much advanced, highly sophisticated way of attaining the same (or similar) sort of kick one got as a three-year-old when playing with oneself.

(I certainly hope I haven't shocked or offended Betty or anyone by this admission of autoeroticism at age three. If Betty is reading her Kinsey thoroughly, as well as you, dear reader, you will note that this is nothing at all unusual. In fact, if there is anyone in the reading audience who didn't do this sort of thing himself, I would be much surprised.)

David Jensen, James Wright: I really can't get turned on by the whole idea of the topless bathing suit. This has nothing to do with prudery or horniness. It is simply this: that the topless bathing suit is a rather neutral item of apparel, for me, in terms of what it produces. If I am going to be turned on to breasts, per se, it is going to be when I am in the process of making love with a woman, and they are there--the breasts--as legitimate a part of the female body as an elbow or a kneecap, and potentially just as eroticizing, and excitable. The mere presence of a bare breast in a neutral situation doesn't do that much for me, and for many other men I know, in the same way that at the beach, one stops looking at women's thighs after a while, because they are so very much there, while in other situations, when the woman is wearing not a bathing suit but a dress, the thighs, because hidden (mostly) from view, become an object of interest, in terms of the esthetics of girl-watching.

What I am saying, finally, is something like this: situation and circumstance is what makes anything take on special meaning or signifi-

cance. In lovemaking, the breasts, as part of the whole female body, take on special meaning as part of the physicality of the woman who is loved. But on the beach there is no focus, no reason for the breasts to be drawn attention to (given normal development, all breasts are essentially alike, except for size), and thus (for me, I repeat) no Big Deal. One may get turned on in an aesthetic way to a particularly well-formed pair, now and then, but this is in the same way that only certain women strike the individual man as attractive.

I hope you follow what I'm getting at; I think I'm making a fairly valid point here in terms of the meaning of the female breast (for me) when displayed in (or rather, out of) a topless bathing suit. This is certainly more valid and instructive a point than both your comments about "scrawny and sexless" young girls.

Appropos the latter item, let me interject an aside about young girls developing their breasts as they walk through life. While not, perhaps, as esthetically pleasing to the sight as a fully developed pair of breasts, I find the concept of a young girl undergoing the transition to sexual maturity esthetically appealing on another level: the level of the notion of the continuity of life. To see a young girl who is developing to adult sexuality is as meaningful on this esthetic ground, to me, as seeing a pregnant woman. To sum up the esthetic, it is this: "life goes on". What is more important in life than the creation of new life to carry on?

"I believe that there are a number of questions that it is no use our asking, because they can never be answered. Nothing but waste, worry, or unhappiness is caused by trying to solve insoluble problems. Yet some people seem determined to try. I recall the story of the philosopher and the theologian. The two were engaged in disputation and the theologian used the old quip about a philosopher being like a blind man, in a dark room, looking for a black cat--which wasn't there. 'That may be,' said the philosopher; 'but a theologian would have found it.'"
--Julian Huxley, in Nation.

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George Price: Why did the U.S.S.R. aid the Chinese Communists in the 1940's? Not to spread the Gospel according to St. Marx, but to replace the powerful United States with weak allied Communists on their Asian flank. At the time they did not seem too concerned about what would happen when the Chinese Communists in their turn became too strong. There is scarcely a move in the Soviet Union's policy in China and the Far East which did not have its origin in Tsarist times.

As for the Hitler-Stalin Pact, it is time-honored Russian policy to trade space for time whenever at a disadvantage in foreign affairs. (Look at the campaign against Napoleon.) From the Russian point of view, a hostile frontier in Poland in 1941 was better than a hostile frontier at the suburbs of Leningrad in 1939. Remember that the little Baltic states were practically German satrapies until Hitler abandoned them to the Russians in 1939.

Look at the men in places of power in the Nazi Party and its ally the Nationalist Party. Though they drew their support from street brawlers and disaffected socialists, the power was wielded by industrialists, noblemen, generals, landed gentry--the mainstays of the old conservative Second Reich. Hitler did not, as you say, receive "fanatical support" from these elements. He had their carefully reasoned-out support, as a man working for the same goals as they. So Hitler is yours, whether you like it or not. These are his words: "Marxism as a founda-

tion of the universe would be the end of any order conceivable to man." And: "We must not forget that the rulers of the present Russia are low, bloodstained criminals, that here we are concerned with the scum of humanity." Those who agree with them should at least recognize their spiritual heritage.

Chay Borsella: I don't know about "mores" and "folkways", but anyone who throws a Molotov cocktail through anyone's window in any state is certainly breaking a "law". Let us stick to this basis and we'll be on safe ground.

Jean Rose: I had no trouble registering to vote when I went to college at Iowa State. I just gave my Ames address, and never intimated that I was any kind of a student.

Derek Nelson: The British Commonwealth nations have conservative traditions that are tied to a structured society, led by an aristocracy of birth and wealth most of whose members are related to each other by blood as well as by ideology, and headed by a sovereign of undoubted lineage and no power whatsoever. But the basis of the United States, its independence, and its tradition, is a long and bloody revolt against just this concept of government. Therefore, "conservative" means quite a different thing here. No conservative in the United States can publicly reject the Revolution, and I know of none who have done so even in the privacy of posthumously published thoughts. The very foundation stones of this nation are liberal, and cannot be argued away by the usual Kirky-Burkey verbiage. This is why there is such a desperation in the tone of American conservatives. They have no Establishment, like the British Tories have, to which to anchor themselves. So they flirt with Pareto, with Adam Smith, with Hayek and von Mises, and with even more dubious and more authoritarian thinkers.

The English Civil War was not wasted--it provided the reformers of 1688 with a lesson in what might happen if they didn't provide for a few basic human rights, and provide for them damn fast. And when Charles I was tried, condemned, and executed, it established for all time and for all nations the principle that a king was not superior to his nation, and that he could be called to account for misgovernment by the people he had misgoverned. For all the injustices perpetrated during the English Civil War and the first French Revolution, we live in a better and freer world today because of them. (Derek Nelson's assertion that the English Civil War was "a bloody interlude that solved nothing" is refuted by no less conservative an historian than Sir Winston Churchill, who strives mightily throughout the second volume of his mammoth "History of the English Speaking Peoples" to make Charles I a sympathetic character and dutifully decries the excesses of the Civil War, but sums up the effect of the upheaval in this manner: "...everyone now took it for granted that the Crown was the instrument of Parliament and the King the servant of his people. (...) The victory of the Commons and the Common Law was permanent.")

Your statement that the French Revolution of 1789-1815 (for the First Empire was nothing but a crowned republic) was the cause of the French collapse in 1940 is a gross distortion of history. France collapsed because the anti-revolutionary elements, the royalists and conservatives who opposed the traditions of the revolution, sold her out to Hitler because they preferred the rule of the Nazis to that of Leon Blum and his French New Dealers. And England was saved from the same fate not by the intangible English Constitution but by the very tangible English Channel.

Where do you get off determining what the natural rights of man are or ought to be? The "Rights of Man" are neither handed down from God nor frozen for all time in an 18th century declaration. They are whatever people demand that they ought to be and are able to enforce

upon their governments. In the 18th century these were primarily political rights. Now economic rights are beginning to be included among them. None of the framers of the Bill of Rights would have thought of including the right to a job. But now this has become, increasingly, a demand by the public. The various other economic rights delineated in the United Nations Covenant of Rights are other examples. The formalization of these rights in a document is a consequence of their recognition by many of the world's major governments. (The pragmatic view that the rights of man are whatever a population is capable of enforcing upon its government may be convenient in that it provides for continual expansion of rights, but there is another (and less admirable) side to that coin. If human rights are defined as merely those rights which a people can coerce their government into accepting, then there would appear to be no moral or ethical objection to dictatorship. Confronted by a population enslaved by a powerful autocrat, we may regret the situation but there is no sense in which, by your criterion, we can claim it is "wrong"--because, so long as the enslaved masses do not have the power to overthrow the despot, they have no rights which he is constrained to respect. This is merely an ambiguous way of restating the view, much beloved on the extreme Right, that might and only might makes right.)

Charles Crispin: I wouldn't call myself a liberal, and "radical" is somewhat imprecise. What's the matter with the fine old name, "progressive"? This banner was carried into three presidential campaigns, and while it was defeated it was not dishonored. Furthermore, most of the Progressive platforms of 1912 and 1924 have since been made part of national policy, and we're now slowly but surely effectuating the 1948 platform.

"Why did these people of Aurignacian culture make the wall paintings in uninhabitable caves, and in the darkest and most inaccessible recesses of these? The most likely answer is that they made them for magical purposes and not in order to decorate the caves. The animals shown on the roofs and walls of these caves are often represented as pierced by spears and arrows. One makes as naturalistic a model as one can of the animal one hopes to kill, and then kills it in effigy; as one does to the drawing of the animal--accompanied by the proper incantations--so one will do in fact to the real animal. One has but to wish in the ritually accepted manner and one will succeed. Hunting scenes abound in these cave drawings and paintings, and there can be very little doubt that this art, at any rate, was devoted principally to the practical purpose of securing success in the hunt. This does not mean that the artist did not obtain some esthetic pleasure from his achievement, but it does mean that love of beauty was not the principal purpose." --Ashley Montagu, in "Man: His First Million Years".

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In your commentary in David Jensen's letter you point out that conservatives like me "consider democracy...a mere convenience which may be dispensed with at any time." Leaving aside the tendentious flavor of the remarks, you are precisely correct. To me, liberty is the end, and democracy is only a means to that end. To be sure, democracy is an extremely important means to liberty, and I have the gravest doubts that liberty could long endure without a large degree of democracy (provided that we understand by "democracy" a representative republican system rather than an unlimited majoritarianism). But if there should arise a non-democratic system which yet fully preserved liberty--liberty for

everybody, not just some elite--I would not reject it out of hand. Those, like yourself, for whom democracy "constitutes the central theme of our entire lives" should not let your love of democracy blind you to the ends to which it may be turned. Hitler demonstrated that democracy can be used to destroy liberty. Democracy must always be limited so that the majority cannot impose tyranny on the minority. (It is certainly true that democracy can be misused by demagogues in order to curtail liberty, and I quite agree that democracy must be limited in order to prevent the majority from imposing tyranny on the minority. This condition is fulfilled under our system by the existence of a Constitution which is extremely difficult to alter and with which all lesser laws must be consistent. It may surprise you to learn that I would favor a Constitution and (more specifically) a Bill of Rights even more difficult to alter, in order to protect liberty against the sometimes hasty and ill-considered judgements of the majority. All of this is wonderfully irrelevant, however, to the issue on which David Jensen and I were commenting--viz., your professed willingness to limit the franchise to an elite class. Disenfranchising the majority of the population and appointing a minority (no matter how benevolent it may initially be) to rule over them is hardly a defensible means of protecting liberty.)

This brings us to your comment in Derek Nelson's letter, wherein you confuse minority rule and minority veto. As most state legislatures have been apportioned heretofore, the representatives of the numerical minority have indeed had the power of veto over the acts of the majority. This is a very far cry from the minority rule which you rightly denounce. At the worst, minority veto results in "donothingism" in which majority and minority block each other. This can be very bad (although in view of the nature of most proposed legislation, it is more often a blessing), but it is not to be compared with a system which permits the minority to rule in disregard of the majority. You are indulging in fantasy when you assert that "...if radicalism once again becomes popular amongst rural folk...and screaming liberals come to dominate the geographically constituted houses of state legislatures, conservatives, having previously conceded the right of these upper houses to wield decisive power, will be unable to reasonably argue against the resultant radical legislation." No legislation, radical or otherwise, can be passed without consent of the lower house, which will presumably block your agrarian "screaming liberals". And if the lower house does not block them, we will be no worse off than if the Supreme Court's new dispensation prevails and both houses have the same constituency. The basic principle upon which the bicameral legislature rests is that neither city interests (lower house) nor rural interests (upper house) shall be allowed to ride roughshod over the other; no legislation should be passed that cannot win the approval of both interests. Thus, hopefully, we avoid class war. (I should have been more careful in distinguishing between minority rule and minority veto, as you say. Wiping the egg off my face, let me proceed to deal with your defense of the latter, which is at the heart of our disagreement in this area. Minority veto is not, of course, as bad as direct minority rule; but this is a dubious justification for its continuance. The upper houses of bicameral legislatures do not represent "rural interests"; they represent people, and are apportioned in such a way as to give the balance of power to people who happen to live in small towns and farming communities. On what ground do you claim that they deserve such disproportionate power? The individuals exercising this minority veto are not bound together by anything identifiable as "rural interests". What interests do a Western Maryland farmer and an Eastern Shore soda jerk have in common that they must protect against the equally disparate "city interests" of a welder, an attorney, a garbage collector, and three bartenders? By what standard

does residence outside of the major cities give this particular minority the right to disproportionate representation in the legislature, while ethnic and religious minorities, at least equally in need of protection, are not accorded this privilege?))

Charles Wells and John Boardman each "refute" my interpretation of the history of capitalism by denouncing F. A. Hayek, the editor of a book which I cited as a source. Gentlemen, I find myself singularly unconvinced by ad hominem assaults; may I trouble you for a few specific citations of Hayek's alleged "distortions"?

Mr. Boardman says that Hayek "...is a devotee of the conspiracy theory of history. The man who wrote, in 'The Road to Serfdom', that Franklin D. Roosevelt was part of a conspiracy to impose a dictatorship in this country, might also be expected to believe that historians and other intellectuals have conspired over several decades to discredit capitalism." This sounded so totally unlike the Hayek that I have read that I had to look up the reference. I can't find it. Roosevelt is not even listed in the index of "The Road to Serfdom", although I did find one quotation by FDR used as a chapter heading (Chapter I--"A program whose basic thesis is, not that the system of free enterprise for profit has failed in this generation, but that it has not yet been tried"). A quick scanning of the entire book failed to uncover any other mention of FDR, derogatory or otherwise. Thinking that perhaps Mr. Boardman had cited the wrong book, I also looked in Hayek's "The Constitution of Liberty", with the same negative result. Okay, John, I give up; please give me the exact reference.

While on the subject of the "conspiracy theory of history", let us not lean over backward. While it is preposterous to assert that everything is the result of conspiracies, it is equally preposterous to reject a priori any allegation of conspiracy. After all, sometimes there really are conspiracies, and some even succeed. One who sees conspiracy all around him is labelled a paranoid; we need a comparable term for one who refuses to ever see conspiracy no matter how grossly it obtrudes upon him. For example, there are still Liberals who doubt the guilt of Owen Lattimore, despite the mountainous evidence of his involvement in the IPR-Amerasia case.

Mr. Boardman also doubts my reference to a jury as composed of men "acquainted with the defendant". You will recall that I was discussing the origins of the jury system, not what it is today. In medieval times, with a much smaller population, it should be obvious that jurors drawn from the same district as the defendant would be quite likely to know him. This is one of the reasons why the Declaration of Independence lays complaint against George III "For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences", that is, to be tried by a jury of strangers who don't know that the offences are faked.

Charles Crispin: Taking strong exception to my "attempt to palm off Hitler on the Left", you treat us to an analysis of the doctrinal differences between communism and fascism. This, you say, demonstrates "that they evolve from opposite ends of the political spectrum".

Now just as a matter of historical fact, both communism and fascism descended from 19th century socialism, especially Marxism. You may of course claim that during this evolution, fascism somehow crossed over from the Left to the Right, although some strong evidence would be advisable if you wish to be taken seriously.

You take the definitive theoretical differences between communism and fascism to be (1) Communism presumes the eventual disappearance of the state, while fascism presumes a perpetual total state, (2) Communism is egalitarian, while fascism is anti-egalitarian, and (3) Communism is internationalist, while fascism is nationalistic and chauvinist. I assume --you don't say so explicitly--that you take communism to be at the ex-

treme left, and fascism to be at the extreme right.

Words may be defined in any way one chooses, but discourse is facilitated if one uses approximately the same definitions as most other people. I specified in my discussion of Nazism that I was using "Left" and "Right" in the way in which they are customarily used in American politics. I am under the impression that the American usage takes the definitive difference to be that the Left favors increasing government control, especially over the economy, and the Right desires less control. Therefore, socialists and communists belong on the Left, and so-called conservatives belong on the Right. Using this definition, Nazism and fascism are indisputably on the Left, since they practiced total government control of their economic and social activity.

No doubt some confusion arises from the fact that in continental Europe, until after World War II, there was not much Right in the American sense. The European Right was for the most part monarchist and authoritarian, and never had any substantial American counterpart. What Americans now call "conservatism" (i.e., favoring a market economy and limited government) was called Liberalism in Europe. It was never very strong, and nearly died during the era of Hitler and Mussolini. After the war it made a comeback, especially in West Germany.

You say that "American fascism...stands in relation to conservatism as communism does to liberalism...it is reasonably certain that they (American fascists) will be chauvinists and anti-egalitarians--exactly the opposite of the communists..." It is important to note that in the United States there is no group calling itself "fascist" (unless you want to count the "American Nazis", who hate Goldwater conservatism). So you are justified in calling the Far Right "fascist" only because you have carefully defined fascism to include them. To do so, you have had to ignore one of the central tenets of the original European fascism: total state control of the economy. In fact, one of the few things that practically all of the varied groups on the Far Right have in common is their desire for much less government. To call them fascist, then, is to either impute to them the one characteristic which

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"My father was a devoutly religious man, and before he
died he called me to his side and passed on to me his
philosophy of life. It is contained in three maxims, and
I should like to pass it on to you."

"'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you',"

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"'Love thy neighbor',"

"And 'Never trust a man with a lopsided bellybutton'."

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none of them have, or to say that fascism is differently defined in America than in Europe. But if you are defining it differently, the suspicion arises that you use the term "fascism" only because it implies an opprobrious--and unwarranted--identity with European fascism.

Just for fun, let us accept your definition of the differences between Left and Right, and see where they lead us. It is apparent that Sukarno of Indonesia is being libeled when we call him a leftist. As Mr. Pauls makes clear in his excellent article, Bung Sukarno is a nationalist and a chauvinist, and so he must be a rightist. Socialist Sweden is nationalist, though in moderation, and is not expecting the state to wither away, so Sweden is plainly rightist, though less so than Sukarno. Finally, the Catholic Church is internationalist, and neither racist nor chauvinist (membership is open to all), so it is quite definitely leftist:

Finally, you note that according to your desk dictionary, "a fascist movement" is "The movement toward nationalism and conservatism as opposed to internationalism and radicalism...", and you suggest that I may wish to argue the point with Merriam and Webster, "neither of whom may be legitimately accused of left-wing tendencies." Indeed I did wish to argue the point, so I consulted those two gentlemen, in the form of "Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition, Unabridged" (1954), and they told me:

"fascism 1. (often cap.) The principles of the Fascisti; also, the movement or governmental regime embodying their principles. 2. Any program for setting up a centralized autocratic national regime with severely nationalistic policies, exercising regimentation of industry, commerce, and finance, rigid censorship, and forcible suppression of opposition."

and for good measure:

"Nazism The body of political and economic doctrines held and put into effect by the National Socialist German Workers' Party in the Third German Reich, including the totalitarian principle of government, state control of all industry, predominance of groups assumed to be racially superior, and supremacy of the Führer; German fascism."

Isn't it strange that Merriam and Webster forgot to mention any connection with conservatism? (In regard to this dispute between Crispin and yourself as to the proper position of fascism in the political spectrum, I find myself in the uniquely unenviable position of rejecting the arguments of both sides. Chuck appears to have postulated an absolute standard against which all governments may be judged, in order to facilitate his argument. Yet the distinction between Left and Right, between liberalism and conservatism, is not absolute but relative; there are no standards which can be universally applied in order to sensibly separate all of the world's diverse government into categories. As you observe, Indonesia and Sweden are right-wing governments according to the definition formulated in Crispin's letter. On the other, I find much of your counter-argument unacceptable. You are, as you say, "under the impression that the American usage takes the definitive difference to be that the Left favors increasing government control, especially over the economy, and the Right desires less control." Whether this impression is valid or invalid is a separate matter. Conservatives often speak of curtailing governmental power and enhancing thereby the freedom of

the individual, but in practice it seems to me that the principal goal of the Right is to seize control of the apparatus of government in order to use it against "pinkos". Certainly Senator McCarthy was not particularly interested in restricting the power of the government; his interest was in gaining control of that power and using it to purge all who dared dissent. It isn't government power, as such, which Governor Wallace opposes, but rather the power of a federal government which obstructs the state of Alabama's program for reinstating slavery. Conservatives oppose growing government power in theory, just as Communists oppose colonialism in theory; when either faction manages to achieve power, it gleefully utilizes the previously despised tool in order to further its ends. As for your statement that there is no important group in the United States calling itself "fascist", permit me to quote from an Orientation Fact Sheet on Fascism published by the War Department in 1945: "An American fascist seeking power would not proclaim that he is a fascist. (...) Any fascist attempt to gain power in America would not use the exact Hitler pattern. It would work under the guise of 'super-patriotism' and 'super-Americanism'." I use the word "fascist" as a sort of intellectual shorthand. When the term "fascist" appears in Kipple, it is recognized as referring to people like General Walker, H. L. Hunt, General Bonner Fellers, Allen Zoll, ad nauseum--just as, when I use the term "liberal", most of my readers are immediately aware of the sort of people I am referring to, even though it is likely that no two readers would precisely agree upon a definition of "liberal".))

FROM

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[illegible]

"Howdy. (. . . .)
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(v) They call me 'Slim'. "
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