

Kipple

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JOTTINGS

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

THE MARIANA, MARSHALL AND CAROLINE ISLANDS were taken from Japan by the United States in 1945, and together constitute the Trust Territory of the Pacific, or Micronesia. The hundreds of individual islands sprawl over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean between the Philippine Trench and the International Dateline, and from the Equator to the 20th Parallel. Guam is part of this island territory geographically but not politically, having been a US possession since before World War I. Micronesia's population numbers about 90,000 but, apart from Truk and Palau, the best known of its constituent islands are largely uninhabited: Bikini, Eniwetok and Kwajalein. In the era of modern imperialism (American and Russian), which eschews the accumulation of overt colonies in favor of creating client states and employing devious means to manipulate allegedly "independent" countries, Micronesia is an anachronism, a throwback to an earlier pattern. Its designation as a "Trust Territory" notwithstanding, Micronesia is a colony in every sense. As such, it is a textbook example of the "embarrassed colonialism" of a formally, vocally "anti-colonial" power. America's overt colonialism (as distinguished from the imperialism that leads to such things as the Vietnam adventure) has always had a uniquely "foot-shuffling" character, neither benign nor malign, not oppressing (except if resistance develops, as with the Aguinaldo Rebellion), often not even exploiting, but rather ignoring. The United States doesn't do anything to the people of Micronesia (unless you count the former practice of giving them some fall-out to worry about), but it doesn't do much for them, either. The administration of the Territory is a bumbling, day-to-day affair which keeps things functioning but seems to have no long-term goal. I recall a poll several years ago which found that a startling 89% of the American people had never even heard of Micronesia, let alone realized it was an American flag territory. The interest shown in Micronesia by the government in Washington is roughly the same as this popular interest. Roads, housing, education, public health are all disgracefully primitive, and the annual appropriation for all government services in Micronesia is less than was spent for Lady Bird's "highway beautification" project. Apart from the shortage of funds, bureaucratic delays have afflicted government progress in the Trust Territory of the Pacific: periodically, everything grinds to a halt while bureaucrats in Washington try to decide whether Micronesia

is a "foreign" or "domestic" area. In 1967, a minor scandal arose when the Senate discovered that a large number of Peace Corps volunteers were working in Micronesia--the scandal arising from the belief of some Senators, logical on the surface, that a territory which had been administered by the US for more than two decades should not need Peace Corps volunteers to teach its people elementary hygiene and help them build their own roads. However, the discussion died out after a few expressions of interest and indignation, and Micronesia returned to being a forgotten entity. I had looked forward, sometime during the late and unlamented political campaign, to one of the candidates being asked on a TV interview or at a news conference "What is your program for Micronesia?" Whether it was Nixon, Humphrey or Wallace, the response would have been the same: a lifting of an eyebrow, a twist of the head and-- "Micro who?" Regrettably, the candidates were saved that embarrassment, probably because none of the reporters who question them care about Micronesia either.

"WHO IS BARBRA STREISAND?" asks Derek Nelson in a postscript to a recent letter, thereby providing me with the opportunity to write a paragraph on my favorite subject. It is almost certain that the question is a put-on. I mean, Scarborough, Ontario, may not be New York City, but to my knowledge there are only two men in the Western Hemisphere who have never heard of Barbra Streisand: one is a mentally retarded Indian who lives in an unnamed village in the upper Amazon basin, and the other is an Eskimo named Umglik who wandered away from home at the age of three and was brought up by a herd of moose on the north shore of Great Slave Lake. However, on the remote chance that Derek's question was intended seriously, I shall--most happily--answer it. Barbra Streisand is the greatest singer in the world, without exception and without qualification. She is considered generally (not only by me) to be the number one musical star of our generation. In addition to an incredible vocal and emotional range, an instinctive sense of what is "right" musically, and considerable dramatic and comedic talent, she has the "star quality"--stage presence or charisma--that has distinguished a handful of this century's greatest stage performers. People like Harold Arlen, Sammy Cahn, Jule Stein and Richard Rodgers fall all over themselves to find the proper adjectives to describe her. I suppose the best way to tell you who Barbra Streisand is is to tell you that in June, 1967, she presented a 2½-hour concert in the Sheep Meadow of Central Park. Over 130,000 people were in the audience, the largest crowd ever to attend a single musical performance anywhere. The concert didn't start until 8:00 in the evening, but people began arriving around dawn to get close to the bandstand. That's who Barbra Streisand is.

AT THIS WRITING, the outcome of the flurry of peace initiatives remains in doubt, but one thing at least seems fairly clear: the US government, in the final months of this Administration, has placed the highest priority on terminating (not winning) the war. Ever since the President's March 31st speech, some commentators have been saying that the Administration had made the fundamental decision to end its military adventure and was seeking a face-saving way out of the mess. My natural cynicism (fortified by five years of the Johnson Presidency) led me to doubt that at the time, and subsequently, but I have at last concluded that it is probably true. The events surrounding the October peace flurry were merely the catalyst; most of the evidence for this conclusion has been there all along. In defense of my previous failure to perceive it, I can only point out that, like some military developments of the past couple of years, it is one of those profound

shifts which becomes fully apparent only with the passage of time. It is now possible to see, looking back, that the whole character of the American approach to the war changed in the months following the Tet offensive. President Johnson's remarkable March 31st speech may be taken as a convenient signpost marking the time. Since then, the idea of achieving a military victory has been abandoned. No one, these days, speaks in terms of a three, five or ten year effort to crush the NFL in the countryside. Indeed, the pacification program has never been reconstituted in the sense that it existed prior to the Tet debacle, and much of the rural territory of South Vietnam has simply been conceded to the Viet Minh. Some of the things we had grown to consider familiar, seasonal and inevitable are missing from the newspapers--like the speculation about how many thousands of troops would be involved in the next increase, or the interviews with otherwise unidentified "high US officials" concerning the desirability of invading Laos, Cambodia or North Vietnam. Except for William Randolph Hearst Jr. and Curtis Lemay, nobody seems to be seriously thinking about extending the bombing to new targets (like Haiphong harbor) or even resuming the "normal" level of attacks north of the 19th Parallel. This attitude is even visible within the US Command in Saigon, where Gen. Abrams, most surprisingly in light of his previous career, has turned out to be a remarkably defense-minded commander. (To be sure, the defensive posture of Allied forces is largely dictated by the military realities, but not so Abrams' public posture. Westmoreland was noted for gung-ho, offensive-minded, extravagant victory statements, even when his troops were doing poorly. Abrams, by contrast, in every major public utterance I have read, has concentrated on discussing his efforts to defend something--usually Saigon.) Whether the new administration which takes over on January 21st will follow the same course is difficult to say, of course, but it is worth noting that the same commentators who early discerned the Johnson Administration's disillusionment with the Vietnam adventure unanimously believe that the new executive government will begin its tenure with the same attitude and act accordingly. Let us hope they are correct.

FAMOUS UNKNOWN PEOPLE #1: The Twentieth Century's contribution to the perfection of underwater sexual techniques is largely the responsibility of a single individual, Prof. Nils Bjornbean, known in his earlier days as "Horny" Bjornbean. He was born in Osaka, Japan, on April 22, 1898, the third child and second son of a Swedish maple syrup baron and his wife, a former belly dancer from Istanbul, Turkey. That Nils was an unusual child became apparent very quickly, when at the age of 27 months he had to be forcibly restrained from raping his 230-pound Samoan nurse. By the age of eight, he had not only read the Kama Sutra but had begun to emulate it, and within nine years had succeeded in exhausting its considerable range of possibilities, as well as some new ones that had occurred to him along the way. If he was not a brilliant student during his years of schooling, it is perhaps understandable in view of his extra-curricular activities. During his high school and college years, Horny Bjornbean established a record that will undoubtedly stand forever as his monument: between May 12, 1914, and August 28, 1920, he balled at least one girl every twenty-four hours, with the exception of a single day. (That famous day was June 2, 1917, when he underwent an appendectomy. And on that day, he was later wont to boast, he necked with two nurses, even if he couldn't manage anything more.) It was also during his college days that he took up swimming as a hobby--the historian must pause to comment that it seems to him Bjornbean was already getting sufficient exercise--and it was inevitable that he should combine his two principal interests. The happy combination of sex and swimming opened up a whole new range of pos-

sibilities, which Bjornbean, who by this time had received his degree in mathematics (who said mathematicians weren't sexy?), eagerly exploited. In the course of years of experimentation, Prof. Bjornbean became the world's foremost authority on aquatic--and particularly underwater--sexual activity, pioneering and giving the names to such well-known techniques as the Backward Plunge, the Single Gainer With a Half-Twist, the Double Reverse and the American Free Form. When his tragic death prematurely swept him from the plain of the living, he was evolving his masterpiece, called the Precision Jump, in which the female partner did a backstroke across the pool while the male partner, at exactly the right moment, dived from a thirty-foot-high springboard. His doctors speculate that the excitement created by contemplating this unique method may have contributed to Prof. Bjornbean's fatal seizure, which on October 19, 1962, ended his remarkable career.

"CRUSADE IN EUROPE" is blurbed as a "definitive history of World War II in Europe". It is hardly that, but it is an interesting and comprehensive account of the "American period" of the war, written by a man who was an obscure temporary colonel at the outbreak of hostilities and emerged from the war a five-star general: Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is a fat volume, running to more than 500 pages, and except for Chapter 1, "Prelude to War", and Chapter 24, on post-war relations with the Soviet Union, it is entirely devoted to the military campaigns on the Western Front from 1942-1945, with numerous battle maps. There are long chapters on the North African and Mediterranean campaigns, and the second half of the book is devoted to the final phase from the Normandy invasion to the surrender of Germany. The writing is pure Eisenhower, which is to say that the prose style is crisp, utilitarian and completely undistinguished except when it lapses into flights of cloying apple-pie piety, and the tone is remarkably matter-of-fact and detached (the disagreements between Eisenhower and Patton, and between Eisenhower and Montgomery, are covered, so far as I can tell, with an objectivity and lack of personal interest which is positively unnatural). To read "Crusade in Europe" is to once again ask the question, how could this man, seemingly so completely average, attain such prominent position? But to read this book is also to discover the answer to that question; and it is that Eisenhower's principal talent was precisely the one required to succeed in the role of Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force: the ability to weigh other people's opinions with complete rationality and fair-mindedness, and select the best proposal from among the given alternatives. It is fair to say that, while there were superior generals on the Allied staffs, there was probably not another man who could have fulfilled this particular task as well as Dwight Eisenhower.

CRIME, OR SOMETHING, IN THE STREET: The other weekend, I learned something about myself. Ever since the notorious Kitty Genovese case in Kew Gardens, in which forty nice, average, white, middle-class Americans saw and heard a woman being murdered on their dark street without intervening or even calling the police, I had been wondering what my response would be in similar circumstances. If asked, I would, like everybody else, have said that, naturally, I would rush out and try to do something, rather than simply peek out the window and watch. But it is easy to say that; I was never really sure how I would react. One simply cannot know until the situation arises. I believe I know now. I was reading a book and eating a tuna fish sandwich, which is not an altogether unusual thing for me to be doing at 2:30 on a Sunday morning. A woman outside began screaming unintelligibly and sobbing. It's a horrible sound in the still of the morning, and to-

tally out of place in my neighborhood--quiet, middle-class, lawns and trees, brick houses each the same, you know the scene. I take some pride in the fact that I reacted instantly, and without considering the troubles I might be letting myself in for. I grabbed a nasty looking saw-toothed butcher knife out of the kitchen drawer and stuck it in my belt as I rushed out the door. I was prepared to use it if necessary. Fortunately, and anti-climactically, there was no crime in progress, except disturbing the peace. When I got out on the front lawn, it became apparent that the problem was a domestic one. A couple driving by had by chance selected Meridene Drive as the scene of a vehement marital quarrel. From what I could gather from the scene as it appeared when I got outside, the wife, clearly "under the influence"--fried to the eyeballs, that is--had made her husband stop the car, gotten out, and refused to get back in. She was practically hysterical. He angrily demanded that she get in the car or, by God, he'd drive away and leave her there. She finally did, still sobbing, and they drove away just as the fuzz arrived, at which point I went back into the house. (I'd just as soon not have to explain to a cop what I'm doing standing on the lawn with a seven-inch knife at 2:30 AM...)

THE WAR, OCTOBER 24--NOVEMBER 9: We are approaching the season when the war in Laos is likely to return to the front pages, and there is an interesting possibility to be considered if real peace negotiations are indeed impending. A consistent thesis of American officials in Saigon and Washington for years has been that the Viet Minh were seeking some kind of spectacular victory and/or the seizure of a significant chunk of real estate in order to strengthen their hand in negotiations. Over the years, it has become rather irritating to hear every enemy action from an I Corps offensive to the seizing of a town in the Delta interpreted in this light. However, if they do desire such a bargaining counter, the opportunity to acquire it is readily available in Laos. It is conceded even by US military men that, with the Pathet Lao and PAVN forces available in Laos, the Viet Minh could crush the Royal Laotian armed forces in a matter of weeks and install the Pathet Lao as the government in Vientiane. Such a coup would be a fait accompli before the United States could react militarily, and would alter dramatically the strategic picture in Indochina. It would not only considerably strengthen the overall position of the Viet Minh, but it would give them something to bargain with (the security of the Thai border) which is important to the US but peripheral to their own interests.

October 24: President Johnson threw some cold water on the peace flap by asserting in a press conference that there has been no basic change in the picture during the past ten days, but speculation and rumors continue. The Viet Cong released 11 South Vietnamese prisoners, and the Saigon regime announced that it would release 140 Viet Minh prisoners before the end of the month. Casualties dropped substantially for all forces last week, with total Allied casualties of about 1350, including 100 Americans and 132 ARVN killed. These figures were the lowest in more than a year. The US Command announced that in the past 36 hours the Viet Minh have shot down seven US aircraft: one fighter-bomber, three observation planes and three helicopters, all over South Vietnam. There were clashes today south and southwest of Saigon, near Phuoc Vinh and northwest of Con Thien.

October 25: Laotian Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma told newsmen today that the US Ambassador to Laos has informed him that all American bombing of North Vietnam will be halted shortly, though no date is specified. In Saigon, Ambassador Bunker held yet another meeting with Thieu. According to Baltimore Sun reporter John Carroll, the Saigon government is preparing to launch a "pacification offensive" aimed at

bringing 1000 new hamlets under government "control" by February. Like the entire Revolutionary Development program since Tet, this effort has nothing but the name "pacification" in common with the program as it was once conceived. Details are scarce, but the drive appears to involve a very short-term program of establishing some kind of government presence--"raising the flag"--in these "contested" hamlets, so that in the event of a cease-fire in the near future the Saigon authority will have some basis, however slight, for claiming to "control" them. The most substantial ground action today was a battle northwest of Con Thien in which 6 Americans were killed.

October 26: There are indications that the Viet Minh, having done about as much in the way of "peace gestures" as they are ever likely to, are growing impatient with what they regard as US stalling. Radio Hanoi broadcast an editorial today which was "hard-line" in both substance and language, and in Paris Xuan Thuy, in a TV interview, emphatically noted that the time for the US to stop the bombing is now. It is generally felt that unless a breakthrough comes within the next ten days the peace flurry will quietly pass away in its sleep. According to the US Command, there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of intelligence Allied forces are getting from the people in the countryside. This assertion has been made once every four or five months since the beginning of 1962. In fact, five years ago this month, Hearst columnist Warren Rogers devoted an entire column to expounding on the point. It certainly is a wonderful thing... Before dawn, the Viet Minh assaulted a 1st Infantry Div. bivouac southwest of Loc Ninh, killing 8 Americans, and shelled to other camps nearby. Elsewhere, action was confined to minor clashes.

October 27: Very few Americans truly understand this war, but there are degrees of misunderstanding. A syndicated columnist named Henry J. Taylor must be the Western world's outstanding example of applied misunderstanding. For years, he has been complaining that "We have not built an effective front and are not secure on our flanks or in our rear." The first time I read this was, I believe, in the summer of 1965, and I recall thinking (rather condescendingly) "Oh well, he'll learn before long." Remarkably, in all this time, he has not learned; his most recent column on the war makes the same criticism, in the same words. I suppose it was not too surprising in 1965 that an American columnist did not realize that Vietnam was different from Normandy, but it is altogether incredible that the man still does not understand. This morning, the VC shelled Bien Hoa airbase and three smaller Allied installations, but ground action was confined to scattered clashes around Saigon. Hanoi claimed today that its shore gunners hit the New Jersey, but the US Command denied it.

October 28: For the second Monday in a row, the North Vietnamese cancelled their news conference in Paris, while in Saigon Ambassador Bunker held two meetings with President Thieu. A US Intelligence source in Saigon reports that the Viet Minh have massed 70 battalions in the provinces northwest of Saigon for an attack on the capital around Nov. 12th or sometime after. No significant ground action was reported today.

October 29: Robert Komer, the Grand Gnopgnip of Pacification, is leaving Saigon to become Ambassador to Turkey. Komer's departure is no surprise, though I hadn't expected it until just after the first of the year. He is succeeded by William Colby, his deputy, who, like Komer, is a former CIA man. Colby's tenure is likely to be quite brief, as the new President, assuming he is interested in pursuing the war, will almost certainly want his own appointee in this position. The Saigon government today permanently suspended two newspapers and suspended a third for 15 days, all for criticizing the government. Gen. Abrams flew into Washington for a conference with the President and other officials;

the visit was announced only late this afternoon, when Abrams was on a plane returning to Saigon. In the war, a Viet Minh battalion shelled and assaulted the Thuong Duc Special Forces camp, and there were scattered clashes elsewhere throughout the country.

October 30: Today's session in Paris was the shortest since the talks began in May, and produced no apparent progress, but nevertheless speculation about an imminent breakthrough has reached new heights. AP quoted an unidentified diplomat from "an Allied country" to the effect that "Everything is settled." Thieu met with Bunker this morning, and the vanguard of the Saigon regime's negotiating team has reportedly arrived in Paris. Meanwhile, in the war, the Viet Minh shelled 173rd Airborne Brigade HQ at An Khe and three US positions in the western Highlands. Later in the day, the Marine base at Dong Ha, the Cua Viet naval facility and a nearby ARVN position were pounded by artillery fire. At Dong Ha, several buildings and a gasoline storage area were destroyed, and at least 3 Marines were killed.

October 31: Black Thursday for the Saigon regime. Today's meeting between Bunker and Thieu took place at 2:00 AM. In the afternoon, Thieu made a hard-line speech in which he asserted that "we" are not ready to stop the bombing because there has been no response from Hanoi to the latest peace probes. A few hours later, President Johnson went on television to announce that all air, naval and artillery attacks against the DRV are being suspended as of 8:00 AM EST tomorrow (9:00 PM Saigon time). The President also said that at next week's regular meeting in Paris, both Saigon and the NFL will be present, though in what capacity is not certain. The bombing of Laos will presumably continue, as will reconnaissance flights over the North. Claimed enemy casualties remained at the same level last week, while total Allied casualties increased slightly to just over 1500, including 109 Americans and 103 ARVN killed. Tomorrow is the Saigon regime's major holiday, the anniversary of Diem's overthrow, and the VC started the celebration early by lobbing rockets into Saigon late tonight.

November 1: In addition to being National Day, this is the first anniversary of Nguyen Van Thieu's inauguration as president. One may be confident it is not the greatest day of his life. Thieu acceded to the bombing halt only reluctantly, and has lost face because of its timing and because the announcement was made by Johnson alone rather than by both jointly. Thieu's office describes the decision as "unilateral" and notes that his government "did not see any solid reason to join the decision of the United States on this matter." It will be interesting to see the impact of the bombing suspension and formal negotiations on the Saigon government. It is conceivable that the regime may simply dissolve under the stress of peace talks, though this does not seem too likely. What is certain is that the situation will have a deleterious effect on ARVN morale, which has never been particularly high anyway. (It is unlikely to affect Viet Minh morale significantly, though a cease-fire might.) Before dawn, more rockets hit Saigon. Tan Son Nhut airbase, the oil storage facility at Nha Be, Hue and My Tho were also shelled. A Viet Minh force assaulted a US bivouac 60 miles north of Saigon, killing 12 Americans. In the Delta, a Riverine Force craft was shattered by mines; 16 Americans were killed, 8 others are missing. There was a battle south of Da Nang, in which 7 Marines died, and Dong Ha was heavily shelled.

November 2: An interesting point arises with regard to the conditions attached to the cessation of US attacks on North Vietnam. Apart from the rather vague idea that the negotiations ought to be "prompt and productive", there are two conditions claimed by Washington: that the DMZ not be "abused", and that no cities be shelled. But it is not clear whether there was prior agreement on these points by the Viet

Minh, or if they are simply Washington's unilateral conditions for continuing the suspension. Possibly it doesn't matter. The conditions are modest enough in any case. Ellsworth Bunker may have had some trouble digesting his oatmeal and prune juice this morning. In an address to the National Assembly, Thieu declared that his government will not participate in the negotiations Wednesday, or anytime, because the conditions are not acceptable. He'll have to back down eventually, but meanwhile it's a sticky situation for the US. Xuan Thuy was obviously enjoying it at his Paris news conference. He said that his government will be there Wednesday, and the Front will be there, and it's up to the United States to see to it that Saigon attends.

November 3: US and DRV negotiators are meeting in Paris today to work out procedural details for Wednesday's session. The NFL announced that its delegation will be headed by Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, a name very familiar to students of Vietnam (but not to be confused with Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dinh, the deputy commander of the Viet Cong). According to UPI, two of the three aircraft carriers that had been operating in the Gulf of Tonkin may be withdrawn from the war zone altogether, because there are not enough targets in the South to make it worthwhile to keep them on station there. Before dawn, the Viet Minh shelled the provincial capital of My Tho, Bien Hoa airbase and a US artillery base near Dak To, but no significant ground action was reported.

November 4: Whether there will actually be a Wednesday session in Paris now seems doubtful, unless the US is willing to humiliate the Saigon regime by proceeding without them. That would solve a number of problems, come to think of it, but it's hard to imagine it happening. According to the latest Intelligence estimate, the Viet Minh have between 120,000 and 130,000 main force troops in the South or just across the border in Cambodia and Laos. This figure does not include two PAVN divisions recently withdrawn into the North Vietnamese panhandle; they are far enough from the border to be considered out of the war for the time being. On Jan. 1st, enemy main force strength in the South and in the border sanctuaries was put at 118,000. This is called "attrition". Several ARVN outposts around Saigon were shelled this morning, and a US helicopter was shot down near Bien Hoa, but ground action was confined to scattered clashes.

November 5: William Jorden, the US spokesman in Paris, announced that the opening of expanded peace talks has been postponed "indefinitely", i.e., until the US can cajole or bludgeon the Saigon regime into sending representatives. There were demonstrations in Saigon today aimed at showing "popular support" for the Thieu government's stand, and they succeeded admirably. About 4000 people attended a rally sponsored by the militant Catholics and a government-sponsored demonstration drew 2000 or so, mostly police, militiamen and civil servants. Some "popular support". Three US helicopters were shot down in fighting today northwest of Saigon, 8 Marines were killed in a battle south of Da Nang and 9 ARVN Rangers died in a sharp clash 65 miles southwest of Saigon.

November 6: One of the results of the Paris "breakthrough", ironically, has been the return to prominence of Vice President Ky, affectionately known in the Saigon press corps as Captain Midnight. Ky had been gradually fading ever since the beginning of the year, as Thieu whittled away his power bit by bit. But in the internal debate within the regime, which started in mid-October when the bombing halt rumors began, Ky, who is generally to the "right" of Thieu on issues, emerged as the leading spokesman for the ultra-Hawk faction within the government, mostly militant Catholics and northern army officers. In that capacity, Nguyen Cao Ky now enjoys more influence, if not power, than at any time since before Tet. Back in June, US Army engineers completed construction on the Phu Cuong Bridge, north of Saigon, the largest and

best protected in South Vietnam. Today they are erecting a pontoon span to replace it. Viet Cong sappers shattered it early today, dropping three center spans into the Saigon River. The most substantial ground action reported today was a battle 15 miles southwest of Da Nang, which continued through the night.

November 7: This week's US News & World Report features what has become a regular weekly orgy of simple-minded optimism (tempered slightly by a report on a Viet Minh build-up in Cambodia). Allied victory is imminent, the government in Hanoi is going to collapse, the ARVN are making great strides, and so on, ad nauseum. However, there is one useful piece of hard information in this issue: enemy defections in October reached "one of the highest" totals in a year. If the October Chieu Hoi total was "one" of the highest, but not the highest, in a year, this gives us a pretty good idea of the figure--approximately 1200. On the further assumption that the number has been rising gradually since the last fully reported month (June), the missing months can be filled in as follows: 1050 (July), 1100 (August), 1150 (September). Obviously, these are at best semi-educated guesses, but since nobody bothers to release the totals on a regular basis any longer, it's the best I can do. Last week, claimed enemy losses increased slightly, while total Allied casualties rose to just over 2000, including 150 Americans and 129 ARVN killed. Before dawn, the VC shelled two district capitals within 25 miles of Saigon. There was a battle today 18 miles southwest of the capital and rocket attacks on two Marine positions near Con Thien.

November 8: President Thieu made a "peace proposal" today, to demonstrate that his government wasn't blocking the way to progress in Paris. Under its terms, the NFL would participate as part of the DRV delegation and (get this) the US would be part of the Saigon delegation. The merit of this proposal is that it has provided something for the NFL, Hanoi and Washington to agree on--they're all against it. Xuan Thuy commented in Paris that if Saigon and Washington want to combine their delegations, that's their business, but in that case there will be three delegations: NFL, Hanoi and Allied. This morning, the Viet Minh shelled the district capital of Loc Ninh and 101st Airborne Div. HQ near Hue; 4 US troops were killed in a battle northwest of Saigon, and there were other clashes north and south of the capital.

November 9: The US Command announced that the 1st Air Cavalry Div. has been shifted from northern I Corps to the Cambodian border region north and northwest of Saigon. It had been obvious for months that the Allied military position in these provinces was deteriorating and that major reinforcements were necessary. Incidentally, this is the first time that US units have been sent from I Corps to anyplace else; previously, all reinforcement had been in the other direction. This is possible now because of the talks-connected reduction of PAVN pressure in I Corps. Taking advantage of that to shift troops elsewhere seems a questionable practice (if the Viet Minh made use of US "restraint" in one area to improve their position in another area, Washington would hollar "Foul!" before the entire world). The VC shelled the provincial capital of Can Tho and several ARVN positions on the coast today, but no major ground action was reported.

NIXON'S THE ONE, JUST BARELY: It may be over-dramatizing a bit, but not much, to call the outcome of the election a disastrous victory for Richard M. Nixon. When a candidate who only two weeks before the balloting is expected to win in a landslide barely squeaks through, it is a pyrrhic victory. I expect to have very little good to say about Nixon in the coming months and years, but at the moment he has at least my whole-hearted sympathy. The 37th President of the United States begins his contract with destiny having nearly lost

to a man who, a week before the election, was conceded practically no chance of winning; with the smallest plurality in over a century at exactly the point in history when a mandate was most needed; having been rejected in those areas and among those groups where our principal domestic problems lie; and with both houses of Congress controlled by the opposition party. I do not envy Richard Milhaus Nixon.

For Hubert Humphrey, who maintained his usual indiscriminate good cheer, the defeat must have been particularly disheartening. Six weeks before the election, no one, including Humphrey, thought he had a chance to win, so losing in those circumstances would not have been a profound emotional experience. But to fall short by so little after coming so far is an altogether different matter. I think that in the closing days of the campaign even people who voted against Humphrey were rooting for him in some corner of their mind. After all, it is only human nature to admire a man who picks himself up off the floor and fights back against seemingly hopeless odds. Making the race close doesn't count for much when the contest is the final one, the one for all the marbles, but it was a remarkable accomplishment all the same. And Humphrey accomplished it by himself. The bombing halt helped, of course, but the momentum that made the election a horse-race was there before that event, and it was there because Hubert Humphrey fought to create it and maintain it. The Humphrey campaign was sufficiently gallant and courageous in its latter stages to inspire Richard Nixon to something resembling humility and generosity, which is not an everyday event.

There is some satisfaction to be taken in an otherwise depressing political year from two facts. First, George Wallace turned out after all to be a paper bogeyman. His 13% of the national vote was just about what late polls projected and is not particularly impressive, and he did not do even respectably well in any state outside the South. His American Independent Party won't just go away now that the election is over, but I think its showing should allow us to worry slightly less about the prospect of "Fascism in '72", as the bitter slogan has it. Second, the general slaughter of liberal/Dove candidates in the senatorial races that some had predicted failed to materialize. Fulbright, McGovern, Church, Nelson and Ribicoff won without too much difficulty. Clark and Morse lost, of course, as did Gilligan, but at the same time there were some gains to balance these losses. Hughes won in Iowa, a Republican semi-Dove named Mathias knocked off an Administration yes-man here in Maryland, and of course Alan Cranston sent dear old Max Rafferty back to addressing PTA meetings on the perils of flouridation and writing indignant letters to the newspapers.

SHORT NOTES ON LONG SUBJECTS: I won't be sending any Christmas cards this year. "Because you're too cheap, eh?" No, that's not it. The money I would ordinarily spend on cards will go to the organizations I usually buy the cards from (CORE, UNICEF), but an issue of Kipple will be coming out at the proper time and I hope you will consider that my 24-page Christmas card to all of you. The money I would ordinarily spend on postage for the cards will be sent to the Or-Io Snerdly Fund for Termagent Ptarmigans. +++ The Nixon-Agnew ticket lost Maryland, as I predicted it would, but the race was very close. It was close because George Wallace did so poorly here. The Democrats carried the Washington suburbs, though just barely, and racked up a huge margin in the city, as expected, but the GOP ticket didn't lose anywhere near as many votes to Wallace in the suburbs and rural counties as I anticipated. +++ If Wanda Jackson married Peter Fonda, she'd be Wanda Fonda. If Cindy Beach married George Ball, she'd be Cindy Beach Ball.

--Ted Pauls

(c:34)

matter in motion

BY JOHN BOARDMAN

INTELLECTUALS WHO SUPPORT PRESIDENT JOHNSON are so rare that the pro-Johnson egghead, like the religious scientist, is cherished and praised by his sect. The house intellectual of the White House these days is Eric Hoffer, a sometime longshoreman and author of the thought-provoking "The True Believer". His latest personal triumph was his appointment to the presidential commission which will investigate the prevalence of violence in American life.

Hoffer is in good company on this commission. One member, Hale Boggs, is a dedicated foe of civil rights. Two others, Senators Hart and Hruska, have been in the forefront of the opposition to effective gun control laws for many years. And Hoffer has characterized the Kennedy family as being "not real Americans"--a sort of argument which we hoped we'd heard the last of during the 1960 campaign. Hoffer regards the truest representative of America as a twanging southwesterner of a rather hayseed image, and praises Truman and Johnson as the best Presidents of our times.

Hoffer, trying to image in his philosophy the world outlook of the lower middle-class rural white, urges a harsh crackdown on rioting. According to his column in the New York Daily Column, May 7, 1968,

"Sooner or later we shall discover the fact that has been staring us in the face; namely, that there is hardly any rioting in the South. Once this fact sinks in, a profitable new industry will be born in the South; the readying and packaging of police forces, complete with Bull Connors, cattle prods, and bloodhounds, for exportation to the North. ...The genuinely humane people who say that riots are unavoidable, that they will cease when every Negro wrong has been righted and every white heart is cleansed of prejudice and selfishness, are not aiding the Negro but are hastening the corruption and debasement of our society."

This "whiff of grapeshot" solution to America's race problem is reminiscent of the Fascist intellectual attitudes in the Europe of 40 years ago. Like them, Hoffer blames social unrest on neither the oppressors nor the oppressed, but on liberals--"the genuinely humane people". They encourage the oppressed to hope for an end to this inferior status. According to the Fascist, such inferior status is built into either the economic or the racial realities of the human condition, and cannot be ended. Therefore; he blames liberals for arousing in the lower classes, or among Negroes; hopes of equality which can never be realized. When these hopes fail, the argument runs, the frustrations burst into revolt which must be crushed mercilessly.

All this was prefigured in the writings of European Fascists. In 1936, the Hungarian Fascist theoretician Ferencz Szalasi wrote:

"The working class is dissatisfied, and this is essentially because of the bankruptcy of its Marxist ideologies. It had to be disillusioned with the system it believed in, from which it hoped, for which it fought, and from which it expected its welfare. It does not know what to do with the bankrupt mass of its Marxist ideology, which stifles and pushes it into moral, spiritual, and material annihilation."

Another intellectual position of European Fascism was a posture purportedly "above ideology". Although Fascism is traditionally assigned to the political "right", it is far from identical with traditionalist conservatism as represented by, say, Robert A. Taft, Winston Churchill or Konrad Adenauer. The Fascist ideologue represented himself as someone above parties, concerned with the total nation rather than with such class interests as capital or labor, peasant or landowner, clerical or anti-clerical. In a speech on October 29, 1933, the Spanish Fascist leader Jose Antonio Prime de Rivera put it this way:

"The Fatherland is a total unity, in which all individuals and classes are integrated; the Fatherland cannot be in the hands of the strongest class or of the best organized party. The Fatherland is a transcendent synthesis, an indivisible synthesis, with its own goals to fulfill..."

Hoffer also puts himself above ideology. Indeed, in "The True Believer" he examines ideologies and finds that their holders are generally alienated men, the degree of alienation corresponding to the depth of their commitment. For Hoffer, the ideologue is the professional second-rater, the man who takes out his own personal inadequacies by berating the evils of his time, and who mistakes his own hang-ups for basic ills in the social system. This is often true, but it does not disguise the fact that social systems frequently do have basic ills.

American Fascism, if it comes, will not be a second-rate imitation of some European model: It will not have a panoply of colored shirts, armbands, jackboots, khaki uniforms or windy manifestos. Instead, it will purport to be an outpouring of native American energy, as homey as a house-raising party or a quilting bee, uniting Americans of different class and background in a common endeavor transcending differences of race, religion, party or class. Or, if one group is shut out, it will serve as a scapegoat to keep the others in line. Thirty years ago this group might have been the Jews; fifteen years ago it might have been Communists; now it is very likely to be all Negroes who can be sheltered under the broad label of "black militants".

And its leader will be a man very like Lyndon Johnson. His Goebels will probably sound more like Eric Hoffer than like William F. Buckley.

-oOo-

All ten of the true-or-false questions in this column in #152 have the answer "false". I tried to base them on commonly held misconceptions.

--John Boardman

Mary Poppins is Alive and Well in Lake Tahoe

LETTERS

GEORGE W. PRICE :: 1439 W. NORTH SHORE AVE. :: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60626

Sam Friedman makes the very good point (in #151) that, as a matter of historical fact, a considerable part of our industrial development was based on robbing the Indians of their land. It is quite true that if we had had to pay the Indians a fair price, or if they had refused to sell, our national development would have been much slower and possibly non-existent. The "triangular trade" in slaves also provided development capital, as Sam points out. But while all this is true, it is not to the point which we were discussing: the value of middle class morality. This horrible conduct was in outright violation of said morality. That it took place anyway tells us nothing about the value of the moral code; it only demonstrates that greed can find rationalizations for almost anything. For obvious example, Christian morality as understood in the 18th and 19th Centuries clearly forbade enslaving people. So our ancestors rationalized that blacks were not really people. We're still suffering the results of that.

Well, suppose we had treated the Indians honorably. We could have bought the land piecemeal, paying for it with manufactured goods from the area already Europeanized. Let's suppose we had also been free of race prejudice. There might then have been a gradual expansion of European culture across America, with the Indians at the slowly moving border becoming Europeanized through commerce with the whites, and then being absorbed into the expanding culture. We would have wound up with an industrialized country much like our own, but with Indians and mixed-breeds being a much higher proportion of the population. We would probably be happier; at least we wouldn't have the guilt of what we actually did to the Indians. Assuming something Utopian like this had happened, would it be unreasonable to suppose that the prevailing morality would now be not unlike that which we actually hold (or, rather, pay lip-service to?). In my long-winded way, I am trying to say that so-called middle class morality is reasonably appropriate to a complex, industrialized society, and that nearly all of the scars, warts and cancers on our actual society can be shown to be the results of violating the moral code.

It is obviously possible to have a moral code with such built-in errors and contradictions that attempts to live up to it bring consequences that are bad by the code's own standards. The clearest example is communism, wherein the efficiency of the economy and the happiness of the people are in inverse ratio to the rigor with which the rules are obeyed. I do not believe that our society is of this nature. If Sam believes it is, I wish he would make a list of the virtues which our society supposedly respects. Hard work, thrift, honest dealing, keeping one's word, and whatever else he can think of. Then let him say how much of what he finds evil and exploitative in our society could exist if those virtues were strictly practiced.

Ted wants to know what, if anything, I would consider to be "ex-

plotation". Fair question. I don't use the word much, because I prefer more specific terms like "fraud" or "theft", depending on the particular circumstances. For the present, I will discuss exploitation only as applied to wages and working conditions.

If we are going to say that a wage is "exploitative", we should first have some idea of what a fair wage is. I define a fair, or just, wage as one that is arrived at in a free market with no fraud, violence or other coercion by either party. (A fair price is defined in the same way.) Exploitation can then be defined as making money out of a worker by preventing his wages from being set in that way. The techniques of exploitation, then, are all the methods from the subtlest trickery to the grossest violence (such as slavery) by which a worker is gotten to accept a below-market wage. I cannot emphasize this too much: a wage is not exploitative merely because it is low; it must be low through some kind of fraud or coercion.

(Maybe I'd better specify that by "coercion" I mean only what is done by people to other people; natural forces are not coercion. That is, if a man takes a poor job because he is desperately hungry, that's not coercion. If there were people willing to feed him, and someone forcibly prevented them in order to make the man take that job, then that's coercion.) (Needless to say, I take issue with your definitions, which embody the outlook with which I have been arguing. You define a fair wage as "one that is arrived at in a free market with no fraud, violence or other coercion by either party", which translates as: the lowest wage the employer can offer and still get somebody to do the job. The worker must not be coerced, dear me, no, but it's okay as long as he is impelled to accept the job and the wage through "natural conditions"--such as his childrens' bellies swelling from malnutrition. And I assume that in practice the provision about no coercion by either party (my emphasis) would prohibit workers striking for a higher wage. Then there's the "fair price", which applies the same principle at the other end of the line and--coincidence!--has the same employer on the sweet end of the stick. A fair price is the highest one you can charge and still find somebody to buy, i.e., whatever the market will bear. \$187 million is a fair price for an artificial kidney machine if you can find a dying man willing to pay it. Yes. The beauty of this system resides not only in its financial profitability but in its capacity to make a man morally comfortable at the same time. An entrepreneur pays the workers as little as he can get away with, charges the consumer as much as he can get away with, and with the profits buys a stretch of beach in the Bahamas where he can lay around and feel good about the great favor he's doing both of them...))

Let's continue with the example of Chinese labor on 19th Century railroads. If the coolie was told in China that in America he would be paid "white man's wages", and would live as well as the whites, and then when he got here and found he had been lied to, he stayed on the job only because it was such a long swim back, then he was being exploited. But if he knew (or didn't care) that he would be paid a wage low by American standards, though high by Chinese standards, and that he might encounter social prejudice, and knowing this he took the job anyway, then he was not being exploited. I rather doubt that the recruiters in China were scrupulously honest about what the coolies would encounter, and to that extent there was surely exploitation. But let's suppose that once the Chinese were here and had gotten a full taste of the work, pay, and other conditions, they were then given the choice of staying on, or being magically returned to their previous life in China. To the extent that they would have chosen to stay, they were not being exploited. I leave it to you to decide which choice most would have made.

Rather tendentially, you say that my position seems to be that if I pay a man 75¢ an hour to clean a cesspool with his nose, and he accepts because what he was doing before was even worse, then I should not only get my cesspool cleaned at that rate and by that means, but should also be applauded by the community for my generosity. This is partly true. To make it completely true, I add three conditions: (1) Through no act or omission of mine, his next best option is to clean a cesspool with his tongue for 65¢ an hour. (2) I can't afford to pay more than 75¢ an hour, or to supply a shovel and bucket. (3) I don't expect the community to applaud me--merely to refrain from condemning me.

Following this somewhat overblown example, you ask if I deny that "mine and factory owners raked in the moolah at a rate that would have been impossible had they not had children working 10-hour days for a pittance." I answer by asking you some questions: Picking any representative example, how much was the owner's profits in comparison to the total wage bill? That is, what was the most he could have paid in wages and still have stayed in business? How did the children's wages and living conditions compare with what they would have had if that owner had not hired them? If profits, and therefore re-investment, had been reduced in order to pay higher wages, how much would this have set back the capital improvements which eventually enabled still better wages to be paid?

Now God knows I don't claim that in the Industrial Revolution there was no exploitation and everything was for the best. I would not want to have lived through those times. I do most definitely claim that on the whole those times were a great improvement on what had gone before. More to the point, low wages were generally due to low productivity, not to the greed of the employers. Which is not to say that employers weren't greedy. Many were, but competition between employers to hire the best workers kept wages reasonably close to what productivity allowed.

If I read you right, implicit in your argument is the assumption that low-paying employers could pay better if they wanted to, but are simply too greedy. Have you facts and statistics to back this up? If the San Giorgio Co., for example, raises wages to what you consider a decent level, can it stay in business? And for Pete's sake, don't tell me that if they can't pay a decent wage then they ought to be out of business. That would just mean that their erstwhile workers would be even worse off--since, obviously, if there were better jobs, they would already be working at them instead of for San Giorgio. You might think over what Samuel Gompers said many years ago--that the greatest crime against the workingman was a company that did not make a good profit. (I don't have statistics for individual companies (some reader closer to the Delano struggle may be able to provide them), but my understanding is that the owners of the grape fields are quite wealthy individuals or corporations. Obviously, grape-pickers are never going to earn as much as, say, computer programmers, but there's no excuse for the present wages and working conditions. You admit you "would not want to have lived through" the Industrial Revolution. I presume you would also not want to be working as a grape-picker today. I don't blame you; neither would I. Our difference seems to be that, in addition to being glad that I don't have to work in the fields for those wages, I also don't think anybody else should have to do it either.)

Now if you want some real honest-to-God exploitation in modern America, you might consider the unions. Most unions are specifically, if not explicitly, devoted to exploiting other workers. I think we went through this once before, but it bears repeating. Let's assume that the free market wage for building face-grinders (for grinding the faces of the poor, of course) is \$3.00 per hour. If the labor market is free,

this is the wage at which jobs offered and jobs wanted just match. That is, if the employer offered \$3.25, he would get more qualified applicants than he needed, while at \$2.75 there would be too few applicants. The market wage, therefore, is the wage at which there is neither unemployment nor vacant jobs, because deviations from this wage are self-correcting: if wages are too high, competition among workers drives them down, and if too low, competition among employers pushes them up. Now let's suppose that the Grindermen's Union is organized and forces wages up to \$4.00 per hour. This is done by restricting membership in the union, and forcibly preventing non-union men from working at the trade. That is, there are men who are now making, let's say, \$2.50 per hour, and who would like to become grindermen at \$3.00, but can't because any place that hired them would be struck and their heads would be broken if they tried to cross the picket line. The union men are able to make \$4.00 instead of \$3.00 only because other men are coerced into making only \$2.50 instead of \$3.00. I say this is clear exploitation of the non-union workers by the unionists.

No, I would not abolish all unions. They can do a worthwhile job in squelching anti-free-market behavior by employers and seeing to it that the full free-market wage is paid. But all too few unions limit themselves to such action. It is estimated that the effect of union action in the US is that union wages average about 15% higher than they would be in a free market, and non-union wages run about 5% lower. (The difference in the percentages is because non-union labor is much more numerous than union, and the reduction is spread over more people than the gain.)

As a good many liberals are belatedly realizing, many unions are exploiting Negroes by excluding them from the union. Perhaps you would like to hazard a guess as to how many white workers are able to hold their jobs at their present wages only because black competition is violently excluded. I don't know the figure, but even one is too many. And they're all going to vote for George Wallace.

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I don't know what kind of national coverage Washington's hottest new political figure is getting. Perhaps Kipple readers would be interested in hearing about him.

A complete unknown (he hadn't issued any news releases or made any speeches), Richard A. C. Greene beat out three other contenders for the Republican nomination for Land Commissioner, including Indian chief Robert Satiacum. Greene, who, it turns out, has been living in Hawaii since Sept. 10th and has no intention of returning to campaign, issued a statement through his campaign manager, Lorenzo Milam (a kind of a voice of the Hippies), congratulating the voters: "The underdog Greene, through his victory, has learned to have faith in the perception and intelligence of Mr. and Mrs. Average Washington State Voter."

Greene's platform was revealed at a press conference at the Blue Moon Tavern in Seattle. Greene was said to still be suffering from "terminal shock" at his victory and was represented at the conference by a six foot tall night in shining armor. Greene's motto is "Land Order", though Dr. J. Gallant of the University of Washington, one of his top staffers, said that he thought the motto should be "Lawn Order" instead.

The press conference was picketed by neo-SDS'ers, who carried signs like "Greene Eats Dirt" and shouted slogans like "Richard Greene is a fascist pig!" A reporter claimed to have seen the campaign staff slipping the pickets free beer.

Greene graduated from high school as a "student among students" and went to the University of Washington to prepare for his future ca-

reer as Land Commissioner by studying Classical Greek and Latin. "I think you'd be surprised at some of the ancient suggestions for multiple use of shore lands."

Greene has taken firm stands on the controversial issues facing the Land Commissioner. On the subject of Indian Fishing Rights, Greene says that individual catches will be limited to four Indians. Indians under 5' 1½" must be thrown back.

The following is taken from Greene's platform statements: "Land Use--Land should be used gently but firmly." "Whidbey Island--Whidbey Island must be replaced." "State Parks--There should be an expanded system to place parklands within easy reach of every citizen. For the citizens of King County, I envision a wilderness area on the site of the Boeing Company." "Employment practices--Elimination of all catchpolls and tipstiffs." "Geoducks (Pronounced gooey ducks)--A Republican Land Commissioner to back up Governor Evans." "Eastern Washington--Eastern Washington, including the fearful town of Yakima, must be turned over to Idaho. If refused, I shall appoint General Curtis LeMay director of the Hanford Atomic works." "Tidelands--All condominiums should be removed from state tidelands." "Numerality--Practice of the New Morality on state lands should be watched." "Political Heritage--I have been accused of being a "Temporary Republican". That is a misquote. I said I was a "Temporary Republican" of the school of Warren Gamaliel Harding, our much beloved 29th President." "Puget Sound Bridge--If it becomes necessary to build a bridge across Puget Sound, it should be a covered bridge because of the rain." "Initiative 33--There should be an Initiative 33, which would call for the amalgamation of the towns of Forks and Pysht into Pysht-Forks."

If elected, Greene says, "I shall be the sort of Land Commissioner who will go out fearlessly and commission the land."

According to Helix, Seattle's underground paper, Greene's first campaign slogan--abandoned--was: "Keep Washington Greene--Plant seeds everywhere."

The Washington Teamster claims that Greene's plan to secede Eastern Washington along the line of the Cascades and give it to Idaho with all the "rattlesnakes and nitwits in the vast Inland Empire wasteland" is not getting off the ground because of Idahoan insouciance. The Spokane Spokesman-Review takes violent exception to the charge that their territory is loaded with nitwits. The Yakima Dailies is afraid the charge is going to make headway and has urged the state Republican Committee to disavow Greene and endorse the Democratic incumbent, whom the Republicans have always voted for anyway. The Yakima Dailies is naturally upset because they employ most of the nitwits around here.

As for me, it took me 25 years to escape from Idaho and I'm not about to have a land commissioner send me back so easily.

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Since nobody has yet answered Sam Friedman's query about the Katyn Forest massacre, I will try to. If I have the story straight, it is as follows: When the Soviet Union seized the eastern third of Poland in 1939, between 8,000 and 12,000 Polish army officers and NCOs fell into Russian hands. These men were kept in a prison camp in Katyn Forest, west of Smolyensk and in the territory taken by the USSR from Poland at the time. (On nationalistic grounds, the Soviet Union had some justification for this seizure, since the territory--about 2/3 Russian and 1/3 Polish in population--had been seized from the USSR by the Poles in the Russo-Polish wars of 1918 and 1920, in which the Poles had been the aggressors. Whether the Russians were equally justified in 1939 in urging the Russian peasants of the "liberated" land to engage in the mass lynching of their former Polish landlords is another matter.)

In 1941, the Polish government in exile in London tried to form an army of Poles in the USSR, many of whom had fled thither from the Germans, to fight the Germans. The London Poles were surprised not to be able to find the thousands of Polish officers whom they believed to be in the USSR. Inquiries to Soviet officials brought only shrugs.

In April, 1943, the German Army captured Katyn Forest. Goebbels' propaganda ministry then announced, with a show of righteous indignation, the discovery of mass graves containing the remains of the missing Poles, who had been shot by the Russians. The Polish government in exile demanded an investigation. With a show of equally righteous indignation, Stalin, against the urgings of Roosevelt and Churchill, used this demand as a pretext to break relations with the London Poles, on the ground that their demand slandered the Soviet Union, and to set up a rival Communist Polish government.

In September, 1943, the Russians recaptured Katyn Forest. Some months later, Soviet officials invited Allied representatives to the forest. There they were shown human remains alleged to be evidence that the Germans had committed the massacre. At the time, Allied officials and journalists tended to accept the Russian story. Later, some of these decided that they had been guilty of wishful thinking, because of the need for preserving Allied cooperation and winning the war. As George Price said in #151, Americans tended at that time to look at the USSR--which was, true, doing most of the fighting--through rose-colored glasses of an intense pro-Russian bias. But I suppose cold objectivity would have been too much to expect of mere human beings.

A glance at books on the Soviet Union and World War II in our local library shows the general current opinion to be that, while definitive proof is lacking, the Russians almost certainly killed the Poles and then made an inept, transparent effort to cover up the deed. The usual inference is that Stalin wanted to get rid of these men, whom he believed to be anti-Communist and anti-Russian, so that, when the time came to impose a Communist government on Poland, they would not be around to thwart this design.

Contradictory stories have been floated since then: e.g., that Stalin told the NKVD to liquidate the camps--meaning to move the inmates elsewhere--but that the NKVD misinterpreted this order as a command to liquidate the inmates. Soviet society being what it is, nobody can go snooping about the USSR to find out which if any of these tales is true. The exact truth is probably buried in the Soviet archives, whence it is unlikely soon to be exhumed.

To turn to another of Mr. Friedman's subjects: The dispossession of the aborigines of North America by the whites, while hardly an example of enlightened intergroup relationships, was not so one-sided as he seems to think. The Indians were just as ethnocentric as the whites. Each regarded the other as subhuman and hence as fair game. The Indian tribes used each other with as much cruelty, violence and treachery as they and the whites did each other. Among the more warlike tribes, warfare was the most manly pursuit, torture an honorable ceremony, and the casual murder of strangers for their scalps a gentlemanly sport. (Not to mention cannibalism, which appalled the early explorers and settlers, though some of the more adaptable of them soon found it possible to participate in the practice. (Even those, however, found a distinction between eating an Indian and eating a fellow white, although history does not record that there was any difference in the taste...))

In point of fact, most of the transfers of land to the whites took place under cover of a formal sale, although there was a fair amount of chicanery--e.g., the whites' getting the Indian chiefs drunk before signing. Even when both sides thought they were acting in good faith, the enormous cultural gap made misunderstanding and conflict in-

evitable. Thus, among the eastern woodland Indians, the sellers often thought they were merely selling non-exclusive hunting and fishing rights to the land, since that was their notion of "land ownership", and were outraged when told to pack up and move out. While it is easy to sympathize with the Amerinds, a discriminating observer would pity them, not because they were any more virtuous than the whites--they weren't--but because, being so hopelessly inferior in numbers, technology and organization, they were doomed to lose no matter what they did.

Regarding the letter in #152 from Mr. Helgesen about the alleged Holy Shroud, permit me to remind the readers that in the medieval period when the shroud first turned up, relic-making was one of the liveliest trades in Europe. Besides such picturesque improbabilities as the tears of Jesus and the milk of Mary, one could find enough fragments of the True Cross to build a ship, enough toe-nail parings of St. Peter to fill a bushel basket, seven or eight thigh bones of the Virgin, two skeletons of St. Luke, and twelve Holy Foreskins. Out of deference to your Christian readers, I refrain (with some difficulty) from making any of the obvious wisecracks about that last item.

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You inserted a comment in Mr. Price's letter in #151, stating that a "newspaper editor who was whipping up anti-Soviet feeling in 1942 was a first-class creep who, at best, had his priorities mixed up, and at worst was a Nazi sympathizer." Let's not forget the history of the US-USSR alliance. You have your priorities mixed.

Stalin had no intention of joining the Allies in their struggle against the Axis. The Nazi-Soviet non-aggression and trade pact was envisioned by the Russians as the tool by which they would lever the capitalists and fascists into a mutually destructive war which the communists would observe only. At such time as the antagonists had weakened themselves sufficiently the Soviets would step in and take over wherever they pleased. Notice that they were quick to snap up pieces of Poland, Rumania, Hungary and the Baltic nations. Meanwhile (right up to the commencement of "Operation Barbarosa"), the Reds faithfully supplied their Nazi allies with war materials. After the German invasion of "Russian" Poland and Russia proper the Soviet Union suddenly became an ally of "the Free World".

Certainly Soviet aims changed thereafter. Russia was not seeking world domination, simply because it was struggling for survival. In reality, the United States and the Soviet Union were not "allies", but rather they were colaterally fighting a common enemy. Their grand strategic aims were never the same. The people of the United States would have been better prepared (and perhaps the government would have been also) for post-war events if the news media would have occasionally reminded them of the circumstances surrounding the alliance.

Wars are fought for national interests. Humanitarianism and such are touted to gain support of government policy. The Nazi menace was merely the more apparent enemy of the US because they were aggressively threatening it with arms. The Soviets never made a secret of their aim of subverting and eventually violently overthrowing the government of the US. Their post-war actions should have come as no surprise to anyone. Is it, therefore, wrong to remind the populace of the motives of such an ally? I think not. The priority to keep in mind is national interest, and this could best have been served by always keeping the facts of the Soviet Union's entrance into World War II on the side of the Allies in the public eye and by reminding the people of clearly stated communist goals. Russia bore the brunt of the Nazi attack not by choice, and an informed American public would have in no way affected the outcome of that campaign. The Soviet government had to continue the war as

it was fighting for its existence. (I'm not sure how relevant is the fact that "Russia bore the brunt of the Nazi attack not by choice". After all, one could say the same thing about the US bearing the brunt of the war in the Pacific. We did so not through altruism or fidelity to allies, but because we woke up one morning to find the bulk of our Pacific Fleet on the bottom of the ocean.))

The government of the United States had its priorities mixed when it made concessions to the USSR which were against national interests in the final stages of World War II, but did our newspaper editor? Hardly! The leftists would scorch this same poor bloob for not pointing out that US allies in the cold war are often fascists or corrupt dictators. The poor editor can't win...

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Apparently a number of people whose assessment of the Soviet Union dates from 1932 (or who have inherited one from that date) are bent on scoring points against you for doubting that the USSR would invade Czechoslovakia. And, in some manner, they feel that this damages Communism. But the real anti-Communist in this situation is Leonid Brezhnev, or the coterie of Kremlin hawks using his name. Communist parties representing a majority of the world's Communists have opposed the invasion: China, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania, France, Japan, Sweden, New Zealand, etc. The position of the CPUSA is not yet definite. Gus Hall supports the Soviet action, but he is getting a lot of disagreement from younger members of the party. People's World and the Guardian have come to the defense of the Czechs.

Brezhnev has betrayed the hopes for peace which he promoted four years ago when he negotiated peace between India and Pakistan.

It is unquestionable that Brezhnev and Kosygin will be out of power for this miscalculation, which has discredited the USSR in the eyes of Communists and non-Communists alike. It may take a while to get them out, however; Khrushchev was dumped for being too dovish, but it took two years between the Cuban crisis and his objection. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Khrushchev might come back, though it is more likely that younger men will crowd out the present leadership.

Marty Helgesen's remarks about the early Christian church are just plain not true. See Archibald Robertson's "The Origin of Christianity" for the role of St. Paul in the spread of Christianity, the role of bishops in the early church, and other such things.

The comparison of Chicago with Prague may, as Helgesen says, be ridiculous. Comparing Prague with Hue is another matter. It is wrong for anyone to approve Soviet policy in Prague, but arrantly hypocritical for anyone who condemns it to approve the analogous American invasion of Vietnam. In each case the occupying power is making a mendacious and utterly self-serving assertion that it was "invited" in to Do Its Thing.

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Out in Berkeley (just about two blocks from the middle of the riots), I had an opportunity to meet several of the self-styled hippies. While I was primarily interested in meeting people that I had been corresponding with and exchanging publications with, I did get into several discussions and listened in on quite a few more between hippies.

It is my conclusion that the run of the mill hippie is (1) from a well-off family (most seem to mooch off rather indulgent and terribly stupid parents), (2) overly hung up on acid and (3) a mental eunuch. This last is in part due to #2. The hippies seem to spend all their time talking about the last time they dropped acid, someone else who has recently dropped acid, and the next time they are going to drop acid. They

can get into very learned discussions about the "I Ching", but all they use it for is to find out whether or not they should drop acid.

They live in a world unto themselves, apparently because they have found that they can't cope with the world as it is. Whether they aren't adaptable enough or are too lazy to try and meet the world as it is on its own terms I don't know. But whichever way it is, they've got problems.

If they think acid is the way for them to increase their mental powers--fine. But when anything becomes a crutch like acid seems to have for the people I talked to, it starts to castrate them mentally. And just running in little circles around LSD seems to be the height of non-productivity. So they "discover" themselves. Big deal. What does that do for society or humanity? It certainly doesn't make them into a working, useful member of the human race. It seems that acid and hippie-dom are the modern answers to how to become a hermit in an urban environment. A man can be an island unto himself--provided he gets hung up on LSD.

I suspect everyone has about the same feelings as I do about the November election. HHH, no, for certain obvious reasons. One of the unobvious ones that has always struck me is that HHH was born 800 years too late--he would have made a great court jester. With bells on his toes and a funny suit, he would have been perfect for the job.

Richard Milhaus Nixon is running a 1964 LBJ campaign--he gets his name in the papers for saying nothing about everything. And I imagine it will get him into the White House like it did LBJ. While not an incumbent, and therefore lacking that kind of advantage, Nixon has only to say that he wouldn't bungle like the Administration has and he'll win votes. He needn't say how he'd go about rendering any solutions himself.

George Wallace is going to cop a lot of votes simply because people can't bring themselves to vote for either HHH or RMN. Which is a pity. Wallace's support is going to increase; I imagine he'll take close to 20% of the total popular vote and might even get a few electoral votes. When he was in Albuquerque, Wallace had planned on drawing around 2000 people to his rally, and he had 7000 before he had to start turning people away. Wallace is definitely a big factor in November.

Now we come to a proclaimed candidate who has appeared on national TV and to whom the press is giving absolutely no coverage: Pat Paulsen. I feel that if we have to have a comedian in the White House at least we can elect a professional one. It might be interesting to see what would happen if Paulsen did happen to carry a state (say, Nevada or New Mexico, where the population is small). Would the electors refuse to vote for him? Or rather, who would his electors be?

While this sounds facetious (and it really is), I think it strikes to the heart of the political mix-up that just might occur this year. The House just might be choosing the next President if the Electoral College decided to split the vote three ways and do so fairly evenly.

Does the House have to choose between the top candidates? I don't believe they are legally bound to do this. I think they can pick and choose the ones they will eventually choose the President from. What if McCarthy supporters staged a large write-in campaign but didn't win any electoral votes? Could the House decide to choose between HHH, RMN and McCarthy and drop Wallace entirely, even though he might have won some electoral votes? Most of the questions seem to revolve around just what the House can and cannot do. And I think if the next election is left up to those jokers, we just might be in for another Civil War. (The Constitution is quite explicit on the power of the House in this situation: it may choose as President any one of the top five electoral vote

winners. Thus, had the deadlock occurred, McCarthy could not have been in the running unless he picked up electoral votes somewhere.))

The National Democratic Riots left with me mixed emotions. While I think Daley was quite right in authorizing the cops to use force to break up the crowds (the spokesmen for which had previously and vociferously announced that they were going to do sundry things like break up the convention, cut TV cables, etc.), I think the cops went too far in many cases. To take a club to someone who has just thrown a brick at you is one thing, but to continue to club him while dragging him off to the paddy wagon is another. Daley may say that provocation existed (and I'm certain it did), but can just words be considered provocation? Especially with the guff that cops have to put up with from crowds anyway? Perhaps Daley was at fault for instructing his police to go in and "club first and ask questions later" without seeing whether the demonstration was going to be peaceful or violent. But if it had turned into the latter, wouldn't Daley have been as much at fault for not preventing it? I think so. Daley walked a very thin tight-rope; a slip to one side would have been as bad as a slip to the other.

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You seem to enjoy telling Tales of Your Childhood. Especially the more destructive anecdotes. My favorite story (about myself, of course) concerned the destruction of my brother. We were living in Hawaii and were fooling around in the locker room of a swimming pool. Another kid was present. The extent of the fooling around was that I was shooting a fire extinguisher at my brother and the kid. I did that every day before we jumped into the pool, and I still don't know how the thing stayed full. Anyway, there absolutely had to come the day of reckoning. I left the thing on the wall while I fired it and, with the help of my wildly flying arm, it fell off the hook on the wall and splashed my foot across the floor. The only thing I felt when it hit my foot was a thud--like a heavy rock falling on my foot. But I was, of course, barefoot, and the sharp edge of the bottom of the extinguisher had cut through the skin of half the foot and mashed the bone to a pulp. I tried to walk out of the locker room, as yet unaware of the wound. My brother screamed, "Your foot! Your foot!" I looked down, screamed, fell on the floor, and crawled out to the pool. My brother came out to the pool and puked in the water a few times. The life guards tried to question me while I lay on a bed waiting for a car to take me to the hospital, but I groaned like I was in a coma or something. A couple score of stitches sewed it up, and a thorough cleaning of the pool removed the puke. But to add to that, the family rented a cottage on the beach a few weeks later and I couldn't resist the ocean, so I plunged in trying to keep the water off the cast with rubber bags. The doc found out, and the foot was crapped out. I don't play with fire extinguishers anymore, but I do give them sidewise erotic looks every now and then.

A matter of fact: When my dad ran a pool (among other things) in Illinois, a little kid shit in the pool, and the turds floated to the top. The entire pool was drained--it took days--just for a kid with diarrhea. ((I knew a kid who did that deliberately, because he didn't like the man who owned the pool...))

Jay Kinney must be some kind of great seer when it comes to picking the candidates. He predicts Nixon will win! Wow! Dicky's really running scared when it comes to showdowns with other candidates. Humphrey went and bought the entire hour on TV, and Nixon wouldn't as much as take up the challenge to a simple little debate. But I was actually hoping Wallace would be on alone, when he's at his best. Or maybe he could have brought that blonde with him.

Bill Kunkel sounds like a real shitheaded character. He raves a-

bout "Rosemary's Baby" being so crappy, simply because it can't compare in the size of picket lines with the twat movies in New York. It's just that everyone knows the "bed" movies are nothing, and that kids could actually care less about them when they can get a bigger piece in the back seat of a car. But "Baby" would have held me as much without the "objectionable" scenes as it did with. Try that with the art movies. Polanski's surrealism is something that Kunkel couldn't understand; it wouldn't get through that merde brain of his. For the price of seeing a movie "fit for masturbating while you watch" in New York, you can pick up a copy of "Chthon" by Piers Anthony and the latest Playboy and go wild. And it's not on celluloid--or maybe Kunkel likes celluloid.

Your praise of "The Best From Fantasy and Science Fiction" was something that wouldn't have been very hard to understand. F&SF is the best of the American magazines, as it is really stretching into science fictional mainstream writing with some exponents of the New Wave popping in. But the anthology was pitiful compared to some of the issues Mercury is capable of putting out. Add to that the rejection of Spinrad's "Bug Jack Barron" and you sort of get the direction in which American science fiction is moving. Good, "dirty" stuff has to be introduced in England, where censorship is actually worse than here. Well, I'd better not say that--we don't have official censorship. Publishers simply refuse to publish certain books, of which "Bug Jack Barron" was one. But it's almost one of the most interesting damn books I've ever read.

Ed Reed--another young anarchist, wot! He doesn't know of what he says. He listens to WBAI--another thrill of the issue. Did you see the write-up Avant Garde gave WBAI a while ago? Anyway, that Reed is sure a dummy. He has about as much ability when it comes to writing as Faith Lincoln has to do anything... (Man, you've been taking your hostility pills real regular, haven't you?)

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Now, now, Ted, I don't dislike the people, it's those motherfucking governments (I'm kind in my adjectives this time), you know what I mean? I hope that doesn't sound overly communistic and party line; I'm an anarchist, and that's how I feel.

George Price feels no sympathy for me, gee (referring to the Chicago Troubles). Actually, I'd be better off classified as a Digger, but George said the whole mob, and though I couldn't go I was there--you know--in spirit. George, do you believe the papers about Czechoslovakia? Maybe the Czechs were provoking the Russkies, hmmm? Oh, you think that they should be allowed to do what they wanted. You liked the liberalization, so the Czechs didn't provoke. You didn't like the Yippies' ideas, so they provoked.

Sure, we had many, many guys at Chicago who were asinine, stupid and doing wrong things. Why hurt me? Why hurt them? It's your fault! Solve the real problem, not the surface one. How do you expect (I ask this of my violent friends) the world to get better if both sides do what they say they don't want to do but "have to" because they are being provoked. I'd rather be a martyr to the cause (it's hard to be non-violent, and merciful) than be a pig or a violent mobe or Yippie or whatever. Religions have been trying to get people to be just and merciful. Justice tinged with mercy, ya know? Christ was killed for it (he was a Jew, so am I, ya got a cross?) and so were many others. They were considered fools. Say, what would happen if the whole world was as foolish as Christ?

You want to know the reasons for the race problem? Read "Native Son", by Richard Wright. To get its extension to other areas, listen to Phil Ochs' song "When in Rome", which is quite obviously an extrapolation of "Native Son".

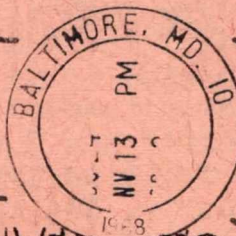
Ted, Tay Ninh can be used as an attack base on Saigon. It's like someone takes Philly and Trenton and southern New Jersey--a whole province--they've got a good shot at New York or Baltimore or Washington. Hey, that's an idea... (Of course, the province of Tay Ninh is used as a base to attack Saigon; so are Long Khanh, Binh Duong and all the other provinces in the area. The Viet Minh don't have to "take" them, because they already hold or at least have easy passage through most of the territory. The point under discussion was whether their holding the city of Tay Ninh would contribute anything to an attack on the capital. Suppose the VC 9th Div. wants to attack Saigon on Dec. 1st. Following past procedure, it would alert the underground in the city, begin to slip squads of infiltrators in and move its battalions as close as possible to the outskirts. By the time the Allies realized an attack was underway, a good part of the division would be in the capital suburbs. But suppose they decided to knock off Tay Ninh first. What does it accomplish? Well, it might prevent some US troops from reinforcing Saigon, but what it mainly would do is to alert the US Command that something was up. The 9th Div. would be 55 miles--that's two days march--from the capital, and if they began to move southeast Abrams would have time to concentrate overwhelming forces against them. Bang bang, no more 9th Division.))

Hey Bill Kunkel, were you listening to Julius Lester (who now has his own radio program on WBAI, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution") when he talked about that asinine thing on Wall Street? He was beautiful. I bet those people would be scared as hell if they saw a rat.

"They just recounted, Mr. Nixon, and it turns out you lost after all."

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