

What's DINE TOES all about ?

In the midst of all the jockeying for power today, PINE TREE isn't seeking power. Unless you're talking about the power of the individual person. That's what PINE TREE is all about. It's a magazine dedicated to the idea that the individual, when properly informed, has all the power that anyone needs. Knowledge power is the kind we're talking about.

What about black power and student power and political power and money power? Forget it. We're for the power of the mind that is free to pursue its own ends in a peaceful and orderly way.

We're fed up with a fragmented society with blacks pitted against whites, Catholics against Protestants, traditionalists against radicals, young people against old people, and nearly everyone organized against something or somebody.

We're for freedom and the right of a man to make his own way in the world, willing to assume responsibility for his own decisions and capable of making those decisions and standing by them.

We're not interested in party politics. We are interested in clearing up the mess that political control and involvement have created.

We think a man has a right to earn a living by his own efforts. After he's earned it, we think he has a right to dispose of it in his own way without being victimized by anyone—government, crooks in or out of business, local "do good" societies, or power groups of any sort.

In short, we're for YOU, black or white, Christian or non-Christian, old or young, businessman or hourly-rated employee. But we're for you as an individual person, not as a member of some pressure body with a collectivized club behind your back.

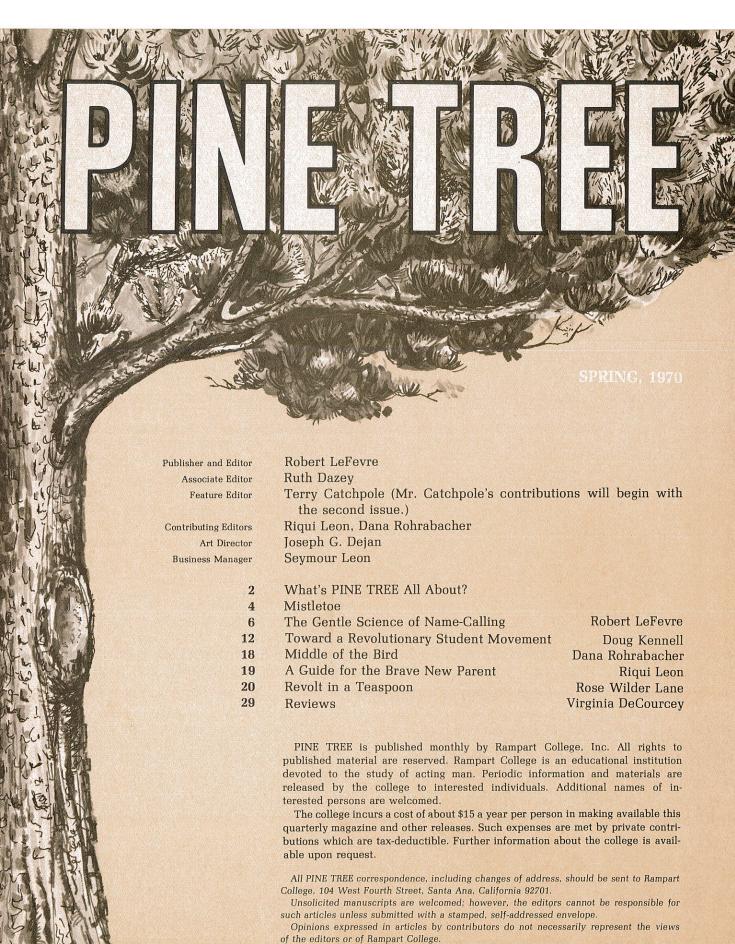
We're not mad at anyone . . . as a person. But we're fed up with a kind of philosophy which splinters all our social structures and institutions, sets our nerves and teeth on edge, and produces wars, poverty, disease, indifference, and just plain stupidity on the grounds that we've got to sacrifice somebody for the good of this or that group.

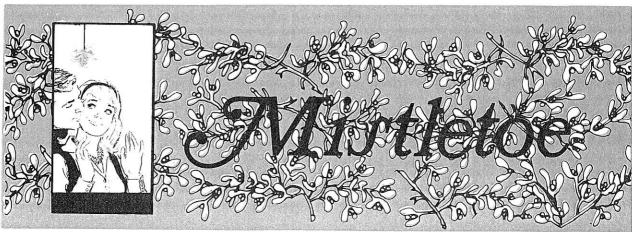
Simply speaking, we don't favor political processes. We favor the processes of reason. And the entire concept of politics relates to the view that some men, by some process that can be devised, have a kind of mystical right to control and regulate the lives and properties of others. They haven't. And we're about to say so and to show why.

That's what PINE TREE is about. It's an educational instrument, prepared to plunge into the depths of the various and sundry conflicts which abound at this time and in this land. It proposes to hold up the idea of what man as an individual can be if he is free.

Our primary concern is with education itself. Our academy today at virtually all levels is filled with the most extensive collation of statistical data, yet few appear to deal with this material at a philosophical level of reason, cohesion, beauty, and peace.

We're glad you've come this far. Now come into the forest and let's take a look at the trees.





Dear Miss Toe:

My daughter is a normal 16-year-old who likes boys and clothes. But lately she's been very absorbed in school work - she's always been a top student - and now she's announced that she's going to be a doctor! If another girl said this, I wouldn't take it too seriously. But Carol really means to do it; she's thought it over very carefully. I've seen many career women and I know how they end up - alone and miserable. I've told Carol that women are happier just being wives and mothers. I've suggested that she take up nursing or something that wouldn't waste years of her life while she's waiting for the "right" man to come along. She thinks I don't understand, but I've seen how unhappy women are when they try to take over in a man's world. I just want her to be happy and do what's best for her. How can I make her see what a mistake she's making?

Signed, Worried Mother

Dear Worried Mother:

It is certainly true that many unattached career women are unhappy. And so are a great many women with husbands and families, who abandoned the desire they once had for a career and independence because of social pressures. It seems that many people have accepted the false idea that ALL women are suited for housework and raising children, while ALL men are suited for the competitive and demanding business world. Supposedly there are two kinds of people — males and females — and all the people in each of these categories have the same values, emotions, motives, capabilities, and attitudes as all the other people in their class.

It would be closer to the truth to acknowledge that NO two individuals are alike, and that the only thing held in common by all males or all females is a biological identity. And there the classifications end.

You say that you want the best for your daughter and you want to see her happy. But happiness comes to an individual who achieves his own values through his own efforts. No one has any idea of what will produce happiness for another person — not even for one's own child. Let Carol choose her own goals — she will anyway, from your description of her. The longheld social customs and beliefs are undergoing a revolution, and the role of women in this socalled man's world is expanding. There are probably as many happy career women as there are happy homemakers. Happy people, whatever their life-style, seem to be very rare.

Dear Miss Toe:

Is the concept of morality useful? Can't people conduct themselves according to their own rational self-interest and let it go at that? Anyway, when "morality" and self-interest are in conflict, people will choose their self-interest every time.

Signed, Philosophy Student

Dear Philosophy Student:

The concept of morality is certainly useful; but, more important, it is implicit in the very process of decision making. It simply means employing standards by which to judge human action, and all of us employ some standards, although we don't all accept the same moral code.

Many people will adopt a moral code which will protect them from ever committing an "immoral" act, by defining such acts out of existence. They make morality a synonym for rationality. And then the concept of morality does become meaningless, because whatever one chooses is

automatically moral, by definition, as long as it is in one's rational self-interest.

Morality means choosing between right and wrong, and if there are no right or wrong choices, then anything one chooses to claim is in his selfinterest, is "right."

If human beings decide to live by certain codes, which they think are concomitant with their own natures and the nature of reality, and if within the code there are sub-rules which define right and wrong actions, they are merely attempting to employ their reason and knowledge to make life more intelligible.

Dear Miss Toe:

My question pertains to the relation between parent and child.

Is a parent obligated to raise his child? I see that a parent is automatically responsible for the birth of his child, but does this fact make him bound to support the infant unless he is willing to accept the burden? A person may have sexual intercourse without desiring to procreate. The ova and sperms are produced and secreted automatically; these processes aren't subject to the control of the will. Also, there isn't a one-to-one correlation between copulation and pregnancy. As the Marquis de Sade says, "Nature tolerates reproduction; she does not command it."

Furthermore, in our country abortion is outlawed, birth control pills are difficult for single women to get, and many opinion leaders (i.e., clergy) seek to establish or maintain taboos concerning non-procreative forms of erotic activity.

As I understand it, the argument for automatic parental obligation is based upon the fact that infants are incapable of surviving on their own. In short, babies need to be supported. But does one man's need constitute a just claim on the resources of others? Don't the unable have to depend on voluntary aid or else become slavemasters? Aren't claims enforceable only when there is a value for value exchange? Must not any obligation be assumed by a separate and distinct action?

Signed, C. R.

Dear C. R.:

When the act of sexual intercourse is engaged in, we must presume that both parties know that conception is a possible result. If conception is definitely not desired, there are birth control methods widely available - to both single and married women, as well as to men — and, if these fail, abortion is also possible and not immoral (you state that abortion is outlawed, but your question involves the moral, not the legal responsibility to a child).

Now, if the above methods aren't employed for some reason, or if they fail, and the unwanted child is born, are the parents responsible for raising him? Well, they are responsible for his existence, as you point out. So they are now faced with the responsibility for either raising him themselves, or finding someone who is willing to assume an obligation to do so by entering into an adoption agreement with the parents. But there are no other moral alternatives.

If it is true that individuals are responsible for the consequences of their actions, and that a child is simply the consequence of an action taken by his parents, it must follow that the parents are responsible for his financial support until such time as the child is capable of supporting himself.

Since obligation involves the voluntary choice to assume future indebtedness, and responsibility relates to the natural consequences of actions taken in the past, then we would say that a child's natural parents are responsible. Those adopting a child would be obligating themselves. The responsible parent who decides to raise his own child, has assumed an obligation.

Questions will be welcomed, especially those relating to communication problems between the generations. Letters will not be returned. If a personal reply is desired, please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope. All letters should be addressed to Mistletoe, Pine Tree, 104 West Fourth Street, Santa Ana, California 92701.

In the fields of politics and economics, namecalling has yet to become an exact science. This is unfortunate.

by Robert LeFevre

Most of us call people names because of a double reason. We wish to show others that we dislike the person. Additionally, we wish to explain why we dislike him-that is, we have a reason for our dislike. In the realm of politics and economics, name-calling proliferates.

There has been a total lack of scientific analysis of this field. Therefore, I wish to introduce a new science, to be known appropriately as epithology, "the science of epithets." (Properly speaking, it should be epithetology, but epithetology is too hard to say. So in order to introduce a new science and at the same time provide an acceptable term, we are shortening it to a point where in itself it means nothing.)

It is not enough just to let people know that we dislike another person. Actually, communicating dislike requires very little in the way of exploration. It is relatively easy for most of us to dislike certain persons and, where this ease is lacking, some are more than willing to remove the obstacles.

What clamors for exploration and scientific examination is the epistemology accompanying and even preceding our use of words molded in antagonism and loaded with vitriol.

Some persons have been led to believe that name-calling can never be considered a science, and have tended to pass it off as an art form. Even if we were to consider the epithet in the same category as finger-painting or folk music, it would be reasonable to observe that modernday usage is so vague and misleading as to render the epithet almost useless as a device for conveying a meaning.

We can readily show disgust, anger, hatred, disagreement, or just plain boredom by means of a glance, a shrug, or a grimace. We can clearly communicate displeasure by a series of gestures

NAME-CALLING

and grunts. This is insufficient. Whether we wish to consider the epithet as an art form or a field capable of scientific differentiation, it is clear that something must be done to bring distinction back to name-calling. The epithet has fallen upon evil days.

The difficulty became observable during the 1940's when virtually everyone coming into range of our perceptive senses who exhibited nonconformity was labeled "communist." This lack of precision was extended when persons almost totally lacking in knowledge of any sort referred to areas beyond their ken as "communist." To make bad epithology even worse, the term communism took on a geographic quality. Anything orbiting around Russia became "communistic." Later, anything orbiting around China, the Far East, the Near or Middle East, Europe, Mexico, South America, or Cuba became "communistic."

There is no point in belaboring the matter. The purpose of scientific epistemology is to differentiate with precision. We not only want to reveal our animus, we want such revelation to carry meaning.

Today, the most important epithet in either economic or political areas is anarchy. Lest this term become as useless and prosaic as communism has become, it is important that a set of epistemological guidelines be set forth at once.

To do so, an examination as to just why precise differentiation is necessary, is the first order of business.

A long time ago men invented the stone axe. For the sake of epistemological example, let us suppose that through custom and usage, men learned to refer to this tool by making precisely the same sound, "axe." The axe was an "axe" to everyone.

Then someone came along who shaped the axe head differently, attached a handle, and made it possible to use this tool in an entirely new way. Instead of chopping with it, men could now hurl it so that the heavy stone point became the first nose-cone of a missile weapon.

However, let us suppose that men persisted in calling this altered tool an "axe." Then men fashioned a new device. A piece of wood, thinned down at both ends and connected by a thong, could be used as a catapult to project smaller "axes" much further distances. And this tool was also called an "axe."

The resulting epistemological chaos would quickly be apparent. Here were three different and distinct tools all being called by the same name, "axe." By this time, if anyone had turned to someone else and said, "Fred, I hate those fellows over in the next valley. Why, they are axe-men!" no precise meaning could attach. No one would know whether the men in the next valley were despicable because they used axes, spears, or bows and arrows.

Fortunately, our primitive forebears were intelligent enough to circumvent this abysmal dilemma. They named one tool the "axe," another the "spear," and a third was called "bow and arrows." In those days a man could hurl an epithet with as much meaning and force as he could throw a javelin.

Let's get back to anarchy.

This is a word with a relatively brief, but absurdly colorful history. And in the name of epithology, when we call a man an "anarchist," let's be sure we convey meaning as well as displeasure.

The word was apparently the brain child of a British novelist, William Godwin. Godwin was no semanticist, and probably much of the confusion arising around the word relates to this fact.

Godwin took the view that owning property privately was a privilege made possible only because the men in government protected property owners. Let us be lenient with him. He lived about the time the Industrial Revolution was just getting underway and, of course, he had no way of knowing anything except the past. Godwin's view was obviously directed toward the ancient feudal system which was already obsolete, but which had left deep scars on the society of his time.

Scholars have generally conceded that, prior to Godwin, nearly 80 per cent of all valuable property was in the hands of a political, and hence a privileged, class. This class, numerically, was very small. Some have estimated that no more than 2 per cent of the population could be so classified. If those figures are approximately correct, Godwin had something to complain about. Two per cent of the people—a lordly, politically powerful crew—owned 80 per cent of everything worth owning.

This, to Godwin, meant that the poverty, the crime, and the viciousness in the world were all tied to this unequal distribution of wealth. People everywhere were starving. Death by deprivation, exposure, and epidemic cut a wide swath through the British population every year. Yet, in the midst of all this poverty, lived a small class of men, using force to keep their property and holding the realm together by force and violence.

Godwin had no way of knowing that the Industrial Revolution would begin the process of introducing capitalistic distribution which would, in a relatively few years, create a middle class comprising the bulk of all Britons. He had no way of knowing that private capitalism would cut down the death rate and make human life a far better and a far happier prospect.

Assuming, rather, that some steps had to be taken to seize the property of the privileged group so that all could share in it equally, he propounded his doctrine. Private ownership of property had to be abolished. But how could this be accomplished? As he looked at the past, Godwin came up with his revolutionary idea. The people who owned significant property were all part of a very small, politically protected and privileged class. If you were serious about equal distribution of property, then clearly the only procedure was to begin by overthrowing the men in power. This meant that the government had to be overthrown. After that, with no one to protect the property owner, there would be no ownership as Godwin saw it. Rather, property would be available on the basis of need, and everyone would have equal access to whatever existed or could be produced.

This doctrine was called "anarchy." It is a word that properly attaches to the belief that private ownership of property should be abolished by the process of abolishing the state.

In actual fact, from that day to this, many people have been called anarchists who don't agree with Godwin more than fractionally. They probably aren't anarchists.

It is no more accurate to call a man an anarchist because you don't like him than it is to call a man using a stone-pointed weapon an axeman simply because you don't like him. In the politico-economic arena there are a welter of beliefs. Epithology now comes forward to clarify the ozone.

Here are the major political beliefs identified by letters of the alphabet:

- A. There should be no government.
- **B.** There should be a small government restricted to physical protection activities.
- **C.** There should be a small government restricted to physical protection and courts for the adjudication of disputes.
- **D.** There should be a small government restricted to physical protection, courts of law, and the regulation of certain economic areas where "natural" monopolies appear to be desirable—(that is, telephone, water, roads, utilities, etc.).
- E. There should be a small government restricted to physical protection, courts, "natural monopolies," and the regulation of human behavior generally.
- F. There should be a small government which will do all of the above and anything else that appears to be in the "public" interest.
- **G.** There should be a government with sufficient power to control everything and everyone who violates any law which the government decides is useful. In addition, government should move into the economy on more than a regulatory basis.

Properly, we must now turn to the economic area. Epithology will now list by Roman numeral some of the major economic beliefs:

- I. There should be a laissez-faire economy. (There should be no government intervention for any purpose. Let the market regulate itself.) All property should be privately owned.
- II. There should be private ownership of the means of production and distribution generally, but in some areas—such as roads, sewer systems, utilities, and so on—government should not only regulate, it should own.
- III. There can be private ownership of the tools of production and distribution, but the land must be publicly owned and managed.
- IV. There can be some private ownership of tools and land, but in major areas the government should always own.
- V. The government should own all tools of production and all land, and private persons may acquire only consumer goods as owners.
- VI. There will be no private ownership at all. Production will be for use, and not for owning.

Thus, we have seven major variables in the political arena and six major variables in the economic arena. This makes possible an interesting array of words, which can be properly designated by specific combinations of letters and Roman numerals.

Thus, an anarchist is a person who favors A-VI. However, in common usage today, nearly everyone who uses the term anarchy does so wholly in the political arena, and avoids any economic classification. This is incorrect and leads to wide confusion.

Properly speaking, there would be very few, if any, real anarchists around. In the welter of confusion surrounding the word, a supporter of **B** will refer to an **A** as an anarchist. He'll take no notice of what **A** thinks is economically significant, yet the whole idea of anarchy rests on economic objectives. But interestingly, a supporter of **C** will view both **A** and **B** as anarchists. A **D** supporter will consider **A**, **B**, and **C** to be anarchists. And going on down the line to **G**, such a person will view any position other than his own as essentially anarchistic. Thus, in practice, anarchy means a belief in less government than you happen to favor.

This takes us to Plato, who once observed: "...but the principle is this—that no man, and no woman, be ever suffered to live without an officer set over them, and no soul of man to learn the trick of doing one single thing of its own sole motion, in play or in earnest, but in peace as in war, ever to live with the commander in sight, to follow his leading, and take its motions from him to the least detail-to halt or advance, to drill, to bathe, to dine, to keep wakeful hours of nights as sentry or dispatch carrier, all at his bidding, in the stricken field itself neither to pursue nor to retire without the captain's signal, in a word, to teach one's soul the habit of never so much as thinking to do one single act apart from one's fellows, of making life, to the very uttermost, an unbroken consort, society, and community of all with all.... Anarchy-the absence of the commander-is what we should expel root and branch from the lives of all mankind, aye, and all beastkind that is under man's dominion."—Plato, A. E. Taylor, trans., Hamilton and Cairnes, ed. (Pantheon, 1963), pp. 1488-1489.

Thus, by Platonic definition, if you propose to manage your own household without government supervision, you are a domestic anarchist. And if you propose to manage your own business without government supervision, you are an economic anarchist.

And if you find a street corner without a policeman, it would follow that anarchy is flourishing at that intersection.

Unfortunately, in the face of this effort to clarify, the word anarchy has many more implications than those already tabulated. Since the

days of Godwin and the Industrial Revolution, there have been a few men and women who have called themselves anarchists or who have been labeled anarchists by others. In essence, they were A-VI types. Some were B's; some were A-V's, etc. But they varied widely on methods to be adopted to accomplish the objectives of their beliefs, whatever they were.

So epithology will have to list at least a few of the recommended methods. In listing subgroupings that could be attached to, say, A-VI, we will use arabic numerals.

- 1. Abolition of the state by peaceful methods involving education and example.
- 2. Abolition of the state by the method of killing leading politicians (assassination).
 - 3. Abolition of the state by violent revolution.
- **4.** Abolition of the state AND private capitalism by educational methods.
- 5. Abolition of the state AND private capitalism by killing leading capitalists as well as leading politicians.
- **6.** Abolition of the state AND private capitalism by revolution which includes violent expropriation of the means of production and distribution.
- 7. Abolition of the state AND private capitalism AND the church by education.
- **8.** Abolition of the state AND private capitalism AND the church by killing leading capitalists, politicians, and theologians.
- 9. Abolition of the state AND private capitalism AND the church by means of violent revolution.

As a sub-10 classification to A-VI, there would be an additional kind of anarchy which, fortunately, has acquired its own name, *nihilism*. An A-VI sub-10 would favor the abolition of all human institutions, including marriage, any concept of morality, the sanctity of contract, and so on.

Obviously, we have included here only major gradations. There are many "sub-sub" classifi-

cations which serve to clutter the field. As a matter of fact, there are so many ways of examining the area that this by itself has probably led many persons, who are not unduly concerned with being precise, to lump everything together they don't like and call it "anarchy." Thus, the dictionary usually equates anarchy with chaos, ascribes a violent tone to the word, and uses it to scare people.

It should be apparent by now that a person who is a believer in A-I sub-1 is a far different type of person than a believer in A-VI sub-3. To call them both by the same name conveys little meaning.

Let us briefly consider one other sub-grouping. This one relates to political methodology in practice rather than in revolt. Epithology will use lower case letters here for purposes of differentiation.

- a. Self-rule (minding one's own business).
- b. Rule by divine right.
- c. Rule by inherited power.
- d. Rule by mass approval.
- e. Rule by mass approval through representatives.
- **f.** Rule by committees, groups, or oligarchies.
- g. Rule through continued violence.
- h. Rule through continual manipulation.
- i. Rule through bribery, corruption, and patronage.

Epithology is now considering the advisability of creating a new language, probably by assigning roots or stems to each specific major and minor classification. Thus, as an example, a person believing in A-VI sub-3 sub-d would no longer be known merely as an anarchist. He would be an an-abol-belli-demoarchist. Whereas a believer in A-I sub-1 sub-a would be an an-priedu-autarchist.

There isn't space in this brief examination for the setting forth of a dictionary of epithets, but this is obviously what is needed.



A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Dear PINE TREE Reader:

There are scores of talented young writers, eagerly trying to break into print. Brilliant young minds are challenging the intellectual idiocy of both the anti-private property firebrands and the state-worshipping traditionalists now dominating the American campus scene. PINE TREE is looking for these writers and hopes to be able to publish many such articles.

The more material we have in PINE TREE provided by campus writers and leaders, the more it will become their magazine; and the more effective they will become in communicating the view of the educated and informed man as the proper antidote to state dependency and control.

In PINE TREE the best in libertarian thinking can be brought together, including fiction, non-fiction, special articles, reviews, and so on. And we can get this magazine into the hands of thousands of our young people on various campuses across the country. As THEIR magazine, it will feature their views; their cries of outrage when they see injustice; their sounds of joy and satisfaction when they see freedom upheld, when they see sustained the right of a man to own his own property and to manage it in his own way.

PINE TREE is a subscription quarterly offered at \$5.00 per year. As a special introductory offer, you are now able to obtain PINE TREE, as a charter subscriber, for the token fee of just \$1.00 per year. Better than that: as a charter subscriber, so long as your subscription does not lapse, you will continue to receive PINE TREE for only \$1.00 per year. So here's your chance to get in on the ground floor. Use the card included in this issue of PINE TREE. Be sure to send your name and correct address (including zip code number) together with just \$1.00 for a full year's subscription. This offer is limited so send in your subscription today.

The future of America is being fought for on today's campus. Young people on campus can cope realistically when they have adequate access to and expression for potent ideas. PINE TREE can give editorial guidance and encouragement to hundreds of potential communicators who are eager to do the necessary work to offset the anti-freedom mentalities which are so plentiful everywhere. For these exponents of human liberty, PINE TREE is their most effective PO-TENTIAL tool. You can make it effective in fact. Make PINE TREE your most important tool in helping to advance enlightenment about the nature of man and the great human right of owning property privately. Read it—enjoy it—show it to your friends.

Fowallo 2

REVOLUTIONARY

STUDENT

MOVEMENT

toward a REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT MOVEMENT

by Doug Kennell

The social revolution is a complex process, and involves many types of action. Anyone who denies this, does not comprehend the meaning or purpose of radical change. In defining the revolution, we define the nature and methods of revolutionary activity.

The goal of the true social revolution is, obviously enough, liberation: the liberation of every individual from the authoritarianism of contemporary society.

But liberation is not accomplished by simply destroying institutional structures of authority, any more than a field is cleared of weeds by simply removing the surface plants. The authoritarianism of this society, like the weeds in a field, must be removed at its roots. And the roots of any society lie in the minds of men.

The transformation of a society requires the creation of a consciousness among the great mass of the people of the ethical and functional basis of human freedom. In order to make the revolution, we must remake men.

This is the lesson which has been lost on the revolutionaries of recent times. The reactionary nature of the Cuban and Chinese "revolutions," for example, can be seen not only in the fact that the question of human liberation has not even been confronted, but also in the fact that a mass consciousness of liberation has been ignored either as a goal or as part of the revolutionary process. If anything, the people whose souls were to be liberated by the revolution have been subjected to the same mind-deadening indoctrination which the revolution was to overthrow.

If any one factor can be seen to be the cause of this deplorable situation, it is the cancer of "vanguardism." As Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman have shown in their new analysis of "Socialism in Cuba," the Cuban Revolution was a top-down revolution, organized by the elite (the vanguard) and putting that elite into power after the revolution.

So it has been with every other revolution in the 20th century. Every revolutionary effort which has come to be, which has become a revolution, has been of this type.

And the results have been as revolutionary as the methods. The result of the top-down revolution is, naturally enough, a new top-down society.

This result is natural and in keeping with the goals of the revolution, as conceived by the vanguard, for the goal of the revolution is conceived to be the taking of political power by revolutionary forces, which is to say, by the vanguard. And with this goal, both the method and the result of contemporary revolution become understandable.

Modern revolution, directed from the top by a "revolutionary vanguard" toward the goal of gaining political power for the vanguard is not revolution: it is a coup d'etat.

Michael Bakunin, the Russian revolutionary, summed up the nature of the coup d'etat, in his letter to the Russian reactionary, Lenin: "You have not made a revolution. You have merely exchanged one set of rulers for another."

So it was with the Russian Revolution. And the French Revolution. And the American Revolution. But there is a difference between these "revolutions" or coups and modern "revolutions" or coups.

In the case of the American, French, and Russian Revolutions, the old order was overthrown by a revolutionary struggle which included all of the dissident forces, both libertarian and authoritarian, in each country. It was only after this was accomplished that the coup occurred and the authoritarian, counterrevolutionary forces gained control of the revolution and the regime which the revolution had created. So the Federalists in America, the Girondistes in France, and the Bolsheviks in Russia came to power, in each case through a coup after the old order was vanquished.

In the modern cases of China, Cuba, and Vietnam, a different sequence occurred. In each of these cases, the coup occurred **before** the revolution was completed.

In China, the struggle was from the beginning defined as a conflict between the reactionary,

authoritarian regime of Chiang Kai-shek and the revolutionary but nonetheless authoritarian forces of Mao Tse-tung. And the struggle was for political power, no matter how many revolutionary slogans were invoked or how many times land reform was promised. All insurgent forces were either part of or co-opted by the grossly misnamed "People's Liberation Army." There were no other revolutionary forces, with the result that Stalinists controlled the revolution from the beginning, and prevented the development of a truly meaningful struggle for liberation.

In Cuba and Vietnam, the revolution began as a struggle for national liberation from imperialism, and involved a variety of anti-imperialist, nationalist, and revolutionary forces. But in both cases, leadership of the struggle was taken by Stalinists: Ho Chi-minh and the Lao Dong (Worker's) party led the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam; in Cuba, the revolution was led by a vanguard of **Fidelistas**. And after leadership was seized by the Stalinists, the revolution became merely a contest for political power—elections by another means. And as such, the revolution was co-opted in each case by a counterrevolution.

The struggle in America faces a similar danger RIGHT NOW!

Never has America been more ripe for radical progress than now.

As those in the power structure struggle to retain their power, they find they can no longer buy the support of major groupings of people in this society. The blacks seek to free themselves from the ghetto-welfare system—the federal plantation.

The young find themselves the subject of constant police harassment, and their life-style the subject of official prohibitions.

Workers find themselves confronted by a union leadership which has been co-opted into the corporate-liberal power structure, and is neither responsible to the rank-and-file nor interested in the workers' struggle for dignity and liberation.

The middle class confronts a corporate bureaucracy which often imitates the state bureaucracy, in form and function, and which is tied into and ultimately becomes part of the state bureaucracy.

And the student is confronted with the authoritarian structures of this society in all of its manifestations. If he is black, or young, or a worker, or middle-class, he is also a student, and finds himself trapped in an educational structure which is no longer concerned with developing the mind of an independent human personality. Rather, it is destroying the independent critical abilities of the student. And as a student, he is confronted with a depersonalizing bureaucratic structure whose only redeeming virtue is that it will prepare him to live with the bureaucracy of the state or the state-backed corporation.

Dissatisfaction with each aspect of society is easily generalized, and becomes a rejection of the overall social order. The authoritarian nature of contemporary society becomes open and obvious. "Liberalism" is revealed for what it has become: the ideological basis for the authoritarian society, and a means of convincing the middle class, the workers, the blacks, and the poor that the state-capitalist power structure, the interlocking directorate of state and economy, is ruling on their behalf.

The student movement in America arose out of a general discontent with the authoritarian-bureaucratic nature of the society which "Liberalism" has made. But the student movement, in its iconoclastic disdain for ideology, has never developed a relevant analysis of the nature and roots of this society. Analysis has been piecemeal and all too superficial, and the proposed alternatives have been reformist in nature until recently.

The analysis of the New Left has in the past been based on the writings of C. Wright Mills, an iconoclastic Marxist at best. The writings of Mills were impressionistic rather than radically analytical. He and his disciples discerned the nature of Corporate Liberalism, and transcended the Liberal vision that the governmental social actions of the New Deal and thereafter were beneficial to the poor, the dispossessed, and, in general, the people. But the New Left did not transcend the vision that government **could** act on behalf of the people. And out of this analysis, the New Left developed alternatives which were, for all the radicalism of the rhetoric, essentially reformist.

The gap between the rhetoric and the substance of the program can be seen in the case of the radical slogan, "Let the people decide." The aspiration implicit in this slogan is the desire that the people should have control over their lives, but the working meaning of this slogan, reflected in the proposals which are to implement the slogan, is that people should have control over their governmental and social structures, which structures are then to have control again, over the people. How reactionary! Rather than taking as theirs the radical and revolutionary goal of liberating people from authority, so that they can live their own lives and build their own society, the student movement has too often fallen for the reformist solution of leaving people in the slavery in which the present society has trapped them, but trying to give them some control over the institutions which are their masters.

This has been the tragedy of the student movement: emotionally committed to liberation, it has until recently opted for sterile reformism, rather than liberatory revolution. But the times cry out for revolution, and the cry could not be ignored. So the student movement made its second tragic mistake. The student movement has outgrown its pseudo-radical rhetoric, to take up pseudo-revolutionary action.

Everywhere now the talk is of revolution. The student movement has the chance, for the first time, to develop into a mass movement dedicated to creating a revolution. But the natural result of this development is that the cancers of vanguardism and coupism have appeared, and become tragically obvious.

The first carriers of the virus of vanguardism were in the Progressive Labor Party. PLP, as a well-organized and disciplined group with a well-developed ideology, has gained an importance far out of proportion to its membership. Lacking a well-developed analysis, or a radical action program, the old-line leadership of SDS was unable to cope with the ideological invasion of PL. And so since the time that the strength of PL became apparent, the other major groupings on the New Left which espouse a commitment to revolutionary struggle have adopted both the stateworshipping Marxism and the Stalinist tactics of Progressive Labor.

Moreover, the result of the recent events in SDS has been to put the major organization of the student movement into a position of irrelevance. SDS became what it was, the most important organization of radical students, because it began, however imperfectly, to articulate the hopes and aspirations of students for liberation from the entrenched bureaucracies and established authorities which characterize contemporary American life. SDS has separated itself from the task of providing that articulation, and has gone into an ideological limbo.

It is not only that Marxism is irrelevant to the struggle in America. Marxism is irrelevant to the struggle in America because it does not speak to the problem of human liberation from the institutions and practices of authoritarianism. The Marxist revolution, if such a thing exists, is a struggle for political power—it is, again, a coup d'etat, not revolution.

There is no revolutionary student movement in this country, yet. There can be; there is great potential for one. And there is an almost apocalyptic need for one.

The students in this country are in rebellion. The campuses of this nation are a paradigmatic example of bureaucratic authoritarianism. Nearly every university and college in this nation is part of the military-industrial-university complex. And nearly every school in this country, whether "privately" or "publicly" owned, is paid for, partially or totally, by tax money, and therefore controlled or at best dominated by government authorities. There is every reason for the students to be in rebellion.

But rebellion is not revolution. The isolated act of terror or arson is irrelevant to the struggle for liberation. The liberation of a building, no matter how it is described, is not going to bring radical progress. And violence is in too many cases a substitute for revolutionary action.

Revolution is a complex process, combining intellectual analysis, activism, agitation, and education; revolution is action directed toward the goal of liberating every man from all authoritarian structures which prevent him from controlling his own life. Revolution is a struggle by those means necessary and appropriate to achieving the goal of liberation.

And the student movement has said much and done little about achieving that goal. But, now, more than ever, there exists the possibility of building a revolutionary student movement. The mistakes of the past, of every revolution, can be cast off, just as now the taboos of the past are being cast off.

The student movement in this country, at this critical time, can and must direct itself to the task of building a revolution aimed at liberating the American people from the monster which their government has become. And in order to build this revolution, there will have to be a revolution in the student movement itself.

The student movement, first and foremost, must separate itself from those who claim to be revolutionary, but are in fact authoritarian and counterrevolutionary. PL OUT! But to say that, and to identify one group as the cause of our problems, is not enough. We must, in the future, be willing to understand and commit ourselves to what the revolution is about. The revolution is about freedom and justice—not about seizing political power for the vanguard, but about liberating the people from political power. It is perhaps ironic, or perhaps natural, that the very people who threw PL out of SDS are now arguing among themselves about who is in fact the vanguard of the revolution. How irrelevant! A people's liberation struggle can have no vanguard, but a political struggle will naturally have leadership, hierarchy, order, discipline. So the same vigilance which we must maintain to prevent PL from destroying the revolution must be used against the so-called "Revolutionary Youth Movement" and RYM II.

And we must understand the struggle for what it is. The major problem with the early New Left, which prevented it from becoming a revolutionary movement, was that it conceived of the struggle as being a conflict of values. The corporate liberal establishment is bad, from this viewpoint, not because it exercises political power, but because it exercises political power to achieve bad ends; all could be saved if the wielders of political power were devoted to truly human values, rather than to the destruction of human values. This view did not understand that political power is the core and the essence of the problem. And

it did not understand that the solution is the destruction of political power. The reformist solution is to instill right values in the holders of political power; the radical and revolutionary solution is to liberate people from political power, so that they can pursue their own values. The revolution is not a challenge to values, but a challenge to the institutions which prevent people from determining what their values should be.

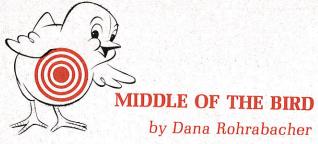
And we must understand that the struggle transcends all of the old categories of political thought. It is not a struggle of Left against Right, but rather a struggle of libertarians against authoritarians. It is a struggle by all those who favor human liberation, whether they call themselves free-market anarchists or libertarian socialists or rugged individualists or radical capitalists. It is a struggle for the right of every individual to choose how he shall live as a social being. The revolution will not end with the establishment of a new social system, but with the disestablishment of all compulsory social systems.

Carl Oglesby, former president of SDS, summed up the nature of what our revolutionary goal must be. He said: "The central issue must be understood. The one and only basic question which Americans now have to ask themselves is whether or not they want to be politically free." — Containment and Change, p. 163.

That is the issue that must be understood, for it is the nature of the revolution which is at stake. All of the other concerns of the student movement are secondary to this issue.

The challenge which history has addressed to the student movement is a challenge to create a revolution. The challenge to create a revolution and to build a revolutionary student movement is a challenge to free our minds of all the old mind-destroying prejudices, to commit ourselves to human liberation, and to build upon that commitment. The old prejudices, the old taboos, and the old conveniences of thought which obscured the vision of liberation must be swept aside, for if we do not make the revolution, all of our prejudices and all of our taboos will not alter our fates: we must remake the social order, or the social order will unmake us.





A libertarian conference will be held at UCLA during the last weekend in February. Bill Steel, the chief organizer, along with Dennis Turner and the California gang, are anxiously waiting to see if this time Nathaniel Branden will really show. The rumors that the entire group dropped out of YAF so that Branden would come are denied by some while others claim a speech by Branden is worth more than the entire 635 active California members of national YAF. Also invited are Robert Heinlein, Bob LeFevre, Tibor Machan, Skye D'Aureous, and Calvin Byles. A sprinkling of leftwing anarchists have been invited and it's hoped that Carl Oglesby from SDS (Containment and Change) is going to make it. It's hard for me to put Karl Hess in either group but he is being considered. Hope to see you all there. You, too, Karl.

Can George Pearson of Wichita do more push-ups than anyone in the libertarian movement? Find out in my next action-filled column.

What well-known free-market libertarian is living in a commune in San Francisco? Freedom House has its advantages. I guess it's better than living in a boat.

Teone Sidney of UC at San Diego has been extremely successful with her San Diego group. One of her hippy freaks (an affectionate term), Randy Erickson, has recently infiltrated the student newspaper and the campus radio station. I imagine it's going to be a real blast watching him defend property rights and attack Ronnie Reagan at the same time. Good luck to this group of Objectivist libertarians. If you're ever in the area Thursday night, you stop and hear a record by N. Branden. By the way, a liberal professor threatened to shoot (you heard me, "shoot") Teone if she didn't change her political views. It's taken over a year for the academic senate to consider it. More on this later.

What was proposed by Rampart College at the secret meeting in Catalina of 20 top libertarian leaders from all over the country at the end of November? Only they and Rev. Rushdoony's infiltrators really know for sure. Is Rev. Rushdoony a member of the Illuminati? God only knows.

Ed Butler, whose 15 squares and several million dollars have gotten much publicity, is reported to be intellectually heading towards the libertarian movement. Maybe I was wrong about Ed. Let's wait and see.

"Thousands of New Leftists crowded into the Hotel Diplomat in New York City to hear and cheer Karl Hess at the conference held by the Radical Libertarian Alliance." (At least, that's what was supposed to happen. It didn't.) I guess the fact that so many New Leftists showed up proves Hess's belief that there is a strong libertarian nature to the New Left. Murray Rothbard, being intelligent enough an economist to count numbers, was dismayed when Karl led about half of the group on a march to Fort Dix against the military. You're right, it was left-wing adventurism, Murray.

Libertarian romeo Arnie Steinberg has been reported to have worked on the fateful David Keene campaign in Wisconsin. My poor friend David lost his bid for state senate. Poor Arnie lost a girl friend election day. She worked for David's Democratic opponent. Well, that's politics.

Ann Arbor, Michigan, will be the site of a SIL conference in mid-February. By the way, Jarret Wollstein's SRI has merged with Don Ernsberger's Libertarian Caucus to form the Society for Individual Liberty. Their last conference, on November 15 in Philadelphia, was great. Jarret's service catalogue for SIL is beyond belief.

A good example of the current split in YAF taking place all over the country happened in L.A., where Bill Steel led a majority of the campus activists out of the YAF right wing. Bill is just one of the leaders in the California libertarian scene. Even though Harvey Hukari hasn't gone along with Bill's effort, Harvey left YAF in a blaze of burning YAF cards when he heard who had been appointed California YAF chairman. Doug Kennell, Ron Kimberling, and Cassandra, the love goddess, were also present at Bill's conference. (Me, too.)

Milton: "But David, a state of no government would lead to chaos."

Calvin Byles, please come home.

a GUIDE for the BRAVE NEW PARENT

by Riqui Leon

Since the world seems to be less and less geared to the self-reliant individualist, and more and more to the selfless, helpless, socially desirable person, it is incumbent upon those of us who are in the process of raising children to prepare our charges for the day when they will take their places as citizens of a brave new world. In furtherance of this aim, I have compiled a list of "how to's," to guide the bewildered parent in molding his child's future.

- 1. Don't use the word steal. If he is to adjust to a world wherein private property is becoming obsolete, why saddle him with outmoded terms? You can demonstrate the uselessness of the private-property concept in many ways. For instance, if you disapprove of his treatment of his toys, take them away from him. Or when he is in his room with the door closed, don't knock, just barge right in.
- 2. Another way to instill the non-private-property concept is to insist that he share his toys with any child who happens to want them. If he resists this, grab the toy out of his hand and give it to the other child. This will not only teach him to disregard property rights, it will also demon-

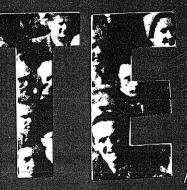
strate that no one can be trusted; not even one's own parents. This knowledge will be very useful in all his dealings later in life.

- 3. Make him humble, in the sense that he will believe that almost anyone is better fit to deal with problems and decisions than he is. After all, if he is to accept total external control by governmental authorities, it would be much more pleasant for him if he actually thought that they could run his life better than he could.
- 4. If you catch him taking pride in some little achievement, such as working a puzzle or doing well in his studies, say, "Who do you think you are?" or "What makes you think you're so smart?" Teach him that "two heads are better than one"; that a group effort is always better than an individual one.
- 5. Remember, in the new social order it will be frowned upon to pursue one's own happiness or to take actions because they profit oneself. The child must be taught that his only justification for existence is his service to others. And the less deserving those "others" are—the less effort they've expended in helping themselves—the nobler the person will be who helps them. His actions will be completely without reason; completely selfless.
- 6. Teach him that people will like him, if he will only make them think that he likes them. Of course, he will learn to dislike almost everyone, since no one can be trusted and no one does anything worthy of admiration, but he must learn to "fake it." In this way he can achieve "social competency," which will soon be replacing intelligence and achievement testing in the public schools.

And while you're at it, you might as well rid him of any ideas he might have about being truthful and sincere. Such behavior is bound to get him in trouble. It might even cause him to question a system wherein some are granted the "right" to rule others.

by Rose Wilder Lane

A REVOLT IN A



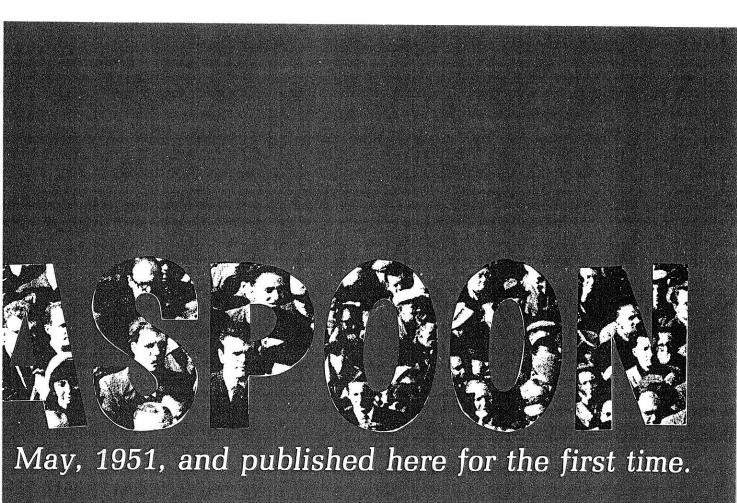
A letter written in

Please forgive my delay in answering your good letter of the 10th and acknowledging the box of books received; thank you. I have been engaged in another revolt in a teaspoon here. It seems to have implications that may interest you; I'll tell you about it, hoping that a long letter won't be boring.

First, some background. You know the local government here is the Town Meeting. The Town's population is about 37,000, of which about 25,000 live in the City of Danbury, being subject to the City government which is subsidiary to the Town. From top to bottom the levels of jurisdiction are: (1) Federal (deriving its power from the Sovereign States); (2) State of Connecticut; (3) Town of Danbury; (4) City of Danbury (enclosed in the Town).

Like all industrial cities, Danbury City is run by political gangsters, the ward boss system;

administration usually Democrat, but bosses of both parties in coalition against citizens on any real issue. These politicians (both parties), of course backed by the local Big Businessmen, have several times tried to effect what's called "consolidation" of Town and City; i.e., to bring the whole town under the city jurisdiction, which they control. Actually, this is like putting the Federal government under a State jurisdiction. But of course, practically nobody knows anything about political structure. Politicians in Stamford and Norwalk have actually done this, with disastrous effects. But the argument appeals to the city residents (the overwhelming majority of the Town's population), who now pay both city and town taxes, because (their argument is) with consolidation, they would pay only "one tax." It appears to them that one tax is smaller than two taxes; they don't think far enough to ask what will be the amount of this proposed one tax? Actual taxes have doubled in Stamford and



Norwalk since their "consolidation," because eliminating the Town Meeting deprives citizens

of any control over taxes.

Last March, by sheer accident, a fruit-farmer here heard of a bill to abolish Danbury Town Meeting. House Bill 656 had been introduced in the General Assembly in Hartford "to provide a representative town meeting for the Town of Danbury." It provided that, next August, Danbury Town voters elect one representative for each 500 population, these representives thereafter to have all powers now vested in the Town Meeting. That is, they could "consolidate" City and Town by simple majority vote; 31 of them could do it. This farmer had got out of Stamford because of the "consolidation" there, and now saw it pursuing him here. He appealed for help to the Independent Citizens Committee, which a few years ago uprose in wrath and abolished the Danbury Zoning Commission.

Now, this Independent Citizens Committee actually never existed. It was only six persons. two of whom got scared and backed out, two more who became prudent and neutral, leaving two; another woman and me. Unexpectedly, the silent unnoticed second-generation-immigrant industrial workers, 4,000 of them, suddenly appeared in Town Meeting and abolished the Zoning Commission, against the solid opposition of all politicians, all Danbury VIPs, and the local paper. This phenomenon staggered everybody, including my co-worker and me; and it scared all our opponents out of their wits. Especially as The Independent Citizens Committee (as we called ourselves) apparently did it, and nobody could find that committee. It couldn't be found because it didn't exist, but this explanation didn't occur to anyone, and the nebulous, ungraspable nature of these Independent Citizens made them even more frightening. All that could be learned was that my friend controlled this imponderable but terrific force, The Independent Citizens Committee.

So the fruit-farmer telephoned my friend and she telephoned six others and we are now The Citizens-Taxpayers Association. She and I (the Independent Citizens Committee) changed the name because (1) we couldn't produce the committee, and (2) the word Independent seemed to exclude registered Democrats and Republicans.

We learned that this House Bill 656 had been handed, in a sealed envelope, to a State Democratic Representative, by a Danbury lawyer, a Republican, at the last hour of the last day for introducing bills, and she had introduced it without reading it. We asked the lawyer why he introduced it, and he said he didn't; he was acting for a client. Professional ethics and honor prohibited his revealing the name of the client. The bill had been referred to the Joint (House and Senate) Committee on Cities and Boroughs, and was sliding through unnoticed. The Danbury paper printed nothing about it. And did not print our letters about it in its letters-from-readers department.

So, we just worked; it was all we could do. We worked day and night, till we were near delirium from exhaustion. We held meetings in firehouses and garages all over the town, outside the city; we circulated a petition; we mimeographed and mailed thousands of handbills to addresses taken from the telephone book; at the last we stood twelve hours a day at the telephone and telephoned. On the day of the committee hearing on the bill, in a heavy pouring rain, we took a cavalcade of 60 cars and a bus, flying American flags and placarded, SAVE DANBURY TOWN MEETING. through Danbury's main streets and on to Hartford, under state police escort all the way; we filled the House chamber at the capitol (to which the hearing adjourned) with 450 Danbury voters, and presented a petition signed by 2,350 registered voters, and an organized opposition program of 14 speakers representing every segment of Danbury population; farmers, merchants, ministers, housewives. workers-and RWL, the-damn it!-"intellectual." Connecticut had seen nothing like

it for a hundred years. House Bill 656 was killed in its tracks. The seven of us survived, barely. But another looming intangible Terror hovered in Danbury's political stratosphere: The Citizens-Taxpayers Association.

"How many members had the Association?" The Bridgeport Herald respectfully asked my co-worker.

"And may we inquire what are your future plans?"

"The Citizens-Taxpayers Association is organized to deal with local issues as they arise," she informed the reporter - and Danbury's worried politicians. The Danbury circulation of the Bridgeport Herald trebled that day. I went to bed; my friend did too, after moving her bed to her telephone; our former friend worked in his orchards - under arc-lights at night; it is spraying season. All the rest, who except for a real estate dealer, work in Danbury factories, had done their day's work in them all the time. So the Citizens-Taxpayers Association is almost wholly mysterious. In sight are only four of us. Who and where are the other thousands? The hundreds who went to Hartford are not members, and say so when asked; they only responded to the call of the Association.

Now, two weeks ago, the real estate dealer telephoned me about the Town budget. He is a member of the Town Board of Finance. This board has six members, three Democrats, three Republicans, appointed by the Town Selectmen and serving without pay. They draw up the Town budget and submit it to the Town Meeting for approval. He was worried about the Board of Education budget, of \$998,948.56. With payment and interest on school bonds (carried in the general budget) the school costs were roughly \$1,200,000, well over twice the cost of all other Town expenses combined.

The seven of us met at my house to discuss this. It is of course *impossible* to combat the Board of Education. By Act of the Assembly, it has autonomous power. No one outside it has any authority over its decisions or expenditures. It is also a solidly organized political pressure-group, a bureaucracy which has never been successfully resisted. It always works

like the Communist Party, absolutely disciplined, obedient, monolithic. Whatever the chairman of the Board of Education wants, he orders taken, and it is.

For example: Two years ago, Danbury teachers packed a Town Meeting and took a \$200 raise in salaries, plus an automatic \$150 a year raise of all salaries annually thereafter. Last January (before the apparition of the Citizens-Taxpayers Association), two of us went to a Town Meeting called to act on a proposal for a new school building. We arrived an hour early and could hardly get into the Town Hall. Teachers and high school students had every seat and practically all standing space. We did manage to wedge in. The Town Clerk moved an appropriation of \$700,000 to build a new school. Instantly someone said, "Second." The Moderator said, "It is moved and seconded . . . all in favor say—"

My friend said, "Mr. Moderator!" and the whole place yelled, "Out of order! Out of order! Sit down! Shut up!" She used a foghorn voice and insisted; a motion before the house is open to discussion. The Moderator finally had to recognize her, and she said mildly that she wanted to ask a few questions. How many rooms were planned in this new school? How many pupils to a room? What materials were to be used? How was the figure of \$700,000 arrived at?

The Superintendent of Schools answered all these questions in a sneering, contemptuous tone, and always the same answer: The proper authorities will decide at the proper time. As to the \$700,000, he said the board had decided to appropriate that amount.

I said, then, that it would seem to me more businesslike, and a more prudent use of public money, to decide the size and estimate the cost of the building before asking the Town Meeting to appropriate money to meet that cost. And I protested against the load of debt that every child is already carrying, and against any unnecessary increase in that load. We both spoke to solid, cold hate.

The Moderator then resumed, "All those in

favor say Aye. Motion carried. Adjourn." It was illegal, of course, not to allow a Nay vote. But who can fight such a thing through the courts?

(I forgot to say one reason for the attempt to "consolidate" is that the city is already bonded to its legal limit. Until this Board of Education raid, the Town had a negligible debt of a few thousand; this \$700,000 bond issue still leaves a margin of some \$500,000 possible bonded indebtedness before reaching the legal limit. Limit is proportioned by population by state law. The politicians want to get their hands on this half-million dollars.)

At my house we discussed the situation and decided that we couldn't risk an open fight. Defeat would just wipe out the Citizens-Taxpayers Association. As it was, we had a weapon—in the prestige of our Hartford victory—that we'd better save to use when we had some chance of winning again. I was uneasy about this expediency-argument, but I fell for it. Our member on the Board of Finance thought he could reduce the Board of Education's budget.

We went over it, and it was really appalling. Of 120 teachers, 80 already get \$4,000 to \$5,000 a year for 180 school days. Only 8 get less than \$3,000. All automatically get \$150 annual raise. Four stenographers in the Superintendent's office get \$3,800 each. AND the automatic raise. (The First Selectman's Secretary gets \$2,800.) The High School got a \$10,000 automatic oil-heating system last year, supposed to reduce janitor costs; but the EIGHT janitors are still there, each getting the automatic \$150 raise, and the proposed across-the-board \$400 raise this year for ALL employees in the school system. All teachers were to get this \$400 raise; and so were the Superintendent and Chairman, who now get \$8,000 and \$10,000. These janitors really annoyed us; they get extra pay for any cleaning they do, and extra for watching the children cross the street. although the General Budget appropriates an extra sum to pay the city police for this. Our friend said he asked the Chairman of the Board of Education, in Board of Finance hearing, whether this janitor force could not be reduced since the new heating system was installed; the Chairman said, Not possibly, those janitors were political appointments. The \$400 across-the-board raise demanded, raised Town taxes two mills. And there are very few taxpayers in the Town whose hard-earned income comes anywhere near the teachers' now. These farmers and factory workers work the year round, and the factory workers pay heavy "deduction" taxes (which teachers don't) and how many of them come home with \$4,000 a year?

Well, what our man wanted was some moral support. He was going to insist on trimming that School budget a little, and he'd be outcast by all the city's VIP's when he did. He didn't want the Citizens-Taxpayers (mythical) Association to be wrecked by open action, as such; he just wanted us to talk, individually, and start a sort of counter-current in public opinion to support him a little. Maybe write a few letters to the paper, as individuals. So it was left at that.

But last Monday midnight, here was our man yelling to us on the telephone. He'd lost, completely. The Board of Finance approved the School budget as submitted. The three Democrats on the Board wanted taxes raised as high as possible, because the city this year elected a Republican mayor; if taxes immediately jumped six mills, they'd elect Democrats in 1952. The two Republicans were with Perry, for trimming that budget a little bit, until the last instant. Then they said, What's the use? they'd only take a shellacking in a teacherpacked Town Meeting; so they voted with the Democrats. They turned on the real estate dealer and said, This is what you get for going to Hartford to save the Town Meeting. If we had any authority, we'd stay with you; but we aren't going to be the butt of a packed Town Meeting. So here he was, persona non grata all around and with no victory, desperately saying on the midnight telephone: "Look, Rose, you've GOT to DO something!" And I howling in reply. "How? What? We haven't any TIME."

Nobody but the few insiders knew anything about the budget. It wouldn't be printed in the paper till next day, Tuesday, an evening paper;

and the Town Meeting to pass on it was called for Friday. The Citizens-Taxpayers Association might maybe have tried to do something, if we had time—but with only three days? And no means of communication, the paper being against us. And the whole education pressure-group always permanently organized and acting like an oiled machine, ready to move into that Town Meeting at an hour's notice.

I had no idea this report would run so long. I do hope I am not boring you.

We had no time to meet or plan. One of us was working day and night in his orchards, spraying; others were in the factories eight hours a day. Tuesday we got 2,000 postcards printed and all that night and Wednesday we were addressing and mailing them. One marvelous thing; people swarmed on my friend's telephone asking what the Citizens-Taxpayers Association was going to do about this raise of six mills in taxes. We concentrated on only one appeal: Be at the Town Meeting before seven o'clock. The meeting was called at 8 p.m. Our only hope was to get non-teachers into the Town Hall, enough to keep the teachers from packing it again. In the three days we got about 400. The Town Hall holds, with standing room, 500. The Board of Education commands 200 employees and, with their adherents and high school students, turns out about 800. When more than 500 come to a Town Meeting, the customary procedure is adjournment to the high school auditorium. On Wednesday, the chairman of the Board of Education heard rumors of Citizens-Taxpayers action, saw some of our early postcards, and cleverly rented the high school auditorium to a teacher's meeting from another town for Friday evening, thus preventing the Town Meeting adjournment there. The Selectmen heard the same rumors, however, and apprehensively (such is the vague fear of the vague Citizens-Taxpayers) spent \$60 (of Town money) to rent the Elks Auditorium, IF it should be needed.

When we got to Town Hall at 7 p.m. Friday, we saw we had succeeded in mixing the crowd. It was about half-and-half teachers and others, and about half in and half trying to get in. We carried adjournment to the Elks Auditorium, and

news of that brought in a larger crowd, about 1,500 in all. They adopted the general Town budget without debate.

The clerk then moved adoption of the Board of Education budget, this was seconded, and my friend offered an amendment—a Citizens-Taxpayers amendment-reducing that budget \$80,000 and recommending that the Board of Education apply this reduction to the proposed \$400 increase in salaries. She was booed and hissed, and applauded. The VIPs then advanced; two or three prominent attorneys, the Superintendent of Schools (Nothing, nothing, he said is more wonderful, more precious, than a child), the Chairman of the Board of Education (Danbury, he said, is entering upon a new era; new people are coming in. We must have the best, the very best, and only the very best, to attract the best people to Danbury. We all love Danbury).

Our G.I. veteran member, who works in a hat factory, got the floor and read the schedule of teachers' present salaries; he said that even a hatter does not earn half as much; and some hatter said clearly, "And we work for ours."

The minister of the First Congregational Church, leading representative of religion in Danbury, spoke eloquently of the great value of education for democracy in a democracy and appealed to the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the good of all and the highest welfare of our beloved community; who, he asked, was not willing to sacrifice for the coming generation and the future of our country? and, he said a \$5,000 salary is really very small when you consider — but that was a mistake; the factory workers booed him. Nothing so appalling had ever before happened in Danbury. We lost many votes right then; respectable people can have nothing to do with scum that will boo the First Congregational minister. So they voted for the teachers who booed my co-worker. (I wish I could stop trying to explain such things to myself).

The appalled moderator then lost his grip on the meeting. He tried to ask for a vote on the amendment to the motion, and several lawyers rose and wrangled about parliamentary procedure, getting him completely bewildered. It was a tactic; surely any attorney knows that a vote on an amendment to a motion comes before a vote on the motion, but they argued about it. Or maybe they don't know; the ignorance of law school graduates is amazing. At the same time, we Citizens-Taxpayers (three of the seven of us) began to protest against a voice vote, on the ground that obviously many were present who were not Danbury voters. (Half of the teachers are not voters, and more than a hundred high school students were with them.)

We might have carried the amendment on a voice vote, but it would have been close. The attorney for the Board of Education moved (out of order, of course) that the vote be taken by the lists (of registered voters). But this would have taken all night, and every teacher would have stayed - or lost her job, while farmers and factory workers couldn't stay up all night and work the next day; some of them would have gone home. The meeting was in a turmoil, everybody shouting, the moderator had completely lost control and the attorneys had hopelessly snarled up any parliamentary procedure, so I gambled on a long chance and moved adjournment to a ballot-referendum. Another Citizens-Taxpayer seconded this, the moderator grabbed at it as the only solid thing in reach, and we carried the motion. Adjournment to a ballot referendum the following Monday 3 to 9 p.m.

Our real difficulty was that we had had no time to plan; we had to improvise. I gambled on the "masses" being right if they are informed, meaning that time was in our favor. But Republican members of the Board of Finance telephoned and bawled me out that night; they said we could have carried that meeting on a voice vote but that now, between Friday and Monday, the School Board and the Democrat organization would bring out the votes and lick us, sure; and if the Citizens-Taxpayers couldn't organize better than we had, we'd better stop this floundering around and plain quit. We'd thrown away a chance of winning and were licked now. What they didn't guess was that there isn't any Citizens-Taxpayers Association; only my friend and I, the real estate dealer, and four overworked others; the fruit-farmer and the three hatters. Luckily, the Danbury paper didn't know this,

either; it reported the Elks Auditorium meeting fully, with pictures; it interviewed our spokeswoman most respectfully, and it printed the schedule of teachers' salaries. Next day, it printed a half-page ad of the Teachers' Association (which is a real Association) full of outright lies and tricky half-truths, showing that the poor Danbury teachers get less money than any other teachers in Connecticut, which isn't true at all. Also, the teachers made the crazy mistake of threatening to strike if they didn't get their \$400 raise.

So on Monday more than 4,000 voters came down to Town Hall and voted for our amendment, 3,300 to 700. And enough of them stayed, after the ballots were counted, to carry the amended motion by voice vote, unanimously. The teachers and their attorneys were there, but announcement of the result of the voting seemed to stun them; when the moderator called for the Nay vote, there wasn't a sound. The attorney didn't even signal the high school students. He had about sixty there - boys. Before the voting, my friend asked them why they were there; they said, to study democracy in action. She told them that they had no right to vote in a Town Meeting, nor to crowd into it and keep voters out, but they answered - smart alecky, as boys of that age are if encouraged — that every child has a right to an education and they were entitled to be there because it was educational. The fact is that the teachers tell them to be there and mark down their grades if they aren't. Some of these boys apparently became a little uneasy about it, because they went to the School Board's attorney and asked him if they had a right to vote there.

He asked, How old are you? They said sixteen. He said, Sure you've got a right to vote here; yell your heads off when I give you the signal. Some of the teachers, after the vote, said loudly to each other that tomorrow they'd tell their pupils not to bother to learn anything, better grow up ignorant; an ignorant hatter made more money than educated teachers. This infuriated the hatters present. When the crowd was coming out of the hall, groups of teachers stood on the sidewalk saying to others such things as, "I hope you're satisfied, you fools, you scum!" and "Just

you wait, we'll show you!" "You think you're so smart, but wait! We'll get even!"

The policemen from the traffic intersection came up to join the one from the hall, and politely dispersed these teachers. The policemen were pleased and very grateful to the Citizens-Taxpayers Association, because they are paid much less than even the beginning-teachers, even with the 10 per cent raise that the Board of Finance gave them this year in the general budget.

So this is the reason why I am so late in answering your May 10th letter. Hardly anyone has any idea at all of the conditions in the public schools. I think that something can be done in Danbury to clean them up a little. Though of course corruption, immorality, ignorance are inevitable in any system of compulsory state schooling. And it will take decades to get free schools in this country again. Maybe centuries.

I think the time has come for local work, local action of this kind. The mill-run of Americans is individualist, decent, moral, honest. And not as innocently trustful of government, and therefore as inattentive to it, as Americans have been for two or three generations. A right action in opposition to the gangster-politicians gets active support now. And I think these amorphous local groups will be desperately needed, before this inflation is over. We are not going to make an organization here. The few of us, unorganized, can agree about what should be done—goodness knows, that's obvious enough—and we have proved three times, now, that there is plenty of support for a right action.

The difficulty is communication. That can't be overcome on a national, or even probably a state, scale without organization and money, but it can be overcome locally, without them. We have spent in all, in the three fights, less than \$200, and that has been contributed to us voluntarily without our even asking for it. Several persons came up to me during the balloting last Monday, and asked who and where is our treasurer? As we haven't any, I said that really I didn't know. They then gave me each of them, a dollar or two, to give to the treasurer. We have paid for the postcards, the bus to Hartford, the placards, and some two-line filler ads in the

Danbury paper, and have about \$10 left. The necessity is to reach "the masses," to break through the resistance of the VIPs. And state and national organization depends on the VIPs, has to be financed (and therefore is controlled) by them. There aren't enough non-socialist VIPs anywhere to support an organization.

Your letter refutes your statement that "such matters" are "way over my head." I agree with you that there is a distinction between reason and emotion, and that "the greatest values in life—love, courage, duty, humor, integrity—are not simply matters of intelligence and reason."

The difference between us is that I accept these values as existing in human nature, as an integral part of human nature, without trying to explain their origin. I do not attempt to understand mysteries which I, myself, am not equipped to explain; I simply accept them as existing realities. I don't try to answer the ultimate question—the question that all other questions lead to—"Why?" I take Creation as is, so far as I can perceive it, and proceed from that point.

It seems to me that I live in the space-time dimensions that I can perceive by means of physical senses and the human rational faculty, and that all my time and all my energy hardly suffice to deal with them. I have nothing to spare, to apply to efforts to answer such questions as: Why am I here? Why did a Creator create the universe and me? What is the Creator's nature and purpose? Why IS life? WHAT is life? Why and what are Infinity and Eternity? or are they? It seems to me-if I may say this without seeming flippant—that all such questions are up to the Power that is responsible for all Creation; I'm not, I didn't do it, I don't know what it's all for, I like it as it is, so far as I can know anything about it, and I have plenty to do without meddling with God's affairs; let Him run them. I don't do so well at my own tiny job that I feel competent to cope with the Universe.

And I haven't any more confidence in theologians than in myself; actually, probably, less. I just don't believe all their explanations because, how do they know? They're human, too. It seems to me that human means of knowing are extremely limited, and enormously unused within

their limitations; I accept the limitations and try to increase my knowledge within them. I am somewhat impatient with persons who don't know how to build a house or cook an egg or shine their own shoes and who tell me all about the Nature of God and the architecture of Heaven, as reported by profound thinkers who believed that the earth was flat. They seem to me to be misplacing their attention. Why don't they leave God's affairs to God, and attend to their own?

* * *

I have all the books on the list you sent me, except Brant's biography of Madison and Sherman's How To Win an Argument with a Communist. I am quite sure that this can't be done. It is easy enough to turn any non-Communist audience against a Communist, I've often done that. But it is not possible to win an argument even with a Henry George socialist. Collectivists are not of this world; they are not scientific-minded, not this-world realists at all; their minds work on a metaphysical logic-tightcomplex basis, as the minds of insane persons do. You cannot win an argument with an inmate of an asylum who is convinced that he is Napoleon. He will win it. He will say, Who was Napoleon? He was a man who knew he was Napoleon, and everyone else knew it. I know that I am Napoleon; you do not know it, but if you and everyone else did know it, could you still deny that I am Napoleon? No, you could not. Therefore, you must admit that it is you who are ignorant of the fact, not I. A Communist reasons in the same way; his basis cannot be reached by argument.

Anderson's book, unhappily, disappointed me. I awaited it with the greatest anticipation, but probably I am too exigent; he compromises too much, for me. As Joseph Schumpeter did. It is good to compromise with persons; "there is so much good in the worst of us and so much bad in the best of us..." etc. But I think it is wholly wrong to compromise with ideas. Granted, that the most nearly accurate statement is not the whole truth, that the search for truth always brings men a little nearer (in the Timedimension) to the whole truth, granted even that human beings may never, in Time, grasp a whole truth, still it does not follow that a false state-

ment has some truth in it. Newton's First Principle of physics was very much less than is known about the nature of "matter" now; but a statement that "particles do not attract each other" would have been wholly false. There IS no compromise between Yes and No.

Thank you, I would not want a set of McGuffey's Readers to stand idle on my shelves. They are great missionary works; I have equipped every receptive child whom I know with them. I could not get them into the school libraries here; could you, in your community? In time, the Citizens-Taxpayers Association may so disrupt the local school system that McGuffey's can be got into it. But that will take a long time.

Bethel (a neighboring village) Town Meeting cut the teachers' \$400 demand to \$300 in desperate battle, during the course of which a man rose and said that recently he had passed the Bethel High School and (in school hours) seen fifty or sixty children pulling the leaves off dandelions growing in the lawn; five teachers wandering among them, he said, and the Superintendent was superintending the activity; if children should be taught to pull leaves off dandelions, he said, could not parents teach them to do this after school hours, rather than have it done at public expense? The Superintendent replied that he was happy to answer that question.

Modern education (he explained, kindly) does not impart information to our children, nor induce them to learn any skills; its object is wholly to develop intelligence, leadership, and attitudes - above all. ATTITUDES. Now and he was confident that all present agreed with him in this — no attitude is more desirable, more fruitful in child or adult, than love of home. Long and earnestly the members of the Bethel Board of Education had conferred, and they had sought the helpful advice and instruction of the foremost experts in education (he gave names, degrees, dates of many conferences, in detail) all to the end of determining the best method of inculcating in the children of Bethel the attitude of loving attachment to the home. They had finally chosen the method used in the Danbury Teachers' College, and known as Do Day-a day wholly devoted to the students' doing something

for their College, such as cutting the lawn, sweeping the floor, even on occasion, he understood, going so far as to wash some windows, because loving is expressed in doing, and in doing on Do Day, students emphasized and deepened their love for their college-home. Inspired by this example, the Bethel School Board had decided that every child in their care should be required to DO for their school, which is their home for hours each day, in order that doing inculcate in them the home-loving attitude. He must stress again that modern educators value attitude far above anything else, indeed far above all else, that the school implants in the child. He would not contend (he said, with a little roguishness, a twinkle) that pulling leaves off dandelions had any usefulness that might be called practical, but (serious now) we must never forget that attitude is, above all, the important thing. The Board had not found it best to engage all the children in this most valuable activity at the same time; they were divided into groups, so that at any time passersby would probably see some children so engaged. He himself would wish that adults in the community would share the attitude of affectionate responsibility for our children's school home which this activity is designed to inculcate in the children engaged in it, and refrain from taking shortcuts across the corners of the school lawn. He was prepared to agree amiably with anyone who thought that the children's activity had no permanent effect upon the dandelions in the lawn, indeed no practical usefulness of any kind, but he was confident that all present agreed that nothing can be more important than the attitude of love of home.

I can't think why I deliver this speech to you, except that I sat spellbound in the spellbound Bethel Town Meeting that heard it. (I was there as on-looking guest.) And maybe it spellbinds you. Nothing like McGuffey's Readers could be tolerated in a system so modern. But every literate teenage child I know is fascinated by them; I know two children who have even learned to read from them.

If I dare ask you again, please do forgive the length of this letter? If you survive it as far as this, you find enclosed every good wish and my regards to your garden.

REVIEWS

by Virginia DeCourcey

THE HUMAN ZOO, by Desmond Morris (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), 256 pp., \$6.95

Desmond Morris's **The Human Zoo** is the latest eminently readable, lively, garrulous, and glib installment in the continuing analogy of man and ape. It is also, unfortunately, bad science.

The basic premise of Dr. Morris's primate critique is the similarity of man in the city to animals, especially apes, in the zoo or captivity:

Under normal conditions, in their natural habitats wild animals do not mutilate themselves, masturbate, attack their offspring, develop stomach ulcers, become fetishists, suffer from obesity, form homosexual pair-bonds, or commit murder. Among human city-dwellers, needless to say, all these things occur... The zoo animal in a cage exhibits all these abnormalities that we know so well from our human companions. Clearly, then, the city is not a concrete jungle, it is a human zoo. (Page 8.)

Here are two views which differ from that of Dr. Morris:

Dr. Margaret Mead, commenting on the primitive Mundugumor tribe in **Sex and Temperament** (page 135), wrote:

The Mundugumor man-child is born into a hostile world, a world in which most of the members of his own sex will be his enemies, in which his major equipment for success must be a capacity for violence, for seeing and avenging insult, for holding his own safety very lightly and the lives of others even more lightly . . .

In this atmosphere of shifting loyalties, conspiracies and treachery, head-hunting raids are planned, and the whole male community is temporarily united in the raid and the victory-feasts that conclude them. At these feasts a frank and boisterous cannibalism is practiced, each man rejoicing at having a piece of the hated enemy between his teeth . . .

(Describing an initiation ceremony in the same tribe) . . . all the young boys and young men are rounded up and forced to undergo the particular torture which goes with that sacred object: cutting with crocodile-teeth or burning or beating.

The preceding statements of anthropologist Mead are sufficient to bring into question Dr. Morris's concept of the noble savage in his "natural habitat."

Let's see what Dr. Louis S. Leakey has to say in **Adam's Ancestors** (Page 190):

The Krapina remains indicate that Neanderthal man at this site was a cannibal and most of the remains were very fragmentary, owing to the fact that they represent remains of cannibal feasts and not of burials.

Dr. Morris blames the human city for the creation of the deplorable, negative, and violent aspects of the human personality. Dr. Morris is, at the very least, guilty of an incomplete analysis. It would seem that man in the primitive situation was just as blood-thirsty, if not more so, as his modern counterpart in the city-dweller of today. Yet it is the entire premise of his book that it is only the state of captivity—the zoo or the city—which creates such unpleasant "distortions" in the primate or human psyche. But this is a gross oversimplification of the human problem of war and violence.

The rest of Morris's analysis of the human society is a collection of admittedly clever and highly amusing analogies between baboon action and human action. But the reader finally wonders if there is really any information or knowledge communicated in this approach, or whether it is purely an exercise in ape terminology applied to the condition of man.

The Human Zoo is more a zoological novel than scientific study. Its major theme seems to be "back to nature." The trouble of it is that "back to nature" man was probably an even less creditable species than he is now.

Man, in natural terms, is a weak and foul-smelling biped and a uniquely successful murderer endowed, perhaps unfortunately, with a philosopher's brain. He is destined to be a creature divided: he always seems to end up killing but also feeling unhappy about it. Man has been a killer in his natural habitat and in the city. The environment of man is incidental. What must be changed is man's understanding and his reliance upon force, either collective or individual. A much more difficult problem, admittedly.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BOULWARISM, by Lemuel R. Boulware (The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1969), 180 pp., \$7.50.

The Truth About Boulwarism: Trying To Do Right Voluntarily is a book about big business and communication. The term "Boulwarism" designates a public relations program put on by General Electric in the years 1947 through 1960. Lemuel Boulware developed this highly successful program and now he has written a book that contains not only a fine analysis of the GE program but a worthwhile explanation of business in general: what business is, what it does and what it ought to do.

It is no overstatement to say that in the 20th century private business in general has suffered a decline in popularity. And part of this problem, Mr. Boulware implies, has been caused by private business itself—or, rather, the tendency of private business to let professional intellectuals, Marxists, Keynesians, etc., talk in its behalf, and detrimentally so. Of all of the

"Captains of Industry" who have led America into material well-being, not one was well-versed enough or perhaps even saw the importance of communicating the real role of business to the populace. Capitalism has never defended itself against the myths of socialism. Mr. Boulware writes:

... to seek to win the trust and cooperation so necessary to General Electric's usefulness to all concerned—it was going to be necessary to face and correct the deeper problem faced by the belief of a majority of employees and neighbors... in these three economic, political, and moral misconceptions—which, incidentally, the majority did not realize were basic socialist teachings common to all the various brands of socialism:

- That the owners and managers of private business are brutes and crooks.
- That a privately owned business is simply a privileged racket for exploiting the deserving but helpless many to get profits for the undeserving but powerful few.
- That gang force—rather than individual persuasion or individual worth on a willing exchange basis—is the way for the individual to get what he wants.

From this fundamental admittance of the scope and influence of the socialist myths on the American popu-

lation of today, Mr. Boulware proceeds to analyze the "realistic" and "unrealistic" notions about what business ought to do: should a company be concerned about the morale and cooperation of its employees, or is it only the physical work done and the paycheck that are important? Mr. Boulware contends that good relations with employees are imperative for maximum output. He believes that the employee should share some sense of goal and common satisfaction with the managers and owners of a business. This leaves the reader with the inference that if private business had in the past been as concerned with communicating with their employees as, say, the unions have, the tragedy of the schism between worker interest and managerial interest would never have been able to come about.

It is this realization of the underlying common interest of the workers and the owners and managers to please the **customer**, that forms the basic tenet of "Boulwarism" as it was used in the public relations program at GE.

Laissez - Faire

Drug addiction is on the increase. Whatever else it may be called, drug addiction makes possible an escape from the real world. If our culture is to survive and if, thereby, civilization is to move forward, we must encourage an entry into the real world by young men and women capable of dealing with reality.

Herbert Berger, M.D., F.A.C.P., director of medicine, Richmond Memorial Hospital, Staten Island, New York, and chairman of the Committee on Drug Abuse, has written in **Medical Times** (December, 1969) that the major cause of drug addiction among adolescents is compulsory education.

Says Dr. Berger: "Education has always been a privilege but we have made it a punishment. When the school with its strict regulations and discipline, its truant officers, monitors, and attendance clerks becomes a jail, it loses its stature as a privileged educational institution. It can never be both. These

are not exaggerated descriptions."

Careful analysis reveals that young people become resentful of being punished (sent to jail) when they have done no wrong. They begin rebelling against society and all those who seem to hold authority. Taking drugs appears to be a perfect "way out." The effect of drug taking is heightened because the young person knows that drugs have been legally banned. He delights in taking drugs because by this means he can "get even," or because he believes he is thus asserting his independence.

If drug addiction is to be reduced, there are only two logical courses of action for concerned, intelligent parents. They should begin advocating the removal of all laws pertaining to drugs and the abolition of compulsory education. Young people are human beings, and their rights as human beings must be recognized.

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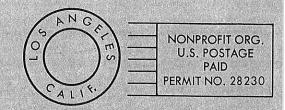
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"The Government Should Stop Playing Post Office" by Rod Manis, brilliant young economist at Stanford University.

For only one penny you could mail a letter and have it received the same day in 17th century London. The London Penny Post, a private company, operated 400 postal receiving stations throughout London, providing not one but ten home deliveries a day.

Mr. Manis surveys the "unspeakable inefficiency" of today's postal monopoly, and recommends a solution.

"Even the Boy Scouts" by Robert LeFevre.

When Frank Chodorov published Robert LeFevre's "Even the Girl Scouts" in **Human Events** back in 1954, the national organization was besieged with protests from aroused parents who deplored de-emphasis of pro-freedom concepts and over-emphasis of non-libertarian values. Concerned adult Scouts today are deeply disturbed over implications of the newest Boy Scout Merit Badge. You'll find out why in LeFevre's examination of the official explanation of what the American Business Merit Badge is all about.