HE

## THE PACIFIC VIEW

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## THE SITUATION

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

"Government of the people, by the people, for

the people shall not perish from the earth."

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

"The Government of the United States is a device for maintaining in perpetuity the rights of the people, with the ultimate extinction of all privileged classes."

"The government of the Union, then, is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit."

"Theodore Parker said that democracy meant no 'I'm as good as you are', but 'You're as good as I am'. And this is the ethical conception of democracy."

"As the happiness of the people is the sole end of government, so the consent of the people is the only foundation of it, in reason, morality, and the natural fitness of things."

"I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

"A representative democracy, where the right of election is well secured and regulated, and the exercise of the legislative, executive, and judiciary authorities is vested in select persons, chosen really and not nominally by the people, will, in my

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opinion, be most likely to be happy, regular, and durable."

"The beauty of a Democracy is that you never can tell when a youngster is born what he is going to do with you, and that, no matter how humbly he is born..... he has got a chance to master the minds and lead the imaginations of the whole country."

Such is the romance of democracy as dreamers dream of it, as the downtrodden yearn for it as ivory tower dwellers discuss about it.

The realities of life, however, are not quite so romantic.

Our modern world is full of competition and struggle. This is especially so in those communities which have less than their share of the material benefits of life. And in those places people tend to be less guided by the altruistic principles of democracy, and more to be controlled by the animal instincts and passions which turn much of life into a jungle.

When one is constantly struggling and fighting he soon learns thru trial and error that two people can make a stronger battle than one against an opponent.

And soon collaboration becomes the way of life in strife and struggle. This is especially true among the weak and cowardly. Such persons soon learn the necessity of assistance when one's own efforts seem insufficient.

And sooner or later the individual who does not have collaborators finds himself an impotent orphan. What chance does he have against opponents who fight him en masse? What chance does he have against rivals for jobs and promotions and opportunities, when those rivals always have third parties to intercede for them?

So the untied individual succumbs to the necessity of becoming part of a gang or machine.

Usually he is enticed into the gang or machine by the cunning operations of the gang boss or the machine boss. This cunning manipulator knows well the value of offering some financial or social gift as bait to trap the innocent wictim into the clutches of the gang or machine. Later on vague promises and perhaps a morsel now and then is sufficient to hold the victim.

We must realize that the manipulator is well practiced in the art of using subtle influences. Often when we see some sale or deal made we assume that each side was won over by the considerations offered by the other side. But sometimes this is not the case. A customer may not have really intended to buy some offered merchandise, but was eased into a buying mocd by a pleasant perfume or aroma which he may not even have noticed. Or by flattery which he didn't notice. Or by the stunning effect of liquor, or other intoxicant.

The cunning manipulator knows well that deals and agreements are thus not always made on the basis of the merits of the deals and agreements. Extraneous subtle factors often have a great influence.

And the cunning manipulator also knows that people can be more easily manipulated in the pleasant environment of social affairs. So the manipulator gives the orders, worded so they seem to be suggestions, at parties, and dances, and other gatherings. This is especially effective since at such affairs the orders do not seem to come from a boss to his subordinates, but from one person to another.

And thus people unwittingly become members of a political machine

Becoming a member of a political machine is a serious matter.

For one has to give up the rights granted to him by our democracy and our constitution. He must become a chattel of the political machine, subject to the autocratic orders of the machine boss.

And the machine member soon finds this out. If he becomes recalcitrant the boss handles him subtly at first. There is talk about the gratitude he should display. There is talk about the rosy prospects if he is smart enough to know on which side his bread is buttered. The idea is to keep the iron fist hidden in a velvet glove.

But this is only at first. If the victim remains stubborn the boss has firmer methods he uses. And the boss demonstrates very convincingly that he doesn't like the idea of your accepting the benefits granted you by the machine, and then refusing to play ball.

So you accept the orders of the machine; and are

granted the protection of the machine.

The machine boss must make good use of the various machine members. He must constantly try to infiltrate his men into key spots, so as to increase his power.

To do this the machine boss has resources he can count on. He has all the members of the machine available to give recommendations, or to pressure for the appointment he desires. What chance has the rival with only a usual number of recommendations?

We thus find that soon many key posts are available only to machine men. The independent individuals gradually are squeezed out of such positions by the constant pressure of the machines. And if the individual happens to be ethical, he is pushed out all the faster. There is nothing so abhorrent to a machine as an ethical person. Even a rival machine's puppet can be dealt with. But an honest man. Even the most antagonistic machines will work together to get an honest man out of a key post.

Most parents these days seem to try to raise their children to be effective tools of the political machine -- perhaps because of the great power political machines wield, much more than the number of their members would seem to warrant. Yes, we are raising pawns; people made of putty. People who can be inveigled into almost anything by being granted petty concessions. People who will fall all over themselves trying to please "higher-ups", like machine bosses.

So it is to be expected that political machines will soon be in control in many areas of public life.

Many of our local governments seem to be controlled by political machines. Our pleasure seeking public seems to be unaware of this, or impervious to it. But sooner or later people are awakened when they happen to have some cause against a member of the machine. They soon become disillusioned regarding the perfection of democracy left for others to administer while you relax and have a good time.

Our absentee owned business organizations are a fertile field for political machines. Such companies have thousands of stockholders, and rarely does one individual own as much as 5% of the total stock. An effective machine could put a few popular

men in "front" positions, in order to get proxies from the stockholders, and then operate the company in the same way a political machine operates a city.

As a matter of fact all of Wall St. is a mammoth political machine with puppets in key posts in rail-roads, power companies, newspapers, and industrial companies, thousands of miles away from physical Wall St. The operation seems to be largely thru long distance phone and thru social affairs at country clubs, athletic clubs, etc. Sugar coated orders, sounding like suggestions, are distributed in lavish and luxurious surroundings which make obedience a pleasant pastime.

Separate government departments, in our federal government and elsewhere, may be controlled by a machine. Other organized units anywhere may be controlled by a machine. "High society" is usually a machine which manages to get special advantages for its members thru a greed for favorable publicity, which gives the impression that these people are in some way different from other people.

By far the most powerful political machine in the world is the Communist Party. The big machine bosses, and the lesser machine bosses, have done such a thoro job of brainwashing the members that the members are incapable of exercising human characteristics. The confirmed party member can think, or feel sympathy, or react ethically, to the same extent as a piston, or a bolt, or a screw. Stalin did a very thoro job of subordinating the Communist to his superior in almost 100% of activity, and it is only under direction from his superior that the Communist can believe, or enjoy, or feel.

The Communist political machine, and many others too, developed from the inability of many people to survive individually in the struggle of a strife torn world. These machines are the same as those developed during the dark ages of feudal times, when people readily gave up their rights in return for protection from a powerful feudal lord.

In those olden times men willingly gave up their status as freemen to become vassals of a lord. In return they received the protection of that lord, and the use of some of his land.

It is quite likely that when men took on the status of vassals they did not realize fully what it meant.

They were probably absorbed in contemplation of the benefits they expected to receive.

Sometimes awareness of the cost of their new status would hit them suddenly. Without warning they might find their feudal lord engaged in a feud with some other lord. They might have to put off their dreams of a quiet farm life to devote themselves to meaningless warfare.

And the likelihood of warfare was increased when some feudal lord acquired many subjects, for it is human nature to become arrogant as we become powerful, and the arrogance grows much more rapidly than the power.

But many people still believed they would be better off with, some protector than they would standing alone while others were joining up in such groups.

And it became quite a custom. And it was not on a tryout basis. There was something very permanent about it.

For it took many centuries before men were able to get their freedoms back again. And it took bloodshed. And it took lives.

It took so long that freedom was no longer a memory. Just a dream. And many generations experienced the dream before anybody but the high nobles could experience the actuality.

But all this was not in the minds of those who originally signed up. They were not thinking of the cost; they were only thinking of the benefits.

There always seems to be a lot of fine print.

That article we buy on the installment plan seems to be a little harder to pay for than we expected.

And often the benefits, which made up such a rosy picture, are used up early. The new car becomes a used car so quickly. That new appliance starts sticking, and is hard to operate. That swanky house starts needing repairs.

But the burdens, those handy payments just tailored for our convenience, that seemed so small and far away when we signed up, stay with us. Even tho what we bought may be gone and completely forgotten.

It is a perilous thing to barter with one's future.

## II THE PROBLEM

The person ambitious to become a political machine boss is not likely to be satisfied with being just that. So we can expect that political machines are always in a state of cold war with each other. Peace, or rest for more than short periods, is not the lot of those who are involved in the increasing power struggles between the various bosses.

The greatest competition involves the efforts to put the men of one's own machine into public positions of power. And the machine man who gets such a position knows well he is supposed to work for the machine. There is no such thing as a conscientious objector in machine politics. You must be a perfect puppet, or get out.

If it means betraying a public trust the individual can always excuse himself with the thought that if some other machine had its man in this post he would be no more considerate of the public interest. And the other machine's man would be just as hypocritical in giving gobs and gobs of lip service to the public, to draw attention away from his deeds.

And the other machine's man would concentrate just as carefully on fine clothes and manners to impress a superficial public with his worthiness to hold high office. And it would be a great contest in yokelology, to see who could better impress a gullible public.

And when one machine defeated another, and took over the city hall, or some absentee ownership company, the members of the defeated machine would be left high and dry. They would not be taken into the winning machine. And this accounts for the diehard ferocity which often becomes a part of the struggle between machines.

It is not sympathy with the members of the defeated machine that is our concern. Our concern is with the wasted effort involved in these struggles. For there is decline in useful production. In their contests of attrition, the machines try to prey on each other rather than create something which will serve the public.

In many of our machine ridden cities how much useful work is done, and how much work is devoted to getting control and ownership away from someone else? The opponents in such struggles cancel each other's efforts,

and the winner is such, not because he has created more than his opponent, but because he had a little more staying power in a contest of attrition.

Furthermore, we must not get the impression that because machines are constantly feuding with each other, that in any one machine there is a high degree of harmony. For internal feuds for position are just as intense as external feuds.

And in one's efforts to upgrade himself in the eyes of the machine boss one must slavishly conform to the machine boss' preference in practically everything, sometimes even as regards to what one eats, or the music one listens to. In the Soviet system one sees the ridiculous extremes to which such slavishness goes.

If your machine loses in a struggle for control you are out. You lose your job, your standing, everything. If you are taken into the winning machine it is as an extreme inferior -- as in the Dark Ages -- with many burdens and few benefits.

But even if your machine wins, for you only half the battle is over. For you must struggle with others in your machine in a contest for the loot. And in your efforts to upgrade yourself in the estimation of the machine boss you must stoop as low as necessary to downgrade your rivals. You must throw mud; and you will surely be covered with mud yourself. You must become a complete hypocrite, smiling and shaking hands with your rivals while you figure out some way of downgrading them. You must carry around with you a civilized face to hide your jungle mind.

And you must waste your time attending every boresome social function that takes place. For if you are not there some rival will take advantage of your absence to downgrade you.

And all this means that useful production suffers. People, especially in the leadership positions where they should be giving effective direction to production and distribution, spend their time devising newer and greater tactics of attrition. As in the Dark Ages it seems easier to get something by taking it away from someone else than by producing it yourself.

So the machine people lose interest in rendering services, and are concerned only with furthering their own shortsighted self interest, even if from a community point of view it means spending all your time

filling up the ditches that your rival spends all his time digging.

We see in the Soviet Union the results of years of such personal absorption with one's own political career. Production has lagged considerably behind what it might have been, and the Soviet Union is in danger of collapsing by not being able to carry out its economic commitments. This is especially true because a political machine gradually gouges a larger and larger proportion of the national production to divide among its members, neglecting the millions of inarticulate citizens who are not permitted in the councils of the machine to plead their case.

Whenever a machine takes control the laws become pretty much of a sham. They remain on the books, and the machine men are instructed to give them generous lip service, but when enforcement is involved, they are enforced only against persons not in the machine, and in favor of persons who are members.

We often see evidences of this in traffic matters. People who have high office in the machine and in the community, and who should take special pains to respect the law, flout the law. Can a mere policeman punish them? Is it any wonder that policemen have to think in terms of rank rather than "Equality under the Law"?

And whenever we see a machine take over a community we can expect to see the death of democracy in that community, sometimes slowly, sometimes more quickly.

But it is not an overt death. The death comes thru lack of law enforcement, rather than the closing down of democratic institutions. Those institutions do not change much in front; but inside law enforcement is plotted in closed rooms, with no hint to the public that in essence the laws have been radically changed.

Whenever a machine takes over law enforcement it must then necessarily try to obtain control over communication. For what is the use of carrying out a pretense that there is law, when there is no law enforcement, if anybody is free to reveal the facts to the public?

And when a machine is successful in getting its men.in key positions on the newspapers, and other

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media of communication, the whole nature of communication changes. Communication becomes a tool (a la Soviets) to cloud the merits and the truth whenever necessary, and it is often necessary when one is trying to milk the whole public for the benefit of the members of the machine.

And integrity of communication, that dedicated service created by those who fought for the right to report things as they saw them, is relegated to the past. Freedom of speech is confined to crying in the wilderness, and freedom of the press is not denied to anyone, but merely monopolized by those who are willing to prostitute it.

And while the freedoms are still mentioned in the various constitutions in the libraries - in memoriam - those in the know laugh up their sleeves. For is there not a gentlemen's agreement among the machine's puppets on the various newspapers to avoid controversial matter? And to cover only subjects on which there is general agreement.

And if some publisher wishes to make a martyr of himself he is notified by his advertisers that a newspaper is no longer a means of communication. That it has become an advertising circular, and that he best confine his efforts to enticing members of the public to read that circular, by printing comics, sports results, stock market reports, and vanity items in the society section.

And other media of communication corrode also. Especially those which are supposed to go deeper into the news. To interpret the news and discuss its effects on the fundamental parts of the nation.

This is most evident in magazine publishing, book publishing, and schools training people for employment in the communication fields. In the latter the machine places those likely to become servile puppets. With light concern for the public, and a strong esprit de corps among themselves as co-favorites of the machine. In the Soviet Union they have gone so far as to build separate dormitories for students to build up that esprit de corps, and to avoid developing sympathy for the general public.

With the decline of law enforcement and commu-

nication we have the slow death of democracy.

But we have worse. We have the slow death of our civilization based on Judeo-Christian moral values.

In this respect we see an illustration of the fact that cause and effect are often turned around in the explanation of human affairs.

It is commonly believed that people help others because they like those others. Actually it is the other way around. People like others because they have helped those others. And when we have a society where people do not help each other, they do not like each other.

And in machine politics where it is important that you not help others who are not your superiors. There develops great animosities between people. With great gobs of hypocritical friendship gestures to disguise the animosities so others will not notice them.

And all the benefits which have come with the development of cooperation vanish, and are replaced by a conglomeration of mirages which people follow blindly all their lives.

And other benefits of democratic life are also destroyed. For instance, scientific progress.

Under the political machine the salary and prestige of a scientific position are too attractive to be ignored by politicians. Ambitious sons of those in high places are successful in installing themselves in jobs for which they have absolutely no qualification.

And gradually the scientific field becomes a mixture of scientists and science politicians, with the latter gradually usurping the positions with greater salary and prestige, and gradually becoming a greater and greater proportion of the total personnel.

SCIENCE IS NOT SOMETHING YOU CAN MEMORIZE, and the science polotician simply cannot perform the duties required in his job. So he uses his tactics to manipulate the real scientists into doing his work for him. More and more of the real scientist's time must be used to do the work of the science politician, who gets the salary and credit therefor.

Many Americans have become panicky because of reports of the vast number of scientists being developed by the Soviet Union. It is quite likely that most of these are science politicians who do nothing but get in the way of the real scientists. And the real

science is developed by the few capable scientists, not by the many science politicians.

Real science suffers not only because scientific positions go to the politicians, but also because the high salaries and prestige usually go to such politicians, and the real scientist is thus influenced to desert real science and embrace political tactics.

In the same way artistic fields degenerate into a grab bag for political plums. Artistic production is subordinated to attempts to secure prizes, honors, credits, prestige, and grants. Instead of developing one's talents the would-be artist spends most of his efforts in trying to secure the favor of artistic judges and others in high places. Much of his work is behind the scenes activity which is more political than artistic.

And much of the alleged art produced is created with the intention of impressing the audience with the rank of the artist, rather than bringing genuine pleasure and entertainment to the audience.

And thus workers are cheated out of the opportunity for pleasant relaxation. And again we have one of those inverted human phenomena. Instead of the artist working to serve the audience, the audience serves the artist by watching those productions which happen to be in highest favor with those in high places, as a sort of tribute.

We see how art declines with the political machine. And in reading about the various concerts and exhibitions in the Soviet Union we wonder how much genuine art is involved. Does the audience attend because of real pleasure, or to see and be seen so as not to be downgraded? Do people really appreciate the artistic performance, and have a real opinion regarding it? Or do they merely parrot the opinions of their superiors?

One of the greatest casualties of the political machine is the field of wisdom and learning. In life we cannot prophecy all the results of our contemplated actions, and we must often rely on principles of living to guide us. Civilized communities usually develop a lot of wisdom and learning to be used as such guides.

Under machine rule intellectual positions are usurped by the politicians. Such politicians dress -12-

like intellectuals to impress the yokels. They pose like intellectuals, and strut like intellectuals. But they cannot think like intellectuals.

They don't have the dedicated interest in learning to stimulate them to study; so they corcentrate on developing tactics which will help them get credits.

The intellect was created to raise humans above the animal level. To influence people to behave rationally in such a way as to result in an optimum amount of human benefit. And not to descend to the instinctive behavior of the jungle, which proves so destructive to human welfare.

Yes, the purpose of the intellect is to combat destructive instincts.

Yet recently we have returned to the scholasticism of the middle ages. The intellect has become a tool to show off one's ability, so that one can get an "intellectual" job as a political plum. Or some prize or "honorable" mention. And the fact that the public is not in the slightest benefited by such "intellectual" endeavors does not deter politicians from allotting more and more public funds to be distributed as political plums to favorites of their machine.

And innocent people are exposed to the disgusting affectations of a lot of phonies who regard all members of the general public as yokels. And the air is full of meaningless large words and impressive accents.

However there are enough yokels who are properly impressed by the performance, and that's all that matters to the politicians.

Cultural stagnation is always to be expected as a natural phenomenon, since decay is always in operation. But when human values, and science, and arts, and wisdom, are subjected to the additional deterioration brought on by machine influences; there comes a great problem of reinforcement.

And we, who have luckily inherited more than any other people in history, have an obligation not to permit all we have inherited to slide back into the jungle. The crisis will not come tomorrow, but it is not far off.

The most ridiculous notion around is that before a democracy dies, or before some other calamity occurs, there will be several months notice beforehand so people can decide whether they wish to permit the calamity to take place.

A democracy dies at its roots before it dies on the surface. The basic democratic fundamentals are the things that go first. Only then do the overt freedoms begin to disappear.

Some people on a ship might judge the ship's ability to last until it reached port by the amount of food on the dining table. But it is the amount of food in the storeroom which determines how long the passengers can survive.

It is thus with everything. The appearance of the surface often is misleading. If we let ourselves be deceived by the fact that the surface looks OK, and proceed to drown ourselves in good times, we may wake up to a very sad state of affairs.

True, we must be constantly alert to the state of our overt freedoms. We must test them constantly to make sure that they are fact, not fiction.

For once lost our freedoms may take centuries to recover, as in the Dark Ages.

And our problem is greater now than it was then. For there has developed a condition of sham democracy, as in the Communist countries, where rights are a matter of much hearsay and rumor, and one gets the impression because of the widespread rumors that there must be much democracy around. And it is only when the democracy is tested that it is revealed as a sham, meant to impress the gullible.

One thing is certain. If we devote all our time to cocktail parties and watching television we will have no time left to assay and protect our rights.

It is more than mere decay that is our enemy. For there are sharpies around everywhere who want us to go to sleep and let our rights expire. For they are members of political machines, and the less power we have the more they will have.

And so they unloose their tactics on us. They pooh pooh the idea that we may lull ourselves into slavery.

And a pooh pooh may be more powerful than 10 arguments. For it is the nature of humans to lapse into comfortable situations. And a pooh pooh gives one an excuse for doing so.

So when he pooh poohs you into losing your vigilance, and in addition exploits your vanity, and tells you that you are a superior, and defending democracy is work for the inferior, he is crowding his tactics on you. By blowing up your conceit he tries to make you a deserter from democracy.

And yet it is so easy to be loyal.

Years ago people had trouble getting money to buy Christmas presents. And then someone discovered the answer. Planning and budgeting.

All you do is plan a year beforehand, and each week deposit a certain sum to your Christmas Club account.

And the same thing can be done for your political club.

You can decide beforehand that you will spend a couple of hours every other Tuesday night directing a class of 15 or 20 younger men in a study of their political obligations and duties.

Why Tuesday?

Because a study made several years ago showed that the best period in the week for serious study came from about the middle of Tuesday to about the middle of Wednesday.

Which makes Tuesday the appropriate evening. Some people may find Tuesday inconvenient. And if they are seeking perfect convenience let them go elsewhere.

Political duty is not something that is sold like much of the highpriced applesauce on the market is sold these days. You either recognize your political duty, convenient or not, or you don't.

The sharpies aren't complaining about inconvenience.

One of the biggest problems of democracy is the fact that half the people are below average intelligence. And close to a fourth are below what is considered the average range.

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This problem is amply illustrated by the actions of juries, the actions of many people entrusted with public responsibilities, the actions of recalcitrants, and even the actions of mobs.

If all people who claim competence in public affairs were required to spend several months teaching in our public schools, as the writer has done, there would be a greater understanding of the tragedy of being a slow learner. Unfit teachers, who teach as a chore, and not as a career, punish the hard of learning for causing them extra work. They punish them with a scowl or a cutting remark. The kind of punishment the PTA doesn't object to.

Such teachers ignore the first law of punishment, which is, "Never punish people for events beyond their control."

What is the effect of such punishment?

Another great factor in current overambition is the social life of people in professional and semi-professional circles. Such people try to upgrade themselves by forcing their children into careers they are not fitted for. In the conversations in such circles ordinary people are regarded with contempt, and the children are brought up with the idea that if they become ordinary people they will be virtual outcasts

So the children try to enter professional and semi-professional fields for which they may not be qualified. They cannot do the work, and live in constant fear of being exposed. But the parents gloat for having forced their children into lives of deceit and fear.

In either case, whether the children have become overambitious because of incompetent teachers or incompetent parents, we have a group of people who are hungry for prestige, position, and rank. And they are condemned to trying to get by thru meaningless memorizing and thru ingratiating themselves with their teachers.

And they become the great peril in their willingness to accept political machine slavery in return for protection.

Machine bosses foster ambition in the feebleminded. The machine bosses want puppets. The machine bosses wish to put people into positions, committees, offices, etc. who can be easily manipulated. People who cannot think for themselves, and who grasp at any suggestion like a drowning man grasps at straws.

So we must have greater participation in public affairs by more competent people. People with intelligence enough to perform the required public service, and intelligence enough to realize that in the long run in high office ethics pays. Intelligence enough to know that if competent people leave a vacuum by their desertion, the machine bosses will soon fill that vacuum with their puppets.

Cooperative endeavor is the surest way to avoid wasting a lot of time, when people wish to determine the exact nature of their political obligations.

But it can be a waste of time if those present forget their objective, and spend their efforts vying for positions of leadership.

So if one of those present is in his 40's, and the others are in their 30's, the former is qualified by his age to be the director.

And the program becomes quite a challenge to the director. For it is not easy to keep a group of 15 or 20 men coming to biweekly discussions over a period of years.

However, the director knows that he is doing his part in our country's effort to lead the whole world into democracy. Our country must show that it can be done, and we must show how it can be done.

We are not embarking on a punitive crusade. If we had a chance to study closely the people who do the most damage to our country and our society our attitude towards them would very likely be, "Forgive them for they know not what they do." Because most of them are feeble minded persons motivated entirely by instinct, or persons who have become overambitious thru no fault of their own.

And in order to get much they copy the tactics of those who seem successful. And they cannot be faithful to a trust because they do not understand the nature of a trust. All they understand is physical possession, and to them this implies arbitrary disposition.

We give them power, and then lament what they do. They may be incapable of making just decisions, and yet the rest of us refuse to do our part in helping to decide matters of public importance.

Their wrongdoing is our wrongdoing. For it is not what the feeble minded do that is important; it is what ableminded deserters refuse to do that is important.

But enough arguing about the blame. The peril is that incompetents are pulling us back into the Dark Ages. We have developed values of sportsmanship in this country as one foundation of democracy, and we see this sportsmanship deserted and exploited by people who openly pride themselves on their ability to take unfair advantage.

It is the civilized people who must contribute more to our affairs. For if we relapse into a jungle society it will be the ferocious who will get the most; those low in ferocity will get only the leftovers, as was the case many centuries ago. It is the civilized among us that must keep us above the jungle.

The challenge is there.

Perhaps we are just biped animals, and civilization is just a pretense, in an effort to get special privileges.

Yet our forefathers sacrificed. They endured persecution, they endured suffering, they endured privation.

And they did not retire to mental slumber after they had filled their stomaches.

No, they had town meetings to make sure that they would not be robbed of the fruits of their work and their suffering.

And we must not fall asleep because tomorrow and next week and next month seem secure. We must band together in groups of 15 or 20 men at periodic intervals to make sure that whatever political work needs to be done will be done.

This is no slur against women.

The greatest sacrifices have been made by women. The greatest hardships have been endured by women. The greatest contributions have been given by women.

However, in discussions of political obligations we find the presence of women converts the activity into a social affair. The mood is not one conducive to disciplined activity.

Over the last few years intellectual activity has degenerated into efforts to obtain personal pleasure. The participants try to show off, and build up personal prestige. They seek praise, and high standing

The objectives of trying to define a problem and trying to figure out a solution have somehow been discarded. And we must get back to these objectives even if it means giving up the pleasure we may get from intellectual jousting. There is still plenty of time available for seeking pleasure, with whatever people we find most pleasant.

It is very important that we take immediate steps to conserve the wisdom and learning which has permitted us to survive the many hazards and dangers of the past centuries. Our scientists have built up our power to destroy; now we must build up our wisdom to conserve.

Wisdom is useful knowledge. The knowledge we get from TV quiz programs is not enough. We know the dangers of living in an atomic age; now we must develop the wisdom to overcome those dangers.

Our country was built by wise people who thought more than a year or two ahead. They thought of their children, and their children's children.

And they had faith that if they built a great democracy, even at great cost to themselves, both in down payment and in daily payments for the rest of their lives, it would be the best way of life, for themselves, for their children, for their children's children.

And they willingly took on political obligations and duties. For themselves, and for their children, and for their children's children.

But lately, over the past several decades of war and readjustment, the nature of those political obligations and duties have become less clear.

We all need a little wisdom to help us in this matter, and cooperatively we can determine what the exact nature of our contribution should be. And if we must endure a little inconvenience in the process of achieving such wisdom so be it. We get wisdom thru living with problems, not thru a process of spoon fed memorization.

We must demonstrate that we will just as gladly take on the burdens as the benefits. Patriotism is an attribute of the higher intelligence, and such intelligence must willingly assume the obligations of duty.

We must not, however, deceive ourselves as to the nature of the opposition. It is a formidable one. One that knows that obstacles make strong weapons.

One of the things our enemy prides himself on is his ability to get around the merits. He has picked up all kinds of tricks and tactics which he believes he can use to either suppress the merits of the opposition, or cloud the merits of the opposition.

He is skilled in the use of ridicule tactics. He will use such tactics to get you to desert some very valuable intention. And he is confident he can destroy your patriotism by ridiculing it. "Let the other fellow be the dead hero," he says, "you be the live coward." He tells you not to be stupid enough to worry about what happens to the dumb guys; he tells you to be a smart guy, and get things the smart way.

And then he brings out his flattery tactics.
"You're too smart to do the unpleasant work like the slobs do. You should sit on the sidelines figuring out theories about what's going on. A man like you shouldn't inconvenience himself to the extent of going where things are happening."

It takes a lot of guts to tell such people that you think you have an obligation, and you respect

your obligations.

Even this doesn't discourage him. His greatest strength is his ability to withstand discouragement. As a matter of fact he regards discouragement as a tactic, and uses it to manipulate you.

We must not overestimate our power to prophesy. And we must not be foolish enough to accept our

enemy as a prophet.

And when he tries to discourage you by telling you that your efforts will be unsuccessful, your attitude must be that your efforts are part of your sacred obligations to your country. Success or failure is not something we can guarantee. But we can guarantee that we will not be deserters.

DAVID KORETZ