

Clifton...

(Continued from page 6)
course, that there are no such things; so that "thin" fate is simply a mental problem.)
It is easier for the idealist who shares Mr. Smith's morality: you simply consult your own peculiar mind and enslave or burn "people" who disagree with it, regardless of the number.

Moral Obligation

And so, because the NLF rebel, according to Mr. Smith, is "fighting to become some faceless speck in the faceless masses of some faceless 'people's' state" (though the rebel is not requiring that of Mr. Smith), and because that is immoral according to Mr. Smith, the "representatives" of Mr. Smith's "ideals" and "moral principles" have a moral obligation to shoot him.

If that is a strange morality, the patent contradiction between its ends and its means is even more bewildering: I, for one, have never seen any faceless Viet Cong but those whom Mr. Smith's "representatives" have divested of their faces with American grenades.

There is of course no question that 80 per cent of a population can be morally wrong, and no one would admit that sooner than the leftist who is now protesting.

A majority of Germans were wrong when they allowed the Nazis to lead them into wholesale murder; a majority of Americans are wrong in tacitly supporting Johnson.

Many Be Wrong

The Vietnamese may conceivably be "wrong" in preferring a lowly can of soup and the NLF to Mr. Smith's morality and the YAF (though I do not think so), but unlike the plain crime of the Americans and the Germans, the "wrongness" of the Vietnamese concerns only themselves: it does not entail the armed invasion of California or saturation bombing of our countryside.

(Let us be thankful that the New Left does not share Mr. Smith's morality: I have not yet heard one of them, for instance, propose that Russia bomb the industrial complex of the United States because a majority of Americans are wrong.)

Purged of the tainting influence of people, and translated into reality, do you know what Mr. Smith's morality proposes? Rather than allow 80 per cent of the Vietnamese determine that they will have a government which Mr. Smith does not like, and in order to save the handful of Vietnamese who would even understand (much less agree with) what goes on in Mr. Smith's mind, his morality proposes genocide.

No Contradiction

Do we not perceive a contradiction and a lie in the dogma of those who preach the victory of their own "abstract values," "ideals," and "morals" over "wicked materialists" who do not share them—when concealed behind the rhetoric, behind the pose of spirituality, we always see, grossly material, the ugly muzzle of a gun? Where, pray tell, is their faith in ideas?

Though you would never believe it from what they write, their war is not being fought with ideas, morals, or abstract values. If it were, if our bombers were dropping nothing more substantial than copies of None Dare Call It Treason, if our soldiers were merely struggling with the "mental or moral well-being" of the Vietnamese, I am sure there would be no marchers in the street, nor letters from Mrs. Aberle.

But the idealism which Mr. Smith propounds is being enforced as materially as it possibly could be—with lead, napalm, Lazy Dogs, and human blood. And material human beings have to guide the bullets, drop the napalm, aim (more or less) the Lazy Dogs, and shed the blood. Abstract values will not win your victory; you must have bodies.

The final question is: Whose? Is it not wondrous how often it happens that the contempt of the idealist for the body is so

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thorough that the physical tasks necessary to the winning of his Holy War are regularly delegated to the body of someone besides the idealist?

Representatives Are

And so it is with Mr. Smith: "At this moment, my material body is not in Viet Nam. But the representatives of my ideals, and of my moral principles are."

I think that is a fair summary of the morality proposed. The material-minded leftist feels impelled to put his body where his convictions are. The spiritual-minded rightist, with his body here and his mind in Viet Nam, feels free to sneer at the leftist for his petty materialism. And the bewildered draftee is compelled to put his body on a battlefield, where there is nothing to be seen of the idealist but his "ideals" and "moral principles." When Mr. Smith looks at this last phenomenon he no doubt sees "The Rights of Individual Men."

Mr. Smith says that "if the time comes when (he) must join them there," he will go. The time is long past, for not even that vain gesture could any longer convince us that there is a shred of morality in what he advocates. And I think we must conclude in any case that his "mental well-being" is dearly bought.

The speeches do not bother Mr. Smith because he does not hear them.

The people are not counted by Mr. Smith because he cannot see them.

The corpses do not horrify Mr. Smith because they are not his.

Klonoski Publishes

James R. Klonoski, associate professor of political science at the University, is co-author with Robert I. Mendelsohn, of an article, "The Allocation of Justice: A Political Approach," which appears in the current issue of Emory University Law School's "Journal of Public Law."

Mendelsohn, an assistant professor of political science at Wayne State University, was formerly an instructor of political science at Oregon from 1960-65.

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WHAT HAPPENED to Maurie Green?

NICE to see you up and around. —P.H.